

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

GET OFF THE BUS:

A Study of Redundancy Amongst Older Workers

in Palmerston North.

Ross James Swanston

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Sociology

Massey University

1995

ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to examine the experience of redundancy as it effected the lives of a small sample of older workers when they were laid off from their industrial site. The study begins by highlighting the extent to which previous research into the personal consequences of losing a job has to a large measure been limited because of a strong tradition of dualism within sociology. More specifically, the tensions and struggles of individuals as they endeavour to cope with the upheavals of suddenly finding themselves without a job have been divided into two schools of thought. *Either*, autonomous, voluntary (freely choosing), vulnerable older workers have been portrayed as struggling against, or determined by an oppressive 'system', *or* redundancy has been subjectively interpreted from the point of view of the actor where autonomy once more or having 'choices' is the defining characteristic of research. These theoretical constructions wherein social life has been polarized into one of two 'camps' of thought are challenged by this thesis. I argue that the result has been to marginalise, or neglect the very construction of *subjectivity* by previous researchers when investigating this subject.

This study is presented against the background of worsening economic conditions for a large number of citizens, escalating unemployment and the creation of a 'flexible' labour market in New Zealand after 1984. These conditions have led to far reaching and in many cases cruel changes in the working environment for those fortunate enough to be there. My argument draws upon the deconstructionism of Michel Foucault to put forward a more adequate sociological appreciation of the processes occurring during redundancy. By focusing on the relationship between *power* and *subjectivity* and utilising such an approach I hope to make visible and explain certain critical issues of control and dependency. This will show how subtle manipulations have a determining influence on the lives of the long serving employees at Zenith prior to, during and after they lost their jobs.

Do not ask me who I am and do not ask me to
remain the same : leave it to our bureaucrats
and our police to see that our papers are in order

(Foucault 1972, 1988: ix)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to Janine Jones (M.A. Hons) for her dedicated editing work. The many long discussions we have been involved in have also been of inestimable value in furthering my understanding of the work of Foucault. To my supervisors, Doctor Paul Perry and Doctor Mike O'Brien I would like to extend my deepest appreciation and thanks for your efforts on my behalf.. Your feedback and support was invaluable during the duration of the thesis.

To Professor Gregor McLennan who made comments on the completed chapters I extend my thanks. To Judy Lawrence, Senior librarian at the Massey library who searched previous studies of redundancy and to all Massey library staff who contributed with helpful advice, I extend my thanks.

	Page
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Introduction	1
Chapter One	6
A Review of the Literature	
Chapter Two	22
Theoretical Issues: Dividing Practices	
Chapter Three	44
Subjectivity, Power and Social Relations	
Chapter Four	55
Historical Background and the Zenith Bus Company	
Chapter Five	75
Their Story: Data Presentation	
Chapter Six	93
Analysis: Redundancy and the Self	
Chapter Seven	111
Conclusions	
Appendix A: To Whom it may Concern	118
Appendix B: Showcards	119
Appendix C: Covering Letter	120
Appendix D: Interview Questionnaire	121
Appendix E: Short Interview Guide	129
Appendix F: Qualitative Interview Guide	130
Bibliography	137

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores how changing power relations operate to influence and shape the conceptions older workers have of themselves before, during and after the experience of redundancy. As will be seen, power (defined in this thesis as a diffuse, dynamic and heterogeneous phenomenon), acts upon the actions of others (Knights and Willmott, 1989; Foucault, 1982). Power, argues Foucault, always flows from works by those 'who know' (the experts in a field) to effect every area of everyday life through subtle strategies of power and knowledge. This means that when mature workers (as is the case with others) experience redundancy, their identities are permanently effected by the power plays involved, impacting upon how they see themselves and others as human beings. Being laid off is not simply a matter of suddenly having less money.

New Zealand during the 1990s has witnessed a rush of radical change in the working environment which has transformed the fundamental character of labour relations in this country dating back over the last twenty years. Accompanied by worsening economic conditions for the majority of people and escalating unemployment since the early 1980s, crucial questions arise concerning the impact of unemployment on the individual and group psyche. This impact occurs through the continuous operations of power, since a great deal of what it means to be human comes from the workplace (Knights, 1989: 314). One example of this is the transformation of the working environment whereby workers are less ready to speak out and fight for their rights and those of others.

Previous research done in the area of redundancy suggests that the conditions of recession and the structural adjustment which goes with it significantly contributes to the difficulties older workers and their families experience when a job is lost (Kalisch and Williams, 1983: 13-14; Boglietti, 1974). Many of these problems can be traced to the small and subtle ways whereby power in modern societies operates as a determining influence to infiltrate minds and souls and shape an individual's perception of self (McNay, 1992: 3-81). Chapter One will reveal, that scant

rigorous, empirical research has been attempted specifically to show how power, when combined with knowledge, is used to subject managers and workers alike to their own identities for well-defined purposes (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 553; Foucault, 1982: 212-3), thus reproducing the conditions which oppress them. Technologies of power, which are always employed with deliberate intent to control others may cover a wide range of objectives, such as the urge to increase production or spur profitability to retain and enlarge corporate privilege. The lack of systematic scrutiny of power in redundancy studies and what might be revealed by tackling the issue of power plays and their consequences will be directly addressed in this thesis.

The 'germ' of an idea for the study occurred some time back when I was introduced to the work of Michel Foucault, a social historian (1926-1984) through his ground-breaking work, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison* (Foucault, 1977a), where he shows us how a new concept of surveillance as punishment developed in Europe at the turn of the eighteenth century. It occurred to me that the novel ideas introduced by Foucault in relation to punishment, could also be applied when considering the labour market, and indeed any area of social life, with equal force and clarity.

Utilising Foucault in this way meant that the central task lay in attempting to create an account of how, through words and deeds, knowledge and power is used to turn individuals 'inwards'. By this Foucault means that the exercise of power causes persons to examine their behaviour, so that they become subjected to themselves, or what he terms 'subjects' (Rabinow, 1984: 7). This process was then to be translated into an analysis of redundancy in the labour market. Deeds or practices may be briefly defined as action, while words or discourse is the domain of language use that is unified by common assumptions or programmes (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988: 71). For example, Foucault describes how various discourses of sexuality have changed over time, thus providing the key to identity and social position in nineteenth century Europe (Foucault, 1978; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 168-183). Therefore statements help constitute what Foucault

terms the 'problem of the subject', or in other words the problem of the human condition as constructed in discourse.

With Foucauldian theory in mind, the Zenith Bus Company¹ was chosen as a site of historical change. The study is not intended as a definitive story, but is a localised investigation which aims to explore how one group of older workers were the target of subtle processes of power as they headed towards the fatal day of closure and redundancy.

In Chapter One, which reviews the studies which focus on the social consequences of being redundant it will be made clear that most research in this area falls into one or the other of two 'camps' of sociological enquiry. In one camp, the sociology of 'social systems' (e.g. Marxist), depicts voluntaristic (freely choosing) individuals as struggling against, or being oppressed by 'systems' such as the economic or political system. In the other, redundancy has been studied from the 'social action' perspective focusing on meaning and human autonomy from the point of view of the actor (e.g. symbolic interactionism), and aiming to show how the ability to take part in the life of the community has been eroded by redundancy. As a third approach this thesis argues that such dualistic theorising about the labour process has led to a marginalisation of subjectivity by placing an emphasis on grand systems or meaning.

Despite an absence of subjectivity in studies dominating the field of industrial sociology, two ethnographies stand. These represent a considerable improvement on other efforts to analyze the labour process as they capture the tensions, antagonisms and contradictions for those working on the shop floor.

Chapter Two locates and explains the key concepts adopted from Foucault. These concepts are used to shed light on the problem of power relations during

¹ Please note that in order to protect the identities of those who partook in the study all names of persons have been changed as has the name of the Company concerned.

redundancy and the impact upon the identities of older workers as they are targeted for 'the sack'. In this chapter I show how a person's sense of a clear identity is very much controlled by dividing practices. According to Foucault, these practices are the means or strategies which can be used to control individuals or populations for a definite purpose.

In Chapter Two Foucault's contention that power and knowledge complement one another is examined and explained as a category for the analysis of redundancy. Where knowledge and power is present, argues Foucault, individuals are constituted as 'subjects' through certain modes of objectification. This results in individuals becoming 'objects' by the different ways in which they are treated.

Together these concepts establish my theoretical framework. The framework helps demonstrate how those once employed at the Zenith Bus Company were not only agents in a class struggle over the means of production, but were on a deeper level the targets of disciplinary power processes that Foucault terms 'dividing practices'.

In Chapter Three I outline the methodology whereby the data was gathered and analyzed. This shows that workers laid off from the Zenith Bus Company were very much a product of their life long work.

For the purpose of analysis the case study method was felt to best show how power is embedded in dividing practices (outlined in Chapter Two), which in turn weakens the power of individuals (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 540-541) by turning them away from endeavour and in on themselves.

Chapter Three sets out four general rules of procedure outlined by Foucault (1982: 23-24), which will structure the interpretation of data. These will be followed by five steps that Foucault (1982: 223-224) suggests are necessary in order to have a rigorous analysis of power.

In Chapter Four I outline the historical background of the study of modern power

relations to show how disciplinary processes of normalisation, surveillance and assessments have extended their hold over processes and events in New Zealand, within the context of what Foucault terms the modern 'disciplinary society'. Such processes rather than class conflict underpin the structural changes which have occurred in the labour market here since 1984.

Following on from this broad overview I then narrow the focus of attention to the Zenith Bus Company as a microcosm of historical change.

In Chapter Five, as the stories of workers laid off from the Zenith Bus Company unfold, the dividing practices which shape their accounts reveal ways in which workers became subordinate to those who controlled the workplace and how these experiences influenced their later lives.

I conclude the study with an analysis of redundancy processes, focusing on Foucault's concept of dividing practices to examine how dealings on the shop floor and in the wider society are mediated by the problem of subjectivity and by relations of power (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 536-537). Power, it will be shown does indeed implant upon the hearts and minds of those sent 'down the road' by their long term employers, often without so much as a word of thanks after many years of loyal service. Dismissal is a sad state of affairs. The saddest aspect for those losing their jobs is clearly felt to be the ways in which workers are treated as 'objects' to serve corporate interests. Any notion that powerful business interests have the best interests of their workers at heart is quite plainly a myth.

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

According to Foucault's reckoning (1982: 208), processes of control and dependency act upon workers in two ways. Firstly, they become controlled by and dependent upon those in charge of the workplace, such as foremen and managers. Secondly, they also become 'turned in upon themselves', or as Foucault puts it, *tied* to their own identity by a conscience or 'knowledge' of the self. By this he means that in today's industrial working environment, workers can by a combination of processes which act upon them, become 'consumed by the job' to such an extent that work often assumes strategic importance in how they see themselves as worthwhile human beings. It influences their values, thoughts and the way workers behave towards others. In modern society work can assume an exaggerated importance in a person's life so that when work is lost through redundancy, an integral part of the self is also lost. In such circumstances identity becomes increasingly problematic as workers struggle to re-establish 'who they are' and why they do indeed, exist at all. Several writers refer to this phenomenon as 'identity fetishism' (Willmott, 1989; Knights and Willmott, 1989; Knights, 1989). The idea of 'identity fetishism' is one example of how the operation of power upon individuals influences their identities or subjectivities. *Subjectivity*, for the purposes of this thesis, may be briefly defined as the result of power relays which act upon people to influence their actions, behaviour and innermost thoughts. This idea will be further explained in Chapter Two.

The aim of this thesis is firstly, to study how redundancy affects older workers by taking social or dividing practices as the focus of analysis and secondly, to explore how power applies these practices as tactics to influence the subjectivities or identities of a specific set of individuals; i.e., workers on the shop floor as they experience the labour processes of redundancy. This will be done in order to overcome the limitations of the main body of labour process research literature. This literature either focuses on 'society' as an undifferentiated mass or 'the

individual' as a psychological being at the expense of an adequate and in-depth analysis.

The theoretical problem of the *subjectivity* of the individual is not a new one within sociological inquiry. I believe it is possible to take this topic seriously without sliding into a purely subjectivist account of the social world. That is to say, an account of 'reality' that may be no more valid than any other account since it is merely an interpretation. Within sociology a considerable debate has ensued over the question of how to take account of the voluntarism (freedom to choose) of human beings as 'social agents' without underplaying the determinism of 'structures' in the 'social system' (see Dawe, 1970). Yet the current debate has been dominated *either* by 'social action' perspectives, such as symbolic interactionism, which stress interpretations of the subjective meaning of individual actors, *or* by 'social system' approaches such as functionalism, which place the emphasis on 'systems' or macro-processes. For example, the economic, cultural, political or social macro-processes which have dominated progressive social science.

In one 'camp' then, the sociology of 'social systems' emphasise the frailty of human nature in circumstances wherein workers are seen to be struggling against the monolithic 'oppression' of 'the system' (e.g. Westergaard, Noble and Walker, 1989; Harris, 1987). Here, the focus is on the need for social order if anomic chaos is to be avoided. This is a deterministic view of the social world, because within the parameters of studies from functionalism to structural Marxism, individuals are in the last instance controlled by 'systems', objective structures or institutionalised constraints. For instance, according to Marx's approach, workers are 'free' to exchange their labour for a wage, but within this process of the voluntary selling of labour power, workers are exploited by the systematic extraction of surplus value by the purchasers (capital) (Willmott, 1989: 354). Marx (1976: 280) vividly expresses it, saying the worker is 'free' to bring:

his own hide to market, and now has nothing else to expect but - a tanning.

Put simply, workers are exploited by the capitalist system for greater profit.

However, Marx's analysis fails to take account of the many ways power operates in modern societies (see Chapter Two) so that workers may come to regard a "tanning" as tolerable and even as desirable.

In the opposing camp, sociologies of 'social action', such as symbolic interactionism, stress meaning and human autonomy over 'structure' and aim to illustrate how 'freedom' to take part in social life is eroded by redundancy. Here the attention is directed towards subjective interpretations of the social world. It is claimed by 'social action' researchers (e.g. Ashworth, 1979; Weigert, 1986; Schultz, 1973), that reality can be explained simply from internal accounts of human behaviour alone. However, this contention fails to recognise that in modern political regimes individuals are not autonomous even though many people spend large amounts of time trying to reach that state. Rather, through the operation of the positive nature of power, as this thesis illustrates, individuals are induced and constrained to act and behave in specific ways (Foucault, 1982: 221). Reality therefore cannot simply be explained from meaning, because (as seen in Chapter Six), power acts upon the actions of others, (not necessarily directly), to change behaviour, thoughts, perceptions and values (Knights, 1989: 319). With this in mind, any interpretation of reality is only the *result* of the operation of power. An alternative is to take social practices as the focus of analysis, and to explore how these practices are simultaneously mediated by subjectivity and by relations of power. This is the approach taken in this thesis.

To illustrate the dominant body of labour process research, this chapter first reviews those studies which broadly fall into these two categories.

Then, the focus is on two specific empirical ethnographies within the industrial sociology literature. It is argued that these studies have the advantage of presenting a more adequate account of subjectivity than can be found in the current body of research. In contrast to most previous studies which neglect to recognise the importance of subjectivity, these researchers show a deeper appreciation of the human element within labour processes.

The chapter is concluded by stressing the problem of the '*missing subject*' within the body of studies on labour relations. I argue that in order to develop adequate accounts of this human relationship and the experience of redundancy, it is necessary to bring the '*missing subject*' into the centre of the analysis. This can be adequately done by drawing on Michel Foucault's notion of *the subject* (Foucault, 1978; 1986), which is explained in Chapter Two.

Now to elaborate on the dominant literature. The first broad systematic approach to the subject of the labour process is the:

Social System Approach

Marxist Studies

Marxist studies of the impact of redundancy relate the deprivation caused by being laid off to a worker's *economic* position within a particular class.

Westergaard, Noble and Walker (1989) use a structural Marxist approach to examine the long-term impact of redundancy on workers who lost their jobs from a Sheffield Steel Company in 1979. This event occurs within the context of British economic decline and deindustrialization at the start of the Thatcher years. The labour market experience is investigated from the viewpoint of workers themselves - their feelings of insecurity and fear within the 'class structure' and their resistance (non-resistance) to Company policy. Ex-workers are depicted as being buffeted by external macro-forces, such as social exclusion and economic marginalization, which shape their attitudes and behaviour after being thrown on the 'scrapheap'. What this study does in the end is to maintain that workers are exploited by an oppressive 'system', which takes advantage of their working class position. As a result, they struggle and find it difficult to come to terms with their disadvantaged position in a declining labour market.

In a similar vein, labour market outcomes and the behaviours of those made redundant are explored by Lee and Harris (1985) and Harris (1987). The identity of workers is defined in terms of their class position and the roles they play within

an economically driven labour market.

Harris claims:

The activity of workers in the market may be seen as a struggle to retain or reproduce, under unfavourable conditions, a traditional social identity.

Those who fail in market terms cling to the political and social models, which in the past have been associated with their class (Harris, 1987: 216).

This study is reductionist because it reduces subjectivity to economics since Harris focuses on the *economic* aspects of relations, actions, activities under study and then seeks to apply his insights to the labour market experience. Such an approach fails to appreciate the many complex ways in which the operation of power in modern society moulds the identities of workers and 'turns them in on themselves'. This is a factor examined in this thesis.

Walker (1986) also reduces power to economics by his contention that in the 1980s older workers in Western Europe were exploited to provide a 'reserve army of labour'. Walker describes this occurrence as "conscription on the cheap", but he fails to consider this as a deliberate power strategy to place some workers in subservient positions and eliminate others. Similarly, Showler and Sinfield (1981) from a macro perspective, show how older workers are exploited economically by a process of marginalisation wherein workers become 'responses to reduced demand' in order to maintain ruling class interests (Showler and Sinfield, 1981: 125). Again there is a failure to probe the intricate workings of the exercises of power. As Willmott (1989: 358) points out, capitalist labour processes are *not* just about producing goods and services for profit; they are also about workers, managers and directors organising their *own* subjectivities. These are subjectivities which are conditioned by the differing experiences of being treated both as subjects and objects of knowledge (see Chapter Two) and by contradictory or differing social positions.

The crucial influence of power within the labour process is also ignored by

Standing (1986) who views the growing marginalisation of older workers in Western Europe during the 1980s as a result of the creation of a 'flexible' labour force. Standing's analysis is inadequate since it merely considers this 'event' in terms of *cost*. As Chapter Four will illustrate, the constitution of a 'flexible' labour force has been a deliberate power strategy in New Zealand throughout the 1980s.

Functionalist Studies

Marxist studies, such as those reviewed above, are mainly concerned with analysing labour processes in terms of the *economic* class positions of individuals made redundant within the capitalist system. Functionalist studies, on the other hand, point to the disruptive impact of redundancy upon the smooth functioning of the 'social order'.

The first example of the latter, although not directly concerned with redundancy, is that of Komarovsky (1940). This study focuses on the upheavals in family life resulting from unemployment. Here, the experiences of families in coping with an unemployed husband are reduced, in the language of positivism, to reified accounts of authority types, roles and statuses. For example, as a wife perceives her husband's authority to be waning as a result of unemployment her response, according to Komarovsky, is personal despair as the price or pay-off for inflicted economic and social insecurity of the marriage itself (Komarovsky, 1940: 146). But this is a simple view of the human condition wherein it is assumed by the writer that a wife will respond in certain defined ways when an unemployed husband hangs around the house. But as this thesis shows, such gross reductionism fails to allow for the complexities of power in human relationships and the consequences for poor families.

Following on from Talcott Parson's conception of the 'sick role', Kasl, Gore and Cobb (1975) examine changes in health and illness as a result of an industrial plant closure. Power, as it exists in these studies, is typically viewed in negative or oppressive terms such as recession forcing people into redundancy while subjective processes resulting from these macro forces are omitted. Furthermore, creative,

innovative aspects of power are not considered.

Descriptive Studies

In contrast to the Marxist and functionalist studies reviewed above, descriptive studies merely describe redundancy processes, but fail to analyze underlying change. The critical issue of the intricate workings of power is omitted. It can be argued that they fail to probe the issue of redundancy at sufficient depth.

With this in mind, examples of such studies include the works of Morris (1984), Hutchens (1988), Davies and Esseveld (1989) Beckett (1988) and Kalisch and Williams (1983) wherein labour processes are merely described with no analysis of significant social practices or continuous operations of power. For example, Davies and Esseveld (1989) describe how a scheme provided a clothing factory with 'cheap', 'flexible' and thus easily disposable labour power (p. 241) while failing to draw out the strategies and objectives under such a scheme. Subjectivity, if it is included at all, is generally interpreted to mean oppression by the capitalist (or economic) 'system' which forces groups such as older workers out of the labour force or into secondary jobs.

Other Studies

Rones (1983) focuses on such indicators as discouragement by exploring the labour market problems of older workers in terms of *costs* and duration of unemployment, while Rones and Herz (1989) examine other institutional barriers to the employment of mature workers from an economic viewpoint. However, as precise as these studies may be, the *conditions* underlying these schemes or barriers are left untouched.

Finally, in this residual category, Beckett (1988), Elmore (1980) and Rosen (1978) examine aspects of redundancy among older workers from an administrative or legal perspective, but in each case the operations of power behind the making of managerial decisions are not considered. For example, Rosen (1978) investigates how age stereotypes influence the making of managerial decisions but fails to

realise that these stereotypes are continuously produced and reproduced both at home and at work through the exercise of power (Knights, 1989: 314).

To summarize then, most previous studies which focus on a monolithic and undifferentiated 'social system' view the operation of power within the labour process as both negative and oppressive. Accordingly, experience is *reduced* to a progressive tension between the workers aspirations and what workers can acquire from labour. For example, several researchers tend to overly reduce the effects of redundancy to a singular issue - *costs* - whereby ex-workers are seen as being deprived by being laid off. This is a simple view of how the self is influenced in the lead-up to, during, and after redundancy, since workers receive their identities and sense of self-worth to a very large extent from the work they do. I argue that these are historical processes which have been internalised and acted upon over time (Willmott, 1989: 346; also see Chapter Two).

Social Action Approaches to the Problem of Redundancy

Symbolic Interactionism

As distinct from the above studies, writers using this approach stress the autonomy of human action and the capacity to exert control. Redundancy is therefore depicted as resulting in deprivation and destroying meaningful activity from the viewpoint of those laid off.

One of the earliest studies of the personal and social effects of becoming unemployed is Marie Jahoda's sociography of an unemployed community, (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel, 1933). According to Jahoda, it is employment as a meaningful activity which becomes the benchmark in order to compare the negative experiences of becoming unemployed (see Fryer and Ullah, 1987: 244). However, as meaningful as it might be, this study like later studies on the subject are *essentialist* since they reduce the argument about redundancy to one of perception and in the process concentrate primarily on effects.

An *essentialist* view of the unemployed is reductionist because it reduces '*freedom*'

to a potential to express inner being. This removes what it is to be human to an 'openness' to the possibilities of our relationship with nature and social life. In short, it assumes that humans are naturally autonomous and 'free' in the choices and the decisions they take in how they will organise their lives. However, such a view denies the ways in which power acts upon individuals and their political wills which it constitutes (see Chapter Two for a fuller explanation). People therefore, can be induced to mould and alter their behavioural states in adverse and positive circumstances. Power does not deny freedom, it simply directs it along well-defined, ever finer channels (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 552).

Although Jahoda claims to have reconstructed the situation objectively by becoming immersed in the lives of her respondents, the critical element of power is left out of her analysis and subjectivity is therefore reduced to interpretation.

Case Studies

Of the studies which explore the impact of unemployment on older workers from a sociological perspective, Rife and First (1989) focus on some of the problems older workers face. For instance, constant discouragement and the burden of depression. The results though illuminating, are limited by too narrow a problem. The case study and survey methods employed also limit any proper understanding of the complex processes which emerge from the process of redundancy.

A more influential and extensive study of redundancy is that of Martin and Fryer (1973), who examine the attitudes and experiences of a workforce laid off from a large manufacturing plant in the North of England during the late 1960s. In true symbolic interactionist style, Martin and Fryer insist that the events associated with redundancy should be analyzed in terms of the 'actors' definition of the event and how such perceptions relate to the structure of the community and the plant (Martin and Fryer, 1973: 185). Accordingly, Martin and Fryer argue that attitudes, behaviours and individual perceptions of the world are rooted in a specific pattern of historical development and past experience, while power processes underpinning this development are overlooked.

Following Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt (1968), Martin and Fryer state the obvious by claiming that attitudes of workers are conditioned by 'ideal-typical' orientations to work within the framework of 'paternalist capitalism':

attitudes of workers bore the imprint of the social structure within which they had been socialised" (Martin and Fryer, 1973: 179).

As is the case with previous examples, Martin and Fryer thus also reduce subjectivity to 'orientations to work'.

In addition, they conceptualise managerial behaviour within the social structure according to criteria such as conflicting goals and the need to maintain equilibrium and control over men and materials. This thesis directly challenges these views by arguing that such approaches fail to grasp the complex labour processes that are experienced by those who work on the shop floor. As stated earlier, this can be done by focusing on social practices and investigating *how* these practices are applied as strategies of power which create *subjects* of workers.

In tackling the issue of the *subject*, this thesis places the older worker at the centre of the process of redundancy in a fresh approach wherein *subjectivity* becomes the central issue.

On further examination of the literature a plurality of forces become manifest in the process of being laid off. For example, new technology (Noble, 1979 and Child, 1986), international competition (Littler, 1982 and 1985), and state intervention (Hopper et al, 1985). These writers bring to the surface important components as catalysts of the redundancy process, but they rarely theorise or attempt to adequately analyze *subjectivity*, although there has been an attempt by Friedman to examine the dynamics of managerial strategy (Friedman, 1977; 1989).

Australian sociologists Knights and Willmott are among the few who attempt to utilize Foucault's ideas to the analysis of the labour process (Knights, 1989; Knights and Willmott, 1985 and 1986).

Clearly, an appreciation of the significance of the worker as a subject is ill considered by sociologists who focus merely on orientations to work (Goldthorpe et al, 1968; Martin and Fryer, 1973), or where the focus is narrowly on workers involvement in 'class' struggles and negotiations with the bosses (Westergaard et al, 1989; Harris, 1987; Lee and Harris, 1985). A review of the latter studies reveal the worker on the shop floor to be psychologically alienated by dominant capitalist forces and thus a passive 'victim' of bourgeoisie oppression. In such studies, experiences in which workers and management actively produce and reproduce the social relations which dominate them are absent from analysis.

