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Editor's Foreword

Oral History in New Zealand

The articles in this issue of the Oral History Journal of New Zealand touch on a wide range of issues surrounding the practice and use of oral history. Jane Moodie asks the reader to consider instances where an interviewee "revels in telling stories or anecdotes, or whose entire oral testimony may seem to consist of a series of such stories". Her paper raises interesting questions about how we perceive and interpret the significance of such stories.

A key theme to emerge in this journal issue is the interplay between interviewers and interviewees in their "collaborative reworking of the past" (Shepard). The type of interview process chosen is one key aspect of this dialogue. For example, Moodie uses an interactive interview technique which encourages interviewees to tell their life stories with minimal direction, at least in the initial stages of the interview. Only later does she ask questions to focus on "gaps and internal contradictions in the narrative". Similarly, Barbara Erskine suggests "the fewer questions the better". Shepard draws on a feminist participatory model and deliberately states her position and views from the outset. Much of her article then discusses the extent to which interviewee's contest that perspective.

It is noticeable that one of the main areas of contention in both Shepard's work and that undertaken by Rabel and Cook revolves around interpretations and understandings of feminism. Rabel and Cook remind us of Raphael Samuel's depiction of oral history as a 'theatre of memory', "in which the past is actively conjured up in full consciousness of the present". In Rabel and Cook's analysis of the relationship between Vietnam War protests and second-wave feminism in New Zealand, interviewees revisit their past activism from the context of their present beliefs. These recollections suggest that an interviewer's desire to establish linkages between concurrent historical events may not accord with people's memories of those times.

Rabel and Cook conclude that there is a "need to examine more closely in our ongoing research how the different personal backgrounds and entry points of individuals into the women's and the anti-war movements did much to fashion the meaning of both movements for them". Oral history interviews can provide interviewees with such an opportunity to reflect on the meaning and relevance (not just the details) of their past actions.

Jeff Downs' research indicates that currently twenty percent of libraries are actively involved with Maori oral history projects. Monty Soutar stresses the importance of oral history as a means of recording and retelling Maori history. He reminds us that "seldom have uniquely Maori perspectives been admitted into any of the First World War histories nor have the expectations of a Maori audience been fulfilled". Soutar places the experiences of Maori Gallipoli veterans against the background of a Maori renaissance of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Arguably one of the strengths of oral history lies in this ability to locate narratives within a specific context, to identify "the significance of different events in the process of resistance and change" (Baskerville).

Jeff Downs' postgraduate research on the management and use of oral history highlights the importance of maintaining ethical and technical standards, and the key role libraries play in collecting, often creating, and disseminating oral history. This thorough piece of research is requisite reading for anyone interested in maintaining and improving the quality of oral history collections in this country.

JUDITH BYRNE

Women and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement in New Zealand

ROBERTO RABEL AND
MEGAN COOK

A major development in historical writing since the 1970s has been the belated 'discovery' that many aspects of human experience have been gendered. This interest in gender as a category of historical analysis has led New Zealand scholars, amongst others, to think more carefully about differences in how men and women have operated as historical actors. Although some of this work has examined the historical construction of redressing the past absence of women's experiences from much of New Zealand historiography.

This burgeoning of women's history has inspired New Zealand historians to investigate the activities of a wide range of distinctively female groups. It has also led to new perspectives on the gendered dimensions of spheres of historical activity where women have either been excluded or have not featured prominently — spheres such as politics, diplomacy and war.

The oral history project which the authors of this article began in 1996 sought to draw on such perspectives to explore the relationship between protest against the Vietnam War and the development of second-wave feminism in New Zealand in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The latter was, of course, very much a women's movement

with a consciousness of gender issues as its *raison-d'être*, while the former was a movement of opposition to a specific war in which considerations of gender were not overtly prominent. On the other hand, the two movements overlapped in timing and drew — in part — on similar constituencies. Moreover, American and Australian studies suggest that in those countries there was most definitely an interactive relationship between the anti-war and women's movements in the Vietnam period.

Interestingly, that Australian and American work has challenged preconceptions that women's participation in the anti-war movement was unrelated to their consciousness of themselves as women. It has highlighted instead a complex pattern of tangled synergies and tensions linking the nascent women's movement and protest against the Vietnam War. Amy Swerdlow, for example, has analysed how in the United States a group of middle-class, middle-aged mothers worked through Women Strike for Peace to contribute a distinctively female form of protest which, though emanating from a 'traditional' group of women, served to raise a distinctively gendered consciousness.¹ Other American scholars, such as Alice Echols and Nina Adams, have focussed more on the friction between the emerging

women's liberation movement and a male-dominated anti-war movement, which prompted numerous women to leave the latter to pursue their own goals through different means.² Several scholars have explored similar issues in the Australian context, with Ann Curthoys drawing on oral history to explore the relationship between class, generation, political background and gender among women participants in anti-Vietnam War protest. In her study of a diverse range of Australian women's experiences of the Vietnam War, Siobhan McHugh has also used oral history to examine the relationship between anti-war protest and the emergence of the women's liberation movement in Australia.³ In effect, all these works explore how gender issues became a source of consciousness and contestation amongst different groups of activists during the Vietnam War period.

In light of this scholarship concerning the only two Western nations other than New Zealand to send combat forces to Vietnam, it

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seemed worth investigating if comparable processes were at work here during those years. In order to do so, an oral history approach was indispensable. Its appropriateness for investigating the relationship, if any, between the two movements in the New Zealand setting was not simply as a means of uncovering empirical evidence not readily available from written sources.⁴ It also offered an opportunity to reconstruct historical events within a discursive context in which the 'personal' and the 'political' can be intimately related in ways seldom evident in written primary sources. Moreover, the inherent nature of oral history as a 'theatre of memory',⁵ in which the past is actively conjured up in full consciousness of the present, had special advantages for this project. By being asked to address issues which are more prominent in popular consciousness now than during the Vietnam era, interviewees had to confront a key question underpinning the project in formulating their recollections: were issues of gender fundamentally irrelevant in the anti-war movement or were they significant but 'concealed' at the time, only becoming evident later as a result of the changes wrought in our collective social consciousness by second-wave feminism? Perhaps not surprisingly, the individual 'dramas' played out in the interviewees' responses to this question varied considerably.

It is important to emphasise that this project is still in progress and that the information which it has generated has not yet been systematically analysed. This brief article, therefore, can offer only a preliminary overview of the project. It includes some explanatory comments about the sample of women interviewed, the sorts of questions which they were asked to

consider and a few examples of their contrasting perceptions concerning the salience of gender as an issue during the Vietnam protest era. The article concludes with a few broader observations about the significance of oral history for this project.

Twenty women currently resident in the four main centres agreed to be interviewed by the project researcher, Megan Cook. They had all engaged in protest against the Vietnam War, though the degree of their activism varied considerably. Some were involved for only a limited time and considered themselves 'foot soldiers'.⁶ Indeed, one of our interviewees, who described herself as such, went so far as to argue that there was not 'much room for women to be anything more than that' in the anti-war movement.⁷ At the other end of the spectrum were those, like Cath Kelly of Wellington, who would reject that view outright and who were deeply involved for longer periods. (Kelly is still working today to assist the building of an egalitarian society in Vietnam.) Although not comprising a statistically random sample of female anti-war activists, the interviewees were diverse in terms of age, social and political background, and place of residence during the Vietnam War years. For example, some were young and unpoliticised before they came to the Vietnam issue, while others were mature women with clear political world-views, often of the left or associated with peace movements.

The differences in experience within the anti-war movement meant that the questions discussed in individual interviews varied somewhat. In general, though, the questions focussed on certain central themes. In a movement which challenged the dominant Cold

War orthodoxies of New Zealand foreign policy, were the equally dominant orthodoxies of contemporary gender relations maintained? For example, were women expected to fulfil certain roles within the movement and did these change over time? Was there a distinctively female style of protest against the Vietnam War, and were there specific women's groups which supported the anti-war movement? What impact did the Vietnam protest movement have on the emergence of second wave feminism in New Zealand? Was the anti-war movement either a source of empowerment or disillusionment for the women interviewed?

As it happened, the very act of posing such questions was controversial. Many interviewees saw no connection whatsoever between gender issues and the anti-war movement. Cath Kelly and Shirley Smith of Wellington were typical of these women. Their viewpoint was summarised in Smith's comment that 'the last thing I'd have ever thought of would have been of asking questions about whether feminism and the Vietnam War movement were intertwined in any way'.⁸ She recalls men and women 'all in it together', motivated by the same reaction against oppression and an ideal of justice. Feminism, which Smith saw as extremist in its early phase, was not widely discussed by the women she knew in the anti-war movement. Similarly, Margot Roth of Auckland suggested to us that 'approaching the war through gender differences' was 'not a terribly fruitful way' of proceeding. Although she considered that American feminists had shown that the war 'was an icon of gender differences' in the United States, she did not consider it 'so much so here'.⁹ Interestingly, these women were all long-time activists of the

left who were committed to the promotion of women's rights well before the term 'feminism' entered public consciousness in the late 1960s.

Moreover, their viewpoint was supported by some younger women, such as Christine Dann. Although feminism was already her major political focus as a young woman in the late 1960s and early 1970s, she had some involvement in the Vietnam anti-war movement and did recall some gendered dimensions of that movement. Even so, Dann too did not consider them of major significance or a source of tension for her as a feminist. For her, the relationship between various 'new social movements so-called' of the time was more vaguely synergistic. As she saw it, 'probably the anti-Vietnam thing was the one thing that connects everybody who has subsequently become politically active because the rest of the time they were mainly focused on feminism, like me, or environmentalism, like somebody else'.¹⁰ It is striking that Dann, who was a self-consciously feminist activist of the time and subsequent historian of the women's movement, would highlight these mutually supportive linkages in a general sense, yet does not discern the particular salience attributed to gender issues in Australian and American studies.¹¹

In contrast, Christine Bird, another younger interviewee, had a sharp recollection of distinctly gendered patterns of behaviour and expectations within the anti-war movement. Even in a group like the Progressive Youth Movement in Christchurch, within whose ranks there was an explicit commitment to women's emancipation, 'the women made the tea, of course'. According to Bird, women were accorded respect for being 'repressed' by larger social forces but 'the men always had

charisma, the women never had charisma'. It was the men within the group who were the 'stars' and 'there were no female stars, never'. It seemed to Bird that the women involved were less confident than their male counterparts and found it more difficult to speak before large groups. There was also a perceived difference in male and female involvement in protests involving confrontation with the police. Whenever women were arrested, 'the glamour wasn't there' and 'people weren't there the next day in court', but when men were arrested, 'it was seen as a manly thing to do, almost like a warrior sort of role and quite natural'.¹² Thus for Bird, some of the gendered roles which characterised the larger society were maintained in practice within the dissenting subculture in which she was active during the Vietnam years.

Therese O'Connell, however, drew a distinction between the Progressive Youth Movement in Wellington and the wider anti-war movement. She recalled feeling a sense of gender equality within the Progressive Youth Movement, with its more 'anarchic' operating methods.¹³ As someone also involved in the formative stages of the Women's Liberation Front, however, O'Connell suggested that she did not view 'the anti-war movement as very encouraging of women' and that she 'felt that as a young woman there was no real place for me'. In her recollection, 'it was seen that the men took the speaking roles and were in charge of things and it was seen that the women didn't'. For O'Connell, at least, this perception of the very formal way in which the Committee on Vietnam operated had an intimidating effect and she contrasted it with the nascent women's movement, where women assumed

leadership roles and 'everyone had a say'.¹⁴ Like Bird, O'Connell's understanding of how gender shaped anti-war activism differed markedly from Smith's or Roth's.

One older interviewee partly confirmed Bird's and O'Connell's impressions, but from a rather different perspective. Barbara Mountier, who was active in the Joint Council on Vietnam in Christchurch, agreed that there was a tendency for women to do the typing and make tea, while the more numerous male members of the Council tended to dominate the speaking roles. For her, 'it was more or less how the world worked in those days'. She specifically referred, nevertheless, to a sense of changing generational awareness. Many of the 'Old Left', such as traditional trade unionists were 'quite sexist', while younger protesters against the Vietnam War 'were a different kind of people', who 'were much more aware of other things too'. Mountier explained, however, that she would not have thought of the gender issue in such terms then: 'It's only as time went on, you know, that I became aware. Now it just hits me, anything at all like that. But it was a long process of raising consciousness'. Interestingly, she added that she paid little heed to the rising women's movement at the time, because she thought of herself as 'liberated', but 'didn't realise until decades later just how unliberated I was'. In her case, gender issues were not prominent in her contemporary consciousness of the anti-war movement and her own retrospective sense of being 'unliberated' did not arise directly from her experiences in that movement. But she did have a sense that the anti-war movement contributed indirectly to a broader 'climate' of change in which women were better able to chal-

challenge accepted orthodoxies.¹⁵

On the face of it, one gendered aspect of protest in the Vietnam era may be found in women-only groups opposed to the war, whose membership contrasted with the gender-mixed mainstream of the anti-war movement. Unlike Australia and the United States, the Vietnam War did not spawn in New Zealand a specifically female organisation comparable to Australia's Save Our Sons or the American Women Strike For Peace. There was, however, the already existing Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which was actively involved in the campaign against the war, as was the similar Dunedin group Voice of Women.¹⁶ As Pauline Mahalski, a member of Voice of Women, recalled, the methods of protest employed by this predominantly middle-class group were 'highly respectable ones', such as letter writing to Government, circulating petitions and collecting money for humanitarian aid to Vietnam. In Mahalski's experience, gender was not an issue in the running of anti-war groups. Although Voice of Women had been explicitly formed to pursue peace activism from 'a woman's point of view', she noted that it was not a feminist group, but one based on women as mothers, 'responsible for the next generation'. This role was seen as a particularly strong position from which to oppose war, but not one that entailed feminism, a strong consciousness of engaging in a gendered way of protest, or a greater concern for women. 'We were for people ... in terms of our outrage at what went on I think we were equally outraged whether it was men or women or children.'¹⁷

The diverse responses of these and our other interviewees would appear to raise more questions than answers about the relationship

which we set out to examine. We have not yet analysed the interviews and relevant written primary sources in sufficient depth to offer any definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, with respect to the relationship between gender and anti-war protest, the interviews powerfully underscore the heterogeneity of individual and collective experiences amongst the thousands of individuals who protested in some way against the Vietnam War. We have no doubt that the use of oral history allowed us to engage in a more nuanced exploration of the relationship between the personal and the political in ways which are not readily conveyed through studying Committee on Vietnam minutes or newspaper accounts of demonstrations. As a methodology, moreover, it served admirably to draw our attention to the need to examine more closely in our ongoing research how the different personal backgrounds and entry points of individuals into the women's and the anti-war movements did much to fashion the meaning of both movements for them.

In choosing to use oral history, therefore, it is vital to remember that as historians we are re-entering past debates in the context of living memories, which are not value-free. Like any evidence, that obtained through oral history cannot be taken at face value. However, it does tell us about how those involved in making history choose to endow their roles with particular meanings, which may change over time. Perhaps, in the case of our project, we may not identify a clear linkage between the Vietnam anti-war and women's movements in New Zealand.

If the interviews conducted for this project provide few definitive answers, they do serve to remind us that the legacies of New Zealand's

participation in the Vietnam War remain contested. Given that so much about the Vietnam War was controversial, it is perhaps fitting that the relationship between gender issues and anti-war protest should also prove so. In that sense, the discordant memories which we have encountered reflect in part the diffuse, evanescent and creative character of the anti-war movement—a multifaceted movement which, like the women's movement, was never a monolithic institutional entity and evolved through successive incarnations.

