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The Institutionalisation of Geography in New Zealand: an interpretation

Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Geography
Massey University

John Gilbert Hammond

October 1992

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For Sue

You encouraged me to begin university all those years ago

You put the children to bed all those nights while I was at uni

And you never once complained

Your total unselfishness as a wife and mother continues to amaze me

Dedicating this to you is just a small way of saying

thanks ♥

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANZAAS	Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science
AUC	Auckland University College
BOGT	Board of Geography Teachers
BRP	Bachelor of Regional Planning
CUC	Canterbury University College
DSIR	Division of Scientific and Industrial Research
GRC	Geography Resource Centre
IGU	International Geographical Union
MU	Massey University
NGCC	National Geography Curriculum Committee
NZGS	New Zealand Geographical Society
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PNUC	Palmerston North University College
PPTA	Post Primary Teachers Association
RSES	Research School of Earth Sciences
SCEB	School Certificate Examination Board
UEB	University Entrance Board
UGC	University Grants Committee
VUC	Victoria University College
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington

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ABSTRACT

When geography, as an abstract form of knowledge, becomes identified with a set of practices involving agents, it assumes a coherent structural form and may be said to have become institutionalised. Institutionalisation, however, is a process in which the interactions between structures and agents continue to evolve through contest.

An epochal account of academic geography supports any understanding of what has taken place in New Zealand geography because it legitimates a theoretical placement of geographical inquiry in the setting of global capitalism. Critical institutional theory, as an analytical tool, is propelled by the focusing questions of 'Why?' 'For Whom?' and 'To Whose Advantage'? It is naive to assume that the overall conduct of institutional life is anything but a contested process, the site of ideological, methodological, personal and administrative differences. To complete the theoretical discussion, the need to elicit a processual account of institutionalising phenomena mandates a consideration of oral history as a legitimate research form.

As part of the educational agenda in New Zealand since the 1840s when the first European settlers arrived, geography first became institutionalised in the high schools in the late 19th Century, reflecting the political and educational agendas of the time. The discourse on the institutionalisation of high school geography coincides with the later trajectory of university geography which took effect with the establishment of the first Department of Geography at Canterbury University College in 1937. Since then, the form and practice of geography have gone through considerable change. The perceived need to achieve ideological and methodological conformity affected both high school and university geography, providing a setting for some of the major contests in New Zealand geography. A documentation of 'how and why' change takes place and an insight into the underlying circumstances in contested matters, enables an understanding of the processes involved. It is only when one understands the milieu in which geography is set, that it is possible to articulate reasons for change.

Geography in New Zealand grew to maturity, primarily through the six university departments. The activities of the agents working within the structural conditions of the university environment, reveal how the departments, individually and in concert, have been the sites of the more significant institutionalising activities, including the contemporary debates relating to feminist approaches and a sensitivity to a Maori

perspective in geography. The community of academic and professional geographers have interacted with each other and with the larger sphere of society in the institutionalising actions by which this thesis measures institutionalisation. Reinforcing theory with practice, by revisiting the conditions of the structure and agency relationship, is essential to understanding institutionalisation which not only probes how geographical practice in New Zealand was initiated but how and why it is has been continuously reproduced and transformed. Apprehending this process suggests that the agents within New Zealand geography may benefit from an institutional appraisal of their discipline. A theoretically informed view of the way the discipline evolved, provides clues about conduct of future geographical practice.

CHAPTER 1

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

*"Felix qui potuit
rerum cognoscere
causas."
Happy he, who
has availed to read
the causes of
things.
Virgil 70 - 19 BC
Eclogues, II, 17.*

SETTING

Academic geography, in some form, has been part of New Zealand history since the 1840s when it arrived as part of the mental and physical luggage of early settlers. Mentally, via their values, and physically via their books, the settlers brought with them the prevailing educational practices of Britain, where geography was either an exercise in location of places in the Holy Land or a compilation of exploration and resource inventory. Geography continued in the school curriculum, in an encyclopaedic configuration, until the advent of the first Geography department at Canterbury University College, Christchurch in 1937. Population growth following the Second World War, saw an expansion in school and university geography until, by 1963, there were Geography Departments in the six universities of New Zealand (see Fig 1.1). Within the New Zealand setting, high school, university and professional geographers have maintained close links. Their work has been characterised by a pragmatism (Johnston 1984,20) and distinctiveness that sets geography in New Zealand apart.

GEOGRAPHY AND INSTITUTIONAL FORM

In itself, Geographic knowledge is an abstraction. This thesis is concerned with the process that takes place when geography, as an arcane academic entity, assumes a form in which it becomes identified with a set of practices. At this point it is said to have become institutionalised. In the human search for tangible reality, conventional

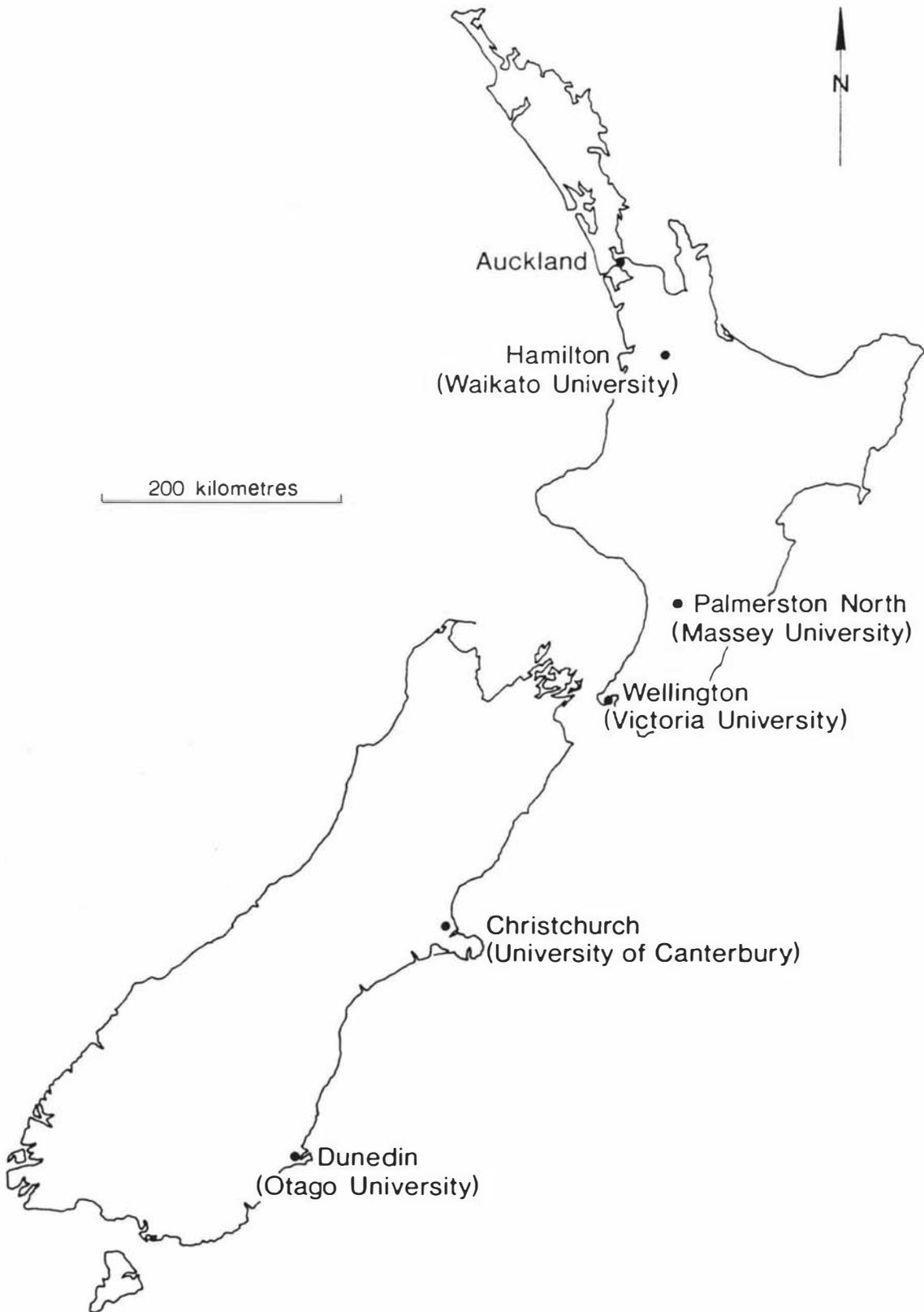


FIGURE 1.1 University Geography Departments in New Zealand

wisdom tends to ascribe to an institution a finite structural form which then becomes dominant. Critical institutional theory views institutionalisation as both a process and a property. This thesis will demonstrate that institutionalised geography in New Zealand is malleable. It has been created and recreated by practices which sustain it, and has been reproduced or transformed by maintaining or transforming the practices which constitute it. Institutionalisation is viewed as a contested process involving structures and agents. As such, it places structure within a denotative rather than connotative emphasis.

Institutionalisation operates continuously at every level at which geography is practiced, be it school, university or in 'the workplace'. The institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand is a compelling account. To address it simply as a narrative, would fascinate and generally inform a reader; but in the end, there would be little to convincingly explain the 'how and why' of what really happened in New Zealand geography. At the same time, an account governed entirely by empirical methodology would fail to fully inform about relationships between structures and agents. Because institutionalisation is a process, this thesis is concerned with the settings in which agents operated and in which structures were derived or modified. In order to facilitate the portrayal, this thesis has given due emphasis to empirical evidence found in minute books, staff meeting records, numerous publications and official reports. At the same time, the account is committed to accommodating the part the agents played in the circumstances underlying the practice. This has been achieved by personal interviews which encourage a more reflective view of the practice of geography. If there is a danger of myth perpetuation due to the storytelling potential of agents, then the sheer number of opinions sought from a variety of agents must count for something. Neither approach is intended to be transcendent in establishing the important interplay between structure and agency.

WHY USE A CRITICAL PROCESS BASED INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH?

An institutional approach provides a unique way to pursue the answer to a number of questions relating to the way geography in New Zealand has unfolded. The following questions are recurring themes found in this thesis:

1. How and why has New Zealand geography emerged in the way it has?
2. What has become institutionalised in New Zealand geography?

3. What were the contests that represented significant points in the historical process of institutionalisation?
4. How has geographical practice been reproduced and transformed?
5. Does the unique trajectory of geography in New Zealand signify a unique geography?
6. Is it possible to foreshadow, in any way, the future trajectory of geography in New Zealand?

From these, spring some subsidiary questions that ask:

- a. Who made decisions affecting geography and within what settings were these made?
- b. What were the philosophical thrusts and who promoted them?
- c. How did an academic discipline evolve that appeared fragmented yet united?
- d. How did the State intervene in matters academic, and what were the issues at stake?
- e. On what battlefields did geographers have to fight for recognition and who were the protagonists?
- f. Why did six different university geography departments develop in such a distinctive fashion?

In attempting to answer these questions, the thesis will demonstrate that a critical institutional approach is suited to answer these questions. Without an approach that overtly links structure and agency, individual issues would receive coverage in isolation, but the interconnecting social fabric of the true arena would remain largely unexplained. By employing a dialectic framework and asking *Why? For Whom and To Whose Advantage?* it is possible to provide an overarching template for the entire study.

A RATIONALE

This thesis recognises the need to portray the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand in such a way as to enable an articulation of geography within the wider setting of what was happening in New Zealand and overseas. A primary task is to establish a conceptual framework that enables a comprehension of the construction of geographic knowledge and an understanding of the processes

inherent in social behaviour. The thesis is driven by political economy theory which enables the institutionalisation of geography to be understood in terms of capitalist society and the ensuing interlocking fabric of capitalist and non-capitalist social relations. Theory, in turn, reflects or corresponds to an external reality whilst itself is subject to a process of on-going conceptual development. If theory is not a perfect mirror to reflect or correspond to an external reality, it can at least enable an ongoing process of conceptual development, constituting and constituted by other processes in the social world.

Johnston and Le Heron (1987, 115) note that during the last crisis of capitalism, in the 1930s, that the New Zealand writer, M. H. Holcroft, in an award winning book, *The Deepening Stream*, called for the construction of social knowledge which both informed on and yet served as a guide to social action. The implication, rightly stated, is that ,

. . . throughout human history times of crisis or change have often been accompanied by calls for relevance in academic institutions and for developing appropriate social responses aimed at improving the human condition.

It is with this in mind, that this thesis is concerned with the process of institutionalisation in New Zealand geography. At time of writing, New Zealand is experiencing radical restructuring in education policy and practice; a reflection of another crisis in capitalism. The approach taken in this thesis is critical in its form of analysis. The writer readily accepts that no one geographer will entirely agree with the portrayal of this process. It is fitting, however, that geographers in New Zealand challenge their views of knowledge construction and the manner in which they translate it to represent aspects of reality and that they have the enabling tools to motivate changes in geography that rightly represent facets of the life world.

In employing a neo-Marxist conceptualisation of social inquiry, revisionist Marxist science begins with a material analysis of society, proceeds through a critique of capitalist control of the material base of society, and proposes solutions in terms of social coordination of the economic base. This study is concerned with the analysis and critique of capitalism as a tool and in providing a structural framework with which to study the development of geography as a discipline in the New Zealand setting and to provide an interpretation about the way in which geography in New Zealand became institutionalised.

The debate relating to the Marxist approach to Human Geography is a complex but well argued one. (for example see, Johnston 1983, Chapter 6, esp. pp 191-198, for the nature and value of a 'Marxist Geography'; Harvey 1973, 1974, 1985; Jessop 1982; Keat and Urry 1982; Peet et al 1977, Rigby 1987; Hodgson 1982; Bowen 1979). The writer is not dismissive of other methodologies, believing that there are a variety of different ways of looking at society. The neo-marxist conceptualisation of society does offer, however, a mode of structured analysis which permits an investigation into the interplay between structure and agency. It is within this setting that one accepts the compelling truth that institutionalisation is a contested process, a fact of life.

THE ADVANTAGE OF TIME AND PLACE

It is significant that this study has been conducted at this time. No university geography department in New Zealand has a history longer than 54 years. Most of the players are still alive at time of writing, thus enabling a fairly complete account of geographical practice during that time. The passage of time and experience since the earlier days, has perhaps allowed a reflective approach not always possible when writing an account tensioned by an immediacy of events.

Undertaking a study of this type, in the New Zealand setting, has had a number of advantages. The country is geographically isolated, and with a small population, academic and administrative networks are closely interlocked due to a centralised government unencumbered by Federal structures. Most academics keep in contact with their cohorts in other departments. Links between various sectors are easier to trace when largely confined within the borders of a small country. The self-consciousness of a small nation has bred several generations of geographers who have made contributions to international geography, out of proportion to the size of the population of academic geographers. The desire to link with geographical practice overseas has been matched by a determination to ensure a distinctively New Zealand flavour, certainly in high school geography and arguably so, in the case of university geography.

WHAT THIS THESIS SEEKS TO ACHIEVE.

Allowing for theoretical and institutional considerations, this thesis seeks to show how and why geography in New Zealand unfolded¹. Because the information, garnered from many sources represents the views of many people; the thesis is an *interpretation* of these views. The interpretation, however, is given coherence by a critical institutional approach. Collectively, we are often unaware as to 'how' and 'why' things happened the way they did. By allowing people to simply talk about the way in which they viewed events, personalities, structures, methodologies and ideologies, one begins to realise the limitations of conventional approaches that presume to faithfully represent the past. No form of retrieval or presentation is likely to achieve this - but we can try. The writer of this thesis is captivated with the concept of capturing something that will otherwise be lost to the future communities of geographers in New Zealand.

AN OVERVIEW

In overviewing this thesis, it is helpful to understand why the text proceeds in the way it has. The early part of the thesis provides an appropriate setting by considering changes in geographic thought over several hundred years. The theoretical side of the thesis commences by demonstrating the sequences linking capitalism with the role of the State in the institutionalising of educational practice. The theoretical section also considers critical institutional analysis and oral history approaches as viable forms of research. Following the chapter on methodology, the thesis moves on to high school geography by first explicating the centralised nature of high school education in New Zealand. An understanding of the institutionalisation of high school geography enables one to appreciate the 'teacher centredness' of early university geography. The chapters dealing with university geography are preceded by an overview outlining the university system in New Zealand. Three chapters are devoted to university geography. Beginning with the main ideological issues in New Zealand geography, some attention is then given to the unique way in which the six geography departments were set up and have operated. The chapters on university geography conclude by considering some of the overarching issues common to

¹ The writer struggles for an appropriate nomenclature when using the word 'unfolded'. By using words like 'developed', 'growth' and 'evolved' one tends to convey the impression favoured by conventional institutional theory which suggests a natural rational/logical progression or development of a discipline over time. Critical institutional theory does not naturally assume this to be the case.

university geography in this country. The penultimate chapter of the thesis connects much of the discussion concerning high school and university geography by appraising the shaping and supporting role of the New Zealand Geographical Society and Teacher Training Colleges, as well as professional and ancillary geographers. The final chapter highlights pivotal areas to ensure that the theory and practice within the thesis are in appropriate juxtaposition.

Having offered a reason for the way in which the thesis is constructed, a very brief chapter summary highlights the content of each chapter to follow.

Chapter 2 is a survey of geographic inquiry during the past two hundred years, ranging from Classical to Postmodern geographies. It does not aspire to embrace all approaches to geography during this time, but is more of an attempt to draw a line of thought, showing a coherence in the way geography has developed². It will show the different philosophical tracking of human and physical geography and raises the question of paradigm change in geographical thought.

Chapter 3 addresses theory with a view to providing conceptual tools to enable an understanding of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. Commencing with the capitalist mode of production and inherent inequality in society, chapter 3 overviews the function of state apparatus and cultural reproduction, particularly in the educational setting.

Chapter 4 completes the theoretical discussion in the thesis by essaying the development of organisational and institutional theory, relating contemporary theory to geographic inquiry. Moving from theory to practice, the emphasis is on outlining a mode of institutional analysis which assists in putting a measure on the process of institutionalisation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of oral history as a research form.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the methodology used in the study. The specific procedures in collecting information and the isolation of the research population is elaborated. The survey instrument and how it was developed from an abstruse theoretical concept, to a practical set of questions, is explained. The organising and

² This is not intended to convey the impression that there have not been major discontinuities in the development of geographical thought.

presentation of material is outlined. The chapter on methodology is important in that the difficulty in eliciting some information underscores the reality of the contested process.

Chapter 6 provides a setting for school geography in New Zealand. Beginning with the 1877 Education Act which prefigured the centralising of the state education system, the chapter discusses credentialling which became a major function of New Zealand school and university education. The post World War II economic boom and subsequent decline, that has followed to the present time, has had a marked effect on educational policy in which an intense struggle for the control of education has affected and continues to affect school and university geography.

Chapter 7 looks specifically at high school geography in New Zealand. The first part of the chapter presents the development of school geography up to the end of the Great Depression of the 1930s. Part two looks at the rise of school geography which burgeoned with the simultaneous development of university geography. It was the rising generation of university trained teachers who generated the groundswell of discontent and action that is the focus of the third section of this chapter. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the reconstruction and consolidation that dominate the practice of school geography at present.

Chapter 8 is a short overview of the development of the university system in New Zealand. Emphasis is given to the establishment and timing of the six different university geography departments at Christchurch, Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin, Palmerston North and Hamilton.

Chapter 9 examines the way in which the major ideological thrusts within New Zealand geography became institutionalised. Emphasis is given to the interactions between structure and agencies which saw these ideologies anchored in New Zealand and the forces that acted to preserve, modify and change them. Although the debates were not unique to New Zealand, the way in which the contests were enacted, reveal much about the way geography in New Zealand changed.

Chapter 10 is a synoptic treatment of the process of institutionalisation within the university departments of geography in New Zealand. The sheer mass of information encompassing 54 years of institutionalised geography is necessarily selective and emphasis is given to those situations, in each department, which have denoted a

signal step in the process of institutionalisation. Different sections of the chapter allow for the development of each department. The processes of institutionalisation that characterise individual departments, have a compelling influence on the overall nature of geography in New Zealand. The chapter concludes with an acknowledgment of the process by which geography departments are subject to institutional credentialling within larger credentialling systems.

Chapter 11 offers a wide ranging discussion on a number of issues that were not unique to any particular department and would not be considered as part of the major ideological issues covered in Chapter 9. Of specific importance has been the relationships between human and physical geographers, the advent of gender awareness in geography and the uniquely New Zealand need to accommodate a Maori perspective in geography.

Chapter 12 recognises the role of important entities that have served to shape and support Geography in New Zealand. Of particular importance has been the role of the New Zealand Geographical Society. The vital supporting role of the Teacher Training Colleges is noted as well as the contribution of professional geographers, not directly involved with the university or school system. The continuing contribution of those ancillary geographers who work as technicians, cartographers and administrators is acknowledged. The final part of the chapter recognises the important, but largely unexplored, contribution made by New Zealand geographers now working in geography departments overseas. These groups have provided important avenues for the provision of criticism, support, coordination and unification of activities important to the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand.

Chapter 13 in concluding this thesis, seeks to demonstrate a common ground of institutionalisation in which the school system, the university departments, the New Zealand Geographical Society and professional geographers are interlinked to each other, to geography and geographers overseas, and to society at large. It will underscore the dynamic nature of institutional behaviour thus helping to explain the unique nature of geography in New Zealand. The questions asked at the beginning of the thesis are again considered with a view to ensuring that the dissertation has been effective in completing the stated task. The final part offers a pragmatic opinion on the future of geography in New Zealand and suggests the extent to which a critical institutional approach may benefit the agents in New Zealand geography.

CONCLUSION

There is something enigmatic attached to understanding this thesis. It pertains to the way we think of reality. An account is being given involving tangibles and intangibles. People, places and events may be tangible enough, but process is not so clear and certainly the abstraction we call geographic knowledge is difficult to apprehend. The human mind tends to go from point to point, event to event, personality to personality. We are not so accustomed to looking for the spaces in between that demonstrate how and why things happen.

The thesis has yet to be written which provides that perfect link between an *interpretation* and *actualised experience*. One of the more challenging tasks facing this thesis is in trying to continually embody that connection. If the connection is not always apparent, then the writer shelters behind the realisation that the sheer complexity of experiences embraced within this study and the recognition that any interpretation is metaphorically based, also requires a particular mindset on the part of the reader.

The interesting thing is not to note obvious facts of empirical behaviour. It is rather to wonder about the particular processes whereby individual, society and knowledge are brought together. Thus would say Gunnar Olsson in his whimsical -/- (1982, 224)³,

So:

See not only what is on the lines, but
 Read less of what I am sufficiently ignorant to write and more of what
 you know so well that is must be passed over in silence! Deafen
 yourself to the noise of the expressible! Listen instead for the
 whisper of the taken for granted! But be most curious about the
 limits between categories, for it is only in the act of crossing a
 boundary that you mistranslate and consequently learn! Everything
 else is obedient reproduction (Olsson 1982, 224).

³ Surely the most original title known to the geographical literature!

CHAPTER 2

THE NATURE OF GEOGRAPHICAL ENQUIRY

*It takes up about
eighty thousand
lines.*

*A thing imagination
boggles at:*

*And might odds-
bobs Sir! in
judicious hands,*

*Extend from here
to Mesopotam*

*Charles Stuart
Calverley*

***The Cock and
the Bull.***

INTRODUCTION

In reviewing the unfolding of geographical thought over the last 200 years, it is the intent of this chapter to take more than a conventional survey of past and present schools of geographical thought. Geographical knowledge, whatever that has meant, has been continually growing and changing and has itself been subject to the processes of institutionalisation. It is essential that close attention be given to the ways in which geographical knowledge has been shaped in different historical contexts and to demonstrate, that geographical history, as Driver (1988, 499) remarks, is continually being rewritten by its inheritors.

AN OVERVIEW

This Chapter addresses the development of geographical thought in two sections. The first part, 'A Historiography of Geography', using a number of subheadings, investigates the way in which we understand and interpret the history of geographical knowledge. 'Writing from the Present' acknowledges the problems in writing about the past from the perspective of the present. The question of 'Context' confronts the way in which the discipline has been considered in the past, by examining the context in which geographical thought has become institutionalised and therefore

perpetuated, modified or disregarded. A contextual approach enables an articulating of the development of different 'eras' in geographical thought within a research praxis, indicating a link between the content of science and its social structure.

The second part of the chapter begins with an epochal appraisal of the different eras of geographical thought, beginning with Classical geography and moving through to Regional geography and its apogee which found expression in the Hartshornian view. Positivism as a major influence on geography is discussed, along with the criticisms which came of it. The chapter then moves on to outline alternatives in the form of Behavioural and Humanist approaches, as well as the radical break which lead to Marxist approaches in geography. The emergence of Marxist geography leads to a discussion of Structuralist and Realist methodologies. Postmodernism is discussed and interpreted as tentative rather than definitive at the present time. Attention is given to gender geography and the growing awareness of its potential to reconstruct our interpretations within and of geography. The placement of physical geography within a philosophical setting is undertaken. The chapter concludes with an endeavour to view geography from outside the discipline by discussing its definition and placement within the scientific establishment.

AN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GEOGRAPHY

Quite simply, an historiography is an examination of the way in which we interpret history, in this case the development of geographical thought. This immediately raises the spectre of interfering with history by placing interpretative structures over past realities. The fact remains that this is bound to happen in any situation where the past is recalled and meaning given to it. An acknowledgment and declaration of an interpretative framework, at least allows a reader to evaluate a particular approach. A historiography, in this setting, also involves an epistemology, or the way we consider knowledge, in and about geographical thought.

In order to understand what has happened, and is happening, in the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand, there is a need to question some of the axiomatic beliefs that are commonly held about academic geography and geography. Some of these questions pertain to the sociology of science and why we study phenomena in the way we do. Other questions, particularly referring to geography, ask why one particular approach become 'acceptable' over another. Do we tend to believe that some form of innate logic, linked to a chronology of development in thought within an approach, can make it acceptable, or even

desirable? There is a need to ask if there are deeper causes that underlie the institutional acceptance of one approach over another? Any study of institutionalisation requires more than a documentation of change; it needs to know how and why that change happened in geographical thought as well as an awareness of what was happening in the wider arena of society and in the institutionalisation of methods of science and knowledge building. What was happening *around* geography as well as *in* it? Geography as a discipline does several things; it reacts to a changing world whilst simultaneously striving to interpret that same world by providing a framework, a platform, a mode of interpreting reality from the viewpoint of the discipline. Geography would be a somewhat sterile discipline if its mandate finished at this point. Stoddart (1981, 1) goes to some length to show that throughout recent history, geographers have not only been concerned with narrowly academic issues, they have also been deeply involved with matters of social concern.

Writing from the Present

Accounts of history, written from the present, have a number of inherent constraints, not the least of which is the fact that we write of the past from the perspective of the present, thus subsuming much of the setting in which past thought and action has taken place. A second problem is related, in that by writing from the present, there is a tendency to portray a sequence, which, at the end indicates an inevitable progression of thought. Naturally we have no choice but to write from the present. Grano correctly observes that the portrayal of how geography has developed must always be a reconstruction.

The study of the history of geography depends essentially on how what is today defined as geography is regarded at any one stage in its development in the light of contemporary criteria. The domain of geography as a body of knowledge varies greatly today and it has also fluctuated greatly in the course of history. Consequently, any historiography of geography will vary according to the way in which geography as a concept is seen (Grano 1981, 17).

Thus constructions of 'the past' are perpetually being fashioned and mobilised as cultural resources, enabling and constraining individuals and institutions to operate in certain ways (Driver 1988, 499). Every epoch and every school of research in geography has its own historiography; compiling its own history of geography closely linked to the research praxis of the time and place in which it was written (Grano, 1981, 21). Berdoulay (1981, 8) suggests that the historiography of geography has been beset by a naively positivistic stance, characterised over several centuries by

assumptions involving the continuous development of science by the accumulation of facts, discoveries, and knowledge in science. Historians in this mold have sought to trace the progressive triumph of 'good' ideas over 'bad' and of the inevitable emergence of true scientific ideas from fact, without sufficient regard for the historical context, particularly influenced by the development of capitalism and intellectual climates. Thus the focus has tended to be on the internal evolution of each discipline. In the case of geography, Berdoulay (1981, 9) argues that the history of geography is interpreted and distorted in order to justify particular methodological or epistemological positions. As an example, Berdoulay (1981, 9) cites the work of Richard Hartshorne (1939,1968) which, however thoughtful it may have been, identified what the 'good' or 'right', idea of geography was, and traced it back to Kant, Humbolt and Ritter. The other trends which did not conform to this model were simply viewed as 'deviations'. The identification of such a mainstream of progress involves value judgments about the past from the standpoint of what is clearly, as Stoddart (1986, 2) notes, an evanescent present.

As a discipline, geography was originally a narrative listing over time of the progressive discovery of the lands and seas of the world. Stoddart (1981, 2) observes, that the story told, is necessarily one of cumulative advance in knowledge towards the present, and in so far as there is any coherence to the story, it is provided by the sequence of the events themselves. With the emphasis on chronology, culmination and continuity, the advance of science was thus seen as inductivist and markedly internalist. Once geography became recognised as a discipline, its history was written in such a way that contemporary geographical research was projected into the past. It is for this reason that a consideration of the role of context be understood.

A Contextual Approach

Driver (1988, 503) and Berdoulay (1981, 13) argue the case for a contextual approach in which close attention is given to the way knowledge is shaped in different historical contexts, thus moving away from the portrayal of the history of geographical thought in teleological terms. Driver claims that the strength of a contextual approach lies in an ability to recover conceptual connections which are often obscured by the anachronistic application of modern theoretical frameworks and in the capacity to inform about the social and institutional contexts in which geography has been studied. The use of contextual approaches can be formulated along a set of methodological guidelines as suggested by Berdoulay (1981, 13).

The first of these guidelines rests on the assumption that there exists changing systems of thought concurrent with a continuity of certain ideas, at the same time recognising that this does not imply that a system of thought should be *a priori* assigned to each historical period or to each social group. An allied assumption claims that there is no radical dichotomy between internal and external factors of scientific change.

The second guideline stresses that no geographical trend should be dismissed as non-contributive. The reason for a lack of recognition or success may be due, just as much to sociological or political reasons as intellectual. Without this understanding, the study of geographical approaches may be deprived of elements which permit a comprehension of the basic significance of the trend which gained primacy.

The third guideline suggests the importance of having a comprehensive knowledge of the major issues within a society at a time when geographical thought is being developed.

Fourth, it is important not to conflate sociological and scientific thought by adopting too narrow an interpretation to explain geographic research or the existence of diverse trends. The circle of affinity which encompasses those who have views on geographic thought, extends far wider than the select community of geographers.

Berdoulay (1981, 14) suggests as his final guideline, that the concept of context as an approach consists less in examining the possible 'influence' of an idea than in looking at the reasons behind the 'demand for' or 'use' of the idea.

PHASES OF INSTITUTIONALISATION

A theoretical discussion on the nature of the process of institutionalisation is an important part of Chapter 3. It is sufficient at this stage to consider that academic geography may have gone through several distinct phases in becoming institutionalised. Grano (1981, 22) describes an undefined pre-disciplinary phase, characterised merely by the existence of geographical knowledge. This being the case, it could be well argued that geography is as old as human existence. There is little doubt, however, that the age of exploration, apparent from the 16th Century and the advent of modern capitalistic enterprise and colonial expansionism, provided a setting in which geographical enquiry was gradually molded into the praxis of a

specific group, namely geographers. Few writers have attempted to analyse the process involved in this. Grano (1981, 23,) equates the process with a growing consciousness of humankind's environment in which pre-scientific geography existed as a covert parallel to the extant sub-scientific view of knowledge which commonly posed questions relating to 'Where is it?' and 'What is it?'. The nature of this pre-scientific geography is understood then, not as a question of the relation between people and nature as the *object* of study (a question of explaining man in terms of nature and not of their integration as landscapes and regions), but of the reciprocity between a person's mind, the *subject*, and their environment, an attempt to explain land and nature in terms of mankind. As knowledge has developed, Grano (1981, 25) continues, so the cognised environment created by mystical, speculative and subsequently rational thinking has been subjected to an increasing number of influences from perception as attempts were made to identify the cognised environment as nearly as possible with the real environment. The perceived environment was, in turn, looked upon only as an inductive instrument for extracting empirical knowledge about the real environment. Grano's view of a contextual development in geography since the age of enlightenment is illustrated in Table 2.1 (Grano 1981, 27)

The formal institutionalisation of geography as an academic discipline was subject to the already institutionalised structure of science¹, which during the 18th Century, was regarded as the period of academies and learned societies. At the beginning of the 17th Century, the content of geography had gradually begun to free itself from the grip of theology and began to reflect the general trends of knowledge even though it had no disciplinary structure of its own (Buttner, 1973, 1975 in Grano 1981, 18). Geography continued as a form of cataloguing of countries and people. At this point, several factors were operating separately, which independently enabled geography to become a practice in its own right, or in other words, an institution. These were the emerging pedagogical practices of the time now known as the 'age of enlightenment', and the maturing of the age of exploration and the cosmographic tradition.

Pedagogical Practice

The idealistic theories of people like Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Frobel, all promoting a concept in which the student becomes an active participant in an experiential education, began to take effect on school education policy which was subject to a process of diffusion all over Europe by the middle of the 19th Century. The need to

¹ This concept is discussed in Chapter 13 as 'structural templates'.

educate was, in itself, a by-product of developing capitalism, with education moving from the hands of municipalities and philanthropic societies, to that of systematised education with state intervention. Linked to this was the growing influence of positivism in pedagogy which led to an acceptance of observation, experimentation and on the generalisation of methods that proceeded from the particular to the general. Capel (1981, 51) writes that geography was one of the sciences which was greatly affected by these pedagogic innovations. Its position within the school curriculum was not without contest from science and history, but became cemented with the rise of European nationalism and its attendant need for identification and acceptance of boundaries and possessions, which, during the second half of the 19th Century developed into a science at the service of governmental interests.

The Age of Exploration and the Cosmographic Tradition.

The so called 'Golden Age' of exploration from the 15th to the 19th Centuries did not accord any particular academic status to geography. The exploration and mapping of new lands was more the work of cosmographers, a term which embraced not only geography, but cartography, biology, geology, geophysics and anthropology (Holt-Jensen 1988, 2). The extent to which it promoted geography as a distinct discipline was largely fostered through the geographical societies founded by enthusiastic scientists and others who sought to widen the support given to research and to expeditions. The popularity of these societies throughout Europe did much to popularise geography. Publication of journals, maps and yearbooks provided the respectability necessary for the discipline to be recognised. The geographical societies of England (1830), Germany (1836) and France (1821) supported colonial expansion by their respective countries, yet geography still lacked status as a university discipline despite the wide recognition achieved by von Humbolt and Ritter, who, due to their wide interests were more closely allied to cosmography than geography. They did however lay the scientific groundwork for geography as a branch of knowledge, based on the philosophical foundation provided by Immanuel Kant (1724 - 1804) who had demonstrated that the subject had a scientific contribution to make.

He pointed out that there are two different ways of grouping or classifying empirical phenomena for the purpose of studying them: either in accordance with their nature, or in accordance with their position in time and place. The former is a logical classification, the latter a physical one (Holt - Jensen 1988, 16).

Capel (1981, 48) posits that the essential factor that led to the institutionalisation of geography and the appearance of the scientific community of geographers, was the presence of this science in primary and secondary school education by the middle of the 19th Century. With the growth of capitalism in Europe, the relationship between education and opportunity began to shift from an elitist system of education to a universal one which could correct the inadequacies of traditional education as a preparation for the management of industrialisation (Bates 1980, 21). Such changes did not necessarily invalidate the elitist system but it did bring about two important conditions: they established the need for change, and they transferred the question of enlarged educational opportunity to the political arena.

The acceptance of geography as a *bona fide* university discipline did not follow naturally. Although the societies were promoting the establishment of chairs, Holt-Jensen (1988, 3) points out that it was at the urging of governments, who needed teachers in primary and secondary schools, that chairs were eventually filled. Holt-Jensen (1988, 4) continues,

Gradually theoretical studies made an increasing contribution to the advancement of a specific geographical methodology for the analysis of spatial distributions and correlations.

Capel (1981, 54) in noting that geography had the privilege of being one of the sciences favoured in the movement for educational reform and expansion, writes,

To provide teachers, geography became institutionalised in the university. And thus was born the scientific community of geographers, to teach geography to those who had to teach geography.

Capel continues by recognising the complexity of factors which were at work, working for and against the assimilation of geography as an academic discipline.

But this only reinforces the idea of the close relationship between the institutionalism of geographical science and the interests of the dominant classes, in that the development of the geographical societies is very much linked to the process of European imperial expansion (Capel 1981, 54).

Since geography was a new university discipline, the professors who were to be the new university geographers had to be drawn from other disciplines. This, in itself, was sufficient to occasion a crisis of identity as professing geographers cum erstwhile something else, sought to demonstrate the distinctiveness of geography. The task was to emphasise geography's excellence, unity and utility as a bridge between the natural and social sciences whilst also being recognised as a distinct science in its

own right. Capel (1981, 65) sees the scientific community of geographers as an example of a scientific community constituted from clearly social factors, and not as the result of specific necessities in scientific knowledge. He continues with a penetrating observation of the institutional process.

Every scientific community, once institutionalised, establishes its own norms and value systems, which become a cohesive and stabilising element of it ... The established community employs strategies tending to reproduce and amplify itself. Never will it opt for self-liquidation: the community will defend its survival, even if other communities of scientists investigate similar problems with like method, or if the logical incoherence of conceptions that they defend is revealed. ... In the heart of the community, hierarchically structured, the struggle for prestige and power creates, on occasions, strong internal tensions and more competition than cooperation. Despite this, the members of the group appear united by strong ties of solidarity facing rival communities. Capel (1981, 64).

It is precisely within this setting, that geography has continually had to reassert its distinctive place. To be able to even faintly articulate the contestations involved in the process of geographical institutionalisation and to grasp the geographic ideas of any one era in geography, requires, as Buttimer (1983, 14) asserts, an unmasking of the sociological and ideological influences and their connection with praxis.

AN EPOCHAL ACCOUNT OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY

Although this account is not dedicated to a chronology of geography, there is no escape from the fact that different temporal eras or epochs have signified the dominance of a particular approach to academic geography. What follows is a concise contextual description of some of these epochs. It is essential to realise that an epoch in geography is not a stand-alone phenomenon which uniquely represents geographic thought at any one time. For example, regional approaches have continued alongside quantification and radical geography (see Fig 2.1). The apparent discrediting of a particular approach does not necessarily signify a total rejection. Some approaches are built on the foundations laid by others and could be termed a refinement or development rather than a radical break. Others are empowered by a distinct reaction to a previous approach.

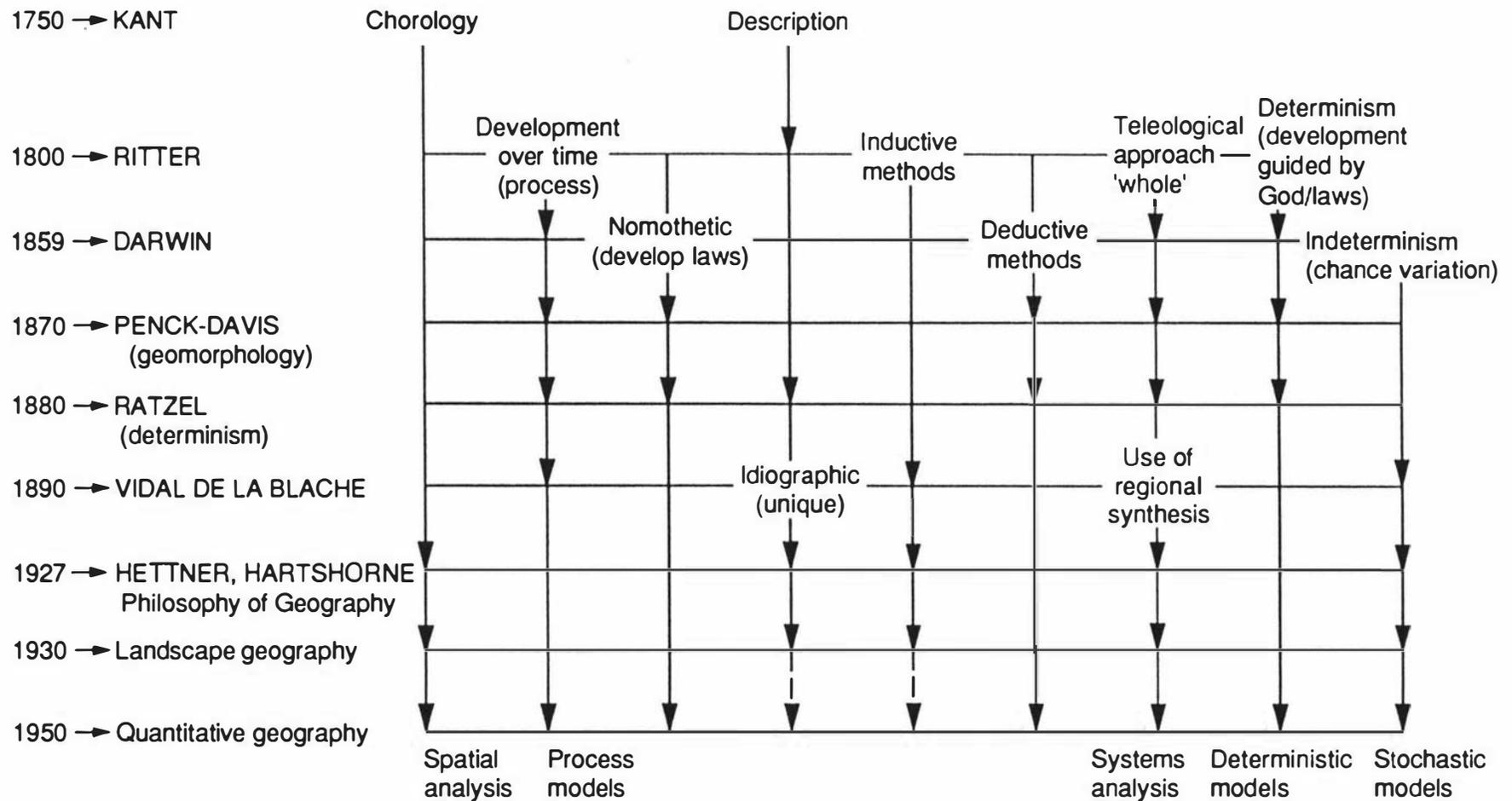


FIGURE 2.1 Ideas in Geography 1750-1950 -Two Centuries of Geography

Source: Holt Jensen, 1988

The development of modern academic geography has followed a convoluted path which was characterised in the early nineteenth century as a science of exploration and resource inventory. As Johnston (1983, 6) writes,

Much of human geography's early growth arose from the collection of descriptive information both useful to, and derived from, colonial and capitalist expansion of the nineteenth century.