To rectify this omission in social thought, the following section develops theoretical reflections on *subjectivity* by considering two labour process ethnographies from the literature of industrial sociology. I argue that these studies represent a considerable improvement on earlier attempts to analyze the labour process, because they capture the tensions and contradictions of working on the shop floor and something of the antagonisms inherent in capitalist/labour relations. However, both studies are subject to limitations because neither one answers satisfactorily the crucial question: How do workers (and others involved in the industrial environment) reproduce the conditions which oppress them?

Subjectivity in Ethnography: Burawoy and Cockburn

The appearance of Braverman's *Labour and Monopoly Capitalism* in 1974 ignited the spark of what was to become a continuing debate on the nature of the labour process in modern industrial societies (Thompson, 1983 and 1989; Knights and Willmott, 1989). According to Braverman, modern industrial production is increased through the deskilling of labour, greater managerial control over the means of production, and through a subtle separation of the formation of policy and its implementation at the 'grassroots' level.

This thesis of labour intensification posited by Braverman is contradicted by Burawoy (1979: 176) who sought to answer the question: "how does capitalism manage to continuously increase the amount of surplus value (profit), while at the

same time obscuring the precise ways in which workers within the labour process are exploited". Burawoy finds that production is maintained by management **not** by increasing control, but by relaxing it within the context of an elaborate shop floor game of 'making out' (i.e. maximising bonus pay-outs). This means activities on the shop floor become a series of games in which operators can earn a reward or bonus for boosting their own output, as bonuses are given on an individual basis over and above their normal earnings. The higher the target produced by a worker, the greater the bonus received.

The logic behind the game of 'making out' lies in the creation of workplace harmony and consent since conflicts are deflected horizontally within the company, away from the potential for industrial conflict. But the price of game playing is high and when workers become absorbed in the game by participating and adhering to its rules, they unwittingly are exploited in the process they initiate to make their work bearable. In short, workers are induced by an incentive scheme which is designed for the express purpose of creating workplace harmony to raise production. Interesting though this argument is, it fails to analyze how both workers and managers contribute to their own subjugation by participating in these games.

In his analysis Burawoy rightly points out that workers do discipline themselves by consenting to play these games. He notes that human interests and ideology are actively constituted and reconstituted on the shop floor and are not the passive consequences of class structures as Marxists would have it. Neither are they reflective of the way the employee has been socialised generally, as functionalists would believe. Such an insight represents a major advance on previous studies of industrial workers, where there is denial of the importance of subjectivity (Braverman, 1974), a reduction of subjectivity to mental constructs or attitudes (Rife and First, 1989), a reduction to 'class struggle' (Westergaard et al, 1989), or where the complex nature of subjectivity has been reduced to 'orientations to work' (Goldthorpe et al, 1969; Martin and Fryer, 1973). *In Manufacturing Consent*, Burawoy (1979), has made a major advance to the field of study but it is still incomplete.

This is because there is an assumption that workers will always feel deprived when there is an absence of positive work inducements which permit them to express their personal potential. Hence it is felt they will compensate (from resentment) by acting out 'work as a game'. Yet the game of 'making out' is a deliberate positive power strategy by the company designed to make workers feel good about themselves, as achievers, doing a 'man's job', so that even those who do not achieve will not necessarily feel deprived. They will simply be urged to try a little harder. Because Burawoy conceptualises power as unilaterally negative or oppressive, he fails to raise for analysis how both managers and workers contribute to their own oppression by participating in these games where nobody questions the rules or the social construction of identities on the shop floor. According to Knights (1989: 311), it is not that Burawoy completely neglects subjectivity, it is just that his account is incomplete in that he fails to show how "labour processes fragment, atomise and actually turn workers into individuals in the process, rather than being predetermined members of a particular economic class" (Knights, 1989: 311).

On a par with Burawoy who asserts that the restricted choices in game playing on the shop floor *compensate* for the degradation of work, Cockburn (1983: 135) argues that workers seek to preserve their masculine identity, in order to *compensate* for their powerlessness in the face of capital.

Being Marxist in orientation, both Burawoy and Cockburn analyze labour processes in an orthodox dialectical fashion. Burawoy views subjectivity as the empowerment of workers through game playing. He fails however, to see how these games are a source of meaning and identity for the workers who participate in them and as such are a power mechanism instituted by the company. This is because large companies encourage workers to secure their sense of importance by performing well while their macho identity is reinforced as they compete against one another.

In a similar fashion, drawing on gender, Cockburn (1983: 8) accounts for the lack of women in the printing industry by way of a 'dual systems' theory where class and patriarchy are seen to have independent yet mutually reinforcing effects on

gender relations. However, while incorporating gender inequalities is to be commended, by drawing on the work of Foucault, I argue that structural exploitations within the labour process derive *not* from class struggle or gender inequality *but* from a complex matrix of disciplinary mechanisms which are both a consequence and a condition of the exercise of power. Labour processes cannot be understood in terms of class consciousness alone but are a result of power strategies which are put into effect through knowledge (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 553). In this way, power is exercised by subjecting and thus tying individuals to their own identity and are not mechanisms directly derived from the forces of production, class struggle, gender divisions or mere ideology.

Because both Cockburn and Burawoy interpret labour relations in terms of class and gender inequality and only view the operation of power as a negative process, the creation of social identity through work is omitted when accounting for the reproduction of modern corporate-capitalist social relations.

In Burawoy's factory environment, management devises an elaborate shop floor game of 'making out', which is a strategy of power whereby participating workers contribute to their own oppression. Similarly, the absence of women from certain jobs within the printing industry is a further example of a power strategy since it illustrates the power of men to exclude women from jobs, thereby creating a system of job segregation. This serves to maintain their privileged position over women and *not*, as Cockburn suggests, merely as compensation for 'class underprivilege' (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 552).

Burawoy does not bring out how masculine (and feminine) identity is nurtured in and tied to the job. Cockburn downplays the importance of gender. The basic flaw in both studies is that they give too little empirical attention to how the social psychology of management control (that is, the strategies or tactics of power relations) is used to manipulate workers for specific purposes, such as increased production or maintaining certain privileged statuses (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 548-549). Neither study therefore, adequately accounts for the significance of class

or gender exploitation in the labour process.

It is evident from studies reviewed in this chapter that few previous studies of redundancy have dealt adequately with the issue of subjectivity that has been raised by Foucault. Social system theorists, such as Westergaard et al (1989) and Harris (1987), reduce the complexities and contingencies of social life to a simple definition of workers as 'free', voluntary and always struggling against economically oppressive, socially monolithic structures. They are therefore deterministic since they seek explanations in macro-structures or 'systems', be they economic, political, social or cultural. By contrast, grounded social action theorists such as Jahoda (1933) and Martin and Fryer (1973), interpret 'reality' according to subjective perception of workers and managers so that no room is left for the possibility that experience may be constructed as the formation and outcome of power processes. What these studies do is marginalise rather than incorporate subjectivity into their analyses. The challenge then, is to develop a different view of labour relations which adequately withstands critical sociological scrutiny.

As Thompson (1989) claims when referring to the marginalisation of subjectivity within research in this field: *the construction of a full theory of the 'missing subject' is probably the greatest task facing labour process theory.*

This thesis aims to address this problem by bringing the 'missing subject' to the forefront of an analysis of labour processes by examining the issue of redundancy in the Zenith Bus Company. The value of Foucault here lies in his relentless concern with the problem of how power acts upon the individual in western culture, turning people into 'subjects' of discipline and power/knowledge strategies (Foucault, 1982: 208). In line with Foucault's theory of modern power is the idea of 'identity fetishism' (briefly outlined at the start of this chapter) whereby through the operation of power in labour processes people's jobs can assume a symbolic significance. In their adoption of Foucauldian analysis, Knights and Willmott (1989: 555) maintain that labour process analysis must begin to expose the inconsistencies and contradictions of the 'security' sustained through identity fetishism.

With this in mind, this thesis gives particular attention to Foucault's conception of ubiquitous power relations as these impact upon workers in their job or elsewhere. The central problem is therefore:

How do power relations influence and determine the personal identities, experiences and emotions of older workers before, during and after they are fired from their jobs?

For the purposes of this study, 'older worker' is defined as those over the age of forty years at the time of redundancy. In view of the background of recession and high unemployment which is documented in Chapter Four, a lower age cut-off point¹ was considered more appropriate than a higher one of say fifty years. Previous research into discrimination and hiring practices firmly points to the conclusion that worsening economic conditions combined with high unemployment significantly contributes to the difficulties experienced by older workers of holding onto or obtaining a job (Kalisch and Williams, 1983: 13-14; Boglietti, 1974; Field, 1977).

Although Foucault does not specifically address the problems of older workers, his work suggests that employers and potential employers will take advantage of situations such as recession. They will do this through the social practices within which power is exercised (Foucault: 1977a, 1980a, 1980b, 1982).

It is the task of the next chapter to identify which key concepts of Foucault will shed adequate light on this problem.

NOTES

1. From the year ended March 1990 to the year ended March 1991 those in the prime working age had above average increases in unemployment. Of particular note were males aged 40-44 who had a rise in unemployment of 51.2% (Labour Market Statistics 1991: 21).

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL ISSUES : DIVIDING PRACTICES

Introduction

In the examination of how redundancy affects the lives of older workers this thesis seeks to understand how changing power relations influence that experience. According to sociologies of 'social action', (e.g. Jahoda et al, 1933 and Martin and Fryer, 1973, see review Chapter One), meaning stems from an individual's consciousness. Subjectivity is identified with human autonomy wherein being in control and exercising choices can be the norm if one tries. If this is the case, why is it that individuals are so often compelled to struggle and endure in order to retain their identity and sense of self? As we have seen previously, this struggle is the focus of sociologies of 'social systems' (e.g. Westergaard et al, 1989), wherein the emphasis is on the frailty of human nature manifested in the difficulties which people frequently experience in crises of identity when confronting the oppression of 'the system'. This subjective view leads to a dualistic trap of pitting a voluntaristic (freely choosing) subject against the crushing impact of a monolithic capitalist reality. Alternatively, Foucault (1982: 221) perceives *freedom* and *power* as defining characteristics of one another. It is precisely *because* human actions are free he claims, that power can be exercised as a means of persuading others to use their freedom in a particular way - a subtle process of inducement. It is a major task of this chapter therefore to show *how* power is exercised as a means of persuasion to turn people into *subjects* by examining what Foucault means by the term *subjectivity*.

Foucault (1977a, 1978 and 1982), saw *the human subject* not as a 'given' but rather as problematical, having been historically constituted through certain modes of objectification. The first mode Foucault (1967, 1973 and 1977a) identifies he terms 'dividing practices'. These often soul destroying power relations, act upon individuals so constituting them as 'objects' through processes of manipulation, coercion and control. This powerful concept wherein individuals (such as workers on the shop floor) are constrained, constituted and reconstituted by a variety of

manipulations will be given some analysis in the first section of this chapter. According to Foucault, individuals have been and are historically constituted as 'objects' in institutions such as schools, families, universities and workplaces¹. In applying this idea to the New Zealand labour environment of the 1990s I intend to show how recently redundant individuals were objectified by such 'dividing practices' upon being laid off from the Zenith Bus Company. It is suggested that these once staunch labourers of Zenith, when made redundant, were treated as items in a calculating process of manipulation, control and subtle classification, which reconstituted them as 'expendable fodder' to the requirements of the Company.

The second way individuals can be objectified is through a process of "subjectification" wherein, Foucault argues, human beings actually create and fashion their own identities. Such 'self practices' as he calls it, re-empower individuals to escape from the homogenising tendencies of a particular event and its corresponding subjugating power. Indeed, in the *History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure* (1985a), Foucault no longer talks of individuals as being completely passive, compliant and docile, as he did in previous works such as *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*, (Foucault 1977a). Instead he seeks a more dynamic, reflexive understanding of how human beings reinterpret and actively construct their self perceptions. Foucault speaks of:

"Not a history that would be concerned with what might be true in the fields of learning, but an analysis of the "games of truth", the games of truth and error through which being is historically constituted as experience; that is, as something that can and must be thought. What are the games of truth by which man proposes to think his own nature when he perceives himself to be mad; when he considers himself to be ill; when he conceives of himself as a living, speaking, labouring being" (Foucault, 1985a: 6-7).

The act of constituting and reconstituting oneself which Foucault develops in later works does *not* refute his earlier understanding of individuals as 'docile bodies' against finely tuned networks of knowledge/power. Rather, to develop an adequate analysis of subjectivity we must discard that rigid polarisation of the subject-object

relationship where the idea is advanced that if human beings are dynamic and reflexive they *cannot* also be thought of as 'docile bodies'. What is needed is a conception of domination that takes the form of subjectification as well as of objectification. Domination does *not* falsify the essence of human subjectivity but instead self examination ('practices of the self') can *complement* the process of domination to give a deeper understanding of what it is to be human. In this way I intend to show how ex-workers are not always merely 'expendable fodder' to a heartless system. On the contrary, as this thesis will show, at various times and by varying degrees those laid off from Zenith used situations fraught with contradiction and despair to retain at least some measure of autonomy and independence, before, during and after redundancy.

The argument outlined above leads to a theoretical focus of power as a relational force with a productive impact on the human body (Foucault, 1980: 54-62)². This contrasts sharply with the traditional view of power as repressive, implying constraint or prohibition. It is suggested here that such a negative conception of power does not allow for an adequate understanding of the many contemporary mechanisms whereby power operates as a constitutive, creative influence which shapes our very being. This thesis shows that workers on the shop floor at Zenith are continuously vulnerable to a multitude of pressures from both management and co-workers. These pressures have a productive element in the development of 'good work habits', while simultaneously adding to anxiety in relation to job security and a perceived need to compete for recognition of personal value. These tendencies were observed to become acutely manifest when the threat of redundancy loomed. This is but one instance of the ways in which Foucault's view of power relations are used to examine the experiences of redundancy of older workers in Chapter Six.

In *Discipline and Punish* (1977a) and in the first volume of *History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault presents a consolidated 'theory' of power and discusses its direct impact on the human body. The idea of power directly targeting individuals via its impact on the body and soul, has been used by social theorists to explain a variety

of social conditions such as women's oppression (Diamond and Quinby, 1988; McNay, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1989, 1993; and Sawicki, 1991), the rise of poverty in Europe (Dean, 1991) and recently the workings of power and social relationships on the shop floor (Knights, 1989; Thompson, 1989; Knights and Willmott, 1989). In this tradition, this chapter attempts to link Foucault's idea of 'the body' as a target of power with his notion of subjection since 'the body' is argued to be a constructed product of power. Power is seen as a determining influence which through its exercises infiltrates our very psyches to mould and shape us into the types of people we become (McNay, 1992: 3-81). This view of power and the human body forms the backbone of the analysis of redundancy as it presents itself in the Zenith Bus Company. Furthermore, the effects of bio-power (see Chapter Four) on respondents in the study are acknowledged as shifting, dynamic experiences which might produce positive results in feelings of well-being and perceptions of choice. However, power can also have negative results and these are also highlighted.

Workers as Objects

Foucault's notion that human beings are made subjects through objectifying processes rejects the general idea that people are essentially autonomous from birth onwards. His primary concern was not to analyze an overarching phenomena of power, nor discover its cause(s). Rather, Foucault focuses on how people are 'objectified' by the exercise of power relations because power is knowledge just as knowledge is power (this idea where power and knowledge directly imply one another is explained in the section on *power relations* later in this chapter). The notion of the human condition as problematical (problem of 'the subject'), therefore emerges as Foucault's central concern (Rabinow, 1984: 7-11).

The Notion of Dividing Practices

A mode of objectification which can be called *dividing practices* is the focus of Foucault's early works (Foucault, 1967; 1973; 1977a). Foucault wanted to examine how people become stigmatised and labelled to recognise themselves as somehow 'different' and thus marginalised. Famous examples include the isolation of lepers during the Middle Ages, the confinement of the poor, the insane and vagabonds in

Paris in the Seventeenth Century, and the stigmatisation and normalisation of human difference as deviance in modern Europe (Foucault, 1978; 1985a; 1986).

The dividing practices which constitute such marginal populations essentially work to sift the 'good' from the 'bad', the 'wheat' from the 'chaff', and in so doing they polarise social groups and individuals into one of two categories, 'winners and losers'. Through such practices and by differing means says Foucault, "the subject is objectified by a process of division within himself and from others" (Foucault, 1982: 208). Subtle or overt dividing practices work through techniques of social control in order to create order and compliance, resulting at each site in exclusion, containment and the creation of docility. On-going control over these groups and individuals can be maintained, perpetuated and enhanced through processes of manipulation, classification, categorisation and normalisation. Dividing practices exclude people from one another, usually in a spatial sense but always in a personal, social one. For instance, in *Madness and Civilisation: a history of insanity in the age of reason* (1967), Foucault shows how individuals are objectified and isolated from mainstream groups. This also divided individuals within themselves as feelings of difference were created and exaggerated into a sense that they 'did not belong' in mainstream, normal society. By targeting individuality and isolating such persons within marginal and disadvantaged groups labelled deviant (vagabonds, paupers, no-hopers and criminals), then treating them as 'objects', such people became vulnerable, inferior, useless and redundant. For those utilizing such tactics, they could then become 'reformed' or moulded to suit the objectives of powerful groups within the system. Similarly, in *Discipline and Punish* Foucault shows how recalcitrant youths were brought into line and taught the 'joys of labour' by being put to work in isolation so that they would reflect on their 'evil' characters. Dividing practices therefore actually end up moulding social and personal identities. They are consequently a crucial element in Foucault's conception of subjectivity since they target the mind, emotions and personality in order to manipulate behaviour.

Dividing practices are a strategy or 'technology of power' (Foucault, 1988d: 18)

wherein people are made passive and docile for specific purposes.

According to Foucault, it is a feature of modern society that people became submissive, non-rebellious and open to disciplinary measures. This allowed for capitalism as a mode of production to continue to develop and become established. Without a compliant, willing workforce, the current economic system would never have taken hold. In short, people became 'objects' of capital through a series of 'dividing practices'. These established ways of treating people gave rise to what Foucault terms current 'disciplinary society' (see Chapter Four). In relation to this thesis it is shown in Chapter Six how the disciplinary processes explained above shaped the thoughts of mature workers during their personal experience of redundancy.

Social control operates in all societies. The dividing practices Foucault details are an important mode, yet constitutive of an effective control. They target the human body which is approached as an object to be isolated and dealt with in its constituent parts (Foucault, 1977a: 136; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 153).

How dividing practices work?

Firstly, the body is divided into elemental parts. For example, in the army arms and legs are subject to the most precise training with the soldier being honed to maximum efficiency as a 'fighting unit' (Foucault, 1977a: 164). Likewise in the workplace, there is much effort expended to encourage workers to be optimum units and 'married to the Company'. Through such methods business and corporate units are thought to function with maximum efficiency.

By treating people as 'objects' to be moulded into a system they can then be directed to work at the 'beck and call' of those who 'pull the strings'. Dividing practices operate in most if not all coercive environments.

This is not to suggest that sites such as workplaces, as institutions, rely on compliance in exactly the *same* way as say a prison or the police do. This is because it must be appreciated that power takes its own particular *form* at each

institutional site. Consequently, in a prison power strategies are put into practice to fulfil the objectives of those running the prison. Similarly, on the factory floor power strategies are actualized and implemented to fulfil the intentions, deliberate or otherwise, of managers, Company owners and 'top brass'. It is the underlying *principles* that are applied in this thesis to analyze the control of redundant workers from one Company.

Secondly, through incessant monitoring and time and motion studies, a constant watch can be kept on individuals so that they become processed into becoming compliant and obedient. Only when this state has been reached, is it perceived by those 'who know' (i.e. experts, owners, consultants), that the conditions have been established for the factory, school, hospital or police force to become a standardized, disciplined unit. In addition, in order to maintain discipline, those within the unit must be codified and manipulated within the dimensions of space and time. As Foucault (1977a: 143) maintains:

"Each individual has a place and each place has its individual".

In Chapter Six I show how at various times the workers at the Zenith Bus Company were strategically processed into 'objects' through the 'less than human' strategies of 'dividing practices'.

Workers as Subjects

Practices of the Self - (overcoming docility)

The emphasis which Foucault places on individuals becoming passive and compliant as targets of disciplining power does not explain how at times people may act autonomously. Foucault's final works on the self³, attempt to develop ideas towards overcoming these institutional limitations created by dividing practices. In these texts he complements technologies of domination with an analysis of what he calls 'technologies of subjectification' whereby individuals *actively* fashion their own identities in a modernist/post modern world.

As Foucault claims:

"I am interestedin the way in which the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by the practices of self, these practices are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group" (Foucault, 1988e: 11).

Self-examinations represent Foucault's most original contribution to the term 'subjectivity' in that they allow an individual to *actively* fashion his or her own identity within certain limits. These limits are determined by the constraints imposed by history, culture, social institutions and broader macro structures which together constitute the modern world. They are thus linked to his earlier analysis of strategies and techniques of domination to give a more comprehensive understanding of human subjectivity.

It is through these self actualising practices that Foucault understands the meaning people give to their lives and how they interpret their experiences. This can range from the various ways people order their personal daily existences to the spiritual significance individuals attach to their social activities (McNay, 1992: 61-62):

"I am referring to what might be called the 'arts of existence'. those intentional and voluntary actions by which persons not only set themselves rules of conduct, but also seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being and to make their life into 'an oeuvre' that carries certain aesthetic values and meets certain stylistic criteria (Foucault, 1985a: 10-11).

In his later works, most particularly *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault's concern is to isolate those techniques whereby persons perform specific operations within themselves such as considering and reconsidering thoughts and feelings, interpreting how they feel about themselves and more generally their motivations to adjust their behaviour if they desire.

For example, Foucault explains how, in the nineteenth century there emerged and developed a vast proliferation of official scientific texts about "sex", among other activities, primarily because sex was seen as holding the key to self-understanding (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 168-178). Basically, Foucault's thesis is that sexuality was recently re-invented as a means of establishing privilege and status in human life. There developed with the publication of data on sexuality a whole range of sexual practices which became visible and integrated into human consciousness including hidden private pleasures, secret fantasies and a multitude of related practices concerning the individual, the family and broader society which because they were officially visible, became generally sanctioned and therefore socially acceptable. Once constructed as such, sexuality became the core of human personal identity by which one could and should 'know oneself' and 'know 'one's place'.

In applying this same principle to the labour market, labour processes become infused with the production and reproduction of masculine/feminine identity, particularly in industries such as engineering where males have traditionally monopolised employment. Just as Foucault saw "sex" as the key to human identity in nineteenth century Europe, so in modern society a large part of what it means to be male/female comes from the workplace. For instance, feelings of self-doubt can arise if the concept of men as 'achievers' is questioned when turned down for job positions (see also Chapter Six; Knights and Willmott, 1989).

Paralleling this idea is the notion that one can 'know oneself' through the mediation of a paternal authority figure such as a lecturer, doctor, policeman, judge, lawyer, or in the case of ex-workers off the shop floor, foremen, managers or potential employers. The belief that one can, with the help of so-called 'experts', come to know the 'truth' about oneself holds the key to certain technologies, or 'practices of the self'. This relationship is pivotal to medicine when one visits the doctor, in relationships with superiors in the education system, within the legal system and in most if not all, professional walks of life. Indeed, today it has become so 'natural' and 'self-evident' to seek professional advice, agency guidance and instruction that

we tend to forget that such self-examinations and public confessions are indeed engrained strategies of power (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 175).

The above theme serves as the backbone of analysis in Chapter Six when the experiences of redundancy in the Zenith Bus Company are systematically investigated. Work is a major element fixing the identities of mature people who have spent a lifetime forging their sense of self as skilled tradesmen. Moreover, they reach a stage where competence at their trade assumes a vital role in their self identity. In such circumstances the 'experts', such as supervisors on the shop floor, can wield increasing power over workers through such tactics as adverse comments (divide and rule), thereby eroding the workers sense of independence and autonomy. At Zenith it is shown how this was particularly true as workers grew increasingly fearful for their livelihoods when redundancy appeared inevitable. Authority figures, namely foremen and management, were then able to undermine older workers as they became increasingly unsure of themselves and riddled with division in their relations with the Company.

Foucault gives us three fundamental principles for the practices of the self to operate. These are normalising judgements, hierarchical surveillance (e.g. workshop monitoring) and the 'examination' (e.g. inspections or assessments).

1) *Normalising Judgements*⁴

These strategies manipulate an individual's sense of self. Those considered to be on the 'fringes of society' are the most vulnerable to the effects of normalisation. While in modern society, most workers cannot be considered to be on the 'fringes of society', irresistible pressures can be put on them to adhere to a set norm or agreed upon standard of behaviour, thereby having a powerful effect on personal identity. For example, personal well-being can be strengthened by positive judgements, particularly from superiors. Conversely, feelings of insecurity and uncertainty can be created by others judgements, thereby eroding an employees confidence and true ability to work. Normalising judgements if negative stifle creativity, innovation or the motivation to try harder or attempt anything new.

There were several instances of derogatory comments by superiors at Zenith which undermined the general 'will to work' as is seen in later analysis. Furthermore, because workers were in competition with one another and could never be sure of meeting the standards of their fellow workmates at Zenith, they became increasingly isolated from one another, particularly when their jobs were at risk (see Knights, 1989: 321-323). Workers can thus be controlled, classified and categorized through the normalising mediation of officialdom.

Normalisation as a tactic for regulating and managing life thus becomes a powerful influence in moulding and shaping how people see themselves, as worthwhile, since it divides people and turns them 'in upon themselves' by isolating and excluding one from another.

In Chapter Six one of the ways normalising judgements are analyzed is in the judgements made when ex-workers sought alternative work outside the Company. Normalising judgements at Zenith were also seen to ensure a smooth process of production even though workers naturally became disgruntled when threatened with job loss. This resulted in an increased power of management over workers and their consequent subjugation (see the section on Power as a Relational Force) on the shop floor.