Endnotes

- 1 Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional motherhood and radical politics in the 1960s*. Chicago, 1993.
- 2 See Alice Echols, "'Women Power" and Women's Liberation: Exploring the relationship between the antiwar movement and the Women's Liberation Movement', in Melvin Small and William D. Hoover, eds, *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam antiwar movement*. Syracuse, New York, 1992, pp. 171-81; Nina S. Adams, 'The Women Who Left Them Behind', *ibid*, pp. 182-95.
- 3 Ann Curthoys, "'Shut up, you bourgeois bitch": Sexual identity and political action in the anti-Vietnam War movement', in Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake, eds., *Gender and War: Australians at war in the twentieth century*. Cambridge, 1995, pp. 311-41; Siobhan McHugh, *Minefields and Miniskirts: Australian women and the Vietnam War*. Sydney, 1993.
- 4 For example, in the case of the anti-war movement, written records survive (especially for the Wellington Committee on Vietnam), but the purposes for which they were created mean—understandably—that they are generally silent about issues of gender. The Wellington Committee on Vietnam records do, however, confirm that in the closing years of protest activity, there was a distinctive 'Women Against the War

group' as well as Maori and Polynesian groups opposed to the war, suggesting the intersection of Vietnam protest with wider social changes occurring in New Zealand society at the time.

- ⁵ The phrase is borrowed from Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London, 1994. Samuel has argued, in this context, 'that memory, so far from being merely a passive receptacle or storage system, an image bank of the past, is rather an active shaping force; that it is dynamic—what it contrives symptomatically to forget is as important as what it remembers—and that it is dialectically related to historical thought, rather than being some kind of negative other to it'. He adds, moreover, that 'memory is historically conditioned, changing colour and shape according to the emergencies of the moment; that so far from being handed down in the timeless form of "tradition" it is progressively altered from generation to generation. It bears the impress of experience, in however mediated a way. It is stamped with the ruling passions of its time. Like history, memory is inherently revisionist and never more chameleon than when it appears to stay the same'. p. x.
- ⁶ This is the self-described role, for example, of Helen Clark, the first female leader of the Labour Party and a strong advocate of women's rights, who has stated nonetheless that protesting against the Vietnam War had 'a major influence' on her 'political thinking in the late 1960s and early 1970s'. Letter from Helen Clark to Roberto Rabel, 1 February 1996.
- ⁷ Therese O'Connell, Interview with Megan Cook, March 1996.
- ⁸ Shirley Smith, Interview with Megan Cook, March 1996; Cath Kelly, Interview with Megan Cook, March 1996.
- ⁹ Margot Roth, Interview with Megan Cook, March 1996.
- ¹⁰ Christine Dann, Interview with Megan Cook, March 1996.
- ¹¹ For her history of second-wave feminism in New Zealand, see Christine Dann, *Up from Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand, 1970-1985*. Wellington, 1985.
- ¹² Christine Bird, Interview with Megan Cook, February 1996.
- ¹³ O'Connell did note, however, that she was shocked to see the women knitting when she visited the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement. There, 'the men seemed to be in charge and the women came to support the men'. O'Connell, Interview.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Barbara Mountier, Interview with Megan Cook, February 1997.

¹⁶ Voice of Women was analogous to WILPF, which did not have an active branch in Dunedin. The two organisations were in contact with one another during the period. Pauline Mahalski, Interview with Megan Cook, January 1996.

¹⁷ Ibid.

All the interviews conducted for this project will shortly be available to the public in the Oral History Archive of the Alexander Turnbull Library, subject to restrictions placed on their use by individual interviewees.

'But I must tell you...'

The importance of story-telling in life narrative

JANE MOODIE

Every oral history interviewer will have come across the interviewee who revels in telling stories or anecdotes, or whose entire oral testimony may seem to consist of a series of such stories. While enjoying the skill of the narrator the interviewer may also have been challenged by the question of how to interpret these stories, for often their apparent importance to the narrator seems out of proportion to the significance of their content.

In an article in 1991, Simon Featherstone discussed anecdote in oral testimony, using the example of a man well-known in his locality as a teller of stories in the pub.¹ Featherstone defined anecdote as a carefully-structured, free-standing story 'whose structure and effect are seemingly in place before the interview, and so are not open to anything other than minor alteration'. He contrasted this with the plain account which does not try to 'dramatise or structure events beyond the simple chronology', can be 'developed in negotiation with the interviewer' interactively, and is therefore open to revision.² Anecdote is typically comic, leads to a punch-line, uses dialogue extensively for dramatic purposes, is often marked off from previous conversation by a rhetorical question or formulaic phrase, and shows

careful attention to structure, wording and performance.³

Featherstone discussed the significance of anecdote to the historian. He concluded that anecdotes can be seen as 'already-negotiated expressions of common history' and that their value to the historian is that they are 'public narratives' and 'therefore as much social as personal constructions'.⁴ Anecdotes offer the historian 'not just information for the construction of history' but more importantly shows 'the ways in which history is being made in the narrative themselves It offers us the opportunity to trace the way in which historical value is being defined within the culture of the teller, rather than the culture of the interview'.⁵ In this article I want to point to a similar kind of significance for certain stories which occur in life narrative, stories which display at least some of the characteristics of the 'pub anecdote' analysed by Featherstone. These stories too, are used to compose memory in such a way as to define the identity and/or values of the narrator, and provide the myth or 'pre-established framework within which individuals explain their personal history'.⁶

During the preparation of my MA thesis in 1997, I encountered this phenomenon of story-telling in the testimonies of a number of the people I interviewed. Using an

interactive interviewing technique I recorded the life stories of men and women who had settled farms in the Waikite Valley south of Rotorua in the early 1950s as part of the government rehabilitation scheme after World War II.⁷ Interviewees were encouraged to tell their life stories with as little direction or intervention from the interviewer as possible in the initial stage of the interview, while subsequent questions and the dialogue which developed from these focused on gaps and internal contradictions in the narrative, and on the interviewee's self-reflective statements.⁸

I recognised that several of the interviewees began their narratives with a few introductory comments, and then embarked upon stories which they seemed to have told many times before, stories which were resistant to interactive involvement and questioning. Coming as they did near the beginning of the life narrative, they served to establish the narrator's identity and values from the outset, and these were reinforced and

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reiterated by subsequent stories or anecdotes. In this paper two examples will be given from my research.

Most of the men whom I interviewed composed their life narratives around the myth of pioneering. However, one of them did not conform to this pattern. Although Dick Urwin described the settlers as pioneers, the myth around which he constructed his own story was that of a journey towards respectability rather than one of pioneering.⁹ His was an extraordinarily powerful story which hinged on three features of his childhood - the Depression, his dysfunctional family and his discovery of his illegitimate birth. For the purpose of this analysis we will look mainly at the effects of the Depression in his story. He began the interview with a vivid picture of the poverty and the physical and moral squalor he experienced as a boy in Auckland and Northland. When his mother began an affair with a man from the nearby relief camp his father left, and the family, living in tents on their 100 acres, had to manage alone. Dick then proceeded to tell the following tale.

I asked my mother, could I go and look for a job - but she said, "You're too young," and I said, "Well I can try." I said, "We're not getting enough money to live on." And she said, "Oh, well have a go - see what you can do". So I caught the horse that was on the place and away I went, and I travelled all day round that area - Te Kowhai, Kaukau, Maungamohe - all over there - trying to find a someone who might give me a job. Never saw a joker - a man or a woman on any of the farms I went to - there was just nobody there - I don't know where they were. So I came back and on the way to the track which lead to get on the main road across to the valley - you know I had to go on to Maori country, and there was a big

marae there - but right opposite this place was a farm, and I saw the old boy just picking up a six foot bush saw to start cutting this log up. So I stopped and I said, "You want a hand?" And of course he didn't believe I could handle it, but my father being a bushman had taught us boys - even from a young age - "Don't ride on the saw - you just pull it", you know - and all this sort of stuff - so we were well versed - knowledgeable in handling a six foot crosscut saw at that age even. And we had to work in those days - not like kids today. Then he said, "Can you cross cut?" and I said, "Yes". "All right, let me see you do it." So I climbed through the gate and got hold of my end, and we never stopped until we cut it up. It was about six or eight feet long roughly you know and about a foot or two - rata - so we cut it all up. So he looked at me and he said, "Well, you can cross cut." He said, "Who taught you?" And I told our history - about my father and - "Oh, yeah - and did you want to see me for anything?" he says and I said, "Yep." "What about?" I said, "I'm looking for a job." And I told him the circumstances and he said, "Oh, yes. Well come on up to the house - afternoon tea time." It was about half past three if my memory serves me right - late you know - so up I go and I made a hog of meself on fresh scones and wild peach jam - honestly I look back now and I think, "What the devil have I come up here for?" - you know. So anyway he gave me a job. He said, "But how much a week do you want?" And I said I didn't know, and I thought of these men making the road. I said, "How about 10 bob a week and me keep?" He said, "Oh, can't afford that. We're only getting 6d a pound for our butterfat." And he says, "Hang on", so he comes out a few minutes later - after talking to his wife, he says, "I'll tell you what, I'll take you on at 7/6 a week and your keep." "That'll do me." He said, "Righto." He was only milking 30 odd

cows - by machine - and - so he said, "When can you start? This is Saturday." I said, "Monday".¹⁰

This tale was a remarkable demonstration of narrative skill. It was carefully structured as to detail, purposefully organised, and its dramatic effect was emphasised by voice modulation, cadence and rhythm. It seemed to serve a moral purpose within the context of this total life story, expressing the core belief that the trials which life presents must be overcome by seizing every opportunity. As he said later in the interview 'the slump years can make you feel bitter - very bitter - or give you more energy to go and do things'.¹¹ There was no doubting the effect he believed it had had on him, and this story was used to encapsulate the central values in Dick's life - the importance of giving things a go, persevering in the face of setbacks, paying your way, willingness to work hard, the importance of old-fashioned skills and of fairness. It also shows his respect for women and his firm belief in the breadwinning role of men. These themes recurred repeatedly throughout Dick's life story. He related story after story in which these core values were reemphasised, though never again were they covered so comprehensively in one episode. The following story, for instance, points mainly to the importance of independence and paying your own way, but also contains elements of respect for women, and the value of reliability.

When I was working for that cabinet maker, I wanted a new shirt, but I knew things were hard. I knew times were tough. And I wasn't - I was getting 7/6 and my grandmother was giving me 2/6 and keeping 5/- for my rent - board. At that young age it was virtually accepted, it's the thing you do, and I did it. But walking along Karangahape Rd with my 2/6d in my

pocket, I came to a men's outfitting - a men's and boy's outfitting place, and there was an advert there - "Shirts - 3/6d - layby obtainable".

"3/6d" I thought, "Well that's not much". So I went in there and I said, "Could I buy a shirt, one of those shirts and pay you off? I'll give you a shilling now". "Yes, that's all right, son." So I got my shirt for 3/6 and I paid a shilling and I went back each payday and paid the other little bit off. I bought me own shirt for 3/6.¹²

Other stories include his failed attempt to get a scrub-cutting job, his Saturday jobs at one of the farms he worked on, his efforts to augment his wife's housekeeping allowance by growing vegetables for the market in the early years on his Waikite Valley farm, and the generosity of a previous employee in helping him finance additional stock for his farm. All point to the values outlined above.

Today Dick has left behind his life of poverty. Overcoming the disadvantages of his early life and problems in Waikite Valley with bloat, illness and debt, he has put to good use the lessons learned about hard work and dealing with setbacks, and now believes he has attained a highly satisfactory degree of material prosperity and respectability.¹³ I concluded that in the construction of Dick's narrative the first story served to define the identity of the story teller and the values that have got him where he is today, while subsequent stories served to reiterate and reinforce this identity, though not to develop it.

Although this anecdotal type of story-telling seemed to be more common among men than women in this cohort, it was not completely restricted as to gender, and the second example is that of the life story of Suzanne Christiansen in which there were two interrelated but conflicting themes. Within a

more or less chronological framework she depicted herself both as a mother and helpmate, and as a rebel. Suzanne established her identity as a tomboy or rebel within the first minute with a brief description of herself as a small child when she used to ride a bike down a steep concrete path and 'over the gate'.¹⁴ Her narrative then moved on quickly to her late teen years and engagement, before backtracking to tell two consecutive stories of herself as a rebel teenager. She introduced this part of her narrative very deliberately with the formulaic phrase, 'But I must tell you ...'. The reversal of linearity in Suzanne's narrative suggests she was more interested in projecting an image by 'pursuing and getting together bundles of meaning, relationships and themes' than in preserving chronological sequence.¹⁵ In the first story she disobeyed her parents' injunction, sneaked out the window and biked into town to the movies:

But I must tell you going back a few years I can remember - Mum milked and she always said she was always so tired, and there was a picture theatre at Edgecumbe and the picture was called Waterloo Bridge and I dearly wanted to see it - and she said "No, you can't go, I'm too tired, I'm not going". I begged and begged but she wouldn't go. So anyway tonight I was determined I was going to see Waterloo Bridge, so - I don't know why Mum and Dad were out - but any way I hopped out the window and got on my bike and biked down to Edgecumbe to Waterloo Bridge - and I went out of the pictures about five minutes before it finished, but I might as well have stayed anyway because I got caught out - and I thought "Oh no, I'll be home, they won't know" - and I got just about - we were not terribly far from the Western Drain road at Awakeri - and I got there and I could

hear Dad on the front porch yelling, so I had to go in and say, you know, where I'd been.¹⁶

In the second story, she and two friends went out one night to raid a vineyard, but one of them left a purse behind, so Suzanne returned the next night to retrieve it, only to find the vineyard owner standing on his porch waiting for her.¹⁷ In both these anecdotes she described an adventure in which she defied the conventional image of the submissive woman and ended up confronting masculine authority - her father in the first story, and the vineyard owner in the second.

Her subsequent stories of rebellion form a vital part of her narrative identity. These stories include demonstrations of her independence in driving alone to Waikite Valley, of derision for her mother's anxiety at her isolated situation, and the *pièce de résistance* of her narrative, the story of driving the school bus.¹⁸ Her narrative returned several times to the bus-driving story and most importantly to two episodes of brake failure which occurred after her repeated warnings to the bus owner about the inadequacy of the brakes. The purpose of these stories was partly to demonstrate her knowledge and skill as a driver, but more significantly to present herself in confrontation with the bus owner. On the first occasion she told him she would drive no further - 'and I said "I'm not going on", and he ranted and raved and carried on over the phone. So I said, "Well, please yourself what you do but," I said, "I'm not driving". And finally he came out and fixed the brakes and away we went'.¹⁹ On the second occasion, after a terrifying drive with no brakes down a long, steep hill with 20 children on board, she confronted him angrily and told him, "That bus should never have been

on the road if you go for a skate for this it isn't my fault".²⁰ The significance of these stories lies in the symbolism with which they are invested, the confrontation with masculine authority and the assertion of independence as a basis for self-esteem. In all of these tales Suzanne framed her narrative to conform to the myth of the rebel woman, delighting in relating how she defied conventions related to gender roles. The more conflict arising from the episode, the stronger her narrative identity.

Thus, like anecdote in oral testimony, this type of story-telling is far from being an amusing triviality, or even simply a source of factual information. When used thematically in a life narrative in the way outlined above, such stories serve to define individual identity and/or values. For the oral historian the recognition of these clusters of stories within a life narrative provides an important and primary clue to values, narrative identity, and the mental constructs around which memory is composed. Despite, or perhaps because of their resistance to discussion and negotiation within the interactive interview situation, they are vital indicators of cultural meaning.