The study of geography followed the empirical model and was concerned with the collection of information and presenting it as fact, allied to a methodology involved with the cartographic presentation of material (Johnston 1983, 6)

The Rise and Demise of Classical Geography

Chorley and Haggett (1965, 3) suggest that modern geography began with the two important early nineteenth century German scholars, von Humbolt and Ritter, who poured scorn on their predecessors for having dealt with geographical information in a haphazard and unsystematic fashion. Ritter is quoted as stating that a,

. . . systematic organisation of material is seldom to be found in them. . . They contain at bottom only an arbitrary, unorganised and unsystematic compilation of all sorts of note-worthy phenomena, which in the different parts of the globe appear to be especially striking. . . The facts are arranged like the pieces of a patchwork quilt, now one way, now another as if each disconnected piece could stand by itself (Ritter 1862, quoted in Chorley and Haggett, 1965, 4).

According to Chorley and Haggett (1965, 4), the work undertaken by von Humbolt and Ritter considered the scientific organisation of knowledge to be a two stage affair: a first stage which consisted of the careful assembly of detailed and accurate factual material; and a second in which the material was given coherence and made intelligible by being subsumed under a number of laws which should express the relationships of cause and effect to be found in the phenomena, as simply and concisely as possible. This era has become known as the classical period of academic² geography in which the strands of geography were closely interwoven with other fields of learning and a curious scholar felt little constraint at stopping at the border of his or her knowledge.

James (1972, 147) counters that von Humbolt and Ritter were more than the founders of modern geography. There are also good reasons for thinking of them as

² This is not to be confused with university geography which was still struggling to be established.

bringing the period of classical geography to an end in the sense that they were the last of the geographers who could lay claim to presenting universal knowledge.

Although these syntheses made use of the new concepts and methods of study developed during the preceding two centuries, they nevertheless sought to present universal knowledge. . But since 1859 ³ the volume of recorded observations about the world and man's place in it has increased many thousands of times. In the nineteenth century the Age of Specialisation came into being (James 1972, 147).

Von Humboldt and Ritter were contemporaneous with Comte and Mill who saw little methodological difference between the social and physical sciences, for which, in both cases, the ultimate aim was the formulation of laws expressing the universal operation of cause and effect. Chorley and Haggett (1965, 5) assign a further characteristic of classical geography in that the writings of the 'classical' geographers generally showed agreement that a prime object of geographical study was to investigate the ways in which the physical environment affected the functioning and development of societies. Ritter is cited as believing that

Only having a firm methodological principle can protect it (geography) from going astray: the clear commitment to the central theme of the relationship between the forms of terrestrial phenomena and mankind (Ritter, 1862, quoted in Chorley and Haggett, 1965, 5).

Environmental Determinism and Regional Approaches

The era of 'classical' geography declined by the end of the nineteenth century. No longer could any one scholar hope to embrace universal knowledge. There was a large gulf between the scholarly approach to geographical phenomena and what was being taught in schools. Whereas the classical geographers did attempt to show relationships between function and development, school geography, at least in New Zealand, followed what Gorrie (1955, 688) refers to as a 'capes and bays, and gazetteer type of geography' in which the memorisation of places and products seemed to predominate. However, classical geography did leave several legacies which penetrated deeply into early New Zealand geography, particularly in the school setting. The first of these was Environmental Determinism.

³ von Humbolt and Ritter both died in 1859.

Environmental Determinism.

The development of academic geography from the nineteenth century is best considered in context with the development of complex economic and political situations. This analysis of this period draws on Peet's (1977, 1985) substantial critiques of environmental determinism, in which he observes that with the rise of twentieth century capitalism, the role of academic geography changed from a science of geographic exploration to an internal expansion of the frontiers of psycho-cultural domination (of already discovered people), geography lost prominence to the more obviously social and psychological sciences. Peet (1985, 310) further asserts that

Environmental Determinism was geography's entry into modern science. Determinism attempted to explain the imperial events of late nineteenth and early twentieth capitalism in a scientific way.

To do this, the discipline had to borrow from Social Darwinism which was a compelling ideology of an imperial capitalism. The jingoistic setting of the early twentieth century supports Peet's (1985, 315) contention that the geopolitical process of inter-imperial struggle and societal conquest that reached its climax in World War I, provided several important themes suited to geographical analysis; namely the environmental origins of the superiority of certain civilisations and the resource and locational bases of imperial power allied to the spatial setting for imperialist expansion.

Environmental Determinism became increasingly socially dysfunctional in the 1920s. Imperialist domination had been sated, temporarily at least, and as Johnston (1983, 6) observes, environmental determinism was rapidly discredited, having no firm criteria for verifying its statements and no explicit methodology, thus reducing it to mere speculation without a scientific assessment of its hypothesis. Regrettably, as far as academic geography was concerned,

This increasingly backwater status did not generate a desire to change the discipline; rather the old preoccupations continued in various guises, and the mood of the discipline gradually collapsed into a crotchety eclecticism .. (Peet, 1977, 10).

In writing of the period through to the 1950s, Peet (1985, 325) claims that academic geography, having adopted a regional emphasis, still retained a hidden determinist agenda, thus losing its position as a primary legitimation theory as the needs of capitalism shifted away from imperialism to the modern corporate state.

Regional Geography

The second legacy of classical geography was regionalism. Stemming from the implicit philosophies derived from nineteenth century empiricism, regional approaches co-existed with environmental determinism to dominate academic geography for the first half of the twentieth century. Johnston (1983, 6) suggests that regionalism,

. . . sprang .. from contemplation of the material collected in the empiricist tradition, and was to some extent also a reaction to the excesses of environmental determinism.

The honing of cartographic methods and the ever increasing volume of information being collected in the field, helped provide a setting in which, particularly due to the work of Vidal de la Blache following in the French tradition of the time, the concept of geographic information by natural regions gained credence. Regional geography, as it became known in the Anglo-American setting, came to have three characteristics, described by James (1972, 267), as: 1. Regional studies with the end purpose of dividing the earth into homogeneous areas or regions of varying size; 2. regional studies which are descriptions of segments of the earth surface; and 3. regional studies produced by an individual geographer emphasising a specific area.

In the first forty years of the twentieth century, regional geography was more clearly articulated in continental Europe than in Britain or North America. Elkins (1989, 19) suggests a number of conditions, particularly within German geography, which encouraged this. Fundamentally it was the changing relationship of the academic to society which encouraged dogmatic intellectual debates on the nature of geography and the increasingly 'German Centredness' of geography as the country moved towards National Socialism. Of greater import to this thesis which moves towards a New Zealand setting, was the influence of Richard Hartshorne on regional geography.

The Nature of Geography

More than fifty years after its appearance in the pages of two numbers of the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Hartshorne's *The Nature of Geography* (1939) still impacts on geographical thought. Hartshorne's *Nature* and later *Perspectives* were written, as de Souza (1989, vii) writes, at a time when,

Geography was a subject grasping for a discipline. Hartshorne synthesized the work of many scholars who had gone before - largely scholars from Germany, France, the British Isles, and the United States.

Entrikin's uncritical assessment suggests that Hartshorne's work lay in

.. its recognition and analysis of the logical problems associated with the objective study of the specificity of place and region. Through his analysis of the German methodological literature and in his own arguments. Hartshorne sought to resolve a fundamental tension in the science of geography between its spatial perspective, that 'sees together' the heterogeneous phenomena that constitute place and region. and the logical requirements of scientific concept formation. He valued both scientific rationality and the geographer's concern with the specificity of place and region, and sought to balance these seemingly contradictory goals (1989, 3).

Hartshorne's chorological interpretation of areal differentiation was to be the reigning archetype into the 1950s and early 1960s. In New Zealand, particularly at the hands of Cumberland, it was taught with sacerdotal fervor and, for several decades, largely formed the basis of geographic thinking in this country.

Hartshorne's work was not without its detractors ⁴. Within a year of the publication of *Nature*, Sauer (1941, 2) in his 1940 Presidential address to the Association of American Geographers, stated,

Hartshorne ... directs his dialectics against historical geography, giving it tolerance only at the outer fringes of the subject.

Sauer's dominant concern was that the interest stirred by Hartshorne would lead to a

. . non-genetic description of the human content of areas, sometimes called chorography, apparently in the hope that by and by such studies would somehow add up to systematic knowledge (Sauer, 2).

But it was to be the Schaefer-Hartshorne debate that would provide the springboard for a major parting of the ways from Regional geography which itself would become part of a receding genre in favour of more quantified approaches. Schaefer's (1953, 57) criticism started by objecting to the 'exceptionalist' tradition which, he argued, was used by Hartshorne in his tracing of the development of geography thus identifying a continuous series of men and ideas linked together in chronology and content, the developments within geography from Kant to von Humbolt and Ritter and

⁴ For examples see Sauer (1941), Whittlesey (1945), Hjulström (1945) and Schaefer (1953).

Richthofen and Hettner. Thus, it was argued, little or no attention was given to philosophical or epistemological issues; and that the history traced, remained unrelated to social, economic and political conditions. Hence there is little mention by Hartshorne of Darwin, Marx and Freud (Stoddart 1981, 2).

The all important thesis in Schaefer's (1953) paper was the issue of whether geography studied individual areas or sought generic principles or scientific laws. This theme penetrated at a time when there was an emerging international interest in the history and philosophy of science. Martin (1989, 78) recalls,

The quest for a theoretical geography larded with conceptual nuggets was facilitated by mathematical and model constructs and studied by an energetic, intelligent, and committed group of young scholars who would leave their imprint on the discipline.

Johnston (1991, 57) suggests that,

The major basis of the methodological and philosophical difference between the two was that Hartshorne's was a positive view of geography - geography is what geographers have made it - whereas Schaefer's view, on the other hand, was a normative one, of what geography should be, irrespective of what it had been.

and that,

Hartshorne was very much a supporter of the scientific method as defined by the positivists, but that he created his own problems regarding the application of this method in geography because of his own views on uniqueness. Schaefer, on the other hand, accepted the full positivist position, and showed that uniqueness was a general problem of science, and not a peculiar characteristic of geography.

Positivism - 'The New Geography'

In the late 1950s, spatial theory and scientific methods were combined into the 'New Geography' and geography was perceived to have a new function in response to society's needs for spatial efficiency and regional planning. Slater (1973, 22) suggests that it was possible to distinguish two schools of geographic enquiry which, although not isolated from each other, possess quite different characteristics. First was the man-environment school which was primarily concerned with studying the complex range of relationships between the physical environment and human

activity, and secondly, there was a much more dominant school, which we can call a contemporary mainstream. This latter stream has been referred to as the 'new geography', and was usually distinguishable by its strong emphasis on quantitative analysis and model-building. The 'new geography' was commonly termed as 'positivist social science' in which science sought to make explicit the enduring or law-like relations between observable phenomena (Keat and Urry 1982, 72)

The positivist method is directed at the explanation of events in the natural and social worlds. Explanation is sought by showing that the event which requires understanding is capable of being deduced from certain general statements (or theories) which contain one or more universal laws (Cooke 1983, 18).

Gould (1985, 23) makes an interesting analysis of the key words appearing in the geographical literature from the 1960s onward. Words like - spatial, theory, model, structure and planning became part of the vocabulary of geographical teaching. Systems analysis was advocated as a means of integrating human and physical geography. Johnston (1983, 42), notes that,

Fundamental to the systems approach is the modelling stage of the positivistic procedures, for the aim of systems analysis is to provide a faithful representation of the interactions within a system rather than to extract a few simple relationships than can be submitted to empirical testing procedures.

Johnston, at the same time postulates that the technical problems associated with systems analysis have ensured that its application has not been widespread, even though the entire model is the hypothesis rather than the source of separate hypotheses. As such, it offers a greater stimulus to the explanation of events because of its more holistic approach.

Criticisms of Positivism

David Slater (1975) was early to detect inherent weaknesses within the methodology of Anglo-American geography during the ascendancy of the positivism of the 60s and 70s. Slater has identified a number of observable weaknesses.⁵

⁵ Slater's comments may give the impression of stating the obvious, but consideration need to be given to the time context when he wrote this nearly twenty years ago. Philip Cooke (1983, 18) outlines similar criticisms under headings of Induction, Theory and Causality.

An Inverted Methodology.

This arose in the wake of the quantitative revolution that became possible with the advent of increasingly sophisticated electronic computers. It is suggested that the collection of data along with its classification, measurement and prediction has tended to become the central objective of research. Cloke (et al 1991, 14) note that positivistic methodology can create a false sense of objectivity by artificially separating observer from observed, denying the existence of strong correspondence links, and asserting value-neutrality on the part of the observer. Slater further argued that the problems involved in the actual focus of research have often been predicated on the type of data being analysed, as, in a similar manner, the selection of appropriate theoretical frameworks has often been based on the empirical results of data analysis.

Thus instead of a concentration on the theoretical issues embedded in any substantive attempt at explanation of social reality, relative sophistication in the measurement and description of a set of abstracted relationships has tended to become the major gauge of scientific worth. And in this unsatisfactory way, the methodology of research has been inverted. Its weakness lies precisely in the fact that it ignores the crucial point that theories define data, not vice versa (Slater 1975, 161).

The Accumulation of Data is out of all Proportion to the Development of the Theoretical

Slater claims that whilst the importance of using increasingly complex techniques of spatial analysis has grown, so too has the assemblage of greater and greater quantities of research data. The argument is that these two trends reinforce each other and that the researcher can remain enclosed in a methodological framework where one can examine only the surface appearances of social reality and as such, explanation continues to be elusive.

Mechanistic Abstractions from Socio-economic Reality.

In the sphere of the 'new geography', particular variables have been torn out of their context and analysed in isolation from the social totality of which they are only a part. A study may contain extensive theorising about relationships, but little may be gained in the way to an understanding of the processes that embody the socio-economic reality of how people, think, feel and react.

Johnston (1983, ch 2) similarly questions the validity of Positivist approaches to the social sciences and concludes by asking a series of questions. Is the positivist conception of science the only approach to knowledge? Does positivism offer rational solutions to social problems? Is positivism value free? Johnston further questions the underlying epistemology and ontology of positivism by asking whether experience (structured via experiment) is the only means of knowing? Is the phenomenal environment the only source of evidence for explanation? Are mechanistic models valid for the study of man? Despite the rhetorical manner in which Johnston asks these questions, his questions reflect the basic rejection of positivism by social scientists,

. . . because of its goal of identifying laws of human behaviour, which implies a freezing of a dialectic and unpredictable process of change and denies a freedom of action to the human actor: it is, ultimately, a deterministic philosophy based on an untenable attitude to a subjectively constituted reality (1986, 57-58).

It wasn't all Bad

Despite the criticisms that have been leveled at Positivism in recent years, the contribution of the positivist model must be acknowledged.

For at least two centuries, however, the positivist model provided effective and powerful guide-lines for scientific enquiry. . . positivism provided the framework within which the various specialized sciences that emerged after the seventeenth century were conceived, formulated and eventually institutionalized (Bowen 1979, 212).

Johnston, although critical of the positivistic approach, concedes that,

The attraction of this conception to the social sciences are that it can advance explanation, providing knowledge rather than accumulations of fact. It can predict, which gives society foresight about itself. And it can provide the means for social control, for engineering society towards certain ends. In addition, there are many other lesser features which appeal to social scientists, such as the ability to make valid statements about behaviour (1983, 50).

It is within the empiricist-positivist framework that the philosophy of physical geography can best be understood.

Philosophy and Physical Geography

Interest in philosophical development within geography has generally been the domain of human geographers. Physical geographers have not had to defend their stance amongst other schools of thought, to the same extent as their colleagues in human geography. The ensuing discussion is premised on the claim by physical geographers, that physical geography is a science. Physical geography has anchored itself firmly within empiricism and positivism, but within that, there is the tacit recognition of change. In a text written for physical geographers, Clark (et al, 1988, 2) recognise that the multiparadigmatic changes of the last two decades penetrates into physical geography, thus fitting into an epochal milieu.

It is explanation motivated by the belief that, despite all fears to the contrary, physical geography has gained strength from its diversity, and inherent stability from its acceptance of constant change.

Concomitant with this, is the further statement that,

Of all the roots of distinction, that which is deepest and thus most influential is the methodological contrast between the humanist and structuralist focus of much human geography and the scientific (positivist - type) approach to which physical geography has maintained a strong adherence. The undiminished acceptance of the scientific mode by physical geographers does not signify that the alternatives have been overlooked, but rather that they have been found to be less than ideal for many of the purposes of the physical geographer (Clark, et al 1988, 2).

With its penchant for empiricism, physical geography has been influenced by different methodologies than has human geography. These views or modes of thinking are not always time-sequential but are often overlapping, sometimes complementary and sometimes not. The following summarised views draw primarily upon the work of Haines-Young and Petch (1986) whose substantial work on the methodology of physical geography distinguishes several distinct phases.

The Classical View.

In this view, based on the origins of modern science in the seventeenth century, scientific reasoning is taught on the basis of induction, based on careful observation and experimentation. According to the classical model, scientific knowledge (theories, laws, explanations, etc.) is secure because it is obtained from experience. The inductive element came into force as generalisations could be made from all the

available facts, thus enabling a verification of truth and the validity of explanations. Its greatest claim was that it is free from bias and inherently objective.

Despite its attractions, Haines-Young (et al, 1988, 31), point out the deficiencies of the classical view. These relate to problems in verification, induction and the relationship between observation and theory. Verification can be suspect when the researcher reports fact or reality as she/he has seen it. The researcher can never be certain that the senses are completely trustworthy and unprejudiced. The problem with induction is that one cannot justify a universal statement on the basis of a set of particulars. Probability thus takes the place of certainty. In the relationship between observation and theory, the classical approach proposes that observation precedes theory formation. This being the case, then there is surely a danger in asking whether it is legitimate to ask on what basis the particular observations were made?

In defence of the classical view, It is easier to discredit the approach using tautologist logic than to suggest a viable alternative, Such an alternative was devised by Popper, in the second approach suggested by Haines-Young and Petch.

The Critical Rationalist View

Popper accepts that there is no principle of induction which permits us to conclusively derive universal laws from a set of observations. He extended this by proposing that although there is no method whereby observations can be used to verify a universal law, potentially only one counter-observation is necessary to refute or falsify it. Popper (from Haines-Young, 1988, 43,62) summarises his outline of scientific method as follows:



FIGURE 2.2 Popperian Outline of Scientific Method

Source: Haines-Young & Petch, 1983, 62

Faced with some initial question (P_1) the scientist attempts to resolve it by putting up some trial solution or tentative theory, (TT). This trial solution may be a new idea or it may be derived from an existing body of knowledge represented by a theory. The trial solution in turn must be tested to eliminate error (EE) thus leading to a new set of

problems (P_2). This appears to give rise to a situation of never ending falsification and was rewritten by Popper in order to represent the situation which is more usual in scientific work, where several hypotheses or tentative theories are put forward.

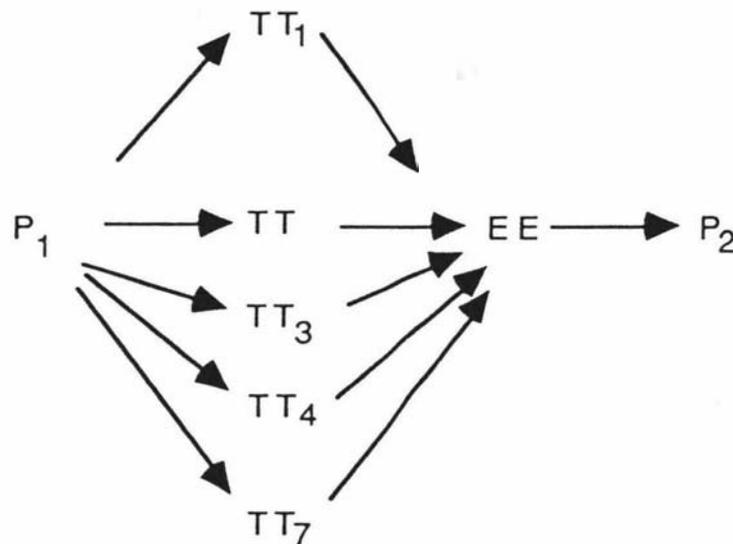


FIGURE 2.3 Popper's revised Outline of Scientific Method

Source: Haines-Young & Petch, 1983, 62

With the aim of science being to solve problems, each of the tentative hypotheses represents a feasible solution, and a critical investigation may enable a judgement to be made between them. Thus there is, according to Popper, an asymmetry between verification and falsification. At the risk of oversimplification, critical rationalists maintain that a statement or theory is considered scientific, if it is testable (and thus capable of being falsified). If a theory is thus capable of being refuted, then a new theory is sought. This leads to a major criticism of the method in which many ad hoc theories can lead to endless non productive research.

The discussion now moves away from physical geography to examine some human geography approaches.

Humanistic and Behavioural Geography

As a reaction against the perceived dehumanising nature of positivistic and structuralist approaches, humanistic geography attempts to identify human action by asking 'What does this place/landscape mean to those who live in it?' By this question, humanistic approaches are seen to quest understanding rather than explanation.

Due to the rather loose confederation of ideas and thrust in humanistic thought, it is difficult to establish a universal philosophical base for humanistic approaches.

Because these approaches eschew formal research and codification, it is difficult to analyse their philosophical bases, but idealism (all reality is a mental construction, an idea), phenomenology (intuition is the only valid source of knowledge), and existentialism (reality is created by free human agents) have all been used by various humanistic geographers (Lockton, 1990, 6).

Goodall (1987, 218) considers that humanist geography tries specifically to understand how geographical actions reveal the quality of human awareness - a concern of the social organisation of space rather than then spatial organisation of society, i.e. the emphasis is on the social constructions of space and the relations between them and the lifeworlds which give them meaning.

Significant contributors to humanistic geography have included Harris (1978), who sees geography as a synthetic discipline, concerned with particular assemblages of phenomena and not with the science of spatial relations (Johnston 1990,166); Guelke (1981,1982) who argues that historical geographers should focus their attention on the meaning of human actions of geographical interest, not merely their geographical (physical) expressions; Yi-Fu Tuan (1974,1976,1977,1980) persuasively essays for a study of landscapes as the study of the essence of the society that moulds them.

Behavioural geography represents a reorientation within quantitative methodology to explain spatial patterns of behaviour in terms of cognitive processes. The approach gained credence as geographers became aware of the sterile treatment of reality, inherent to positivism. The behavioural approach views people as 'thinking' persons and is interested in the way in which people come to terms with their physical and social environments (Goodall 1987, 37). Golledge and Timmermans (1990, in

Johnston (1990, 136,137)) outline the essential ingredients of behavioural geography as including,

1. a search for models of humanity which were alternatives to the economically and spatially rational beings of normative location theory;
2. a search to define environments other than objective physical reality as the milieu in which human decision making and action take place;
3. an emphasis on processural rather than structural explanations of human activity and the human environment;
4. a desire to merge geographic research into other disciplines.

Key elements of behavioural geography have been diffusion, decision making, cognitive mapping, mental mapping and perception. Important contributors to the approach include White (1973) in the perception of natural hazards; Pred (1967,1969) in alternative theory building; White and Gould (1974) on mental mapping; and Golledge (1969, 1981, 1987) on cognition and decision making processes at the interface between environment and behaviour.

The Rise of Radical Geography

With the move to quantification, geography was seen, by many, to have a function again. Peet (1972, 10) argues that it was this functionalism that provided a source for the radical approach to geographic enquiry in that the heightened state of social awareness invoked by political events in the mid 1960s, made some geographers notice that the new methodology was being used only to analyse such socially ephemeral matters as shopping behaviour and location of service centres . The expression, 'social relevancy' came into use, and by the end of the decade, two distinct streams of thought dominated human geography. The perceived older school using traditional methods, concerned itself with an esoteric variety of regional, environmental and economic questions and the 'new geography,' based in location theory and using quantitative methods that were allied to commercial and industrial interests. Eliot-Hurst (1973) notes that rivalry between the two groups, fear on one side, disdain on the other, and competition within the latter group (keeping up with the latest technique) kept the field in a perpetual state of dynamism.

Radical student movements and large scale anti-war marches within the western hemisphere provided a setting for the 'radical' geography that began to find expression in the late 1960s. Albertson and Tonboe(1987, 270) postulate that within

the United States, the onset of radical theory in geography, as in other social and even natural sciences, was linked to an action-oriented agenda developed during the political and social turmoil of the 60s. The 'New Left' meant to change the world. Academics searched for radical critiques of American society, often finding great leverage in Marxism, and hoped through their understanding and conveyance thereof to arouse and empower themselves and others to protest and to create new forms of democratic participation at work, at home, and in the community.

From 1967 onwards, meetings were held at Association of American Geographers conventions urging a more relevant geography (similar meetings were held at the Institute of British Geographers meetings) and from the middle sixties papers began to appear in the journals dealing with the obviously geographic aspects of social issues (Peet 1977, 12).

Buchanan, then occupying the chair of Geography at Wellington's Victoria University College was one of the first geographers anywhere, to challenge the archetypical model of areal differentiation. His 'West Wind, East Wind' (1961), controversial at the time, but now regarded as a cornerstone, was a challenge to the prevailing empiricism and regional studies that characterised geographic enquiry. Marcus writes that New Zealand geography was not only unprepared ready for the intellectual assault by spatially-oriented, quantitative, logical positivists, it was not ready for Buchanan's ideas

Buchanan had leap frogged that entire movement to reach questions that today permeate radical geography, phenomenology and approaches to Third World research (1987, 16).

Buchanan was not widely known, outside of New Zealand, until the 1970s by which time Blaut was consistently writing on imperialism from a critical point of view:

Western science, like Western history, has been methodologically incapable of controlling its own tendency to interpret the Third World in the terms of the paradigms of Western ethno-science and the interests of imperialism (1970, 19).

Peet (1985, 129) notes that Blaut was able to see the functional relationship between power interests and theory development but whose general observations were insufficient to penetrate through to a coherent scientific analysis. Thus as Cloke et al (1991, 16) note, an early concern of marxist approaches to human geography was the evident disregard for deeper structural conditions of social existence contained within the spatial scientific agenda. Harvey (1972) developed an early recognition of the need to escape from the net of assumptions inherent in the existing

theories. He was a primary source in forcefully detailing the geopolitical consequences of living under a capitalist mode of production and that the survival of capitalism is predicated on the continuing vitality of this form of circulation.

One of the fundamental problems faced by geographers seeking to understand the structural characteristics of advanced capitalism and how these characteristics affect geographic enquiry, is to break with long held modes of research that have been essentially descriptive and, by its very nature, deals only with the surface outcomes of deeper structural processes. There is need to achieve a more comprehensive knowledge of how separate elements of state monopolistic capitalistic social formations produce and maintain the whole and provide the basic controlling forces forming particular outcomes. Gray puts it as follows:

Perhaps because of our geographical heritage, we have tended to abstract and isolate the phenomena studied from the whole and from other closely related and equally important parts of the social formation. In particular, the concomitant of this specialisation is that we have neglected social institutions such as the education system, the mass media, the church, the family, the political parties, the unions, the health services, and so on. Yet these institutions are indispensable constituents of capitalist society and essential ingredients of the social and spatial environment (Gray 1974, 38).

Marxist Geography

The Marxist perspective in geography has been a fluent articulator of radical geography which has evolved, in no small way, as a response to the developing material contradictions of capitalism in recent years. It has proved

. . . particularly useful not only in relation to the traditional questions and problem areas within geography - human-environment relations, urbanism, regional development - but also as a theory of the history and development of geography itself as a concrete social activity (Peet et al, 1981, 187).

Marxist theory is constructed in relation to a real object: the capitalist mode of production. Its aim is not to examine 'society in general', nor universal laws of societal life, but the specific laws and character of the capitalist system. Hodgson (1982 , 22) observes that the relevance of such an analysis is based on the fact that the capitalist mode of production is dominant in the modern world, and that the laws of capitalist development are the major determinants of economic, social and political change on a world scale. The capitalist mode of production exists in a complex form in which it is

combined with other subservient modes of production, and forced into a matrix of nations and cultures, all with different institutional and ideological inheritances.

Determinism and the primacy of the 'economic'

Because of the complexity of the capitalist mode of production and its tendency to self definition, references to empirical reality can only be made where the empirical material is generated by economic forces of a predominantly capitalist genus. For this reason, and because of the often arcane nature of marxist theory which may cause some to misunderstand Marx's ideas, marxist theory has been criticised for deterministic leanings in which the economic sector is seen as being the sole determinant. The interpretation in this thesis goes beyond such a reductionist view of society. in which, it is held that the set of characteristic forces and relations of production constitute the economic base of society and this in turn necessitates a particular form of the state and of ideology. The latter pair are seen as necessary for the economic base and brought into existence so as to ensure its continued existence. The capitalist economy is thus seen as necessitating and producing a capitalist state and bourgeois forms of ideology. Rigby (1987, 193) rejects such a fundamentalist approach by arguing that although traditional accounts of marxism assert the primacy of a pre-existing economic level which determines the relationship between ruler and ruled; political power is separate and derived from economic and social superiority rather than constituting an inherent part of that superiority.

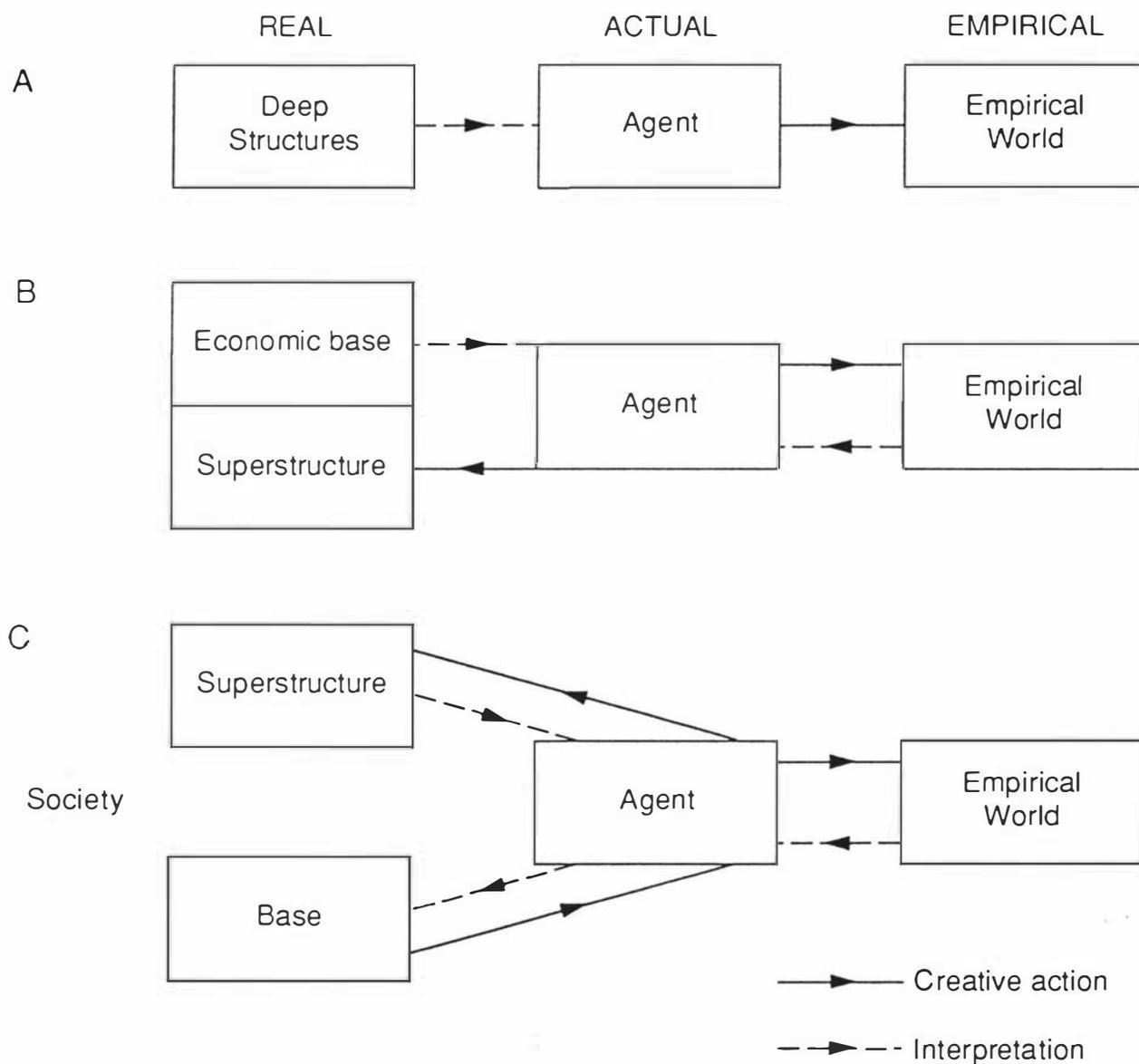
If we include law, politics and social consciousness as possible constitutive elements of the relations of production, it is impossible to retain any notion of a pure 'economic' level upon which the political rests (Rigby 1987, 194).

Jessop (1982, 213) sounds a caution

... if we are to avoid the empiricism that derives from an exclusive emphasis on appearances, the reductionism that derives from an exclusive emphasis on one or more abstract determinations and the subsumptionism of the 'particular' vs. the 'general', we must engage in an analysis of the many determinations that are combined in a concrete conjuncture and show how they are interrelated as necessary and/ or sufficient conditions in a contingent structure of causation.

Structuralism

As a mode of analysis, Marxism is predicated on the philosophy of structuralism. Fig 2.4 (Holt-Jensen, 1988, 113), illustrates three levels in such a structural model by which Marxism, as a theoretical base for the social sciences, tries to understand how



a. Structure as construct

b. The individual agent is determined in his/her actions by the mechanisms of a dialectical process between the empirical and the real.

c. Base, Superstructure and agent in the realist model.

FIGURE 2.4 Relationships between Mechanisms and Outcomes.

the mechanisms of the economic base are gradually changed in a dialectical process that involves both actual and empirical levels. Holt-Jensen identifies three levels in comprehending such a structural model.

1. the *real* which comprises the driving forces (mechanisms) within the structure;
2. the *actual* in which the agents (people) make the *decisions* to act on the basis of imperatives or interpretations of the mechanisms; and
3. the *empirical*, in which the *outcomes* of the actions may be studied. Holt-Jensen further points out that in the 'structuralism as process' type of study the real level is also the societal level, within which an *economic base* and an *ideological base* (or *superstructure*) may both be recognised.

R Johnston (1991, 221) distinguishes three levels of analysis in structuralism as being

1. the level of appearances or *superstructure*;
2. the level of processes, or the *infrastructure*; and
3. the level of imperatives, or the *deep structure*.

Only the first of these can be directly apprehended.

. . . the superstructure of society compresses its social, cultural, political, and spatial organization. But this superstructure cannot be used to account for its own existence. The processes creating it are in the infrastructure. This cannot be observed: its nature can only be theorized and compared with its outputs in the superstructure (R Johnston, 1991; 221).

R Johnston (1991, 222) accepts that deep structure, relating to biological drives and instincts, has as yet, received little attention in geography. ⁶ Marx argued that the material, empirical world and people's behaviour therein was the base upon which thoughts and ideologies formed a superstructure (Holt-Jensen, 1988, 94). It is at the level of superstructure where Johnston (1986, 471) identifies an integral part of social life - the place where consciousness is developed and struggles occur and that superstructure is not simply a set of free-floating ideas but rather a set of practices integral to both the economy and the state. The usage of structural approaches in geographical study occurs at the societal level. As societies change through

⁶ Johnston does refer to the work of Sack (1983) and Golledge (1981) as touching briefly at this level.

dialectical processes, such structures are gradually transformed. Geographers are interested in the empirical effects of this process of structural change.

Realism

An extension of the structuralist framework in geography has come in the form of a realist approach, explicated by a number of writers (See Chouinard et al, 1984; Giddens, 1984; Gregory, 1982; Johnston, 1986, 1991, Lawson et al, 1990; Sayer, 1985).

Realism is a philosophy of science wherein researchers attempt to identify structures and agents present in society and how they tend to interact. Fig 2.4(c) illustrates the decisive role of the agent as interpreter and creator of transforming actions. Lawson and Staeheli (1990, 13) concede that philosophical debates over Realism have clouded the practical contributions of a realist approach to substantive research. In suggesting Realism as a viable approach, they further assert that it is effective when used in conjunction with other approaches, by providing overarching themes and that Realism deals with empirical irregularities and outcomes.

A fundamental principle of Realism is that the social world is not a fully integrated and closed system.

To close a system for the purposes of research, the exogenous conditions in which causal processes operate and the intrinsic characteristics of objects must remain constant or be subject to experimental control (Lawson et al, 1990, 14).

Because social systems violate both these criteria, they must be open. It is upon this premise that realism is applicable to geography. For realists, causality is conceptualised in term of mechanisms which are tendencies not laws. Realism argues for multiple levels at which to conceptualise and abstract social objects whilst at the same time recognising a dialectic of agents and structures at work in social systems. This process embraces abstraction which involves identifying the necessary relations by which social objects are empowered or constrained.

Lawson and Staeheli (1990, 18) postulate three implications of a realist approach for the practice of geographic research, or as they claim Johnston (1986) would say, 'for the ways that we tell geographic stories'. First, the approach recognises a one-to-many correspondence between cause and effect. In an open social world, a single process may generate many outcomes and similar outcomes may emerge from

different processes. Thus processes rather than patterns become the foci of research. Secondly, through the use of abstractions, theories can be built that explain the social world in place at particular points in the lived world. Thirdly, realism combines methodologies as different rounds raise different questions, some of which require qualitative and some of which require quantitative techniques. Johnston (1986, 173) makes the point:

Empirical research must be used not as an end in itself but as a way of illuminating the theory of society, of the real world of mechanisms that cannot be apprehended...empirical research can, and must, show how destinies are created by people interpreting structures and making contexts, how contexts and destinies can be changed, and how structures can be changed. Empirical research is not voyeurism, it is sensitization.

It is from within a general Realist perspective that this thesis accounts for the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. The reasons for so doing will be covered presently. At this point however, there is a need to locate other schools of thought which are current to geographic enquiry.

Postmodernism

Postmodernism, if we take the basic definition given in Lyotard's seminal *The Postmodern Condition* - 'an incredulity towards meta-narratives' - (1984, xxiv) allows for a untapped theoretical umbrella that represents an attempt to break free from the theoretical constraints that have characterised academic thinking in the 20th Century.

As an approach, Postmodernism has attracted increasing attention within the social sciences in recent years (For the development of the concepts leading to postmodernism see Foucault, 1980; Giddens, 1981; Harvey, 1987,1990; Soja, 1987). Soja writing from a strong critique of historicism and its constraining effects on the geographical imagination, ventures,

A distinctly postmodern and critical human geography is taking shape, brashly reasserting the interpretive significance in the historically privileged confines of contemporary critical thought. Geography may not yet have displaced history at the heart of contemporary theory and criticism, but there is a new animating polemic on the theoretical and political agenda, one which rings with significantly different ways of seeing time and space together, the interplay of history and geography, the 'vertical' and 'horizontal' dimensions of being in the world freed from the imposition of inherent categorical privilege (Soja 1980, 11).

Gregory (1989, 69) in an almost evangelistic vein, casts postmodernism as a movement *beyond* the modern, simultaneously being an invitation to construct our *own* human geographies. Gregory sees postmodernism as post-paradigmatic in view of the suspicion of any attempt to construct a system of thought which claims to be complete and comprehensive.

They have claimed the authority of 'positivism', 'structuralism', 'humanism' or whatever as a means of legislating for the proper conduct of geographical enquiry and of excluding work which lies beyond the competence of these various systems (Gregory 1989, 69).

This, apparently anarchic statement, is premised on a rejection of these 'manoeuvres' due to their incompleteness. In place, is the admonition to pluck different elements from different systems for different purposes, but not a licence for an uncritical eclecticism. Dear (1988, 265) makes a clearer statement.

Postmodern philosophy has been powered by a simple but penetrating question: 'On what basis can a claim be made for a privileged status of one theoretical viewpoint over another'?

If Gregory's postulate rings true for Postmodernism, then structuralism, in which social life is explained in terms of a 'deeper' structure; and realism, in which the human agency is integral, both come under a revisionist scrutiny.

Paradoxically, it is postmodernism which appears to be the promoter of a new era of regional geography which bears mentioning. In citing Gregory (1989, 70), Johnston (1991, 249) writes,

For some geographers, the appeal of this approach, with its emphasis on 'heterogeneity, particularity and uniqueness' is that it provides a theoretical context for the study of regional geography.

It is arguably too early to critically assess the impact of postmodern thought in Geography. The covering literature, on occasion, tends to be assertive at the beginning and tentative to the point of being disclaiming at the end. For example, Soja (1989, 247) concludes with,

The task of comprehensive, holistic regional description may therefore be impossible, as may be the construction of a complete historico-geographical materialism.

To be fair, Soja continues,

There is hope nonetheless. The critical and theoretical interpretation of geographical landscapes has recently expanded into realms that functionally had been spatially illiterate for most of the twentieth century. .. Moreover, many practised readers of surface geographies have begun to see through the alternatively myopic and hypermetropic distortions of past perspectives to bring new insight to spatial analysis and social theory (Soja 1989, 247).

Johnston (1991, 250) puts it a little more simply.

The result would be a theory that accounted for the general trends, with which was integrated an appreciation of the differences among places that lead to the regional geography which we observe.

Postmodernism has the capacity to leave academic geography in a quandary. The very strength with which it condemns 'grand vision' theorisation has the capacity, as Wickham (1991, 354) notes in a sociological setting, to become itself a new source of totalisation; postmodernism is modernism with make-up. Wickham (1991, 357) further notes the tendency of Postmodernism to collapse the specific into the carelessly general, constantly choosing between the One and the Many. There is little doubt that Postmodernism serves an important role in challenging meta-narratives. The question remains that, because of its anti-epistemological thrust, it has been unable to present a working alternative to cover the field. It may have meaning in the domains of architecture art and politics, but, at this stage anyway, appears too ambiguous to be able to offer a workable alternative within geography. As in medicine, describing the symptoms and causes is part of what the patient wants, but the treatment is what is really needed.

Gender Geography⁷

There is some disagreement as to whether or not the advent of a feminist perspective represents a new model or even a departure from a model or approach in geographical enquiry. Bowlby (et al 1989, 157), suggest,

.. there are no new models in feminist geography nor, indeed, any established set models at all, as this area of our discipline is a very recent arrival on the geographical agenda.

Concepts like patriarchy and the sexual division of labour do, however, represent a different departure with model forming potential. Johnson (1985, 166) argues for a

⁷ The recency of, and the debate occasioned by gender awareness in geography, is perhaps the reason why 'gender' and 'feminist' are so often conflated.

reconceptualising of geographical knowledge and practice and its opening to more radical feminist writing and debate acceptable of new theoretical frameworks with a prescription for action.