2) *Workshop Monitoring (Panopticism⁵)*

Foucault (1977a: 170-177), explains how the principle of constant, unremitting surveillance is a modern day technology used to coerce, mould and induce individuals to modify and streamline their behaviour in line with others. The irony of modern surveillance processes is that they empower individuals in its gaze to be more than simply passive. On the shop floor at Zenith the intent of a continuous monitoring process was to raise production for the firm and had nothing to do with the individual well being of workers. However, an unintended consequence might well have been the reverse effect of inducing workers resentment and thereby becoming counter productive in its function.

Foucault (1977a: 195-228), provides as a model of surveillance the Panopticon (1791) as mooted by Jeremy Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher. The panopticon was suggested in place of brutal dungeons as a new form of disciplinary institution to control the troublesome. This model prison would consist of a large courtyard with a tower at the centre and a set of buildings, which were divided into levels and cells on the periphery. In each cell there would be two windows, one to bring in the light and the other facing the watch tower. Inmates occupying each cell would be constantly visible to a solitary supervisor located in the central tower, but isolated from other prisoners in the other cells who they could not see. Foucault stresses that in their being permanently visible, human beings are objectified and induced to monitor themselves. He adds, it is the invisibility of 'the gaze' that ensures compliance along with the fact that:

He is seen, but he does not see (Foucault, 1977a: 200).

Foucault maintains that the technology of surveillance is ideal for controlling people as it is continuous, regulatory and anonymous. Anonymity is one of the key factors ensuring the effectiveness of its thrust. Furthermore, it not only neutralises but it is portrayed as neutral in the sense that surveillance is technical, invisible and broad ranging. Thus it can target individuals and mass populations at the same time.

Surveillance along with the corollary of normalising judgements, operate to distribute people in the space they occupy until even the smallest detail of everyday life comes under control. In the 1990s such strategies and their tactics are virtually all-pervading in an age obsessed by extracting 'information' on everyone and everything. Increasingly, our ordinary, everyday lives are being invaded and encroached upon by this expansionist intrusive probing technology.

How this idea of 'the gaze' is relevant to an analysis of experiences of redundancy unfolds in the analysis chapter of this thesis. For example, as redundancy at Zenith loomed covert surveillance utilised by foremen and managers increased markedly in an urge to regularly 'check up' on the company's workers. Because of its anonymity workers never quite knew who was going to 'pounce' next and here

lies the effectiveness of the technology. I also describe how workers, when finally laid off, personally modified their behaviour as an after-effect of the monitoring that went on at work.

3) *The 'Examination'*

The procedure bringing together hierarchical surveillance and normalising judgements is for Foucault, the process of 'the examination'.⁶ In this ritual of assessment and inspection through a mesh of power and knowledge, individuals are subjected to a comprehensive technology of power. At its heart, 'the examination' entails the:

"subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected" (Foucault, 1977a: 184-5).

The 'examination' consists of case studies, statistics, biographies, profiles, or any statement which visibilises and inscribes people within a field of observation whereby their lives are made suitable to be ordered and managed by 'those who know'. This includes specialists, professionals and agents of the system.

In the current thesis 'examinations' were applied on the shop floor at the Zenith Bus Company especially when work was reduced. Foremen got into the habit, particularly over the final six months before permanent closure, of making increasingly critical assessments regarding the quality of work and the time employees took to perform their jobs. This industrial 'spying' as it were, had a devastating effect on the lives of several of the ex-workers from Zenith.

Foucault (1977a: 187-192), gives three conditions of this modality of power which, along with surveillance and normalisation, emerged and developed from Seventeenth Century Europe onwards.

Firstly, surveillance in its consistency and detail produces an effective economy of power because the characteristic of modern power lies in the fact that those on whom the power operates become the most visible, obvious and therefore

manageable. However, power *itself* on the shop floor at Zenith (exercised through techniques utilized by others, for example constantly patrolling foremen and 'watchers' from the upstairs office) was hidden and subtle yet disabling to those it targeted. In the mind of ordinary employees it was the *uncertainty* of whether one was being watched that caused them in many instances to modify their behaviour.

Secondly, through the compilation of dossiers, inspections and assessments intricate details of a person's life becomes known. According to Foucault such assessments separate and isolate individuals for control in one form or another.

Finally, these processes lead to an increasing *individualisation* of persons in society; a never ending process of categorising people in order to rank them according to the norm (Foucault, 1977a: 192).

A task in the present analysis is to show how assessments, normalising judgements and steady monitoring on the workshop floor combined to produce feelings of self-doubt and loss of confidence in workers, effectively helping to turn them 'in on themselves'. Such power tactics, it is argued, increase the pressure to perform well and achieve the very best standards in a diminishing environment where workers increasingly have to compete with one another for survival. This was particularly true as the amount of work at Zenith diminished and workers became overtly fearful for their jobs (Knights, 1989: 321-323).

Power as a Relational Force⁷

Foucault (1978: 92-103), proposes that power, rather than being a negative, exclusionary force is predominately positive, productive and creative. It is productive in the sense that it is not exercised apart from individuals or outside their consciousness (Foucault, 1978: 94). Rather, power is multilayered and diffused throughout society at all levels. Power, he adds, is not exercised *just* from the top down, from a dominant class upon dominated subjects, but operates in 'finely tuned channels'. This means that at the local level, at the particular site, the action of power should be seen as capillary rather than dramatic (Lemert and

Gillan, 1982: 136; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 186).

In saying that power is not singular but is capillary and diffuse means that the different *forms* power takes may be small, subtle and exercised at all levels of social life. For instance, although workers on the shop floor do not have as much power as management, there is still a field of possibilities and alternative behaviours through which they can exercise some power. For instance, at Zenith 'spy' operations became a regular feature of workers in order to gain 'inside knowledge' of production meetings during the 'last days'. Another example was seen in the underhand 'back-stabbing' which occurred among fellow workers as a response to the looming threat of redundancy. These different power relations are part of what Foucault refers to when he says that power is everywhere and that we are all to some degree enmeshed in it. But he is *not* saying that there is no overarching dominations. Rather, his analysis is useful here because unless such covert, disruptive exercises of power are recognised and traced to their practical functioning they can (and have) escape analysis. This is especially so if the analysis is crude and essentialist wherein the illusion is maintained that power is only exercised in a pyramid fashion by those in key power positions at the top (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 186).

The second point I would argue is that power is not a possession or privilege only for those who utilise it because outside of its exercise power does not exist (Foucault, 1982: 219). Power relations cannot be thought of as only existing on the macro level of overt confrontations, such as that between workers and bosses of the capitalist system or state, as orthodox fundamentalists would have us believe. In Foucault's view, power relations have innumerable points of contact and are exercised by manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, deployment and redeployment, rather like a perpetual 'battle'. An example of what I mean is seen in Chapter Four where, through the calculated play of power by powerful business interests, opposition to the idea of a 'flexible' labour market was progressively whittled away in New Zealand over a four year period. This was partly achieved through a concerted media campaigns with the underlying intent of convincing New Zealand's

workers, the general public and those in authority that existing labour relations were 'inefficient' and 'unproductive' and therefore in need of 'urgent reform'. The result was to remove the many protections for workers which had previously existed, thus paving the way for a treatment of the workforce as potentially 'expendable fodder' when a firm like Zenith gets into financial difficulties.

Thirdly, Foucault says that power is "intentional and non-ideological" (Foucault, 1978: 94). By this he means that those who manipulate the system, events and people's lives know full well what they are doing.

"There is no power that is not exercised without a series of aims and objectives" (Foucault, 1978: 95).

Because Foucault insists that power is productive rather than repressive, managers and Company owners generally know what they are doing. It is not the task here to go looking for an industrial conspiracy, but rather to recognise that the labour process in New Zealand is rich with inconsistencies and contradictions. This is what Foucault calls the "*local cynicism of power*" (Foucault, 1978: 95). For instance, the positiveness of power means that what is referred to as 'identity fetishism' in Chapter One may be intentionally reinforced by maintaining workers in a *positive* mode as achievers, or promoting and encouraging the belief that workers are somehow 'helping the Company out'. Such tactics or deceptions can give rise to uncertainties, insecurities, and disillusionments as happened with those this thesis sampled who were laid off from the Zenith Bus Company. It has to be appreciated how the identification of a worker's identity with work is constructed and continuously reinforced by these power plays and the demands of the capitalist system. Furthermore, they have an isolating effect which is grossly amplified by the individualising effects of power within the capitalist mode of production as workers compete against one another for scarce recognition (Willmott, 1989: 371). Workers thus become *subjugated* to the job rather than merely exploited.

Indeed, it is argued that *subjugation* which goes further than exploitation, lies at the heart of the power relationship. Conversely, a Marxist perspective can reduce

experience to a growing tension between workers aspirations and what can be acquired from labour. For example, we go to work to fulfil a need and earn a living. However, this ignores the many ways in which the identities of workers are created and confirmed through work. Marx (1973: 92) fails to integrate within his analysis how the self is 'consumed' as a social, fetishised product in like manner to the ways in which commodities can become fetishised products. Yet, as Foucault (1982: 208) observes:

There are two meanings of the word subject....subject to someone else by control and dependence and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to .

The second meaning of *subject* sensitises us to the ways and various degrees in which workers *receive* their identities, their sense of self from work, how they become 'tied' to their identities and 'turned in upon themselves' through disciplinary mechanisms and the exercise of power through the production of specific knowledges (Willmott, 1989: 346-351).

This argument that power strategies 'tie workers to their identities' and 'turn them in upon themselves', underpins the current analysis in Chapter Six.

Finally; *where there is power, there is resistance* (Foucault, 1978: 95).

In contrast to the repressive model of power where resistance is interpreted as a struggle to retain or regain freedom, in modern times a prevalent 'truth' is that human beings are manipulated for 'self-expression' (Foucault, 1980c: 131). When this happens workers like those at Zenith are not just alienated from the means of production but are made to feel worthwhile by inculcating positive thoughts and ideas into their minds so they act in certain predetermined ways. In this way potential resistance to the processes of redundancy at Zenith was weakened or subverted, so that when the 'axe fell' immense resentment was generated in some cases. Resistance, like power, takes many forms and can be applied to various points at each site as workers respond individually.

Power and the Worker

The idea of the body as the main target of power relations is central not only in Foucault's works, but also in much post-structuralist thought (Fraser, 1989).

Largely to counter the classical idea of the rational subject these thinkers focus on the body as constituted in and through exercises of power and knowledge (McNay, 1992: 12).

Since the Enlightenment, Western philosophy has been dominated by the notion of a rational or self-reflective subject, based on distinctive dualisms. This incorporates the privileging of rationality over feelings and instincts, the material over the spiritual and the objective as being somehow superior to the subjective (McNay, 1992; Fraser, 1989; Cassirer, 1955). Foremost among these is the scientific distinction between the mind and the body, which characterises classical thought (McNay, 1992: 12-47). This way of seeing human life underpins and maintains that what is stable, rational and worth explaining and is located in the mind while all that is opposed to 'rationality' such as emotions, passions, needs and whims should be relegated to the body in silence. Thus, the boundaries of what constitutes 'knowledge' are clearly demarcated since our mental processes, which form the site of 'rational thought' are deemed to be separate from and in some way superior to the physical as the site of all that is opposed to 'rationality'. A major concern of post-structuralists like Fraser (1989), has been to show how the classical idea of a rational and stable subject is based on the exclusion and repression of the human body and all that it represents such as desire, material needs and emotions (Fraser, 1989: 62).

Foucault first employs a notion of the body in his essay, *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* (Foucault, 1977b: 139-164; 1984), to claim that traditional notions of history based on totalizing assumptions, give our past a false unity. He suggests that events are falsely inserted into universal explanatory schemas so that history appears to progress through evolutionary stages as a linear development⁸. This interpretation of history, states Foucault, deprives singular events of their uniqueness (as my examination of the creation of a 'flexible' labour market in

Chapter Four shows). According to Foucault:

"The world we know is not this ultimately simple configuration where events are reduced to accentuate their essential traits..... On the contrary, it is a profusion of entangled events (Foucault, 1984: 89).

Rather than history being orderly, natural, self-evident and based on singular causes, history is turbulent and sets its own 'truths' or dogmas, which combine to serve the interests of conflicting power blocks and processes. For example, if we analyze the origin of the concept of liberty, we find that it is an 'invention of the ruling classes' and not a 'quality fundamental to man's nature' (Foucault, 1984: 78-9). In like manner, it is argued in this thesis that powerful business interests were able to appropriate and manipulate terms like 'freedom', 'choice' and 'efficiency' to create an environment for a 'flexible' labour market which had 'flow-on' effects in numerous experiences of redundancy.

Foucault, using Nietzsche's genealogical approach⁹ sees history not as an unfolding progress but as constant 'warfare' and a multitude of local 'battles'. Therefore at each site of struggle, discontinuities¹⁰ and ruptures impact upon our innermost being. With this in mind, there are few smooth transitions from some goal to another; there are no easy paths in life for the body is shaped and reshaped by warring forces which act upon it infinitely. Therefore, the body in Foucault's work is *not* a biological body, but an historically conceived body, constrained, shaped and reshaped by power relations which:

"invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (Foucault, 1977a: 25).

As claimed above, Foucault (1977a) views the individual as the constitutive product of a plurality of disciplinary mechanisms, techniques of surveillance and power/knowledge strategies, rather than as innately autonomous. Because human beings are the point where power relations become manifest in their most concrete form, the body (or human psyche) has been produced and is reproduced through exercises of power. This means that historically, workers minds and their

consequent actions have been disciplined and their thoughts and values internalised over time. Thus their positions are largely confirmed by these processes. Through disciplinary mechanisms and power/knowledge strategies workers have come to recognise themselves as achievers, or some jobs such as hard, physical labour, have come to be seen as overtly 'masculine' over others. It has to be appreciated that much of a male workers identity, that is, what it means to be masculine, comes from the workplace where workers have been conditioned to place a value on physical skill and manly self-expression. It is precisely *because* the body has historically been shaped and reshaped in such dynamic ways by the warring forces of power/knowledge acting upon it, that the whole experience of redundancy can be so devastating.

It is this idea then, that the human body and the way it is worked upon by power which targets it as the site of 'warfare', becomes the proper focus of history. In this view, past events such as employment redundancies, leave their mark on the body and psyche, because power brings pressure to bear on it and effects are produced in the body (McNay, 1992: 38; Foucault, 1980: 140). Power relations also influence our instincts and emotions because when we begin to scrutinize our behaviour according to imposed cultural norms we become set 'against ourselves'. This can be particularly true in those situations where older workers seek alternative work or try to cope with changed interpersonal relationships at home. This is vividly illustrated in several instances among the sample in this thesis as ex-workers changed and modified their behaviour to cope with the changed situation.

Thus, because individuals have been conditioned to think of themselves in certain ways, the experience of redundancy can give rise to insurmountable personal conflicts (Foucault, 1984: 83). For instance, at work and in leisure one is continuously encouraged and rewarded for seeking recognition as a valued person with a definite identity, for example as a welder. On the other hand, because of the individualising nature of modern power which pits employees against one another, when work is lost one becomes vulnerable to disconfirmation and inner conflict (Knights, 1989: 321-323). It needs to be appreciated and emphasised how the sense

of what we are is sustained, produced and reproduced by the ways in which we see ourselves positioned in the midst of power/knowledge strategies.

Having said this, a Foucauldian perspective does not deny the Marxist view that workers become alienated through raw economic exploitation. It is felt however, that this view simplifies the problem of *how* this comes about since it excludes the human being in favour of false consciousness and ideology (Foucault, 1980: 58-59). It is not denied that workers are subjugated in the labour process, but there is a need to rethink the consequences and practices relating to this and *how* they occur.

To conclude this section, the present thesis offers an alternative approach to the problem of redundancy by focusing on the category of older workers and their subjective experiences from the Zenith Bus Company. In Chapter Six I show how the power relations outlined in this chapter combine to mould and shape the very psyche of a group of ex-workers from the Zenith Company.

Against classic studies such as Braverman (1974) it is argued that labour relations and labour processes can only be adequately understood by addressing critically the construction of *subjectivity* as the result of a plurality of disciplinary mechanisms and power/knowledge strategies. This task is what Thompson (1989) refers to when he observes that:

"The construction of a full theory of the missing subject is probably the greatest task facing labour process theory".

This study will focus on this 'gap' in sociological consciousness and analysis. In the next chapter I outline the methodology I utilise to investigate the subjective experiences of those laid off from the Zenith Bus Company.

NOTES

1. Foucault (1977a) discusses how individuals were constituted and reconstituted as 'objects' in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries through disciplinary techniques embodied in 'dividing practices'.

For an excellent discussion of the relational conception of power and how power invests itself in 'the body' see Smart (1983: 86-90).

The concept of *Practices of the Self* may be found principally in Volumes Two and Three of *History of Sexuality : The Use of Pleasure and Care of the Self*, (Foucault, 1985a and 1986). Foucault also develops this idea in a number of interviews and articles (Foucault, 1985b; 1988b; 1988c; 1988d and 1988e).

Foucault (1977a: 177-184) shows how the 'power of the norm' became one of the great instruments of power by the end of the Classical Age. For example, pupils at Christian Schools during this period could be controlled by the withdrawal of a whole series of privileges meted out to those who broke what was regarded as 'normal behaviour'.

Beginning with disciplinary techniques developed for the control of the populace during the period of the great plagues in Europe in the Sixteenth Century, Foucault shows how the concept of panopticism enabled authorities to extend and perfect techniques of hierarchical observation and routine surveillance. These are described in meticulous detail in Foucault (1977a: 195-228).

For a detailed account of how individuals came to be objectified, stigmatised, categorized and classified through the ritual of 'the examination', see Foucault (1977a: 185-194).

A comprehensive and succinct account of how Foucault understands the relationship between individuals and power can be found in his Afterword to Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982), *The Subject and Power*. Here he explains how people have historically turned themselves into 'subjects' through the exercise of power relations.

See F.W. Nietzsche's Preface to *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Modern Library, 1968), sec.4,7.

For a full explanation of Foucault's approach to history see his essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History*, which first appeared in *Hommage a Jean Hyppolite* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1971), pp 145-72. It can also be found in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (1977b) and Rabinow (1984).

A wide range of key terms, found in Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), are related to this theme of "discontinuity": the concepts of series, disparity, division and difference.

CHAPTER THREE

SUBJECTIVITY, POWER AND SOCIAL RELATIONS : METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

Introduction

This thesis primarily aims to show how workers laid off from the Zenith Bus Company received their identities, sense of meaning and reality from their workplace through a specific set of dividing practices, which characterised work as they knew it. These practices, I argue, are a condition and consequence of the exercise of power and the production of specific knowledges (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 538). A further aim lies in showing how workers subjectivity was influenced before, during and after redundancy. It is necessary to reiterate that although power is exercised over others at Zenith, those who are "subjected to (and by) its 'truth' effects are themselves active participants in the process whereby power relations are reproduced" (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 541). For instance, the identity of a spouse of a laid off worker was impacted upon and shaped indirectly as a result of power relations produced on the shop floor. Of particular interest here is how the identities of some workers become problematic on being made redundant. This was largely due to the symbolic importance they attached to their employment at Zenith as they struggled to re-establish 'who they were' and indeed their reason for being (Willmott, 1989: 354; Knights, 1989: 322). An imperative in examining these events is to draw out the effects of power, particularly the Foucauldian concept regarding its positive and creative features. For example, the fact that workers were encouraged to seek recognition as 'valued workers' (Willmott, 1989: 371).

To further these aims, this study utilises fourteen case studies designed to draw out the individualising effects of power which is embedded in dividing practices. These practices were evident on the shop floor at Zenith and in the later lives of former employees (see Knights and Willmott, 1989; Willmott, 1989; Knights, 1989: 321-323). These case studies are analyzed thematically in order to show the sense of 'who we are' as worthwhile human beings.

With this in mind, reliability was assisted at the data gathering stage by using the same procedure in each case to focus interviews around those social practices in which ex-workers engaged, both on the shop floor and in their subsequent lives.

To enhance validity, if *subjectivity* as a complex, contradictory, shifting experience is to be drawn out and analyzed, techniques which investigate the depths of meaning faced by redundant older workers are essential to the study. Further, it is crucial, to Foucault's interpretive method to draw out how individual's feelings about themselves change before, during and after redundancy. In line with such a qualitative approach generalisability can be discarded in favour of depth of meaning and the illumination of subjectivity in the event of redundancy.

To facilitate a qualitative examination of redundancy, the Zenith Bus Company was chosen for a number of reasons. First, in the early 1980s it was one of New Zealand's largest industrial employers with a workforce at its peak of nearly three hundred employees (as confirmed by newspaper reports). From the late 1980s however, the Company's profit margin steadily declined and the process of laying off workers began in earnest. This meant that an adequate population of ex-workers existed from which a sample was drawn.

If Foucault is correct in claiming that *subjugation* is the manipulation of individuals to act and behave in certain ways (Foucault, 1982: 221-2), it is critical that this thesis works at drawing out consistent themes that can substantiate this claim. This study also highlights, in a systematic manner *how* subjugation effects the subsequent lives of the workers.

Second, the decline of the Bus Company coincided with the years of upheaval that characterised the Fourth Labour Government between 1984-1990, and the National Government after 1990. Against the background of the turbulence of increasing recession, restructuring and rising unemployment, changing power strategies and their consequences can be analyzed as they critically affect the subjects.

The Case Study Method

In line with the aim of this study to probe the experience of redundancy and the correlative point that power directly targets the human body (Foucault, 1980b: 55-62), the case study is thus an appropriate method of investigation. To this end a series of unstructured interviews was used to draw out and analyze workers experiences of dividing practices before, during and after being laid off. The interviews allowed those in the sample to talk intimately about how they felt at different stages of the process. This is in line with Foucault's contention that a social *event*¹, like redundancy, should be examined as a series of subtle manipulations, power plays and conflict through which human beings are changed and transformed (Lemert and Gillan, 1982: 132; Foucault, 1980a: 99). Such an interviewing technique is also consistent with Foucault's view that power relations are 'capillary' *within* social groups rather than *above* them, like the boss 'pulling some string'. As Foucault emphasises:

In thinking of the mechanism of power, I am thinking of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives (Foucault, 1980a: 39).

Initially, access to respondents was gained by contacting a trade union, who supplied the names and telephone numbers of a small pool of ex-company employees. One ex-employee was contacted to undertake a pilot interview. The pilot interview helped to perfect the researchers interviewing skills and eliminate any discrepancies in the initial interview guide.

A problem did surface from the pilot interview, this being a tendency towards 'stiff' responses and an inability to delve deeply into feelings of the informant. Another problem was the need for meticulous preparation on the part of the researcher, since it was found that frequent reference to the interview guide (Appendix F) tended to inhibit the free flow of information. Consequently, a shortened interview guide (Appendix E) was prepared to locate key words and phrases to facilitate

instant recall of topics needed to be covered during the course of further interviews. This ensured that accounts would be as free-flowing as possible as good rapport and consistency was crucial to ensuring the reliability and validity of information.

Fourteen interviews were conducted over a period of three and a half months, covering such subjects as the personal situation prior to redundancy and the search for work, focusing particularly on changes in the ex-workers views of themselves. The questions were carefully chosen to highlight personal views of change as individuals experienced the redundancy process. Of the fifteen potential respondents approached to engage in the study only one declined to take part. Willing respondents represented a good cross-section of the Firm, constituting nine males who had worked on the shop floor, two former foremen, one from middle management and two respondents from the upper management bracket.

Although the number of foremen and management is small it should be pointed out that these five case studies were done solely for the purpose of comparison with ordinary workers at Zenith. The prime objective of the study was to draw out *how* ex-workers views of themselves changed as they became engaged in certain relations of power as a condition and a consequence of redundancy. Nine in-depth case studies (plus a further five studies representing foremen and management), prescribed the limit that could reasonably be considered for this purpose, in the given time frame.

The technique of in-depth interviewing used in this study is consistent with those few studies such as Cockburn (1983), which address the critical issue of *subjectivity* in the industrial labour process. Most other studies using the quantitative approach to the topic tend to marginalise subjectivity in favour of economics or orientations to work. In so doing, I believe these approaches distort information from the very subjects they are concerned to analyze, people, because they fail to probe the intricate workings of power (see Chapter One)..

To facilitate the gathering of data, initial approaches to informants were made by telephone, the first two names being drawn from the list supplied by the union. An explanation of the purpose of the study was given along with assurances that any information divulged would be kept strictly confidential. For those who undertook to partake, names have been changed to guarantee confidentiality, as has the identity of the company concerned.

Sampling

Snowball sampling methods (Coleman, 1958: 29) were then used to locate the remaining twelve respondents out of a total of about forty-five potential recruits. The obvious exclusion of women in the sample reflects the nature of the engineering work performed at the Zenith Bus Company where men have traditionally sought and monopolised the field.

The procedure then was to ask respondents to put the researcher in touch with redundant workmates over forty years of age. In this way information on the group laid off from a single environment over a period of seven years was compiled.

Interviews as Structured Conversations

Twelve of the fourteen interviews undertaken were conducted in the respondents homes, one was completed in the researchers home, and one took place in a work setting. Upon arrival at each address, careful observation was taken of the nature of the surroundings and initially time was spent in casual conversation to establish rapport and familiarise each respondent with the nature of the study.

The focus of each interview was *subjectivity*. So as not to detract from this objective, various personal details such as the financial positions of respondents were recorded in a short, structured questionnaire (Appendix D). These details would have an important bearing on how respondents saw themselves as they experienced the trauma of redundancy. This took about fifteen minutes.

The body of the interviews generally took approximately one and a half hours. These were tape recorded with the consent of each respondent.

A detailed knowledge of the subjects, topics and themes required for an adequate analysis was essential to the interview process. The technique demanded that no detail divulged by a respondent be overlooked when soliciting information about the social conditions they experienced prior to, during and after being laid off. Furthermore, it was important not to move on to another subject until the previous one had been exhausted.

After the interviews were transcribed from the tapes, they were returned to each respondent for checking either by post in plain envelopes or personally together with covering letters (an example is included as Appendix C). Upon return transcripts were again scrutinised by the researcher to identify any 'gaps' or confusions in meaning. As a result of this preparation, the majority of respondents were visited for a short, follow-up interview lasting about thirty minutes.