Endnotes

- ¹ Simon Featherstone, 'Jack Hill's horse: Narrative form and oral history' in *Oral History*, Autumn 1991, pp. 59-62
- ² *ibid.*, p. 61
- ³ *ibid.*, p. 59
- ⁴ *ibid.*, one, p. 62
- ⁵ *ibid.*, p. 61
- ⁶ Jean Peneff, 'Myth in Life Stories', in *The Myths We Live By*, Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (eds), London, 1990, p. 36
- ⁷ Jane Moodie, 'Pioneers and Helpmates: Composure and gender identity in the oral narratives of men and women in the Waikite Valley', MA (History) thesis, University of Waikato, 1997
- ⁸ Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, 'Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses', in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (eds), New York, 1991, pp.19-22
- ⁹ Interview with Dick Urwin, 27 May 1997, tape II A 35.2. N.B. Pseudonyms are used for interviewees.
- ¹⁰ Interview with Dick Urwin, 8 July 1997, tape I A 7.2 - 11.5
- ¹¹ Urwin, II B 8.0
- ¹² Urwin, 2 B 6.2
- ¹³ Urwin, I B 41.8, 46.1
- ¹⁴ Suzanne Christiansen, 1A 0.4. Note: This was a story that Suzanne had heard many times from her aunts and uncles, rather than something she actually remembered, and shows how family can influence the formation of self-identity.
- ¹⁵ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and meaning in oral history*, Albany, N.Y., 1991, p. 63.
- ¹⁶ Christiansen, 1 A10.3
- ¹⁷ Christiansen, 1 A10.3 - 13.5.
- ¹⁸ Driving the school bus was not important because it could provide the material means for independence, nor necessarily because her skills won her recognition in a man's world. This is reminiscent of the findings of Luisa Passerini in her study of the life stories of the working-class women of Turin. Work is mentioned in the women's stories as a means of representing oneself as rebel, as a means of independence and emancipation, and sometimes "with a sense of transgression" - see Luisa Passerini, 'Women's Personal Narratives: Myths, experiences, and emotions', in *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist theory and*

Personal Narratives, Personal Narratives Group (eds), Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989, pp.194-96

¹⁹ Christiansen, 1 B 41.0.

²⁰ Christiansen, 1 B 44.0.

Interviews

Tapes and accompanying materials are lodged in the Teaching Technology Audio-Visual Library at the University of Waikato, Hamilton. Names of interviewees are pseudonyms.

Suzanne Christiansen, 24 June 1997. Dick Urwin, 27 May 1997; 8 June 1997

Constructing Oral Histories of New Zealand Women Film Makers: a complex collaboration between interviewer and narrator

DEBORAH SHEPARD

*'When we analyse a life history, we are analysing a text, not social reality and this text is itself the product of a complex collaboration.'*¹

This quote from Vincent Crapanzo's 'Life Histories' highlights the complexity of the oral history project. I want to suggest that the oral histories of women film makers I am presently recording for a book, *The History of Women and Film in Aotearoa*, represent reworking of the past that can be read as products of a complex collaboration between interviewer and narrator.

To illustrate my contention, I want to bring into focus the interactional dynamics of the interview situation and show how my politics and subjectivity frame the interview. I also want to explore the notion that memory, or recalling and redefining the past, is an active process, and how a feminist participatory approach which attempts to empower the narrators might alter the narrative.

Taking up the first point about the subjectivity and politics of the interviewer, Sandra Harding in *Feminism and Methodology* argues that -

'The best feminist analysis insists that the inquirer her/himself be placed in

the same critical plane as the over/subject matter thereby recovering the entire research process for scrutiny... that is the class, race, culture and gender assumptions, beliefs and behaviours of the researcher herself must be placed within the frame of the picture she/he attempts to paint'.²

So who am I and where am I coming from?

I am a middle class, Pakeha film historian working at the Centre for Film, Television and Media Studies at Auckland University. I am also married and the mother of a ten-year-old and a three-year-old. Currently, I am juggling two projects, a book about the history of women and film in Aotearoa New Zealand and a PhD. My thesis contains a self-reflexive study of the theories and methodologies employed in the writing of that history.

To further account for my subjectivity I need to go back to 1990 when I conducted interviews with film maker Ramai Hayward for a series of essays towards an MA in Art History. In preparing for my interviews with Ramai, I studied the texts on New Zealand film history. While I found an abundance of material on Rudall Hayward, there was a virtual silence surrounding the work of Ramai Hayward. When she was mentioned it was on these terms (and I quote from a major

feature in the *Auckland Star*),

*'I was met at the door by Ramai Hayward; an attractive, slim, middle-aged woman she is her husband's indispensable assistant.'*³

This statement denied all the information I had gathered from film credits, from interviews with Ramai and her peers and from a statement by Rudall Hayward himself about how the partnership worked. It denied her validity as a professional photographer with a striving studio in Devonport when she met Rudall and played the female lead in *Rewi's Last Stand*. It ignored the fact that by 1970 she had built up a considerable body of educational documentaries, thirteen to be exact and had initiated, acted in and collaborated on *To Love a Maori*.

This is just one example of the marginalising of women's film activity that I have encountered over the years as I have been digging and delving, uncovering forgotten film makers and their films. As I pointed out last year, in a paper delivered at

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a conference celebrating in a centenary of film in New Zealand:

*'Here in New Zealand the ordering and classifying of our film history has, in the main, been constructed from a white male perspective. For example, Rudall Hayward has been selected as our film pioneer, John O'Shea as our father of film, 1977 as the pivotal year and Sleeping Dogs the pivotal film that brought us out of a period of 'non-productivity' and launched our feature film industry. The male features produced after 1977 identified variously as 'cowboy', 'man alone' or 'boy's own' films, have entered into the public imagination, with the help of theses like Cinema of Unease, as representative examples of New Zealand film making. In the meantime the feminist documentaries, gay documentaries, the About Face dramas, the shorts and experimental films produced at the same time don't receive the same prominence. While I don't dispute the significance of these selected moments, I do have a problem with the way they have become privileged points of reference that are recycled *ad infinitum* to the exclusion of other voices and genres. My work then is about challenging the established film canons and showing that there is in fact a rich tradition of women making films in New Zealand which dates back to 1923 when Hilda Hayward, the first wife of Rudall Hayward, began work on his films.'*

My analysis of New Zealand film history which motivated me to make visible the story of women's involvement in film making is oppositional in nature and frames the direction of the oral history interview. When a film maker agrees to be interviewed, she enters a project that has a particular political theoretical perspective, and this will influence the way she constructs her story.

Responding further to Sandra Harding's insistence on opening the

entire research process up for scrutiny, I want to introduce the research methodology attached to my interviewing programme. In devising my interviewing programme I have drawn on a feminist participatory model which attempts to reduce the power imbalance inherent in the interview process and responds to criticism by feminist scholar Shulamit Reinharz that traditional methodologies are based on a

'...rape model where the researchers 'hit and run'. They intrude into their subject's privacy, disrupt their perceptions, utilise false pretences, manipulate the relationships and give little or nothing in return. When the needs of the researchers are satisfied they break off contact with the subjects'.⁵

In my project I have attempted to negotiate a more equal relationship between researcher and researched. One way of achieving this is to provide as much information about the project as possible. From the outset I have attempted to make my subjectivity transparent. The invitation the film maker receives outlines my research background. This is followed by a paragraph which contains my analysis of the androcentric bias in New Zealand film history writing and an explanation of what I call my 'anti-auteurist approach.' For example:

'The approach is anti-auteurist in that I am including the work of women directors, producers, writers, editors, composers, casting agents, camera and lighting professionals, art directors, costume designers and make-up people. I believe that making visible the careers of women who worked 'behind the scenes' as well as the work of more prominent directors will help to expand our understanding of film history in New Zealand'.⁶

The invitation also explains the purpose of the oral history interview

as an information-gathering tool, and that once the book has been completed, the tape and transcript will be deposited, with the film maker's consent, in the Oral History Archive of Women in Film in Aotearoa New Zealand at the New Zealand Film Archive. Before she gives her consent to be involved in the project, the film maker knows that the taped interview will have an audience beyond that of the interviewer. She goes into the interview aware of the public nature of the exercise. Of the forty interviews conducted so far I haven't yet had a refusal, although a film editor informed me that she had carefully considered the value of taking part:

'...I have already made a decision to give you information and that was made right at the beginning and I have already done my consultation about that. I've already checked you out (laughs) and understand what the book is for and where it will be. I have also evaluated what it means for me not to be in it and that is critical. What I feel about it is not so much the power over the material but I feel again quite humble to be working with somebody who has the humility and commitment to the subject that they are working with, to hand over some of their control.'⁷

This statement highlights the level of awareness of the women I am interviewing. They are astute, articulate people. In this respect, if there is a power imbalance in the project it belongs to the interpretive stage where the interviewer has the added role of attributing meaning to the narrative. Further on, I will illustrate how I have attempted to reduce the inequality by providing opportunities for the film maker to contest, or confirm my interpretation.

Before that, I want to explain what the film editor meant by me

handing over some of my control. This entails running through the rest of the research process. Prior to the interview I request a copy of the film maker's CV around which I construct the topic sheet. In this way, the film maker has some input into the content and shape of the interview. She can ensure that the work experiences, films, all those events that she thinks are significant are included in the interview. I also use a topic sheet as opposed to a list of questions because this allows for flexibility in terms of the focus of the interview and gives the film maker some control over the direction of the interview.

While each topic sheet is individually targeted to the film maker concerned, there is a general set of questions on the experience of being a woman film maker and on being interviewed. These questions are essential to my analysis, and by setting them out in this way I am making the feminist nature of my investigation transparent. For example:

On being a woman film maker

Part of the focus of my book is challenging the way New Zealand film history, to date, has been constructed mainly from a male perspective. This book aims to redress the balance. What has been your experience working as a woman in the New Zealand film industry? Issues, inspiration, difficulties? Have you felt part of a tradition of women working in film in New Zealand? Do you know of the pioneers - Hilda Hayward, Margaret Thomson, Bathie Stuart, Kathleen O'Brien, Ramai Hayward... Do you know of any other early women directors, producers...?

On being interviewed

I am writing a PhD thesis which contains a self-reflexive study of writing a history of women and film in

Aotearoa New Zealand. One area of investigation is feminist oral history methodology. It would be helpful if, at the end of the interview, you could talk about what it feels like to be interviewed, the ethical issues, any vulnerability you might feel and whether it is important to have control over your transcript and to edit any quotations for the book.⁸

The next step in the process is the interview itself. This takes place in the film maker's home or work space. My reason for choosing this location is to help the film maker feel comfortable and in control of the situation. She can interact with the interviewer on her own terms, in her own space.

Following the interview the transcript is sent to the film maker for editing. This is an important step in the process because it is here that I encourage her to edit the material with the future public use of the tapes in mind. A release form also accompanies the transcript as a further reminder to the film maker of the future function of the tape and transcript.

Finally, I have promised, when I install the film maker's words in the text, to seek their approval first. While I am aware of the logistic and interpretative problems inherent in such a decision, I am committed to being accountable to the participants. This approach responds to feminist criticisms of traditional interviewing practices whereby once researchers have elicited the information required for their study they break off contact, proceeding to write up their work and publish without presenting the outcome to the interviewees.

Recently, I had my first taste of what being accountable can mean. I had sent a letter to a film maker who now lives in London and in this letter I had responded to some points she made in a taped account

of her film career. In her reply she challenged my assumptions. I quote first from my letter.

'What seems to be coming out of your answers is the fact that there was a drift to the Northern Hemisphere by women who worked at the National Film Unit in the 1940s and 1950s. While one may not be able to claim that they deliberately left the Film Unit to seek work in England, four of you did make the move and carried on your careers there. There were Margaret Thomson, Barbara Parker, Margaret MacGregor and yourself.⁹

The film maker replied:

'There is another point I must raise and I do so with some diffidence. I think there is a tendency among historians and probably social historians more than most, to interpret the facts according to their own particular thesis. I have in mind your identification of 'a drift to the Northern Hemisphere by women who worked in the National Film Unit in the 1940s and 1950s.' That is not really correct. What you have is a drift by young people of both sexes to the Northern Hemisphere as the post-war restrictions eased. This became a flood in the sixties - see Clive James as the official historian. At my time there were more women than me - travel was expensive, there were more young women spending Daddy's wool cheque than men, admittedly and young women could have a more carefree attitude to work and permanent employment than the male equivalents of the time - men had to 'get on with their careers' and 'get a good start' etc. But men did go too and from the Film Unit Brian Brake and Bob Kingsbury, to name two. At the Film Unit there was a persistent feeling that any vacancy would be filled from abroad. This was definitely the feeling with men as well. Brian Brake of course went to test himself in a wider market. Bob Kingsbury, a young production assistant, for exactly the same reasons as Barbara Parker and myself. To see

the world.

And the four you mention, that too needs modifying. Margaret Thomson was going 'home' - she had been trained in England and had lived by then I think the larger part of her life there. Margaret MacGregor, her reason for leaving was a romantic one, I don't think film making came into it except in as much as her man was a film maker.¹⁰

I welcome this film maker's challenge. It's an example of what Ann Oakley termed 'talking back' in her classic 1981 study *'Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms'*. In this project she found that as she got to know the young mothers she was interviewing, they began to ask questions back. Oakley was one of the first feminist scholars to question traditional interviewing technique, perceiving it to be a one-way process in which the interviewer extracted information from a passive 'subject' while the subject gained nothing from the exercise. She argued instead for more reciprocity in the interviewing process.

In my project I view this kind of interaction as positive; and respect the film maker's desire to show me a different perspective. Here is an opportunity for a collaborative reworking of the past. The film maker's letter went on to tackle another of my assumptions - and here I want to introduce an issue raised by Blanche Cook in *Between Women: biographers, novelists, critics, teachers and artists write about their work on women*. She questions the motivation of the biographer:

'Who do we choose to write about? What moves us? What do we care about? For biographers, I think all choices are autobiographical.'¹¹

To re-frame the question slightly, one might ask what do interviewers choose to ask? And add that for

interviewers, all choices are autobiographical. In my project my experience as a working mother inevitably works its way into the discussion. As I grapple with the problem of finding a balance between my work and caring for my children, and cope with the exhaustion that juggling the two brings on, I look to these women for solutions. I listen to their stories seeking answers to my own dilemmas. For instance I questioned the film editor, *'I sense you resisting my analysis of your career as 'unconventional' but still I would like to put the following question to you. You mention your third child arriving in 1962 and by 1963 you were working as a free lance editor. Wouldn't this have been considered unconventional in 1963 - a woman who is a wife and mother of three working as a film editor? Were many of your friends working mothers? What where the logistics of your situation in 1963? What hours did you work and did you have help with childcare?'¹²*

The film editor explained that she had an au pair - *'...because she slid into our scene so easily, when I was offered a little job I felt able to do it. It would only be for a week or two at a time and that really is how the whole working mother thing came about, rather than making a dauntless stand in a hostile world. Things just went on from there. Looking back, my career, such as it is, has not been a case of forward planning and principles upheld, but of chance opportunities and a lot of luck. You are right though, it was regarded slightly as unconventional, though not for very long as it didn't take long for the climate to change, to swing round to 'every woman should work' - which is an equally tyrannical attitude. I didn't have doubts myself and that is the factor that makes the difference, isn't it? I knew my kids were fine and not deprived in any way and perfectly happy when I was working. ...there*

was also the consideration that I had met my husband through working with him and I used to say, not entirely in jest, that he only liked me when I was working. If he had been opposed to the idea it might have been more difficult.' She ends the letter -

'This is a long and contentious ramble and you don't have to believe any of it.'¹³

I see this kind of interaction as fruitful because it challenges assumptions that to be a working mother and a film editor in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s was a lonely and difficult plight or, as she put it, 'making a dauntless stand in a hostile world.' This film editor doesn't want to be pigeon holed. By encouraging film makers to 'talk back', the scholar's assumptions can be challenged and the writing of history transformed. This letter highlights a crucial issue: that the film maker may or may not agree with my readings.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, one of the main areas of contention in this project is around interpretations and understanding of feminism. For instance, one film maker resisted my analysis of the New Zealand film industry as male-dominated and at times obstructive to women. She stated that the notion of there being 'a boys' club' in the New Zealand film industry wasn't valid. In fact, she thought it a 'pathetic excuse' because she knows that '...if I've really wanted to do something I can do it'. In my reply, I countered with my perception of the bias in the historical records and how that might have undermined women film makers' belief in their abilities.