There is a rapidly developing body of literature in feminist geography (for examples see Harding, 1986; Kelly-Gadol, 1976; Brietbart, 1984; Berman, 1984; Foord and Gregson, 1986; McDowell, 1986; McDowell and Massey, 1984; Mackenzie, 1986; and Ungar, 1986). Feminist geography has developed in a social and political context that has had an influence over the type of issues selected for analysis and the methods adopted to investigate them. Bowlby (et al 1989, 157) note that in the ten or fifteen years since feminist geography has become apparent, there has been an alteration in direction. Feminist writing began by being written from within conventional geographic paradigms, Weberian or Marxist analyses, and welfare geography.

A range of analyses of gender inequalities was undertaken within these perspectives . . . In more recent years, there has also been the development of writing about ideology, subjectivity, and interpersonal relations - at home, at school, in the community, and in the workplace (Bowlby 1989, 157).

The writers further recognise that this has had the effect of bringing radical and socialist feminists together, producing changes in feminist politics, all which have had an influence on feminist geography. It appears, however, that gender often tends to be considered more as an attribute than as a manifestation of social relations. Feminist perspectives on theory and methodology in social science are frequently confused with theories of gender and even with social movements.

The emergence of feminist approaches in geography has been more than a battle with the normal inertia that might be expected with a new trend of thought. It represents the challenging of a massively entrenched, male dominated platform from which most social theories have been derived. Critical feminist work in a wide range of fields is beginning to challenge the origins of our categories, definitions and conceptions, addressing not only *what* we know but *how* we know it. The work is critical of the definition of equality within the liberal political tradition because it is male-based and requires women to surrender their gender identity without making the same claim on men. Christopherson (1989, 85) identifies two ways in which an acknowledgment of a feminist perspective on theory would affect a transformation of human geography. First, it could influence the selection of problems deemed significant for inquiry, potentially strengthening our analysis of contemporary life, its

contradictions and inherent tendencies. Secondly, a feminist perspective could help us question the content of the concepts we use to formulate theories. Race and gender are typically defined as individual attributes, while class is defined relationally. Moreover, class is defined androcentrically. The worker is male. Capital is male. The metaphors we used to describe inequality are generally male. By rethinking our definitions and the metaphors we use to express them, we can open the possibility of developing theories which explain a wider range of human experience.

Christopherson (1989, 88) in placing gender geography within the present debate, writes,

. . . the current theoretical crisis in geography is, at least partly, rooted in alienation from the abstract, post-positivist discourses vying for dominance in human geography. It is also rooted in the growing political consciousness of people concerned with the experience of gender, race and class, who feel they have to move outside those discourses in order to develop theories consonant with their experience.

With the passage of time it is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain ignorance as a block to feminist approaches, but rather, a profound political difference. The movement is perhaps too young to have acquired convincing theoretical elegance. It is largely left to women to carry the cause, a discourse in which the experience of women and minorities is subsumed within marginal categories and theoretical questions trivialised. Christopherson states that feminist geography could thus said to be not so much interested in the reconstruction of human geography, but the construction of power through theory, at the same recognising that,

. . . to discuss the relationship between gender and geography without reference to the personal political dimensions of theoretical construction contradicts the fundamental insights of feminists that the personal is political and theory is constructed out of personal experience (Christopherson 1989, 88).

Johnson (1990, 16) seeks to anchor feminist geography within a transformative setting rather than radical gender perspective, suggesting that a consideration of gender in geography marginalises feminist scholarship, thus fostering a goal of androgyny and a politics of equality.

The challenge then, is to create a geography which has feminism at its centre, to formulate an alternative discourse which critiques but also reconstructs the theories, concepts, subject, politics and pedagogy of the discipline (1990, 16).

This thesis will cover the impact of feminist geography as part of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. It will be shown that Christopherson's comments assume significance within the New Zealand setting.

A Disclosure

This short survey of geographic thinking, overarches the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. In seeking to present the most appropriate way of looking at the New Zealand setting, this writer is drawn to Harvey's (1973) analogy of windows around a courtyard. Each window allows a different perspective. However the vision seen by the viewer is always subjectively dependent on his/her own particular way of processing the information about what is being perceived. There is always a danger in disclosing a particular viewpoint, due to the risk of being branded inflexible. In any case, you would soon be found out. It is not possible to approach Human Geography, or anything, from a value-free perspective. As Harvey (1974, 214) notes,

The claim to be ethically neutral and ideologically free is itself an ideological claim. The principles of scientific method are normative and not factual statements.

Doherty (1973, 45) observes that those geographers claiming to be objective and value free, are 'unwilling or unable to detect their implicit or explicit value judgments, biases and distortions.' Habermas (1971) speaks of an 'ideology of neutrality', whereby essentially conservative positions are obscured by claims of objectivity. This writer accepts the basic contention that it is not possible to exclude 'values' which may include political, moral and religious beliefs, the subjective and affective preferences of the individual. Support is given to the concept that a work of this nature needs a structure enabling a coherent examination. This thesis self-consciously draws on contemporary social theory asserting that, at this point in time, a Marxist approach appears to provide the most apparent capacity to execute this need. Marx's central contribution to the social sciences is his classification of societies according to their relations of production. It is important to distinguish between Marx's politics and Marx's history. As Rigby (1987, 300) observes,

Acceptance of Marx's historical claims entails no commitment to his revolutionary politics, nor are his revolutionary politics guaranteed by his historical method. . . The basis for Marx's social analysis was his wider concern with the possibility of human liberation but, nevertheless, his analysis must be the judged on its own merits, rather than in terms of the revolutionary motivation which produced it. The original impetus to Marx's social theory came from his

revolutionary politics, but Marxist social science has often come to suffer through its political associations with the conversion of Marx's hypothesis into tenets of faith.

Realism or Postmodernism?

The general approach taken in this thesis is that of the Realist perspective. There are a number of reasons.

1. Without a theoretical structure, which gives credence to the operation of structure and agency in the institutionalising process, one would be left with a rambling narrative, lacking in any real coherence. In essence, understanding processes, for this thesis at least, is more important than describing patterns.
2. The Realist approach is sensitive to the role of conflict and power in capitalist and non capitalist processes as being central to the dialectic process. It will be amply demonstrated that the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand *has* been a contested process.
3. Realism sits well with a qualitative thesis in which processes rather than patterns become the foci of research. This will become important in the next chapter when the distinction between *institution* and *institutionalisation* is sought.

Postmodernism is not entirely rejected. However, it is at this stage too nihilistic to propel the framework for a thesis of this type. Although it lacks identifiable structure, postmodernism is making geographers sensitive to the predominance of historicism, with its tendency to peripheralise the geographical imagination. However, using personal perspective, human experience is hard enough to evaluate from within a structured viewpoint; but it would be well nigh impossible from the anarchic conception that postmodernism appears to promote.

GEOGRAPHY VIEWED FROM THE OUTSIDE

This chapter thus far, has examined the way we view geography and has also described some of the epochs that have characterised geographical thought. A sense of unease remains, possibly because the writer is a geographer and the tendency to write from a geographers' insider point of view is not only natural but cosy. Viewed from outside the discipline, geography struggles on several fronts. One concerns its

definition and the other is geography's legitimacy as a science. Geography, like any other discipline, has the propensity to portray its own history and direction without a penetrating apprehension of how other disciplines and coteries see it.

Defining Geography

Geography has long been criticised for being difficult to define. To the critical, the glib 'Geography is what geographers do' is a lamentable perception of geography. Arguably this is due to a number of reasons. One is, that definitions of geography tend to vary with each epoch, as the focus of geography changes. Secondly, the overarching concept of geography as a spatial science has been under siege.

With its traditional stress on space, measurability and visual landscape, geography has committed itself to the surface features of the external. Since the external is in things rather than relations, we have produced studies of reifications in which man, woman, and child inevitably are treated as things and not as the sensitive, constantly evolving beings we are (Olsson 1980, 47, in Gould and Olsson 1982, 193).

Olsson's complaint that geographic space is a prison, is based on the preoccupation of geography with spatial concept as a form of captive uniqueness to the discipline. This was done partly through its unexamined translation into a geometric conception of spatial structure which was able to inform, define and legitimate an extra-discursive social practice which leaves little room for autonomous 'man' (Gregory 1982, 193). A third reason is, as Christensen (1982, 37) suggests, that the split between physical and human geography along the lines of positivism and post positivism obscures the meaning of geography as a human science, because neither interpretation can reveal how the two orders of meaning connect.

The Place of Geography within Science

Considerable interest has been given to the understanding of the formal structure of investigation and interpretation of change in the history of science. Central to this has been the concept of paradigm shifts, suggested by Thomas Kuhn (1962). Some geographers have endeavoured to identify paradigm shifts in geographical thought which would legitimise geography's claim as a science. Wheeler (1982, 1) suggests such terms such as 'quantitative revolution', 'systems paradigm', and 'humanist paradigm'.

Kuhn seeks to explain the dynamic character of science in which he argues that knowledge is not judged by its correspondence to reality but to some framework of received opinion described as *normal science*. It is within normal science that a reigning paradigm is said to preside until such time as a complete break occurs, at which time the previous paradigm is rejected in favour of a new one. At this point a *scientific revolution* has been said to occur. The revolution occurs because anomalies have accumulated which cannot be resolved using traditional concepts and techniques. The new approach, if sufficiently attractive, then becomes the established paradigm until such time as, it too is overtaken. Although Kuhn's ideas have gained wide credence in science, it has not been without criticism. Because of the monolithic use of paradigms to explain all sorts of shifts within science, Kuhn has tried to describe more clearly what was really intended. He uses *disciplinary matrices* to represent the set of shared beliefs and assumptions which account for the consensus in a scientific community, thus incorporating the intangible factors which produce consensus implied by the earlier idea of a paradigm. Exemplars are the more tangible things which produce consensus in a scientific community. For example, in geomorphology, exemplars would include landscape features regarded as 'typical examples' of particular forms, or which illustrate some underlying process like 'weathering' or 'feedback'. According to Kuhn, the scientist acquires knowledge of the disciplinary matrix by the study of such exemplars.

The Kuhnian view of science has come under siege from the theory put forward by Lakatos who postulates that it is not individual theories which shape the growth of knowledge but much larger frameworks of thought which he calls 'research programmes'. His view suggests *negative* and *positive heuristics*. Wheeler notes that the negative heuristic is the 'hard core' of assumptions, concepts and ideas which constitute the fundamental content and direction of any research programme.

By methodological decision, this core is not attacked or criticised with anomalies being covered by auxiliary hypotheses. The positive heuristic consists of a set of auxiliary hypotheses which function to protect the hard core of the programme and to lay down directives for research. Thus most research involves the production of ever more complex models which clarify and protect the hard core (Wheeler 1982, 3).

Where then does geography fit in the schema? The ideas of Popper and Lakatos are mutually antagonistic due to the fact that if the growth of scientific knowledge depends upon the fate of individual theories, then most theories would be rapidly discarded as anomalies accumulate. It would be easier to identify research

programmes characterised by Lakatos than by Popper. Haines-Young and Petch (1986, 96) venture to say that,

The examples of mobilist theory and the process-response approach illustrate that one does not have to interpret the history of the earth sciences in terms of sociological and psychological processes operating in the scientific community. To admit that changes in outlook have occurred does not mean that one has to accept Kuhn's interpretation of history. With Lakatos's and the benefit of hindsight, the developments can look quite rational.

It is clear then that Lakatos can be seen as providing a compromise between extremes even though it would be impossible to decide which research programmes are progressing and which degenerating until after the event. The strength of Lakatos's view is that he sees research as an historical activity.' In this conception any particular style may run its course simply on the grounds that it has said all it has to say' (Olssen, 1987, 31). Thus, for example, the deterministic nature of geography in New Zealand at the turn of the Century was entirely appropriate to the thinking in New Zealand at a time when environmental determinism served significant socio-political objectives in settling the country.

This discussion on the philosophical nature of enquiry, would be beyond the interest of many physical geographers who are not pre-occupied with the epistemology that propels their discipline. Feyerabend (in Haines-Young, 1986,97)) who criticises Lakatos, concludes that we can either reject the rationalist view that there *are* permanent standards for the evaluation of theories which remain in force throughout the history of science and which apply to every period of scientific development, or,

... retain such standards as a verbal ornament, as a memorial to happier times in which it was still thought possible to run a complex and often catastrophic business like science by following a few simple and 'rational' rules (Feyerabend, 1970, 215).

In the case of human geography, Johnston (1991, 291) concludes that,

At the present time, then, human geography is characterised by a multi-paradigm situation at the world view level, by competition between disciplinary matrices within at least two of those world views, and by a wealth of exemplars on which research is based in all three.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the track of geographical thought over a period of several hundred years. It is with some difficulty that a line is drawn in which a connection between differing schools of thought is made. A line does little to demonstrate the diversity of factors, within the huge societal setting, that have influenced geographical thinking. Every approach, however discredited, has contributed to the body of geographical thought.

The study reveals a relatively autonomous trajectory in which a discipline has grown in several ways. One way is an awareness of its own distinctiveness as an academic discipline. Secondly, from this platform, it has been able to draw on contemporary social theory and scientific methodology to provide both a reflective, self-critical analysis of its practices as well as the capacity to continually adjust to developing social and scientific theory.

By examining geographical thought from a contextual basis several truisms come forcefully to mind. One is that geography's history and its own geography is far more complex than is often portrayed. The other is that future forms of geographical thought are almost impossible to predict. Structure and agency will continue to operate in a contested institutional arena in which the ground rules constantly shift, thus effecting a continual process of institutionalisation in particular contexts.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

*The moral is that
there are many ways
to learn,
many concepts for
capturing reality,
many languages for
setting it free.
But all languages
are made of words
held together by the
rhythmic silences,
the blank spaces,
between them.*

Gunnar Olsson

***A Ground for
Common Search***

INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to establish a theoretical setting that will provide the conceptual tools to enable a viable articulation of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. To do this effectively, it is necessary to establish the presence of geography in the widest possible social context. The chapter delineates a hierarchy of contexts that relate to geography as an academic discipline. The setting in which capitalism has found expression in New Zealand, represents the first level. This involves an understanding of the role of the state, its form and function and an apprehension of the apparatus that supports it. The second level discusses the role of education in the reproduction of capitalism. Modern education cannot be understood in isolation from capitalism. This assumes a central importance to the conduct of geography which in turn has to be considered in relation to a contexted education policy and practice.

THE CONCEPT AND STRUCTURE OF CLASS RELATIONS

From the early days of colonisation by Europeans in New Zealand, capitalism became the dominant economic system. Land became private property and labour a commodity within a class oriented society. As New Zealand developed a market economy in which the pursuit of profit was driven by capital's drive for new products, markets and profits it reflected the pattern of capitalism that followed.

While the authoritative power of the state increased, allocative power passed to capital. The state became responsible for educating and policing, for central legal and monetary systems, and for providing an ordered environment for an efficient capitalist economy . . . The increasing authoritative power of the state was made possible by improvements in transportation, communication, information gathering and storage, and methods of surveillance . . . The nation-state¹ became able to regulate and enforce across its territory (Harris 1991, 677).

Thus, within New Zealand, individuals came to live in controlled and created environments, characterised by supervised work practices and instruction about normal and deviant behaviour within a class society organised around capitalism. Watkins (1983, 9) writes that classes are formed by the relationship of men and women to the entire productive process. This is not merely a technical process, but more importantly, a social process.

Classes are, therefore, constituted as groups of people who share a common relationship to the means of production. In this way, two basic classes have developed in capitalist society - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The former own the means of production while purchasing the labour power of others. The latter, neither owning the means of production nor purchasing the labour power of others must sell their own labour to exist (Watkins 1983, 9).

It needs to be understood that these classes are not isolated entities, but are formed, reproduced, and transformed through the mediation of class struggle, often disguised by hegemony, but articulated in terms of the actual relations that exist between groups of people.

¹ Even though New Zealand was a Colony of Great Britain (until 1931 when it became a Dominion by virtue of a statute of Westminster), it had still assumed the characteristics of a nation state by the late 19th Century.

THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

To understand the interaction of social phenomena, Harvey urges the consideration of the geopolitical consequences of living under a capitalist mode of production.

We can, I think, all reasonably agree that the reproduction of daily life depends upon the production of commodities produced through a system of circulation of capital that has profit-seeking as its direct and socially accepted goal. The circulation of capital can be viewed as a continuous process in which money is used to buy commodities (labour power and means of production such as raw materials, machinery, energy inputs etc.) for the purpose of combining them in production to make a fresh commodity that can be sold for the initial money outlay plus a profit. (1985, 129).

Schematically, Harvey (1985, 128) represents this system of circulation as follows,

$$M - C \left(\begin{array}{l} LP \\ \dots P \dots C^1 - M + \Delta m, \text{ etc.} \\ MP \end{array} \right)$$

FIGURE 3.1 Circulation of Capital

Source: Harvey (1985,128)

In Harvey's diagram, the value of commodities produced at the end of the sequence (C 1) is greater than the value of commodities absorbed in production (C). It is this increase in value that is captured in the money form of profit (Δm). A 'healthy' capitalist economy is, therefore, one with a positive growth rate. The closer we get to a stationary state (let alone actual decline), the more unhealthy the economy is judged to be. Harvey concludes that this translates into an ideology of growth no matter what the environmental, human or geopolitical consequences.

INHERENT INEQUALITY

Fundamental to the Capitalist form are the two notions of inherent inequality and the propensity to reproduce itself in its various forms. Peet (1977, 112) on inequality notes,

The Marxist view is that inequality is inherent in the capitalist mode of production. Inequality is inevitably produced during the normal operation of capitalist economies, and cannot be eradicated without fundamentally altering the mechanisms of capitalism. In addition, it is functional to the system, which means that powerholders have a vested interest in preserving social inequality.

According to Marx, income inequality is inherent in the wages system whereby human labour is a commodity to be bought by an employer for a certain price or wage. As different types of labour require different levels of education and skill, so wages will differ between categories of workers. Peet (1977, 113) postulates three concomitant results that must follow. First, income inequality is necessary to produce the variety of labour needed by the various levels of a multitude of different economic activities. Second is the allocation of the cost of social reproduction through the wage mechanism, thus allowing each 'race of workers' to produce its replacement. Via this mechanism, the capitalist system ensures inequality of access to the skill hierarchy within the working class. Finally, inequality of access to education and skills, allows groups of wage and income earners to exaggerate the income differences inherent in the skill hierarchy by partially monopolising, and thus restructuring, the labour supply into certain levels of the labour hierarchy. Inequalities of income and opportunity within the class of wage and salary earners are thus built into the wages system.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Within a Capitalist society, all social formations seek to continue to exist and regenerate themselves. In order to exist now and in the future, a social formation must continually reproduce the conditions of its production. To enable this, a social formation must reproduce both the productive forces, comprising the material forces of production and labour power as well as the existing relations of production. Gray (1974, 40), notes that radical geography is largely concerned with the reproduction of the material conditions of production. This involves a threefold circulation of capital between the production of the means of production and the production of means of consumption, and the realisation of surplus-value. The facilitation of this circulation encourages the presence of a state apparatus, one of three distinguishing appellations of the state as defined in the next section.

WHAT IS THE STATE?

It is easier to presuppose a definition of the state rather than provide it. Jessop (1982, 20) distinguishes three commonly suggested interpretations that are adjectival rather than substantive. One is the theoretical assumption that the state is an epiphenomenon (simple or complex) of an economic base. Another is the metaphorical claim that the state is an instrument of class rule. A third is the empirical generalisation that the state is a factor of cohesion, performing social as well as class functions. The problem in attempting a definition of the state, from the viewpoint of historical materialism, lies, as Jessop (1982, 22) also points out, in the tendency to treat the state as a 'thing' in isolation from other institutions and/or as a separate instance engaged in external relations with other structures. The difficulty in defining the state within a capitalist setting lies partly in the fact that the state existed, albeit in a different form, before the introduction of the capitalist mode of production. This suggests then, that a pre-existing phenomenon has been transformed. This being the case, it will continue to change to suit different conditions within capitalism. Johnston (1982, 21) explains by quoting Holloway and Piciotto (1978, 24),

.. The state's activities are bounded and structured by this pre-condition of its own existence, by the need to ensure (or attempt to ensure) the continued accumulation of capital. Because of its form as an instance separated from the immediate process of production, the state is essentially restructured to reacting to the results of the process of production and reproduction.

Typically the state is analysed by drawing the distinction between state *form*, state *function* and state *apparatus*. Johnston (1986, 457) defines these as follows.

STATE FORM examines how a specific state structure is constituted by, and evolves within, a given social formation.

STATE FUNCTION refers to those activities undertaken in the name of the state.

STATE APPARATUS refers to the actual mechanisms through which these functions are executed.

The following discussion of these three properties draws substantially on Cloke and Little's (1987) consensual paper which attempts to encapsulate current interpretations on the role of the state.

STATE FORM

Cloke and Little (1987, 344) note that it has been conventional to treat state form as being the summation of a series of governmental institutions, embracing those of a political, administrative, judiciary and enforcement nature (after Miliband, 1973, 1977). In order to make a conceptual distinction, they also offer Poulantzas' (1978) view that the state is a condensate of class-based social relations. Using these two views, power within the state can either be seen as vested *in* the governmental institutions themselves or, more significantly, as exercised *through* these institutions². Cloke and Little (1987, 345) offer four options which may configure power relations of state form. The first is *pluralism*, a limited concept which suggests that power within the state is not controlled by an single fraction of society but is available to all interest groups and classes through the procedures of democracy, and that the state itself is unable to generate any consistent bias towards particular areas of society. The second option is *elitism* which suggests that state power is vested in minority elite groups who can manipulate policy to their advantage. Thus the state is viewed as an instrument with which the interest of these powerful elite groups is upheld. Cloke and Little (1987, 345) suggest that the effectiveness of this view depends on the flexibility of decision making available within the arena. The third option is that of *managerialism* which refers to the position, professional and technical training, and agenda management available to bureaucrats so as to engineer outcomes that reflect both their own interests and those of the social and economic fractions to which they belong. Cloke and Little sense the significant of this option, but are aware of the narrowness of the view which makes broad assumptions concerning managerialist access to power in relation to external political constraint and institutional discretion within which managers are working. The final option is that of *structuralism* in which state power may be seen to represent the current balance of class interest. If this balance favours the interests of monopoly capital, then state policies should be assumed to furnish the sectoral interests of capital.

STATE FUNCTION

It would be easy to oversimplify the sheer complexity of the various functions performed by the state. If the function of the state is that of acting to protect and reproduce the existing structures and relations of society and production, then it would be Cloke and Little's (1987, 347) assumption that the state operates simultaneously within the boundaries set by the social relations of capital and within

² This point is taken up in Chapter 4.

the structure of policy-making opportunities vested in an authority and energy that are self-generating. To accommodate this they see the state performing three main functions:

1. sustaining private production and accumulation, for example, by providing infrastructure and involvement in the spatial restructuring of production;
2. reproducing labour power, by organising facilities of collective consumption, for example in the area of low cost housing, and,
3. maintaining social order and cohesion, through provision of legitimating services and coercive restrictions.

These functions may be characterised by a *corporate* level at which the state intervenes in favour of particular capital interests and at *competitive* level within which services are provided for a dependent population.

STATE APPARATUS

Cloke and Little (1987, 348) suggest four broad functional categories via which state functions are enacted:

1. *Consensus* - the apparatus of participation in the processes of society through access to law, democratic government, and so on.
2. *Production* - using state apparatus for securing suitable conditions for capital accumulation.
3. *Consumption and legitimating* - a complex interrelationship of apparatus designed to secure both the continued willingness of active and surplus labour to go along with the current social contract, and the well-being of society in traditional areas of welfare such as health and education.
4. *Administration* - a bureaucratic machine which is given the task of ensuring the smooth running and mutual compatibility of other areas of state apparatus.

A MECHANISM OF CRISIS

From the materialist point of view, state interventions (or the process of the political apparatus of bourgeois society) are essentially determined by the crisis-laden

character of capitalist society and by related class confrontations. Hirsch (1981, 594) states that the resulting social restructuring processes, accompanied by progressive human socialization, require to an increasing extent, the intercession of the State. Increasingly, capital requires the organised social authority and power of the State. With the growing speed of the technical and social processes of upheaval, and the progressively thorough capitalisation of society, the State is pressed increasingly into the function of:

1. Initiating and executing a comprehensive socio-economic restructuring process;
2. Simultaneously intercepting and compensating for the social consequences of these developments and,
3. Regulating the resulting conflicts.

The activities of the State and the motion of its apparatus thus become an integral component of the capitalist mechanism of crisis.

REGULATION THEORY AND CAPITALISM

As a cognate to the concept of a mechanism of crisis and as an emerging form of research programme rather than an established monolithic theoretical system, regulation approaches derive their meaning from within realist political economy thought and are particularly concerned with changing forms and mechanisms (institutions, networks, procedures, modes of calculation, and norms) in and through which the expanded reproduction of capital as a social relation is secured (Jessop 1990, 154). The following discussion draws substantially on Jessop (1988, 1990) and Boyer (1988).

As a research technique, regulation theory is largely untested in the field, but offers several interesting perspectives from which to anchor an articulation of the structure-agency dialectic and in offering an account of the state which is seen as an emergent, contradictory, hybrid, and relatively open system. Any unity within the system is in a constantly fluid state, dependent on operational procedures, means of co-ordination and guiding purposes (Jessop 1990, 201).

Jessop (1990, 191) argues the case for regulation theory as having application at micro and macro levels, involving spatial and societal spheres, with a view to

answering the fundamental problem of explaining how smaller sites of regulation are related to larger sites and how their relations are mediated through structural forms and modes of regulation. The thrust of the argument is thus one of methodological priority being placed on the study of each particular social formation together with its external linkages. Provision is made to enable a bottom-up account as well as a top-down account.

A third approach is also possible. This would deny the existence of a simple micro-macro split and just argue that there are many different sites of regulation and that they can be articulated in various ways and at different levels. Thus it would also stress the diversity and contingency of regulation and the contingent interaction of different partial modes without positing any one site as the crucial one (Jessop 1990, 193)

Propelling regulation theory is the assumption that our knowledge of the world is never theoretically innocent, implying that the starting point for any enquiry is discursively constituted.

In this sense the movement from 'real-concrete' to 'concrete in thought' is a movement from a simple and superficial category to an account which is complex (synthesising multiple determinations) and also has ontological depth (identifying the underlying real mechanisms and connecting them to the actual and empirical aspects of the real concrete) (Jessop 1990, 163).

Thus, as the spiral of enquiry continues, the elements of 'real concrete' are defined with increasing complexity and concreteness. This suggests that there is always a dialectical interplay of abstract and concrete in which concepts are continually being redefined, allowing for a greater precision in articulating these concepts. In turn, more concepts are produced which need further articulation.

There is some disagreement among regulation theorists concerning the key sites of regulation and the nature of the mechanisms involved in the process of regulation. This raises the methodological question as to whether the object of regulation (e.g. the social formation) exists before they are regulated or whether they are constituted in and through the act of regulation. To avoid teleological problems, Jessop (1990, 186) argues the case for treating the genesis of specific modes of regulation as historically contingent rather than as capitalistically pre-ordained. Secondly, to preclude the concern with the role of modes of regulation in reproducing, being taken for granted as pre-given objects of regulation, there is need to recognise that the objects of regulation do not, and cannot, pre-date regulation in their full historically constituted identity.

No mode of regulation is fully constituted and a profile of capitalism can only be achieved through theoretically informed historical research into specific cases as they co-evolve through time and confront the fracturing and integrating forces to which all emergent systems are subject. In such research, a key area of enquiry must be the changing terms of the dialectic between structure and agency. Regulation approaches have appeal to this thesis in that the level of enquiry used to obtain information for the thesis has been elicited at both macro and micro levels. Macro in the sense that the study seeks to demonstrate the way in which hegemonic strategies of a dominant power have influenced an academic discipline. Micro in that it seeks to demonstrate how behaviours and institutional situations at individual levels, can provide a bottom-up account of how macro-order emerges. Boyer (1988, 71) argues the importance of institutional forms which he sees as denoting a codification of a main social relationship. It is this codification which suggests regulatory controls. Boyer (1988, 71) sees the notion of regulation theory as being a 'partial and modest alternative to the overwhelming tyranny of static equilibrium'. He defines modes of regulations as designating any set of rules and individual and collective behaviours that have the three following properties (Boyer 1988, 75):

1. They make possible conflicting *decentralised decisions* compatible without the necessity for individuals, or even institutions, to comprehend the logic of the whole system;
2. They control and regulate the prevailing *accumulation mode*;
3. They reproduce *basic social relationships* through a system of historically determined institutional forms.

Although Boyer's interest is largely in economic systems, the application of regulatory approaches does have significance to the research agenda of this thesis.

NARROWING THE FOCUS: THE ROLE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The chapter has thus far concentrated on establishing a setting that recognises the role of the State, and the regulatory mechanisms that undergird the State apparatus. These represent the first two levels in the hierarchy of settings that enable the institutionalisation of geography to be understood. The next level, that of the educational system and cultural reproduction brings the focus closer to geography.

In focussing on the state education system, it is important to distinguish a divergence in the way academic geography has related to the state in New Zealand. High school and university geography have each tended to come under different tiers of political influences. High school geography has been subject to the Department/Ministry of Education³ which has been responsible for funding, curriculum and staffing. Universities, on the other hand, have not had to work through this extra level of institutional penetration. Universities are established by Act of Parliament and generally work through the Minister, rather than the Minister's Ministry. This is illustrated in Figures 7.6 and 7.7 and represents a significant difference in understanding the role of the state in the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. The hierarchy of authority through which universities operate is quite different. It even varies between universities. Fig 8.1 is as an example of an hierarchical university structure .

Nash (1983, 15) asserts that there is no agreed theory of schooling, but in two areas; the analysis of social and educational inequality, and the unravelling of the relationship between education and economic performance, there has been significant progress. Considered opinion over the last twenty years can no longer support the dominant concept espoused by Conant (1948) which viewed the education system within a capitalist economy as increasing social mobility and decreasing social distinction whilst increasing equality of opportunity for succeeding generations. This study supports the notion, as Shuker (1986, 7) argues, that schools, instead of promoting equality, have essentially served to reproduce existing social and economic divisions within society. Such reproduction is a contested rather than a straightforward process. Both Marx and Lenin viewed the State as an instrument of the ruling class, part of an overt process of bourgeois domination. Gramsci originated the concept of ideological hegemony in which he saw power as a form of cultural domination. This domination is achieved through the organisation of consent, a process whereby those who are governed, largely accept the ideology of the dominant social groups as 'common sense'. Gramsci's concept stresses the centrality of the interconnection among politics, culture, and pedagogy (Giroux, 1983, 197) This, however, does not disclaim Gray's truism when he writes:

Modern mass education has not and cannot be an instrument of social change, but only one of domination, integration and regulation of conflicts. Gray (1974, 42).

³ In 1990, the name was changed from Department of Education to Ministry of Education.

Shuker and Harker (1986, 4), posit that the dual role played by the State can be seen in the school system which functions as a State apparatus. Through the formal education system, the State reproduces labour power and raw materials for the relations of production. This involves producing a labour force with ideas, values and practices that are consistent with, and in acceptance of, existing power relations.

Ideological hegemony mystifies and conceals existing power relations and social arrangements. In recognising it as a contested process, Simon (1982, 37) notes,

This requires persistent activities to maintain and strengthen the social authority of the ruling class in all areas of civil society, and the making of such compromises as are needed to adapt the existing system of alliances to changing conditions and to the activities of the opposing forces.

Harker and Shuker (1986, 4) affirm that the State plays a key role in determining the nature of schooling by influencing,

1. resource provision to the education system as a whole and resource allocation within the education system;
2. the creation and maintenance of a liberal egalitarian ideology of education and,
3. a differential access to schooling and the provision of 'equality of educational opportunity'.⁴

A corollary of this involves preparing school pupils for the labour market as well as developing and maintaining social cohesion and civil order; all this being intertwined with credentialism, curriculum design and the notion of compulsory education.

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

Cultural reproduction defies ready definition. For a start, it is a violation of logic to define 'reproduction' by using the word, 'reproduction', owing to the impossibility of arguing for the isometric extension of a relationship without implying something of the true nature of the groups whose material presences constitute the relationship. Willis (1981, 49) offers the following definition.

⁴ This thesis largely ignores the operation of private school systems operating in New Zealand. Over the last 20 years there has been an increasing move to integrate with the state system in order to benefit from funding whilst retaining the special character of individual school systems. The Roman Catholic school system has been the largest to integrate. At time of writing, the Seventh-day Adventist system is negotiating integration with the state system.

Cultural Reproduction designates how, from here, through complex ideological and cultural processes, we may perceive certain essential features to be continuous with, and tend to reproduce, limiting forms (racism, sexism, manualism, the private authority) which pre-dated them but which now are so subjectively inhabited as to provide a sufficient basis for actual decisions and attitudes which allow the maintenance of capitalist production.

In the sense that reproduction is used in this thesis, Giroux (1983, 78) offers a useful interpretation by asserting that theories of reproduction take, as a central issue, the notion that schools occupy a major, if not critical, role in the reproduction of the social formations needed to sustain capitalist relations of production.

Put simply, schools have emerged historically as social sites that have integrated the traditionally separate tasks of reproducing work skills and producing attitudes that legitimise the social relations in which these skills are located. (Giroux 1983, 78).

Giroux (1981, 50) suggests that there are three major positions emerging from the broad range of reproductive approaches that presently rely upon macro-sociological models to analyse the relationship between schooling and capitalist society. These approaches are associated with their authors.

Althusser

The first theory of social reproduction, concerns the work of Althusser (1971). Althusser addressed himself to the problem of how a labour force can be constituted to fulfill the important material and ideological functions necessary for reproducing the capitalist mode of production. This involves training workers not only to work within the process of production but also ensuring that they embody those attitudes, values and norms that provide the required discipline and respect essential for the maintenance of the existing relations of production (Giroux 1981, 4). Like Gramsci (1971), Althusser believes that the maintenance of the existing system of production and power depends upon the use of both force and ideology. This is provisional on three interacting conditions. First, is the production of values that support the relations of production. Second, is the use of force and ideology to support the dominant class in all important spheres of control. Third, is the production of knowledge and skills relevant to specific forms of work. Althusser identifies two self-regulating practices of the state. These are the *Repressive State Apparatus*, which rules by force and is represented by the army, police, courts and prisons; and the *Ideological State Apparatus*, which primarily rules through consent and consists of schools, the family, the legal structure, the mass media and other agencies. Giroux notes that Althusser is

arguing that schools within advanced capitalist societies have become the dominant institution in the ideological subjugation of the work force. Educational institutions teach both the skills and the know-how that constitute the subjectivity of future generations of workers.

The notion of ideology is central to Althusser's analysis of social reproduction. For it is through the force of ideology that schooling functions as an agent of reproduction. . . ideology is viewed as not only a manipulative set of imposed ideas which embody class specific roles; it is also viewed as being constitutive of subjects themselves (Giroux 1985, 5).

Althusser's reasoning is somewhat paradoxical in that, on one hand, he raises the central question of how a particular form of subjectivity is constituted in schools and other ideological sites. At the same time, he ignores any sustained analysis of day-to-day classroom practices, be it teaching or administrative. In other words he pre-supposes the conceptual notion of an ideology that does not contain room for agents to operate.

Bowles and Gintis

The second major position is that articulated by Bowles and Gintis who share Althusser's basic notion of the role of schooling in capitalist society. The *correspondence theory* of Bowles and Gintis differs from Althusser in that it claims that,

. . . the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms, and skills that characterise the work force and the dynamics of class interaction under capitalism are mirrored in the social dynamics of the daily classroom encounter. Schooling in this view functions through its classroom relations to inculcate students with the attitudes and dispositions necessary for them to accept the social and economic imperatives of a capitalist economy (Giroux 1981, 7).

Bowles and Gintis gained much credence when they first published *Schools in Capitalist America* (1976), but have received criticism (see Giddens 1979, 5) for their mode of analysis which largely ignores the capacity of human action within social structures. They fail to provide conceptual tools to unravel how knowledge is both consumed and produced in the school setting. Thus Giroux (1981, 7) observes that both Althusser and Bowles and Gintis relegate human agency to a passive model of socialisation, and over-emphasises domination at the expense of those contradictions and forms of resistance that also characterise social sites such as

schools, universities and the workplace. Both views stress the notion of social reproduction at the expense of cultural reproduction.

Bourdieu

Some attention is now given to the work of Bourdieu. The analytical base of this thesis is concerned with the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. The next chapter deals with the work of *structure* and *agency* in the *process* of institutionalisation. It will also be argued that the method of Bourdieu, most effectively describes the form of cultural reproduction in education, in the New Zealand setting. 'Method' is used advisedly to describe Bourdieu's contribution. It is not a grand theory or a mere set of procedures employed in the process of acquiring knowledge, but a way of looking at societies; a way of asking questions (Harker et al, 1990, 195). There is also a conscious attraction, within this thesis, to Bourdieu's explanation, due to the fact that it accommodates the interaction of structure and agency with a greater persuasiveness than that of other positions.

Bourdieu (1973, 72), in introducing his work on education has stated,

. . . among all the solutions put forward throughout history to the problem of the transmission of power and privileges, there surely does not exist one that is better concealed, and therefore better adapted to societies which tend to refuse the most patent form of the hereditary transmission of power and privileges, than that solution which the educational system provides by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of class relations and by concealing, by an apparently neutral attitude, the fact that it fills this function.

Bourdieu argues that educational institutions are relatively autonomous institutions that are only indirectly influenced by more powerful economic and political institutions.

Rather than being directly linked to the power of an economic elite, schools are seen as part of a larger universe of symbolic institutions that reproduce existing power relations through such subtle means as the production and distribution of a dominant culture that tacitly confirms what it means to be educated. (Giroux 1981, 8).

Bourdieu's approach is complicated, arguably, as Bourdieu himself defends, because social reality itself is complex and that social science (anthropology, sociology, education, history etc.) must inevitably create the concepts and methods to

reflect and understand such a reality (Mahar et al 1990, 4). Fundamental to Bourdieu's account of socially differentiated educational attainment, are his conceptions of both the genesis of social structures and of the dispositions of the habitus of the agents who live within these structures. Two main conceptual tools that are crucial to Bourdieu's work are the terms *habitus* and *field*. Mahar and her associates (1990, 4) note,

These crucial concepts are supported by a number of other ideas, such as symbolic power, strategy and struggle (for symbolic and material power), along with various kinds of capital (economic, cultural and symbolic capital).

Bourdieu conceptualises field as a dynamic in which various potentialities exist as both a partially autonomous field of forces and a field of struggle for positions within it Mahar (et al 1990, 8). These struggles are seen to transform or conserve the field of forces. Thus fields identify areas of struggle. In his earlier work, Bourdieu (1977, 203) describes it as a system of circular relations which unites structures and practices. These struggles are seen to transform the field of forces. Mahar (Mahar et al 1990, 8) continue by noting that positions are determined by the allocation of specific capital to actors who are thus located in the field and that positions once attained, can interact with habitus to produce different positions.

Habitus

Bourdieu suggests that the structure of political instability is internalised as a set of dispositions, the *habitus*, which then generates practices of an appropriate kind.

The fundamental aim of Bourdieu's culturalism is to disclose the structure of principles from which agents produce regulated practices, for the structure of principles is the real character of culture itself. The habitus is thus a system of durable dispositions inculcated by objective structural conditions, but since it is embodied, the habitus gains a history and generates its practices for some time even when the objective conditions which gave rise to it have disappeared (Nash 1990, 434).

Nash (1990, 433,434) uses several analogies to simplify Bourdieu's complex application of habitus as an internalised embodiment of objective structure. One is that, like two sides of a coin, the *habitus* is structured by principles of the structure, as a code, and practices are structured by principles of the *habitus*. The second conceives of habitus as a grammar making possible the generation of new forms of expression that may alter the structure of the grammar itself (much as speech is made

possible by grammar itself transforming grammar) and this provides the theoretical space for cultural change. Mahar et al (1990, 12) paraphrase Bourdieu by stating,

The practices thus generated tend to reproduce the regularities in the original objective conditions, while adjusting to the habitus-governed perceptions of the continuously changing external conditions. The central thesis to emphasise, then is that habitus is a mediating construct, not a determining one.

Integral to Bourdieu's work, is his interpretation of capital, which he defines more broadly than most. Capital may be material, symbolic (culturally significant attributes such as prestige, status and authority), and cultural (defined as culturally-valued taste and consumption patterns) (Mahar et al 1990, 13) The value given to capital(s) is related to the social and cultural characteristics of the habitus and may be a basis of domination.

Bourdieu and marxism

Bourdieu differs slightly from classical marxism on several positions relating to what he sees as a reductionism of the social field to the economic field and the objectivism of marxism which, he contends, downplays the symbolic struggles within the social world. This however is not a rejection of the importance of economic capital. Mahar et al (1990, 5) quote Bourdieu (1977, 183) thus:

Symbolic capital, a transformed and thereby disguised form of physical 'economic' capital, produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in 'material' forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effects.

In relating Bourdieu's work to marxism, Nash (1990, 432) suggests that Bourdieu's concept of the mode of reproduction, privileging symbolic capital, is intended to provide no less a powerful means of investigating systems of cultural reproduction. Nash writes,

Bourdieu's interest is in cultural capital and its transmission, but it should not be imagined that he is blind to the importance of economic capital. On the contrary, Bourdieu specifically criticises structuralism and ethnomethodology for ignoring 'the brutal fact of universal reducibility to economics' (1990, 432).

The strength of Bourdieu's work as far as presenting a way of looking at education in New Zealand, is compelling. Harker (1984, 117) notes,

His work is one of the few coherent accounts of the central role that the schools have in reproducing social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next, while at the same time . . . allowing for human agency.

and further,

He asks us to think of cultural capital in the same way we think of economic capital. . . Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess cultural capital.

Thus it is argued, education is a field in which agents struggle for capital, in the form of credentialism. The credentialing role of education in New Zealand is explored in Chapter 6. Harker (1991, 88) elaborates the cycle of reproduction in Fig 3.2 which appears to be a closed unit without escape or room for agents to modify or change the cycle. Harker (1991, 101) covers this with Fig 3.3 which allows for a 'disruption of the habitus-controlled perception of historical circumstances (the destruction of false consciousness, the overthrow of a ruling hegemony), and a refocussing on a new set of principles (a 'true' consciousness, a counter-hegemonic transformation).'