Use of Public Documents

To locate useful background information and secondary source material concerning the Zenith Bus Company two days were spent in a local newspaper office and public library extracting newspaper articles. Importantly, these documents did produce various news items illuminating the situation at Zenith in the years leading up to the mid 1990s and the final closure of the Company. These newspaper accounts add to and can be compared with the primary accounts of the respondents who provide 'insider' knowledge on the workings of the shop floor.

Data Analysis : The Body as the Target of Power

Once the fieldwork had been completed the next stage involved an ordering of the information in order to categorize it. For example, in the period leading up to redundancy, worker-management relations such as deteriorating morale were isolated so as to facilitate future analysis of changing self-perceptions. Data was

then scrutinised and organised around various themes such as respondents initial reactions to the shock of being laid off.

The final analytic task shows the ways in which the identities of respondents were influenced by the dividing practices mentioned earlier. It is important to show *how* power is embedded in these practices (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 540-541).

According to Foucault (1977a: 23-24), when approaching the task of analysis we should pay close attention to the indelible workings of power which targets and manipulates how individuals think, act and behave for a particular purpose. If we ignore power by merely considering procedures, such as deskilling (Braverman, 1974), or overt 'constraints' as 'social systems' without considering disciplinary mechanisms and workings of power, then we reduce our argument to external, inert, social 'facts' alone. In so doing, we may distance ourselves and become insensitive to the very real *effects* power strategies can have on how we come to see ourselves. In short, we may dehumanise subjectivity (Willmott, 1989: 346-348).

Every sociological analysis requires a particular 'set of rules' to structure the interpretation of data. This study then, adopts four general rules outlined by Foucault (1977a: 23-24). These are:

First, Foucault argues that *power is a positive, creative and productive process* and is not primarily 'a force' which dominates, prevents, eliminates or represses. This means that an analysis should not be limited to locating only negative effects of power relations. Rather, an analysis of events should highlight seemingly positive effects, even if these at first seem benign and marginal to the observer.

At Zenith for instance, if tradesmen and older workers are fired earlier than others, as one respondent claimed, a Foucauldian analysis would incorporate any *positive* effects from the Company's perspective this might entail (such as increased profit

margins). Therefore, it is important to ask questions about how power is used, who benefits and why?

Second, power must be viewed as a *political technology* possessing its own specific strategies and tactics within a more general field determined by power. For example, it might be possible that it is politically expedient to lay older workers off ahead of other groups of workers. Power therefore, should not be analyzed simply as a result of labour process legislation or as somehow inherent in a broader social structure. This means if we take redundancy to be simply an oppressive process where workers struggle against a monolithic capitalist reality, we will omit analytically the political intentions and tactics which underlie and constitute the redundancy processes.

Third, instead of treating law and policy as separate realms, Foucault argues that they should be seen as deriving from a single process of epistemological-juridical formation (knowledge/power) - in short, make this humanist principle and its 'know how' the backbone of analysis.

For example, Chapter Four examines how changes in industrial legislation and labour policy, particularly since the Industrial Relations Act of 1987, are primarily the result of a concerted power struggle by corporates to 'free up' and create an 'efficient' labour market. An integral part of this legislation is labour market deregulation. Its proponents claim they are 'humanizing' their policies by reducing citizens dependence on the State enabling them to be more 'self-reliant' in a free-market economy. However, this ignores ways in which some groups, such as women, youth and older workers are marginalised out of the process of a humanized workplace or once in, are then progressively laid off by the subtle shifts and twists of power (outlined in Chapter Two).

Finally, try to discover *how* the identities of individuals are moulded and remoulded as they are progressively targeted by power and knowledge.

This is evidenced in the study when several of the sample were fired from the Zenith Bus Company. They consequently endured feelings of uselessness and powerlessness when seeking alternative work. Here, they were confronted with the hegemonic opinion of potential employers who treated their approach for re-employment as out of the question on the grounds that they were 'over-the-hill' and thus already on the 'scrapheap'.

These four general principles reflecting Foucault's notion of power, may be summarised as follows:

Power is a positive, creative force which acts through the whole labour process, which constitutes a political technology and includes legislation and policy procedures as well as human practices in all situations. Through words and deeds power relations impact upon the mind and body thereby transferring, reducing and always shaping, those who are the targets of disciplinary power.

If the strategies and tactics of modern power are so inclusive and effuse:

"How is one to analyze the power relationship?" (Foucault, 1982: 222).

According to Foucault (1982: 223-224), rather than limit ourselves to a particular theoretical model we should take as our guide for analysis, five basic steps, these being:

1) *Differentiation Systems*

According to Foucault (1982: 223), power is exercised differentially by certain people upon others by law, status and privilege, economic differences, managerial know-how, linguistically, politically and culturally to order and manage those it targets. In the labour process this might be when a manager finds it relatively easy to become reemployed, because of *inside knowledge* by virtue of position. This expertise is presumed to imply 'greater competency' than ordinary workers.

2) *Objectives*

Power is never accidental and is always exercised with intention upon others, to achieve some target. This could include the steady accumulation of profits, the maintenance of work status and privileges or the pressure to streamline resulting production from international competitiveness.

3) *The Means Used in Exercising Power Over Others*

When considering *how* power works to actually produce human identities, it is necessary to consider how the means (surveillance, normalising judgements and the 'examination') are utilised by 'those who know' (e.g. experts/bosses).

4) *Forms of Institutionalisation*

When considering *how* power penetrates the mind to shape human actions it is necessary to consider *how* its conduits become institutionalised. This is largely due to the *positive* character of power relations, which render them attractive and readily acceptable within the labour process (Foucault, 1980d; McNay, 1992; Knights and Willmott, 1989). Procedures may be introduced and become institutionalised over time. They *seem* to give 'security' to employees but in actual fact the reverse happens and these procedures contribute to the workers subjugation.

Being 'small' in tactical significance, power takes particular *forms* and adjusts itself to the situation at hand (Foucault, 1982: 224; Knights, 1989: 316) as when workers receive positive feedback about their performances as redundancy looms ever nearer.

These different *forms* of the exercise of institutional power are taken into account when analysing how ex-workers were effected by redundancy.

5) *Degrees of Rationalisation*

Finally, Foucault claims that strategies of power are never rational or driven by logic. Rather, it has far more to do with technological manoeuvres such as cost analysis and the effectiveness and efficiency of operations, be they economic cost or a social cost, in terms of potential resistance likely to be encountered from

workers by management.

These five points cited by Foucault guide my analysis of subjectivity in Chapter Six. The aim is to show *how* workers become tied to their identities through the power relays outlined in this chapter.

In Chapter Four I describe the historical background to the struggles and endeavours of those made redundant as they sought to reestablish themselves elsewhere after being laid off from Zenith. The primary concern of the first part of the next chapter, however, is to show *how* a 'flexible' labour market was created in New Zealand particularly after 1987. The focus then narrows as these insights are applied to a particular industrial site, the Zenith Bus Company.

NOTES

1. *Events* form the basic unit of Foucault's historical method. Though often small and seemingly 'insignificant' Foucault insists *events* play an important part in shaping the course of history. *Events* are a levelling concept being specific and the points of social conflict. In the general labour process, redundancy can be described as an *event* with far reaching consequences as the numbers of unemployed grow to unacceptable levels (Lemert and Gillan, 1982: 132).

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND and THE ZENITH BUS COMPANY

Introduction

The first section of this chapter shows how historical processes, which have progressively extended their hold over individuals in an increasingly 'disciplinary society', act as powerful determinants influencing the experiences of the subjects of this thesis.

The idea of disciplinary mechanisms presented by Foucault underpins the most crucial changes occurring in the New Zealand labour market since 1984. These changes are classified in this chapter to reveal how they have marginalised some workers, while during the same period others have been significantly promoted and advantaged.

Although Foucault (1977a) focuses on punishment and penal institutions, his prime concern was to detail the various shapes the new technology of power took to create a managed citizenry whose function it was to serve those 'making the rules'.

Foucault set out to establish how, in order for certain groups in western society to consolidate their status and privilege, it was necessary to render the mass of citizens docile and thus open to management through subtle methods of manipulation and control. In this process, which began in the late eighteenth century in Western Europe, a shift of emphasis occurred from direct, physical attacks on the body, such as corporal punishment for crimes and misdemeanours (Foucault, 1977a: 3-72), to seemingly covert benign methods of control, for example pervasive propaganda which targets the psyche. Utilizing such subtle tactics the tentacles of governing bodies and the economically rich and powerful increasingly came to 'manipulate the system' to their own advantage with 'the system' becoming synonymous with their corporate interests. As a major form of mass control, it was no longer necessary to enforce allegiance through repression and fear, since compliance to authorities could now be accomplished through 'efficient' silent means, such as

normalization, an obsessive monitoring of people and places and the use of media propaganda! Forms of resistance to those who 'called the tune' could thus be isolated and neutralised. Hence, a docile, largely managed populace was created and sustained in western countries.

With this in mind, this chapter outlines how, through the production of specific knowledge and techniques of power, a disciplinary society emerged and became established. Liberal capitalism as an economic system demands for its survival and dominance, a relentless drive for profit. Therefore, Foucault argues, a necessary prerequisite is the insertion of disciplined individuals into industrial processes in order to extract the maximum in production at minimum cost. Without this inscription of the social into the economy, the demands of capital would never have been realised (Foucault, 1977a: 221).

This section therefore, aims to develop an appreciation of how the workers viewpoints and values were created by processes within the capitalist system. It is argued that disciplinary technologies anchor the subjective experiences of industrial redundancy in order to facilitate a critical examination of the tactics employed by the Zenith Bus Company in its drive to increase production at minimum cost.

This leads logically to the next step where the above conditions above provided a firm context for the critical changes in the New Zealand labour market that occurred after 1984. Since that time New Zealand has witnessed the rise of a 'flexible' labour force, wherein those who work on the shop floor are characteristically treated as 'expendable objects' by the owners and managers of capital. In this process industrial protection that was once enjoyed by workers was gradually 'whittled away', especially after 1987. Together with the advantages accrued to certain employers from exploiting high unemployment, this means that uncertainty, insecurity and a continuous fear of redundancy has become the defining characteristic of employment for many in today's workforce.

Since a great deal of a person's identity comes from the workplace (Knights, 1989:

314), the radical changes of the working environment over the last ten years have had a major influence on older workers experiences of what it means to work and what it means to be human. Many of these experiences, such as that which occurs when production begins to taper off and staff lay-offs are inevitable, will have a profound effect on how workers continue to see themselves and some will have far reaching consequences (Knights, 1989: 324). In today's circumstances the problems of identity which older workers face are amplified and distorted by any threat of redundancy which the new concept of a 'flexible' labour market has created (Willmott, 1989: 354). This is particularly so when those made redundant may have spent many years establishing their sense of identity with the job.

A primary aim in the latter section of the chapter will be to show how new conditions introduced since 1984 were not just concerned with economic 'efficiency' and removing obstructions to a more 'cooperative' working environment. Rather, they were also about how workers could be made compliant so they can be manipulated and controlled for the sake of profit at the expense of quality of life. Here, the idea of 'compliance' (see Chapter Two, pages 25-28), transcends Marxism which fails to adequately explain the processes through which people as members of the labour process become subordinate and almost non-entities. The attempt here is to develop a non-essentialist view of subjectivity (see Chapter One, pages 13-14; Knights, 1989: 301-304). In short, moves towards 'freeing up' the labour market should be analyzed in the context of workers and managers alike contributing to the conditions which oppress them.

An Overview of the Rise of the Disciplinary Society

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of liberal capitalism emerged a new breed of entrepreneurs. Their primary objective depended on a relentless drive for economic, social and political dominance. To this end, innovative means had to be found so that these new 'captains of industry' could extract a maximum output from those who did the actual work. The old methods of social control which existed in pre-industrial feudalism and to some extent under

mercantilism (Foucault, 1991: 96-97), soon became 'inefficient' for this purpose since they relied too readily on rigid mechanisms of patronage, raw coercion and visible repression. It was a system of control which was often violent, arbitrary and which enforced obedience to the powerful of the times by way of wasteful methods. Consequently, the ever present threat of open rebellion and mass disruption characterised the times. This state of affairs became increasingly contradictory in an industrially intensive fast moving environment where energies were directed towards production at all cost. This according to Foucault (1977a: 73-230), necessitated a shift in focus from the body as the immediate target of power to the mind wherein controlling how people thought, responded and behaved increasingly became the norm.

Foucault (1977a: 218) asserts that the new mechanisms of power were qualitatively different from the old rigid forms and could be characterised as follows:

1) Modern power differed from older methods in that its discourses, practices and consequences could be utilized at minimum cost. In economic terms this means low expenditures with constant drives to lower costs. For instance, at Zenith there was a drive to rationalise and centralise operations in order to reduce overheads (or extra costs to the Company owners). In political terms however, reducing 'costs' means that power must be exercised discreetly in order to suppress the likelihood of resistance and oppositional force. This thesis argues, therefore, that the industrial policies implemented in New Zealand since 1984 have critically depended for their current 'success' on the subverting of workers and prospective workers resistance to raw 'free' market change (Rudd, 1990: 98).

2) The impact and intensity of such mechanisms which govern and constitute consent must be maintained and perpetuated without disruption. In the labour market this means that once implemented, it is crucial to engineer the gaining of acceptance of power strategies in order to eliminate barriers to higher and higher production and thus greater profits. At Zenith this meant seemingly insignificant 'little things' such as tea trolleys were introduced into the work routine in order to

shorten production time, which would otherwise be lost on tea breaks.

3) The 'economic' growth of power was more efficient if it could be linked directly to the output of the institutions within which it is exercised. To this end industrial discourses must reinforce operative power relations. An example of this strategy is provided later in this chapter when it is revealed how, over the last seven years in New Zealand, a concerted media campaign has been waged to inculcate into the public consciousness the general idea that urgent 'reforms' to the labour market were imperative to 'better meet people's needs'. Power becomes more 'economical' and effective when it can be legitimated through officially recognised channels such as television and the news media while simultaneously operating to prevent or discredit the functioning and formation of counter-ideologies (Levitas, 1986: 15-17; Smart, 1983: 109).

It is clear from the above that Foucault's conceptualisation of disciplinary power is not as an apparatus or an institution. Rather, it is a *mode or exercise* of power. It may be identified with a variety of techniques, procedures, levels of application and targets (the latter usually being older workers, beneficiaries, women, Pacific Islanders and Maori, namely the powerless groups in society). As Foucault (1977a: 215) maintains: *It is a 'micro-physics' of power, a technology.* Viewed in this sense 'disciplinary power' is likened to a capillary network, its channels reaching to all spheres of social life in varying degrees (see Chapter Two).

This finely tuned mode of control was, according to Foucault, readily adopted and utilized by institutions and agencies. Policy was perfected in various social environments from the police to the treatment profession, especially those of the State (whether deregulated or not). This has ensured that today, disciplinary power has become the dominant form of social control (Foucault, 1977a: 216).

The Concept of Bio-Power¹

In the seventeenth century Foucault (1977a and 1978) argues, there was a major shift in the focus of control from the right to *take* life, to a form which actually

fostered life. Power as it existed in feudal times was therefore a 'power over death', while contemporary power which now seeks to enhance 'usefulness' in human life by increasing the utility of human beings, can be called a constitutive/productive power ('power over life').

These new forms Foucault calls bio-technico power or *bio-power* (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982: 128). The emergence and spread of bio-power throughout Western Europe during the Classical Age became the foundation of the modern disciplinary society. It had two major objectives which were:

1) That bio-power is utilized by 'those who know' (the experts) to mould individuals into human economic resources. If capitalism as an enterprise was going to succeed and prosper, the means had to be found whereby power could gain access to people's lives, their attitudes, acts and everyday behaviour (Foucault, 1980: 125). Modern power relations have thus largely become hidden, subtle and intimate (Foucault, 1978: 86), a fact that must be taken into account in any careful consideration of the labour market.

2) Bio-power can be utilized in broad terms to manage broader populations for political ends. Here the emphasis is on 'government' in the widest sense wherein *party political* government is only one means by which people can be regulated and controlled. In Foucault's reckoning, 'government' is a complex form of power for the management of populations, encompassing a range of disciplinary practices primarily surveillance, assessments and methods of normalisation for the control of individuals for specified ends.

Perhaps a more accurate term would be 'the governance of a population' rather than 'government' (Dean, 1991: 11-13). For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century there evolved a system of administration of the workplace known as Taylorism². This was an extraordinary invention by an American engineer who wanted to combat laziness and everything else that slowed down production by devising a system whereby workers were not required to think. Accordingly,

Foucault argues that Taylorism was a strategy of power designed specifically to speed up production (to increase industrial profitability) and eliminate any resistance that would impede that goal (Foucault, 1980: 162-163).

Briefly then, bio-power not only seeks to manipulate individuals but also strives to master populations through 'governance' (for a deeper understanding of what Foucault means by 'government' see Foucault, 1982: 221-224; 1991: 87-104).

New Zealand and the Beginnings of the Labour Relations Process

In 1894 under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, a system of labour relations was established in New Zealand, which would remain basically intact until the mid. 1970s. This Act was based on collectivist values of compulsory unionism, conciliation, and arbitration whereby employers were compelled to enter into negotiations if trade unions so requested for the setting of wages and conditions of work. Furthermore, *all* workers and employers (blanket coverage) within an industry were bound by awards, which prescribed minimum wages and conditions of employment (Walsh, 1989; Jeffrey and Williams, 1992).

Underlying the Act of 1894 was a primary assumption of an unequal power relationship between employers and employees (Jeffrey and Williams, 1992: 148). An imperative therefore was that all workers should be protected against the possibility of unscrupulous conduct by employers through a system "guided only by the jurisprudential principles of equity" and protection of workers rights (Jeffrey and Williams, 1989: 141). The new Labour Government in 1984, however, found itself faced with mounting pressure for labour market 'reform' (Walsh, 1989: 149). The official reason given was that the legacy of labour relations in New Zealand had become "too cumbersome, rigid and inefficient", thereby enshrining labour rights to ensure labour costs were too high (Grahl and Teague, 1989: 91-92).

However, it can be argued that these 'discursive practices'¹³ were a deliberate power strategy by employers and powerful business interests who had become increasingly

frustrated by a system which was seen to set limits on levels of economic productivity and business profits. This conclusion is lent credence when it is realised that those who pressed for labour market 'reform' espoused individualistic values and promoted separate, workshop based agreements (Walsh, 1989: 149; Rudd, 1990: 91). By virtually eliminating collective agreements workers were isolated from one another and the power of the labour movement was progressively undermined. This resulted in increased vulnerability for ordinary workers.

A 'Flexible' Labour Market and the Foucauldian 'Event'

In Foucault's view, an 'event', or series of 'events' are moments in history which transform the future from the past (Dean, 1991: 4). Thus, singular moments mark periods of transition whereby history is changed, through power strategies of conflict, struggle, negotiation, attack and counter-attack, rather like a 'battle'. What is more, according to Foucault, 'events' operate at many different levels to produce a whole order of interconnecting 'events' varying in magnitude and capacity to produce effects (Foucault, 1980: 114). Taking this idea aboard, the idea of a 'flexible' labour market can be accurately described as an 'event', since the ideology behind the movement has radically transformed the face and fibre of labour relations in New Zealand in the last decade.

Let the 'Battle' Commence

Early in the first term of the Fourth Labour Government calls went out for the 'reform' and deregulation of the labour market (Walsh, 1989; Boston, 1987: 176). Yet the two are not necessarily the same.

Prior to 1987 the proponents of deregulation, mainly represented by the Business Roundtable, could make little headway in advancing their cause because of the united strength of their opponents, primarily Trade Unions, the Department of Labour and the then Minister of Labour, Stan Rodger (Walsh, 1989: 148-168).

Regulation referred mainly to the award system which regulated wages and

conditions for workers. The relationship between individual or collectivities of employers, and employees, was established by regulation, such as the provision for binding arbitration in the event of an unresolved dispute over time (Birks and Chatterjee, 1992: 141-152).

If proponents of deregulation succeeded in their campaign to introduce greater 'flexibility' into the whole labour process, this would radically change the working environment because it would allow individual employers to opt out of awards and negotiate individual site agreements with employees (Walsh, 1989: 158-9; Rudd, 1990: 91). However, because of the disparate power relationship between employers and employees, grave fears were held by opponents of deregulation for the effect this would have on vulnerable groups of workers (Walsh, 1989: 158-161). For all its faults the earlier system did have the advantage of according some protection to workers against rampant labour exploitation. Furthermore, deregulation would erode or remove many conditions of work such as penal rates and any other provisions designed to protect the living standards of workers which had been established by regulation over many years.

This thesis argues that the increasing pressure for deregulation of the labour market after 1984 was a technology of power designed specifically to maximise expansion and profitability of industry. This could be achieved by pushing for individual employment contracts which have the effect of fragmenting and isolating workers from one another, thus squashing the power and ability of the Union Movement to fight for the rights of workers⁴. With worker resistance represented by the Trade Unions thus undermined, the way would then be clear for further erosion of employee rights and entitlements. As Foucault implies, it is the creative nature of modern power where the labour process is made to appear 'inefficient' and 'unproductive' which achieves the desired goal.

The Labour Relations Act of 1987 - The 'Battle' Continues

It has been pointed out that prior to 1987, proponents of labour market 'reform' (an aspect of a more general reform known as 'structural adjustment'), had only limited

success because of the combined strength of the opposition. Accordingly, prior to the 1987 election, a group of corporate chief executives decided to reorganise the Business Roundtable, representing New Zealand's largest corporations, and refurbish its agenda into a more effective vehicle to push for radical labour market 'reform' (Wanna, 1989; Walsh, 1989: 149).

With this in mind, this chapter seeks to 'eventalise' the concept of a 'flexible' labour market because the aim is to deconstruct the rhetoric behind this move in order to disclose its nature: the end result of an orchestrated campaign utilizing power/knowledge over the past seven years for the sake of corporate expansion and the relentless pursuit of profit, here and overseas. This has been done through such methods as omissions, a never ending manipulation of the facts and a variety of misleading discourses designed primarily to deceive labour and eliminate all opposition from the agenda. For instance, it is claimed that a regulated labour market is 'inefficient' because it allows wages to climb 'too high' and is counter-productive by 'discouraging competition' (Myers, 1992: 79-90). Yet sociologists, Ayres and Braithwaite (1992) argue for innovative forms of regulation in industry to counteract the development of its harmful 'capture' by powerful business interests and greed.

The question must therefore be asked: How was it, given the support for regulation of the labour market in 1987, that the forces opposed to this agenda were able to almost completely 'turn the tables' on the opposition just four years later?

In order to provide an explanation, I believe it is necessary to isolate the key 'events' which enabled the proponents of labour market deregulation to neutralise most, if not all opposition to the agenda of 'reform'. Over the next four years this has radically reshaped New Zealand's working environment. A key 'event' occurred in this process in June 1987, even before the Labour Relations Act came into force, when the reorganised Business Roundtable launched an intensive campaign to oppose the Act, arguing that it was not 'flexible' enough.

What was needed according to big business rhetoric were lower wages for workers so as to extract more productivity from them (Myers, 1992). On the other hand by 1993 top executives were being paid huge salaries, plus achievement bonuses, cars, and other employment 'packages' as incentives for performance (Price, 1993: 5). An editorial in the Dominion newspaper of 19/4/89 records how Electricorp executives "pay themselves huge salaries plus enormous 'performance bonuses' for running the former Government department". This is consistent with the observation of J.K. Galbraith that "The rich need more income as an incentive, and the poor less" (Price, 1993:2).

In July 1992, Government Department Chief Executives were advised to lock out employees, who did not agree to cuts in their working conditions (Price, 1993: 2), while Chatterjee (1992: 37-53) investigates the growing inequalities in New Zealand's income distribution since 1981. In addition, Fried (1994) shows how similar power strategies as those applied in New Zealand after 1984, resulted in exorbitant salaries for a local elite while breaking the power of the labour movement and providing cheap labour in Latin America. This is called the 'carrot versus stick' law:

Those at the top perform better if you pay them more; those at the bottom perform better if you pay them less (Price, 1993: 5).

In order to critically understand the Labour Relations Act of 1987, it must be realised that it was a 'power struggle'. In the controversy over policy the Government was described as 'walking a tightrope' between opposing sides in the 'battle' for dominance in the labour market (Walsh, 1989: 156).

Another early crucial 'event' on the path towards a 'flexible' labour market was the elimination of compulsory arbitration. Historically, this had been the linchpin of the economic system and the bulwark of Union Strategy as it had been designed to protect workers in the absence of agreement between the parties (Jeffrey and Williams, 1992: 141). In such circumstances the Arbitration Court acted as mediator for the settling of awards between employers and employees. Yet it was

quickly abolished, leaving workers increasingly exposed to blatantly lower conditions of work (and conversely ever higher corporate profits).

Although the Labour Relations Act of 1987 did not abolish the award system, the thrust of this legislation was to reduce dependence on awards and encourage their replacement with individual contracts (Jeffrey and Williams, 1992: 141). Thus, workers would be forced into individual contracts if the parties could not reach agreement. Consequently, the years 1988-1990 saw the emergence of a new employer militancy with some employers refusing to renegotiate awards while rolling back conditions of work previously gained by unions (Walsh, 1992: 60-61). On this basis it could be reasonably argued that the abolition of compulsory arbitration combined with the new provisions of the Labour Relations Act of 1987, were subtle strategies in a broader technology of power. The intention of such moves was to erode wages and working conditions, thus increasing the vulnerability of many workers, while others have been significantly advantaged⁵.

In 1989 Roger Douglas, a key member within the inner sanctum of government until his dismissal as finance minister in late 1988 (Boston, 1990: 64), joined the fray by using his power and influence to lobby his labour colleagues for a 'flexible' labour market (Walsh, 1989: 150). This was a significant 'event' ultimately leading to the defeat of proponents advocating the status quo.

It is important to realise that the Industrial Relations Act of 1987 was only one aspect of a long struggle for supremacy in the New Zealand labour market and a clash of conflicting interests (Myers, 1992: 79-90; Walsh, 1989: 151; 1992: 60). What is more, the steady rise of unemployment, which had tripled since 1987 (see Table 4.1), could now be used as an ominous survival threat to 'whittle away' the remaining vestiges of reasonable wages and conditions for ordinary workers (Walsh, 1992: 61). Interestingly, the official figures in the table quote only the *registered unemployed* so no account is made of those workers who withdraw from the workforce in discouragement and disgust, or of others who do not appear in the official figures.