DEBORAH: But despite that, the histories that have been written and that are lodging in the minds of the public with films like *Cinema of Unease*, and before that Geoff Stephens *Cowboys of Culture*, have tended to focus on what the men

have done and we've already got some privileged points of reference now. ...through all the years women have been making films but it's not in the history books as yet. And I think the problem with that, too, is that when people are not aware of those people who went behind them it's like every time they're re-inventing the wheel. I look at someone like Di Oliver who has had the incredible advantage of doing her training with Gaylene Preston and Robin Laing, and now she's working with Pamela Meeking-Stewart, and the energy that's given her, the confidence that's given her. She's risen very quickly in a short space of time, she's very active. And I contrast that with others who didn't have the influence and the support.

FILM MAKER: But you're talking as though you're seeing it from a male or female perspective and I simply don't see it that way. ...I don't see it as being so much a process of exclusion by the males from within the industry, as maybe a subconscious extension of the relationship they had with women anyway, and of what was happening socially at the time. And I think if you can bring the work that these documentary makers did forward ... But I can't really get on any bandwagon for you about feeling that women's work has not been acknowledged. I don't think it's any different in this area than any other. I honestly don't.

DEBORAH: But I still want to push this a bit further because this whole notion of feminism and your definition of it and my definition of it which probably vary quite a lot, and the impact that the Women's Movement of the seventies has had on the films that you have made. I'm thinking of your documentary on mothers and daughters, and your drama which traces a woman's emotional journey. I still think that there's a kind of a feminism coming

through in your work. You may not want to call it that, but I see what those women in the seventies were campaigning for ... well one of the big things they wanted to do was validate domestic work. You've talked a lot about your family on this tape and the importance of it and I wonder if we hadn't had the feminist movement in the seventies validating that, whether you would have felt so confident to talk about them on the tape.

FILM MAKER: I don't know ... but my mother was the one who was aware of all these things that you were talking about, so because she was, it just, it kind of never impinged on my reality. So there weren't the men around as the role models, there weren't the men around to get annoyed about, so if you wanted to paint the house, you painted the house. If you had to get the coal, you went and got the coal. So, all the roles that were traditionally performed by men I only ever saw being performed by women.¹⁴

This conversation is definitely not an interview between an 'impartial observer' and her subject. It's more like an argument between two strong-minded women around their understanding of feminism. With hindsight, I can see how I was forcing the film maker to restructure her remembering. Thankfully this film maker couldn't 'get on any bandwagon' and held onto her own perspective.

Kay Edwards, writing about the dynamics of the interview situation and how it influences the narrative in *Questions and Answers: dilemmas of a feminist oral history methodology*, states that

'Human memory has been shown to be a selective, active decision-making process rather than simply one of data retrieval, and the situation in which people are called on to remember something has a marked effect on

*what they recall and how they recall it.'*¹⁵

The same film maker, who is herself an experienced interviewer, has this to say on the selectiveness of remembering. She believes that the interview is

*'...only as good as the questions you ask and if you can get a vested interest in the questioner as you have - you've got a past history of being interested in film. You've talked to a lot of other women. You've put your time and your energy into this area so you, I know, are interested in what I'm talking about. If you weren't, instinctively I wouldn't respond in the way I do because I think I'd be doing a whole lot of selective - 'This is boring. She's not going to be interested in this. She won't understand what I'm saying.' So I try to be aware of the story of the person who's asking the questions...'*¹⁶

Another film maker highlighted a different point about the selectiveness of remembering:

'I often ... do interviews and I'm used to making things very positive and I'm also very aware that being interviewed by you I'm certainly looking at that and at the hard times, the times when I couldn't find any creativity or nobody would say 'yes' to me, of the number of times where people told me that I couldn't do that. 'You're not allowed to do that. You can't do that. You're no good at that.' And taking that on board or simply being utterly despairing, that I've ignored those because they are not part of the kind of positive outlook that ...'

DEBORAH: That's a very good point actually.

FILM MAKER: 'You know, people look at my CV and they go, 'Oh fascinating, wonderful things you've done there. Oh look what you did there,' and I think 'Yes and do you want me to talk about the six months between that and where I was desperately, utterly poor, where I went into supermarkets and stole food in London because we had

nothing to eat. Do you want me to tell you that story? Do you want to hear about walking around Sydney into every film company that I could find and them all saying, "No, we don't want you." "No you're not interesting, no I don't want you".¹⁷

These comments caused me to rethink my interview questions, and to allow more room for all those experiences between the making of a film to surface. This, to me, is an example of the complexity of the collaboration and illustrates a moment when the narrator influenced the direction of the interview project.

In concluding, I want to draw attention to the process of construction that has taken place in this paper. Kathryn Borland in *Women's Words: the feminist practice of oral history* has noted that

*'Oral personal narratives occur naturally within a conversation in context, in which various people take turns at talk and thus are rooted most immediately in a web of expressive social activity.'*¹⁸

She went on to explain how the scholar will then intervene and *'...identify chunks of artful talk within the flow of conversation, given them physical existence (most often through writing) and embed them in a new context of expressive or at least communicative activity (usually the scholarly article aimed toward an audience of professional peers.) Thus we construct a second level narrative based upon but at the same time reshaping the first.'*¹⁹

In this paper I've reshaped the film makers' narratives to fit my arguments. I've selected and discarded chunks of their talk and created new contexts and meanings around the original statements. In publishing my findings I'm presenting the film makers' narratives to a second audience, one they were not aware of when they talked to me. Though my work is aimed at

empowering the narrators, there is an inherent inequality in this task where, in effect, I have the last word. But I want to end on a positive note and suggest that the interview need not be just a one-way process benefiting the interviewer only. Many women have stated that being asked to reflect on their lives as film makers has been valuable, useful, and even therapeutic.

A scriptwriter commented:

'I've found it interesting this morning because it's interesting to go back to trace a path through your life with a particular point of view being asked of you. And often you wouldn't do that ... and in fact the way you asked me about my childhood and things, I hadn't gone back in that way and looked at it with this view point possibly ever. And it is very interesting and often quite fruitful. Often things come up that I end up with the old notebook out making a few quiet notes thinking 'oh that'll be useful'.'

DEBORAH: In what way?

*'Well, I'll write about it. It will be a perspective thing or it will be a note about an experience that I'd forgotten'*²⁰

This, to my mind, is an example of the interview at its most empowering. The narrator uses it for her own purposes to enhance her writing - there is a giving and receiving of ideas and information.

Endnotes

- ¹ Vincent Crapanzo, 'Life Histories', *American Anthropologist*, 86 no. 4, 1984, p.359
- ² Sandra Harding, (ed) *Feminism and Methodology*, Bloomington, USA, 1987, p.89
- ³ Jim Tully, 50 years from 'Bloke' to 'Maori', *Auckland Star*, 8 August 1970.
- ⁴ Deborah Shepard, 'Cinema of Rebellion: is there a tradition of challenge in women's film in Aotearoa New Zealand?', (unpublished paper) Century of Film Conference, University of Waikato, 1996, p.61
- ⁵ Shulamit Reinzhaz, cited in Kay Edwards, 'Questions and Answers: Dilemmas of a feminist oral history methodology', *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 5, 1993, p.17
- ⁶ Deborah Shepard, 'Invitation to Film Makers', 1995-1997, pp.1-2
- ⁷ Deborah Shepard, interview with Annie Collins, 2 October, 1996, p.17
- ⁸ Deborah Shepard, 'Sample Topic List' 1995-97, p.3
- ⁹ Deborah Shepard, letter to Monica Mead, 28 February 1997, pp.1-2
- ¹⁰ Monica Mead, letter to Deborah Shepard, 11 May 1997, p.3
- ¹¹ Blanche Wiesen Cook, 'Biography and Subject: a critical connection' in *Between Women: Biographers, novelists, critics, teachers and artists write about their work on women*, Carol Ascher, Louise de Salvo and Sara Ruddick (eds), Boston, 1984, p.397
- ¹² Deborah Shepard, letter to Monica Mead, 28 February 1997, p.2
- ¹³ Monica Mead, *ibid.*, p.3
- ¹⁴ Deborah Shepard, interview with Dian Rowan, 20 November 1996, pp.3-5
- ¹⁵ Deborah Shepard, interview with Aileen O'Sullivan, 19-20 March 1997, pp. 42-46
- ¹⁶ Kay Edwards, p.29
- ¹⁷ Deborah Shepard, interview with Aileen O'Sullivan, 19-20 March, 1997, p.34
- ¹⁸ Deborah Shepard, interview with Kate Jasonsmith, 21 August, 1996, p.55
- ¹⁹ Kathryn Borland, 'That's not what I said: Interpretive conflict in oral narrative research', in *Women's Words: the feminist practice of oral history*, Sherna Berger Bluck and Daphne Patai, eds, New York, 1991, p.63
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The Resonance of Rejection: a study of the failure of inflation accounting in New Zealand

RACHEL BASKERVILLE

The failure of an accounting standard on inflation accounting was chosen as an oral history subject because the 1982 promulgation of the requirement for companies to take inflation into account in their financial reporting was rejected on a scale unprecedented within New Zealand's generally 'obedient' accounting community. The accounting standard was called CCA-1, CCA referring to the accounting method called Current Cost Accounting.

This event was ideally suited for oral history research. The resonance from the failed standard continued for a considerable period so that interviewees not only had excellent recall of the events and personalities involved, but many still retained papers and books related to the topic.

Compliance with the standard in New Zealand was less than 10% of listed company reports over the two to three years of financial reports studied. Unlike other countries, the resistance was not so much from practitioners as from companies and their boards. At the time, this was largely attributed to the lack of acceptability for tax purposes. Eventually, in October 1985, the requirement to comply with the accounting standard was dropped. It went out with a whimper, not a bang yet these events continue to have

an impact on the development of accounting in New Zealand.

Accounting standards and the processes of standard-setting are unusual topic for an oral history. One particular aspect of the project was the uniformity of the gender, race and status of the subjects. The eleven standard-setters and academics interviewed formed a homogeneous group of New Zealand Pakeha males;¹ many had been professors or active and top-ranking partners in accounting firms. This project did not attempt to seek responses from rank-and-file practitioners, or from corporate financial controllers. Although one of the strengths of oral history is its capacity to allow other voices (especially of minority groups) to be heard,² this would have resulted in a much extended field of enquiry. All those interviewed gave the impression that they were men living their lives 'as their own'. This distinction is widely recognised by oral historians, for example, 'the very language and grammar in which people tell their stories reflect unconscious assumptions: how women are more likely to speak as 'we' or 'one', while men use the active 'I' and present themselves as the decision-makers in lives they have lived as their own'.³ Thus the nature and characters of the interviewees themselves made this a fascinating introduction to oral

history methodology.

The use of oral history methods in accounting history research is not unique. Debate concerning the merits and problems with oral history methods in accounting research started with a 1991 review by M. Collins and R. Bloom of the potential for oral history in accounting.⁴ Other historians had also advocated the merits of this method in accounting research. As in other disciplines there is still an on-going debate in accounting studies with regard to the value of oral history.

Inflation in New Zealand and the quest for an accounting standard

When did inflation start in New Zealand? - at least fifteen years before the accounting standard was issued. In 1967, the Consumer Price Index in New Zealand started to record annual changes over 4% - the start of a long period of steadily increasing inflation. It did not fall below this level again until 1991. The

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Her manuscript: 'The Telling Power of CCA: a New Zealand Oral History' won the 1996 Vangermeersch award from the American Academy of Accounting Historians, and will be published in the June 1999 issue of the *Accounting Historians Journal* (US). This article is a synopsis of the research which was the basis for her paper.

start of the CCA project was linked in interviewees' minds to this inflation of price indices; the rapid increase was considered to be the driver behind efforts which led to the promulgation of the standard, and a subsequent perceived decrease was considered by some people to be the cause of its failure. Eventually, the Consumer Price Index in New Zealand increased from 6-7% per annum in 1970 to 17% in 1980.

A number of countries published accounting standard proposals throughout the 1970s. In New Zealand, ED-10, *Accounting for the Changes in the Purchasing Power of Money*, was the first exposure draft for a proposed standard published by the New Zealand Society of Accountants (NZSA) in March 1975.⁵ The next year an analysis of the responses to ED-10 was published in the *Accountants Journal*. It was clear that the vast majority of respondents were opposed to the method of accounting for inflation (the current purchasing power method), with some respondents preferring to wait and see what was going to happen overseas. Others urged that more research should be undertaken in New Zealand, or suggested there would be confusion over presenting two sets of financial statements to shareholders as required by ED-10. Overall, the proposed method was seen as being seriously deficient, although many agreed that it was a step in the right direction.

In 1975 the National Party became the government under the leadership of Rob Muldoon. Muldoon is particularly remembered for being of strong character. The significance of his opposition to attempts to establish the CCA standard was frequently mentioned by interviewees because he was an accountant, and had given support to efforts in the 1970s to develop a form of

inflation accounting.

A new exposure draft, ED-14, *Accounting in Terms of Current Costs and Values*, was published in March 1976. It recommended that assets should be shown in the balance sheet at their 'value to the business', and profit should be the result of matching costs with revenues, both expressed in current terms. However, in September 1976, the Richardson Committee, a committee appointed by the National government, released the 'Report on Inflation Accounting'. This report recommended that some form of CCA be required. The inflation rate was then close to 17%. Throughout 1977 and 1978, the NZSA increased its involvement in 'inflation accounting' education through publications in the *Accountants Journal* and by offering seminars on CCA in May 1977. Further guidelines were issued but interest was shifting and commitment by companies was diminishing.

At the end of 1980, there was a plea by Malcolm McCaw, then chairman of the Accounting and Research Standards Board, to members of the NZSA to maintain the commitment to developing a CCA standard. He said, 'despite uncertainty in the problems of transition it was essential for the Society to take a firm step in the interests of the public, investors and those who protected investors'. Members were also reminded that many accountants now considered that historic cost accounts were not sufficient to satisfy legal requirements for a 'true and fair view'.⁶

Another exposure draft was issued, and then finally in March 1982, CCA-1, *Information Reflecting the Effects of Changing Prices* was approved. As soon as the standard was approved, there was an awareness of and deep concern for the level of non-compliance. This led

to a series of one-day workshops and the distribution of a 20-minute video through the NZSA. However, in the first major analysis of 147 companies, financial year ending March 1983, there was still only an 8.2% compliance rate.⁷ A different study noted an 8.6% compliance rate with CCA-1 in the reports of 185 companies for the period between the end of March 1983 and February 1984.⁸

The price freeze through price controls continued for only a few months after the Labour Party won the election in July 1984. Inflation rates during the freeze had been 6-7%. Inflation rose to 13-15% during the next three years before the sharemarket 'crash' in October 1987. But already in October 1985, the NZSA had decided that the 'standard' status of CCA-1 should be dropped, and that it should be reduced in status to 'recommended best practice'.