Resistance

The concept of resistance to cultural hegemony is not handled convincingly by Bourdieu who attributes a 'misrecognition' of the educational process whereby the reality of the social world is misconstrued (1977, 171). Because, he argues, the true nature of the taught culture is not recognised, then resistance towards it is limited; while those who inculcate the dominant culture 'live out their thought and practice in the illusion of freedom and universality' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, 40). This may seem convincing within the school system, but would be hard to sustain within a university setting in New Zealand. It is within a university setting that counter-hegemonic curricula and teaching practices, designed to oppose society's cultural reproduction, are commonly found. Furthermore, Bourdieu writes as a Frenchman and could hardly be expected to cover all societies with a blanket exegesis of resistance.⁵

⁵ For example see Walker (1990, 151) who, in presenting a convincing case to demonstrate the New Zealand experience, states that, 'the oppressed are dehumanised by the colonial experience, by the loss of their land, their fisheries and the loss of their language through cultural

Fernandes (1988, 177) conceptualises resistance theory as starting with a dialectic vision of analysis that gives meaning to the articulation between structural determinants which tend to be reproductive, and essential resistant human actions. Fernandes (1988, 176) identifies several forms of resistance at different levels of trajectory. *Latent Resistance* is a subjective stage, difficult to be verified and analysed and in general precedes *manifest resistance* which is translated into expressed attitudes, behaviours and actions which aim at counter-hegemonic objectives. Resistance may be assumed *individually* or *collectively*. *Collective resistance* has a greater emancipatory and transformative power. At a level which concerns the sources and mechanisms that promote or empower resistance to social and cultural reproduction, Fernandes distinguishes *internal sources of resistance* which are constituted by the agents of symbolic control who produce and edit counter-hegemonic curricula and/or protagonise alternative pedagogical practices, as well as by the student associations and teacher unions which develop counter hegemonic material. It is in the acting of the internal sources of resistance and the existing of internal mechanisms that empower resistance which cause and/or empower resistance to an institution's social and cultural reproduction, that there is an accommodation of Bourdieu's concept of relative autonomy that educational institutions enjoy in relation to the state and the dominant social groups. Thus Fernandes (1988, 176) assumes that the pedagogical discourse generated by the state through legal and administrative process can be recontextualised at various levels - *spaces of possible interventions* - which enable the acting of sources and the existence of mechanisms which reinforce resistance. These 'spaces of possible intervention' (possible and necessary) are constituted, at the *official level*, by the state organisms that organises curricula and teaching materials (at the high school level), and at the *pedagogical level* by teachers, institutions, associations and editors (at high school and university level).

The final level of resistance described by Fernandes are the external sources of resistance, constituted by parties which may or may not be linked, by definition, to an educational institution. These include trade unions, feminist movements, student associations and the general public.

The external mechanisms that empower resistance are the student's primary cultural context (process of family and community socialisation), the family strategies which aim at opposing the structural determinants of school, social

invasion. But the great humanistic task of the oppressed is to recover their stolen humanity. This profound thought from Freire expresses the innate desire of the human spirit to be free, to achieve self-realisation.'

and cultural reproduction, as well as the publication of empirical research and of counter-hegemonic theoretical studies on social inequality (at school and in society) and ways of doing away with it. (Fernandes 1988, 177).

Theories of resistance fit within the concept of a contested process, premised on the notions of dialectic interaction of agents with social constraints which, themselves, are the outcomes of earlier social production.

A PLACEMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

The thrust of this chapter is that geography cannot be understood separately from education *and* capitalism. Emphasis has been given to the predisposition of cultural reproduction *within* education. In order to understand education *in* a capitalist society and geography *in* education, it is necessary to discuss geography *within* the widest possible social context of what was happening in society.

Within geography, more than the discipline has become institutionalised. Also subject to the process of institutionalisation has been the way in which we have tended to interpret the interpretations about geography. Olsson's contemplative comment is that,

Another aspect of power leads into the mechanisms through which individuals come to reflect the norms of given social and historical contexts. What is alluded to, however, is not the type of study that focuses on powerful individuals and repressive institutions but rather detailed inquiries into those micropowers which are so deeply ingrained in our thoughts-in-actions that only the most sensitive can notice them (Olsson 1982, 263).

Eliot Hurst, in acknowledging dialectical materialism as the theory of the production of knowledge, of the history of science and the theory of practice, also defines the contradistinctive ideological concept which involves both material practices and the ideas intertwined with them.

It is a system of representation of the world, but one which does not refer to the world as a object external to that system. It is a lived relationship with the world in terms of practical and institutional ideologies, and more or less systematic frameworks and theories about the natural and social world in terms of theoretical ideologies (1980, 4).

Eliot Hurst is making the point that ideology is produced by class, and other, interests to serve the material interests of those classes and to help reproduce their position in the class structure of a given social formation. Urry (1981, 45) explores the

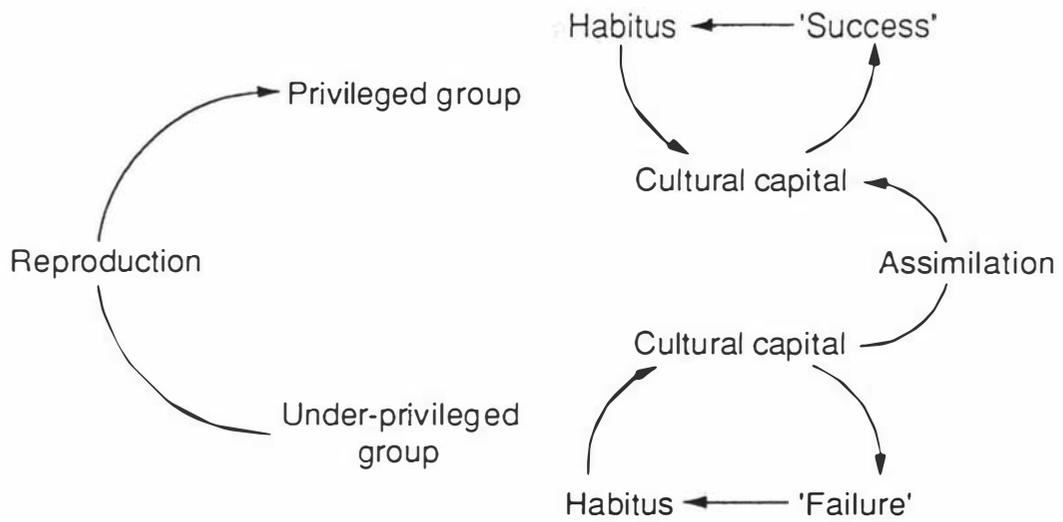


FIGURE 3.2 Bourdieu's Cycle of Reproduction

Source: Harker 1991

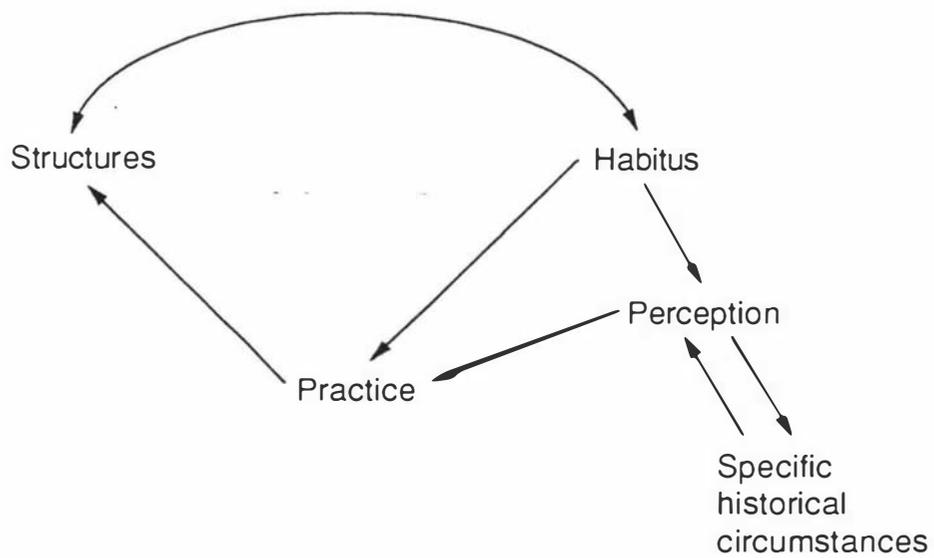


FIGURE 3.3 Reproduction and Change

Source: Harker (1991)

ideological critique at length, arguing that much of what is characterised as ideology is simply no more than social practice which serves to constitute a philosophy for social groups. The state will seek to organise and mobilise these practices into a national framework, especially manipulating popular sentiment into a coherent and comprehensible hegemonic structure.

This then raises the important question, posed by Eliot Hurst (1980, 6), of where do geographical ideas come from? 'They don't fall from the sky, nor are they innate.' In not accepting the 'pre-existence of the social science disciplines as we have come to know them in the last one hundred years', Eliot Hurst warns of the tendency to fragment 'epistemological space' by the 'fetishized domains' of geographical thought that, he charges, has characterised much thinking about the discipline.

At this point, the direction of this study starts to become more explicit. The thesis wishes to demonstrate how the set of practices, which are identified as geography, became institutionalised in New Zealand. At the same time it seeks to identify how institutionalised geographical practices may have had a correlative part in New Zealand European history.

CONCLUSION

Commencing with an overview of the capitalist mode of production and inherent inequality, the function of the state apparatus has been considered in a placement of education and cultural reproduction that might fit the New Zealand experience. The chapter has concluded by discussing some of the problems of where geography and geographical ideas come from. This raises a very abstract two-pronged set of problems which appear to be mutually antagonistic. One suggests that geography within a particular era can only be understood when its context has been apprehended. The other suggests that the context itself can be determined by the era from which it is articulated. The answer to such a dilemma is not plain. It is postulated, however, that by using institutional theory that concentrates on the process through which institutional arrangements are produced and maintained, that the role and nature of geography can, at least, be more clearly defined. The next chapter canvasses institutional analysis.

CHAPTER 4

INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

*Everybody has his own
theatre,
in which he is manager,
actor, prompter,
playwright, sceneshifter,
boxkeeper, doorkeeper,
all in one,
and audience into the
bargain.*

Julius Charles Hare,

***Guesses at Truth,
Series 2.***

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has taken some pains to set the focus of enquiry for this thesis within the capitalist mode of production. The focus has moved through a discussion on the role of the state to consider theories of cultural reproduction in education. The focus now moves closer to a study of institutionalised geography by essaying institutional theory.

ORGANISATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

The concept of organisation and institution is widely used in sociology, though often without precise specification. Sociologists generally link organisations with organisational theory, which grew out of an analysis of bureaucracy, with a view to contingency management of organisational forms (Abercrombie 1984, 172). Organisations can thus be more precisely described in terms of management and

readily identifiable structures. In sociological terms, an institution is widely used to describe social practices that are regularly and continuously repeated (Abercrombie 1984, 124) and can be regarded as a higher order unit that incorporates a plurality of roles. Due to an imprecise conflation of the two terms, the literature tends to use both institution and organisation interchangeably as is indicated by sources used in this discussion.

THE RISE OF ORGANISATIONAL THEORY

Writing on organisational theory has its roots with the work of Barnard (1938) who defined a formal organisation as '... that kind of cooperation among men (sic) that is conscious, deliberate, purposeful' (Barnard 1938, 39). The undeniable purpose of conventional organisational theory has been to secure cooperative action in the workplace.

By specifying ends, developing subgoals, and routing information to specialised decision makers, one could achieve consistency of purpose and attain the benefits of cooperative action (Scott 1990, 38)

Watkins (1985,3) argues that most conventional work dealing with educational administration tend to present fairly static and structural perspectives of administration. A cursory sampling of recent journal titles in '*Organisation Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*' is sufficiently indicative of this -

Smith, K.G. et al (1990) Goal Setting, Planning and Organisational Performance.

Martin, S. et al (1990) Use of Verbal Protocols to Trace Cognitions Associated with Self - and Supervisor Evaluations of Performance.

Klein, H. J. (1991) Further Evidence on the Relationship between Goal Setting and Expectancy Theories.

The headings of chapters in the standard texts that illustrate this perspective are familiar enough - Adapting to the World of Work, Motivation in Organisation, Work Related Attitudes, Leadership, Decision Making. The authors of *Behaviour in Organisations* (Baron et al 1990), a standard text used in the Department of Human Resource Management at Massey University, in writing of the need for studying organisational behaviour state,

But why, precisely is such information needed? The answer to this question should be obvious. We live in a time of increasing complexity and increasing

economic competition. As a result, success (and even survival) will go only to the most fit - to those organisations most capable of competing effectively ... Potential benefits include the development of techniques for enhancing employee motivation, commitment, and satisfaction, for resolving costly organisational conflict, and for improving communication, all of which can contribute to the economic success(Baron et al 1990, 35).

The foregoing view of organisational dynamics demonstrates the explicit purpose of achieving more calculable and predictable control of organisational performance from a purely capital driven perspective. If this represents the norm for conventional organisational analysis, then it stands to reason that a highly skewed view must result.

While such a perspective serves some useful purpose, it overlooks the human and cultural processes through which structures of administration are created, maintained and transformed. Human and cultural processes are important because they draw our attention to the active participation of people in the process of administration. An action approach to administration, therefore, recognises that people are by nature active rather than passive, and social rather than atomistic. This means that people have a measure of autonomy in determining their actions, which are at the same time bound up in a social context. (Watkins 1985, 3)

INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

Institutional theory, concerned more with human and cultural processes, combines much of the best, and some of the worst of sociology as it existed in the 1950s and the 1960s (Perrow 1979, 174). Scott's (1987) paper outlining the development of institutional theory notes the pioneering work done by Selznick (1949) and his students on the Tennessee Valley Authority in the late 1940s, using an analysis of the Authority to understand its whole 'organic' character, or the evolution of a living form that is adaptively changing over time. This first generation work viewed organisational structure as an adaptive vehicle shaped in reaction to the characteristics and commitments of participants as well as to influences and constraints from the external environment. (Scott, 1987, 494). Succeeding work on institutional theory has been based fundamentally on a shared social reality which, in turn, is a human construction, being created in social interaction (Scott 1987, 495). It

is for this reason that an understanding of institutional theory and practice, provides a suitable vehicle for explicating theories of cultural reproduction.

Berger and Luckmann's work which followed Selznick, emphasised that,

Reciprocal typifications of action are built up in the course of a shared history, They cannot be created instantaneously. Institutions always have a history, of which they are the products. It is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced (Berger and Luckmann 1967, 55).

Berger and Luckmann viewed institutionalisation as a paradoxical phenomenon in which people are capable of producing a world that they then experience as something other than a human product. They shared Scott's (1987, 496) view that institutions are viewed as the social process by which individual's come to accept a shared definition of social reality whose validity is seen as independent of the actor's own view or actions. This process may be said to follow three identifiable phases (Fig 4.1).

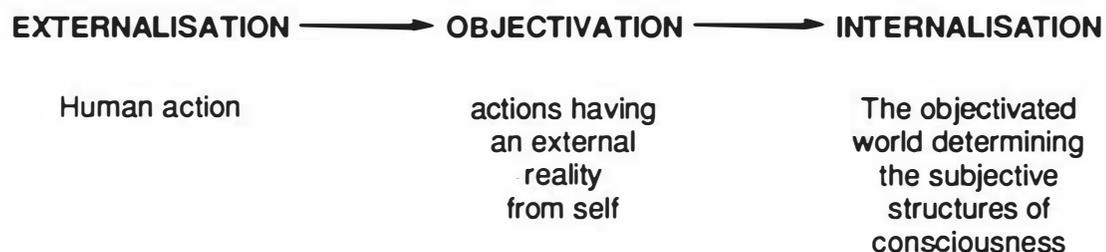


FIGURE 4.1 Three Phases of Institutionalisation

Source: Berger and Luckmann (1967, 61)

Berger and Luckmann's simplification of the process of institutionalisation ignores the push-pull factors that are contingent upon any institution. Zucker (1988, 45) diagrammatically demonstrates the process in Fig 4.2, and also offers a definition.

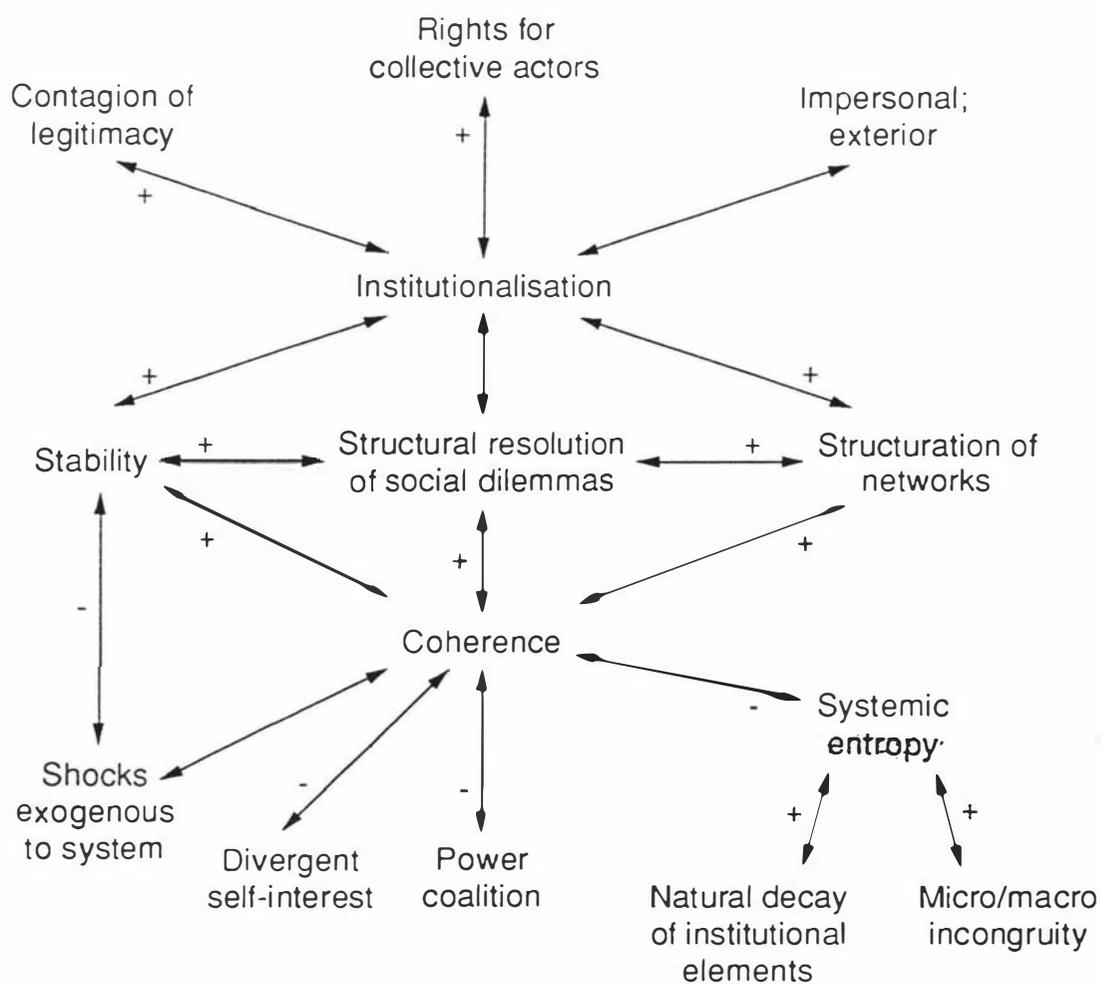


Figure: 4.2 Origin and Maintenance of Institutional Patterns

Source: Zucker (1988, 45)

Institutionalisation is both a process and a property variable. It is the process by which individual actors transmit what is socially defined as real and, at the same time, at any point in the process the meaning of an act can be defined as more or less a taken-for-granted part of this social reality. Institutionalised acts, then, must be perceived as both objective and exterior (Zucker 1977, 728)

Scott (1987, 494) cites Meyer and Rowan's (1977, 431) definition, incorporating Berger and Luckmann, stating that,

Institutionalised rules are classifications built into society as reciprocated typifications or interpretations (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, 54) . . . Institutionalisation involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rulelike status in social thought and action.

This being the case, it is possible to establish the credence of regulation theory which is concerned with those processes by which these 'rulelike' features are derived and enforced.

Scott (1987, 496) concludes that the common feature in all of these definitions is that institutionalisation is viewed as the social process by which individuals come to accept a shared definition of social reality. Much of this is incorporated in the definition offered by Carr et al, who state that,

.. institutions are patterns of social relationships formalised into organisational structures; they are created and recreated by practices which sustain them, and they are reproduced or transformed by maintaining or transforming the practices which constitute them. Institutions are malleable. They can be changed by political pressure from above and they can be changed by social pressure from below (Carr et al 1985, 182).

This useful interpretation is marred slightly by the implication that institutions are readily identifiable entities with distinct boundaries. Cloke and Little (1990, 38) advocate a more processual role for institutions in a state setting, by distinguishing between institutions and the processes operating through them.

By way of definition, we should recognise that the state includes both institutions and functions, and that the institutions concerned relate to

administrative, judiciary, and enforcement functions as well as governmental and political activity. (Cloke and Little 1990, 38) .

Earlier they had noted that,

It has been conventional to treat state form as being the summation of a series of governmental institutions, embracing those of a political, administrative, judiciary and enforcement nature. An important alternative is to view the state as a condensate of class-based social relations (Cloke and Little (1987, 344).

Cloke and Little (1987, 344) then make the important distinction between conventional and alternative conceptual positions. The conventional views power within the state as being vested *in* the governmental institutions themselves. The alternative views power as being exercised *through* these institutions. It is within the alternative position that this thesis anchors institutional analysis.

INSTITUTIONS AND GEOGRAPHIC ENQUIRY.

It is helpful to make a distinction between institutions and geography, and geography and institutions. This thesis concerned with how geography has become institutionalised. There is however, a developing literature that relates institutions to geographical enquiry. Urry (1981, 6) argues that the state cannot, and must not, be taken, as perfectly functioning to reproduce capitalist relations. It is crucial to analyse the interrelations between civil society and the state, of the degree to which they are independent of each other and of the manner in which the dominant sphere of civil society affects the forms of struggle and the state.

As a philosophy of geographic study, marxist approaches have undergone a process of development and modification that has gained increasing acceptance during the past several decades. Part of this has involved a recognition than an increasing amount of work in many aspects of human geography is concerned with the effects of institutions of different types. Thus a developing body of literature has resulted in a cogent case for the recognition of the role of human geography in the study of institutions (See Cox 1973; Dahl 1963; Dear and Clark, 1978,1981; Gordon 1980; Fincher and Ruddick 1981; Gregory and Urry, 1985, Ranson et al 1980).

The focus of this thesis is on the *institutionalisation of geography*. In narrowing this focus to that of linking geography as a set of institutionalised practices, Manion and

Flowerdew (1985, 4) outline a number of ways in which the study of institutions can be relevant to human geography.

First, the goals of institutions can be important in their effect on operations, whether the goals are explicit or unstated. In particular, an institution with an ostensible purpose of facilitating transactions between individuals may, by merely existing, be seen to acquire interests in growth or self-perpetuation. Individuals within that institution may also influence policy by virtue of their own values and professional background.

Second, institutions may set up a system of regulations, the form and details of which may have major effects on spatial outcomes. The implementation of regulations and the way in which the system interprets them are multifold.

Third, some institutions may operate in ways that have wholly unintended consequences, through a failure to reconcile conflicting objectives. Some groups or individuals may have the capacity to manipulate laws or regulations so as to achieve results very different from the stated aims of the institution.

Fourth, organisations may create their own internal structures - for example, the local and regional units employed by most large companies and governments - and the nature of the regional division may reflect decentralisation of policy making and implementation, and may guide the allocation of resources.

Thus it is argued that a cognition of the interactive role of institutions allows for a,

. . . more unified methodological and theoretical framework allowing us to incorporate a number of ostensibly disparate perspectives: phenomenological perspectives, which typically focus at the micro level upon the intersubjective construction of meanings; traditional ahistorical organisational analyses of structural regularities; and broader sociohistorical perspectives of economy and culture. Each is necessary for an adequate understanding of organisational construction and change (Ranson et al 1980, 1).

Zucker in noting that there has been a rapid theoretical and empirical development in the area of institutional approaches to organisations, accompanied by strong interest in the core institutionalisation ideas, further observes that,

Partially as a consequence of the rapid development in the area by diverse groups, different versions of institutionalisation have emerged. They are not fully reconcilable, nor is it necessarily desirable to have one 'version' of the institutional approach (Zucker 1988, xiii).

THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONALISATION

Much of the literature on institutions fails to distinguish the difference between *institution* and *institutionalisation*. An institution is the phenomenon at any particular time, be it past, present or future. Institutionalisation is an actual process. Scott cites Selznick's 1957 study as being among the first to infer that institutionalisation is a process, 'happening to an organisation over time.'

His primary emphasis appears to have been on institutionalisation as a means of instilling value, supplying intrinsic worth to a structure or process that, before institutionalisation, had only instrumental utility. By instilling value, institutionalisation promotes stability: persistence of the structure over time (Scott 1987, 494)

Watkins (1985, 19) offers the view that the dialectic between subjective human agency and objective organisational or social structures is placed within the context of time. Bourdieu (1977, 9) grounds the passing of time within the agent's practice thus contrasting with the structuralist model where time is not considered. Watkins (1985, 20) detects a weakness in Bourdieu's methodology by noting that while the habitus locates these temporal practices within a particular organisational context, it does not sufficiently explain how specific individual histories, practices and choice are intertwined with, and within, the histories, practices and choices of specific organisations. Giddens's episodic structuration theory provides an explanation, based on the study of institutions of the 'advanced' or 'industrialised' societies, and of the conditions of the transformation of those societies (1982, 11). The theory of structuration, with its basic dialectic of agency and structure has, at its core, another duality, the relations of time and space, which are themselves dialectically related. The combination of these two dialectics is expressed in the thesis which states that,

. . . the duality of structure connects the production of social interaction, as always and everywhere a contingent accomplishment of knowledgeable social actors, to the reproduction of social systems across time-space. (Giddens 1981, 27).

An acknowledgment of the relationship between time and process, when aligned with structure and agency, is essential in contemplating the operation of power, ideology

and the dialectics of control inherent within the social relations of capital. Ortner (1984, 158), in echoing Marx, states that

History is not simply something that happens to people, but something they make - within of course, the very powerful constraints of the system within which they are operating. . . A practice approach attempts to see this making.

Moore, in agreement with a practice approach, prefers the usage of 'process' as a term, rather than 'practice' which represents a paradigm that postulates an existing symbolic system undervaluing the continuous renewal needed by any ongoing system.

I prefer the term 'process' to 'practice' precisely because process conveys an analytic emphasis on continuous production and construction without differentiating in that respect between repetition and innovation. A process approach does not proceed from the idea of a received order that is then changed. Process is simply a time-oriented perspective on both continuity and change. (Moore 1987, 729)

Benson appears to agree.

A dialectical view is fundamentally committed to the concept of process. The social world is in a continuous state of becoming - Social arrangements which seem fixed and permanent are temporary, arbitrary patterns and any observed social pattern are regarded as one among many possibilities. (1977, 2)

It has already been suggested that this continuum may be explained through a dialectical relationship whereby people and structures interact to engender an ongoing transformative process. Vayda et al (1991, 318), commenting on the concept of process in social science explanation, note that, 'Social scientists refer to processes for explaining a great variety of phenomena and often make processes themselves the objects of explanation'. The implication is that it is essential to understand process, not in a loose, unreflective fashion, unconcerned with underlying issues of methodology and explanation, but as implicit or explicit recognition that processes are made up of human actions or of events involving human actions.

It is helpful to start with the most basic raw materials of human existence: people and things. Relationships among people, things, and people and things are common to all human activities. .. Knowledge which builds on relationships has a clear material and social base (Le Heron 1989, 7).

The understanding of process used in this thesis is exemplified by Vayda et al who conceptualise processes as

... constituted of events and that we translate questions about short - and long - term processes into questions about events. Concomitantly, a causal explanation of processes, and not a merely constitutive ¹ one, must be sought, in our view with respect to the events themselves, the linkages among events, and the conditions under which the linkages do or do not obtain. It is as a result of such explanation that certain events may be said to have an intelligible sequential relation to one another and thus to constitute ... processes (Vayda et al 1991, 328).

Van Fraassen (1980, 113) puts forward the idea of causality in explanation as that of a relation among events. It is as a result of such explanation that certain events may be said to have an intelligible sequential relation to one another and thus to constitute what may be usefully labeled as processes. Thus, while this thesis retains the term 'process' for some sequences of intelligibly connected actions and events, causal explanation must also be sought with respect to the events constituting processes rather than with respect to processes regarded as unitary entities. For this important reason, as Britton and Le Heron (1987, 130) point out, it is essential to emphasise the importance of precise identification of causality at different scales, thus raising the issue of agency and structure, and stressing the connections between the social and the spatial.

INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

A framework of institutional analysis is the next step along from a comprehension of institutional behaviour. For the most part, conventional work on institutional approaches have followed a structural-functional school, indicating that functions determine the structure of organisations and that organisations can be understood by analysing their functions. There is a limited literature on institutional analysis using a dialectic approach. The perspective of institutionalisation being employed in this thesis, is generally that postulated by Benson (1977, 2) whose seminal monograph argued that the transformation of the social world is rooted in fundamental characteristics of human social life. Attendant to this concept, is the acceptance of a dialectic view which, in regarding process as a contested entity, is committed to a

¹ The use of the term 'constitutive' in this sense, is derived from Dray (1980.53) who states that when ontological holists want to say that when individuals constitute a group, the group is somehow 'more' than the individuals.

search for fundamental principles which account for the emergence and dissolution of specific social orders. Benson contends (1977, 2),

People are continually constructing the social world. Through their interactions with each other, social patterns are gradually built up and eventually a set of institutional arrangements is established. Through continued interactions the arrangements previously constructed are gradually modified or replaced.

Benson's work has proved significant to subsequent writing on institutional analysis. At time of writing, his is still the only work to provide a distinct framework of analysis within a dialectical setting. (See Table 4.1). The value to this thesis of Benson's framework, is that it is sufficiently adaptable to encompass recent written work concerned with institutional analysis. This study is in no way confined to Benson's form of analysis. Much valuable work has been done by Ranson and his associates who have used structuration theory to examine and explain how the structures of organisations change over time. Willmott (1981) argues that structure is made up of a number of properties that interact within time and space, with the capacity to control and restrain as well as enable and enhance. Harmon (1981) seeks to develop a phenomenological view of public administration. Leblebici (1991) and his associates explore how institutional practices change over time in an interorganisational field. Baum and Oliver (1991) have studied the impact of institutional links and organisational mortality. Schein (1984) pursues an interpretation of organisations that may enable an understanding of not only the dynamic evolutionary forces that govern a culture, but how that culture is learned, passed on and changed (see also Lourenco and Glidewell (1975), Zucker (1988), Di Maggio (1988), Ritti et al (1986), Leblebici et al, (1991), Reed (1985), Perrow (1979).²

The adoption of a radical approach to an historical sequence of events does not entail a rejection of accumulated conventional material. Conventional published material, although varying in detail, may be said to share a structure of reasoning which Benson (1977) has referred to as the 'rational selection model', prompted as a function of goal pursuit and/or need fulfilment.

This view has been coupled with a methodological stance which accepts the conventionally understood components of the organisation as scientific categories. The combination has uncritically accepted existing organisational

² The vast majority of literature on institutions still concentrates on the impersonal structures of tasks, rules and authority relations as central to the rationalising of the modern world within a capitalist setting. Without doubt, the penetrative revelation of the mechanism of crisis does not offer any appeal to organisational management.

arrangements and adapted itself to the interests of administrative elites. As a consequence organisational analysis has been dominated by issues of administrative concern. Its primary research questions have been administrative issues one step removed. (Benson 1977, 2).

Much valuable insight may be gained from published work which has intuitively remained partly free of the dominant model - focusing on such phenomena as alternative power structures, strategic contingencies, political economy, negotiated order and co-optative mechanisms.

MEASURING OR ANALYSING INSTITUTIONALISATION: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

This chapter has gone to some length to explore and establish a theoretical base which will empower a study of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. There is need now to link theory with practice and to establish how a measure may be put on the institutionalising process. The following discussion owes much to Wickam's (1991) placement of sociology in an institutional setting.

Knowledges of institutional contexts are as subject to institutional limits and conditions of operation as are knowledges of the "world or 'society'. To put it crudely, institutionalised geography is whatever particular activities are carried out within the limits and conditions of operation of the institutions of geography. Wickham (1991, 363) using Foucaultian thinking, sees institutions as

. . . configurations of formal knowledges, formal administrative procedures and informal rule restrictions and codes of conduct. The configurations follow no necessary pattern and can only be described in particular instances.

If this is applied to academic geography in New Zealand, an institution (be it a university geography department or school department) could be described as a configuration of formal and theoretical knowledges with the mandate to profess (be it by teaching, research or publication), formal administrative procedures and informal rule restrictions and codes of conduct. The limits to what constitutes an institution can only be described in each configuration. New Zealand has six university geography departments. Even though they may have a common thread of ancestry and appointment, they all differ markedly in style and emphasis. The conditions of operation for geography in New Zealand are largely the conditions of operation of the six different departments, the New Zealand Geographical Society, the input of

professional geographers in the workplace, and school geography via the Department/Ministry of Education. The conditions of operation vary from one to another and cannot be predicted. Examples of this would include, industrial conditions (teaching loads, salaries, permanency of tenure), sources of funding (research, equipment, curriculum committees), the wills of personalities within a department and the requirements of students, governments and other bodies. Different institutions accord different status and circulation to different knowledges (political economists, feminists, process geomorphologists, planners etc.). These knowledges may be circulated among the various institutions as truth, faded truth, falsehood and hypotheses, via books, journals, conferences, teaching and conversation. The distinctiveness of each institution is thus offset by its links to other institutions within the country and overseas.

MEASURING AND EVALUATING INSTITUTIONALISATION

How then is institutionalisation measured and evaluated? The process of geographic institutionalisation is a continuous one, taking place at all levels and at every exchange and is too comprehensive to be captured in its entirety. It is also highly subjective. No two observers can possibly agree on the significance of certain occurrences over another. The writer admits to a necessary selectivity and also accepts that the community of geographers, particularly those who have been involved in the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand, will not agree to every interpretation of events detailed in this thesis. An important common question has been, 'What events involving structures or agents can you recall, however large or small, that have in some way signalled a change to the status quo?' A basic premise of this thesis is the, to be well argued, assertion that change in institutional life is easiest to measure by treating it as a contested process. The operation of structure and agency in any given situation is subject to contradiction, ruptures, incompatibilities and inconsistencies within the fabric of life.

Social Construction/Production

As a first category of analysis, Benson views the transformation of the social world as being rooted in the fundamental characteristics of human social life. People are continually constructing the social world. Through their interaction with each other, social patterns are gradually built and eventually a set of institutional arrangements is established. Through continued interactions, the arrangements previously constructed are gradually modified or replaced. The arrangements are themselves constrained by existing social structures which work powerfully to occasion their own

reproduction. It is this interconnecting series of structures that distinguish Benson's second category of Totality.

Totality

The principle of Totality expresses a commitment to study social arrangements as complex, interrelated wholes with partly autonomous parts. Benson notes that these parts are not centrally controlled and regulated except in rare cases. Dialectical analysis, while looking at wholes, stresses the partial autonomy of the components. Thus Totality contradicts the classical concept of an orderly evolution of rationalised systems of social relations.

Contradictions

Watkins (1974, 4) defines Contradictions as generative forces which create a tension that is relieved only through the transformation of the existing totality. This is the key to an ongoing dialectic transformative process of social production that produces new social formations. Benson (1977) noted a threefold role of social contradictions. 1) They may work to occasion dislocations and crises which activate the search for alternative social arrangements; 2) they may combine in ways which facilitate or in ways which may thwart social mobilisation; 3) they define the limits of change within a particular period or within a given system.

Praxis

Praxis allows for the reality of human action in the dialectic arena, whereby human experience and practice is continually regenerated through self-creating action. The human element is dialectical analysis uses praxis in dereifying established social patterns and structures by pointing out their arbitrary character, undermining their sense of inevitability, uncovering the contradictions and limits of the present order and in revealing the mechanism of transformation. (Benson 1977, 16).

Using a Framework of Analysis

Benson's framework of analysis is complicated and can be confusing to operate. The writer has arranged the framework (Table 4.1) in a way that will make it usable in the field to identify behaviours within the categories of analysis. The four main **Categories of Analysis** (Social Construction/Production, Totality, Contradictions and Praxis) are preceded by several ~~Focusing~~ **Questions** asking, Why?, For

Whom? and To Whose Advantage? This enables the introduction of a dialectical form which is then amplified in the categories of analysis. To help identify the categories of analysis, the third part of the hierarchy of analysis is a series of linked *Indicators* providing headings which specify specific components operative within the four main areas of analysis. In this setting, organisational phenomena can be understood as wholes as well as having an interpenetrating complexity.

The final level within the structure is a *Glossary of Applicable Terms*, designed to act as 'triggers' to alert a researcher looking for evidence of behaviours within a dialectic setting. The list is by no means exhaustive and may be added to at any time. On occasion, an individual term can be used within several categories.

ORAL HISTORY AS A RESEARCH FORM

The final part of this chapter on theoretical perspectives gives attention to oral history as a research form. The lack of written record pertaining to many of the events discussed in this thesis has required extensive oral input in the form of taped interviews. Much of the written material which does exist in the form of official and secondary sources is accurate and valuable in positioning events, outcomes and the 'bones' of what happened. At the same time written material often fails to reveal the reality of contestation nor indeed the nature of the political processes central to this thesis. However, by using these sources as a collimate with oral testimony, it is possible to place 'flesh' on 'bones' in a way that would be otherwise impossible.

As a research form, oral history techniques have attracted considerable attention in recent years (for example see Bernard, et al, 1984; Johnson et al, 1981; Thompson, 1988; Vansina, 1985). Bernard (1984) and his associates, in an extensive quantitative study of informant accuracy, assert, ' . . . the evidence of informant accuracy . . . ought to lead . . . to a rich, relatively unexplored arena of research'. Thompson (1988) observes that although the term 'Oral History' is, like the tape recorder, a relatively new innovation with radical implications for the future, it does not mean that it has no past. Oral history was the first kind of history and came under siege in two stages; first when historians and bureaucrats began keeping written records; and second when empiricist methodology demanded something more concrete than oral testimony.

TABLE 4.1 A Framework of Institutional Analysis

FOCUSING QUESTIONS	CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS	INDICATORS	GLOSSARY OF APPLICABLE TERMS WITHIN THE LITERATURE
Why?	Social Construction/ Production (mechanism through which it is maintained/ reproduced and its continuous reproduction)	Ideas Action Interests Power	purposes structures technology collective goals, parochialism, patriarchy survival predictability, exploitation, coercion inequality dependence compliance, conflict.
For Whom?	Totality (multiple interconnection as part of a larger whole)	Organisational Morphology (officially enforced and conventionally accepted view of the organisation)	paradigm commitments. recognised legitimate arrangements, differentiation, centralisation, bureaucratisation, constitutions, terms of participation, organisation environment, conformity
For Whom?		Organisational Substructure (basis for transformation of the organisation's morphology)	non-rational sphere of organisational action linking participants, linkages, bases of recruitment, framework of interests, power structures, sexual social, racial and ethnic groups
To whose Advantage	Contradictions (contradictions, ruptures, inconsistencies, incompatibles within the fabric of life)	The Production of Contradictions	divisions, reward structures, control structures, exploitation, coercion, periods of crisis, contradictory arrangements, morale, status, antagonism. tensions, conflicts, possibilities for reconstruction, crises
	Praxis (free and creative reconstruction within a dialectical setting)	Reconstruction of Social Arrangements	dialectical relations, provinces of meaning, socialising, rewarding, adjusting, structuring, negotiating, control, reconstructing

Source: After Benson (1977)

No form of recording or recalling past events is inviolate. The collective and contradictory relationship of our society to its past assures us that much.

The field is crossed by competing constructions of the past, often at war with each other. Dominant memory is produced in the course of these struggles and is always open to contestation (Johnson et al, 1981, 212).

It is perhaps a reverse form of logic to argue on behalf of the reliability of oral testimony by revealing the weaknesses of standard sources of information, but historical constructions such as Parliamentary reports, academic publications, historical accounts and general journalism, when linked to academic or government institutions, take on a 'correctness'; they breathe a sense of 'tradition' guaranteeing the inviolability of the broad ground rules of institutional activity. Institutions, when accorded sufficient status, achieve a degree of autonomy, operating with high-cultural, educational, preservational or archival purposes. The value of published material is not disputed. All recorded history, be it oral or written, has to be continually interpreted and re-interpreted.

Thomson et al, offer compelling reasons for the use of popular memory in capturing elements of history that are commonly ignored by conventional methods.

There is a . . . way of looking at the social production of memory which draws attention to quite other processes. A knowledge of past and present is also produced in the course of everyday life. There is a common sense of the past which, though it may lack consistency and explanatory force, none the less contains elements of good sense. Such knowledge may circulate, usually without amplification, in everyday talk and in personal comparisons and narratives . . . Usually this history is held to the level of private remembrance. It is not only unrecorded, but actually silenced. It is not offered the occasion to speak (Thomson et al, 1981, 210).

The personal accounts and views concerning geography in New Zealand, garnered by letting participants and observers simply recall events, in which ever way they chose, is extremely illuminating. More than a few respondents expressed the cathartic nature of telling, often for the first time, of events that influenced the course of the discipline in this country. That the 'facts' do not always agree is of little import. Cross checking, splitting and triangulation techniques (see Smith, 1989) help to establish many accounts with accuracy. The struggle faced by the Feminist geographers to establish a beachhead within the discipline takes on a poignancy

when previously unrecorded history is told with feeling and frustration. Oral history provides the means to deprofessionalise history: 'it gives history back to the people in their own words' (Thompson 1988, 226). According to this view then, oral history has the capacity to transform the social relations of research because it is inherently democratic. It can transform the content of history because it necessarily provides alternative viewpoints which might otherwise never be expressed or recorded.

The writer agrees with Buttimer's (1983) introduction to *The Practice of Geography* in which a personalised view of geography is argued.

Why not, then, invite senior scholars to share insight from their own life experiences? Freed from those psychological and political constraints which normally surround institutionally defined roles and agenda, would they not be in a better position now to offer information and reflection on the oral history of the discipline? At least they can offer their own interpretations, tell their own stories, and let us see what may be learned from the listening (Buttimer 1983, 5).

and

Autobiographically based career stories in geography demonstrate, explicitly and implicitly, how necessary it is to maintain an open attitude toward both the unique and the general, and suggest what a loss it would be if a pluralism of styles could not be encouraged (Buttimer 1983, 8).

The oral history techniques employed in gathering information for this thesis are covered in some detail in Chapter 5.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has employed three theoretical chapters to bring the focus down to a level at which it may be engaged in the form of institutional analysis. Chapter 2 examined the history and nature of geographical enquiry. Chapter 3 has discussed the concept and structure of class relations within capitalist society, focussing through the state mechanism to the education system and geography within that system. The present chapter has defined the role of institutions, considered it as a process and suggested a framework of institutional analysis. Finally, as an essential tool for eliciting information on the process of institutionalisation, the place of oral history as a research form, has been considered.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

*I wish he would explain his
explanation.*

Lord Byron

*Don Juan, c.1, dedication
II.*

A PERSONAL INTRODUCTION ¹

It is the purpose of every thesis to be unique. This effort is no exception. Trained as a Primary School teacher, I decided to undertake university study at the age of 30, having taught for seven years. Studying part-time through the University of Newcastle, New South Wales, I wrote my honours thesis whilst living in Fiji. That thesis involved the application of the SOLO2 taxonomy to the Higher School Certificate Geography Course in NSW. Upon settling in New Zealand, my natural interest in processes within society and qualitative evaluation, was greatly assisted by Associate Professor Richard Le Heron who directed me towards appropriate reading lists during my convalescence from a serious motor bike accident in 1988. I resigned as Principal of Longburn College to commence full time work on this PhD in January 1990. Fig 5.1 represents the initial research design that I developed after presenting my proposal to the Department of Geography at Massey University. Coming into New Zealand geography as a rank outsider has presented some difficulty. I very much sense my intrusion into a field where many of those interviewed have been living and breathing New Zealand geography for many years. It is daunting to presume to take onboard so broad a body of knowledge about New Zealand geography in so short a space of time. At the same time, it must be

¹ I take the liberty, in this chapter, to write in the 1st person.