Table 4.1 : Unemployment Rates - By Age (as a percentage of the labour force within each age group).

Years	Total Rates All Ages	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-34 years	35-39 years	40-44 years	45-49 years	50-54 years	55-59 years
1987	4.0	4.8	4.5	3.4	2.4	2.1	1.8	2.2	1.9
1988	4.3	6.6	4.6	3.8	2.8	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.1
1989	6.2	9.8	6.2	5.6	4.8	3.5	3.0	3.6	3.5
1990	7.1	11.3	7.9	6.4	4.8	3.8	4.0	5.0	4.5
1991	8.4	12.7	9.0	8.1	6.1	5.2	4.7	5.5	5.7
1992	10.6	17.6	12.1	9.9	7.6	6.5	6.5	6.7	6.8
1993	10.1	15.6	11.2	10.0	8.0	6.3	5.8	7.0	7.9

Source : Household Labour Force Survey , in Table 3.2, Labour Market Statistics pages 49-50 1993

It is also interesting to note that although both the Business Roundtable and Treasury were described as experiencing difficulties in 1987 in gaining political allies in their campaign to 'reform' the labour process, this was only a 'temporary setback' (Walsh, 1989: 163).

As conditions today testify, by 1991 the 'battle' for 'reform', 'flexibility' and thus control of the workplace had been totally won (Tivey, 1978: 13; Price, 1993; Rudd, 1990: 89-92; Walsh, 1989).

While it stood the Labour Relations Act of 1987 symbolised at least some protection for New Zealand's workers. Once the 'door had been opened' to deregulation, however, some employers were quick to take advantage of both voluntary arbitration as a strategy of power and the increasingly high unemployment which followed. Consequently, by the time of the election of a National Government at the end of 1990 the 'time was ripe' for further erosion of the rights of the country's workforce. Unencumbered by legislative constraints many employers felt emboldened to push for further 'flexibility' in the labour market (Walsh, 1992: 73).

In sum, the Labour Relations Act of 1987 permitted only a partial erosion of workers' rights because of the combined strength of the opposition to a 'flexible' labour market. It did, however, lay the groundwork for further attacks on workers which did ensue.

The Employment Contracts Act of 1991

The Employment Contracts Act can accurately be described as an 'event' which has radically altered the working environment in New Zealand. As noted earlier, New Zealand's labour force had been subjected to a series of subtle and manipulative corporate strategies, one being the campaign to fragment the labour movement (Walsh, 1989; 1992), isolate workers from one another, and undermine worker resistance. Consequently, the new National Government was able to consolidate what Labour had begun and completely overturn a labour system based on bonds of equity between

employers and employees, and replace it with one based on raw market power (Walsh, 1992).

Because opposition had been weakened and general resistance radically undermined over the previous four years, the Employment Contracts Act of 1991 carried this process further by isolating workers through voluntary unionism and the enforcing of individual employment contracts. In short, in the space of four years from 1987-91, the average worker became 'expendable fodder', open to manipulation and 'tossed on the scrapheap' when no longer required (Walsh, 1992: 59-76).

So the 'wheel turned full circle'. Controversies that were hotly debated and fiercely contested less than a decade before, such as voluntary unions, rapidly became non-issues as the 1990s unfolded (Walsh, 1992: 64). This is but one example of how innovative power eventually wears down the opposition, reconstitutes thought and controversial issues come to be 'accepted' (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 550).

Trade unions have been reduced to bargaining agents (no different from a law firm or private consultant), while the illusion has been promulgated that New Zealand is a land of 'industrial harmony' (Myers, 1992; Coddington, 1993). The number of work stoppages in 1992 was the lowest since 1958, continuing a steady decline since 1985 (Labour Market Statistics, 1993: 131). Yet as Jeffrey and Williams (1992) and Walsh (1992) point out, the Employment Contracts Act severely limits and restricts the right to strike. In addition, individual contracts favour those with status and privilege, such as managers (Walsh, 1992: 66).

New Zealand has therefore been through a concentrated struggle for control of the labour market over the last seven years. In consequence large numbers have faced the dire threat of summary dismissal if they dared to disagree with conditions in their individual employment contracts. In addition, workers have become isolated, fragmented and far more vulnerable to exploitation through the Government passively accepting the agenda

of the Business Roundtable which favours a contractual arrangement over labour relationships. This is likely to increasingly hit powerless categories such as the mature, women, Maori, youth and manual labourers, excluding them from reasonable incomes while those with status and privilege, such as managers, will be favoured (Walsh, 1992: 66). This occurs because the latter employees have the necessary clout to negotiate favourable contracts over less privileged workers. It is against this background which has radically changed the working environment of this country, in a relatively short time, that the experiences of redundancy from the Zenith Bus Company must be seen.

Having presented and discussed the concept of the 'disciplinary society' and having outlined radical changes in New Zealand's industrial relations, the following section focuses on one particular site of industrial activity as a microcosm of historical change.

EXPENDABLE FODDER: THE CASE OF THE ZENITH BUS COMPANY

The Boom Years

Zenith was formed during the 1920s to help meet the commuter bus needs of a developing country characterised by a thinly-spread rural population, a high proportion of urban commuters, a large number of schools and a developing tourist industry. In the late 1970s the Company merged with an Auckland Company and rationalised its operations, focusing production in the central North Island. These changes utilised efficient use of the Company's distribution network while a suitable base was established for further expansion. From 1978 until the mid 1980s growth was rapid as expanding production poured millions of dollars into the local economy. The Zenith Company ranked among New Zealand's largest employers with a workforce of nearly 300 at its peak⁶. Manufacturing over 120 buses a year, the bulk of the nation's fleet, company expansion continued with exports into Asian markets. Media reports relating to the period spoke of the company projecting "more thrust in the marketplace" and of a concern "ready to meet the challenges of tomorrow" (local press June 1985).

These were the halcyon years when workers were secure in their employment. As one respondent put it::

"I had never been out of work in thirty-one years".

It was a time when gainful employment also meant binding relationships between workers, as Hank claimed:

"Well that's a long time out of somebody's life, fourteen years and you've built up some good relationships".

Four others who had served at Zenith told how the Company had become intimately connected with their lives, particularly since many of the skills required for the craft of coach building had been learnt 'on the job' giving them a close affinity with their 'paternal' employers. Furthermore, they regarded themselves as loyal employees and readily acquiesced to the wishes of the Company, further confirming their work as an integral part of themselves. Bob affirmed:

"I was always proud of what I was doing in that place. There weren't many facets of the job I couldn't do. I got to the position of charge hand in the area and then I would be transferred to the position of temporary foreman if someone was away ill and things like that to help out".

In retrospect, a collective feeling of 'belonging' to the Company was obviously important to these employees.

The 'Downturn'

Beginning in the mid 1980s, due to a shrinking market, Zenith management found itself saddled with a sudden 'excess capacity'. This necessitated the start of staff lay-offs. By the late 1980s, with the industry 'feeling the bite' of the economic recession, increasingly problems were confronted in trying to compete internationally as a small member of the new economic order. A newspaper report in 1988, quotes a former manager who states:

Like most industries, we're reviewing our strategies to achieve greater efficiency. Since 1984 we've had to analyze our strengths and weaknesses carefully".

Although couched in gentle terms, ex-employees of the Company who spoke with the researcher maintained that the same strategies aiming to create 'efficiency' ignored the human factor. For example, as work declined, management devised a policy of 'total flexibility of personnel' as a method to better use the existing workforce. The theory was that if all the workers on the shop floor were equally competent at doing every job performed there, 'efficiency' would be enhanced and 'costs reduced'. But as Ian claimed:

"people had to be totally flexible to everything and they just set about it anyway and that was it. If a guy is efficient at his job - leave him - you're only going to waste his time and your time carting him off to an area he doesn't like. Go and get another guy who is disgruntled, but no - the policy was 'the fly doesn't blink an eye' and guys were moved up and down - up and down. You never knew where they would be next. They said we had to know each others jobs in the office, but no-one had the time to even try. But we had to do it".

The new strategy was not received well, since it failed to account for a person's innate talent and inclinations. These things are often best met doing the task one is adept at rather than being shifted around the factory floor with little time for permanent measures of appraisal and reward.

The Australian Connection

In the late 1980s the Zenith Bus Company was taken over by a large Australian firm. The New Zealand firm became a subsidiary of its trans-Tasman parent counterpart. Although statements at the time mention the two operations as "complementing one another" and creating "mutual benefits" (local press, May 1988), data from interviews as well as from a feature in the local press (September 1993) strongly suggest the sale of the New Zealand company to Australia may have been a key power-play which in effect, sacrificed Zenith to Australian control.

Harking back to the site of exploration, Ian told a harrowing tale of how the Australian operation "just gobbled up funds like you would not believe". And again, it was manifest

in media articles (e.g. a feature in local press in 1993) that financial 'wheeling and dealing' resulted in the local branch being used as a 'sacrificial lamb' by its parent Australian Company.

It therefore seems that in the final stages of decline workers in New Zealand became increasingly expendable to the service of profit. This conclusion is lent weight by news media articles of 1991 which show the Company struggling to compete because of the deregulation of the bus industry. A report in 1993 states that at Zenith "all too often management was acting under strict instructions from across the Tasman". On the shop floor there was disquiet over the loss of local autonomy. Ian put it succinctly:

"As far as I'm concerned, it was a con!"

As the life of the firm went from bad to worse, its workers were repeatedly told (according to both Ian and Hank), that the Firm was going to 'trade out of its difficulties'. Ian said that at the time he believed this was *a con* to lull employees into a false sense of security. The real intention he reflected, was to sacrifice the Company and all who served it to enable its parent in Australia to survive.

The picture which emerges of employees as 'pawns'⁷ in an international 'game' of business intrigue was reinforced by Hank. He also claimed that the main reason for the final liquidation of Zenith was the 'creaming-off' of profit to keep the Australian operation afloat. According to Hank:

"Our suppliers weren't even getting paid, which meant there was nothing staying in this country. It was all going straight to Australia and they decided they were going to carry on trading over there. They're fine now. It devolved on us. It made a 'hell-of-a-lot' of guys angry".

It is outside the focus of this thesis to probe deeper into reasons for the closure of the Zenith Bus Company in the mid 1990s. Suffice to say that the above statements show a depth of anger over the manipulations of the company they had come to trust, but which

(respondents believed), finally betrayed them.

Having given a brief sketch of the background of the Zenith Bus Company, the next chapter will utilise the viewpoints of respondents so that their story of the demise of Zenith may be presented and their personal experiences validated.

Notes

For a concise account of bio-power see Smart (1983: 90-91).

Taylorism, named after its inventor F.W. Taylor was a form of industrial organisation which sought to streamline the productivity of the workplace. One of its features was fragmentation of the division of labour whereby workers were only required to perform relatively simple tasks. This allowed for the employment of unskilled labour, thus reducing labour costs. Under Taylorism managers were given full control over workers on the shop floor for the first time in order to enforce discipline and ensure continuous production (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1984: 215-216).

Discursive practices imply the structured language of documents such as court records, letters, stories and newspaper articles. They are not meant to contain the full 'truth', but are a means to 'reconstruct' (or deconstruct) history. They are conditioned by the same 'dividing practices' that determine social practices. For example, newspaper reports may present a misleading picture of the viability of a firm so as to instil confidence and avoid any possible disruption by workers. Discursive practices are discussed in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Lemert and Gillan, 1982: 130-131).

See Australian sociologist Knights (1989: 321-323) for an analysis of the individualising effects of contemporary power.

In New Zealand since 1989, the position of the lowest income group for full-time wage and salary earners has maintained a steady decline by real disposable incomes (Labour Market Statistics 1993: 101-104). The relative position of middle income earners has also declined but the highest income group has remained relatively steady.

As confirmed by respondents and media reports.

As explained in Chapter Two, the idea of workers being treated as 'pawns' does not falsify their role as 'active agents' since innovative power implies resistance (Foucault, 1978: 95). See Chapter Six for further explanation of Foucault's notion of power and resistance.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEIR STORY : DATA PRESENTATION

Introduction

An individual's sense of self (subjectivity), is constituted and reconstituted by disciplinary mechanisms and dividing practices within which power is exercised (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 541). In addition, how individuals secure their sense of meaning and reality is conditioned by the historical positioning of human beings in the world (Willmott, 1989: 344). Accordingly, in this chapter, the stories of those laid off from the Zenith Bus Company unfold by focusing on the dividing practices which they were subjected to, both on the shop floor and in their later lives, as they became targets of knowledge/power (Foucault, 1982: 208). In the ensuing chapter the details presented will underpin a critical analysis of the effects of redundancy on individuals, who to a large extent identify their lives with their place of work (Knights, 1989).

The chapter concludes with a brief response from management who were included in the study in order to explore whether there might be differences in their handling and response to redundancy (see Chapter Three p.47).

Working on the Shop Floor

As the work at the Company declined in the late 1980s, two-thirds of respondents described a scenario of increasing pressure contributing to deteriorating working conditions. This led to progressive treatment of workers as "numbers rather than as human beings", as one respondent put it. Bob, another worker, had bitter memories of his last few years 'on the job'. He related:

"The last three years it was shocking (at Zenith) mainly due to management plus they were going under - they knew they had their 'backs to the wall'...."

Bob added:

"In the last twelve to eighteen months you were getting chased along. You didn't have time to finish a job off properly. So it was; as soon as you've

done that, rush off and do something else".

As the market for buses evaporated desperate measures to survive were increasingly taken by the Company. These included normalising judgements such as time taken on jobs and a steady monitoring of those under them by Company bosses. These tactics were compounded by continual but irregular assessments on the shop floor concerning the work.

With a decline in work, all respondents agreed that these tactics contributed to deteriorating *morale* on the shop floor. According to Gerald:

"They would cut times just to get the work, because they were desperate for work. He would come over; you thought you were working really good and he would say, 'going to be all f_____night!'. That was how the manager would talk to you. Oh, it was more than a strained atmosphere but you did nothing, because if you did you wouldn't have a job."

Most of the blame for low morale and general ill-feeling amongst fellow workers was blamed on Company management whom all felt had minimal 'people skills'. This seemed more important than enmity between the workers themselves. A decline in the quality of workmanship was the obvious outcome, particularly after receivers took over in the early 1990s; nobody knew who was going to be next for 'the chop'.

Although media reports after 1989 spoke of the 'relative successes' of strategies to diversify and of 'greater efficiency', in reality, operations on the shop floor were far from 'efficient'. Evidence to support these claims was given by Ian, an ex-manager with about twenty years experience. He told how he resented losing control over vital decision-making to young receivers whose ignorance of the intricacies of the industry compounded, rather than solved, company inefficiencies. In a nutshell this experience was "totally humiliating".

Despite the seemingly dire scenario, the situation came to be accepted as 'normal'

by workers who were resigned to their fate and just 'got on with their jobs'. As Ian put it:

"We just got on and did our jobs to the best of our abilityThey didn't get the sort of agitation as when they were always looking over the fence and seeing something they didn't like. After a while they just accepted that thinking and got on with the job.it was quite a bad problem".

In sum, the picture emerges of workers being subjected to increasing pressure through normalising judgements, constant monitoring and continual assessments on the shop floor resulting in deteriorating working conditions and worsening morale from the late 1980s. Management's 'lack of appreciation' for services rendered by workers was interpreted by one respondent as calling their competence as skilled tradesmen into question. However, over time the resentment initially generated by these tactics tended to dissipate as workers became progressively conditioned by managers to the point where they began to accept the situation as part and parcel of life.

One strategy implemented at Zenith in the late 1980s was the 'total flexibility' of personnel in order to make 'better use of existing resources' as work tapered off. This meant organising the workplace around the theory that if all workers were equally competent at doing every job performed there, 'efficiency' would be enhanced and 'costs reduced' (see Chapter Four, p. 72).

Total Flexibility

Besides being ill received on the factory floor, due to a policy that failed to take into account a person's natural talents and inclinations, workers considered 'less versatile' found themselves severely disadvantaged. This was the case with two respondents interviewed who were constantly facing the fear of being sacked for their rigidity, even though one was described as "brilliant in his own area".

In addition, as problems relating to survival of the Company intensified, consultation between workers and management generally remained bad. This

applied to most of the decisions taken whether concerned with the organisation of the workplace or the deployment of personnel. Yet, as the situation worsened, workers did not always react passively. For instance, Ian described how production staff ignored the interests of other workers. The storeman had therefore been sent along to regular meetings to try and "pre-empt some of the things that were going on."

Mismanagement? - Managing Change¹

From media reports and interviews with ex-employees what emerged was a picture of a Company putting its workers (the 'nuts and bolts' of the industry) under pressure by a consistent policy of 'chopping from the bottom', instead of reducing 'excess baggage' within management. A local newspaper report, in the early 1990s, spoke of staff on the factory floor having been reduced to fifty while there were still thirty management personnel 'upstairs'.

Over-management coupled with mismanagement, were terms used by respondents and media articles alike and therefore may underlie the failure of the Zenith Bus Company.

There was also the issue of managing/ mismanaging the transition from a buoyant situation to the reality of the 1990s when the demand for buses had largely disappeared. According to Ian, Zenith was "bad at handling change".

Characteristically there was no consultation between those in charge of production and the rest of the factory on how the workplace should be organised or coordinated as productivity declined. Instead, Ian said, workers found out "through the grapevine". This meant that non-management personnel were constantly 'destabilised' as policies within the factory in terms of people and work practices were changed with regularity.

Prior to the late 1980s the Company was a fairly stable entity, but by the early 1990s, as the market for buses rapidly disappeared, the ability of management to adjust to the new 'leaner and meaner' working environment worsened. Ian told a

vivid tale of the frustrations on the shop floor as the organisation of men and materials:

"changed endlessly as Zenith took on new projects, as factories (within the Zenith 'empire'), were closed and amalgamated.....there was no debate - that was just the way it worked."

To confirm this scenario of abysmal consultation coupled with destabilising endless changes, I was told how another manager "just gave up in the end" after having his designs for factory parts constantly ignored.

Despite the inconsistent, muddled strategies of management, change was not always meekly accepted by those on the floor. When probed on how respondents experienced such uncertainty, a typical response was:

"I think they put up with it provided they are treated right personally. You would find that there was a lot of personal animosity there, which was directed at Norm who was called 'batman' who had an offsider who was called 'Robin'.....and there was the guy who would go down the factory floor and 'pimp' for the office. It didn't take the guys long to figure that one out and unfortunately that's the way it ended - there were a couple of exceptions but that was basically the feeling in the factory".

HANDLING REDUNDANCY

Initial Reactions

Betrayal

Once the prospects of redundancy became reality, two dominant themes emerged. First, there was an intense anger, coupled with bitterness and resentment at having been manipulated by the Company until the very last. Seven ex-workers to be precise, felt that their years of faithful service had been pushed aside with no recognition at all. They spoke of 'wasted years', feeling rejected, and years 'down the drain'.

Matt, who had been with the Company nearly nine years explained:

..... many a Christmas I've come back early to help them out and put myself out and this is the reward you get for being loyal."

In another instance, Charlie typified those who had felt totally betrayed. Rumours were going round the factory sometime before 'the final axe fell', he told me. What had made company tactics particularly bitter was the fact that management had waited, or so it had appeared to him, until an urgent job he had been working on was finished before summarily dismissing him. He related how he had felt "ditched out", a feeling which he claimed applied to "a lot of them up there".

Relief

Secondly, four workers related that they had felt immensely relieved to finally be rid of all the tension and pressure that had been building up over the years. Strongly ambivalent feelings of betrayal were thus tinged with relief.

THE SEARCH FOR WORK

Reemployment

Themes to emerge under the general heading of reemployment were:

1) Transferable skills

All workers interviewed from the shop floor reported success in finding alternative work, even if only in a casual or part-time capacity. They put this down to the wide range of marketable skills utilised at Zenith as the coachbuilding industry involved 'everything' from "woodworking - to upholstery work - to welding and electrics."

This meant that tradesmen at Zenith were versatile, could adapt to differing work situations and had considerable experience and expertise. These transferable skills stood them in good stead when hunting for alternative work. What is more, the relationships and networks which six respondents had nurtured during many years

'on the job', assisted in this process.

2) *Deskilling*

On the other hand, opinion was divided on just how adaptable or transferable these skills actually were when attempting to find work at a comparable skill level. Because Zenith, as Ian told me, was a very specialised and highly skilled manufacturer in that it did a lot of 'one-offs' (referring to the uniqueness of a particular order as opposed to a mass produced model) to individual specifications, few other companies in New Zealand involved work of a similar nature and to the same level of expertise. This meant that although skills learnt there were in demand in other industries such as welding and panel beating, generally this was at a less specialised level. Without exception therefore, the alternative work found by workers off the shop floor was less skilled than that which they had enjoyed at Zenith.

3) *Barriers in the Search for Work*

Major barriers identified by Zenith employees in the search for work were:

a) *The Pre-redundancy situation*

All of those interviewed had been influenced to some degree by the pre-redundancy situation. The feelings of having being 'betrayed', referred to earlier, and 'pushed from pillar-to-post' left one worker stating that he never wanted to work under such pressure again. Three others expressed similar views which had impeded their subsequent search for work. As Bob related:

"I lost a lot of confidence in myself through being made redundant from that job".

These themes illustrate mainly negative effects on self-images as those laid off struggled to reestablish their identities. Yet some positive themes did emerge. For instance, Charlie described how he had eventually felt better within himself as a result of being released from the pressure of the job. This occurred after suffering severe bouts of depression and mood swings. Charlie's self-esteem plummeted to

'rock-bottom' when he was told that he was "too old for the job" and as a skilled tradesman, saw his competence 'overshadowed by younger workers'.

Interestingly, three respondents experienced enhanced self-worth by being released from what they saw as the bondage of a stressful work situation.

b) *Discouragement - Fear of Rejection - Despair*

After losing the security of a full-time job a series of repeated rejections impacted on seven respondents and their families in their search for work. Overall, those made redundant said they felt dejected and discouraged. Charlie's wife spoke of her frustration with her husband's depression when repeatedly turned down for jobs:

She said:

"He wouldn't talk to anybody; walked around as if the 'weight of the world' was on his shoulders."

Those workers who did look for work straight away, found their confidence waning after a few months. The effort and time spent in looking for work therefore tended to decrease the longer a worker went without work.² Without doubt, repeated rejections led to despair and self-doubt which effected each family.

c) *The Age Factor*

Respondents felt disadvantaged because of their age since employers were reluctant to employ older workers.

Three prominent themes emerged in relation to age:

i) *Age as a Major Factor in being Laid Off -*

Half the respondents interviewed thought their age had been a major factor influencing the Company's decision to send them 'down the road'.

"Yes definitely, said Gerald, "anyone over forty was an old b_____ ",
while Charlie commented,

"Suddenly they figure age is the big barrier. At Zenith, the ones who

got put off were either tradesmen or older workers."

According to Charlie, this could be for political reasons in order to take advantage of the Employment Contracts Act and take on younger workers at less cost and with less protection.

ii) *Age as a Major Barrier to Finding Another Job -*

Even though all respondents were highly skilled tradesmen, age discrimination³ was seen as a major barrier to reentering the marketplace. The group was unanimous that prospective employers turned them down because they would provide insufficient return on investment because of the high cost of retraining. Thus, employers thought it 'was not worth' taking on new personnel who were nearing retirement age. Other reasons included being 'too old' as an employer excuse for not having to pay adult wages and a preference for younger age groups who could be more easily manipulated or controlled by employers. As one respondent said, they need someone who would:

"jump when they yelled jump."

While having to cope with an employer view that you were 'over the hill' was generally disheartening to most, two respondents felt this state of affairs was something which had to be accepted because it was part and parcel of 'the natural order of things'.

iii) *Why Do Older Workers Find It Difficult To Search For Work?*

Two main reasons were given to help explain the difficulty in searching for work at an older age. Firstly, although all respondents had considerable expertise in their individual trades, they were subjected to a great deal of pressure when competing for jobs. This was particularly true in heavy engineering which was described as a 'saturated market'⁴, thus providing the environment for intense competition with others.

Secondly, one third of respondents found it difficult to knock on doors asking for

work after having the security of a full-time job for so long and face the uncertainty of what the response would be by those doing the hiring. To them it was a new experience, an abrupt transition for which they were ill-prepared. These feelings were compounded by employer attitudes such as

"oh, you couldn't hack the pace"

as one respondent did. This implied that the ex-worker was getting slower in his old age and could no longer compete with younger workers.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Family and Personal Relationships

This thesis aims to take social or dividing practices as the focus of analysis and explores how these practices are simultaneously mediated by subjectivity and by relations of power in the construction of identity. Accordingly, the following material focuses on those categories shown by the data to facilitate this process, such as problems of identity resulting from respondents' experiences of redundancy.

(1) No Change in Relationships - No Worries - No Problems

One third of those under study found that being redundant made little difference to their familial relations. There was general consensus amongst these interviewees that a major reason for this was because each partner in the marriage relationship led 'separate lives', had their own friends or did their 'own thing'. There was therefore less dependence on one another in easing the transition from work to unemployment. For example, Bob had duplicated the work routine to some extent by finding 'odd jobs' (non-paying) in his workshop.

"He just seems to find things to do"⁵

was how Bob's wife explained it.

This strategy of devising a work routine to compensate for the loss of the work role was taken specifically by three respondents in the study. This enabled them to effect a successful transition. Joe for one, described how he set goals in order to

gain a sense of achievement:

"It seemed to satisfy that feeling within me. I had suddenly gone from an eight hour day to nothing. It seemed to fill that gap".

If family bonds were sound then redundancy made little real change in family life. Being able to talk through any difficulties and make necessary adjustments to lifestyle together was seen as important in avoiding family disruption.

Others in this category felt that being laid off made little difference to relationships within their families since it was a 'common problem' and it:

"could happen to them."

(2) A Major 'Turning - Point'

Whereas three of those interviewed found that being redundant caused no radical changes in their family environment, for one respondent it was a major disruption enforcing crucial changes on the whole family.