The research path

This research began in August 1993. Assistance from the Oral History Centre of the National Library of New Zealand included the Fyfe and Manson guide 'Oral History and How to Approach It',⁹ the ethical code established by the National Oral History Association of New Zealand, the legal release form and the interviewee information sheet to accompany tapes deposited in the archives. The use of a legal release form at the start of each interview was particularly important, as it reminded interviewees that their agreements meant tapes and transcripts would move into the public domain. All interviewees signed this form unconditionally.

An initial approach was made to those who were considered to be most cognisant of these events. Two of the ten men initially approached or corresponded with did

not reply. After a lengthy communication with one potential interviewee, who considered that the research should focus only on technical aspects of CCA, he declined to be interviewed. Some refusal to participate is not unusual in oral history projects and reflects issues of control over the topic. It is difficult to determine the extent of bias in the selection of participants, but the resultant data indicated that a breadth of views was obtained. After starting the interviews, three more interviewees were approached, resulting in eleven interviews between August 1993 and February 1994. The length of interviews varied, with most being approximately one hour.

Analysis and a shift in focus

In August 1994, following the copying and transcription of all tapes, a copy of their interview was sent to each interviewee with a progress report. The original recordings were lodged with a copy of transcripts and a project report at the Oral History Centre in Wellington when the research was completed.

The most effective means of analysis was utilisation of a cut-and-paste method, facilitated by holding data in multiple files on the computer with duplication marked carefully. This cut-and-paste into sixteen topics reduced more than 53,000 words in the transcripts to around 23,000. These responses were then re-analysed to identify commonalities, differences or particular phrases which clearly illustrated responses to sixteen different topics within the data.

The analysis of the transcripts was an evolving process because as segments were identified within the data, different connections between segments became apparent. The researcher had to re-read tran-

scripts, given the new information and new structures which were emerging within the data. This process can continue *ad infinitum* if there are no constraints in regards to money, time or energy.

The objective of this project, as described in the letters to interviewees requesting their participation, had been to use oral history techniques in order to contribute to the historical record of the CCA debate in New Zealand. In particular, asking about recollections or reminiscences of the events surrounding the dropping of the CCA standard revealed aspects of the relationship between practitioners and accounting standard-setting authorities in New Zealand between 1975 to 1985.

After analysis, the emphasis in the research shifted to different foci. These were:

- a comparison of the oral history record with analyses of the causes of the failure from company annual reports; and
- a comparison of the drivers to the failure in New Zealand compared with the United Kingdom.¹⁰

There had been little interest by the interviewees in how the failure of the standard had made an impact on the accounting profession. Comments in response to these questions were perfunctory. Little impact was recalled. Such a change in the eventual focus for the research was the outcome of the usually undocumented process of ensuring appropriate scope and coherency to the eventual research report. It is also important that researchers do not remain on an unalterable trajectory: if that were so, the potential for discovery from data could be compromised or endangered. The potential of methods such as oral history is to allow the data to reveal hypotheses previously unanticipated by the

researcher, typical of grounded theory where the theory is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents.¹¹

The causes of the failure of the standard

The research had now shifted to the construction of a description of similarities and differences between the attributed causes of the failure of the CCA standard in published articles at the time, compared with the attributed causes from the oral history record. This comparison of the two sources demonstrates that utilisation of oral history methods provides a valuable and unique perspective which contrasts with that provided from analyses of written data and company reports.¹²

The two sources provided perspectives of a very different nature. Most of the insights provided by the oral histories were on political or contracting costs, whereas the emphases from annual reports were on comparability, costliness and usefulness. The major similarity in these two sources was the 'tax issue'. Standard setters looked back with hindsight and determined that the lack of CCA-1 acceptance for taxation purposes was its 'death sentence'. Interviewees' comments were often phrased in the death metaphor.

There were more differences than similarities, however. From the interviews, it appeared that standard setting was seen as a process whereby those controlling it wished to achieve a public good by improving financial reporting. They lost their 'battle' because of factors beyond their control, including international events. It became apparent in the process of the research, that the drivers of the rise and withdrawal of the New Zealand standard were influenced far more by international

events than was indicated in company reports during that period. The oral history also reflected an increasing lack of commitment by practitioners and fears that CCA would reflect negatively on the performance of directors and managers. There were no significant differences in the views of those interviewees who had been in public practice compared with those who had led largely academic careers.

There was a compelling insistence by some interviewees that CCA was a fundamental change in the approach to the measurement of income, and that if one was expecting people's behaviour to change, then there were major political considerations inherent in the standard-setting process which had to be taken into account. The analysis close to the events suggested that this was 'just another standard' being implemented, but on reflection, some standard setters clearly saw it as representing a fundamental change in accounting principles. The CCA standard was part of the normative system of standard-setting; as Kirk noted, 'a normative system, however, has definite limits in its ability to point a policy-making body toward incontrovertible solutions to recognition and measurement problems. Good intentions and hard work cannot overcome those limits'.¹³

Interviewees noted that directors of larger multi-national companies in New Zealand were prepared to 'give it a go' in the early stages of the development of CCA. This may indicate that a desire for international harmonisation was contributing to early support for the standard from the corporate sector in New Zealand. Eventually, the lack of compliance overseas, coupled with a drop in inflation in New Zealand's major trading partners, was what

affected non-compliance in 1982 and 1983.

This contrasting analysis has shown that the reasons provided by companies for not utilising the CCA standard are not all reflected in the reasons used by the standard setters. It could be expected that companies were reluctant to attribute non-compliance to the desire to show management performance in a 'good light,' or because it was too radical or too fundamental a change. However, it is of note that very few company reports referred to the anticipated fall in inflation or the political environment, that is, that there was a price freeze in New Zealand.

This comparison has demonstrated the usefulness of oral history methods to identify contrasting dynamics behind standard setting. Oral histories may not result in major revisions, yet they still 'add value' to the records of an accounting phenomenon.

Conclusion

The debate about current cost accounting (CCA) and the introduction of 'inflation accounting standards,' was part of a hegemonic process. The interests of other groups (account preparers and users) were intended to be co-ordinated with those of the dominant group – the accounting profession and their standard setters. However, hegemony, as a social process, is continually resisted, limited, altered, and challenged.¹⁴ The failure of the CCA standard is one example of such resistance. Ultimately, it delineated limitations on the standard-setter's power. It is inevitable to the normative nature of standard setting that the process would produce standards which could fail. A failure in the standard-setting process can be clearly understood when a

narrative structure provided by oral histories identifies the significance of different events in the process of resistance and change. Added to this are the perceptions of those involved who, with the benefit of hindsight and contemplation, give their own accounts of the failure which provides an analysis of events different from those based on company reports.

This study has provided an example validating G.D. Carnegie and C.J. Napier's view that the strengths of accounting history are from its firm basis in the 'archive,' which includes the oral records presented here.¹⁵ Furthermore, it demonstrates that 'accounting history is enhanced by locating our narratives within an understanding of the specific context in which the object of our research emerges and operates'. Such enrichment through the increasing contribution of oral history studies will ensure a fertile database for future accounting history and business history studies in New Zealand.

Endnotes

- ¹ See list of interviewees
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- ³ B. Wiame, 'The Life History Approach to The Study of Internal Migration: How men and women came to Paris between the wars', in P. Thompson, ed., *Our Common History: The transformation of Europe*, London, 1982.
- ⁴ M. Collins and R. Bloom, 'The Role of Oral History in Accounting', *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, Vol. 4 No. 4 (1991), pp. 23-31; T. Tyson, 'Rendering the Unfamiliar Intelligible: Discovering the human side of accounting's past through oral history interviews', *The Accounting Historians Journal*, Vol. 23 No. 2 (1996), p. 2; Hammond and Sikka p. 79.
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invitation to comment usually lasts at least six months.

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- ⁷ R. Peterson, H.E. Gan, and K.L. Lim, 'CCA - the Day After', *Accountants Journal*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (1984), pp. 88-97.
- ⁸ A.F. Cameron, and C.T. Heazlewood, 'Current Cost Accounting in NZ - an Analysis of the Response to CCA-1', Palmerston North, Massey University Discussion Paper No. 33, 1985.
- ⁹ J. Fyfe and H. Manson, *Oral History and How to Approach It*, Wellington, National Library, 1991.
- ¹⁰ The subject of the comparison of the drivers to the failure in New Zealand compared with the United Kingdom is in preparation for a separate journal article, and will not be further addressed in this report.
- ¹¹ Readers of this journal who are interested in the detail of this comparison could refer to the June 1995 issue of the *Chartered Accountants Journal*, which provides in tabular format the detailed comparison of the two sources.
- ¹² A. Strauss, and J. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research—Grounded Theory, Procedures and Techniques*, New York, 1990.
- ¹³ D.J. Kirk, 'Looking Back on Fourteen Years at the FASB: The education of a standard setter', *Accounting Horizons*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1988, p. 17.
- ¹⁴ J. Brow, 'Notes on Community, Hegemony, and the Uses of the Past', *Anthropology Quarterly*, Vol. 63, 1990, p.1.
- ¹⁵ G.D. Carnegie, and C.J. Napier, 'Critical and Interpretative Histories: insights into accounting's present and future through its past', *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1996, p. 8.

Abbreviations

NZSA - New Zealand Society of Accountants
ASRB - Accounting Standards Review Board
- Government appointed, established in 1993
ARSB - Accounting Research and Standards Board of the NZSA, functioning until 1992 when it was replaced by:
FRSB - Financial Reporting Standards Board of the NZSA

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Interviewees

Rex Anderson, President of the NZSA 1984/85, Chairman of the ARSB in 1983, and a member of the Financial Subcommittee of the ARSB 1973-1988, Chairman in 1983, Practitioner, and member of the Securities Commission 1985-1994.

Bruce Christmas, President of the NZSA 1980/81, Council member and Chairman of the Professional Standards Committee and Practitioner.

Professor Frank Devonport, ARSB 1968-1979, Financial Subcommittee of ARSB 1979 -1992, Professor at University of Canterbury, and continuing membership of FRSB committees.

John Hagen, ARSB 1982-1989, Chair of Financial Subcommittee of ARSB 1977 - 1982, Chairman of the Government appointed ASRB [1994] and practitioner in Deloitte.

Professor Roger Hopkins, ARSB 1982/83, Professor at Waikato University, 1981-1984, and at Victoria University 1990-present.

Malcolm McCaw, NZSA President, on Council 1976-1985, ARSB Chairman; Expert Adviser to the Richardson Committee, currently Consultant for Deloitte.

Dean Athol Mann, President of NZSA 1976/77, NZSA Council 1968-1978, Securities Commission 1979 - 1986, Dean of Faculty of Commerce at Victoria University 1987-1996.

Bob Pope, ARSB 1972-1979, Chairman of the ARSB 1975-1979, NZSA Council 1975-1981, President of NZSA 1980/81, Consultant to KPMG Peat Marwick.

Sir Ivor Richardson, Chairman of the 1976 Royal Commission on Inflation Accounting; prior to that partner in a Wellington law firm, now Chief Judge, Court of Appeal, New Zealand.

Professor Don Trow, ARSB 1968-1989, NZSA Council 1976 - 1989, Professor at Victoria University 1972-present.

Professor Tony van Zijl, Technical Director at the NZSA 1985, Current member of FRSB and ASRB, Professor at Victoria University 1989-present.

The North Queensland Oral History Project

BARBARA ERSKINE

This is an adapted version of a paper presented to the NOHANZ conference, held in Hamilton, June 1997. It describes the North Queensland oral history project and highlights grief and loss issues arising in oral history interviews.

The North Queensland Oral History project (NQOHP) began in the late 1970s within the Department of History at James Cook University. The purpose is like many other regional oral history collections, that is, to capture on tape the personalities, history and flavour of at least a particular generation in the region of north and west Queensland. Geographically this covers 1,000 kilometres to the west, 600 kilometres to the north and 600 kilometres to the south. The age targeted for this project are people born around the turn of the century. The other criterion was that they had spent most of their life in North Queensland. There are over 1,000 tapes available to students, staff and the public. It is a collection that far surpasses that of the State Library in Brisbane.

Besides this collection there are also nearly 200 tapes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander interviews dating from about the same period. These interviews have not been integrated into the main project because of cost restrictions. The condition of these tapes is limiting their use. Most of them are in a fragile state causing severe access

restrictions. These tapes have come to the Oral History Unit through other projects. Some of these tapes were donated by history lecturers who had conducted their own oral history interviews for appropriate course information which was difficult to find in history books at that time. Many of those interviewed have since died, making the tapes irreplaceable. This collection includes interviews by Professor Noel Loos with Eddie Koiki Mabo, who was a student of his and a gardener of the grounds at James Cook. A video and a book have been produced from this resource while the name 'Mabo' has become a household name in Australia.

The third project within this collection is a proposed commissioned history of James Cook University and is being done in collaboration with the JCU Archives. More than 130 interviews have been conducted with foundation staff and students. James Cook University celebrated 25 years as an autonomous institution in 1995.

None of the tapes in these collections is transcribed. Transcriptions can be costly to the point of crippling the project, but that has not always been the main consideration. Oral history, in tape form, has a proven record of providing an excellent source of material. The system and procedure for access is thus: a duplicate tape is made immediately after the interview has been conducted and the master

copy is kept in a separate storage cabinet. The master copy is rarely touched except for the occasional 'exercise' tapes need every year. The information is accessed through a user-friendly database with a subject and key word index. The tapes are given a reference number for the anonymity of the informant and it is this number that presents to the student or researcher.

A standard questionnaire is not used for the NQOHP. A basic knowledge of North Queensland history is probably sufficient background for the interviews because it is a broad range of life experience that one hopes to cover. Tin miners, domestic workers, childbirth in the bush and perhaps how Christmas was celebrated are all good subjects for discussion. 'The fewer the questions the better' is often a productive approach for extracting the shared reminiscences. Chronological order is not a bridge to cross as it can sometimes be off putting for older folk. Indexing allows information to be sorted and retrieved.

The index method is simple. A stop watch is used for accuracy and the tapes are listened to in ten minute segments. A key word index is created for each tape. With a fresh piece of paper in hand a new subject work is listed in one column and information about that subject is listed in the next column. Some tapes cover many subjects and some only one in each ten minute

segment. A simple subject word is typed into the computer (for instance the 'disease' or related words specific to your search) which will display the tape number and particular segment for you. A sixty-minute tape will have three ten-minute sections on each side. These are marked with the tape number for example, tape #90, 1 of #90, side A, section 2 - this will appear as #90,1A2.

While indexing and listing the subjects and information, a bio-data card is filled in with any biographical information such as birth date, residence, occupation, schooling, grandparents, siblings, etc. The tape number, the date of the interview and the interviewer's name is an additional reference noted on this card. This is attached to the written index and filed alphabetically for a cross reference in a filing cabinet after the information is added to the computer database.