² Structure of Observed Learning Outcomes, See Collis, K.F. & Biggs, J.B. (1982) *Evaluating the Quality of Learning: The SOLO Taxonomy*, Academic Press. See also Hammond, J.G. (1983) *The Application of the SOLO Taxonomy to the Higher School Certificate Geography Course in New South Wales*, Unpublished B A (Hons) Thesis, University of Newcastle, NSW.

recognised that I have not brought in any particular 'bag of bias' that must accrue from coming up through a particular department or being taught by significant figures within the system.

SPECIFIC PROCEDURES

The procedures used in this thesis suit the aims of a thesis which attempts to demonstrate a process of institutionalisation. This process involves many sensitive events which needed to be elicited from many people. In developing a questionnaire that satisfies the requirements of organisation theory, I had to design questions which would allow people to express themselves freely. The question sheet (see appendix E) was not designed to be given to the respondent for several reasons. The first reason is that sequence of questions tended to vary with each individual, depending on their role. The second is that some of the questions were fairly sensitive and would be worded differently, depending on the 'climate' of the interview.

Some of the major methodological features that would normally be in this section have received comprehensive treatment in the previous chapter on institutional analysis. Specifically these are Measuring and Analysing the process of institutionalisation and Oral history as a research form.

CONDUCTING AN ORAL INTERVIEW

The previous chapter discussed the role of Oral History in research. What follows are the specific procedures employed.

1. In the early interviews, I held the large questionnaire. There was good reason for keeping these, as fore-knowledge of some questions would cause some to become uncooperative. Within a few weeks, I was sufficiently familiar with the questionnaire to dispense with holding the large questionnaire which tended to distract the interviewee. I did hold a notepad to jot notes during the interview. If I held nothing at all, it tended to give the impression that I was ill-prepared.
2. I used a *GPT Dictaphone Voice Processor* with full size cassette 90 minute capacity. The unit measured 140 x 80 mm and was placed unobtrusively on a table or on the floor. It had an audio signal to indicate tape run-out and could be ignored once the interview began.

3. All interviews were transcribed using a *Sony Secutive Transcriber BM - 25A* with tape counter. All transcriptions record the counter reading every few paragraphs. This will enable subsequent researchers to quickly find relevant portions of interviews on the original tapes.
4. The transcribed interviews were placed on hard disk on a *Macintosh* computer. Their sheer size mandated several files listed alphabetically. By merging these files and using the command/find function, it was possible to access any item within a few seconds, by using key words as cues.
5. Every interview commenced with a general conversation about the individual's career and this would allow a smooth transition to specific questions. By simply allowing the interviewee to feel 'in charge' by talking about their career, and by inserting relevant questions on my part, many of the sensitive questions on the sheet were automatically covered. I also gained the impression that there are distinct advantages in being an older student when it comes to conducting interviews involving sensitive matters.
6. At the end of every interview, the respondent was asked if they were happy with the line of questions and if there was something they thought should be mentioned. These final 'nugget' questions were often the most valuable and provided much important material.
7. The maximum number of interviews done in one day was five. There is a considerable emotional drain in conducting oral interviews. Two interviews in a day would represent an ideal rate. Frequently it was three.
8. At the conclusion of the interview, a Data Clearance Form (see appendix D) was signed. In 130 interviews, there were four people who placed restrictions on the use of material elicited. These instructions have been strictly adhered to.

RESEARCH POPULATION

The research population in this study consisted of anyone who had some part, or useful comment, on the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. The timing of this study is fortunate in that most of those involved in some way with geography in this country over the last 55 years, are still alive. Some are aged and it was appropriate that this study be conducted when it was. In the time since this thesis was commenced several have died, Appendix A lists those who have been interviewed formally, informally, or contacted. My contact list was initially derived from the staffing lists of the New Zealand geography departments over 55 years (see appendix B. From these initial contacts, the list grew as various people were contacted. A number

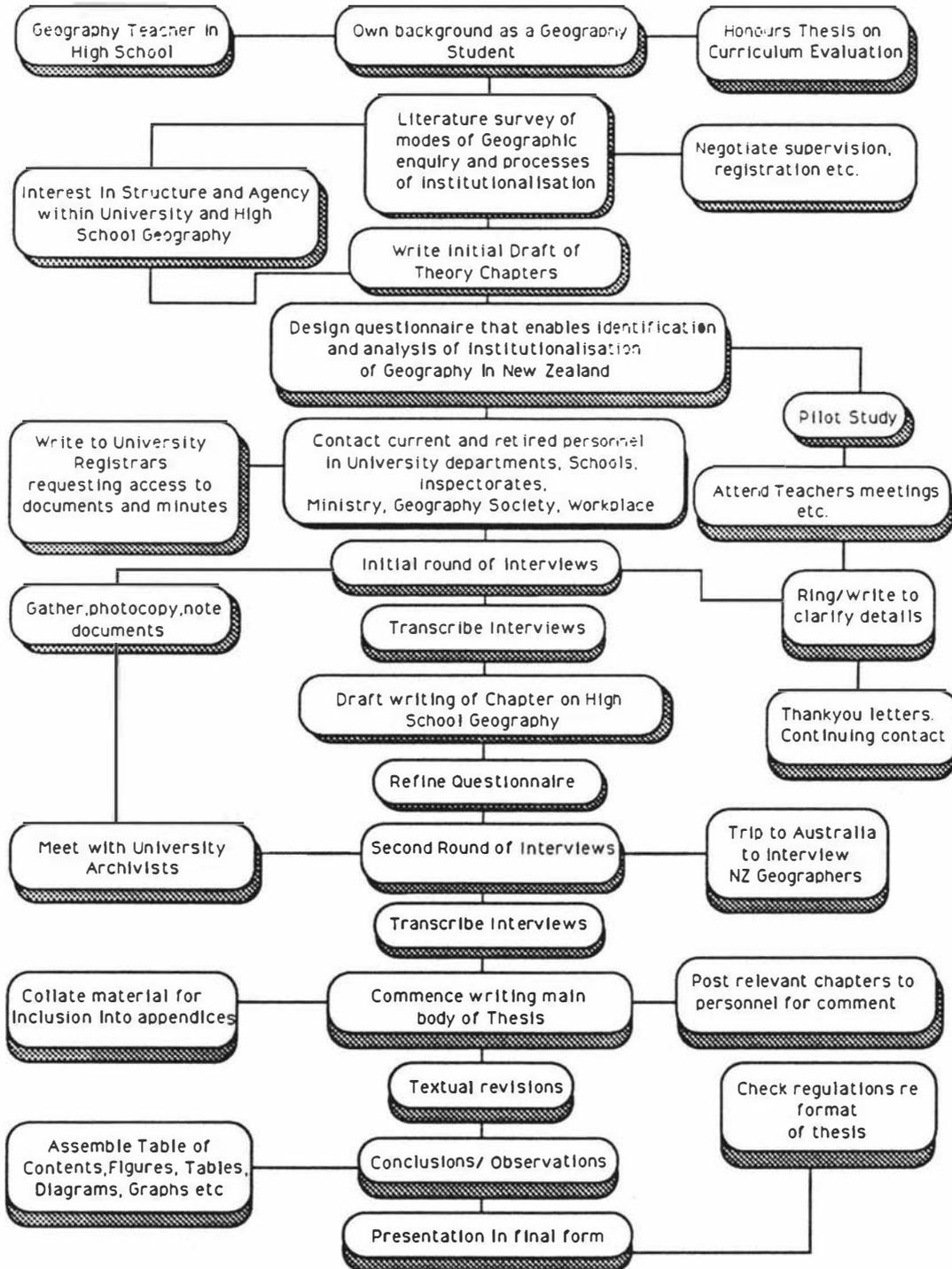


FIGURE 5.1 Overview of Research Design

of geographers living overseas, were kind enough to answer specific questions on tape or in writing. Conducting the interviews took considerable travel and time. Each of the six university departments received at least two, week long visits. In October 1991, I traveled to Australia and interviewed connections in 13 universities over three weeks in Queensland, NSW, South Australia and Victoria. I must record my gratitude for the kindness with which I was universally met. There have been a number of significant people not interviewed for various reasons. Some were on Sabbatical. Some were away at the time. Others could just not be accommodated by my schedule.

Sometimes the second interview proved more tricky than the first, as it became known to some, that I was privy to new and interesting information. This meant that the interviewee could, on occasion become the interviewer. For professional reasons, I did not formally interview my three supervisors but countless informal conversations served the same purpose. I was aware of the possible bias in writing from within the Massey department which has accommodated me for the past three years.

THE PILOT STUDY

After consultation with my chief supervisor, twenty active or retired geographers were chosen who were considered representative of the range of people likely to be contacted in the main study (these people are noted in appendix A). Using the prepared questionnaire, I interviewed these people in early 1991. All interviews were transcribed in full and from this I was able to slightly modify the questions and my technique, to form that which became standard procedure. A number of these people were subsequently contacted by telephone in order to clarify points with a view to bringing these interviews up to standard with the later interviews. The transcribed interviews became part of the main body of data.

Shortly after conducting the first round of interviews, it was decided to write a draft chapter in order to see how the use of oral interviews would juxtapose with conventional material. The chapter relating to High School geography was selected first due to its complex and previously unresearched nature and due to the short-term loan of official Department of Education files. This draft formed the basis of Chapter 7. As part of this draft, I prepared a visual chart of changes within society and government structures apropos high school geography. This enabled a visualising of

links and processes which allowed the interactions of structure and agency to become apparent. A copy of this chart is included as appendix N.

COLLECTION AND TREATMENT OF DATA

Data for this thesis came from a number of sources. Recording the interviews and transcribing them was a major task. Over 120 x 90 minute tapes were filled. The transcribing of these was a lengthy process, not entrusted to another person for the simple reason that a third party would have difficulty in discriminating nuances of meaning and irrelevant conversation. The interviews amounted to nearly 1,000,000 words of transcription. The original tapes and transcriptions in hard copy and floppy disks will be filed permanently with the *Alexander Turnbull Library* in Wellington as part of the national oral history archive.

The second major source of information was the research of material in departmental files, personal papers, books, periodicals, historical collections and ROM searches. One or two items are of considerable importance and will be filed with the historical collection presently being established within the Department of Geography at Massey University. Of particular interest are the originals of correspondence and reviews given to me by Professor Emeritus Richard Hartshorne from his own collection.

Having all the transcribed interviews on computer, with rapid access to any part of any interview by using key words as cues, the information was relatively simple to use. The body of the thesis text does not attempt to distinguish between oral interview and formal written work, except by referring to footnotes which identify particular individuals and by checking the bibliographic entry in appendix A. This has been done intentionally because it was difficult to find sufficient reason to argue why one source should be privileged over another. Admittedly a person is more circumspect when putting things down in writing, but what is said, is still representative of what that person really thinks. The responsibility of deciding what was really intended, lies, of course, with me.

Because this thesis is built around much personal contact gained through interview, there is more attention given to actual quotes than would normally be used in a thesis text. This is intentional and will give the reader a clearer impression of the verbatim opinions of those involved.

ACCURACY OF INFORMATION

Accuracy of information is always a problem, particularly with a thesis involving the opinions of many people. With the contentious nature of some issues, there is a natural variation in interpreting events, something which is unremarkable in retrieving the past, in any setting. Copies of Chapters 7, 9,10,11 and 12 were sent, in whole or in part to people who would have been witnesses to, or familiar with, the events portrayed. Their critical comments and suggestions have been closely studied and, where appropriate, changes and additions have been made to the text. Generally, when enough people were asked about an event, a strong degree of consistency tended to prevail.

CHAPTER 6

AN EDUCATIONAL SETTING FOR SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND

*I call therefore a complete
and generous education that
which fits a man to perform
justly, skillfully and
magnanimously all the offices
both private and public of
peace and war.*

John Milton 1608 - 1674

Of Education

INTRODUCTION

In developing an account of the institutionalisation of Geography in New Zealand, consideration needs to be given to the history of State education. It is within this setting that we can begin to comprehend the interplay of forces that have acted either in concert, or opposition to produce what we call 'geography' today in New Zealand.

The nature of historical enquiry is vexed with the problem of relating past occurrences in a way that a present reality can comprehend. Important work has been done in recent years in rewriting educational history in New Zealand in a form which has enabled a dialogue between social theory and evidence (for examples see Arnold, 1973; Codd, Harker and Nash, 1985; Harker, 1984; Openshaw and McKenzie, 1987; Shuker, 1986). This dialogue has been in the form of a structure based on an understanding of contemporary social theory, which, it is held, provides an historian with a rigorous tooling with which to interpret past events. This 'revision' has come about as the result of trenchant criticisms of traditional histories of education (for examples see Cumming et al, 1978; McLaren, 1973; Murdoch, 1943; and Webb, 1937.) that have tended to approach the topic as if it were unequivocally progressive and historically inevitable. This represents a break with traditionally held interpretations, which, as Shuker (1986, 130) has noted, has largely followed the

mold of the liberal-progressive 'onward and upward' interpretation of the rise of public education in which the steady development of an education system has been closely linked with the widely held concept which regards an education as the primary vehicle for dissolving barriers to social mobility, opening up class structure and keeping it fluid by permitting considerably more circulation through class positions than would otherwise be possible.

The development of mass schooling is seen by liberal-progressives as a reflection of an egalitarian ethos in American society - tempered, of course, by the demands of urbanisation, industrialisation and an extended polity. The continued development of schooling, through a series of reforms and extensions to the established system, is regarded as an enlightened, relatively conflict-free way toward more democratic and egalitarian social relations and conditions. (Shuker 1986, 13)

The main criticism levelled at this interpretation is that it largely accepts the official rhetoric of policy makers, at the expense of the experiences of those touched by the system. As Shuker again notes (1986, 15)

What emerges implicitly, however, is a picture of the slow but steady evolution of a centralised state education system engendered essentially by liberal-minded policy makers, in response to changing public demands on the school system.

Analytical studies of social movement within the last 30 years, have provided a setting in which an alternative viewpoint has been established. This viewpoint, as expressed by revisionist writers such as Shuker, Openshaw, McKenzie and Harker, is that schools in New Zealand, while operating within the liberal ideology of egalitarianism, serve to reproduce existing social and economic divisions within society in a contested manner that is historically constructed and maintained.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND.

The creation and consolidation of national school systems was a feature in Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand during the latter part of the 19th Century. McLaren (1987, 65), suggests that the history of secondary education in New Zealand in the 19th Century divides into three fairly well-defined periods: one of little demand (1840 - 77); one of spurious demand (1877 - 90); and one of genuine demand (1890 - 1903). In the period between 1840 and the first Education Act of 1877, the concern of the populace was more directed towards survival. McLaren (1987, 65) in citing the New Zealand Parliamentary Debates of the day, notes the recorded prevailing comments made in the House of Representatives. 'Not one in a

thousand of the poorer classes send their children to school after they are fourteen years of age', one parliamentarian claimed in 1871. Another asserted that five to ten thousand children had grown up 'without even the commonest education'. Only a minority of early settlers who could afford to pay for their son's extended schooling were willing to do so, partly because they needed them to help at home, partly because to all but a few parents, the traditional grammar school menu offered little appeal. McLaren continues,

The debates on an education bill sponsored reluctantly by the Premier, William Fox, in 1871, reflected the prevailing apathy, almost antipathy, towards secondary education... Most of his colleagues were of the opinion that the state had 'no business whatever to provide establishments more expensive than are required for elementary school instruction'. If secondary schooling became generally available, one representative of the southern gentry declared, many a child would become discontented 'with that state of life in which it had pleased God to put him', there would be no one left to clean the boots, and New Zealand would be 'a nation of educated paupers'.

At this stage in the nation's development, it was apparent that secondary education was considered beyond the scope of colonial resources or even pretensions. Up until 1877 education was a provincial concern. Shuker (1987, 43) records that initial attempts to legislate for a national education system proved unsuccessful in the face of sectional interests. However, the debate did enable the airing of the various arguments on the issue: economic well-being, the value in a democracy of an educated populace, and, in particular, the prevention of criminality.

THE 1877 EDUCATION ACT AND THE CENTRALISING OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM.

The Education Act of 1877 was a landmark in New Zealand state education, following the Abolition of the Provinces Act in 1875, which opened the way for the creation of a uniform national education system. The 1877 Education Act provided for free and compulsory schooling at the elementary level. Webb (1937, 29) cites the NZPD report of Justice Minister Bowen who claimed that it was 'the most decentralising bill that has been passed in any English country'. The Act's eventful passage through the House of Representatives had been against a background of religious and secular interests accustomed to substantial influence in matters of schooling at a provincial level. The government was at pains to point out that the new three tiered system of administration consisting of a Minister controlling an Education Department at the top, supported by twelve education boards at the next level with a broadly stated mandate

to continue to function with as little change as possible. The lowest tier was made up of school committees elected by ballot from local householders.

Although the stated purpose of the 1877 Act was to maintain a decentralised system of education, the Minister of Education was quoted in the *New Zealand Herald* of 24 May 1888 as stating that

... in the interests of the system it is desirable that the Boards should take over the entire functions of administration and inspection

In fact, the political upheaval of the 1890s brought into power a Ministry with a will to action. The unevenness of the provincial education boards had been exacerbated by the depression of the 1880s, and funding, which had been designed on a per capita basis, meant that the wealthier, more highly populated provinces were being funded on a basis of might more than need. An 1888 investigation by Education Minister George Fisher, enabled the government to attest the need for increasing the powers of the Education Department. By the 1890s, in an era of evolving political systems where the old colonial aristocracy was giving way to a second generation of administrators. Shuker (1987, 49) observes,

... a social and economic pattern began to emerge in something like its modern form: class grouping and associated political parties coalesced, a pastoral economy developed, and the Liberals established the basis of the welfare state. Against this background occurred the consolidation and extensions of compulsory education and the school's credentialling system.

The period is an important one in New Zealand history marked by the development of refrigeration, which enabled an expansion of sheep and dairy farming. A substantial growth in urban population with a growth in the power of the central state and the state bureaucracy were a feature of the period. This maturing of the state machinery makes clear the emergence of the interventionist state in New Zealand. Shuker (1987, 51) cites Mueli's 1977 analysis which argued that the expansion of new middle class occupations marked three fundamental economic trends:

1. The increasing productivity of machinery, land and labour in agriculture and manufacturing.
2. The magnification of distribution, involving the interrelated functions of transport, communications, finance and trade; and

3. The increasing scale of coordination required by a more elaborate, complex and interdependent economy.

THE CREDENTIALLING FUNCTION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The period from 1890 to 1930 saw a rapid increase in the number of children attending schools, and with it came a developing credentialling function. The endowed schools with their classical based curriculums became symbolic of the privileges enjoyed by the affluent. Students attending the rural District High Schools were deemed to have a lessened advantage in trying to achieve the academic bias espoused by the 'Secondary Schools' of the city. The 1914 Education Act saw the establishment of Technical High Schools providing a general education with a non-academic emphasis. Shuker (1987, 52) who identifies the emergence of a 'new middle class' with the development of service, administrative and reproduction (of labour powers) functions, cites Fairburn (1979, 9).

After the late 1890s, from proficiency to matriculation, the function of the school in an increasingly urbanized bureaucratic society was to act as a social filter, determining the composition of a new middle class, deciding who would enter the white collar and professional occupations and who could not. From the late 1890s parents gradually recognized that these newly-created occupations were sources of material security and social prestige.

McKenzie (1987, 82) posits that the credentialling function was spectacularly reinforced by the introduction of the 'Junior' Civil Service Examination which, from 1886, fulfilled the requirements of an egalitarian political ethic, not only in rural districts, but also in urban areas. McKenzie also suggests that the very success of the school system in providing occupational mobility through examination credentials, competitively attained, induced a conservative attitude towards curricular decisions.

THE DEPRESSION AND POST WAR YEARS

The early 1920s commenced a period of depression in New Zealand in which teachers salaries were cut, school building expenditure trimmed and funding subsidies slashed. Shuker quotes the Atmore Report of 1930 which reflected the effects of economic depression on the education system as the expediencies of cost cutting overrode concerns such as curricula and equality of educational opportunity. This also had the effect of strengthening the dependency on centralised state control.

From the point of view of administrative cost as well as of harmonious and efficient working, it has long been manifest that a reorganisation of the existing system of control by a central education department and local Primary, Secondary, and Technical School Boards was overdue (Appendices of the Journal of the House of Representatives 1930, 1-8A:2)

McKenzie (in Codd et al 1985, 193) notes that the government made a clumsy political response to a financial crisis by raising the level of difficulty of the Proficiency Examination. The result was that the numbers of children able to take advantage of free secondary education in 1932 were significantly reduced. McKenzie cites Broadfoot's (1978, 57) thesis that,

Assessment practices reflect and reinforce the often conflicting values embodied in the education system ... [and that] ... debates over the reform of assessment procedures frequently illustrate the tension that exists between, for example, educational goals defined by industry and those of teachers, or [the] conflict ... between elitists and reformers.

The economic depression of the 1930s was a watershed in New Zealand's history, which as Shuker (1987, 58) describes, was the abrupt interruption of an ideology. If indeed New Zealand had ever been the Utopia of the South Seas, the myth was exploded. By 1933 there were nearly 80,000 registered unemployed and the stage was set for the sweeping Labour victories in 1935 and 1938 which oversaw the emergence of the modern welfare interventionist state which again altered the balance between society and the state.

By the late 1930s, New Zealand was beginning to emerge from the depression years. The celebrated policy statement by Education Minister Peter Fraser, in 1939, became a benchmark of policy.

The government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he lives in town or country, has a right as a citizen, to a free education of the kind to which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers.

Thus was expressed the new idealism that was being engendered by Fraser and Beeby, who, as the newly appointed Director General of Education, expanded the administration and professional influence of the Education Department. The New Education Fellowship Conference in 1938 reflected a growing overseas influence in curriculum design. The Thomas Report, which was articulated into the 1945 Education

Act, saw the introduction of University Entrance examinations and a standardised curriculum for the lower secondary school. Although the post war educational policy of the Labour government was stated as being to improve access to a secondary schooling which would cater to the full range of student ability and needs, Shuker (1987, 63) notes that, paradoxically, the desire for academic credentials for the job market weakened the effort to make schooling more responsive to individual needs. As a result, credentialism remained strong, and continued to exert a dominant influence on the secondary school curriculum.

THE LONG BOOM AND BUST

The 1950s and 1960s saw New Zealand enjoy economic prosperity measured as among the highest in the world. Expansion was reflected in every facet of state education, both in schools and universities. Levels of education subsidies were increased across the board and Curriculum Units were established with a mandate to organise the preparation, coordination and revision of curricula and syllabuses with the assistance of field officers to supervise the execution. (Cumming et al 1978, 348). Such expansionist policies worked well within the dominant liberal ideology of the time, but became increasingly difficult to sustain as the Long Boom faded and New Zealand became caught up in the international recession which marked the 1970s and 1980s. Shuker and Harker (1986,7) write,

This picture of growth is a general one, and does not indicate the inequalities and divisions in the labour force, class structure and the conditions of work in different sectors of the economy. Such features were obscured by the dominant liberal ideology of these growth years, an ideology difficult to sustain subsequently during a period of economic crisis. This dominant ideology was premised on individualism and a view of education as allowing individuals the freedom to develop to the fullest extent of their powers.

In retrospect, the expansionist policies based on the so called liberal ideology never meant any decentralising of state control in the matter of education. In the schools, the contest to revitalise the curriculum vis-a-vis the determination of some sectors in government to maintain control over curriculum matters, became a battlefield in which the conventional liberal theses on education, social equity and economic growth were subjected to separate critical attacks from libertarian anarchists, radical sociologist and neo-conservatives alike (Nash 1989, 114). The 'Back to Basics' controversy, in the early 1980's was a protracted exemplar of which, as Knight (1986, 47) points out, has a superficial validity during times of economic recession which neither scholarly

argument nor evidence can easily refute. Such claims typically represent and in part conceal conservative political and economic values and intentions.

TABLE 6.1 Total Expenditure on Education in New Zealand, with some Comparisons

<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount</i> <i>(000)</i>	<i>%</i> <i>GNP</i>	<i>% Total Govt.</i> <i>Expenditure</i>
New Zealand	1970	267 616	6.1	12.9
	1975	631 751	6.1	17.1
	1980	1 302 324	6.1	14.5
	1984	1 746 868	5.0	11.2
	1985	2 028 416	4.8	18.4
	1986	2 617 897	5.4	20.9
	1987	3 179 340	5.7	11.4
Australia	1987	14 726*	5.5	14.8
UK	1987	20 707*	5.0	na
USA	1987	308 800*	6.8	na

* by millions

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook: 1991

TOMORROW'S SCHOOLS TODAY

The Labour Governments of 1984 and 1987 initiated wide sweeping structural changes to the administrative operation of state education. Education Minister Russell Marshall promulgated a liberal progressive philosophy with an emphasis on individual needs and a modern pupil-centred curriculum. University Entrance was moved from Sixth to Seventh Form, with an expanded Sixth Form becoming internally assessed. A Curriculum review was initiated with a brief to recommend measures for the administrative reform of education in New Zealand. These recommendations were implemented as law as *'Tomorrow's Schools'* in October 1989.

The current *'Tomorrow's Schools'* policy, continued by the present National government, represents an interesting dichotomy of motivation in which, as Nash (1989, 113) posits, is either an economic response to the fiscal crisis and/or a fundamentally political response to a legitimating crisis. Whilst *'Tomorrow's Schools'* has been touted as an example of devolution of power from state management down to an enhanced community participation in which local school committees assume much of the responsibility formerly shouldered by the Department of Education, Nash continues by warning (1989, 113),

We should view these reforms as part of a wider strategic restructuring of the machinery of state driven by Labour's [and subsequently National's ¹] electoral need to satisfy popular demands for community participation and by its own governmental need for enhanced powers in certain crucial areas of state management.

Even before *'Tomorrow's Schools'* became enacted, the Labour government, in a clear move to gain greater political control, used the State Sector Act to replace the Westminster system of permanent heads with contract appointments.

The Department of Education, which had produced several powerful long-serving Director-Generals, deservedly renowned as *educationists*, found itself with a Director-General much experienced in the management of state forests². The government was clearly determined to reduce the power of the department for autonomous direction. (Nash 1989, 116)

¹ My addition.

² He was not even experienced in forestry. Dr Russell Ballard was trained as a soil scientist at Massey University (New Zealand Herald 24 August 1988)

Codd et al (1991, 21) argues that the School Charters are a key element in the restructuring of educational administration under the 'Tomorrow's School' policy.

It was initially described as a contract between the community and the institution, and between the institution and the state. It was also to be a statement of educational mission and a device for ensuring accountability.

Whatever the ambiguities of its initial conception, the charter has come to represent a particular contractual relationship between the state as principal and boards of trustees as agents within civil society. Codd et al (1991, 22) further notes that the policy has two main purpose: 1. to give the central agencies of the state more control over economic supply and political demand; and 2. to shift the focus of legitimation away from central government. Thus it can be seen that the new administrative structures produce a decentralisation of responsibility for resource allocation while maintaining centrally determined regulation of supply.

CONCLUSION

At this point in time, it is too early to measure the new structures placed on New Zealand school education. It is clear however, that the new boards of trustees throughout the country, as well as professional educators at school and university level, are either expressing outright suspicion, or are adopting a philosophical 'wait-and-see' attitude.

The intention of this chapter has been to provide a brief contemporary analysis of the role of state education in New Zealand. The history of state education has been that of an intense struggle for the control of education and schooling. A study of the development of High School geography is arguably best presented against a conscious portrayal of the role of cultural hegemony within school education in New Zealand society. This hegemony has been identified at several levels (Shuker 1987, 30). The first pertains to the background of resource allocation to the education system as a whole and resource allocation *within* the education system. These have had significant effects on the profile of school geography in New Zealand. The second refers to the creation and maintenance of a liberal egalitarian ideology of education. The next chapter, concerned with the development of High School geography in New Zealand, is mindful of this hegemony and utilises penetrative forms of organisational analysis, such as that developed by Benson (1977), in order to unravel the operation of structures and agencies that mark the institutionalisation of High School geography.

CHAPTER 7

SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND

*Education make a people easy
to lead, but difficult to drive;
easy to govern, but impossible
to enslave.
Look out gentlemen, the
schoolmaster is abroad!*

Lord Brougham

*Attributed to Speech,
London Mechanics
Institute 1825.*

An Overview

This chapter is not committed to a chronological account. Events however, happen in time, and this chapter covers three distinct eras in high school geography in New Zealand.

Part One: The first part of this chapter presents the development of school geography, up to the end of the Great Depression.

Part Two: deals with the period signaled by the election of the 1935 Labour government, with a Department of Education committed to major changes in the New Zealand school system. The beginnings of university geography in New Zealand are an important part of this watershed, for from this time in the late 1940s and onward, school geography was increasingly taught by university trained teachers with an active cognizance of the philosophy and methodology of the subject.

Part Three: commences by considering the groundswell of discontent being voiced by a new generation of university trained teachers which provides the natural sequencing of the final part of this chapter. In the period since 1960, school

geography has gone through a radical restructuring and consolidation which continues to the present.

An Acknowledgement

Averilda Gorrie's 1955 Thesis on the 'History of Geography in New Zealand' (Gorrie 1955) provides an important account, definitive to her time of writing, of early school geography in this country. It is not the intention to replicate Gorrie's substantive but essentially chronological account. At the same time, this writer recognises Gorrie's scholarship and the importance of her work in presenting a history of Geography to 1955.

PART 1 IN THE BEGINNING

In terms of both primary and post-primary education, geography has been part of the ill defined curriculum which characterised the beginnings of school education in New Zealand. Gorrie (1955, 688) identifies four (See Fig 7.1) periods of school geography, beginning in the 1840s when geography appeared as an exercise in scriptural location amounting to the knowledge of place names from maps of the Holy Land. Hargreaves (1989, 3) suggests that the earliest school texts came to New Zealand as part of the luggage of families or were imported by local booksellers. Gorrie's research (1955, 689) notes that the first evidence of a secular school geography in New Zealand, dates to 1853 with the publication of *'Reading Lessons in Biography, History and Geography for the Upper Classes in Primary Schools'* published by St John's College Press.¹ Hargreaves' monograph identifies *Geography, for the Use of Children in New Zealand*, dating from 1856 and which was published in both English and Maori. The textbook which was possibly authored by Richard Whateley (1787-1863), Archbishop of Dublin, was a descriptive account of the world, the land and its peoples, with occasional comparisons to New Zealand. No attempt was made to systematically describe New Zealand.

The 1877 Education Act

The initial Education Act of 1877 had been preceded by a number of enabling Education Ordinances which marked the formalising of school education in New Zealand. It was the 1877 Act however, which transferred the purely provincial control of schools into the hands of a central authority. It also marked the beginning of the

¹ According to Gorrie, the authorship of this book is some doubt. She attributes the authorship to either the Chief Justice Martin or Bishop Augustus Selwyn.

egalitarian rhetoric and the illusion that schooling is politically neutral, that has characterised New Zealand state education.

If geography did not have to contest its place in the curriculum, there were still questions being raised as to its perceived role. Gorrie (1955, 689) has recorded the account in the New Zealand Parliamentary Debates of the Member for Eden, J A Tole who, in 1877, expressed apprehension concerning the role of geography in the proposed curriculum.

Then as to geography, we all know that states throughout the world have undergone certain changes - there have been rises and falls, their boundaries have been from causes involved with certain religious faiths, altered and I can quite conceive that geography might thus be made the pretext for biased comments of a sectarian character.

The foregoing comment by the Member for Eden, made against the background of the state's perception of education as a means of maintaining social stability, underlines the claim by Codd et al (1985, 12) that this was a major theme in the parliamentary debates which preceded the Education Act of 1877. Shuker in examining the social setting of that time, notes that religion occupied a much greater place in people's lives then, than it does today.

The state made the school system secular as the only way out of situations where the major churches were ultimately unwilling to compromise and unite in a uniform school system (Shuker 1987, 45).

The 1877 Education Act provided the setting for state schooling in this country in which it has become an inherently political instrument for social and cultural reproduction. This reproduction is achieved as dominant social factions exercise their power through hegemony, thus capturing the non-coercive dimension of domination. Codd et al (1985, 10), writing of the New Zealand scene, argue compellingly that, what are often thought of as 'political issues' (of which school geography was in this instance) are only particular instances of the contestation of that more pervasive and ongoing hegemony.

The Encyclopaedic Nature of Geography

School geography in New Zealand from 1877 reflected the wide encyclopaedic nature of school geography that was to remain in vogue for many years. Petrie's

(1878) book on the *Geography of New Zealand and the Australian Colonies*, stated in his preface that the,

. . . enumeration and description of the physical features of the country have been made subordinate to the full character of its political, industrial and economical character.

The 1878 prescription for School Geography laid down for Standards 3 and 4 (Gorrie 1955, 690), reflects the teaching style and texts of the period. It reads,

Standard 3: To learn the chief towns of New Zealand; the Colonies and towns of Australia; the countries and capitals of Europe and the principal mountains and rivers of the world.

Standard 4: A knowledge of the countries of the world with their capitals and of the principal seas, gulfs, mountains, rivers, lakes, capes, straits, islands and peninsulas, on the map of the world - the drawing of rough maps of New Zealand with one set of principal features, e.g. capes, or towns, or rivers.

It has been this form of School Geography, overlaid by Regional approaches, that still appears to colour the perception of geography as held by many in the community who can still recall high school geography into the 1960s (McKenzie² 1991, 1).

Environmental Determinism

By the turn of the Century, geography in New Zealand had been imbued with a concept of environmental determinism that was to identify school geography in New Zealand through to the 1940s. (Gorrie 1955, 694). Johnston (1984, 20) records the impressions of the French author, André Siegfried who, as a visitor in 1899, saw New Zealanders as having a penchant for social darwinism with an emphasis on environment (physical and cultural) as the controlling influence on human action. The 1928 Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools makes the definitive statement that,

One of the main aims in the following syllabus is to broaden and deepen the child's knowledge of and interest in those forces of nature that determine not only man's industries but also his racial characteristics (Johnston 1984, 20).

This concept of determinism as a controlling influence in society extended beyond education into the political sphere as a response to the 'moral panic' that governed attitudes to 'Larrikins, Delinquents and Truants' in the late 19th and early 20th century

² First Lecturer in Charge of the Geography Department (1946) at VUC.

New Zealand. Shuker (1987, 81) makes it quite clear that the state interest in schooling was regarded, in part, as a form of social control. Shuker (1987, 80) quotes Vincent (1985, 49) who writes of the industrial schools,

[They] were one of the first institutionalised agents of social control to be legitimated through the New Zealand education system.

What was considered appropriate for school syllabuses, thus depended to a large degree on the interests of the dominant groups in society. The reigning paradigm of environmental determinism was quite naturally reflected in school geography.

PART 2 THE 'LIBERALISING' OF NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF SOCIAL STUDIES

Any discussion of school geography in New Zealand would be incomplete without recognising the role played by social studies. The educational thrust of social studies stole a march on school geography at this stage, for several reasons. Firstly, the need to teach social studies had become the subject of intense theorising and experimentation overseas. This interest was being generated at a time when university geography in New Zealand was still part of Sinclair's (1983, 129) 'Augustan age of repose'. The first university department of geography was not established until 1937. Until the introduction of social studies, geography was taught in both the primary and secondary school, social studies was to take the place of geography through to Form 4.

The interest in social studies grew out of new views of education and the social responsibilities of educators who looked to a new order as the western world climbed out of the depression years. The Labour victory in late 1935, ushered in a government committed to large-scale reforms, which included a re-shaping of the education system. Smart and Knight (1985, 14), in writing of the period,

It was an excellent time to become established in Wellington. In December 1935, the first Labour Government took office, with Peter Fraser as Minister of Education. The country was emerging from the years of Depression and there was a feeling of optimism and growth in the air.

Beeby (1991,1) comments,

A nation, after a war or depression, gets a sense of guilt as to how it has treated its young. I have no proof of it, but I lived through the period and I know it well

and we had a sense of guilt after the Depression. I am talking of New Zealand as a whole.

Despite the 'sense of guilt' as expressed by Beeby, the emergence of the modern interventionist welfare state took place during this period of depression and the Education Department strengthened its central control over the education system. Smart and Knight continue by citing Campbell (1949, 105) who wrote,

Unlike its immediate predecessors, the new government regarded education as a major issue and it was pledged to go ahead at full steam. The Minister of Education, the Hon P Fraser, was an enthusiastic adherent to the 'new education', as much interested in bringing about a changed spirit in the schools as in extending and equalising educational opportunity.

By 1937 the Syllabus was beginning to reflect the move towards a humanistic slant which was to be more fully articulated in the Thomas Report of 1944. The wording was basically the same as previous prescriptions but with an addition;

throughout the whole course . . . the humanistic side of geography should be stressed.

This was further accentuated by Beeby (1938,210), who wrote in 1938 that,

The broader functions of the intermediate school in New Zealand should be - to provide a socially integrative period of schooling for all children passing through the public school system at a point before they diverge along specialized lines . . . a period of expansive, realistic, and socially integrative education that will give all future citizens a common basis of experience and knowledge. No other function should be allowed to interfere with this.

The New Education Fellowship

The interest in progressive forms of education began to express itself in a number of forums, not the least of which was the *New Education Fellowship* which, as Ewing (1970, 153) notes, had come to represent the avant-garde of child-centred education through its journal, *The New Era*, and the international conferences and seminars it organised. Smart and Knight (1985, 14), recognise C E Beeby's 1937 initiative in having New Zealand designated as the venue for a series of country wide meetings, using the speakers from the recently concluded Conference of the New Education Fellowship in Australia. The meetings were to have direct links to the introduction of social studies in the New Zealand curriculum. In writing the *Forward* to the proceedings, published the following year, Peter Fraser, as Minister for Education, wrote (Campbell 1938, ix),

The visit of so many eminent educationists to New Zealand . . . was not only the event of the year as far as education in the Dominion was concerned; it was the event of many years

Despite the euphoric vein in which Fraser wrote, he was largely correct when he further claimed that the Conference,

. . . has aroused and revived interest in education in all parts of the country. Some of us hope, and have good grounds for believing, that it marked the commencement of an educational renaissance from which much will come.

Ewing (1970, 193) accounts that the Conference reinforced the liberal objectives of the government. Lectures and seminars were arranged concurrently in the four main centres on the general subject of educational reorganisation. Schools were closed enabling nearly six thousand teachers to attend.

Reform was in the air. Parents and the general public caught the enthusiasm, the meetings overflowed and 'education' dominated newspaper headlines (Ewing 1970, 193).

Beeby (1991, 2), in interview, continues,

It was a jumping off point and was also the reason why I was appointed the Director of Education. I only learnt this later, that Peter Fraser was very impressed with some of the lectures by Susan Isaacs³, and four or five of them (visiting lecturers), I don't know who they were, went up to see him and they told him that if he wanted to revivify the whole education system, and the Director of Education was retiring at the end of 1939 and (that if) he wanted to recreate the position of Assistant Director General, and what was their advice and whom should they appoint? They recommended that I should be appointed.

Beeby was appointed the Assistant Director General in 1938 before becoming Director General in 1940. Of that appointment Beeby (1991, 2) states

I became the Director General of Education on Jan 1, 1940 and realised that the really important thing was to handle curriculum. I could have made all sorts of structural changes, administrative changes - all the sorts of things that they have done recently, but I had to make a decision between structural things and administrative problems, or the curriculum. I decided on the curriculum. So we took the subjects starting with the primary school. This is where social studies began - in the primary school. I set up a series of committees on each subject. history and geography I brought together in social studies.

³ Susan Isaacs, at that time Head of the Department of Child Development, at the Institute of Education, The University of London, was one of the key figures at the conference.

Thus was set the platform from which the *Consultative Committee on the Post-Primary Curriculum* was set up under the chairmanship of William Thomas in November 1942. Despite the apparent euphoria and enthusiasm with which this era is recalled, Openshaw and Archer (1989, 7) paraphrase Goodson (1983) by noting that school subjects represent substantial and competing interest groups, each fighting for greater resources and academic status, producing conflict over status, resources and territory.

There is therefore no justification for regarding the historical development of any specific curriculum area as constituting a linear progression towards the ideal (Openshaw and Archer 1989, 7).

The Thomas Report

'The Report of the Consultative Committee on the Post-Primary Curriculum' (Thomas Report 1944) was concerned with the question of the proper limits of State control of the curriculum.

Our general view is that the State as trustee for the community has the duty to insist on certain minimum requirements and to encourage progressive developments, but that it exceeds its functions if it tries to impose a cut-and-dried philosophy on the schools or to control the curriculum in any detail (1959, 1).

The Thomas Report acknowledged growing criticisms of the education system which was seen to have,

tended to stereotype their curricula and methods and forced them to ignore some of the obvious needs of many of their pupils (1944, 2).

Social Studies and the Thomas Report

social studies has generally been regarded as the poor relation within the New Zealand curriculum. social studies educators have had to work within a subject where disciplinary boundaries are unclear, with most established teachers wanting to teach either history or geography. It was not an examinable subject and was undefined to the extent that it has been unable to secure the university base which would be necessary to enhance its status within the education system. However, it was designed to either replace geography, or become a surrogate for it in the junior high school.

The Committee took particular note of the statement arising from the Secondary Schools Association survey in 1936 which made wide criticism of the curriculum. Social Science, which included geography and history, got a special mention as being part of a curriculum which,

. . . fails entirely to interpret social studies as a preparation for citizenship (1944,2).

Despite the assurance from the Committee that the State should not control the curriculum in any way, the effect on geography, with the formalising in 1945 of social studies as an integrated subject within the core curriculum, profoundly affects the teaching of geography to the present time.

The Thomas Report resulted in social studies being taught in Forms 3 & 4. It was to be neither history or geography but was to integrate history, geography and civics (1959⁴, 29), by following a theme which emphasised an understanding of contemporary life and on the human elements as such.

In the treatment of geography, for example, there is truth in the criticism that, 'Too often in teaching, say a region or country, the teacher plods through a logical series of cause and effect relationships (position, size, relief, climate, natural vegetation, and so on), introducing much material that is unnecessary and only arriving at the end, if at all, at what ought to be the jumping off point, i.e., how man lives and works in the area under discussion.' In fact, a strictly scientific or logical approach is quite inappropriate at this stage (Thomas Report 1944, 30).