Redundancy entailed social upheaval since the family had been forced to shift to a cheaper home in order to reduce mortgage payments of \$1200 a month. These proved impossible to cope with in spite of the fact Tom's wife had full-time, supervisory employment.

There were also problems with children, as Tom explained:

"The eldest boy didn't like our rules and regulations so he went off to live with his brother".

The turmoil in a younger son's life was also blamed on the upheaval from a change of schools that resulted from the shift.

Moreover, this family underwent a long and difficult adjustment period in having to accept a lower lifestyle from that which they had previously enjoyed. As Tom's wife explained:

"We still used the credit cards a lot. We just tried to manage.....After a few

months it hit us and it took a lot of long long discussions to work it out."

(3) *Having Less Money*

The theme of greater dependency and a loss of control in organising their lives as a result of having less money emerged very strongly. All of those interviewed, together with their families, had some difficulty in adjusting to unemployment after extensive time in full-time work. Managing on a reduced income was a worry for most wives. Being forced to cut down on housekeeping expenses and insufficient income to fulfil plans made before being sent 'down the road' were given as major consequences of redundancy.

One wife for instance said that losing the job itself was not a great worry because her husband was nearing retirement age anyway, but she worried about not having the financial resources to finish renovations to the house which had been started before redundancy.

For two-thirds of the sample, managing on a reduced income meant a struggle of coming to terms with the inability or lack of freedom to organise family activities, caused by redundancy. These respondents described the uncertainty, tension and insecurity this had meant for them. Joe recalled how stress of redundancy had caused discord within his family. The resulting powerlessness in not having enough money combined with the uncertainty of finding future work, resulted in arguments and strained relationships particularly in the first few months following redundancy when Joe was stressed and irritable over 'little things'. To make matters worse, he found himself under pressure from demands of his children. As Joe said:

"Now there is more stress as the children are teenagers due to peer pressure and usually what they want is very costly so often they can't have what they want."

In Joe's case a consequence of being sent 'down the road' was the dependency created by having to suddenly rely on others to fulfil his vital needs such as

medical expenses. His wife also felt powerless as reduced choices at the supermarket and in the shops meant she had less control and freedom in organising the family budget.

In yet another instance where an ex-worker had lost self-reliance was the case of Tom who found himself 'robbed' of his independence in having to forego 'pocket money', since there was never enough left after paying a large mortgage. Because his wife held the 'purse strings feelings of dependency were exacerbated while for another, being laid off led to feelings of guilt and 'failure' as he fretted over his role as the family's 'breadwinner'. The latter respondents perception of an uncertain future was strong as he had been forced to make major financial adjustments such as provision for retirement pending success in obtaining alternative work. Hence he had to budget carefully so as not to drain savings for living expenses.

Despite the disadvantages of living on a reduced income, half the sample experienced positive consequences of redundancy, like being more expedient and 'making ends meet', thus becoming more aware of sound financial management.

On the social side, being free from work constraints had positive effects such as an increase of family awareness through more time for communication amongst members. Rob told how he had been able to rebuild his confidence after years of being 'put down' while working for Zenith.

Relations established with former workmates also underwent positive and negative transformations with redundancy. In three cases, redundancy meant a certain empowerment as it motivated ex-workers to seek regular social contact for mutual support and assistance in finding work. For instance Hank, who had kept 'work' and 'home' lives separate for years, suddenly developed good relationships with other redundant colleagues.

In contrast, one respondent who had been particularly traumatised by a deteriorating work situation over the last years at Zenith, said this had permanently soured his

relations with old workmates:

"you find out exactly what sort of people they are. I don't think there's anyone from there I would befriend now."

(4) Adjustments to Redundancy

For two-thirds of the sample, redundancy meant a reduction in lifestyles which being far from 'rock bottom' ranged from limited holidays to using only one family car instead of two. These respondents therefore, were able to retain relative control over their lives and retain a measure of independence.

A deep decline in living standards was averted by the fact that most ex-workers owned freehold homes and were well endowed with other assets such as investments, superannuation, insurance and general savings. Negative impacts resulting from redundancy were also cushioned by the fact that for most, children had long since 'flown the nest'. Thus, when the 'axe fell' they were able to 'weather the storm' financially.

'Adjusting down' therefore was the order of the day, rather than being faced with any real hardship. This theme was typified by one respondent who, although experiencing a \$10,000 reduction in income had not been forced to make any cutbacks in household expenditure, due to an accumulation of assets over the years. Another shrewd respondent had over the final years with Zenith replaced all his home appliances so as to avoid having to draw on his savings in the event of redundancy. He also had the protection of a superannuation scheme and other investments. Yet, in spite of such endowments he still considered himself to be 'much worse off' after being laid off.

This survival strategy whereby half the sample were able to make financial provisions for redundancy was described by one respondent as creating a 'cushion' as security against the possibility of being laid off again. This was double-edged, he said, being financial and emotional since "redundancy sensitized individuals to the insecurities inherent in being laid off".

Restrictions in quality of life in these cases were therefore more perceived than real.

Being Home

Having a redundant husband at home was met by ambivalence by half the ex-workers wives. On a positive note it was desirable, at least temporarily, to have a husband at home, while on the negative side it tended to disrupt the 'ebb and flow' of routine family life. For instance, Ian's wife said she had resented suddenly having to share her grand-daughter with Ian while two other wives felt their husbands presence 'invading their space' by 'hanging around the house'. These disruptions to *normal* patterns of family life also led to ambivalent feelings about how wives felt about themselves in the context of family life.

For instance, one wife felt bad having to admit to friends and acquaintances that her husband was unemployed. However, they did have some friends who had helped them cope with the stigma of unemployment. She admitted:

"In the end you don't care, but in the beginning you don't want people to know."

MANAGEMENT

It has previously been pointed out that five case studies from middle and upper management were included in the study solely for the purpose of drawing tentative conclusions as to the effects of redundancy on management compared with ordinary workers (Chapter Three, p. 47). The following section therefore presents data from management for this purpose.

The Search for Work

Although no-one from the shop floor was successful in obtaining work to the same skill level as they had enjoyed previously, three of the five respondents interviewed from upper and middle management experienced no difficulties whatsoever. This was mainly due to the fact that managerial skills have more marketability and can thus be transferred more readily than non-management roles. In this category technical knowledge coupled with easy networking via influence was utilised by

two ex-managers to ensure a quick return to the workforce. Furthermore, whereas lower-status workers had to make all the moves themselves when approaching prospective employers, with managers it was a 'two-way' process with employers and colleagues contacting them as well. Thus, three respondents received 'offers' of suitable positions without even asking for help. This meant they avoided the humiliation of repeated rejections or face the possibility of derogatory remarks when seeking other work. In addition, decisions whether or not to return to the workforce depended on my respondents and not on a potential employer. As for the remaining two respondents, one was in the process of establishing his own business while the other experienced little difficulty in finding casual work.

Family

Immediate and Extended Family

A major difference between the accounts of management and workers from the shop floor lay in an absence of the upheaval and trauma which characterises redundancy. For management, substantial financial resources facilitated an uninterrupted contact with family and friends. These more fortunate respondents were also able to draw on a greater range of options with which to manipulate the system to their advantage. For instance, one ex-manager had used his 'inside knowledge' of the redundancy process, which had long conditioned him to the pending threat of redundancy to facilitate a quick return to work.

Positive Changes

As it was with the ordinary workers, being freed from the constraints of the job in the end was welcomed by managers, because of the social opportunities which lay ahead. As was pointed out:

"You had the 'battery-hen syndrome', that was your life.....Your entire life is governed by somebody else and all of a sudden now it isn't."

However, in one case there was a crucial difference because redundancy enabled meeting with staff on a casual, social level whereas previously the authority of

position prevented this. As it was explained to me:

".....there were times when you've had to discipline people. We've had to make some pretty hard decisions about who's going and who's staying. If you got too close to people you couldn't do that. It just wasn't on but now it's different."

Adjustments to Redundancy

As it was with workers from the shop floor, so ex-managers were required to 'adjust down' rather than face any dire hardship when redundancy struck. For one ex-manager, whose wife had always worked and held highly paid positions, being laid off translated to reduced holidays and dinners, while an ex-foreman had been careful to be more frugal with finances so as not to draw on redundancy compensation. However, there were some crucial differences. While workers from the shop floor had interpreted a 'drop in their standard of living' to mean such things as 'cutting down on the food bill', 'enjoying the simple things of life' and 'not participating in the life of the community' so much, with managers it seemed to mean having to give up a company car and having to rebuild the 'quality of life'. This was something "intangible which had to be slowly built up again", according to an ex-manager who had accepted a lesser position.

In stark contrast to workers who had all experienced redundancy as detrimental emotionally and materially, four of the five representatives from management said they had found the transition "dead easy" (as one respondent put it).

Therefore, a striking feature of these managerial accounts of redundancy was far less uncertainty and trauma than with the redundancies of lower status workers from Zenith. Whereas many workers from the shop floor related vivid accounts of reduced lifestyle, tension and stress on family members, such personal dilemmas were absent from stories gleaned from middle and upper management who were able to return to the workforce quickly. The higher you are positioned it seems, the easier it is to continue employment and freely choose your next move.

Having described the material resulting from interviews and condensing the main themes, I intend in the next chapter to draw on the five basic steps of Foucault that were outlined in Chapter Three. This will allow an analysis of the experiences of older workers and the impact of redundancy. It will be done by taking dividing practices as the focus to explore how such practices are intersected by subjectivity and power relations.

NOTES

Managing change can be referred to as a strategy within a broader 'technology of production'. This can refer to the ways in which the workplace is organised and, according to Foucault, permits management to "produce, transform or manipulate things" (including workers) for a specific purpose (Foucault, 1988d: 18).

For the purposes of this study 'technology' needs to be defined as including human activity or the human psyche. Foucault connects technology to the exercise of power on the self which he calls 'technologies of the self'. By this he means specific techniques whereby individuals utilise knowledge by their own means or with the help of others, to perform a number of operations on their bodies and thus transform their thoughts, conduct, way of thinking and how they feel about themselves.

Foucault identifies four basic 'technologies' which hardly ever function separately but interact to produce effects. For example, the uncertainty created when 'technologies of production' stipulate that some workers should be sent 'down the road' ahead of others, thus interacting with 'technologies of power' and 'the self.'

Previous studies have identified discouragement and duration of unemployment as major factors for older workers withdrawing from the labour market (Rones, 1983; Rife and First, 1989).

Drawing on Foucault, age discrimination can be interpreted as a strategy of power to exclude from the workforce those who are seen as 'less capable' than others for a specific purpose such as increased profit (e.g. paying less wages to younger workers).

Labour market statistics show that from March 1987 to March 1991, approximately 60,000 jobs were lost from manufacturing in New Zealand. This represents over seventy-five percent of all jobs lost over the period (Holdom, 1991).

Harris (1987: 144-5) argues that male redundancy may lead to the search for a 'work' identity. In terms of the sexual division of labour according to Harris, this can cause the husband to find a surrogate 'occupation' by replacing work which is culturally defined as 'masculine', with other jobs such as those around the house or in the shed.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS : REDUNDANCY AND THE SELF

Introduction

Humanist and Marxist interpretations of *subjectivity* see work as fulfilling an *essential* need since human beings are theorised as "natural, embodied subjects endowed with 'natural powers'" (Marx, 1975: 390). It is Marx's contention that labour processes so estrange us from this 'essential power' that "productive life itself appears to man only as a means for the satisfaction of a need" (Marx, 1975: 328). Thus workers become alienated in the process of a growing tension between workers aspirations and what they can acquire from labour satisfying a physical need. However, this view ignores the ways in which workers receive their identities and their sense of self-worth from work, and how they become tied to their identities and 'turned in upon themselves through different exercises of power'. More broadly, it fails to appreciate that technologies of power operate through the production of specific knowledge. Such knowledge is evident on shop floors such as at the Zenith Bus Company and are economical in that the effect is to infiltrate worker's consciousness to constitute subjects who then discipline themselves. That is to say, workers emotional and subjective needs, their very identities, are sustained and confirmed by being positioned within the midst of dividing practices that reflect power/knowledge strategies. What is more, these are concrete historical processes whereby thoughts and values are internalised, maintained and reaffirmed over time.

With this in mind, this chapter concentrates on this crucial relationship between power and subjectivity and pays particular attention to issues of control, dependency and resistance by those whom power constrains. Drawing upon the work of Foucault, I argue that capitalist labour processes penetrate far deeper than Marxists would contend (refer Chapter One, pages .9-11), and are about the ways in which power is used to turn individuals 'against themselves' and one another for a specific purpose. This creates confusion, ambivalence, and puts discontinuity and disruption in varying degrees into the innermost beings of redundant workers.

It is the major task of this chapter to show, by examining redundancy from the Zenith Bus Company, that labour processes are rich with contradictions and paradoxes contrary to the Marxist position which downplays the unpredictability of human nature. For example, as Zenith's bosses attempted to maintain employee confidence by encouraging 'cooperation' for the sake of boosting profitability, the manipulations of the Company had the opposite effect of producing dissonance, or what is often described as alienation. Workers resisted these deceptive tactics of the Company when they felt their rights to respect and civility being violated on the shop floor. The result was low morale and general ill-feeling amongst workers in general.

It is through such processes that power can operate as a dynamic and all-pervasive force to infiltrate minds and vitally effect how individuals see themselves. As Foucault points out, power does not act directly and immediately upon others, but acts upon their actions. In other words, power exists only when it is put into action to produce as much acceptance as may be wished for (Foucault, 1982: 220). In this manner, as is shown, both managers and workers unwittingly reproduced the conditions which oppress them. Only by isolating these indelible power plays within the labour process can the inconsistencies and contradictions of the 'security' sustained through identity fetishism¹ begin to be exposed.

Subjugation Before and After Redundancy

Power infused processes of subjugation go beyond Marx's conception of exploitation, where labourers are seen as suffering alienation by being deprived of a just return for their labour, thereby reducing the meaning of work to that of earning a living or fulfilling a need². As this chapter shows, managers can appropriate needs through their subtle strategies of manipulation and control, wherein workers are induced to act and behave in well-defined ways for the glory of the Company and profitability. As explained in Chapter Two (particularly on pages .28-29), the idea that workers can be active in shaping their lives does not refute how they may also be passive targets of power. Individuals reassess their behaviour to retain a measure of independence and autonomy, referred to by Foucault as 'practices of the

self' (see Chapter Two, pages.28-35), since people can be dynamic and reflexive while also being docile and restrained.

Such behaviour, seen to occur at Zenith before and after workers were laid off, follows from Foucault's argument that technologies of power are not simply repressive but can be positive and productive of social life. Therefore, the reactions of subjects to the 'push and pull' of power opens up a field of possibilities, alternative behaviours, or courses of action. As Foucault (1982: 221-2) argues:

"at the heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom."

Thus subjugation which occurs when the 'freedom' of an individual is directed narrowly, in a self-disciplined fashion, towards certain behaviour which is seen to secure the approval and acknowledgement of significant others (Knights, 1989: 319), lies at the heart of the power relationship. It is through these processes that we become forced back in on ourselves and "tied to our own identities by a conscience or self-knowledge" (Foucault, 1982: 212).

These processes became obvious at Zenith when the Company ran into difficulties. The work declined and those who worked there became increasingly subjugated to management through strategies of control and dependence. From the hierarchical 'gaze' of roving supervisors to the normalising judgements of foremen that constituted routine surveillance and assessments on the shop floor, respondents were subtly induced to maximum performance. This pressure became particularly acute as the market for buses evaporated and nervous judgements by managers intensified about the time taken to do a job, and assessments concerning workmanship were undertaken in a continuous monitoring of the workshop.

Ironically, however, although such power plays were designed to compel employees to maintain and even increase Company profitability in the face of a dwindling demand for buses, they had the unintended consequence of inducing workers to lose interest in doing their job. As workers began to modify their

behaviour, by acting in an autonomous manner by taking less care in their jobs, the 'last-ditch' policies of Zenith became counter-productive by producing a poorer quality of workmanship.

Such a contradiction reveals how the disciplinary mechanisms and power/knowledge strategies put into practice by the Company subjected employees to their own identities or subjectivities (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 553; Foucault, 1982: 213). As observed in Chapter One (pages 13-14), human beings are not *essentially* 'free' but continually redefine their identity or position as they are subjected to the exercise of power. They were thus able to 'hit back' at the Company.

This subjection to power also featured at Zenith through a process of objectification, whereby those on the shop floor were treated increasingly as 'numbers' as roving supervisors made 'nit-picking' assessments concerning work done. The damaging effects these judgements had in eroding respondents confidence was magnified, because they came from authority figures, who were presumed to know the 'truth' concerning how the work should be done (see Chapter Two, pages 30-31). Furthermore, the uncertainty of never quite knowing when someone in authority would appear with a derogatory comment (or simply an observation), worked to destabilise workers, especially as work declined. As noted in Chapter Two, the potency of surveillance lies in the random but pervasive effect of those under its 'gaze'. The power itself remains anonymous as workers never know who will 'pounce next' to induce the tactics effectiveness. Furthermore, the symbolic significance those in the study attached to their jobs tended to magnify the negative emotions caused by these tactics (Willmott, 1989: 356). The end result was that they became increasingly subservient and resentful to those in charge at Zenith, especially when the security of their tenure grew more precarious.

Added to this, a policy of 'total flexibility' (outlined in Chapters Four and Five) further subjugated employees in the latter stages of the life of the Company. This policy was supposedly geared towards 'efficiency' of operation as things fell apart.

Yet it meant that workers were coldly treated as 'objects' as they were endlessly shifted around the factory. The policy also illustrates a coercive tactic for it could mean being sacked if employees were not considered 'flexible' enough.

This strategy parallels the ways workers have become progressively more 'expendable' and objectified to the owners and managers of capital in New Zealand since 1984 (see Chapter Four). For instance, the policies described above served to marginalise and severely disadvantage some workers. At the same time it had the individualising effect of destabilising other workers and creating divisions on the shop floor as their natural abilities were not taken into account in the drive to reinforce competition between personnel.

Through such a manipulative method, devoid of any consultation, employees who could only react individually as their turn came up could be classified, categorised and controlled readily at the whim of those in charge.

One point in the workers favour occurred at those times when they could adapt to the situation by completely ignoring directives from the Company, thus retaining a semblance of dignity (see Foucault, 1988e: 11). As Ian noted:

"They said we had to know each others jobs in the office, but no-one had the time to even try."

A further tactic which appeared as the viability of the Company came under real threat, took the exploitative form of 'chopping from the bottom', which meant laying off workers from the shop floor in preference to management. The Company's objective was to maintain profitability in the face of a dwindling market for buses. Instead of actually saving the Company, by maintaining the level of productive staff in line with work available, the policy eventually contributed to its demise by failing to reduce the 'deadwood' at the top. This served to disproportionately raise overheads. Clearly, this is an example of the 'irrational' and contradictory nature of power wherein those in control desperately seek to protect 'their own backs' at the expense of the actual Company. Yet in the final analysis

this too failed, being inconsistent in terms of people and work practices which were changing rapidly.

Since 1984 in New Zealand, as mentioned in Chapter Four, the idea has been inculcated, particularly by the Business Roundtable and Government, that labour processes are truly 'free' and 'independent'. However, the reality of management strategies at the Zenith Bus Company served to direct and suppress that so-called 'freedom' by making supervisors and workers alike totally subjugated to big business interests. By acquiescing to this policy staff reproduced the conditions which oppressed them. The events at Zenith clearly expose the myth of those who promulgate the illusion that New Zealand is a land of 'industrial harmony' (see Chapter Four, p. 69). As Foucault reminds us, power operates to control the mind and produce 'half truths' which indeed operate always to serve powerful business interests (Foucault, 1984: 78-9).

It should be stressed that power today operates to isolate individuals from one another, meaning they are vulnerable to specific power mechanisms (see Chapter Two, p. 27). Furthermore, since there is always an element of uncertainty concerning the meeting of others approval, which can never be easily predicted, the individualising effects of power on various individuals are further reinforced (Knights, 1989: 322). That these processes occurred can be documented in the latter stages of the life of Zenith as employees more and more competed against one another. Under such circumstances there was uncertainty and confusion and nothing could be guaranteed under the watchful eye of supervisors. Consequently, as employees became more isolated their resistance and ability to 'hit back' was undermined.

Yet, even in this conflictual situation, workers (from the accounts of those interviewed) were not totally compliant. The inconsistent and frenzied thinking of management was quickly ascertained by those 'at the bottom' leading to counter-tactics even if in the form of personal animosity. One respondent told how a storeman had been sent along to 'closed' production meetings to try and 'pre-empt'

some of the things that were going on.

When the inevitable happened and employees in increasing numbers began disappearing from the Company, processes of subjugation continued in different ways. Being initially free of the despair of working in a deteriorating and embattled job situation was a 'two-edged sword'. Ex-employees still faced a changed situation in their homes and in the wider community. As Foucault says, it is a characteristic of modern power that it changes its form and adjusts itself to each and every situation (Foucault, 1980b: 142). This was noted in Chapter Four at a macro level in the national push for a 'flexible' labour market but is equally true at the micro level.

To reiterate, prior to redundancy workers had been subject to 'the bosses' through strategies of control and dependence. Once out of work they became marginal to the capitalist productive system and found themselves still subjugated in the private sphere. For instance, those once employed as skilled tradesmen now became subordinate to 'the system' by being forced to accept lower positions than those they had previously enjoyed in their traditional employment. As was noted in Chapter Five, although skills learnt at Zenith were still in demand, generally these were at a lower level of expertise and endeavour. Consequently, when laid off ex-Zenith workers quickly gave in to the demands imposed by a raw, free market system.

A Note From Management

From the limited data gathered from middle and upper management, some tentative contrasts to the above scenario can be put forward. The first point to note is that all managerial subjects had greater success in obtaining further employment. Moreover, in three out of five cases this was to a skill level comparable to that enjoyed at Zenith. This appears to have occurred because of the diverse talents and networks they had built up at Zenith, backing up their careers with flexible options. As Foucault notes, power and freedom define each other (Foucault, 1982: 221). Accordingly, even after being laid off, managers as the strategists of

power/knowledge were able to use the influence of position to continue to advantage their career choices. Through the use of networks some were actually approached with job offers and were thus spared the degradation of having to 'crawl'. Managers were also able to utilize their 'insider knowledge' to soften the impact of redundancy in a wide variety of ways, organising and reestablishing themselves in other spheres of productivity.

Subjugation After Redundancy

Age discrimination provided a further avenue whereby workers on the shop floor were 'subject' to the system (see Note 3, Chapter Five). Over time, the notion has been promulgated and institutionalised wherein older workers are viewed as 'less efficient' than their younger counterparts. The consequence of such discrimination lies in the 'reserve army' of prospective mature workers largely left to waste through the discursive tactics of exclusion in order to consolidate the position of those 'calling the tune' (see Chapter Four, pages.61-62). As one respondent confirmed, "anyone over the age of forty was an old bastard"

This suggests that those in the sample were subconsciously conditioned to believe that age was a major factor in being laid off and a barrier to finding another job later. If the idea can be circulated that potential employers should consider it 'not worth' the effort to take on staff over the age of say forty years, particularly in times of economic recession, then older workers can be more easily controlled for political ends. The hidden motive of all these strategies of course is to enforce worker subservience to business power and profitability.

In Chapter Four it was shown how workers have been disciplined and conditioned by way of thoughts and values internalised over time, their positions confirmed by historical processes. Therefore, there is an indivisible connection between thought and action; how human beings see themselves positioned in the world and ideas that have been psychologically inculcated over time. When individuals in the study were repeatedly turned down for jobs, and suffered humiliating comments such as "oh you couldn't hack the pace", damage to the idea of self was legitimised

through historical conditioning. What is more, pressure to believe they were 'inadequate' was intensified through the individualising effects of power which pits the potentially redundant and workers actually redundant against one another, thus making them pawns to classify, categorise and control.

These strategies of power in the labour market were even more valid when made by 'experts', namely potential employers, so that those seeking reemployment easily internalised the view that they were indeed 'over the hill' (see Chapter Two, pages 30-31). Thus being rejected for jobs was more readily accepted.

Lack of support among family and friends when two respondents became redundant can partly be accounted for by normalising thinking. This dictated that not only is it in the 'natural order of things' to be unemployed today, but mature workers being 'cast on the scrapheap' is now seen as accepted practice.

Following Foucault, the sense of who and what we are is produced and reproduced by ways in which we see ourselves positioned in the midst of power/knowledge strategies (Knights, 1989: 320). Wage labour not only continually confirms the identity of humans by much of what goes on at work, but also denies that same identity as when criticisms are made by supervisors (Willmott, 1989: 354-5). Therefore, when respondents were laid off, and they found themselves no longer in the middle of a power relationship associated with the Zenith Bus Company, problems relating to a vacuum in identity ensued.

Further contradictions and tensions were manifest between a sense of security and insecurity after respondents were laid off. These arose through the historical conditioning where males see their obligation to achieve and provide as fundamental, yet, once out of employment find themselves increasingly vulnerable from changed power relations in the public and private sphere. The result was that respondents such as Tom, through the destructive individualising effects of power, took a long time to adjust as they 'turned in upon themselves'. The contradictions and tensions of redundancy also show how processes of subjugation can be

economical in as much as subjection becomes a *self-disciplining subjectivity* if one is already normalized (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 550).

Subjectivity, Resistance and the Problem of 'Freedom'.

Power, according to Foucault, does not simply suppress the unruly forces opposed to its operation, which would be the case if power was metered out in a repressive form, but can incite, instill and produce effects within the body (see McNay, 1992: 38). Thus, because power is theorised here as a diffuse, heterogeneous and creative phenomenon, resistance in the Foucauldian sense depends on the effects produced within the human body through positive and negative impacts of power. This is what Foucault is referring to when he says that "*where there is power, there is resistance*" (Foucault, 1978: 95; Chapter Two, p. 38).

Resistance is therefore closely linked to the idea of power as productive. For Foucault, neither raw repression nor the manipulative uses of power and resistance are ontologically distinct. Rather, power produces its own resistance for "*there are no relations of power without resistance*" (Foucault, 1980b: 142). Resistance, like power, takes many forms and is all the more effective because the various forms and responses to power are applied right at the point where relations of power are exercised³.