Considerations of copyright were put in place from very early stages. Copyright and intellectual property are words that leave a lot of us ducking for cover. The accepted standard practice is that when the informant signs the copyright release they are allowing the university to use their story for research or publication purposes under the verbal consent that we do so anonymously. As the interviewer, I specifically own copyright with credit to my employer which in this case happens to be the university. I have made it a practice to have the copyright release form signed before I begin the interview and answer any questions at that time. Legal forms can be confusing for many elderly people and this upfront method can allow space for serious consideration before it is too late.

The informants are told that their names will not be used. In this age of 'bare all' we are often asked why

our tapes remain anonymous and are given a number. The simple answer is, it has worked well! This anonymity is a comfort to many I have interviewed and there is no confusion about what will happen to their tape. Although there is sometimes a sense of bewilderment at the idea of actually recording their words on tape, many are delighted someone is interested enough to listen to their story.

There are also the suspicious ones who are on guard from the moment you make contact. They seem to believe you are out to unearth a long-held family secret. Let us recognize that in most families there are secrets - births, deaths, marriages, funerals, anything. Therefore, only two outcomes can arise. Secrets will or won't be told.

Handling this precious knowledge well, will depend on one's skill as an interviewer. As an experienced professional, I try to create a comfort zone where this other person will feel free to talk.

Professionally I have seriously considered the ethics involved in listening to the layers of people's private and public lives, because within these layers of living are layers of grief which may peel away at any moment. An important aspect of interviewing, for me, is handling these precious moments. I have been involved in grief and loss work for nearly twenty years. This has helped a great deal when faced with the unfolding layers of people's lives, because often the unfolding is woven with emotions. I am not suggesting we all have to be grief counsellors to be oral historians. What I am suggesting is an awareness of the emotions that might arise in our informant and in us, the listener. Oral history is used across many disciplines and the memory triggers are powerful and sometimes unexpected.

This was brought home to me strongly in the last five years of work. In recent years Townsville has had two commemorations for World War II: the Battle of the Coral Sea Commemoration and Victory in the Pacific (VP50). In nearly eighty interviews conducted for these two projects, grief and loss issues were a constant theme in memories that had not surfaced for a very long time. This is illustrated by the following example.

Normally people are suggested to me. I write a formal but friendly letter explaining the collection and why I would like to talk to them. I follow this up with a phone call and set up a convenient time to interview them. On this particular day the phone rang and I was asked to come and interview a visiting United States ex serviceman. "When?" I asked. "Well actually, could you come today?" I sensed an urgency within the query, so I agreed. This chap had bought a ticket to Townsville (without his family's knowledge) and was only in town for a short time. He had travelled from Texas. He was a big man, with a thick mop of silver hair and a polite but strong voice. After a short introduction the host left the room and the interview began. The gentleman had been a navigator on a B17 Flying Fortress based in Townsville in 1942 and was present for the Battle of the Coral Sea.

It was in the morning. We navigated to that point at 20,000 feet. I guess it's well over 1,000 miles from Townsville, and it was in the morning. There were these aircraft carriers and troop ships and we flew over them. We didn't carry many bombs. It was mostly gasoline we were carrying because it's reconnaissance. But we dropped what we had and took our pictures and left for cloud cover as these were coming up from the carriers. We turned into the clouds and were directed to head

straight back to Townsville and not to go to Port Moresby. We arrived back in Townsville and Townsville was abuzz with officers. I don't know where so many had come from. I think a couple had flown up from Brisbane to get the pictures we had and the interviews of what we saw. In the meantime they sent out other planes. All day long, planes were going out. We saw ships east of the Trobriands. We took pictures of those. I know ... it was the last time ... I came in ... [at this point sobs welled up from deep inside and tears rolled down his face] ... I just feel terrible ... [and he cried softly into his handkerchief].

I use this example because it was a very moving moment for me and for him. This man had triggered memories of my own. Recognizing what had happened, it surprised me as I had only been with the chap for ten minutes when this layer unfolded. He had a powerful lot of remembering to do and ethically I was there to record, not counsel his grief or my own. Many oral historians believe one should never ever turn off the tape. On this occasion he waved his finger in a chopping manner and I got the point - 'preserve this man's dignity' I could hear echoing inside my head. Fifty years is a long time to carry the scars of war. I created a space for us both to regain our composure with the 'off' button and we each had a drink of water. My eyes had been playing tricks on my mind as before me appeared my own long dead father's image. He would have been the same age as this gentleman had he lived. He was a pilot and could have been a war pilot with perhaps some of the same memories. Whose grief was I dealing with? The lesson I learnt was that it is important to recognise and understand our own grief reactions. At the same time, it was imperative that I continue the interview, which I

did, at his request. He had not come this far to quit now.

Ron's story is another illustration. He is an avid collector of historical photographs and was quite happy to be interviewed to complement his collection. His proud exterior initially masked painful memories of the Depression.

Dad didn't work, we had a rough time in the depression. Dad had no skills ... He was a yardman in a pub in Charters Towers at 13 years of age. At 15 years of age, he was working on a copper mine in Cloncurry and 1915, Billy Hughes put them in uniform and conscripted them, and sent them up to Thursday Island. In 1919, Dad came back to Townsville and did whatever work he could find and married my mother. Dad never ever had a permanent job ...

The only work he had in the early 30s was about four months of the year at Alligator Creek meatworks. The rest of the time it was intermittent work - sustenance. It wasn't called the dole in those days, it was called sustenance. ... The other things was police rations and that was where the parents had to go and see the local sergeant and he had ration tickets and that would entitle you to a pound of tea and two pound of sugar. Before he died, my father told me that really hurt his pride. ... I can remember as a boy, my mother would send the other brother and I out looking for bottles, to clean them and get them down to the shop at a halfpenny a bottle and if you had six bottles you would get threepence and that was enough for half a loaf of bread. ... my eldest sister and brother went to work at 13. I was lucky, I got to high school in 1939 and 1940. They were rough times, we got through them.

I felt that Ron used his father's grief to express his own. Sadness at remembering these hard times. What his father shared with Ron might have been one of the few times the old man shared such grief.

The order of the day was to just 'get on with it' a sentiment reinforced by Ron's pride in surviving such poverty.

The suppression of painful memories is a common coping mechanism. As a result the oral history interview has the potential to rekindle past experiences which awaken associated feelings of grief and loss. A professional approach to oral history necessitates understanding the power of memory both in our own and our interviewees lives.

Oral History in New Zealand Public and National Libraries: how useful is it?

JEFF DOWNS

Have you wondered about the future value of the many interviews recorded by researchers for a particular purpose such as publishing a book? And whether or not is the oral history being preserved by libraries, museums and other repositories is useful?

I have been involved with recording oral history interviews, accepting donations, and attempting to make them available to casual and serious researchers at Hamilton Public Library since 1983. This article is based on the original research for my MA thesis¹ which examined the management of oral history programmes in public libraries and the National Library, and tried to find out how far they met the needs of third party users. First, I will summarise the conclusions drawn from the surveys of librarians and history researchers, and then provide further evidence by specifically outlining the findings from the two surveys.

The library perspective

I discovered that the quality of oral history collections was very mixed and very few have been evaluated in-house. I think this is probably influenced by the moderate level of commitment to the value of such collections by librarians, and the fact that not all interviewers are suitably trained. Also, the interviewing dimension, processing requirements

and technicalities of audio equipment, compounded with the under-resourcing of oral history programmes, pointed to oral history being a more difficult medium for librarians to handle than printed archives.

At \$210-\$270 per hour of interview, oral history was not an expensive method of gathering unique information. This cost was based on staff time at \$15 per hour over 14 hours including abstracts or 18 hours including transcripts. Most programmes had a high volunteer component which reduced the dollar cost. According to librarians, community oral history projects had a higher long term historical research value than immediate promotional value for their libraries. Projects (as distinct from independent/ad hoc interviews) made up a larger proportion of oral history collections in libraries but many repositories (40%) contain both.

Oral history was not extensively catalogued in libraries: 40% of libraries had not catalogued their collections and only 28% had computerised systems. Oral history collections were under-used compared with archives and manuscript collections.

The user view

I found there was a strong underlying resistance to the audio medium compared with the print

medium, as evidenced by the low usage of oral history, and a preference for transcripts over tapes by users of oral history. There was a strong preference for using transcripts alone to access the content of oral history recordings and, to a much lesser extent, transcripts in conjunction with the tapes.

Both those who were creating oral history for their own research and subsequent users appreciated personal stories and significant new information obtained. Good sound quality and thorough questioning appeared to be more important for subsequent users. Most creators acknowledged that the scope of their material extended beyond their own personal needs, but not all of them have placed it in a repository. Serious researchers generally preferred to create their own

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recordings because the quality and scope of material in libraries were not adequate.

Researchers using integrated catalogues which include oral history holdings along with other material, had a higher success rate than those searching for oral history only, but oral history users (unlike manuscript researchers) relied more on personal referrals to their sources than on catalogues. Oral history users made heavier use of bibliographical tools than non-oral history users.

How to meet users' needs

I concluded that the variable standards of collections and the high expectations of users necessitate quality control including evaluations. The evidence for improved interviewing techniques derived from the disappointing content of many interviews. Sufficient training was not always given to interviewers. Better sound quality would be appreciated by a large proportion of users, but it was less important than interview content. Acknowledgement of the tape as the primary source document was inconsistent, with the preference for transcripts as the medium for consultation.

Users, potential users and librarians all agreed that improved bibliographical control would increase usage which is currently less than that for archives and manuscripts.

Evidence of the need for more promotion of oral history resources was provided by both librarians, users and potential users. Many of the latter were unaware of the existence of repositories for oral history. However, dissemination as permanent secondary oral history products (such as publications, as distinct from temporary displays) was not shown to be a priority for libraries, nor for the particular types of users surveyed: they were

looking for primary source material.

Users have clearly identified their requirements for improvements and librarians also recognised the need for improvement in most of these key areas: both identified a need for improved resourcing.

Collection management survey

A 54-question survey was mailed to 105 public libraries and National Library Centres in June 1995. Information requested covered background, resources, facilities, access, dissemination and usage, quality, and general. A 99% response rate was obtained. Five libraries were visited between October 1995 and April 1996 in order to obtain further details on copyright, privacy and security, but particularly to evaluate sample interviews in their collections. (Further details are contained in the thesis.)

Background

A total of 35 public libraries had oral history collections or were planning programmes in 1995. Most of the 70 that were not involved cited time, resources, staff, funding, and space restraints as reasons. Others admitted higher priorities (16%) and 43% pointed out that programmes already existed in other local institutions, mainly museums. The oldest collection dated from the 1950s but between 1991-1995 when eleven collections were started - coinciding with the Women's Suffrage Centennial in 1993. Another peak occurred ten years earlier when nine programmes started. This period coincided with the foundation of the New Zealand Oral History Archive. Preservation of local history was given as the primary purpose of the public library programmes. Their scope was primarily local and biographical - as distinct from regional, national,

topical and/or current events. Most oral history collections consisted of interviews only, with just a few containing speeches and commercial sound recordings. In 1995 the number of recordings totalled 5028 - an average of 147 per library. However half the collections were very small, containing less than 25 items. Sixty percent had not grown at all in the previous year when the overall growth rate was 9%. Just over half the public libraries with oral history collections also have archives and manuscript collections. The growth rate of the latter collections was 6%. The libraries with the most actively growing archive and manuscript collections also had the most actively growing oral history collections.

In general, libraries relied considerably on donated interviews, but many assisted with the recording. A third of oral history librarians were at the time involved in recording interviews, either with volunteers doing some or all of the interviewing, or as interviewers themselves. At the other end of the scale another fifth were involved by just accepting donations, but not undertaking processing. Fifteen libraries had been decreasing their activity in oral history programmes. Collections predominantly comprised single independent interviews (57%), recordings gathered in the course of library projects (48%) and deposits from non-library community projects (48%). Very few derived from school courses, academic research, commissions or private researchers.

Resources

Only 12% of responding libraries had separate budgets for oral history. Six percent had partial budgets. The most common funding source cited was community organisations and businesses, such

as Trust Bank and Rotary, but four libraries noted that they received finance from local authorities, five from government schemes and two from the Australian Sesqui Centennial for Oral History Awards.

Designated staffing was almost non-existent: 77% had none, the rest average 1.1 full-time equivalents. Outside the National Library there were no staff working full-time on oral history. Thus the work was essentially part-time, fragmentary and casual. Seventeen of the libraries averaged two volunteers each in recent projects, while another had a school group of 34 student interviewers. A total of 218 interviews was recorded by volunteers in thirteen recent projects. Project partners were mainly community/education groups such as service clubs and community centres. History-focused groups such as museums, historical societies and centennial committees were used to a much lesser extent. Eleven libraries estimated an average of twelve hours work per interview-hour, but the number and type of components varied. It was a concern that more than half did not undertake preliminary interviews and that a third did not carry out preparatory background research.

Facilities

Half the libraries had good quality recording equipment. A fifth used the same type of equipment for listening while 43% used more basic equipment for this purpose. Many had no listening equipment (38%), which had implications for usage. Only one library had no security for recordings. Forty-two percent control access and 14% had off-site or separate storage for master tapes. Environmental conditions ranged from full temperature and humidity control to the vagaries of private homes. Only two-

thirds of libraries protected their master tapes by making listening copies.

Access

Very few libraries had public access computerised catalogues where oral history bibliographical records were integrated with other library material. Although some other database systems were used, they were not directly accessible by the public. Most access systems were very basic lists below the standard of full cataloguing. Indeed, 28% of oral history collections were not catalogued. Most bibliographical records were in separate files, which meant that staff intervention was likely before potential users were exposed to them. Sixty percent of collections did not have any components (transcripts, abstracts, lists, cassettes, etc) directly accessible to users. The three-quarters of libraries with cassettes directly accessible by the public loaned them. Half the oral history collections were recorded on the NLNZ database and a third in the NOHANZ directory.² While 23% of libraries had no means of identifying the contents of interviews - save listening to the tapes - half had some text searching facilities, transcripts, and/or alphabetical indexes. Eighty percent relied on abstracts, edited transcripts of summaries. Almost no evaluation of interviews or projects was carried out. The overall level of documentation of oral history collections was low: 58% had legal releases, 37% collected biographical information about the interviewee, 17% collected details about the interviewer, and 17% collected background research. Smaller libraries in particular had fairly informal access procedures. Only 57% of libraries had rules governing access to their oral history collections.

Dissemination and usage

Methods of publicising oral history collections included talks, media interviews, articles, brochures, displays, leaflets and community newsletters. Only one library utilised a very wide range of methods, but 50% did not publicise their collections at all. Examples of publicity handouts supplied included a leaflet with excerpts on a theme and a poster asking for help with a project. Loan copies of tapes and books developed from the interviews were the most popular by-products from the raw oral history, but only half had any of these. Little information was available on their usage, but kits were provided for local schools in one case. A rate of eleven issues per year was cited for one collection of 50 cassettes. Half the libraries reported modest usage of their oral history collections, but 42% received no use at all. Of those used, librarians judged that 38% of clients were highly satisfied and 62% moderately satisfied. The collections were mostly used for school projects, local history research, general interest, and genealogical/biographical research. The most common topic categories were biographies, local history, politics/economics and general social history. The usage figures compared with archives and manuscripts where 33% of librarians reported a heavy or substantial level and 53% a modest level of usage. The satisfaction rates were higher than for oral history: 89% high and 11% moderately. The categories of users most cited by librarians were school students (53%), local historians (42%), family historians (37%) and graduate students (32%). The NOHANZ directory was not known by 69% of librarians - and consequently had probably not been widely drawn to the attention of potential users.