The Thomas report had two broad aims for social studies as recalled in the 1987 Report on the Social Studies Subject Survey (1987, 15).

The first aim was a social and civic one, to help students become more effective citizens with a 'lively sense of responsibility', able to 'make firm judgments' as members of many groups from the family to the nation. The second aim was to 'deepen pupils' understanding of human affairs and to open up wide fields for personal exploration' and, thus, 'provide scope for individual interest of many kinds'.

Social Studies after the Thomas Report

Although social studies was formalised into the curriculum in 1945, (See Fig 7.2) it had difficulty in establishing credibility. The syllabus document went out of print and

⁴ The report was reprinted in 1959.

remained so until 1959. Shuker (1987, 164) notes the 1962 Commission Report on Education in New Zealand, which accepted the fact that social studies had failed to achieve the impact as envisaged by the Thomas Report. History and geography teachers did not readily accept a concept that demanded an integration into an uncommon form that appeared to be neither history or geography. Openshaw and Archer (1989, 8) note that,

Moreover, many geographers and historians saw social studies as a potentially dangerous rival and sought to justify their own disciplines in terms of academic status, inclusiveness and pedagogical efficiency.

The aims for social studies were too abstract, content was not linked to these aims and suggested objectives, and there was a lack of attention given to evaluation. Shuker continues,

From the first, teachers were slow to adapt traditional history and geography programmes to 'social studies'. A number of surveys indicated that many schools retained separate history and geography options in the third and fourth forms, or, in teaching social studies divided it into purely historical and geographical studies (1987, 164).

Openshaw (1991, 13) makes the observation that,

In fact the high degree of social concern exhibited by early social studies advocates brought further difficulties for them in that it provoked cracks even within their own ranks. . . . by the 1950s they were divided into two camps; those who believed social studies ought to combine elements of both history and geography, but with an emphasis on 'people' and those who wanted an entirely new 'social studies' discipline.

Openshaw concludes that at the syllabus decision-making levels, the latter group gradually gained dominance.

Subject specialists, both at high school and university level criticised social studies as lacking in a substantive base with a clearly stated and teachable syllabus. Beeby concedes that the new social studies was demanding of geography teachers who were accustomed to teaching within a highly factual framework. The new social studies, being more pupil centred, was in fact an embryonic form of sociology concerned with the relationships of people in society. Beeby (1991, 4) continues,

The teachers had been taught the facts of geography and had never been taught these things . . . It was an extremely difficult thing to do . . . The concept died very hard indeed, The simplest things to teach are facts and the hardest

things to teach are ideas and they were not dealing with ideas and had not been (so) trained.

Beeby (1991, 4) also notes that geography teachers were used to teaching from textbooks. There were no textbooks for social studies and the appointment of the geographer, Walter Harris, at the end of the War (1945), to build up a visual aids and film library would take some years to become effective. The School Bulletins commenced with the surplus materials from the Army Education and Welfare Service left over from the War. The resistance to social studies, still arouses passion in the memory of Beeby (1991, 4).

You can't imagine what it was like and what the problems were, unless you lived in that period.

These criticisms resulted in a number of revisions to the social studies syllabus but as Shuker (1987, 165) observed, the lack of acceptance of social studies in the schools lay partly in its lack of academic status. Shuker notes the Education Department's submission to the 1962 Currie Commission as stating that it had been,

... necessary to effect changes not only in curriculum but also in methods, and traditional resistance to change was very strong.

Geography and Social Studies

Even though the Thomas Report envisaged social studies being taught through to School Certificate level, the committee was well enough aware of the resistance that would result. Beeby (1991, 5) comments,

The trouble was that the Thomas committee recommended that the University Entrance be a four year course, it had been a three years for the brightest but always a four year course for the others ... the common core was to go on for three years. The School Certificate was to be a three year course.⁵ ... I fought against it in my day, ... it was beginning to surface in some schools ... I fought against it very hard ... In the end it became three years. They wanted to compress the common core into two years. I opposed that strongly but somehow it sneaked through. So that effected the whole thing very badly.

The committee recommended a compromise, albeit somewhat grudgingly expressed (1959, 55),

... to retain the two options - geography and history - is to some extent to perpetuate what we consider an undesirable division in the social studies ...

⁵ In other words, Forms 3-5.

after weighing up the various factors involved we recommend that geography and history be retained as separate options and defined in such a way as to be reasonably fair both to candidates who have pursued an integrated course and to those who have taken history and geography as distinct subjects.

Discussion

The foregoing statement reflects the concept of organisational structure as described by Ranson et al (1980) who see organisations as being composed of a number of groups divided by alternative conceptions, value preferences, and sectional interests. In which the analytical focus becomes the relations of power which enables some organisational members to constitute and re-create organisational structures. In this case, the committee representing the Department of Education, recognised the stand-off that would occur if they tried to press their view too hard upon the high school teachers who were not convinced of the viability of social studies in the high school syllabus.

Opinion has been divided as to whether or not the introduction and continuation of social studies has had a detrimental effect on the teaching of geography in New Zealand. Some have felt that physical geography has suffered by coming out of a Social Science mold. Johnston (1990) when asked to comment on the status of School geography in New Zealand, compares New Zealand with the British case where geography is part of the core curriculum, arguably due to the influence of a number of prominent MP's and public figures, in safeguarding the interests of the discipline in the high school curriculum and have ensured its compulsory status. Not coming from a social studies background, school geography in Britain is seen more as a science.

By contrast Williams (1991, 5) in referring to the New Zealand scene, suggests that physical geography has been prejudiced by a high school system that requires two years of social studies before formal geography is taught. Conversely, Davidson (1991, 2,) speaking from a background of geography teaching, Curriculum Officer and finally as Chairman of the *National Geography Curriculum Committee*, articulates a different view, claiming instead that social studies in forms 3 and 4 has not been detrimental to geography in Forms 5 - 7. Davidson argues that a commencement of geography in the senior high school has emphasised it as a specialist subject with conceptual demands not commensurate to the junior high school.

An Attempt at Reforming High School Geography.

The first university geography department was established in 1937 under Dr George Jobberns. There had been pressure for some time to strengthen the discipline at school level. E J Parr, chief inspector of secondary schools speaking at a meeting of the Secondary Schools Association, reported in the Auckland Chamber of Commerce Journal,

Geography is the weakest subject of any taught in the schools (1930, 13).

The thrust of his remarks was for the establishment of geography at university level.

With this necessary reform in the University System it should not be long before the average product of our secondary schools would be found to have a much more sound and useful knowledge of this important subject than at present is the case (Auckland Chamber of Commerce Journal, 1930, 13).

When Jobberns commenced the first university geography department, the local press gave expansive coverage to his criticisms of school geography,

Strong criticism of the syllabus on which the teaching of geography in New Zealand schools is based was expressed last night by Dr G Jobberns, lecturer in that subject at Canterbury University College, in an address to the Canterbury School Committees Association. The subject was in his opinion one of the most important in the school syllabus, stated Dr Jobberns and he understood that it was possible that the system of teaching this subject would be revised during the next two or three years (Canterbury University, Department of Geography Archives).

The criticisms suggested that the immediate thrust for reform should ensure that the local district, then the nation and finally the world should be the ideal order of geographic study at a school level.

Jobberns was instrumental in setting up a *Geography in Schools Study Group* which first met on 9 April 1940. At that meeting Walter Harris was appointed as chairman. By the third meeting the group which included K B Cumberland, A C Pitcaithly, J L Hewland, K W Robinson and H Gallagher, had embarked on collecting schemes of work from Australia as well as requesting schemes of work from high schools around New Zealand (Geography in Schools Group, Minutes, 4/6/1940).⁶

⁶ The Group expanded its title on occasions, when writing to schools, to the Geographical Association of Canterbury.

It was decided that the Victorian and West Australian schemes be accepted as the basis for the new syllabus. Almost immediately however an amendment was made to pursue a more home grown syllabus (Amendment to minutes, 4/6/1940, Geography in Schools Group). This commitment to a distinctively New Zealand approach was to be a feature of geography curriculum reform from then on. The work of the committee attracted the support of the Director General of Education, Dr Beeby, who had written to the group suggesting possible sponsorship under the auspice of the Council for Educational Research (Geography in Schools Group, Minutes, 25/3/1941) For this purpose, a scheme of work was drawn up.

Proposed Scheme for Investigating Geography in New Zealand Schools

- a. Historical - the development of geography teaching in New Zealand.
 - 1 Present position of geography teaching in New Zealand - primary, post primary and university in New Zealand.
 - 2 Qualification and training of teachers.
 - 3 School and class schemes in geography.
 - 4 Methods of teaching
 - 5 Apparent philosophy of the subject
- c. What is geography? A philosophy of geography for New Zealand Schools.
- d. Suggested syllabus for primary and post primary schools.
- e. Teaching the syllabus
 - 1. Training the teachers.
 - 2. Methodology
 - 3. Facilities and equipment
 - 4. Geography and examinations
- f. Other recommendations to be given in appendices
 - 1. Teaching of local geography
 - 2. Coordination of other subjects
 - 3. Suggestions for 6th Form geography
 - 4. Geography in the university
 - 5. Formation of Geography association in other centres.

The response from some thirty school Principals, who were asked to submit programmes, was generally encouraging. Some, however, if they were not suspicious, were certainly cautious. One Principal wrote from the Jack Mills School at Kotutu on the West Coast,

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 10th inst which I received on late on Wednesday; we receive mail only three times a week.

I perused its contents but am rather reluctant to do as requested. Exactly who are the Geographical Association of Canterbury? I must apologise for my ignorance. Who also are the members of the committee? Are they teachers like myself and students connected with the university or - I would also like further information as to what is going to become of this selective and un-unified scheme. Personally I am not in favour of the production of stereotyped schemes for any subject.

Possibly my objection may appear rather narrow minded. After all, I have advanced my school on highly original lines, only after a great deal of study, reading and hard work and therefore feel, as no doubt many others will, that such ideas should carry their reward to their originality which naturally will no longer exist once they have become common property. While appreciating the honour, for which I thank you, I am enclosing this [i]n case, in view of this, you would care to handle it elsewhere. (Undated Letter from Darracott to Harrison in Geography in Schools Group, File, 15/7/1941).

In keeping with many situations where individual teachers are reluctant, for reasons of modesty or procrastination, to submit copies of their own schemes of work, the Headmaster of Waimataitai District High School wrote to say,

This School has adopted the associations scheme in full and therefore has no scheme to forward.

Pitcaithly, in reply, was not to be caught out. He simply asked for the discarded schemes of work for purposes of research.

The intent and organisation of the Geography in Schools Group was admirable. Fifty years on, it would be easy to criticise them for attempting to undertake too much without following a more consultative process with the teachers. Perhaps it was overly directed from the 'academics' but it was at least a promising start to re-organising the geography syllabus. The blank pages of the minute book are a mute testimony to what followed. The work of the committee was suddenly curtailed after 1941 by the intrusion of the Second World War (pers com J L Hewland 29/9/1991). The correspondence indicates that Jobbems persevered with it for a while and tried

to handle the project from within the geography department at Canterbury, at least until the end of 1943.

Even though the *Geography in Schools Group* did not achieve all that was hoped, it does represent an important initial step by the *New Zealand Geographical Society* to coordinate teacher centred activities not contemplated previously⁷. As McCulloch⁸ (1992, 174) rightly notes,

The activities of the study group established an effective point of reference for criticism of the existing geography Syllabus, and a platform for demands for change.

After the group folded, Garnier⁹ worked alone to produce *Geography for Post-Primary Pupils* in 1945.

After just over a year, working just on my own and without advice, I decided to clarify my thoughts by preparing a document, in the hope of comment and criticism from others, about what I was trying to do and why, and how I was going about it . . . And this is, basically, how *Geography for Post-Primary Schools* came to be written (Garnier 1991, 2).

Regional Geography In the High School

High School geographers continued to teach a regional geography but lacked a formal rationale for doing so. Gorrie (1955, 700) attributes this to the fact that there was little formal liaison with university geographers; the first Geography Department at Canterbury being established as late as 1937. George Jobberns who took the first Chair in Geography at Canterbury provided a tangible link between high school and university geography with the production of *Regional Geography of the World* (1932), for use in the middle and senior Forms of high schools. The appointment of Jobberns and presently Cumberland were to prove early links in the chain of linking the schools to the Universities that were more meaningful than mere representation on University Entrance Boards. It is also noteworthy that several practicing high school geography teachers of the era were to provide links from the school system. B J Garnier and D W McKenzie both came from teaching backgrounds in New Zealand schools, and R G Lister had some experience as a geography Master in Sussex

⁷ See Chapter 12 on the work of the NZGS.

⁸ McCulloch features the work of the *Geography in Schools Study Group* in McCulloch (1992) *The School Curriculum in New Zealand*, Dunmore Press. This writer is of the opinion that McCulloch attaches more importance to the long term impact of the Study Group than is warranted. This does not detract from the value of his research on the NZGS.

⁹ First Lecturer in Charge of Geography at Otago University.

(Heenan et al 1981, 8). All three took early appointments in infant geography departments.

Moving away from Regional Geography

The emphasis upon regionalism, fostered by the universities, and assured by the nature of the 1945 and 1954 School Certificate prescriptions, continued through the 1960s and into the early years of the 1970s. However changes were beginning to take place in the emphasis of university geography as it moved towards a positivistic methodology which became identified with quantification. Patrick Bailey (1974, 38,39), writing in 1974 noted ,

New Methods of research have led an increasing number of geographers to express their data and ideas, where possible, in precise mathematical terms, susceptible to statistical analysis. This has led to an emphasis upon measurement, in all branches of the subject.

and further that,

there is a search for general statements, principles, even laws, some of which may be used for prediction. This emphasis upon what is of general application supplements, but does not wholly replace, the descriptive and analytical studies of particular cases, characteristics of earlier periods (1974, 38,39).

The line between Regional and Quantitative approaches was not as clear cut as the previous lines suggest. Wrigley's comment in the opening chapter of Chorley and Haggett's (1965,13) *Frontiers in Geographical Teaching*, offered the suggestion that,

The regional method thus remains the means for much geographical work but is no longer its end. One may say that much geography is still regional, but no longer that geography is about the region.

Early Discontent

As early as 1944, there are instances of resistance to the method and content of school geography. Gorrie (1955, 697) records discontent among Christchurch high school teachers who used the venue of the infant *New Zealand Geographical Society* to express concerns,

... about the nature of the syllabus and current methods.

As a consequence, B J Garnier, then a high school geography teacher in Wellington, and later the first lecturer in geography at Otago University, was given leave to write

Geography for Post-Primary Pupils (1945). As a member of the Consultative Committee responsible for Social Studies, History and Geography (Gorrie 1955, 698), Garnier embodied the emphasis of the Thomas report by turning to a form of regional geography that,

. . . leads its students towards a sympathetic understanding of human groups in different parts of the world (1944, 25).

PART 3 THE REFORM OF HIGH SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND.

Introduction

This major part of this chapter on high school geography is an account of pivotal events and situations from the 1960s on, that can with hindsight, be identified as important to the process of institutionalisation. The criticisms of geography that arose were concerned with more than *what* was being taught in school geography, but also *how* it was being taught. The rising generation of geography teachers were not only being exposed to new forms of geography (particularly quantified and later radical geography), they were also becoming aware of new learning and teaching theories whilst at the teachers colleges.¹⁰ This section builds up to the work of the *National Geography Curriculum Committee*¹¹ which has been responsible for major reforms in the design and teaching of current school geography.

A Groundswell of Discontent

By the late 1960s it had become apparent that all was not well with high school geography in New Zealand. Young (1977, 1) notes that there had been changes to the School Certificate, University Entrance and Bursary/Scholarship prescriptions, but that these were largely uncoordinated. Objectives were unstated and the intent of the prescription, though well meaning, was difficult to interpret.

Young goes on to state that,

The separate prescriptions set out the examination requirements, usually in terms of content, though sometimes nominating a teaching method, for example, the scientific method of the bursary prescription. In essence however it was the changing examiners and moderators, who through the examinations,

¹⁰ This point will be worth remembering for the section on the teachers colleges.

¹¹ Hereafter referred to as the NGCC.

established the objectives of geography, encouraged certain teaching methods and influenced the evaluation of a school's type of geography programme (1977, 1).

The Structural Context as the Teachers Saw It

It was within this structural context, just described, that the teaching profession saw syllabus revision. This was an ingrained phenomenon, which although almost untenable today, was accepted then, even though the right to criticise had always been practiced. The changing of a structural context that was to take place over the next few years was not a simple transition of events and opportunities in a linear or chronological fashion. It would involve the complicated interaction of many organisational structures and the myriad agents operating within them. The changes would eventually reflect the broader base of needs as perceived by the practitioners at classroom and professional level. The motivational and driving forces for this change were not the result of happenstance. Even though there was independent and apparently uncoordinated actions in a number of settings, the intensity of them demonstrates, as Benson (1977, 9) argues, that the mobilisation of participants to pursue their interests and to reach out for alternative structural arrangements is also a significant component of a dialectical analysis of power.

Occupational groups, racial groups, social classes, and others may envision alternatives and become actively committed to their achievement. Such mobilisation of their commitment and resources will greatly enhance the power in the organisation.

The Setting of the Stage

Thus the stage was being set that was to articulate a groundswell of incertitude concerning both teaching and content. As university departments matured, graduates with new teaching and curriculum ideas were beginning to assume positions of responsibility in the high schools. Macaulay (1987, 3) notes that the impetus for curricula change comes from three basic sources:

1. Changes of a radical nature in the subject, usually initiated by the universities.
2. Changes in the general education system brought about by community pressure or those in overall charge in response to community or political pressure.

3. Changes initiated by the teachers themselves as a result of their own training or in response to the needs of their community which they may perceive in their contact with pupils or parents.

A Contested Process

This process is rarely without conflict between those who want to see change and those opposing it. Frequently, the conflict will produce a third group who are undecided or will unquestioningly go with a trend.

The 1970s saw a growing influence from a 'new' university geography which was beginning to take on board quantification and a systems approach. The older generation of teachers, many of whom were returned servicemen, had reached the zenith of their teaching careers. Joyce¹² (1991, 1) notes that many of these teachers had developed a refined form of teaching regional geography which could be efficiently applied right through the geography syllabus. Younger geography teachers, infused with changes taking place in university geography began to express frustrations on a number of significant fronts, which collectively, were to result in widesweeping changes to high school geography.

A Sequence of Events

The restructuring of high school geography that took place from 1973 cannot be ascribed to any one person, group or event. Frustrations grew and were expressed on a number of fronts. It is helpful to identify a sequence of happenings that eventually resulted in the establishing of the NGCC.

The Post Primary Teachers Association

Davidson (1991, 6) identifies the *Post Primary Teachers Association* (PPTA) subject panels as being the only organised group regularly providing a reference as to what was happening in high school geography during the 1960s and early 1970s. The PPTA organised regional and national consultation which resulted in minor changes in the prescription being accepted as an interim measure, while awaiting a longer term review. Macaulay¹³ (1991, 6) was of the impression that the effect of the PPTA

¹² Retired School Inspector specialising in Geography.

¹³ Semi-retired. Now Director of the Geography Resource Centre in Christchurch.

was limited in its impact, due to the membership of the subject panels being essentially by correspondence with members unable to meet as a forum. But Lewis¹⁴ (1991, 6) who was involved with the Wellington branch of the PPTA, argues that individual branches, particularly in the Wellington region, played an influential role. At about this time there were several School Certificate Geography examination papers which attracted unfavourable publicity due to a greater than normal number of failures and a lower median result than in previous years. The PPTA took issue about the nature of the exam paper and was becoming sensitized to comments from teachers concerning the nature of the prescription which had not responded to the need for less content recall and for greater opportunity for developing understandings about geographic concepts (Young¹⁵ 1977, 1).

The Board of Geography Teachers.

The 1970 Geography Conference in Christchurch provided the venue for the formation of the Board of Geography Teachers (BOGT) under the aegis of the *New Zealand Geographical Society*. Macaulay (1991, 6) and Davidson (1991, 7) point to John Renner, at that time, Lecturer in Geography at the Christchurch Teachers College and Roger McLean, in the Department of Geography at Canterbury University and Secretary of the *New Zealand Geographical Society*, as being the prime movers in setting up the BOGT. Furnishing an important link between high school and university geographers, the BOGT acted as another pressure group. On a more fundamental level it,

. . . carried out curriculum research which indicated the need to gather much more information as a basis for decision-making about curriculum change (Young 1977, 2).

Renner (1991, 5) also acknowledges the role of the students at the Teacher Training Colleges particularly in Auckland and in Christchurch, which provided an arena for students and teachers to debate the status of high school geography and the appropriate way it should be taught. All these groups began to put pressure on the established 'top-down' procedure of syllabus development in New Zealand.

¹⁴ Auckland Teacher's College.

¹⁵ First Director of the NGCC.

Discussion

In dialectical terminage, it was an organisational contradiction. The ongoing process of social construction produces groups with seemingly autonomous structures. It is the combination of the human agency with these structural forms, that arrests the conventional concept of continuous predictable development. Contradictions occur when independent organisations produce multiple and incompatible social forms. In the case of the BOGT and the PPTA, there is little evidence to suggest a coordinated front of opposition to the Department of Education. Rather as Benson (1977, 5) suggests,

The ongoing processes of social construction internal and external to the organisation produce a complex array of interrelated contradictions. The combinations are contingent upon the ways in which components of the organisation and the society are engaged. Contradictions become overlaid in unique clusters or patterns depending upon the ways in which different groups become involved in their production. Every organisation is, then, a unique case because of the contingencies affecting social construction-production.

Benson utilises Althusser's (1970) expression of 'ruptural unity' in a way which would best describe the situation of New Zealand high school geography in the early 1970s. In this sense, contradictions may combine to set a platform that prompts a fundamental re-organisation of the system - in this case the system of syllabus revision in school geography. Watkins (1985, 4) puts it succinctly,

Contradictions are a generative force which create a tension that is relieved only through the transformation of the existing totality.

The Hogben House Meetings

The Department of Education, in response to the needs being expressed, convened a number of in-service courses designed to

. . . clarify, expand and extend teaching methods (Department of Education 1972).

The Thrust for Content Based Changes

The 1972 Hogben House meetings under the direction of W J (Bill) Joyce, Geography Inspector for Southern Region, were attended by over twenty selected geography teachers who drafted out a modified prescription for Forms 5, 6 and 7, to be gazetted in December 1974 and effected from 1975 (Department of Education 1975). Although

the changes were essentially content oriented, it did provide teachers with greater opportunity to investigate and try out some of the ideas being suggested by those who attended the course. A further teacher's refresher course in 1973 gained more momentum but it was to be the second Hogben House meeting, however, where the demand for review gained cohesion.

The second Hogben House meetings held in February 1974, were attended by most of the groups interested in school geography, namely teachers, principals, university personnel, representatives from the School Certificate Examination Board (SCEB), the Universities Entrance Board (UEB) and members of the New Zealand Department of Education. Young (1977, 2) notes, that at this time, invitations were not extended to any clients, employers, students or the general community. Notwithstanding these omissions, this was the first national course to consider school geography as an entity. The course report, *'The Development of a Coordinated Curriculum Forms 5, 6, and 7'* (1975), considered many of the issues of developing a coordinated curriculum.

From this initial review the course considered that the present uncoordinated programmes could not be patched together and that there was a need to start afresh if coordinated programmes were to be developed. The course also considered it necessary that a national committee be established for the task of coordinating and developing geography at Forms 5,6 and 7 (Young 1977, 2).

The Contribution and Eclipse of W J Joyce.

The work of Joyce is not to be underrated. His role as Inspector and director of the 1972 Hogben House meetings had made him sensitive to the needs of geography in the period immediately prior to the setting up of the NGCC. The high profile attracted by the NGCC has tended to overshadow the work achieved by the earlier Hogben House meetings. The Departmental report prepared by Joyce after the 1972 meetings (Joyce 1972), although it stressed concepts over content, did little to effect substantial changes. The value of the 1972 and 1974 meetings lies not in any claims to have provided solutions. It did however, provide a venue which clearly, at least in retrospect, articulated the gulf between high school and university geography. The meetings established bridgeheads, even if the gulf was not spanned. The report (1972, 11-14) furthermore, did very clearly reflect the views of geography teachers who submitted written statements on how they viewed the state of school geography. Joyce culled a number of written statements from a variety of school certificate geography teachers. These comments included,

. . . the system, demanding pupils, and you, to pick topics as you'd pick race horses, is surely ridiculous. Surely regional studies in isolation to systematic studies, does nothing to build up a picture of how a country, let alone a continent ticks.

and,

. . . for the majority [of students] the high pressure force feeding of facts is a very negative educational experience.

A teacher with a prophetic eye wrote,

If geography is to be taught rather than accumulation of facts, then the whole syllabus should be changed. No regions should be specifically mentioned or examined, but schools should be required to study a number of type areas, e.g. an example of a Pacific Island community and economy, or a mining area, or a region of intensive pastoralism.

With the advantage of hindsight, the eventual decline of Joyce's influence on the NGCC, was due more to the support given to Young's approach to curriculum processes rather than immediate content changes as perhaps envisioned by Joyce (Davidson 1991, 1).

The Role of Ian Young

Ian T Young was attached to the Curriculum Development Unit in Wellington, having come through the ranks as a Primary and Secondary school teacher. It was to Young that the responsibility of conducting the activities of the NGCC were to be given. His advantage lay in a background of curriculum innovation gained during some time spent in Ontario in 1967, at a time when new techniques in curriculum design and teaching were being trialed. His commitment to a curriculum process rather than immediate content changes is testified by almost all who worked with him on the NGCC. Joyce (1991, 4) in commenting on Young's handling of the early meetings, agrees that there was a strong push for content which Young would counter by the 'canny' process of putting up diagrams and charts depicting curriculum models that succeeded in baffling some of those present. It became clear that Young was endeavouring to challenge the committee to clear their minds of concrete suggestions about the content of geography and to start thinking on the aims and nature of school geography. With his own background within the Department of Education, Joyce was sensitive to the task laid upon Young,

He was given more and more the task within the curriculum unit of working along with NGCC but he did not run NGCC at any stage; nor did anyone in the curriculum unit. They were merely members of it and the input should be as much from teachers as it would be from them. But to Ian was given the task of coordinating and centralising, keeping people informed, reproducing material (1991, 4).

Even though Young is generally remembered by the NGCC members as being a facilitator and coordinator who was sensitive to the wishes of the different factions, he was recognised as being a determined leader with a view as to the way things should move. It was clearly a contested process in which existed paradigm commitments that were not united. Colin Knight¹⁶ comments that,

Ian was resistant to some of the ideas that we were attempting to introduce. For example the two areas that he found difficult to accept were models; geosystems and the new ecological approach to geography if we were going to keep up with geography. We would come back at the next meeting to find out that Ian had either taken them out or watered them down. There were considerable tensions between Ian's views of geography and ours (Knight 1991, 5).

A Contested Reformation

As The Professors Saw It

Reform was in the air and the university geographers, who were among those who had been represented at the 1974 Conference, sensed positive opportunities. However, the promised amendments to the syllabus implied by the conference did not materialise, a hiatus which did not pass unnoticed. Professor R G Lister, representing the university geographers wrote several letters. The first (Lister to Young 21/5/74) expressed some urgency.

You will probably be as concerned as I am to realise that three months have passed since the Hogben House Course on the co-ordination of Geography Forms 5 - 7, and that the full report on the conference deliberations has yet to appear.

The second letter (Lister to Young 3/10/74) made the point even stronger and tended to acerbity.

At the meeting of Heads of Departments of Geography of all the New Zealand Universities held at Massey University in late August, serious concern was

¹⁶ Principal of Christchurch Teacher's College

expressed by all representatives that, despite the earlier undertakings given, no substantial progress appears to have been made to date towards the major revision of geography programmes at 5th, 6th and 7th Form Geography.

It was plain that the Heads of University Geography Departments wanted to see reforms - and quickly. The same letter indicates that the university teachers envisaged a largely content oriented reform that would be implemented or at least trialed by the next school year.

Unless some almost immediate steps are taken this year, it is difficult to see how any new teaching schemes can be ready for pilot testing in schools during 1975. Should this not be possible, another whole year would be wasted and the 5th, 6th and 7th Form Geography programme investigations would then lose much of the impetus which was given by the Hogben House Conference.

And in case Young had missed the point,

This would be a most regrettable and almost inexcusable result and I am instructed by the Heads of Departments Meeting held at Massey, to make it clear to you that action is expected immediately towards the goals agreed upon with such promise at your Hogben House Conference. Everyone concerned is anxious to proceed with the task and would welcome your expected lead.

Finally, to make sure that the letter was not ignored,

I am sending copies of this letter to the Director of Education, The Universities Entrance Board and the universities to indicate our concern.

Ian Young's Response

Young's restrained response worked to negate the implicit threat of other powerful actors. Even at this early stage, his view of what should be done, was strong enough for him to take considered action. His letter in reply consisted of an annotation of the steps taken since the Hogben House Conference. The letter illustrates the consultative process that although thorough, was to prove lengthy.

. . . the Universities Entrance Board convened a conference with representatives from the Post Primary Teachers Association and the Department of Education . . . a questionnaire is enclosed in the report seeking opinions of the ideas in the report. It is expected that teachers and others will respond to this initial questionnaire by the end of December (Young to Lister 22/10/1974).

Discussion

In a dialectical setting, there is a lot happening here. Within the realm of Social Construction/Production, the role of powerful actors in promoting particular interests and ideas, is integral to motivating organisational changes. Although the professors were not part of the official authority structure per se, it is a demonstration that those who occupy positions of authority have power to establish and enforce a model. As Benson (1977, 8) notes,

They can design the organisation as an instrument in the service of specific purposes. They can articulate its parts, adjust its technology and motivate its participants with certain ends in view. Once the organisation is stabilised, they can use their power to maintain it as a rationally articulated structure by resisting interference from outside and opposing sources of resistance inside.

The letters from Lister exemplify Benson's suggestion that the grounding of organisational authority in larger systems - inter-organisational networks, political-economic power blocs, are important to the dialectical approach. It raises important questions relating to groups than are aware of their power to resist, modify and overturn existing authority structures. It raises our level of awareness as to the potential of some groups, being better able than others, to extract advantages and privileges from the organisation. It also makes us aware that some groups are better able than others to influence the major decisions affecting the direction of the organisation. In this case, it is more than obvious that the professors were well enough aware of their combined clout. There is also the, not very subtle reminder to Young, of their involvement with the examination Boards and of their implied access to the Director General of Education.

The proposal for a National Committee

Following the second Hogben House meetings, it was becoming clear that the time for a major revision was imminent. Consultation with teachers, *The School Certificate Examinations Board* and the *Universities Entrance Board* enabled the Department of Education to submit a successful proposal to the Minister (Letter from Young to Lister, 22/10/1974). Attached to the proposal was a letter from W L Renwick, then Assistant Director of Education, stressing that the submission was a significant new development in syllabus revision. The letter is perceptive in that it recognised that a coordinated syllabus for Forms 5, 6 and 7 would need the cooperation of many parties including two constituted bodies, accustomed to acting independently.

This has required, in particular, cooperation between the School Certificate Examination Board which has jurisdiction of the School Certificate Examination, and the University Grants Committee which has jurisdiction for University Scholarship (Renwick to Minister 26/9/1974).

Functions of the National Committee

The proposal itself (Department of Education 1974, 1) detailed the background of the discussions to date and indicated the functions of the proposed national committee as being one that would

. . . continue the work started at the national in-service course in geography and would recommend national guidelines for the development of geography in secondary schools.

Sensitive to the role and continued support of the two examining authorities, the proposal then stated that,

. . . if necessary it would report to the School Certificate Examination Board and the Universities Entrance Board where it felt the prescription under their control needed adjusting . . .

The proposal moved to extend input with the need to,

. . . maintain close liaison with teachers and other groups concerned with the teaching of geography.

And further that a primary function would include,

. . . trying out and encouraging different teaching methods, providing advice and assistance in the development of resources and in the provision of in-service courses for teachers and making recommendations to the examination boards about prescription revisions and methods of assessment. It would also facilitate local developments in schools and provide a network of information available for teachers.

Composition of the Committee

It was proposed that the committee consist of the following:

1. The Superintendent of the Curriculum Development Unit or his nominee.
2. A representative of the School Certificate Examination Board.

3. A secondary teacher selected in consultation with the Association of the Heads of the Independent Schools of New Zealand.
4. A representative of the Universities Entrance Board.
5. Three university geography teachers selected in consultation with the Universities Entrance Board.
6. Three secondary teachers selected in consultation with the New Zealand Post Primary Teachers Association.
7. One lecturer from a teachers college.
8. Two inspectors of secondary schools.
9. One curriculum officer
10. A practising geographer working outside the education system.

In working form, the constitution of membership included two nominees from the *New Zealand Geographical Society*, one of whom represented the Board of Geography Teachers; the other nominee being the practising geographer working outside the education system. Young (1977, 2) notes that co-opted membership was widened to include Teaching Fellows within university geography departments. Teaching Fellowships were one year appointments funded by the Department of Education.

Discussion

The apparent ease with which this cooperation was achieved is not contradictory to the concept of a contested process. Within Benson's concept of social construction there exists a combination of ideas, interests and power. From an 'ideas' perspective, recognising the sheer expertise represented on the two examining committees, it is likely that there was a purposeful reading beyond the responsibilities of individual committees to reconstruct the organisation in accord with alternative conceptions of its purposes and mandate. The articulation of 'interests' on the two committees arguably became subservient to the possibilities of change, enabling members to visualise their long term interests for school geography more clearly, and thus conform their ideas and action to achieve this end. In any case both committees would have realised that the success or otherwise of the NGCC would, at least, have required a combining of forces, if the NGCC was to work effectively.

Approval for the NGCC

The Minister of Education gave approval to the *National Geography Committee* on 1 October 1974 under section 4A(1) of the Education Act 1964 (Department of Education 1974)

The NGCC holds an important place in the history of curriculum reform in New Zealand. Geography was the first subject in the high school curriculum to undergo such a comprehensive review (Renwick 1974). Cant (1991, 4) suggests that the initiation of a decision of this type would require a mentor with some influence within the Department of Education. Jim Ross, at that time Superintendent of the Curriculum Development Division, and later Deputy Director of Education, had been seen as a protégé of Jobberns at Canterbury (Holyoake¹⁷ 1991, 3) and who was sympathetic to the needs of geography (Knight, 1991, 5). His interest in geography is thus linked to the early days of the Canterbury Department of Geography and was pivotal in coordinating the establishment of the NGCC. Ross chaired the initial meetings before Ian Young became Convenor.

The National Geography Curriculum Committee.

A distinguishing feature of the NGCC appears to have been a commitment to the consultative process. This feature which was to prove costly in terms of time has been considered one of the primary factors in the success of the NGCC. Prior to the inaugural meeting of the NGCC, the 1974 Hogben House Report (known as the 'Blue Book') had been distributed to secondary schools and other interested parties for their consideration and comment. They were asked, as Young records (1977, 2) to consider the initial attempts at drafting objectives for geography, and a statement on the contribution of geography to secondary education. They were also invited to comment on, and add to, factors that should be considered when developing programmes in geography.

Discussion

In a dialectic setting, the reasons for this commitment to a consultative process are complex. Benson reasons that development within an organisation often appears to

¹⁷ HOD Geography at Shirley Boys High School Geography. Member of NGCC and Teaching Fellow at Canterbury University in 1979.

ricately related to events occurring in the larger society. In the case of the C, it was quite clear that the impetus for reform had come from without - in this teachers becoming frustrated. The lively existence of the BOGT and the PPTA enough to ensure that a system of consultation was an imperative.

the Early Meetings of the NGCC

the first meeting of the National Geography Committee in Wellington in March 1975, a slight alteration was made to the name of the Committee, henceforth known as the *National Geography Curriculum Committee*. This was to distinguish it from the *National Geography Committee of the Royal Society of New Zealand* (Young 1975)

The initial meeting of the NGCC, recognised that it had been given a purpose other than a re-writing of the prescriptions. This was the prerogative of the respective examination Boards (NGCC Newsletter 14, 1978). Rather as Davidson (1987, 20) notes,

. . . its role should be to develop a total curriculum statement for geography, a plan for learning, within which there would be flexibility for schools to develop programmes to suit the needs and interests of their students and the resources and expertise of their teachers.

In keeping with the commitment to consult at all levels, the NGCC instituted a variety of initiatives that ensured a constant flow of communication. From the outset, and continuing throughout the productive period of the committee's work, a series of Newsletters kept geography teachers and interested parties informed as to the activities of the NGCC, including plans and actions taken, current trends in geography teaching overseas and providing for input from teachers. Davidson (1987, 20) notes that inservice teachers and resource specialists were used, and the publication of support material (the G Documents) ensured the flow of information on departmental organisation, practical work, field work, skills, using audiovisual material, and learning activities in geography.

Factions and Polarizations

At the formation of the NGCC, a number of groups were represented, all of whom had definite views on how geography was to be restructured. Ian Young recalls (1991, 5) that some of the early meetings were marked by what he generously refers to as 'strident discussions', during which groups from different institutions (university,

teachers college, inspectorate and teachers) gave vent to opinions on how the committee should operate and what the priorities should be. The representatives appointed to serve on the NGCC were there, obviously, because of their known achievements in the discipline. It is not surprising then, that most had definite ideas on the form school geography should take. Some of the university geographers present, being specialists in particular fields, had a natural wish to see their specialty catered for, albeit in embryonic form. Human and physical geographers present were anxious not to see any erosion of their interests. The university geographers were seen as wanting to ensure that their geography should 'set all the building blocks', thus being perceived by some as being only interested in high school geography as preparing students for university geography (Young 1991, 4). Cant (1991, 6) sensitive to the differences in view existing in the different university geography departments suggests that the fact that there was very little physical geography at Waikato and that it was not really strong at Victoria and Massey, meant that the universities had an uneasy relationship with the Human/Physical balance. Auckland's Professor Paul Williams, one of the UEB representatives, is remembered as a member who contributed strongly to the NGCC, in the initial stages was well equipped and prepared to argue the cause of physical geography within a new syllabus, and was perhaps seen as trying to regain lost ground (Cant 1991, 6).

Another group was stressing recent developments in learning theory. Colin Knight although representing the inspectorate at this time is remembered as a dynamic force, who, with John Renner at the Christchurch Teachers College had been early to articulate the frustrations concerning the way geography was being taught (Cant 1991, 2). It was this faction that was keenly aware of current trends in the teaching of geography overseas. The work of Dr Don Biddle, an Australian geographer involved in teacher education, was recommended to the committee by Dr Frances Slater who had taught at Waitaki Girls High School before her appointment to the University of London School of Economics (Slater letter to Young 23/8/1974). Biddle (1974) had recently completed a Doctorate on the use of curriculum theory in the formulation of a systems model for constructing and evaluating secondary school geography in England and Wales. His work had attracted some international attention that various members of the committee felt should not be overlooked (Cant 1991, 7). Biddle made several trips to New Zealand in 1970 and 1974 at the behest of Renner and Knight. Even though he sensed that there was a determination to 'go it alone' from the Kiwi perspective (Biddle 1991, 4), the structures he had developed in curriculum design can be readily identified in Fig 7.3. Coming from Australia, he is of the opinion that one reason why regional geography had made such an impact in New Zealand was

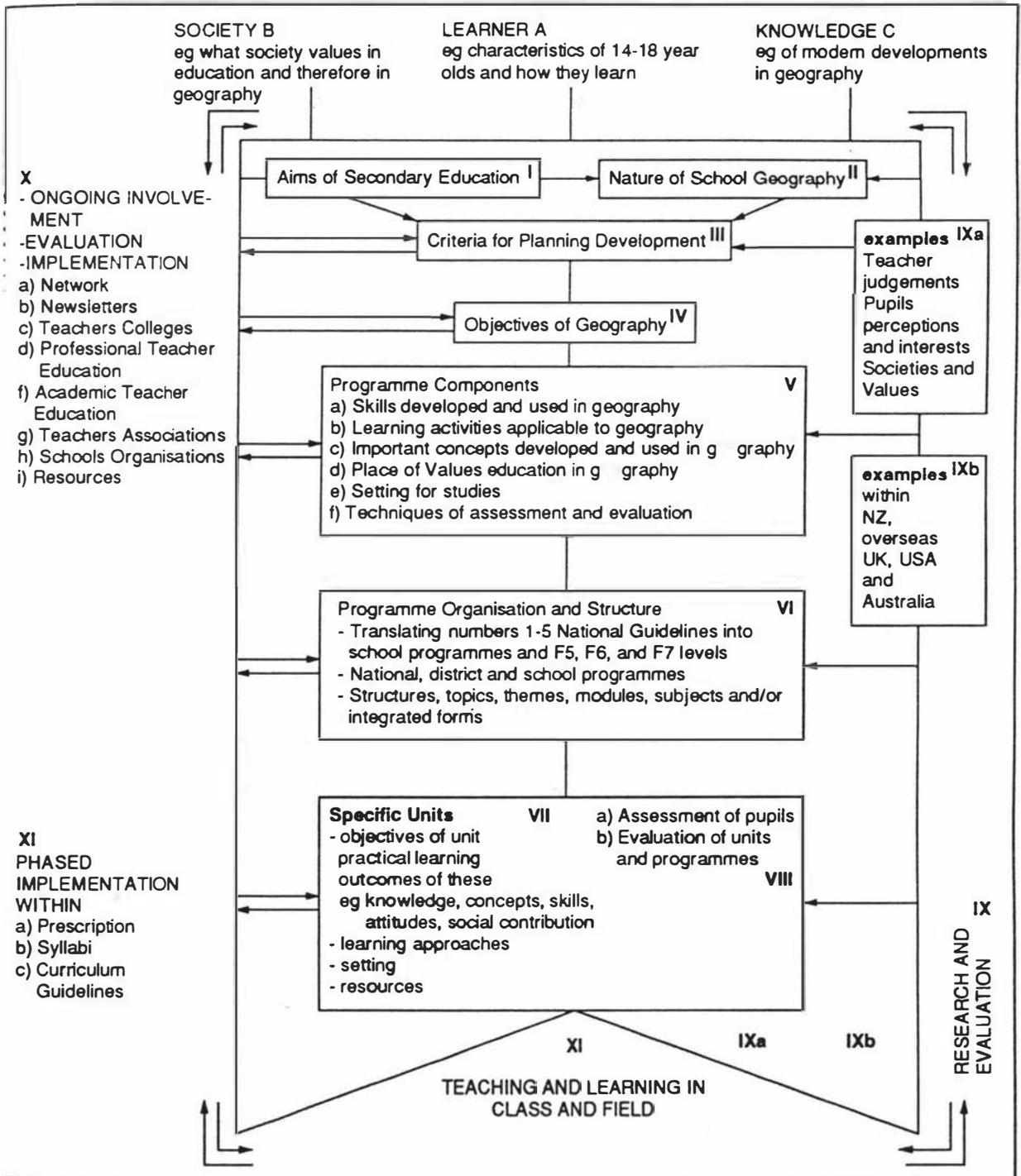


FIGURE 7.3 Curriculum Model - Secondary School Geography

Source: after Young 1977

because the regions were so distinct, whereas in Australia, it was harder to place natural regional boundaries (1991, 3)

The initial meetings of the NGCC were clearly an important object lesson in human and structural dynamics as the committee set about the task of

. . . developing a set of objectives for school geography which were then used as a bench mark for evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the then current national prescription and school programmes (Young 1980, 1).