These principles, as applied to the Zenith Bus Company, were seen as the Company ran down and any compulsion to speak out in defiance of Company policy was stymied for fear of being sacked. This situation produced firstly, a negative resistance seen in a general resentment within workers who were forced in on themselves for fear of losing their jobs. Secondly, it is also seen in the behaviour of employees as they began to resist the increasing use of normalising judgements, surveillance and assessments on the shop floor. Positive strategies of power were extremely effective because they directly targeted each worker.

Resistance, for Foucault (1982: 221), is critically linked to the ways in modern

times, whereby agents and institutional sites of power endeavour to utilize power processes to influence how individuals think. People will then act and behave in certain well defined ways to achieve a specific purpose. The contradiction for us today is that while elevating and extolling the virtues of 'freedom', 'independence' and 'choice', some groups may limit and restrict the means and form by which these values can be achieved. For example, barriers and hurdles are created to marginalise other individuals and groups less powerful, such as women, Maori, beneficiaries and the poor in general.

This contradiction is referred to by Marxist writers as alienation through exploitation. However, this view still tends to reduce freedom to a denial of human beings right to express their *essential* nature. This thesis argues that it is in fact a deliberate power strategy designed and implemented to further the interests of 'government', or governance of a population and to eliminate resistance that might impede that self interested, expansive goal (see Chapter Four, pages 60-61). This conclusion follows from Foucault's argument that *freedom* and *power* are defining characteristics of one another. Through the strategic exercise of power and the application of its innovative characteristics, the aim is to weaken, neutralise and ultimately break any resistance which might arise were its effects solely repressive or constraining (see Foucault, 1982: 221; Chapter Two, p. 38; Knights, 1989:321). This may be contrasted with a conception of freedom more appropriate to the classical era where sovereign power was dominant and seen as totally brutal and repressive. Here freedom was posited as the converse of power.

In modern regimes, however, humans are manipulated for 'self-expression' and opinion as just one prevalent 'truth' (Knights, 1989: 325). In other words, power and 'truth' are currently seen as intimately connected (Foucault, 1980c), since through words and deeds 'truth' is manufactured and manipulated for specific purposes aimed primarily at controlling how people think and act. As pointed out in Chapter Two, p. 38, because human actions are conceived as being *free*, power is exercised by wilfully persuading others to use that *freedom* in a particular way (Knights, 1989: 325).

More specifically, in the labour market this can be achieved when management induces workers to think 'positively' through tactics designed to ensure they feel good about themselves while on the job. This is done by deliberately promoting and encouraging a sense of well-being. In its recent campaign to slash its workforce by 135,000, British Telecom attempted to develop a 'Company ethos' or family feeling by sending out thousands of glossy presentation packs to its staff. These extolled the virtues and benefits of 'living Company values' and jars of apricot preserve were awarded to conscientious employees. Such tactics were aimed at encouraging staff to feel positive about applying for voluntary redundancy, yet the reaction was one of anger and derision at such underhanded methods. As was pointed out, Company freebies are no substitute for good pay as workers bemoaned 'derogatory pay rises' (Calcutt, 1992).

In Chapters One and Two, it was shown how work is a major element fixing the identities of mature workers who have spent a lifetime forging their sense of self worth as skilled tradesmen. Applying this principle to the Zenith Bus Company, it was observed here that employees saw themselves as competent workmen, a fact they were immensely proud of, placing values on skill and personal achievement. Negative feelings created on the factory floor when the company began to slide therefore became part and parcel of their identities as tradesmen since the self and its expression are historically constituted (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 363).

When supervisors began to destabilise workers, through such power tactics as continually cutting times to attract additional work contracts, their self image became threatened by the real objective of 'divide and rule'. This meant that mature employees who failed to meet the changing criteria found themselves in a 'catch 22' position. On the one hand, their identities as competent workmen were confirmed by much of what went on at work, while at the same time conflicting messages were continually being sent by management regarding competency. Increasingly, workers became unsettled and nervous as such ambiguity constituted an attack on their old 'clear-cut' identities.

It is characteristic of innovative power that its exercise will eventually wear down potential opposition as thought becomes reconstituted (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 550) and the human will is broken. This truth was vividly illustrated in Chapter Four as powerful business interests, through strategies of attack and counter-attack, eventually neutralised those opposed to the concept of a 'flexible' labour market. This principle was also observed on the shop floor at Zenith where initial worker resentment to corporate change dissipated over time and a deteriorating working environment, characterised by low morale came to be accepted as 'normal' by many employees.

Accordingly, the ability of workers to fight back and defend their positions was steadily eroded and replaced by normalising thought. The combined effect of never knowing who would 'pounce next' coupled with the uncertainty of always "looking over the fence" and waiting for another criticism conditioned workers into a compliant frame of mind. Thus disciplinary manoeuvres acted upon workers to condition and produce meek resignation to the inevitable (McNay, 1992: 38; Foucault, 1977a: 25; Foucault, 1980b: 140).

Further evidence of the ability of this power play to influence people's thinking so that profitability of the Company would be maximised is revealed in media statements during the late 1980s (see Chapter Four, pages 71-73; local press June 1985, Feb. 1988, May 1988). Although these reports spoke of the 'relative success' of strategies to diversify and of 'greater efficiency' from restructuring, they could also be read as deliberate power strategies to instill confidence in the Company, thereby creating the necessary conditions for profits. Furthermore, the usual legitimisation of such tactics through officially recognised media channels (also owned by corporate interests), reinforced the effectiveness of power.

If employees of the Company were to be exploited to the hilt, it was crucial that tactics be circulated to engineer the illusion of 'security' of employment by stressing the 'success' of Company policy. In addition, if the truth had been suspected, orders for buses may well have been lost and the demise of Zenith hastened as the

Company's problems surfaced. By such methods potential impediments to profits could be eliminated or at least minimised. This illustrates the 'battle' for 'truth' where 'truth' is constructed for political ends, in this case keeping profits high for the Company's overseas owners (Foucault, 1980: 131; Smart, 1983: 86).

The data gathered in this study shows that in the last six months of the Company's existence, a consistent rhetoric that the Company 'could be saved' was promulgated by management at regular staff meetings. Thus workers were lulled into a false sense of security by deception which ensured their cooperation so that production would be maintained and profit extracted. Furthermore, these power strategies ensured that any potential resistance by workers was neutralised by making respondents believe their efforts would be appreciated by management. In reality the workers were regarded as no more than 'expendable fodder' to corporate concerns in a globally competitive environment.

On the factory floor at Zenith, the objective of management was to keep staff thinking *positively* by promoting the belief that they were cooperating with the Company by putting in their extra effort. It must have no doubt been traumatic when respondents discovered they were being sent 'down the road'.

The betrayal felt by over half the sample on being made redundant can be accounted for by the openness of human subjectivity and contradictory positions in society. This leads workers to seek security in identities that are intrinsically valued (e.g. welder, carpenter). Alternatively, because subjectivity is open, the identity is vulnerable to disconfirmation and emancipation, which occurs on dismissal from a job when ex-workers come to realise they are not as 'indispensable' as they had been led to believe. Thus feelings of self-importance fostered by the Company then become a deception. At Zenith this stimulated a range of responses, but of significance was the defensive reaction shown by half the respondents who assumed a mental distance from all that had gone on at Zenith. This extended to one respondent who severed all ties with former workmates and nearly half the sample who underwent a prolonged period of personal reassessment as a response

to the dividing practices of power/knowledge.

Reestablishing Identity

As seen in Chapter Two, p.30, a great deal of what it means to be human comes from the workplace where identity is tied to the job. How workers view themselves is conditioned by their historical positioning within the midst of a plurality of power/knowledge strategies. On the factory floor, hard, physical labour and doing a 'man's job' has come to be perceived as more 'masculine' than other occupations. Work thus takes on a symbolic significance as the sense of self is shaped and acted upon by powerful disciplinary processes. Accordingly, by taking advantage of the importance that workers attach to their jobs, management practices designed to produce positive feelings within employees serve to reproduce identity (Willmott, 1989: 355).

Thus, deliberate power plays which encourage workers to become 'married to the job', and conceal the truth that staff are expendable, contribute to self-deception when workers are led to believe they are 'helping the Company out'. The result was that those in the sample discounted what was happening to them.

Since work had become so much a 'part and parcel' of themselves, identity for laid off workers became increasingly problematical as they struggled to reestablish themselves. While working for Zenith the competition for scarce recognition on the shop floor created insecurity and separated workers from one another through the individualising effects of power. After being laid off, the exercise of power had a similar isolating effect in the private sphere and the wider community.

The symbolic meaning of work carries over into the home because subjectivity (how we see ourselves), is conditioned by power /knowledge relations (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 534). For instance, male 'breadwinners' have traditionally been encouraged to view themselves as providers. When this way of thinking was disrupted through redundancy, and three respondents felt they could no longer provide to the same degree as previously, feelings of guilt ensued.

The vulnerability of respondents after losing their jobs can be accounted for by the contradictory nature of capitalism, which is given the appearance of increasing the opportunities for self-determination through autonomous action and individual responsibility. Yet as seen in Chapter One, human beings are *not* autonomous. At the same time, modern, innovative power attacks our consciousness and sets individuals 'against themselves' (McNay, 1992: 14-15). What is more, individuality is continuously reinforced by the demands of the system. This isolation was intensified for redundant workers, on becoming redundant, by the loss of the 'security' which had been associated with the symbolic significance of the job.

These processes were manifested in different ways within the sample as respondents struggled to reestablish themselves after losing their jobs. For instance, Charlie became completely immobilised for the first three months after being laid off, when he felt he could no longer meet the standards of normalisation, which were expected of him. These included obligations as a husband resulting in initial feelings of frustration and despair. His self-esteem plummeted to 'rock-bottom' as power processes impacted on his innermost psyche.

Individualising power processes also had a debilitating effect on families as wives found their 'normal' patterns and ways of behaving disrupted by redundancy. When the power balance changed, resistance, conflict and ambivalent feelings manifested themselves in different ways. As two wives commented, they felt their husbands "invading their space". These conflicts arose from the fact that individuals have been conditioned to think of themselves in certain ways (Foucault, 1984: 83). For example, Ian's wife found the initial period after her husband lost his job difficult because she had been conditioned to think of herself as homemaker, doing her 'own thing' around the home. When these 'normal' patterns of life changed and she no longer had the same power or control over her life, a certain amount of tension and conflict resulted.

One third of the sample whose lives appeared to be only moderately or little controlled by the importance the job had symbolised made moderate modifications

in their behaviour to retain continuity and a measure of autonomy in their lives after being laid off. On the other hand, one respondent was forced to modify his behaviour markedly since his former lifestyle had been firmly attached to the symbolic existence and status symbols associated with the job, such as an extensive use of credit cards. The job had also symbolised personal independence. When this was gone and he found he had to rely on his wife for money, the family went through a long and difficult transitional period. This case illustrates that individuals will sometimes 'grasp for straws' and try to hold on to what they have rather than lose social significance. This is because people have a fear of losing independence and credibility in a society which emphasises self-sufficiency.

In circumstances of vulnerability, subjects can also become preoccupied in gathering material and symbolic supports for their individual existence (Knights, 1989). For example, two ex-workers eased the transition to unemployment by utilising a power strategy in attempting to duplicate the work role to some extent where work had symbolised a routine and sense of achievement. They did this by finding engineering or carpentry jobs to occupy themselves with in their workshops. As Joe commented: *"it seemed to satisfy that feeling within me"*.

In sum, the manipulations and deceptions of the Zenith Bus Company were a determining influence on the consciousness of former employees as they endeavoured to reestablish identity. In varying degrees ex-workers modified their behaviour in order to cope with a redundancy fraught with contradictions and despair. The amount of modifications subjects made appeared to be related to the degree of control workers retained over their lives and the symbolic significance attached to the job.

At Zenith, former employees became progressively more isolated from one another through intensified competition on the shop floor as their positions with the Company grew ever more precarious. Subjugation on the factory floor was replaced after redundancy by subjugation in the wider community and the private sphere. As a result of disciplinary processes which attack the innermost selves of

individuals, one third of the sample distanced themselves mentally from all that work had meant to them as they tried to establish a 'new' identity, while others experienced a lengthy period of reassessment as they endeavoured to come to grips with 'who they were'. The transition from work to redundancy was made all the more difficult by the influence of normalising thinking, both before and after being laid off, which stipulates that it is 'normal' to have a job. These cases of redundancy from Zenith confirm Foucault's contention that there are a range of possibilities and alternative behaviours as to the ways in which individuals will react to disciplinary power processes and power/knowledge strategies (Foucault, 1982: 221).

A Note From Management

Finally, accounts from middle and upper management show the greater success managers had in using their contradictory or differing social positions in organising their subjectivities, such as by manipulating 'the system' to their own advantage. These subjectivities were conditioned by their different experiences as both subjects and objects of knowledge.

In the final chapter I will conclude the study by drawing together the main themes of the study. These substantiate Foucault's claim that *subjugation* is the manipulation of human beings to act and behave in certain ways, thus effecting the lives of respondents both before and after being laid off.

NOTES

For a detailed discussion of 'identity fetishism' where the self seeks expression through social practices, see Willmott (1989: 363, 354-356, 374-375) and Knights and Willmott (1989: 554-555). In brief, this concept draws attention to the ways in which the self becomes so identified with work (or any other activity), that individuals ignore or are desensitised to the effects of power upon their psyche. It does this by drawing a parallel with 'commodity fetishism'. This concept is also referred to and explained in Chapter One, page 6 and Chapter Three, page 44.

For a detailed and excellent discussion of the Marxist position focusing on subjectivity and the capitalist labour process, see Willmott (1989: 345-358).

For a fuller explanation of the Foucauldian concept of resistance see McNay (1992: 38-40 and Knights (1989: 323-326).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have utilised the ideas of Foucault to investigate the influence of power relations as these impacted upon those who once worked for the Zenith Bus Company. I aimed to demonstrate how the identities of redundant workers were constructed by becoming enmeshed in dividing practices which reflect power/knowledge strategies. This was accomplished by focusing on one site of industrial conflict.

Foucault describes modern power as a diffuse and heterogeneous phenomenon which infiltrates every area of social life. Furthermore, power must not be seen simply as a force which constrains or represses but can also be positive and productive of life. When such power was exercised by those in a position to do so, such as the owners and managers at the Zenith Bus Company, the overall effect was seen primarily in the isolation of those with few rights and privileges, that is, those on the shop floor at Zenith. From interviews conducted with ex-employees, this study ascertained evidence of how power works to isolate individuals and turn them 'in on themselves'. This to a large extent prevented worker resistance and challenges to authority 'from below' when 'the going got tough'.

As was seen in Chapter One there has been a marked tendency in post-war sociology in general and industrial sociology in particular to focus upon action or consciousness (orientations to work), when investigating the social effects of redundancy on older workers (Knights and Willmott, 1989: 537). This has meant that the very real ways in which power works to affect how workers see themselves (subjectivity) has been neglected.

I have attempted to address this gap in systematic analysis by developing an appreciation of *subjectivity*, a term Foucault uses to refer to the ways in which power is used to affect the self-image of an individual. This permitted me to analyze the redundancy process as it effected a small sample of laid off workers by

focusing on power as it is applied through a series of strategies Foucault calls 'dividing practices'.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, *subjectivity* to be meaningful in any analysis must be placed in a specific context as a contradictory, shifting experience wherein individuals such as the workers at the Zenith Bus Company were acted upon by power, which they themselves internalised. This in turn affected their positions within the Company as they became turned 'in on themselves', while at times creating results opposite to those the firm had intended. Redundant workers also suffered flow-on effects from the exercise of power on the shop floor at Zenith such as loss of confidence.

A strength of this approach (see Chapter Three), is that it focuses directly on power by exploring how those who worked at Zenith internalised and reproduced the conditions which oppressed them. Both workers and managers at the Company became an integral part of the processes of subjugation by being subject to themselves through the operation of power on the shop floor. In addition, they were also controlled by and dependent on the overseas owners of the Company.

Foucault does not spell out the precise details of subjugation other than to say that power "ties individuals to their own identities by a conscience or self-knowledge" (Foucault, 1982: 212). It is hoped by applying this conceptualisation to study the effects of redundancy, the personal experiences of respondents who partook in the study will contribute to an empirical understanding of these subtle power processes. For instance, the various ways in which surveillance, normalisation and assessments on the shop floor at Zenith contributed to later bitterness in the lives of respondents.

Another advantage in using Foucault's ideas about power is that they enable one to break with traditional models of sociological enquiry. These models tend to simplify the labour process by denying the ambiguity of human agency by gravitating to one or the other pole of subject and object, action and structure, individual and society.

As Abrams observes:

"The thought world of sociology is deeply dualistic, a structure of social actors and social facts, of meaning and structure, observer and observed..."

(Abrams et al, 1976: 8).

The consequences of such bipolarisation is that it invisibilises and marginalises the real targets of power - people.

Because this is a study of one site of conflict at one point in time, its weakness lies in the inevitable singularity of such investigation wherein the results cannot be generalised to include all older workers vulnerable to redundancy. This is due both to the small sample size and the fact that the experiences of a population of older redundant workers from the Zenith Bus Company, are inapplicable to closures at other industrial sites. Yet the stories of the fourteen respondents dismissed from Zenith were felt to be sufficient to show how exercises of power plays on people's emotions and consciousness, do disrupt and alienate their very being from themselves, and not just from the means of production (Foucault, 1984: 88).

Data gathered in the study was presented against the backdrop of what Foucault calls the modern 'disciplinary society' wherein people are subjected to disciplinary mechanisms and power/knowledge strategies so that they discipline themselves. This provided the background for a concerted drive by corporate capitalism to create a leaner, more 'cooperative' working environment in New Zealand since 1984. These far reaching, free market changes have made workers largely expendable to business profitability as was outlined in Chapter Four.

Results of the Study

This thesis explores how dividing practices are simultaneously mediated by subjectivity and by relations of power. This was undertaken in order to highlight the extent to which mature workers involved in redundancy become inexorably subject to the relentless expansion of capital. Being the target of dividing practices such as normalising judgements and assessments on the shop floor, meant that as Zenith ran into difficulties, through a declining market for buses in the late 1980s,

its employees were systematically induced to view themselves positively as competent and efficient tradesmen. The purpose of this tactic was to solicit the cooperation of Company workers whom it was hoped, would expend extra time and energy in order to 'help save the Company'. Obviously in the dominant ethos of corporate capitalism, 'things' are valued over people.

The results of the study demonstrate that historically workers have been encouraged to place a high value on skill and self-expression. Consequently, a great deal of what it means to be human is constituted in the workplace along with a conception of identity, which is reinforced by what goes on at work. "Power acts upon the actions of others" (Foucault, 1982: 220) so that management strategies designed to make workers passionately believe that they were 'one big family' cooperating with management for 'mutual benefit' served to reproduce identity of each employee. This conclusion reflects that of Knights (1989: 320) who argues that the sense of who and what we are is confirmed and sustained by the ways in which we see ourselves positioned within the midst of dividing practices, the practical applications of power/knowledge strategies.

Findings tend to confirm the argument of the thesis that modern power is indeed creative. For instance, subtle power tactics put into play by the Company, which targeted the consciousness of employees were actually embraced by such individuals when working at Zenith. Support for Company policies was steadily engineered through such innovative measures as maintaining a positive rhetoric at regular staff meetings, that everything 'would be fine' in order to create an illusion of 'security' of employment under pressure of closure. Yet power often has unintended consequences opposite to their stated intention, and bitterness and resentment followed when workers felt betrayed after so many years of loyal service to the Company. A second example of deception was seen when the impression was created that employees would be rewarded if they 'put themselves out' for the Company such as volunteering for overtime on a Saturday morning. That this was not the case was evident from the bitter experience of one respondent who was summarily dismissed immediately after completing an 'urgent' job in this manner.

In this way the human trait to seek approval from those in authority was exploited by management as a strategy of subjection.

Thus subjugation, whereby devious strategies were used in the final days of Zenith to induce employees to think and act in cooperative ways with management served to maintain production and profitability for the latter. Whether in work or outside of employment human beings are continuously rewarded for seeking recognition in certain valued identities. Therefore respondents while employed at Zenith reasonably expected recognition for their service as welders, carpenters, painters, upholsterers and other specialised trades, in order to confirm identity. Once laid off all respondents who participated in the study sought recognition of their old/new states from family, friends and acquaintances in order to confirm 'who they were'.

In the redundant state older workers from Zenith experienced the loss of the security which had previously sustained their identities. Those in the sample had spent half a lifetime forging a sense of self with Zenith. For all its faults and the disillusionment which resulted from the devious tactics of the Company as it declined, in many ways interviewees nevertheless identified themselves with the job. As one respondent commented, "that's a long time out of someone's life".

Once made redundant however, former employees expressed the view that they had difficulty living up to or meeting the standards or criteria of those 'setting the rules' (prospective employers) when applying for new jobs. Bob typified the experience of those in the study who lost their jobs from Zenith. Derogatory comments from roving supervisors on the shop floor had knocked his confidence in searching for other jobs. Added to this, was the fear of rejection that he might be told he was 'past it' even though he knew he was a highly skilled and competent tradesman.

Respondents once laid off therefore found themselves still vulnerable to dividing practices such as normalising judgements and assessments from potential employers. Accordingly they struggled to reestablish a clear identity in the wider community in the drive to meet required standards and this was exacerbated by the relentless

scrutiny of their credentials as skilled tradesmen.

To make matters worse, respondents in the sample had been conditioned to see themselves as providers and mainstays of their families through work. Thus feelings of guilt ensued for three workers on losing their jobs when they felt they could no longer meet these standards to the same extent as previously. These examples illustrate ways in which those who partook in the study continued to be subjugated by the individualising standards imposed by a society which values and elevates independence.

At Zenith, the implementation by management of disciplinary power tactics ensured that the power of workers to resist was progressively weakened so that eventually they came to accept their situation as 'normal' and just 'got on with the job'. Once redundant, this process continued when they were repeatedly turned down for jobs and encountered adverse comments from potential employers. Such a disposition quickly undermined the power of each respondent to strive for the future and instead they rapidly internalised the view that they were 'over the hill' and unlikely to land employment to the same skill level as they had enjoyed previously.

From comparisons drawn between the experiences of managers and those of workers off the shop floor in the preceding chapter, it is suggested that the whole area of subjectivity and power within the labour process, focusing on managers as well as ordinary workers demands further research. Within this broad field open to investigation are the 'freedoms' managers have to act in ways not always available to workers from the shop floor such as utilizing system networks to advantage to ensure continuity of employment.

Finally, the main propositional argument of the thesis that power has a determining influence, which through its exercise within the labour process shapes redundant older workers into the people they become, is confirmed by the findings of the study. This is shown by the ways in which tactics of the Company, reflected in normalising judgements, surveillance and assessments on the shop floor had an

effect on later lives of respondents in the sample. Furthermore, experiences of those who took part substantiate Foucault's claim that *subjugation* is the manipulation of individuals to act and behave in certain ways (Foucault, 1982: 221-222).

Our Ref: BJR

118

APPENDIX A

**MASSEY
UNIVERSITY**

Private Bag
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Telephone 0-6-356 9099
Facsimile 0-6-350 5627

FACULTY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY

29 June 1992

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that Mr Ross Swanston is studying within this Department as an MA student engaged on a thesis concerned with the effects of recent labour market changes on older workers.

Any assistance you could provide him would be appreciated.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'G. McLennan', with a long horizontal line extending from the end of the signature.

Professor Gregor McLennan
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

APPENDIX B

SHOWCARD A

1. \$0	- \$1000	6. \$10,001	- \$20,000
2. \$1001	- \$2000	7. \$20,001	- \$30,000
3. \$2001	- \$3000	8. \$30,001	- \$40,000
4. \$3001	- \$5000	9. \$40,001	- \$50,000
5. \$5001	- \$10,000	10. Over	\$50,000

SHOWCARD B

1.	Under	\$10,000	per annum
2.	Between	\$10,000	- \$14,999
3.	Between	\$15,000	- \$19,999
4.	Between	\$20,000	- \$24,999
5.	Between	\$25,000	- \$29,999
6.	Between	\$30,000	- \$49,999
7.	Between	\$50,000	- \$69,999
8.	\$70,000	or more	

SHOWCARD C

1. No Secondary Schooling (Form 2, Std. 5 or less)
2. Some Secondary Education (Forms 3 or 4)
3. School Certificate (Form 5)
4. Form 6 or 7
5. Higher School Certificate, University Entrance or equivalent
6. Technical Trade Certificate
7. Teachers College/Polytechnic
8. University Level
9. Other (Please Specify)

APPENDIX C


Palmerston North

8 August 1993

Dear Maurice,

Thank you for giving me an interview in my investigations into the impact of redundancy on older workers. The transcript of the tape is enclosed with this letter. The next step is for you to check it through, see that you are happy with it and that it is a true and correct record of our conversation. I hope it is not too much trouble to ask you to do that. Feel free to write on the transcript in the form of comments, additional explanations or add anything which you may feel is appropriate particularly if you do not think your meaning is very clear. If you think of anything from your experiences which might have been missed and relevant to the 'effects' of redundancy on older workers you can add that as well.

I would be very grateful if you could do that for me and return the transcript to me when you have finished checking it as soon as possible.

Thank you once again for your help and cooperation.

Regards,

ROSS SWANSTON

APPENDIX D**INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE**

The questions I'd like to ask you will enable me to gather relevant background material for older workers on what it is like to lose your job. By talking to you I hope to be able to better understand the experiences of redundancy such as what it is like to cope on a lesser amount of money.