Reasons given for the low usage included acknowledgements that more promotion was required, that documentation and cataloguing were below standard. Some of the interviews were of poor quality and that some had restrictions on their use.

Quality

Half the librarians demonstrated a strong commitment to the historical value of their collections. Another 9% were either moderately appreciative or neutral on the matter. The negative viewpoint was influenced by the perceived low quality of collections. Opinions on whether oral history programmes affected the image of the library in the community were divided between positive/very positive ("Greatly enhanced") and neutral/no effect ("No impact! It's a well kept secret"). Fyfe and Manson³ was the most commonly used guidebook followed by the NOHANZ Code of Ethical and Technical Practice, Hutching⁴. However only half of the respondents provided professional training for interviewers. Responses to general public requests for advice or training were generally directed to courses organised by NOHANZ, the Historical Branch and the Oral History Centre. When asked to prioritise various expectations of good oral history, librarians rated good sound, personal stories and significant new information highest, with thorough questioning and documentation coming much lower.

General

Forty percent of oral history collections did not contain any Maori material. Thirty percent of collections contain some Maori interviews and 20% of libraries are actively involved with Maori projects. A small number of libraries (15%) have attempted to become involved. Five

percent mentioned other ethnic content. Difficulties with oral history programmes generally come back to funding, time and lack of staff. Problems with volunteers, legal and ethical issues and under-use were also mentioned. Sixty-five percent of libraries plan to be involved in some way in the future: only 48% expect to be actively involved; 10% expect to be passively involved, and 7% intend to concentrate on making their existing material accessible.

Survey of historical researchers

A user survey of 46 questions was directed to 577 potential respondents by three different methods. Some were mailed directly to identifiable individuals, for example, academic historians in university history departments, selected members of the New Zealand Society of Genealogists. Others were distributed by an organisation to all or a selection of its members, for example, Historical Branch employees, members of the New Zealand History Teachers Association. The third category consisted of a mailout to libraries with oral history and/or manuscript collections, for example, the Oral History Centre and the Manuscripts Section at National Library, and New Zealand Collection librarians at universities. Data requested included personal profile, sources of historical information, media used, access to and identification of information, oral history, archives and manuscripts, educators, and other comments. A return rate of 46% (263) was obtained.

Personal profiles

Academic and professional historians provided a third of the responses. Family historians, teachers and local historians made up another third. These were

followed by graduate students (23), others (19), journalists (10), creative writers (10), iwi researchers (8), tertiary students (5) and school students (5).

Sources of historical information

Archives were the most frequently used source overall, especially by professional historians. This was followed by the respondents' own collections, public libraries and people contacts, the latter particularly by local historians, family historians, tertiary students, iwi researchers and journalists. Those with the strongest exposure to the oral history collections were the frequent users of public libraries and/or the National Library, that is, all user groups except academic historians, iwi researchers, graduate students and teachers.

Users of oral history

Nearly two thirds of respondents had encountered unpublished oral history as users of interviews already recorded, as interviewers or educators. User groups with the highest oral history usage, of over 80%, were iwi researchers, teachers, tertiary students and professional historians. However the results for iwi researchers and tertiary students were based on small samples. Academic historians, creative writers and all groups combined fitted into the 60-70% bracket. Only 50-58% of the other groups had used oral history.

The average usage rate was eight occasions per oral history researcher in the previous two years. The greatest amount of the research was in social history, biography, Maori and women's history, with less on health and arts topics. As part of their research three-quarters of respondents recorded their own interviews on tape - as opposed to

taking notes only or exclusively using some already recorded oral history. This was the case for all the tertiary students and journalists. Three-quarters of those who recorded interviews extended the scope beyond their immediate needs. Similarly three-quarters of the respondents who used existing interviews found that the scope of the material gathered extended beyond their own requirements. (Their needs may not have been satisfied however.) Almost all claimed to have preserved their recordings. Only some professional historians, academic historians and journalists had not done so. The reasons for doing so, in descending order of frequency, were for posterity/general reference (41%), for a special group/contract (17%), for family/iwi (13%), for own use (11%) and for public repositories (8%). In as far as they could tell, a third had had their recordings used by a third party. Interviews deposited in a public institution were more likely to be used by others. Academic and professional historians both kept a large proportion of their oral history away from public use. When asked where they deposited their interviews the largest group of respondents (26%) replied that they kept it in their own collections, next (18%) in the Oral History Centre, in other organisations (11%) and public libraries (9%).

While 63% of researchers had considered seeking existing oral history interviews in the course of their work, only 50% had actually used oral history recorded by a third party. Oral history in repositories had been used by 37% of researchers - on average six times in two years (median, two times). The most popular topics were biography, social history, Maori and military history. The material was found to be useful or better by 80% of respondents

whether it was in public libraries, the Oral History Centre or other repositories. The majority (84%) had specifically sought the medium. Presumably the others took advantage of the oral history material as an additional source to the anticipated media. Only a small number of respondents (29) used references to oral history resources combined with other media in library catalogues. Less than half used library catalogues (41%), staff assistance (39%) directories of collections (20%), published indexes (18%), citations (10%), shelf browsing (9%) or other means (9%) to locate the oral history used. Personal referral was the most frequently mentioned means of identifying oral history in repositories. However, the most frequent strategy employed was a subject approach (70%), followed by personal names (51%) and names of organisations (35%). Searching for organisations and a browsing strategy were the most successful approaches. Respondents were asked to note their specific research problem if their search had been unsuccessful. Explanations proffered for difficulties either assumed a lack of material recorded on the topic in general, despaired that it was too late to record such material now, or illustrated a requirement for very specific information that needed to be identified in fairly general collections.

Researchers were asked to specify the format[s] of oral history they most frequently used. Tapes were most common (69%), followed by transcripts (44%), abstracts (29%) and summaries (27%). They were then asked to indicate their preferred format. This revealed a changed to transcripts (55%), tapes (53%), abstracts (33%) and summaries (20%). In both cases tapes and transcripts were the most

popular combination but the overall preference for transcripts, transcripts in conjunction with tapes, or tapes in conjunction with abstracts.

When asked to prioritise some desired features of oral history, respondents placed personal stories, significant new information, and reliability at the top. The highest ranking technical requirements were thorough questioning, good sound quality, and documentation. Problems experienced with interviews recorded by third parties were poor sound quality, poor questioning, and lack of follow-up questions, lack of transcripts, lack of abstracts and unreliable informants. Only 22% had used the NOHANZ Code of Ethical and Technical Practice. Most of them found it useful, although there were problems with the Privacy Act. When asked for comments on the significance of preserving oral history tapes, 82% were positive or very positive about its importance. Supportive comments advocated the linguistic value and general oral history qualities, and the provision of environmental and curatorial controls. Those against saw transcripts as the primary source document, and ethical and cost problems for private researchers preparing material for repositories.

Forty percent of respondents provided very positive or favourable comments on the quality of oral history in public libraries and the Oral History Centre in particular. Non-repository users were more critical. Problems included under-use, lack of awareness of oral history collections, and limitations in their scope, access, usefulness, indexing and technical quality. The main suggested improvements could be categorised and prioritised as follows: promotion/user education, bibliographical control, means of access to relevant material within

interviews, technical and content quality, and staffing and financial resources.

Archives and manuscripts

Research topics of archives and manuscript researchers fell into the following groups: politics/economics (19%), biography (15%) and Maori (14%). This compared with oral history which was being sought more for biography, social history, and military. The repositories' catalogues/lists are the most frequent means of identifying relevant material (73%), followed by staff assistance (52%), guides to collections (40%) and personal referrals (39%). This contrasted with oral history where personal referral was the most common means - probably because of the lack of cataloguing. There was also a greater use of all other means by archives and manuscript users than oral history users. Search strategies were dominated by subject approaches (73%) and personal names (69%) which was similar for oral history users. Browsing strategies were more used by archives and manuscript users than by oral history researchers. Three-quarters of respondents were successful and 23% were partly successful in their search. Bibliographical problems were cited by only 34% of the researchers asked to note any problems encountered in searching in archives and manuscript repositories.

Educators

Three-fifths of the educators who responded had had students record oral history. A higher proportion of secondary teachers responded to this question than university academics. Half the educators indicated that the recorded interviews were preserved, 36% said they were not, with the balance

retained sometimes or their fate not known. More academic than school recordings were likely to have been preserved. Schools (35%) and students' own collections (16%) account for half of the oral history preserved in the education sector, with most of the rest going to the Oral History Centre, university departments or tertiary libraries, and only 5% to public libraries. The largest groups of by-products from course work were theses in universities and edited transcripts in schools. School essays and other assignments were as common in schools as theses were in universities. Displays, videos and books were minor outcomes. About 60% of educators knew that their students had used libraries during their oral history projects. Academic students placed the National Library ahead of tertiary libraries. Public libraries received the highest usage overall (83%) because of their heavy utilisation by school students. The libraries were mainly used for background research. Less than a quarter of the respondents knew that their students had used oral history in repositories. It was mainly used for illustrating specific research topics or as background or corroboration. A minority sought it for technical aspects of oral history recording. While most said their students had used the oral history reasonably well, 20% thought it had been very useful and the same proportion had found it of minimal use.

Conclusion

Oral history as a general resource has much to offer researchers as a unique extra dimension on past human experience and as a complementary or supplementary perspective to written sources. Nothing can entirely replace material recorded by the researcher who has

a specific need and who is experienced in oral history interviewing. These recordings should be as thorough and as wide-ranging as possible and preferably made available in libraries. For their part, libraries have a responsibility to accept good quality oral history, create some if possible, and make it as accessible as possible. It must be concluded that at present the quality of collections and satisfaction or usefulness levels are mixed. The mission must be to improve quality.

Endnotes

- ¹ J R. Downs, 'The Collection and Use Of Oral History in New Zealand Public and National Libraries.' MA (Library and Information Studies) thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1997. (Available at Victoria University of Wellington Library, National Library of New Zealand, University of Waikato Library, and Hamilton Public Library)
- ² *Oral History in New Zealand: A directory of collections 1992*. Wellington, 1992.
- ³ Judith Fyfe and Hugo Manson. *Oral History and How to Approach It*. Wellington, 1995.
- ⁴ Megan Hutching. *Talking History: A short guide to oral history*. Wellington, 1993.

Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu: A Paper Presented at the National Library, 29 November 1998

Work in Progress

MONTY SOUTAR

About three miles along the beach at Waipiro Bay, where I reside at present, there is a cemetery — all that is left of the Akuaku community which thrived at the turn of the century when travel was still by the coastal coach road and not the inland highway. One of the memorial stones in that cemetery commemorates a young soldier who lost his life in the bayonet charge at Hill 60, Gallipoli. Standing in that cemetery, facing the ocean in that very private bay, I have often wondered whatever led such a young man, who probably had never been further than the bounds of the Bay in which he lived, to journey virtually to the other side of the world to fight an enemy he had never met. The question on the minds of many young Maori today is: Why were our forefathers there? My grandfather was a member of the Maori Contingent as was my wife's, and almost every other Maori family in our district had at least one member volunteer for overseas service.

Price of Citizenship

Maori participation at Gallipoli needs to be viewed against the

background of the Maori renaissance of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In late 1914, with the backing of Maori leaders, the Maori Members of Parliament gained approval with much effort for the formation of a Maori unit to leave New Zealand for active service overseas. The intended contribution to the war effort was part of an ongoing plan to raise the profile of Maori in a period when across the country there was a resurgence of Maori life; to prove that they were the equal of their Pakeha comrades, and, most importantly, through participation in war, to acquire the full benefits and privileges due to citizens of this country which, at that time, were not fully available to Maori. For example, for Maori there were levels of restricted access to hotels and bars. As a result, when Maori soldiers returned at the end of the war they were greeted with song compositions such as *Nga wharepa tena huakina te iwi kia koa* (Our men are home from the battlefields, open the doors to the hotels and let their be joy). Through war Maori sought equality.

Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu

The unit which was formed was the First Maori Contingent consisting of 500 Troops. It was organised on a tribal basis. A photo taken at

Napier with the Mayor and Sir Apirana Ngata (member for Eastern Maori), shows the East Coast volunteers en route to Auckland brandishing traditional taiaha. It was on this occasion that the Honourable Wi Pere dubbed the force *Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu* (the fighting sons of Tumatauenga). Some iwi were keener than others to answer the call to arms. This is Understandable, given that many of the fathers and grandfathers of these young men were involved in New Zealand's internal conflicts in the previous century. Those iwi who had fought with the government, rather than against, were more likely to volunteer their sons for active service than those who had, in their view, been dealt harsh treatment in terms of land confiscation fifty years earlier. The latter were naturally averse to risking their lives for an entity which they considered responsible for the deaths of their own relatives in those earlier conflicts. Nevertheless Maoridom provided the required number to form the Contingent. The troops were led by Maori officers, with the exception of the two senior positions which were given to non-Maori commanders—a sore point for Maori which led to early disputes between the officers. The Contingent left Aotearoa in February 1915,

and on their arrival in Egypt the troops were assigned to garrison duty. Several requests were made by their officers to be allowed to join the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in a fighting role but these were ignored, and when the Australian and New Zealand troops made the now infamous landing at Anzac Cove in April 1915 the Maori Contingent was not present. However, there were many Maori who did land that day. These were men who had joined the provincial infantry and mounted rifle units before the Maori Contingent was raised. Private Wiremu Moeke is listed among a number of Maori servicemen who were killed during the ANZAC Day landing.

Gallipoli

It was almost ten weeks later, and only after New Zealand had sustained severe losses, that the Maori Contingent was allowed to follow the New Zealand Expeditionary Force onto Anzac Cove. They found the New Zealand brigades 'a shadow of the force that had landed in April.'¹ The atrocious conditions and high casualty rate that their comrades had met with in the Gallipoli stalemate was soon to be visited upon the fresh contingent. Sixteen officers and 461 rank and file were landed in July—only 60 were left by September that year. The rest had either been killed or evacuated through wounds, sickness or exhaustion. For much of the time at Gallipoli the Maori played a pioneering role, clearing the spoil from mine-workings, dragging the water tanks up onto the spurs and digging the communication trenches. This important, but seemingly second-class role, is the memory that most of the descendants of the Maori Contingent have grown up with. As a result, many have some disdain for the way in

which their forbears were treated during this war. An awareness of the political and military agendas which brought about that situation allows some appreciation of why this was so, but unfortunately, the oral accounts passed down by the men who returned from Gallipoli to their children, which are often the only source of retrospective history that reach them, echo the sentiment that they were a labour force there to do the worst jobs.

During their time on Gallipoli the Maori, like the other New Zealand troops, 'risked rifle fire, endured heat, lice and flies; they lived with the stench of death in their nostrils, ate bully beef and biscuits, and eked out the ration of one gallon of water per man per day, shipped from Egypt and tainted by the kerosene that the cans had previously held. They suffered from the dysentery that afflicted everyone, and in the evenings they watched the sunset over Imbros and dreamed of other shores.'² Sari Bair and Hill 60 On two occasions in particular, the troops of the Maori Contingent were used in an attacking role. The August offensive to take the heights of Chunuk Bair saw them, as part of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, make a night advance on the foothills to open the way to the top of the heights. 'The task before the Maoris was to advance with empty rifles against a foe entrenched in seemingly impregnable positions on the grim dark heights above. The work had to be done with the point of the bayonet. The orders were that not a shot was to be fired; the enemy trenches must be taken by surprise attack.'³

The Maori were most successful and Sir Peter Buck later wrote, 'I knew that a Turkish trench had been captured in the darkness at the point of the bayonet when the retiring fire of the Turks was silenced. But more

wonderful to me was that the night air was broken vigorously by the war cry of Ka mate, ka mate! Ka ora, ka ora!' He continued: 'My heart thrilled at the sound of my mother tongue resounding up the slopes of Sari Bair.'⁴ Unfortunately, that was among the few success the New Zealanders experienced in the failed offensive, and for the remainder of the attack the New Zealand casualties were crippling high. 'The weakened Maori Contingent were committed again in late August to seize Hill 60 as part of the Mounted Rifles Brigade.'⁵ In a bayonet charge across open land, the Maori Contingent were destroyed as a fighting unit. Several of my own relatives met their deaths in that charge.