John Huggett¹⁸, involved with the NGCC from the beginning, sheds some light on the dynamics involved with an acknowledgment that,

If it wasn't for Ian Young, who had access to finance, it would have gone under. He knew the corridors of power very well. The NGCC had a Cinderella role in curriculum, development and is the only subject ever to have the depth of curriculum research (Huggett 1991, 2).

This entire scenario represents an important step in the process of institutional development. It was the first occasion for a new group of actors to meet. Each group was aware that this was a new innovation, lacking any clearly defined ground rules apart from the generalised guidelines suggested by the Department of Education which stated,

Its main function will include trying out and encouraging different teaching methods, providing advice and assistance in the development of resources and in the provision of in-service courses for teachers and making recommendations to the two examination boards about prescription revisions and methods of assessment. It will also facilitate local developments in schools and provide a network of information available for teachers (NGCC Newsletter 2, March 1974).

A distinct polarisation seems to have occurred at several levels. Apart from the distinctive factions with readily identified interests, some members of the committee were keen to involve overseas expertise; others wanted to ensure that the work of the committee should be 'home grown' without being encumbered by overseas trends (Cant 1991, 10). Alongside these groups were those who represented more conservative approaches to geography teaching. Ron Mayhill from Auckland Grammar and Bill Joyce, now a Secondary Inspector in Hamilton, both of whom provided a balance to the committee, were seen to represent a more entrenched view (Davidson 1991, 11). Others, not on the NGCC, demonstrated trenchant opposition,

¹⁸ HOD Geography Kaikorai Valley High School, Dunedin. Now retired

as was demonstrated by a geography teacher at Waitaki Girls High School, Oamaru who wrote concerning an early NGCC Newsletter,

I found one of the statements in it misleading - the one about research showing that ideas - based on curricula are better than content based one . . . How do you (or different researchers) assess the extent to which a curriculum is ideas - or content based . . . How do you pre-judge what the NGCC is going to do: How can you say that it is going to be better? (Haworth letter to Young 8/12/76).

The length and detail of responding letters from both Young (Letter to Haworth 1/2/1977) and Paul Whitehead (Letter to Haworth 3/10/1977), Lecturer in Geography and Education at Auckland Teachers College, give some evidence as to the degree of concern felt by the NGCC, that the consultative path be followed. The concerned teachers' fourth and final letter finished with the final rejoinder,

Please rest assured that if you provide even one reference that favours your case, I shall not necessarily be convinced . . . (Haworth to Young 17/8/1977).

Discussion

The mobilisation of participants to pursue their interests and to reach out for alternative structural arrangements is a significant component of a dialectical analysis of power. In this case, geographers with differing views of how school geography should be tackled, realised that mobilisation of commitment and resources would greatly enhance their power in the flux that occurs when an organisation is being constituted. Arguably there could be three reasons for the 'strident discussions' that occurred. Firstly, there could have been a desire to get the job done quickly in view of the widely expressed notion that reform was long overdue and that a certain degree of prevarication had already occurred. Secondly, committee members, resolute to a particular paradigm, may well have felt that whoever established a 'beachhead' at the beginning, would be in a position of power. Thirdly, and no doubt applying to all groups, each would have had a strong view as to what they felt was the appropriate course to follow. In any case, all three possibilities strongly support the basic premise that the process was a contested one.

The Process vs Content of Curriculum Reform

Early in the work of the NGCC, Ian Young, a curriculum officer with the Department of Education, was appointed as the Convenor of the NGCC. Without doubt, Young was to prove a key figure in the success of the NGCC. His recent background enabled a contemporary perspective of curriculum processes that he was able to apply to the

committee's work. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm and chauvinism engendered by the wide cross section of geographical interests and talent represented on the NGCC, Young was committed to a curriculum development process that required,

... the need to develop a total curriculum statement for geography, a plan for learning, within which there would be flexibility for schools to develop according to the needs of their particular clients, the expertise of its teachers, the resources that were available and the organisational climate of the school (NGCC Newsletter 14, 1978).

This commitment was to a curriculum process, although not entirely new to the literature, was new to the Curriculum Unit in Wellington. Renwick (1991, 10) then the Assistant Director General of Education notes that,

One of the roles of the Curriculum Development Unit was to have the administrative direction of national projects and once you had a person working as a desk officer in the curriculum unit, it would be the expectation of that person who would take over.

The NGCC at work

The process of restructuring school geography had begun but did not just happen. Cant again,

The whole process was well and truly underway. The succession of meetings at Lake Alice, and other places. I had a feeling that the first three or four things that Ian Young took us through; they did two things. One is that they got the task well and truly under way, but they also established a coherence, a balance and a reasonableness. They had confidence in each other. We began by being as twitchy as hell about other people's positions and so on, but under Ian Young's reign - reign is not the right word - facilitating. He was pretty bloody minded in logistical ways and so on and he was pretty bloody minded in making us stick to processes and keep progressing to our outcomes; but he was never arrogant or bloody minded in terms of ideas about geography; so he was a good mixture of facilitator and beating us into common sense. My feeling is ... that the difficult task was in getting the process defined and underway and the actual gaining of a respect and a coherence and an ability to work together (Cant 1991, 9).

Site and Situation

Following the initial meetings of the NGCC, it became apparent that there was a need for facilities that could accommodate a group of about twenty for up to a week at time. Young's knowledge of the 'corridors of power' enabled two important concessions

(Huggett 1991, 4). One was the use of the Lake Alice facilities and the other was the ability to inveigle week long blocks of teacher free time from the Department of Education, for staff on the NGCC. This combination of factors had significant implications in terms of group dynamics. Speaking of the role of Ian Young during this period, Cant notes,

The thing that Ian Young intuitively created was what the French use as a technical decision making technique called a 'cherette', where you get a cluster of people who are carefully chosen because of the range and variety of skills, viewpoints and perspectives. You lock them up in appropriate surroundings for a defined length of time and give them a specific task and if you give them the right job in terms of balancing the viewpoint and the task is reasonably defined and group hold together; then they will achieve that particular task (1991, 16).

Discussion

The situation described above is a classic example of contradictions, ruptures, inconsistencies and incompatibilities in exemplifying the real situations found in social settings. Radical breaks with the present order are possible because of contradictions. As Benson notes (1977, 15) contradictions feed into the social construction-production process in several ways.

1. Contradictions provide a continuing source of tensions, conflicts, and the like which, may under some circumstances, shape consciousness and action to change the present order
2. Contradictions set limits upon and establish possibilities for reconstruction at any given time.
3. Contradictions may produce crises which enhance possibilities for reconstruction
4. Contradictions are important as defining limits of a system.

Cant also saw the Lake Alice meeting as a breakthrough because of the setting, as it transpired, where you had some 20 people with a diversity of skills and enthusiasms all under the same roof from Monday till Friday. Without distractions and with nowhere else to go, the members of the NGCC developed a close working relationship that allowed much to be accomplished at each block session. What might have appeared to be casual personal encounters turned out to have far reaching consequences. Cant (1991, 13) cites the case of Jack Caldwell, who had been Principal of Christchurch Boys High and latterly Secretary of the *University Entrance Board* in Wellington. Caldwell was very influential within the university network and

understood how these structures operated. In trying to institute changes involving the examination Boards, Cant observes,

We had some very bad experiences and tried to make some changes and doing so abysmally and getting bounced back and rapped over the knuckles and getting very hurt, discouraged and disappointed . . . (Cant 1991, 12).

Caldwell was invited to an NGCC meeting at Lake Alice and came, perhaps also tempted by the adjacent golf course. The social and intellectual interchange during these sessions enabled Caldwell to have confidence with the aspirations of the committee and thereafter the weight of his support was an important enabling factor when it involved the examination Boards. While it would be shallow to assume that it was mere social enjoyment that brought influential people like Caldwell onside with the work being done on behalf of geography, the importance of the setting is apparent.

Sequences of the NGCC

A model articulating the adopted Curriculum Development Process was accepted (Fig 7.3) which used three main headings, a) THE LEARNER, b) SOCIETY and c) KNOWLEDGE. The NGCC Newsletter 14 outlined the relation of these three to the process.

A THE LEARNER

Work concerning the learner developed according to a method often adopted by the committee; that is to ask teachers for their practical contributions; to consult those with expertise in the universities and teachers colleges; to conduct surveys among the students, setting out the implications for developments in the geography curriculum. The draft then went to teachers and others for comment, elaboration and clarification, before being redrafted in more substantive form by the committee. This more substantive draft then became one element interacting with all other elements of the curriculum process model.

B SOCIETY

The NGCC gathered and considered the relevant reports published by the Advisory Council on Educational Planning and those that resulted from the Education

PHASE 1

1. Establishing - aims of secondary education and geography's contribution
 - nature of secondary education
 - nature of school geography - modern development in geography
 - objectives of geography
 - criteria for planning and evaluation.
2. Research into pupils', teachers', and citizens' perceptions and expectations.
3. Surveys of overseas geography curriculum development schemes and progress.

PHASE 2

4. Establishing banks of - Important Geographical Ideas (IGIs)
 - Settings
 - Skills
 - Learning activities.
5. Surveying the place of values education in school geography.
6. Evaluating the relative merits between 'Scheme A' (nationally organised schemes versus 'Scheme B' (School-based programmes - 'matrix').
7. Developing a compromise structure with some locally-chosen (internally assessed) topics and other 'common prescribed' topics.
8. Establishing the banks of - geographic knowledge
 - assessment and evaluation and finalising the list of approaches to geographic study.
9. Finalising the banks of - Important Geographical Ideas (IGIs)
 - Settings
 - Skills
 - Learning activities

PHASE 3

10. Writing the syllabuses for a coordinated Form 5-7 curriculum
11. Developing the revised prescriptions for School Certificate, UE and UB
12. Developing a range of sample programmes to be used as models by the staff of schools of various types and settings
13. Implementation of the revised prescriptions and programmes.

FIGURE 7.4 Sequence of NGCC Emphases 1975 - 1987

Source: after Young 1977

Development Conference. These latter reports were the outcomes from the most extensive public participation and debate on education that has occurred in New Zealand since the 1940s. Furthermore, an investigation was made of the expectations that members of the general public had in relation to the value and teaching of school geography.

C KNOWLEDGE

There has been an ongoing concern to use the knowledge gained from modern developments in education and in geography. This has influenced statements on the nature of school geography, the objectives of geography, teaching approaches, and indicated many of the concepts and ideas that could be included in geography programmes. Not only was there a need to consider what to include, but similarly there was a need to avoid pitfalls learnt through experience and research from overseas projects. New Zealand cannot afford massive projects, nor can it replicate all overseas research, so that it is most important that those implications which are applicable to New Zealand's needs, be drawn up.

The sequential process that was used by the NGCC to work through the approach framework can be derived from Fig 7.4 where the committee's initial concern was to become aware of the Aims of Secondary Education as expressed through the reports associated with the review of secondary education that was being undertaken at the time. With the implication that geography should complement these aims, the committee then developed a statement on the *Nature of School Geography* that facilitated a working definition of school geography without compromising the more erudite philosophical demands of the university setting. Following this, the committee established Criteria for Planning Development by seeking the input of a network of experienced teachers who acted as agents in collating replies to questionnaires and newsletters as well as contributing their combined expertise to the NGCC. From this was developed the set of criteria to be considered in planning geography programmes at the national, school and classroom level. In final form, the *Objectives of Geography* involved the input of approximately 400 geography teachers.

Newsletter 14 goes on to elaborate the components required to build up school and classroom programmes. These components dealt in specific applications relating to skills, concepts, values with guidelines for implementation. To these would be added the 'banks' of resource material relating to learning activities, skills, resource

materials, settings, concepts and important geographic ideas, attitudes and values, and techniques of assessment and evaluation (see Fig 7.5).

Professors and Teachers

It would be a mistake to assume that the structures set up to enable the NGCC to work were sufficient to see the task through. Apart from those who had a full time responsibility to the NGCC, several groups played a very significant role in making sure that the system worked. The Professors and the Teachers are two groups which warrant separate mention.

Young (1991, 5) admits to being somewhat of a lightweight in geography in an arena of strong personalities connected to the discipline. Looking back, he generously concedes that the sheer intellectual energy assembled was both daunting and stimulating. On that point Cant (1991, 8) makes the following observation,

The university people were very strong and significant, but they were balanced by very strong, significant and capable teachers who were not over awed.

Cant was also well aware of the dangers inherent in polemic points of view getting out of control.

The situation that Ian Young was in, was that he had a group of 18 or 20 people with a great diversity of enthusiasms and perspectives on geography . . . I think there were other people who were significant and were aware of the dynamics of it. For example the former geographer who came in from the real world.¹⁹ You could not polarize between teachers and university staff or you couldn't polarize blatantly between human and physical geography. There were a whole lot of potential polarizations there but the fact that there were 18 or 20 people there, meant there were overlapping polarizations and nobody could be too blatant or too persistent in a minority position; but I think that the non geographers who had no agenda in terms of what was happening in school were really good in terms of the creative dynamics (Cant 1991, 8).

The support from the universities was both overt and covert. Knight (1991, 5) mentions the indirect role played by some of the professors of geography who, although they did not play a direct role in the work of the committee, were able to provide formidable backing when needed. Ross (1991, 4) who, as Director of Curriculum at the inception of the NGCC, stresses the direct contribution of three of

¹⁹ Cant is referring to Euan McQueen, then Deputy Director of Management Services, New Zealand Railways

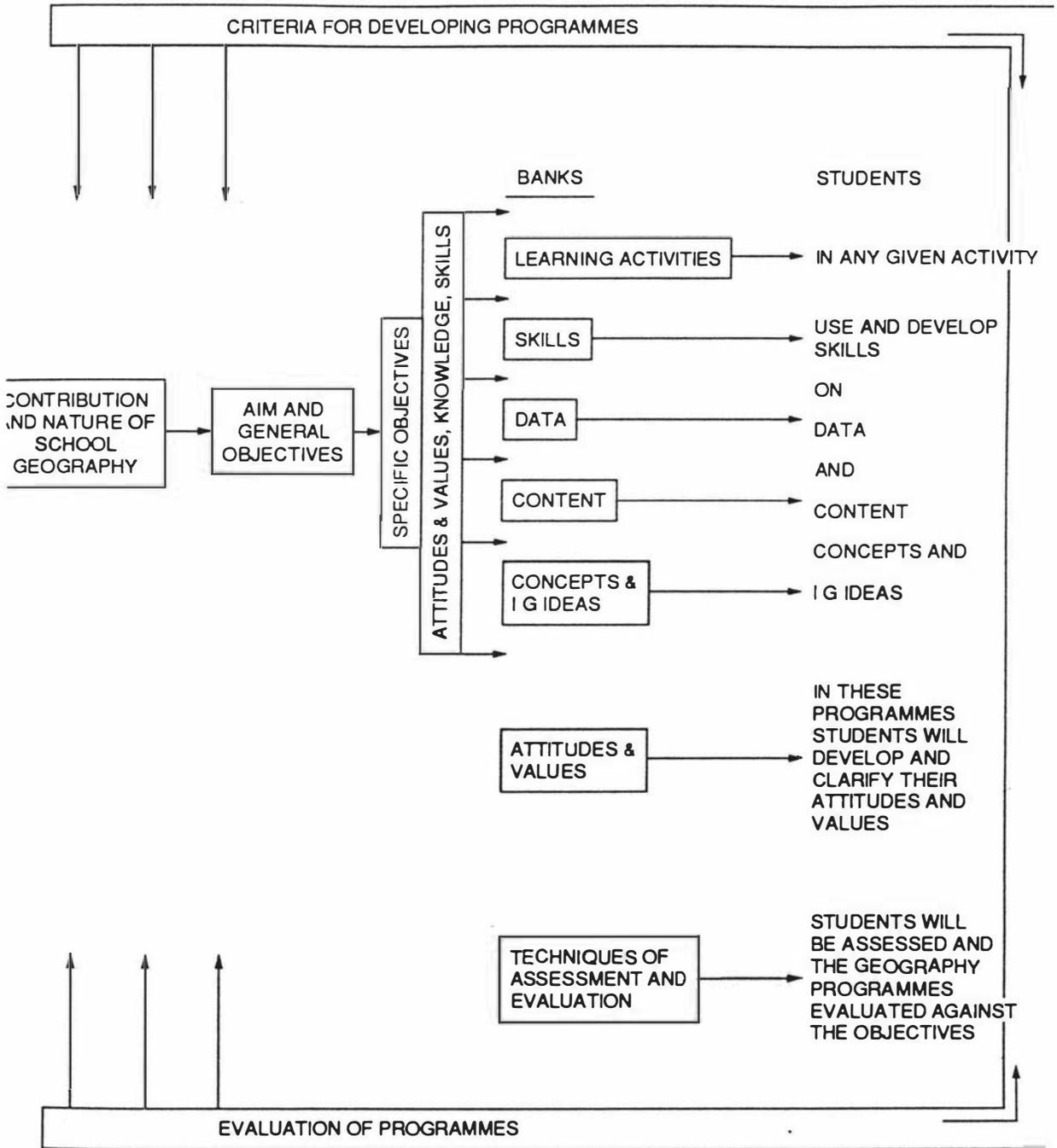


FIGURE 7.5 Forms 5-7 Geography: National Guidelines

Source: Young 1977

the university personnel on the NGCC. Dr Garth Cant from Canterbury University, had a background of high school geography teaching and as a UE Geography examiner, is credited with having conceptualised early, the possibilities of the NGCC. Ross asserts that this understanding, allied to a positive perception of the human dynamics involved, exemplified the type of support which came from the universities. Ross also mentions Professor Paul Williams from Auckland who was regarded as a strong advocate and whose support for the NGCC was very evident. Others were influential without continual direct involvement on the committee. Ross here cites Professor Barry Johnston from Canterbury who was prepared to use his position on the UEB to assist the NGCC by getting the UEB to acquiesce to the concept of a coordinated curriculum, which might have initially appeared to compromise the independence of the UEB. Ross is also generous in attributing the part Johnston played in supporting a setting in which high school teachers could work alongside the university staff without feeling threatened.

The support of the high school teachers was another key to the success of the NGCC. The teachers acknowledged the groundbreaking purpose of the NGCC as being the first significant revision of high school geography coming from the ground up rather than the old mode of prescriptions being handed down from above. The enthusiasm and participation of teachers at all levels, from membership on the committee, to those who trailed the draft syllabus, served as a pattern for other subject teachers within the high school system.

Transition from Convenor to Chairman

Ian Young relinquished his role as Director of the NGCC at the end of 1980 and handed over to Chris Davidson who had been with the NGCC since 1976. With it came a formal change of title. Davidson with a proven background as a high school geography teacher and Teaching Fellow at Victoria University, proved to be a resourceful and influential Chairman, but of a different mold to Young.

Ian Young got us over the almost impossible hurdle of getting us a group and giving us confidence and coherence in what we wanted to do and getting the process under way. Chris had a totally different role. Chris had the role of continuing the dynamics of the process (Cant 1991, 11).

Both men were well regarded by the committee who recognised that they both had very different roles,

Ian Young was the prime mover. Chris had a more difficult job. Ian was doing the job without guide-lines but seemed to be able to get money freely whereas Chris came in at time when the money was starting to dry up and therefore Chris had to work very hard to achieve what he did (Holyoake 1991, 6).

The appointment of Davidson is considered significant in that the change of Directorship meant a subtle change in direction for the work of the NGCC. Up to this point Young had assumed a central role in guiding the path to be taken and establishing the framework of process which allowed the NGCC to work. Davidson, although working from a less established powerbase due to having come in as a junior member of the NGCC, was seen as the professional school geographer who had the knack of allowing others to share centre stage, if it meant something could be achieved from it. In speaking of Davidson, Paul Williams representing the Universities states,

. . . we recognised that he was more than just a good teacher but that he saw the curriculum implications as he went along (1991, 5).

Opposition from Within

By this time, the process of curriculum reform had been going on for some time and finances were drying up. Some opposition to the work of the NGCC now came from within, in the form of Merv Wellington, second Minister of Education of the Muldoon government. Wellington was seen by many teachers (Huggett 1991, 4, Astle 1991, 5, Collett 1991, 2) as a defender of conservative values. Wellington was Minister during the 'back to basics' debate which signified the concerns, expressed by many²⁰ and espoused by the Minister, as to the most desirable forms of school curriculum, particularly over what should constitute the common core and the perceived neglect of 'the basics' (Shuker 1987, 166). Openshaw (1985, 231) observes that the ongoing quibbling represented more than preferences concerning teaching styles and subject content, but masked a complex pattern of social and political beliefs. Renwick (1991, 12), Director General of Education at the time, recalls Wellington as a Minister who would not commit himself to anything that he did not believe in.

He set up a big opposition to himself which got highly personalised . . . It is a pretty impressive responsibility and they all take it seriously and Merv Wellington

²⁰ For example, the Concerned Parents Associations (CPA) who were alarmed at what they saw as an undue emphasis on social education in New Zealand State Schools, at the expense of the 'basic three Rs'

took it as seriously as anybody, perhaps more. All ministers that I worked with took their responsibilities seriously, but he was sitting there saying, 'I am the Minister of Education . . . In terms of my responsibilities, there are certain things that I am going to be responsible for' . . . I mean it was good old nonconformist ethic . . . he would not be committed to things he wouldn't believe in.

Codd (1985, 31) adds,

During the Wellington Ministry, the discourse of the state became increasingly preoccupied with administrative control, educational standards and the promotion of national identity. Public controversy in this period surrounded ministerial edicts on such matters as the training, appointment and assessment of teachers, the retention of external examinations and the introduction of compulsory flag-raising in schools.

The Minister and Internal Assessment

In reply to the OECD examiners during the 1982 review of education policy in New Zealand, the Minister of Education argued that a move to criterion-referenced assessment,

. . . would not be welcome in New Zealand, where the existing pattern of norm-referenced testing maintained a valuable 'competitive edge'. To move away from such norm-referenced examinations risked standards (Department of Education, 1982 Report).

It was at this interface where the NGCC had to work to overcome the Minister's opposition. Arguably, the most difficult single achievement of the NGCC was the introduction of partial internal assessment, which involved the cooperation of the School Certificate Examination Board and the University Entrance Board. Codd (1985, 31) quotes an address to a meeting of school governors in May 1984, in which Wellington described an embargo on the University Entrance examination planned by the PPTA as, 'another attempt to secure teacher domination of education'. This embargo was the direct result of the Minister's refusal to consider any change to the examination system. *The New Zealand Herald* of Monday 7 May 1984, quoted Wellington as stating,

While I am Minister, what is taught and what is examined in schools will not be determined by teachers.

The opposition of the Minister to any form of internal assessment was not directed overtly at the NGCC. The pressure came on the respective examination boards,

particularly the School Certificate Examination Board²¹ chaired by Jim Ross, who it appears, was under pressure from the Minister to block any move by the NGCC to introduce any form of internal assessment. The resistance came first in the form of protracted dubiety from the SCEB as to the reasons and rationale in favour of internal assessment (Davidson 1991, 4). The matter came to a head when the NGCC wanted to circulate the draft prescription containing details of the partial internal assessment, to the schools for comment and response. This step required the support of the SCEB and was to be decided by vote. Because of the crossover of membership with a number of people common to NGCC and SCEB, several members of the NGCC were in a position to lobby vigorously to the remainder in an effort to influence the vote in favour of internal assessment. Davidson (1991, 4) comments,

Garth Cant and one or two other people had done a lot of politicking behind the scenes, lobbying the private school member, John Murdoch (Principal of Auckland Grammar), Mike Murtargh (secretary of UEB) and the PPTA people on the committee and they did the good task [sic] there. So we knew that there were five departmental people and there were six other people outside it, on the SCEB, and it was going to the SCEB for decision as to whether or not it was going to go out for comment.

Davidson records that the vote went in favour of internal assessment by 6 to 5.

The Reaction to Wellington

Cant who was on the NGCC right through the period of its existence was in a position to both participate in and observe the interplay of dialectics. In assessing the role of Merv Wellington, Cant is of the opinion that, in reality, it was Wellington's opposition to the school based reforms fostered by the NGCC, that did most to swing teachers behind it. The first factor suggests that if Wellington had not tried to halt or at least slow the work of the NGCC, it could have pushed the changes too quickly,

If Merv hadn't been there, dragging his heels, all of what we were trying to do would have come together much more quickly and would have been getting out to teachers and schools and there would have been an enormous wave of resistance from classroom teachers and schools (Cant 1991, 9).

The second factor argued by Cant is that there was a growing resistance in the schools to the direction being taken by the Minister and that,

²¹ The SCEB was under the auspices of the Department of Education. By contrast the UEB was an autonomous body.

... one of the other 'lucks' in the draw was the fact that Merv Wellington was there at a time when the NGCC knew what it wanted to do; had the vision of geography in the schools and wanted to sell it to the teachers and unwittingly Merv Wellington's conservatism was the magnificent selling thing from a new geography programme (Cant 1991, 9).

Discussion

The scenario enacted above, fits well within the theme of contestation. Power in an organisation derives to some extent from the official authority structure. The power inherent to the office of Minister of Education is considerable. It is within his power to approve appointments to particular committees and to approve the committee in the first place. Although not a direct member of the NGCC, the Minister was obviously part of the organisational structure that underpinned it. Again it highlights the fact that organisational structure becomes fluid when the role of the actors is considered. Ranson et al (1980, 7) state that an organisation is thus better conceived as being composed of a number of groups divided by alternative conceptions, value preferences, and sectional interests. The analytical focus then becomes the relations of power which enable some organisational members to, in this case attempt to, constitute and recreate organisational structures according to their provinces of meaning. The fact that the resistance to the Minister of Education spread far beyond the committee to the teachers, to the extent that his opposition finally became a stand-alone incentive in favour of internal assessment, is indicative of the complexity of the role of human agents within the structure.

The achievements of the NGCC

The achievements of the NGCC have been documented elsewhere (See Young 1977, Davidson 1983,1987, Macaulay 1988). It is not the essential purpose of this thesis to cover in great detail, the 'nuts and bolts' elaboration of either the details or chronology of the important changes that took place leading to the final implementation of the Coordinated Geography Curriculum for Forms 5, 6 and 7 in 1987. It is worthwhile to note that the restructuring of high school geography took place in three distinct phases as described by Davidson (1987, 20).

Phase 1 saw the initial involvement of all interested parties in considering and adapting new ideas and teaching methods in geography within existing prescriptions.

Phase 2 retained the form of the existing prescriptions whilst making internal modifications, consistent with the objectives of the intended curriculum changes. A vital change initiated by the committee during this phase was the introduction of school-based, but nationally moderated, assessment of practical work including field work for University Bursary geography, contributing 20% to the final mark.

Phase 3 saw the final development and full implementation of a coordinated Forms 5, 6 and 7 geography curriculum based on *The Syllabus Guidelines for Forms 5, 6 and 7 Geography* and associated prescription.

The phases just described are better understood when viewed alongside the sequence of emphases of the NGCC's work from 1975 - 1987 (See Fig 7.5).

The work of the NGCC spanning some 13 years has achieved recognition in leading the way in curriculum reform in New Zealand. In some ways it anticipated the demise of the Curriculum Unit in Wellington, which took place with the introduction of the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy in 1988, by setting up a control within the *Syllabus Guidelines* that caters for changes in geographical emphasis. Thus the *Syllabus Guidelines* will not readily date. Kevin Piper, in writing a commentary as an addendum to Davidson's (1987, 22) monograph, acknowledges the timely and significant contribution of the NGCC to school geography in New Zealand. He concludes with a penetrating comment relating to Davidson optimism concerning the *Syllabus Guidelines*.

This confidence, however, must continue to be backed by the provision of interesting and relevant programmes in schools, and the professional application of the principles of the National Guidelines. Without these, geography could well be swamped by a wave of curriculum innovations that cost it the pioneering leadership it enjoys at the present moment (Piper in Davidson 1987, 22).

THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF HIGH SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND

This Chapter has outlined major structures and the work of a number of agencies involved with high school geography over a long period of time. The task now is to identify those situations, in which, with the power of theoretically informed hindsight, we can state that the process of institutionalisation was influenced. The analogy of a reel of film is useful. The entirety of the film represents the institutionalisation process.

But the plot is too complex and the film too long, to concisely articulate the sequence of the plot. We need to select some of the frames from the film, which when placed together, best illustrate the institutional process. The task is necessarily selective because *every* situation is arguably part of the process.

The 1877 Education Act

This was a significant step for high school geography in that geography was formalised as standardised school subject with status within the curriculum.

The New Education Fellowship

The New Education Fellowship Meetings held throughout New Zealand in 1937, enabled teachers to become exposed to developing overseas trends in curriculum matters. It enabled them to envision themselves as influential agents in education rather than passive employees of the education system. The social studies syllabus derived from the Thomas Report was greatly influenced by the ideas engendered by the New Education Fellowship.

The Groundswell of Discontent

One cannot underestimate the far reaching consequences of geography teacher dissatisfaction in the 1960s and 1970s. This generation of teachers, graduating from university geography and Teachers Training Colleges in New Zealand, were greatly frustrated by the ineptness of the curriculum revision process that confronted them. These frustrations frequently found expression in the PPTA and the BOGT.

The NGCC

The whole scenario of the NGCC represents a vital institutional link. The appointment of Ian Young, a visionary with a commitment to a curriculum process, by people with long standing connections with New Zealand geography, was very important. The operation of the committee committed to a consultative process and the bringing together of university, school, professional and government agencies was highly significant. The diversity of these people and the struggle to enact a new coordinated syllabus in the face of trenchant opposition has been recorded.

Tomorrow's Schools

The apparent decentralising of education in New Zealand following the 1988 Picot Report, is fast becoming recognised as a covert move by the government to increase central control over the education system. The autonomy enjoyed by geography, achieved at great effort by the NGCC is rapidly becoming eroded by the demise of the committee and the Curriculum Unit. Instead the new Ministry has adopted a new contractual system. The Ministry of Education Report (AJHR, 1990-91, E1, 10) states,

The Curriculum Functions Section within the Ministry then undertakes responsibility for implementing these curriculum priorities through the contractual process. This process involves asking prospective contractors to signal their interest and to submit a detailed proposal for their consideration. . . . [including] details of how teachers and other education agencies and groups will be involved in the development

The contractual arrangement in curriculum matters, as operated by the government at time of writing, quite simply strengthens it's hand to decide the priorities of high school geography. With the abolition of the inspectorate, there are no longer inspectors with subject specialties able to submit to a Curriculum Unit, the names of teachers with a real contribution to make in curriculum matters. Even though contractors are required to detail how teachers and agencies will be involved, the selection may not match the need.²²

Berger and Luckmann (1967, 54) come as close as any to describing what has happened.

Institutionalisation occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualised actions by types of actors.

Both actions and actors are typed: certain forms of actions come to be associated with certain classes of actors. For example, teachers want more control over curriculum matters, Ministers of the Crown are sensitive to pressure groups, university geographers have their own clear view of syllabus needs. The list goes on. Berger and Luckmann (1967, 55) continue,

Reciprocal typifications of action are built up in the course of a shared history. They cannot be created instantaneously. Institutions always have a history, of which they are the products. It is impossible to understand an institution

²² Figures 7.6 and 7.7 provide a view of curriculum management before and after the 1989 Education Act.

adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced.

Again, this is not to be confused with a conformity model as explicated by Zucker (in Scott 1987, 496) in which an inevitable and predictable pattern occurs. The extent to which an isomorphic pattern emerges, hinges on the acceptance of a theoretical framework which supports the concept of a contested process. The events described in this chapter would support this.

A Reflection

The changes in school geography in New Zealand reflect, in many ways, the changing fortunes of the nation. When the NGCC was first set up, New Zealand enjoyed one of the highest living standards in the world (Shuker 1987, 64). The deepening economic crisis of the late 80s and 90s commands the attention of politicians and dominates the popular consciousness. Codd et al (1985, 9) observes that,

. . . whereas the economy has always been understood in terms of competing interests within a continual struggle for the control of production and the distribution of rewards, the education system has not been similarly understood. Indeed it is because education has been traditionally described in terms which disconnect it from the political economy, that the current educational crisis is barely recognised, let alone properly understood.

In New Zealand, the liberal rhetoric of the education debate has been predicated on the popular belief that state-controlled schooling works, in the final analysis, to serve the common good. This chapter has gone to some lengths to demonstrate the contested nature of the development of school geography in New Zealand by using a setting which encourages,

. . . an emancipatory alternative approach by proposing a dialectical view of organisations committed to the centrality of process (Benson 1977, 18).

Political Priorities

Malcolm Skilbeck's analysis of the education debate taking place in Australia and New Zealand, supports the intuitive statement by Knight (1991, 7) who believes that in New Zealand, new priorities are being established politically before they tend to be a groundswell with lobbying potential. The educational agendas in school issues

have been reversed in the 1990s with priorities coming down from the government rather than from the practitioners. Skilbeck writes,

During the 1960s and early 1970s, many OECD countries introduced into their schools wide-ranging innovations in the content and methods of teaching. They did so as part of a massive expansion of education systems in a period of remarkable growth and change in the industrialised societies. Learning processes came to the fore to meet the needs of the greatly increased student numbers drawn from all sectors of the community. Curricula were reviewed and revitalised and whole new subjects or fresh approaches to existing subjects were introduced to meet emerging social needs (1990, 12).

Skilbeck cites Connell (1980, 333), who identified three characteristics of this period:

- i) Encouragement to students to discover facts and thing for themselves, to define problems and issues and work for solutions.
- ii) The growth of a variety and diversity of approaches designed to engage students' interests.
- iii) The fostering of active student expression and creativity.

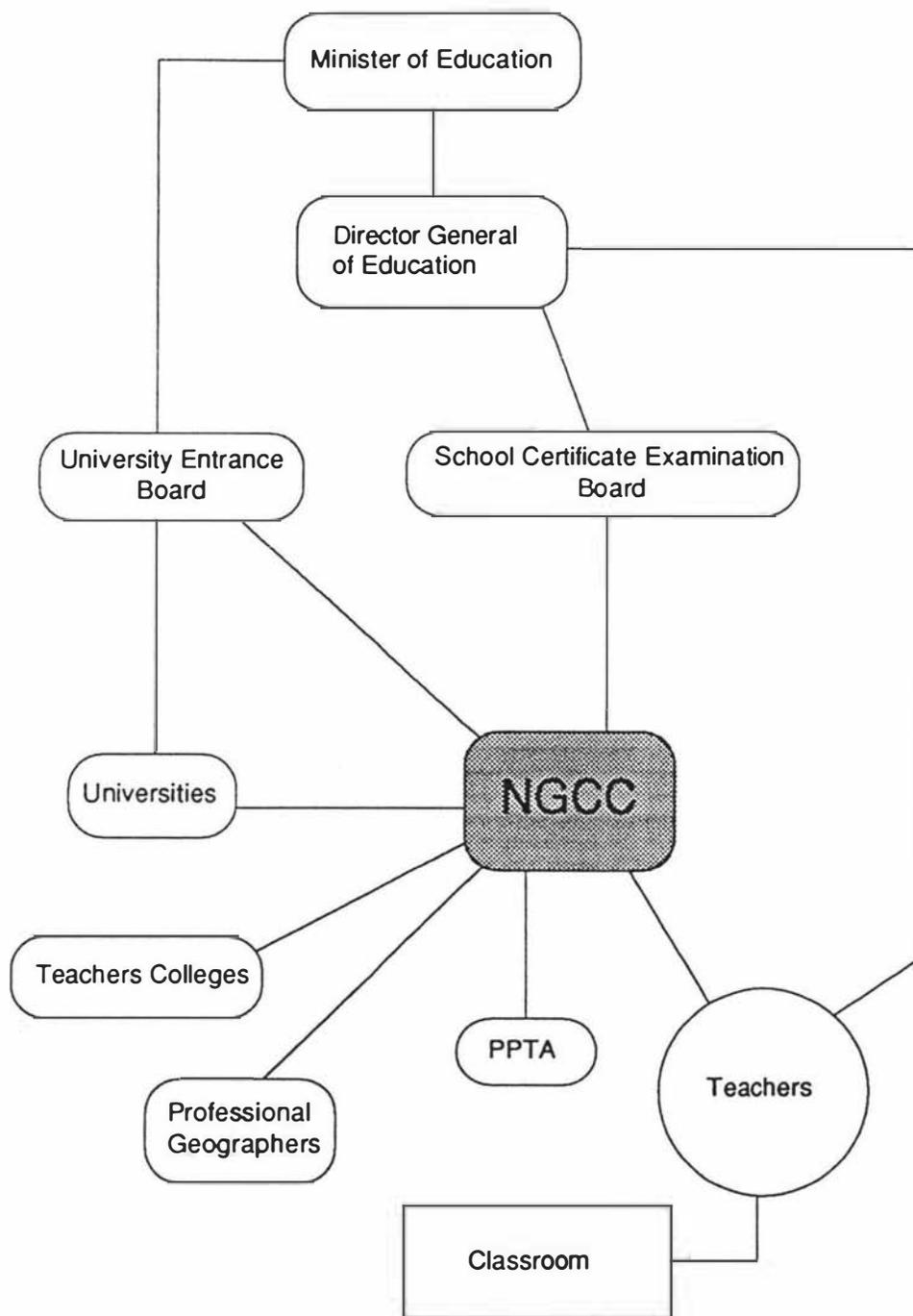
Skilbeck continues,

The prolonged post-war period of development and growth was followed in the mid-to-late 1970s by a consolidation and in some case there ensued something of a reaction to the scale and pace of the changes that had gone before (1990,12).

The Recycle of Reform

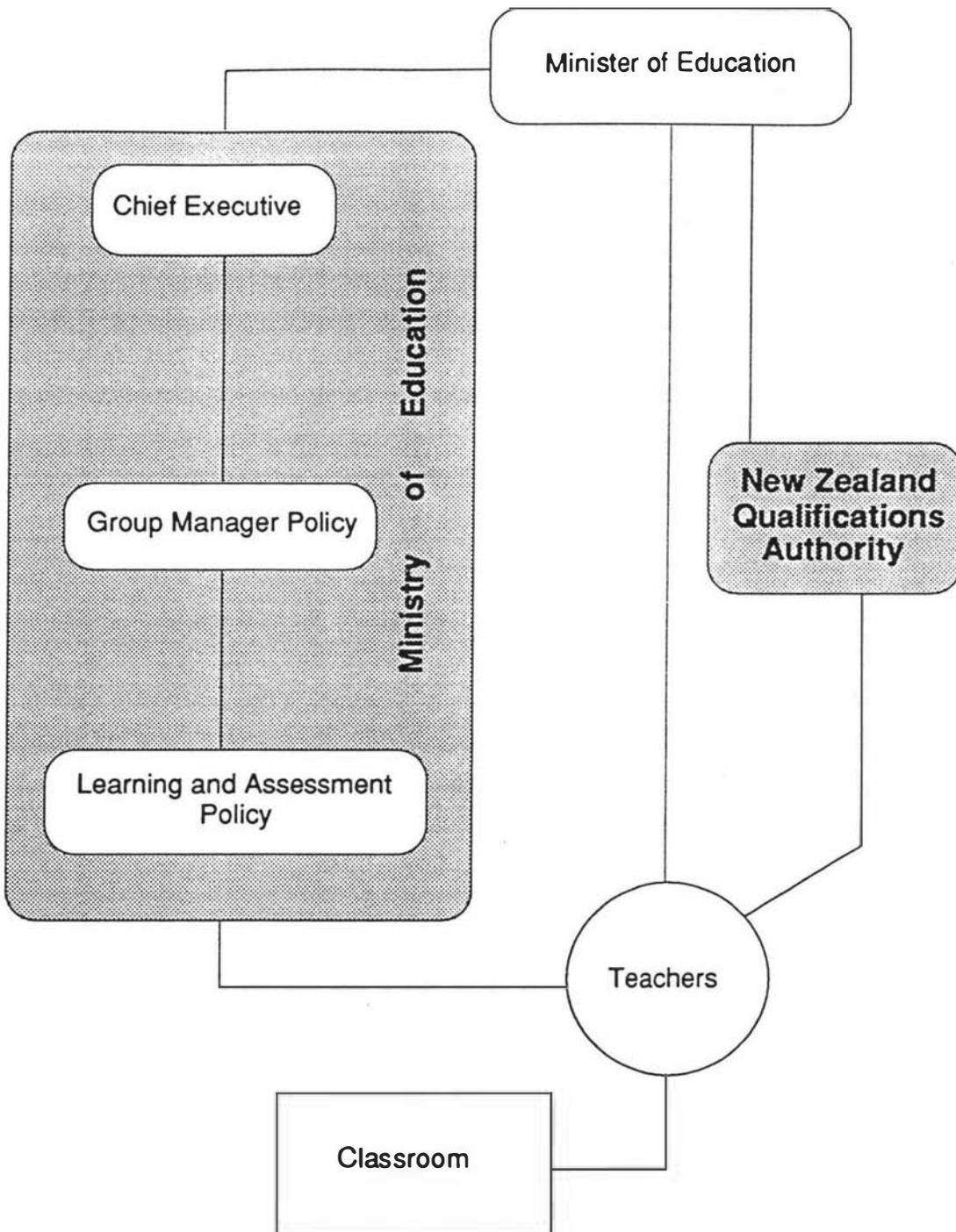
Davidson (1991, 9) laments that with the introduction of the policies associated with 'Tomorrow's Schools', the NGCC is now 'sleeping'²³ with no real provision for input from the schools and interested parties, except as the government decides to 'contract' an expert or group. The fear has been expressed by some, that the whole cycle of reform, once again beginning with groundswells of discontent, might be the inevitable price to pay. The *Coordinated Syllabus*, the end product of the NGCC was carefully designed as an instrument to incorporate change, but fears are already being expressed, that some teachers are once again teaching 'to the topic' in some form of examination lottery. One consequence is clear however; and that is that the

²³ This was at time of interview in January 1991. He now concedes that it 'died'. with the gazetting of the 1989 Education Act.



- Notes**
1. School Certificate Examination Board responsible to Director General.
 2. University Entrance Board responsible to Minister.
 2. NGCC was strongly represented in Examination Boards as well as direct access to the DGE.
 3. Teacher representation on the NGCC was fundamental

FIGURE 7.6 Consultation Paths in Geography Curriculum Prior to 1989 Education Act (Tomorrow's Schools)



- Notes: 1. Policy Consultation between teachers and Ministry 'by invitation' only
 2. Examination Boards disestablished and absorbed NZQA
 3. Tensions exist between Ministry and NZQA as to demarcation of responsibilities

FIGURE 7.7 Consultation Paths in Geography Curriculum Following 1989 Education Act (Tomorrow's Schools)

process of curriculum reform in New Zealand high school geography will continue to be a contested process.