Q. 1. Were you offered voluntary severance ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 7

Q. 2. Did you accept the offer ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 5

Q. 3. What were your reasons for accepting the offer ?

Q. 4. How do you feel now about accepting the offer ? _____

Q. 5. What were your reasons for rejecting the offer ?

Q. 6. How do you feel now about rejecting the offer ?

Q. 7. Was early retirement offered as an option ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 13

Q. 8. Did you accept the offer ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 11

Q. 9. What were your reasons for accepting the offer ? _____

Q. 10. How do you feel now about accepting the offer ?

Q. 11. What were your reasons for rejecting the offer ?

Q. 12. How do you feel now about rejecting the offer ? _____

Q. 13. Were you offered any other arrangement as an alternative to compulsory redundancy ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 19

Q. 14. Did you accept the offer ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 17

Q. 15. What were your reasons for accepting the offer ? _____

Q. 16. How do you feel now about accepting the offer ? _____

Q. 17. What were your reasons for rejecting the offer ? _____

Q. 18. How do you feel now about rejecting the offer ? _____

Q. 19. Did you receive redundancy compensation ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 22

Q. 20 Into which of these categories would the amount received best fit ? **Showcard A**

1. \$0 - \$1000	6. \$10,001 - \$20,000
2. \$1001 - \$2000	7. \$20,001 - \$30,000
3. \$2001 - \$3000	8. \$30,001 - \$40,000
4. \$3001 - \$5000	9. \$40,001 - \$50,000
5. \$5001 - \$10,000	10. Over \$50,000
11. Refused	

Q. 21. How was the money spent ?

Q. 22. Had you experienced redundancy previous to working for Zenith ?

Yes

No - go to Q. 25

Q. 23. When was that ?

Q. 24. Can you describe the circumstances ? _____

Q. 25. How many dependents had you **at the time of redundancy from Zenith** ? _____

Q. 26. And what kind of dependents were they ? For example: partner - parents - other kin - children (how old), etc.

Q. 27. How many dependents have you **now** (if any) ?

Q. 28. And what kind of dependents are they ?

One of the obvious problems of redundancy concerns money; one's income, finances, debt and so on. I would now like to ask some personal questions about your financial situation. Let me stress once again that your responses will be treated with **strict confidentiality**. This kind of information is important in helping me understand the effects of redundancy.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

Q. 29. Thinking about your overall financial situation **today, compared with what it was when you were laid off from the Zenith Bus Company**, would you say that you are -

1. much better off
2. slightly better off
3. about the same financially
4. slightly worse off
5. much worse off
6. don't know

Q. 30. What do you feel are the reasons for this ?

Q. 31. When you were laid off from Zenith, about how much was your total household income per annum from all sources, such as regular and part-time work, interest, rents and welfare benefits. This should include any income contributed by your partner and/or children to the household budget. Just indicate from this card where you think it would have fitted best. **Showcard B** (Circle one)

1. under \$10,000 per annum	5. between \$25,000 - \$29,999
2. between \$10,000 - \$14,999	6. between \$30,000 - \$49,999
3. between \$15,000 - \$19,999	7. between \$50,000 - \$69,999
4. between \$20,000 - \$24,999	8. \$70,000 per annum or more
9. Refused	

Q. 32. About how much is your present household income fom all sources, including regular and part-time work, interest, rents, welfare benefits, etc. including partner and children. **From Showcard B** (Circle one)

1. under \$10,000 per annum	5. between \$25,000 - \$29,999
2. between \$10,000 - \$14,999	6. between \$30,000 - \$49,999
3. between \$15,000 - \$19,999	7. between \$50,000 - \$69,999
4. between \$20,000 - \$24,999	8. \$70,000 per annum or more
9. Refused	

I would now like you to think about your **current** household debt **compared** with what it was at the time you were laid off.

Q. 33. Would you say that household debt has -

1. increased a great deal - go to Q. 35
2. increased slightly - go to Q. 35
3. stayed about the same
4. decreased slightly - go to Q. 36
5. decreased a great deal - go to Q. 36

Q. 34. What do you feel are the main reasons your debt has stayed about the same ? __

Q. 35. What do you feel are the main reasons your debt has increased ? _____

Q.36. What do you feel are the main reasons your debt has decreased ?

FOR THOSE WHO SAID "DEBT HAS INCREASED OR DECREASED IN Q.33"

Q. 37. Could you make a rough estimate by how much your debt has changed ? _____

Finally, a few general questions about yourself.

Q. 38. How old are you ? _____

Sex

Male

Female

Q. 39. What is your marital status ?

Q. 40. What would you consider to be your ethnic identity ?

Q. 41. From **Showcard C**, what would you consider to be your highest level of education and/or qualification ?

No secondary schooling (Form 2, Standard 6 or less)	01
Some secondary education (Forms 3 or 4)	02
School Certificate, Form 5	03
Form 6 or 7	04
Higher School Certificate, University Entrance or equivalent	05
Technical Trade Certificate	06
Teachers College/Polytechnic	07
University Level	08
Other (Please Specify)	09
Refused	10

APPENDIX E

How did you feel when you first got laid off ?

- confidence - changes over time **Worker Relations** - how did these

Was being at home more a hard adjustment ? change?

- added pressures - *What have you cut out ?*

Being home more caused any problems ?

- tension - stress - tasks - pressures

Any positive things about losing your job ?

- time - duration

Feel about going to family parties now ?

- life style - evenings out - changes

Relations in family or with friends - family - ex workers (attitudes)

changes over time ? - how

- going to family gatherings - *What plans have been disrupted ?*

How are you managing ? - unusual ways of coping - bartering

Efforts to find work

- outcomes - worries - discouraged ?

Has skill level affected job prospects ?

Stop looking for work ?

- pressures leave workforce

- discouragement ?

Was your age a factor ?

Have you remained in good health ? Changes in Self-Esteem?

- symptoms

Find yourself more anxious ? - changes

How has life style changed ?

What does the future hold ?

What tell someone like yourself who has just been made redundant ?

APPENDIX F

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

I would now like you to think about what it was like immediately prior to being laid off, particularly those aspects of the job that may have had an effect on your life afterwards.

SELF-ESTEEM

How did you feel when you first got laid off ?

- confidence in getting another job
- changes over time

The immediate effects - contrasted with the on-going effects

- feelings - frustrations

THE SEARCH FOR WORK - AFTER REDUNDANCY

Steps taken to find work - outcomes ?

- no. of applications
- no. of interviews - outcomes

Probes - the general experience of looking for work

(positive as well as negative aspects)

- frustrations
- problems
- attitudes encountered

Durations of employment/unemployment since being laid off

Probe for - other jobs - what industries

- length of employment with each (how did these relate to previous job - if at all ?)

- reasons for subsequent redundancies (if any)
- possible discrimination

New jobs that might have been seen as 'better!' - why ?

INTENTIONS/PLANS

What plans were interfered with (or enhanced), as a result of redundancy ?

Probe for - positive (opening up doors, a blessing in disguise) gains as well as negative aspects of disrupted plans

FAMILY

Being home more often - what effect has that had ?

Probes - stress - (*immediate effects in contrast to on-going effects*)

- sources of tension
- changes in allocation of tasks around the home
(added pressures from being around the house ?)
- effect on wife, relatives, neighbours, children
(their comments)

How have plans been affected ?

Relationships with children

(immediate effects - on-going effects)

- In what ways has that been affected ?

Were there added pressures from those close to you to find a job ?

- if so - **How did these pressures show themselves ?**
- what effect did this have on relationships ?

Was being at home a hard adjustment ?

(Probes) - if there was adjustment

- if so - how much ?

How has life style changed ? - plans

- what sort of changes ?

How are you managing ?

- what about unusual ways of coping - bartering, exchanging services

Any positive things about losing your job ?

- what were they ?
- time - duration

Pressures from family/friends, to follow some aspect of the routine followed when there had been a regular job ?

if so - what was your response ? (e.g. more time at the pub ? - more 'time out')

get on the "spouses nerves" at home ?

Attitudes since being laid off

- family - friends - ex workers
- changes over time

DISCOURAGEMENT

Stopping looking for work ? - if so - How soon after redundancy

Probe for - reasons for stopping looking for work (if applicable)

e.g.- believes no work available in area of training

- discouragement/repeated failure
- lacks necessary skills/education
- too old
- other personal reason/handicap

EFFECT OF AGE (IF ANY), ON SUBSEQUENT JOB OPPORTUNITIES

WAS AGE A FACTOR ?

Effect of age on getting back into the workforce !

Probe for - specific experiences

- is there any evidence? (application letters, letters in reply, experiences of others, etc. **can I see it ?**)

- **what comments have been made ?**

Impact, or influence, of skill level, qualifications, training, expertise, etc. has had on efforts to get back into the workforce ?

EFFECT OF REDUNDANCY ON THE BODY

(This section attempts to explore the effect of changing power relations and how it may have effected such things as physical health).

Has physical health changed since job loss from Zenith ?

Probes - How - in what ways ?

- symptoms

Do you ever feel anxious ?

(bring in such things as - anxiety, depression, sleeplessness, toucheyness, confidence, listlessness, ability to concentrate and nervousness)

comments of others

What changes in health (if any), did you notice ?

SOCIAL CONTACTS

What effect has redundancy had on your social life ?

i.e. evenings out - visits to the pub - recreational activities - life with friends - socialising i.e. visiting

What things were immediately stopped and what things are you doing now - and how often

- How does it make you feel ?

What changes have you noticed ?

- going to family gatherings ?

What - if any - things have you had to eliminate - or cut down on - since being laid off ?

e.g. phone - car - T.V. - heating - cinema - power - food - rent - mortgage
- Can you get rates paid on time ?

THE SELF CONCEPT

Time for reflection - How the respondents feelings about himself may have changed as a result of being laid off

Probes - see ourselves as others see us (identity change)

- how important do you think 'the job' was 'as a part of you' ?

How do you think the view of family and friends towards yourself has changed as a result of redundancy from Zenith ?

How do you see the future ?

WORK HISTORY

Year laid off - length of time with Zenith

Position in Company and so on.

EXPERIENCES PRIOR TO REDUNDANCY**Fear of Redundancy**

Relationships between workers both before and after redundancies were announced

(if relationships deteriorated - how it was exhibited)

Probes - how were redundancies announced ?

- how much notice given ?
- were there rumours ? (effect)

Changes in the way the workplace was organised at that time prior to being laid off that were of particular concern . if so - why ?

Probes - What were the changes ?

- How, why and in what ways were they significant ?

"TECHNOLOGIES"

- I would now like you to think of "technologies" as techniques or ways of doing things on the shop floor, which get introduced with or without the use of machines to produce an end result or finished product. It does not just refer to more advanced machinery, but may include techniques for doing a job more 'efficiently' or cutting down the time.

What new technologies were introduced in the last two years you were there?

- how were they introduced?
- how successful were they?

What - in your opinion - were the relevant, or most important factors in deciding who would be laid off ?

Probe The basis for any opinion

Did you feel you were at a disadvantage when facing the risk of redundancy because of your age ?

Probe - reasons why or why not.

PRESSURE TO LEAVE THE WORKFORCE

Probe for - any pressure to retire early - work part-time - or accept voluntary redundancy

- how it may have been manifested or shown ? (different for some workers ?)

- where was pressure from ? - management ?

- other workers ?

- family ?

- friends ?

THE SEARCH FOR WORK

Applications or search for new jobs prior to redundancy

Probes - Outcomes ?

- Kinds of jobs sought ?

- How did they compare with job at Zenith?

e.g. skill, responsibility, etc.

Main worries at that time - what it felt like ?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abercrombie, N., Hill, S. and Turner, B.S. *Dictionary of Sociology*, London: Penguin 1988
2. Abrams, P., McCulloch, A., Abrams, S. and Gore, P. *Communes, Sociology and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976
3. Ashworth, P.D. *Social Interaction and Consciousness*, New York: Chichester 1979
4. Ayers, I. and Braithwaite, J. *Responsive Regulation: Transcending the Deregulation Debate*, New York: Oxford University Press 1992
5. Beckett, J.O. Plant Closings: How Older Workers are Affected, in *Social Work* Vol.33 No. 1 : 29-33 1988
6. Boglietti, G. Discrimination Against Older Workers and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity, in *International Labour Review*, 110: 351-365 (Oct.) 1974
7. Bollard, A. *More Market: The Deregulation of Industry*, working paper 87/03, Wellington: Economic Research 1987
8. Boston, J. and Holland, M. (eds) *The Fourth Labour Government: Radical Politics in New Zealand*, Auckland: Oxford University Press 1987
9. Boston, J. Wages Policy and Industrial Relations Reform, in Boston, J. and Holland, M. (eds) *The Fourth Labour Government: Radical Politics in New Zealand*, Auckland: Oxford University Press 1987

10. Braverman, H. *Labour and Monopoly Capital*, New York: Monthly Review Press 1974
11. Brook, P.J. Reform of the Labour Market, in Walker, S. (ed) *Rogernomics: Reshaping New Zealand's Economy*, Auckland: New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies 1989
12. Burawoy, M. *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labour Process Under Monopoly Capitalism*, London: University of Chicago Press 1979
13. Burgess, R.G. *In The Field: An Introduction to Field Research*, London: George Allen and Unwin 1984
14. Calcutt, A. Release Me, in *Living Marxism*, No. 50: 20-21, December 1992
15. Cassirer, E. *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, Boston: Beacon Press 1955
16. Child, J. Managerial Strategies, New Technology and the Labour Process, in Knights, D. Willmott, H.C. and Collinson, D. (eds.) *Job Redesign*, Aldershot: Gower 1985
17. Cockburn, C. *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change*, London: Pluto 1983
18. Coddington, D. *Turning Pain into Gain, The Transformation of New Zealand 1984-1993*, Auckland: Alister Taylor 1993
19. Coleman, J.S. Relational Analysis: The Study of Social Organisations with Survey Methods, in *Human Organization*, vol. 16, no. 4: 28-36 1958

20. Daniel, W.W. and Stilgoe, E. Towards an American Way of Unemployment? in *New Society*: 321-323 12 February 1976
21. Davies, K. and Esseveld, J. Factory Women, Redundancy and the Search for Work: towards a reconceptualisation of employment and unemployment, in *Sociological Review*, vol. 37: 219-252 May 1989
22. Dawe, A. The Two Sociologies, in *British Journal of Sociology*, 21: 207-218 1970
23. Dawe, A. Theories of Social Action, in Bottomore, T. and Nisbet, R. (eds) *A History of Sociological Analysis*, London: Heinemann 1978
24. Dean, M. *The Constitution of Poverty*, London: Routledge 1991
25. Diamond, I. and Quinby, L. (eds) *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, Boston: Northeastern University Press 1988
26. Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Brighton: Harvester Press 1982
27. Elmore, R. The Older Worker and Age Discrimination, in *Journal of Business Law*: 406-410 1980
28. Field, F. *The Conscript Army: A Study of Britain's Unemployed*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1977
29. Foucault, M. *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, London: Tavistock 1967
30. Foucault, M. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Trans. A. Sheridan, London: Tavistock 1972

31. Foucault, M. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, New York: Pantheon Books 1973
32. Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, London: Allen Lane 1977a
33. Foucault, M. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, edited by D. Bouchard, New York: Cornell University Press 1977b
34. Foucault, M. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, London: Penguin 1978
35. Foucault, M. edited by Colin Gordon *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977)*, Brighton: Harvester Press 1980
36. Foucault, M. *Body/Power* , in Foucault, M. edited by Colin Gordon *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977)*, Brighton: Harvester Press: 55-62 1980a
37. Foucault, M. *Power and Strategies* , in Foucault, M. edited by Colin Gordon *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977)*, Brighton: Harvester Press: 134-145 1980b
38. Foucault, M. *Truth and Power* , in Foucault, M. edited by Colin Gordon *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977)*, Brighton: Harvester Press: 108-133 1980c
39. Foucault, M. *The Eye of Power* , in Foucault, M. edited by Colin Gordon *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977)*, Brighton: Harvester Press: 146-165 1980 d

40. Foucault, M. The Subject and Power , in Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Brighton: Harvester Press: 208-227 1982
41. Foucault, M. Nietzsche, Genealogy, History. In Rabinow, P. (ed) *The Foucault Reader*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1984
42. Foucault, M. *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure*, Trans. R. Hurley, New York: Vintage Books 1985a
43. Foucault, M. Sexuality and Solitude, in Blansky, M. (ed) *On Signs: A Semiotics Reader*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1985b
44. Foucault, M. *The History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self*, Trans. R. Hurley, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1986
45. Foucault, M. edited by Kritzman, D.L. *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and other writings (1977-1984)*, New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall Inc.: 1988
46. Foucault, M. On Power , in Foucault, M. edited by Kritzman, D.L. *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings (1977-1984)*, New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall Inc. : 96-109 1988a
47. Foucault, M. The Battle for Chastity , in Foucault, M. edited by Kritzman, D.L. *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings (1977-1984)*, New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall Inc. : 227-241 1988b
48. Foucault, M. The Return of Morality , in Foucault, M. edited by Kritzman, D.L. *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings (1977-1984)*, New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall Inc. : 242-254 1988c

49. Foucault, M. Technologies of the Self , in Martin,L.H., Gutman,H. and Hutton,P.H. (eds) *Technologies of the Self: a Seminar With Michel Foucault*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press : 16-49 1988d
50. Foucault, M. The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom, in Bernauer, J. and Rasmussen, D. (eds), *The Final Foucault*, Cambridge: Mass. MIT Press 1988e
51. Foucault, M. Governmentality, in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf 1991
52. Fraser, N. *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press 1989
53. Freeman, M. Cap in Hand gets Kick in Teeth, in *Living Marxism*, No. 63: 30, January 1994
54. Fried, M. Life and Death in the Free Zone, in *New Internationalist*, No. 257: 16-18, July 1994
55. Friedman, A. *Industry and Labour*, London: Macmillan 1977
56. Friedman, A. Managerial Strategies, Activities, Techniques and Technology: Towards a Complex Theory of the Labour Process, in Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. (eds.) *Labour Process Theory*, London: Macmillan 1989
57. Fryer,D. and Ullah, P. *Unemployed People: social and psychological perspectives*, Philadelphia: Open University Press 1987
58. Goldthorpe, J.H., Lockwood, D., Bechhofer, F. and Platt, J. *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*, London: Cambridge University Press 1969

59. Gordon, C. Afterword , in Foucault, M. edited by Colin Gordon
Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (1972-1977),
Brighton: Harvester Press : 229-259 1980
60. Grahl, J. and Teague, P. Labour Market Flexibility in West Germany,
Britain and France, in *West European Politics*, 12-2: 91-111 1989
61. Harris, C.C. *Redundancy and Recession in South Wales*, Oxford: Basil
Blackwell 1987
62. Highlights in Labour Force Statistics, in *Key Statistics* : 34-36 May 1992
63. Holdom, F. Overview of the New Zealand Labour Market, in *Labour
Market Statistics*, Wellington: Department of Statistics 1991
64. Hopper, T., Cooper, D., Lowe, T., Capps, T. and Mouritsen, J. Management
Control and Worker Resistance in the National Coal Board, in Knights, D.
and Willmott, H. *Managing the Labour Process*, Aldershot: Gower 1986
65. Hutchens, R.M. Do Job Opportunities Decline With Age? in *Industrial and
Labour Relations Review*, vol. 42, No.1: 89- 122 October 1988
66. Industrial Relations, in *Labour Market Statistics*, Wellington: Department of
Statistics 1993
67. Jahoda, M., Lazarsfeld, P.F. and Zeisel, H. *Marienthal: the sociography of an
unemployed community*, London: Tavistock 1933
68. Jeffrey, G. and Williams, A. The Labour Market and Industrial Relations, in
Birks, S. and Chatterjee, S. *The New Zealand Economy: issues and policies*,
Palmerston North: Dunmore Press 1992

69. Kalisch, D.W. and Williams, L.S. Discrimination in the Labour Force at Older Ages, in *Australian Journal on Ageing*, vol. 2, No. 2 : 8-16 May 1983
70. Kasl, S.V., Gore, S. and Cobb, S. The Experience of Losing a Job: Reported Changes in Health, Symptoms and Illness Behaviour, in *Psychomatic Medicine*, vol. 37, No. 2: 107-121 1975
71. Kaufmann, W. (ed. and trans.) *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, New York: Modern Library 1968
72. Knights, D. Subjectivity, Power and the Labour Process, in Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. (eds.) *Labour Process Theory*, London: Macmillan 1989
73. Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. The Problem of Freedom, Fromm's Contribution to a Critical Theory of 'Work Organisation', in *Praxis International* 2, 2: 204-225 1982
74. Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. Power and Identity in Theory and Practice, in *Sociological Review* 33 1985
75. Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. *Managing the Labour Process*, Aldershot: Gower 1986
76. Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. Power and Subjectivity at Work: From Degradation to Subjugation in Social Relations, in *Sociology* Vol. 23 No. 4: 535-558 November 1989.
77. Komarovsky, M. *The Unemployed Man and His Family*, New York: Octagon Books 1940
78. Labour Market Statistics *Overview of the New Zealand Labour Market*, Wellington: Department of Statistics 1991

79. Labour Income and Labour Cost, in *Labour Market Statistics*, Wellington, Department of Statistics: 101-104 1993
80. Lee, R.M. and Harris, C.C. Redundancy Studies: in Port Talbot and the Future, in *Quarterly Journal of Social Affairs*, 1(1) : 19-27 1985
81. Lemert, C.C. and Gillan, G. *Michel Foucault: Social Theory as Transgression*, New York: Columbia University Press 1982
82. Levitas, R. (ed) *The Ideology of the New Right*, Oxford: Polity Press 1986
83. Littler, C. *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies*, London: Heinemann 1982
84. Littler, C. Taylorism, Fordism and Job Design, in Knights et al (ed.) *Job Redesign*, Aldershot: Gower 1985
85. McNay, L. *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self*, London: Blackwell Publications Ltd. 1992
86. Martin, R. and Fryer, R.H. *Redundancy and Paternalist Capitalism*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1973
87. Marx, K. *Grundrisse*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1973
88. Marx, K. *Early Writings*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1975
89. Marx, K. *Capital*, vol. 1, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1976
90. Morris, L.D. Patterns of Social Activity and Post-Redundancy Labour Market Experience, in *Sociology*, vol. 18, No.3: 339-352 August 1984

91. Myers, D. A Tiger on Your Tail?, in *From Recession to Recovery*, New Zealand Business Roundtable: September 1992
92. New Zealand Official Year Book: 221-238 *Department of Statistics*: Wellington: 1992
93. Noble, D. Social Choice in Machine Design: the case of automatically controlled machine tools, in Zimbalist, A. (ed.) *Case Studies on the Labour Process*, New York: Monthly Review Press 1979
94. Oakley, A. Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms, in H. Roberts (ed) *Doing Feminist Research*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1981
95. Price, H. *Know the New Right: a short paper on the ideology that is changing New Zealander's lives*, Wellington: Wright and Carman Ltd. 1993
96. Rabinow, P. (ed) *The Foucault Reader*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1984
97. Ramazanoglu, C. *Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression*, London: Routledge 1989
98. Ramazanoglu, C. *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of Some Tensions Between Foucault and Feminism*, London: Routledge 1993
99. Rife, J.C. and First, R.J. Discouraged Older Workers: an exploratory study, in *International Journal Aging and Human Development*, Vol. 29(3), 195-203 1989
100. Rones, P.L. The Labour Market Problems of Older Workers, in *Monthly Labour Review*, vol. 106, No.5: 3-19, May 1983

101. Rones, P.L. and Herz, D.E. Institutional Barriers to Employment of Older Workers, in *Monthly Labour Review*, vol. 112 Issue 4: 14-21, April 1989
102. Rosen, B. Management Perceptions of Older Employees, in *Monthly Labour Review*, vol. 101, No.5: 33-35 1978
103. Rudd, C. Politics and Markets: The Role of the State in the New Zealand Economy, in Holland, M. and Boston, J. (eds) *The Fourth Labour Government: Politics and Policy in New Zealand*, 2nd Edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press 1990
104. Sawicki, J. *Disciplining Foucault: Feminism, Power and the Body*, London: Routledge 1991
105. Schultz, A. *A Theory of Consciousness*, New York: Phil. Library 1973
106. Showler, B. and Sinfield, A. (eds) *The Workless State: Studies in Unemployment*, Oxford: Martin Robertson 1981
107. Silverman, D. *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology*, Aldershot: Gower Pub. Coy. Ltd. 1985
108. Smart, B. *Foucault, Marxism and Critique*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1983
109. Standing, G. Labour Flexibility and Older Worker Marginalisation: The Need for a New Strategy, in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 125, No.3, May-June 1986
109. The Labour Force, in *Labour Market Statistics*, Wellington, Department of Statistics: 43-51 1993

110. Thompson, P. *The Nature of Work*, London: Macmillan 1983
111. Thompson, P. Crawling from the Wreckage: The Labour Process and the Politics of Production, in Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. (eds.) *Labour Process Theory*, London: Macmillan 1989
112. Tivey, L. *The Politics of the Firm*, Oxford: Martin Robertson and Coy. Ltd. 1978
113. Walker, A. Conscription on the Cheap, in *Critical Social Policy*: 102-110 1986
114. Unemployment, in *Labour Market Statistics*, Wellington: Department of Statistics 1993
115. Walsh, P. A Family Fight? Industrial Relations Reform Under the Fourth Labour Government, in Easton, B. (ed) *The Making of Rogernomics*, Auckland: Auckland University Press 1989
116. Walsh, P. The Employment Contracts Act, in Boston, J. and Dalziel, P. (eds) *The Decent Society? essays in response to National's economic and social policies*, Auckland: Oxford University Press 1992
117. Wakeford, J. From Methods to Practice: a critical note on the teaching of research practice to undergraduates, in *Sociology*, vol. 15, no.4: 505-512 1981
118. Wanna, J. Centralisation Without Corporatism: The Politics of New Zealand Business in the Recession, in *N.Z. Journal of Industrial Relations*, 14, 1: 1-16 1989

119. Weigert, A. *Society and Identity: towards a sociological psychology*, New York: Cambridge 1986
120. Westergaard, J., Noble, I. and Walker, A. *After Redundancy: the experience of economic insecurity*, Cambridge: Polity Press 1989
121. Williams, A. Employment and Unemployment: Current Patterns and Issues, in Birks, S. and Chatterjee, S. *The New Zealand Economy: Issues and Policies*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press 1992
122. Willmott, H. Subjectivity and the Dialectics of Praxis: Opening Up the Core of Labour Process Analysis, in Knights, D. and Willmott, H.C. (eds.) *Labour Process Theory*, London: Macmillan: 336-378 1989
123. Wood, N. Foucault on the History of Sexuality: An Introduction , in Beechey, V. and Donald, J. (eds) *Subjectivity and Social Relations*, Stratford: Open University Press: 156-174 1985