In December 1915 the surviving members of the Maori Contingent were evacuated from the Gallipoli Peninsula and joined in Egypt by the 2nd Maori Contingent sent from New Zealand to reinforce them. They were reformed, along with the shattered Otago Mounted Rifles, into a Pioneer Battalion and Maori participation in the rest of the war was as Pioneers. Many of the families of these men christened children with names to remind them of the Gallipoli experience: Anzac, Karipori (Gallipoli), Mutu (end of the conflict), Pae ote Pakanga (the battleground), Hune te Paionia (June the Pioneer).

Oral History

The one or two written histories on Maori participation at Gallipoli have, for the most part, been based on official records and accounts from senior officers, and therefore do not reflect all viewpoints. In fact, seldom have uniquely Maori perspectives been admitted into any of the First World War histories, nor have the expectations of a Maori readership been fulfilled. Within Maori society oral history remains the preferred historical approach. In one project I am involved with, we are recording the children of Gallipoli veterans, most of whom are now in their twilight years, in order to gain a

wider appreciation of the Maori experience of New Zealand's involvement in the First World War. With such a project, it is inevitable that memorabilia comes to light in the course of interviews, and these are enhancing our appreciation of the Maori experience of Gallipoli. For example, a letter written in Maori on the day before the attack on Hill 60 by Pte. Whare Baker to his sister, forecast his own death. And there is the story of Ioapa Te Puni evacuated from Gallipoli to Egypt, only to find that his sixteen year old son had come across as part of the Second Maori Contingent.

Oral history can help recover the past and fill in some of the gaps for Maori audiences. The stories passed down from the men are complemented by the experiences of the women who laid the foundation of support back at home during and after the war. It is hoped that, through interviews with the families of First World War servicemen, an increased awareness of the Maori experience might be gained, and that the process will go some way to healing the scars which some of the descendants of these men carry.

Tena koutou.

Endnotes

- ¹ Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: the Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*, Auckland, 1995, p. 36.
- ² James Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A history of the Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion—Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-18*, Wellington, 1926, p. 38.
- ³ Wira Gardiner, *Te Mura o Te Ahi: The story of the Maori Battalion*, Auckland, 1992, p. 12.
- ⁴ J. B. Condliffe, *Te Rangihiroa: The life of Sir Peter Buck*, Wellington, 1971, p.132.
- ⁵ Pugsley, p. 4

Book Reviews

The Passionate Pen, New Zealand's Romance Writers Talk To Rachel McAlpine

Hazard Press, Christchurch, 1998, paperback.

Reviewed by
ALISON J. LAURIE,
Victoria University of Wellington.

Romance writing is the world's most successful literary genre, if success is measured by the number of readers. Until feminist scholars began paying serious attention to popular romance fiction¹ this genre received little literary attention. In this book Rachel McAlpine has collected fifteen oral histories from New Zealand writers of romance fiction and has edited these into chapters. These New Zealand writers are especially interesting- McAlpine points out that of fewer than 250 Mills and Boon writers world-wide, seven live here and that some of these writers have been extremely successful. Essie Summers has written romance fiction for over 40 years and has estimated sales of 17 million, Robyn Donald's book editions are 500,000 and the prolific Miriam Macgregor, Susan Napier and Ivy Preston, among others, are acknowledged best-sellers.

McAlpine translates the voices of the women in these oral histories into written words on a page and has edited the spoken narratives into seamless chunks of writing. She took great care to ensure that the transcribed and then edited pieces were approved by the women. So, in this sense, she has rendered the oral histories into short and authorised biographies of the women. Oral

history may be seen as a form of autobiography, moderated by a questioning interviewer who has selected the questions. The translation of this medium into written biography poses some interesting questions. Is this a legitimate use of oral histories? In choosing this style for her book McAlpine has done a remarkably good job of maintaining a different voice in each chapter - but these voices seem to be more fluent, faster and more definite than the pace of an interview or of speech ever is. The inflections, hedges, hesitancy, uncertainties, nuances, questions, sighs and pauses are all lost to us in this translation to writing. Their words inevitably appear as statements which they are making rather than a response to a question which they have been asked and their speech has been stripped of its complexities. So much of the oral interview is the interaction between interviewer and subject and losing the questions means that we cannot assess the influence of the guiding and unseen presence of the interviewer. As Joan Sangster puts it; "In order to understand the formation of women's gendered consciousness and memory ... we must also acknowledge our own influence on the shape of the interview".²

Our influence involves our presence, our body language, the choice of time and venue as well as the questions we ask. And the choice of questions isn't only about which particular question was asked but how and where in the interview it was asked. Further, without an analysis of how the editing choices and final selections were made, we

can't interpret the complexities of the narratives. Interestingly, McAlpine attempts to show what goes into the construction of romances and the text discusses plot, character, motive and what works for romance fiction in a fascinating way. But the text does not reveal the construction of itself as translated oral history. Oral historians know that one interview is different from another depending especially upon the interviewer and also upon other variables. An oral history interview is a snapshot in time, and as Mary Stuart says "The process of telling your story is a process of constructing a self. It is a self which is created in the moment, constructed in the particular frame of the interview".³

Finally, however, these oral histories were done in order to produce the book and we must accept that fact. It holds wide appeal for a wide variety of readers - readers of romance fiction, feminist scholars and biography enthusiasts will all enjoy *The Passionate Pen* - as will oral historians, not least because of the fascinating questions raised by this use of oral history.

Endnotes

- ¹ For example: Radway, Janice A. 1991 *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature*, Chapel Hill, U. of N. Carolina Press.
- ² Sangster, Joan 1994 "Telling our Stories: feminist debates and the use of oral history" in *Womne's History review*, Volume 3, Number 1, 1994.
- ³ Stuart, Mary 1994 "You're a big girl now: subjectivities, feminism and oral history" *Oral History Autumn 25th Anniversary Issue*.

**Grey Ghosts:
New Zealand Vietnam Vets talk
about their War, 1965-1975
by Deborah Challinor**

Hodder Moa Beckett, Auckland, 1998, 288 pp, paperback.

**Reviewed by
ROBERTO RABEL
University of Otago**

This work represents the first significant effort, based on oral history interviews, to reconstruct the experience of New Zealand troops during the Vietnam War. The individual memories presented in the book illustrate diverse reactions to that experience, ranging from the humorous to the tragic and from the prosaic to the deeply moving. They share in common, nevertheless, that authenticity of voice invariably conveyed by those recalling an especially vivid—in some cases, definitive—period in their lives.

Deborah Challinor is to be commended for bringing to public attention these selected recollections of some fifty veterans' experiences during and after the Vietnam conflict. She has wisely organised her book into thematic chapters covering her interviewees' reflections on such issues as engaging in combat and confronting death, relations with allied forces and the Vietnamese, New Zealand cultural 'style' in Vietnam, rest and relaxation, discipline and morale, alleged atrocities, and the ongoing impact of the Vietnam War on veterans' lives. Such subjects are ideal for investigation through oral history, for they do not feature prominently in written official records. Yet they relate to far more immediate concerns in the experience of those New Zealanders who served in Vietnam than the diplomatic machinations which sent them there.

Despite its promising organisational framework and rich source material, however, the book has some serious flaws. It is primarily a social and cultural history, for there is no sustained effort to evaluate how effectively New Zealand soldiers in Vietnam carried out the tasks assigned to them in professional military terms. Yet, the author's analysis of the social and cultural meaning of the New Zealand military experience in Vietnam is, at best, superficial. The book is replete with tantalising anecdotes about subjects such as race relations, New Zealand culture and military heritage, but the author makes no attempt to set them in broader context. She frequently notes the impact of Vietnam on these men but only discusses in limited ways what they brought with them to the experience and what constituted their 'New Zealandness'. In general, Challinor seems reluctant to develop a clear thesis about the historical significance of the experience depicted in these collected anecdotes.

Perhaps even more surprisingly for a book based on personal interviews, she includes little discussion of her use of that methodology and does not list any general works on oral history in her bibliography. Challinor tends to eschew critical evaluation of her sources, which are generally taken at face value, even though they frequently reveal conflicting memories. As a result, this study is more of a work of collation than of critical reflection on New Zealand memories of the Vietnam War.

On a more general level, the book illustrates both strengths and weaknesses of oral history as a methodology. The quotations from veterans show how dramatically individual memories can be brought to life but the paucity of authorial

analysis raises important questions about how one determines the wider collective significance of such memories. Books such as this suggest that oral history techniques may be most valuable for analysing in depth a small number of individuals' experiences or for systematic, quantitative analysis of larger, statistically representative samples.

To a professional historian interested in oral history, this work is disappointing. In the end, it leaves an impression of reading one anecdote after another, organised for convenience into thematic sections. Though the anecdotes themselves are often fascinating, the book could have been considerably more engaging if Challinor had sought more determinedly to interpret rather than just chronicle her source material. The question of how our veterans' experiences fit into the larger story of New Zealand's most controversial twentieth-century war continues to await imaginative historical investigation.

**She Dared to Speak:
Connie Birchfield's Story by her
daughter Maureen Birchfield.**

University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 1998.

**Reviewed by
LESLEY HALL
Victoria University of
Wellington**

I met Connie just once, not too long before she died. Over lunch she asked if I had heard of Lloyd George, a man for whom she apparently had tremendous admiration. I mentioned that he had the reputation of being a bit of a womaniser. "Piffle" she said (or words to that effect), "it's the politics that count!" This rejoinder confirms the book's cover notes

which describe Connie as "a spirited woman", one whose vitality and skills as an orator were still going strong when I met her in her 90's.

As if to confirm that our own autobiography affects how we read the biographies of others, I recalled our exchange again when Connie, in a conversation recorded by Maureen, talks about the introduction of sickness benefit in Britain in the early 20th century, described by its beneficiaries as "going on Lloyd George". It is connections such as these that make the reading of biography so popular. This is an interesting story of a working class woman, someone who learned from her father that she was the equal of anyone. It is written in an accessible and enjoyable style, by someone whose admiration for her mother is evident, but who also reveals the embarrassment children may feel about their parents' public personae.

The author states:- "Most published life stories are about famous people in the mainstream of public life. My mother was not in the mainstream and, in her heyday, was notorious rather than famous". Connie's notoriety stemmed from her position as one of the few women members of the Communist Party of New Zealand, as a CPNZ candidate in national and local politics from the 1930s to the 1950s, as a soapbox orator who could deliver a 90-minute speech with only three words on a piece of paper (one word for each half hour), and who thrived on heckling.

This story is chronological, describing Connie's early years in Lancashire; her working life in the mills, before her emigration to New Zealand; her introduction to socialism; the depression years; her political life as a member of the CPNZ; marriage and motherhood; her resignation/expulsion from the party after the invasion of Hungary in 1956; and finally her later years as an armchair philosopher.

Taped conversations between Maureen and Connie (then in her 80's) form the basis of this biography but Connie's recollection of events has been cross-checked with taped interviews of people who knew her, and with archival material (both in England and New Zealand). Personally, I would have liked to know more about how the information was collected, what questions were asked, and the context for the conversations, because as a teacher of oral history and auto/biography I'm interested in not only the extracts selected for the book, but also those left out. As Katherine Borland has argued oral historians construct a second level narrative based upon, but at the same time reshaping, the first.

This is Connie's story, but seen through her daughter's eyes. This has the advantage of offering a unique perspective as Maureen's and her mother's biographies are inextricably linked. However, the possible disadvantage is that events that portray the subject negatively may be omitted or glossed over. When discussing a perception of her as dogmatic or dominating, for example, Connie is reported as saying "I can understand people misunderstanding me...thinking that I'm speaking so emphatically - that's right and I'm right- you know the style of speaking...", Maureen comments briefly: "Yes, we knew".

This is an important biography because it details the life of a "radical and gutsy" working class woman who was part of the political life of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Its publication will hopefully ensure that, in the words of Barry Lee, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, "Connie will always remain an outstanding figure in the history of the working class movement in New Zealand and in our party's history".

NOHANZ ORIGINS

The National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) was established as result of the first national oral history seminar organised in April 1986 by the Centre for Continuing Education of the Victoria University of Wellington and the New Zealand Oral History Archive, a professional organisation based in the National Library that worked on major oral history projects.

Objectives

- To promote the practice and methods of oral history.
- To promote standards in oral history interviewing techniques, and in recording and preservation methods.
- To act as a resource of information and to advise on practical and technical problems involved in making oral history recordings.
- To act as a coordinator of oral history activities throughout New Zealand.
- To produce an annual oral history journal and regular newsletters.
- To promote regular oral history meetings, talks, seminars, workshops and demonstrations.
- To encourage the establishment of NOHANZ branches throughout New Zealand.
- To compile a directory of oral history holdings to improve access to collections held in libraries archives and museums.

Code of ethical and technical practice

This Code exists to promote ethical, professional and technical standards in the collection, preservation and use of sound and video oral history material.

Archives, sponsors and organisers of oral history projects have the following responsibilities:

- to inform interviewers and people interviewed of the importance of this Code for the successful creation and use of oral history material;
- to select interviewers on the basis of professional competence and interviewing skill, endeavouring to assign appropriate interviewers to people interviewed;
- to see that records of the creation and processing of each interview are kept;
- to ensure that each interview is properly indexed and catalogued;
- to ensure that preservation conditions for recordings and accompanying material are of the highest possible standard;
- to ensure that placement of and access to recordings and accompanying material comply with a signed or recorded agreement with the person interviewed;
- to ensure that people interviewed are informed of issues such as copyright, ownership, privacy legislation, and how the interview and accompanying material may be used;
- to make the existence of available interviews known through public information channels;
- to guard against possible social injury to, or exploitation of people interviewed.

Interviewers have the following responsibilities:

- to inform the person interviewed of the purposes and procedures of oral history in general and of the particular project in which they are involved;
- to inform the person interviewed of issues such as copyright, ownership, privacy legislation, and how the material and accompanying material may be used;
- to develop sufficient skills and knowledge in interviewing and equipment operation, e.g. through reading and training, to ensure a result of the highest possible standard;
- to use equipment that will produce recordings of the highest possible standard;
- to encourage informative dialogue based on thorough research;
- to conduct interviews with integrity;
- to conduct interviews with an awareness of cultural or individual sensibilities;
- to treat every interview as a confidential conversation, the contents of which are available only as determined by written or recorded agreement with the person interviewed;
- to place each recording and all accompanying material in an archive to be available for research, subject to any conditions placed on it by the person interviewed;
- to inform the person interviewed of where the material will be held;
- to respect all agreements made with the person interviewed.

National Oral History
Association of New Zealand

PO Box 3819

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1998

NOHANZ



*Women against the Vietnam war on the
march of 4500 in Wellington on April 20.*

Published in *Up from Under*, June 1971 (p4)
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ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY, WELLINGTON, N.Z.

NOHANZ

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