CONCLUSION

This chapter represents the first serious appraisal of the institutionalisation of high school geography in New Zealand. This account takes a different form to the account of university geography that follows. The main reason for this is because they are both subject to different structures. University geography has operated within the comparatively stable structure which characterised the operation of academic departments. This is not the case with the structures that dominate high school geography. Governments come and go. At the same time, they take Education Ministers with them. Incoming governments generally have different educational agendas to the past ones. In the present situation, the change of government in 1990 from Labour to National has revealed a continuation of existing policy which had not been fully implemented. The Labour government which set up the radical *Tomorrow's Schools* policy of restructuring the school sector has had its initiatives continued and expanded by the current National government. Skilbeck's report, under contract to the OECD, postulates this as a function of the current world-wide recession.

Recurring themes in the report are the interaction among economic, industrial, technological and political forces working on the curriculum, community and special interest group concerns, and the roles professionals in curriculum and teaching assume or wish to claim . . . Education is not a sphere apart, but is subject to social and cultural osmosis. Many of the more specialised themes in educational debates such as the nature of intellectual culture, the forms of moral and mental development in children, or the art and science of teaching, are deeply coloured by the consciousness that education and national survival are intertwined (Skilbeck 1990, 8).

It would appear that the present National Government is equally committed to the restructuring of New Zealand education. In the case of school geography, the trends are noted in Table 7.1.²⁴

The future of school geography in New Zealand is uncertain. If, indeed, curriculum reform moves in cycles, the educational policies of the recent governments have effectively put curriculum reform at a place where the whole contested process, typified by the experience of geography, will have to start all over again. The

²⁴ The contribution of Chris Davidson in assembling this Table is acknowledged.

consultation paths between those who teach and those who decide what shall be taught have changed in recent times, to the disadvantage of the teachers (see Figs 7.6 and 7.7). The situation is not entirely hopeless, however, for geography. Many of the agents who were most active in the work of the last reform process are still active and interested in the cause of school geography. These agents find expression in the BOGT which is currently making strong representation to the Minister in regard to the new National Curriculum (see appendix F). Their representation is concerned with syllabus design as well as the place of geography within the proposed National Curriculum. Some of the powerful agents who operated in the past have ensured that the 'right' people are invited to tender their contracted services to the government. The active interest being demonstrated by many geography teachers, is a tribute to their commitment to the profession.

TABLE 7.1 Changes in Curriculum Reform Policy in New Zealand School
Geography

<i>Prior To 1989 Education Act (Tomorrow's Schools)</i>	<i>Subsequent To 1989 Education Act</i>
Curriculum development was subject specific, allowing for special resources to be applied to geography.	<i>Geography is now just one subject without special category within the Core subjects. Within the science core, Geography curriculum decisions may be effected by science rather than geography specialists.</i>
<i>Thrusts for change arose from teacher concern about the curriculum. Thus a 'bottom up' path to curriculum reform existed.</i>	Thrust for change is now the domain of the Minister who contracts 'experts' who may tender for curriculum revision.
Curriculum changes tended to be based on developments in cognitive psychology and learning theory.	<i>Increasingly the curriculum is seen as a definite instrument of state policy where broad social and economic objectives are instituted in school practice rather than an artifact of the cognitive sciences, research and the professional decisions of educators.</i>
<i>Curriculum networks were supported by a sophisticated educational infrastructure within an expanding education system.</i>	Current educational policy is seen as one of restructuring to save expenditure by devolving financial responsibility onto individual school boards. At the same time, the government has strongly centralised curriculum decisions.
Curriculum matters and teacher development were closely integrated.	<i>Curriculum change has become outer-directed. Governments shape and affirm national needs to which they wish curriculum decisions to respond. These trends see the increasing displacement of the educational professional by the administrator, manager and politician.</i>
<i>Cognitive psychology and Learning theory traditionally place the student as the centre of education reform.</i>	Increasingly students are seen as objects of policies designed to achieve goals of national renewal and development rather than as human participants and partners in the education process.

CHAPTER 8

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM IN NEW ZEALAND

*The King, observing with
judicious eyes,
The state of both his
universities,
To Oxford sent a troop of
horse, and why?
That learned body
wanted loyalty;
To Cambridge books, as
very well discerning,
How much that loyal body
wanted learning.*

*Joseph Trapp (1679-
1747)*

*Literary Anecdotes
vol. III, p. 330.*

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a bridge. The thesis has thus far followed a pattern of providing introductory lead in chapters before undertaking a major section. Thus the theoretical perspectives detailed in Chapter 3, were preceded by an account of the nature of geographical enquiry. A revisionist history of state education in New Zealand preceded the major chapter dealing with the institutionalisation of high school geography in New Zealand. This chapter outlines the development of the universities in New Zealand and moves toward some of the current political struggles to maintain autonomy within the system. It should also be read in conjunction with Chapter 6 which explicates the hegemonic and centralist nature of state education in New Zealand.

BEGINNINGS

The University of New Zealand was founded by the passing of an Act of the General Assembly which became law on 13 September 1870. The complex political, social and scientific infrastructure that preceded and accompanied the Act, provide the setting.

From the earliest days of the colony there had been a thrust for university education. In Christchurch, plans for the original settlement had been made to provide for higher education in the scheme for the college and grammar school after the pattern of Christ Church, Oxford. Campbell (1941, 155) notes, that the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge with their residential colleges and tutorial methods of individual instruction did not offer models that could be easily be reproduced in miniature in a pioneer land.

Apart from the purely physical obstacles including the cost of such an enterprise, there was the difficulty that traditions so aristocratic and so exclusively Anglican were at no stage acceptable to more than a small minority of the colonists (Campbell, 1941, 155).

By contrast, the settlers in Otago brought with them a tradition that lent itself to transplantation in the young colony.

The non-residential Scottish universities had for centuries been avenues through which many in relatively poor circumstances had made their way into the ministry or medicine, law or the teaching profession . . . The Scots therefore regarded universities as part of the normal pattern of life and were determined to have one as soon as possible (Campbell, 1941, 157).

Thus it was the predominantly Scottish settlers of the province of Otago who first established the predecessor of the University of New Zealand. As Parton (1979, 15) notes, their enthusiasm for higher education allied to the discovery of gold in Otago, enabled the settlers to use their new found wealth to satisfy the demand for education. Two provincial Acts, the first in, 1866 enabling the endowment of academic chairs and the second in 1869, the Otago University College and a New Zealand University Act, created the Otago University. The arrangement was not a universally happy one, marking the commencement of a period of acute controversy and tortuous negotiation as various provincial and denominational rivalries precluded the recognition of any one teaching institution as a colonial university.

Canterbury in particular, which had established its university college in 1873, was not prepared to allow Otago to monopolise the field; and there was the fear that if the University of Otago became a national institution the Presbyterian Church would exercise a dominating influence over higher education. As everyone desired imperial recognition for New Zealand degrees, and as the Crown was naturally unwilling to give charters to two or more universities in so small and recently-founded a colony, some system of federation became inevitable (Campbell 1941, 157).

The outcome was a university system based on that of the University of London, which had been founded in 1839 on the basis of affiliation with the constituent colleges, University College and King's College. These two colleges had been founded by a combination of secularists, dissenters, Catholics and Jews, all of whom were technically excluded from Oxford and Cambridge. The examining university was the outcome of a long struggle to secure incorporation of the college and the recognition of university education other than that given in the principles of the established Church. Thus, the second University Act of 1874 established the University of New Zealand as an exclusively examining body, modelled on a somewhat distorted idea of the University of London. The system then established remained unaltered until 1926 (Parton 1979, 18).

The system, which was the offspring of a contested process, may have got around an impasse in provincial rivalries; but did little to help develop the individual university colleges at Dunedin (1869), Christchurch (1873), Auckland (1882) and Wellington (1897), .

Thus the die was cast for the examining and degree-granting university, without responsibility for developing the teaching institutions which were to do the real university work - the conservation and transmission of knowledge and even its advancement; no responsibility for staffing its 'affiliated institutions', of creating the classrooms and libraries and laboratories they would need; and so with no incentive to take a strong lead in representing to people and government the needs of those institutions (Parton 1979, 18, 19).

A FEDERAL SYSTEM

The New Zealand University Amendment Act of 1926 marked the initiation of a federal system which allowed the colleges greater freedom in developing their own curricula and examinations. Beaglehole (1937, 326) notes that the Commission recommended that the new federal University should be based on constituent rather than affiliated colleges and should be granted definite powers in relations to curricula and methods of examination. The governing body, the Council should, in all

academic matters act on the advice of an Academic Board with a mandate to approve all curricula, standards and examinations.

In the years preceding, much had happened on several fronts within the New Zealand and international context. On one front had been the emergence of a new middle class in New Zealand society which was acceptive of the credentialling function of the educational system. Secondary and university education began to have an increased social function which determined future class status. With the demand for a greater access to education, came criticism of the classical curriculum and great dissatisfaction with the system of external examination. The creation in 1910 of a University Reform Association initiated a chain of criticism which extended until 1925 when a Royal Commission was set into motion.

It was a revolt with a reasoned basis, formulated indignation, at once demand and suggestions for improvement; a careful compilation of evidence on university organisation, appointments, finance, examinations, libraries, and research, expert in its appeal to authority and lively in its reference to local abuses. Its design however was not to present a case for instantaneous reform, but to back a petition to Parliament for a new Royal Commission (Beaglehole 1937, 182).

The second front was in the general thrust which led to the establishment of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) in 1926 and the concomitant need for more university graduates. The Privy Council had drawn attention in 1916 to the need for national research organisations in Britain's dependencies to stimulate wartime production. As part of the campaign to convince the government to set up a DSIR along the same lines as the British model, Dr E. Marsden¹, Assistant Director of Education arranged for Sir Earnest Rutherford and Sir Frank Heath (the director of the British DSIR) to tour the Dominion.

In the twenty years (1925-1945) following the Royal Commission, the importance of the university system established itself in New Zealand, The BA degree had standardised to nine units with honours being possible by 1941 (Parton, 1979, 81).² The freedom to draw up and teach individual courses became more evident but it was largely a period of growing discontent over administration and academic

1 Marsden was also Professor of Physics, Victoria University College (1914-1922) Assistant Director General of Education (1923-1926), Secretary, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (1926-1947); New Zealand Government Scientific Adviser in London (1946-1954). He had also been a research student under Rutherford.

2 There was considerable variation among the constituent colleges. For example, Canterbury University College did not offer BSc Honours until 1956. These differences were reflected in the offerings of the various geography departments at Otago, Canterbury, Wellington and Auckland.

freedom. The 1925 Royal Commission had broadly defined academic freedom as being,

... the freedom of a university teacher from a syllabus imposed on him from the outside, for example by a lay Senate which also excluded him from examining (Parton 1979, 151).

Right through the decades which followed, until the dissolution of the University of New Zealand in 1961, the question of academic freedom was on the agendas of the UTA (University Teachers Association), the governing boards of the various colleges and the Senate of the University of New Zealand. The debate raged on several fronts. One concerned the right to express opinions and publish, either as a university staff member or as a private citizen. The other was the direction and emphasis of research. The DSIR which was provided with funding to assist in research, tended to select only that type of research which could be directly related to 'important industrial problems'.

It was becoming apparent that as the four constituent colleges grew and assumed strong individual identities, that there would be conflicts relating to the relative autonomy of each institution and their relationship to the Senate of the University of New Zealand.³ They were moving,

... further and further away from each other in research fields, teaching interests and curricula, they became increasingly restive at the restraints imposed by membership of a federal organisation (McLaren 1974, 21).

By 1958 each of the constituent colleges had become a university in name, but still remained under the umbrella of the University of New Zealand. In June 1959, the government announced the establishment of a Royal Commission, which became known as the Hughes Parry Report. The wide ranging brief gave priority to the need to,

reorganise university administration and to consider giving the constituent colleges the status, privileges, powers and duties and responsibilities enjoyed by a free and separate university, subject only to the over-sight of a *University Grants Committee* (McLaren 1974, 21).

This marked the end of the University of New Zealand and the beginning of the individual universities in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Waikato

³ For example, the case, in 1956,1957, involving K. M. Buchanan, Professor of Geography at Victoria University, who was initially denied, then finally granted permission, by the Council of Victoria University College, to visit Communist China. Having had the battle fought at Council level, the same arguments were then raised at Senate.

University in Hamilton and Massey University in Palmerston North, were established in 1964. Massey University was an amalgamation between Massey Agricultural College and the Palmerston North University College.⁴

THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMITTEE

With autonomy being granted to six universities, the *University Grants Committee* (UGC) was enacted under the provisions of the Universities Act 1961. There had been an earlier UGC with limited functions under the Senate. The reconstituted UGC was given broadened terms of reference and power,

To examine in the national interest the needs of the country for university education and research; to promote, in consultation with the university institutions and other bodies concerned, the balanced development of university institutions so that their resources can be used to the greatest possible advantage of New Zealand; to enquire into the financial needs of university education and research in New Zealand. to advise the Government as to the Grants which should be made by Parliament towards meeting them; and to collect, examine and make available information relating to university education throughout New Zealand (Parton 1979, 11).

The role of the UGC was to stand between the government and the universities and its role in the development of the university system in New Zealand cannot be overstated. The penetration of the UGC into the university system meant that questions of national policy, financial inadequacies, shortages of buildings and equipment, staff recruitment, curriculum, scholarships and research were all part of its responsibility.

The work of the UGC continued through till 1990, when an amendment to the Education Act ended the work of the Committee. The action was part of a series of actions initiated by the Lange Labour government and indicates the complex circumstances which undergird change as part of an institutional process. The following discussion, which draws substantially from Snook's (1989,1991) monographs on educational reform in New Zealand, relates to these recent restructurings, within the New Zealand educational system.

⁴ The Palmerston North University College had been a branch of the Victoria University College in Wellington.

RESTRUCTURING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Snook (1989, 11) attributes much of the restructuring that has taken place in New Zealand education, both at school and university level, to the dialectic between universal New Right Theory and local belief values and institutions within New Zealand society. Snook concurs with the marxian notion that 'the ruling ideas of every age are the ideas of its ruling classes' and relates this to notions of what social life is, or should be like, which culminated in the views loosely called the New Right, being a form of libertarian social philosophy. In New Zealand, the new thinking about education first became obvious in 1987 with the re-election of the Labour government which now saw itself with a mandate to reform education and not just financial policy. Treasury produced several Briefs, from which Snook (1989, 12) notes three main points:

1. Treasury took seriously all the 'leftish', 'radical', 'socialist' critiques of education which argued that the education system in advanced countries had failed. It attested that a 'radically' new solution was required.
2. Furthermore, education had been a poor investment. Education, it was claimed, had not improved economic output. Consequently, Treasury put forward a case, based on an attempt to capitalise on New Zealand's concern for, and guilt about equity, to argue for a new approach, not further injections of state money.
3. Therefore, the Brief argued, state intervention in education should turn away from a *provision* based ethos to that of 'user pays' wherein the financial responsibility is seen to rest with the consumer.

Between 1987 and 1989 there were three reviews:

1. **Administering for Excellence:** Effective Administration in Education,
2. **Education to be More** (The Meade Report),
3. **Report of the Working Party on Post Compulsory Education and Training**, (the Hawke Report) targeting the tertiary sector,

and four policy documents:

1. **Tomorrow's Schools** (primary and secondary education arising from the Picot Report),
2. **Before Five** (early childhood education),

3. Learning for Life (tertiary education),
4. Learning for Life II (tertiary education in the light of representations made by interested groups).

It was the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy document that has had the most far reaching effect within New Zealand education. As Snook (1989, 14) observes, the system, 'sold' to the electorate as a decentralising measure, has instead become more centralised and bureaucratic than before. The universities had become particularly vulnerable with the termination of the *University Grants Committee* which had acted as a buffer between them and the government. The government immediately increased tertiary fees and appropriated the \$26m assets of the UGC for the consolidated fund in defiance of its advisory committee which recommended it to be used to support the new Vice-Chancellors' Committee which replaced the UGC. As Snook (1989, 14) correctly observes, 'It is gradually dawning on all, that whatever the grand theory, those who control the finance control the enterprise'. The public who were led to believe that the 'reforms' would enhance decentralisation have instead witnessed a consistent movement of control to the centre.

In default of that, it seems to be the case that control has reverted to the centre, responsibility to the periphery ... the basic problem is one of state legitimisation (Snook 1989, 14).

Underlying all this is the myth of social *equality* which government policy has conflated with *equity* in an attempt to market a new philosophy. Equity in education has become a catchcry. The education policies initiated by the successive Labour governments have been continued by the present National government, still neglecting to notice that inequity results from the social and economic system, not from schooling.

The effect on the university system has been significant. The leavening effect of the UGC is no longer there. The government now deals directly with the universities and has a much more immediate input into expenditure, curriculum and staffing matters (see figure 8.1). The much vaunted equity has now been inverted, as a direct result of policy, to inequity, as students face higher fees, loans and new systems of finance.

Anyone with a knowledge of New Zealand history or sociology should have realised that the net result of removing intermediate 'checks and balances' would be to strengthen the role of central government (Snook 1989, 16).

The relationship between the universities and government is in the form of a dialectic, a seeking for advantage. The universities, following the introduction of into parliament of the Education Amendment Bill 1990, successfully fought for amendments during

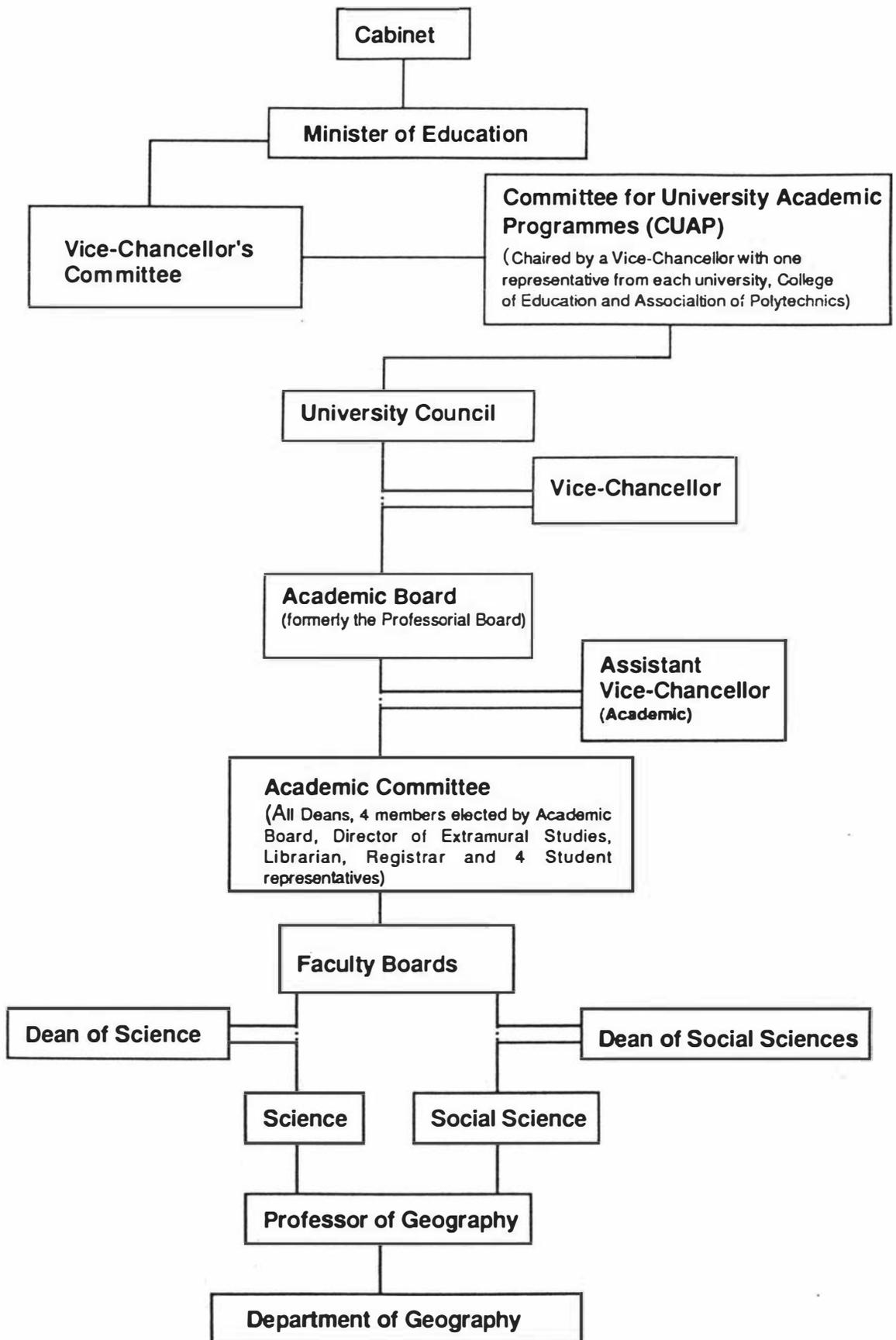


FIGURE 8.1 The Massey University Academic Hierarchy

the select committee stage (Snook 1991, 629). These amendments have reserved for the universities, some of the powers previously enshrined within the UGC. Of particular importance was the retention of curriculum and examining powers under threat to the NZQA (New Zealand Qualifications Authority) and the retention of the unique autonomy of the universities on several fronts. One was that university Councils, rather than the Minister could determine their own constitution and further, it withdrew the power of the Secretary for Education to enforce or withdraw approval for an institution's charter.

The university system in New Zealand has not emerged unscathed from the 'reforms' within education. It is still too early to fully establish the consequences of recent policy. The universities remain suspicious (Fraser⁵ 1992, 1) and would doubtless concur with Snook's (1991, 631) lifting of a comment from the Sunday Times (15 April 1990)

[The] education amendment bill is the most single-minded assault on the independence of the universities this country has seen . . . The powers being taken are totally draconian. Their imposition will make the New Zealand scene the laughing stock of the academic world.

COMMENTARY/CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented a very brief overview of university development in New Zealand. It provides a setting in which university geography can be better understood. It is stressed again, that academic life, be at the level of university administration, or at the level of a geography department, is a contested process. The universities have gone through a continuous process of institutionalisation and in the broadest possible sense, the dialectical process is readily identifiable. The principle of totality (Benson 1977, 9) visualises the intricate ties of universities to the larger society; not only to macro-structural features such as economic and political systems, but also to the interests and power relations of the agents - individuals at every level - students, academic staff, politician and public servant. The underlying processes which produced and sustained the observed regularities are just as captive to dialectical analysis as are the contradictory functions generated within the system (for example, the educational 'reforms' of government which clashed with the interests of the universities). The mobilisation of the university to intercept the intent of the Education Amendment Bill 1990, is an exemplar of the complex interplay between

⁵ Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), Massey University.

government and university interests, The thrust for 'reforms' based on loosely defined New Right social theory was articulated by particular groups of people in power. The propelling theories reflected the practical issues, as they saw them, and guided politicians in their efforts to understand and control the universities.

Theories guide actors in their efforts to understand and control the organisation. Theories provide models to be implemented, illuminate problems to be solved, reveal controls to be exercised, and so on (Benson 1977, 16).

There is then a dialectical relation between organisational arrangements and organisational theories which indicate an organisational praxis as part of the process of institutionalisation.

Embedded within this short account of university development were the geography departments. The battles to have them established, recognised and sustained were part of the overall 'warp and weft' of the university fabric. An apprehension of the institutionalisation of university geography is dependent on an appreciation that the process of institutionalisation was also taking place within the universities. The next chapter expressly deals with the structures and agencies of university geography.

Placing Geography within the Universities

To conclude this chapter, it is worthwhile to very briefly indicate when geography was formally introduced into the various universities in New Zealand.

University geography in New Zealand existed in embryonic form from 1904 when commercial and physical geography were taught within the Schools of Commerce in the university colleges (Gorrie 1955, 380). The discipline achieved departmental status in 1937 when Dr George Jobberns was appointed to a lectureship in geography at Canterbury University College. In 1938, Jobberns was joined by Kenneth Cumberland. The large increase in numbers following the cessation of the War was a function of the demobilisation programme which enabled many ex-servicemen to retrain as teachers. Because geography was also a school subject, there was a need to establish geography departments in the other universities. In 1946, Cumberland left Canterbury to establish the geography department in Auckland. Ben Garnier, a young Cambridge graduate then teaching at the Wellington Teachers College (Garnier 1991, 1), accepted an appointment to set up a geography department at Otago University. Don W McKenzie was appointed as lecturer in geography at Victoria University College in Wellington where the department was nominally under the Professor of Geology, C A Cotton, until 1950 (Gorrie 1955, 384).

The departments at Massey and Waikato came some time later. In the case of Massey, the fledgling university was established as a branch of Victoria University College and the first lectureship in geography was offered to B G R Saunders in 1959 (V U C Council Minutes 1959, 398). Geography at Waikato was first undertaken as a branch of the Auckland University department of geography in December 1963, with Evelyn Stokes (1991, 1) and Michael Selby three months later (Selby 1991, 1).

CHAPTER 9

THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF IDEOLOGIES

*So, naturalists observe, a flea
Hath smaller fleas that on him
prey;
And these have smaller fleas to
bite 'em,
And so proceed ad infinitum.
Thus every geographer, in his
kind,
Is bit by him that comes behind.
With apologies to Jonathan Swift
On Poetry*

INTRODUCTION

The Actors on the Stage

For the most part, the sources quoted in this chapter, are the personal recollections of the players and those who were observers of them. The players are the university academics, administrators and students. The observers range from wives and partners, their children, academics in other disciplines and the general public. The accounts of players and observers often conflate, sometimes intentionally but often unintentionally.

The approach taken in this chapter is somewhat different to that taken in Chapter 7 which is concerned with high school geography. The reasons for this are suggested by the nature of the Department/Ministry of Education whose centralising influence makes an accounting of high school geography much more simple than university geography which has grown out of six university departments with much greater autonomy and consequently, a much greater propensity towards a fragmented account. A second reason lies in the nature of the material gathered. An account of high school geography has been greatly assisted by the carefully kept government records, correspondence and minutes, which were freely made available to the writer. This has not been the entire case in university geography. Some departments, namely Canterbury and Auckland, have maintained historical collections which have

greatly assisted the research. Other departments have kept almost nothing and there is a great reliance on interviews and personal material held by individuals.

Rationale

A certain selectivity must take place in deciding what features of university geography might be discussed in relation to the vast amount of collected data. The selected topics within the chapter secure some of the main ideological debates, contests, thrusts and issues that have taken place at different times. They typify the trajectory of university geography in New Zealand. The headings begin with the move from regionalism to quantification; and then move through to the radical approaches that have characterised the discipline in recent times. Within these settings are other important matters like the conflict between human and physical geography and the emergence of gender and ethnic awareness. These are discussed in the next chapter. Even though the main headings represent different epochs within New Zealand geography, the rise and decline of various trends are not as clearly defined as the headings may suggest. Invariably distinct epochs will exist alongside each other as geographers trained in one tradition or school frequently adhere to that philosophy or methodology until retirement.

FROM REGIONALISM TO QUANTIFICATION.

Chapter 2 has already discussed the rise of Regionalism in geography. Regional approaches in New Zealand university geography were part of the first courses taught by George Jobberns. Jobberns was a geologist by training and a 'geographer by declaration' (Johnston 1975, 74) but with an 'eye for the country' as he was wont to say (Critchfield 1991, 3). Although Jobberns professed a definite Regional approach, there is no evidence that he strongly argued a philosophical case for it. The same could be said for the department at Otago which started in 1946 under Garnier. The department at Victoria University College in Wellington was run by Don McKenzie and tended to a geomorphological emphasis due to the superintendence of the department of geology. The real anchoring of regional approaches came with Cumberland and his commitment to the philosophy of geography expounded by Richard Hartshorne at Wisconsin.¹

'THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO HARTSHORNE'

The significance of the 'Hartshorne' era of 'areal differentiation' in New Zealand geography cannot be understated within the institutionalisation process. The principal advocate was Cumberland, who, as founding Professor of Geography at Auckland, was to exert tremendous influence over a period of thirty years.

¹ See Chapter 2 for a discussion on regional approaches and the work of Richard Hartshorne.

Cumberland admits to having read Hartshorne early in his career, but that several things happened in short order to sharpen his commitment to the philosophical approach that was to distinguish his career. Soon after Hartshorne had written *The Nature of Geography* (Hartshorne 1939), Cumberland found himself in the position of having to argue the merits of geography both within the university and to the community at large. Geography was a new university discipline and lacked apparent status. Cumberland was also involved in 'selling' geography all around the country.

Up to that point when I came to New Zealand, nobody had ever asked me what Geography was, but here I found people who had not the least idea what it was. I got a mild environmentalism. I had just read Hartshorne, which opened my ideas to all other sorts of possibilities and the illogic of environmentalism. So when I got here, I had to begin to think about that, especially once Jobberns got me involved in persuading other scientists that Geography had to justify itself (Cumberland 1991, 11)

At the same time, Cumberland met the immensely influential philosopher, Carl Popper, who had recently left Vienna as a political refugee and had accepted a teaching position at Canterbury University College. Cumberland and Popper were allotted adjacent offices, in the upstairs rooms of an old house on campus, which also served as a carpenters shop.

I saw quite a lot of Popper and he read Hartshorne on my recommendation (Cumberland 1991, 6).

It was in Popper that Cumberland found a most valuable ally. Writes Popper of his New Zealand experience,

I had for a long time been thinking about the methods of the social sciences. . . . I had lectured. . . on the 'Poverty of Historicism', a lecture which contained (or so I thought) something like an application of the ideas of *Logic der Forschung* to the methods of the social sciences. I discussed these ideas with Hugh Parton and Dr H Larsen² (Popper 1978, 113).

Popper's influence undoubtedly contributed to the institutionalising process in a very real manner by enabling geography to be accepted by other academics at Canterbury. The Annual Report to the University College Council for 1938 notes,

Two popular lecture courses, similar to those which proved so attractive to the public in the two previous years, were given in the second term. A course by Dr Popper, under the auspices of the Royal Society, on the relation of the

² Parton and Larsen were both on the staff of Canterbury University College.

philosophy to Science, gave teachers and students a new outlook on their special field (Canterbury University College, 66th Annual Report, 1938, 10)

Cumberland's comment is in the same vein.

All these Junior Lecturers worshipped Popper and in one of my conversations with Popper, I mentioned that one of my problems was to get Geography accepted as a science and could he help me? He gave me most of his reprints and things like the 'Poverty of Historicism' and 'The Open Society' and so on and he was all there, as plain as could be. There was just as strong a place for Geography as there was for any other of the sciences in that it was a non particularising science (Cumberland 1991, 6).

The assistance of Popper helped to break down some of the strongest opposition at Canterbury.

This enabled us to write our own prescriptions and to get Geography recognised for BSc (this was particularly where Popper's help came in) and getting us into the BSc and MSc degrees (Cumberland 1991, 7).

A problem in syllabus writing was attributed to the nature of the Federal system of running the University of New Zealand which was administered from Wellington. In the end, Cumberland was given clearance to write his own syllabus which was taught with vigour.

He has argued since - about this period - that the department felt that in order to establish the standing of the subject as a university discipline within Auckland - that they had to develop some common view of Geography and it was within that context that they found, Cumberland initially and then Fox who carried it to extremes, the Hartshorne paradigm. (Anderson 1991, 3)³

Bedford⁴ who as a student of Cumberland's, recalls,

All students had to buy and read Hartshorne. First year geog included the nature and history of Geography . Not entirely a bad idea (1991, 3)

Godfrey Linge⁵ was perhaps less appreciative of the determination to make all students drink at the fountain of Hartshornian geography.

Hartshorne got rammed down everybody's throat and it was absolute torture as far as the undergraduates were concerned. (1991, 2)

³ Retired from Department of Geography at Auckland in 1991.

⁴ Professor of Geography at Waikato.

⁵ Professorial Fellow at ANU, Canberra

Without doubt, the respect that was held for Cumberland's intellectual grasp of the philosophical aspects of geography was a major factor in Hartshorne's philosophy of geography being taught in most of the other geography departments. Pownall recalls Jobberns at Canterbury.

Jobberns going along with the philosophy of the subject. Much more realistic; far less theoretical. 'It wouldn't worry me Laddie' he said, 'about that sort of thing. You know I just have the curiosity of a child', he used to say. Cumberland, very purist, very Hartshornian. Jobberns with his staff of believers in Hartshorne (1990, 13)

At Otago, Garnier and then Lister also ensured that Hartshorne was imbibed by the students (Tweedie⁶ 1991, 4; Kidd⁷ 1991, 2). John Macaulay⁸ recalls, 'Hartshorne was the Bible and students were told to get hold of a copy and start studying it. Hartshorne was very heavy going' (Macaulay 1991, 2). It was in the geography department at Victoria University College, however, where an ideological battleground developed.

A CHALLENGE TO THE DOCTRINE - RETROGRADE OR RADICAL?

The geography department at Victoria University of Wellington holds a unique place in the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. This uniqueness comes from two sources. The first relates to the fact that geography at Victoria was spawned from within the geology department under Sir Charles Cotton. The first full time lecturer was Don McKenzie, a geomorphologist, trained by Cotton. For the first five years, with the department nominally under the control of the department of geology, the emphasis was almost entirely on geomorphology, at a time when the other departments were developing a common philosophical strand of geography based on Hartshorne. Thus the stage was set for two geographers of great ability and influence. Often described as mavericks within the close-knit community of New Zealand geographers, Harvey Franklin and Keith Buchanan stand out against mainstream geography in that neither felt tied to convention. Franklin was of the impression that the plethora of work being produced by New Zealand geographers was 'a matter of producing convenient boxes into which you piled all bits of information with little explanatory or intellectual value.' With his background in economic geography and a predilection for the French geographers, he concentrated on demographic analysis.

⁶ Tweedie was one of the first geography students at Otago and was Professor of Geography at Newcastle for many years. He has now retired.

⁷ Senior Technical Officer at the Department of Geography, Otago University.

⁸ Director of the Geography Resource Centre in Christchurch.

'At Victoria we went through Hartshorne and found that it didn't help us very much' (Franklin 1991, 4).

The Rift between Auckland and Victoria

It was with the arrival at Victoria University College of Professor Keith Buchanan, however, that the strongest opposition to geography as a chorological science emerged. Buchanan, schooled in different tradition, drew the battle lines in his inaugural address.

My own training, under Professor R H Kinvig at the University of Birmingham has been in a very different tradition, a tradition which emphasises geography as above all a human or social science and which derives from the luminous teachings of geographers such as Roxby and Fleure . . . (Buchanan 1954, 2).

Buchanan, whether by intent or naivety, raised the ire of established geography in New Zealand by advocating a geography which was definitely not 'areal differentiation'.

I accept the view of Barrows that it is concerned only with the mutual relationships between men and the natural environments of the areas or regions in which they live (Buchanan 1954, 2).

If Buchanan expected a reaction, he got it. It was to mark a division of personality, style and emphasis within New Zealand Geography that was to persist for over twenty years. The nature of the attacks, and Buchanan's reactions, reveal that personal as well as professional issues were intertwined.

The first substantial criticism came from Averilda Gorrie (1955) who, in her recently completed MA Thesis on 'The History of Geography in New Zealand', wrote,

Geography departments in three of the New Zealand university colleges have, in varying degrees, upheld the Hartshornian definition of geography, a definition which in itself is of course a restatement of old truths . . . It is but an indication of the health of the subject that in the three colleges geographers have during the past ten years, sharpened and deepened their understanding of the subtleties involved in their definition and of its implication . . . The fourth university department of geography deviates (Gorrie 1955, 357)⁹

The issue became even more acerbic after Cumberland, Professor of Geography at Auckland, and chief supervisor of the Gorrie thesis, sent a copy of Buchanan's

⁹ Buchanan took extreme exception to Gorrie's thesis. A poem, quoted in part in Sinclair's (1983) *A History of the University of Auckland* is attributed to Buchanan. Appendix H provides the full text of the poem, as well as preceding comments. If, indeed, the poem was written by Buchanan, it indicates his skill with words.

inaugural address to Hartshorne for review. It is questionable as to whether or not Cumberland was doing this for purely professional reasons or whether Buchanan represented a threat. In his request to Hartshorne, whom he knew well, Cumberland wrote,

Out of the blue I am writing to you to invite you to become a contributor to the *New Zealand Geographer*. All I am asking for is about 500 words and the critical reading of the paper enclosed. I think you might want to read it in any case, if you have not already done so. With only three full departments in New Zealand, a declaration of faith such as Buchanan's comes along very rarely. . . . Divergence of viewpoint is to my mind an admirable thing at the university level. . . . But in the schools (and in the NZ Department of Education which, through its publications and its inspectorate, largely determines syllabuses) a suggestion to put back the clock will cause only despair and confusion. I thought that any review you might do for us of Buchanan's address might well help to avoid any such confusion. (Cumberland to Hartshorne, letter, 9/5/1955).

Hartshorne responded within a few weeks.

You ask for a piece of bread and I throw a carload at you. . . . I don't know Buchanan and have no need to attack him; if there were such need, more might be said, for this is surely a very sloppy job. Please see our respective positions on this clearly. I have received half a dozen inaugural addresses touching on this topic and on my work and replied to none. This is the poorest; and it is remote. For my money, I should keep silent. For you, however, I gather this is professionally important - in terms of what may develop in New Zealand. That involves all kinds of factors I cannot evaluate, but only guess at. Hence my statement may serve your purpose in one way, but in others, as in tone, may be damaging to your cause. Hence, my conclusion that you should fix this statement up to the way *you*¹⁰ think it will best serve your purpose (Hartshorne to Cumberland, letter, 24/6/1955).

Hartshorne wrote the review at a time, when he was under considerable pressure.

The matter came up about the time I was involved in responding to the 'notorious' Schaefer article ... (Hartshorne to Hammond, undated letter, received 11/5/92).

The timing may not have been good from Hartshorne's perspective and possibly accounts for some of the ferocity of his attack. The review attacked not only Buchanan's methodology and understanding of geography but his scholarship as well. He took particular exception to Buchanan's statement,

¹⁰ Emphased words in the Hartshorne/Cumberland/Buchanan/Fox correspondence have been reproduced in these quotes.

. . . thrice repeated that 'we can hope to restore to geography the singleness and clarity of purpose it has lost' (Hartshorne 1955, 1),

and objected to Buchanan's esteem for the American geographer, H H Barrows. Buchanan had stated,

I accept the view of Barrows that it is concerned only with the mutual relationships between men and the natural environments of the areas or regions in which they live (Buchanan, 1954 18).

In a private letter to Cumberland, Hartshorne noted,

For I was in the midst of my graduate work when Barrows gave his address which this dissents from what I supposed was its honoured grave (I never felt it should be honoured . . .) (Hartshorne to Cumberland, letter, 24/6/1955).

Hartshorne's review indicates a concern regarding 'deviance'.

To anyone who proposes to relight that flame, calling upon all his colleagues to follow the torch with him - even though it means the abandonment not only of subsequent development in geographic thought but also of a large part of the field cultivated by geographers for centuries, one may well ask a series of questions (Hartshorne 1955, 3)

The review then postulates a series of questions which queries the degree of scholarship applied by Buchanan in following Roxby, Kinvig and Barrows, without giving due cognisance to other things they were saying. Hartshorne, who must have put considerable effort into the review, goes to pains to point out the paragraphs within the inaugural address which have been, 'taken to be sure . . . but without quotation'.

At the end, one realises that not one complimentary statement concerning Buchanan's inaugural address is going to be forthcoming.

If the address is somewhat confused and unsophisticated, it nonetheless is useful in demonstrating the ultimate bankruptcy of the concept of man-nature relationships as the basis for a field of science (Hartshorne 1955, 9).

And in this case the point was not clearly enough made,

Recent developments in geography in New Zealand have given promise of a productive future. It would be unfortunate if the clock were turned backward to the environmentalist tradition common in America and Britain half a century ago, even in the modified form advocated a generation ago and long since abandoned by most geographers in that country (Hartshorne 1955, 10).

The review was forwarded to Buchanan whose reaction was predictable. He was anxious to ascertain the source of his New Zealand opposition. He wrote to Hartshorne.

I am looking forward to an opportunity of dealing with some of the points you raise in a forthcoming issue of the Geographer; as a background to this reply I would be grateful if you would inform me whether the review was written at the request of the NZ. Geographer and/or the Department of Geography at Auckland (Buchanan to Hartshorne, letter, 19/7/1955)

The reply from Hartshorne did not provide Buchanan the clue he needed to identify the source of his opposition within New Zealand. Instead, it continued the attack.

. . . I felt it desirable that New Zealand geographers should not retain the erroneous impression . . . I seize the opportunity to oppose the resurrection of Barrows' view . . . (Hartshorne to Buchanan, letter, 3/8/1955)

The concluding paragraphs indicate that Hartshorne did not brook challenges to the established view.

No doubt I wish to assure New Zealand geographers my presentation of the classical German concept of geography is worth more attention than the brief sentence of dismissal in your address, and likewise to point out to them that the same work contains what I believe to be significant criticism of the concept of your address fifteen years later.

Finally, - and this is an assumption on which we may not agree - I am convinced that to further the standing of our field, to ourselves as well as to others, an essential need is meticulous scholarship in methodological writings no less than in substantive work. To achieve this requires mutual criticism at the risk of personal displeasure (Hartshorne to Buchanan, letter, 3/8/1955)

Thus commenced a rift between two major geography departments within New Zealand geography that was to persist for many years until the retirement of Buchanan in 1975.¹¹ The rift also marked the institutionalisation of distinct differences in New Zealand geography that are still measurable today. Hartshorne's review was never published but the damage was sufficiently done. James W Fox, as Editor of the *New Zealand Geographer*, wrote to Hartshorne who wanted to know why his review had not gone to press.

On receipt of your paper I sent a copy to Buchanan, and offered him space in the *New Zealand Geographer* if he wished to comment. As you realise, I think, he

¹¹ In fairness to Cumberland, it should be noted that apart from his initial response to Buchanan's inaugural address, he never gave the impression of being particularly concerned over the way the Victoria department taught geography

took all this as a personal attack on himself, and as far as the *New Zealand Geographer* was concerned refused to budge unless I gave him sufficient space to quote his original address at length. To cut a long story short, there was every likelihood of an academic breach if the matter were pursued, and pressure was brought on by my colleagues in the other university centres. Ordinarily I should not have yielded - an editor has a job to do whatever the consequences - but within our small community such an upset would not have been worthwhile, the ramification would be great (Fox to Hartshorne, letter, 2/5/1956).

It was clear that Fox regarded the affair as some sort of Jihad or holy war,

Accordingly, I decided to let the matter *rest*, but not *die*. An opportunity will present itself when your admirable contribution can be used, and meantime I am adding to the ammunition from Buchanan's latest pronouncements. I think the day of reckoning is not far off! (Fox to Hartshorne, letter, 2/5/1956).

The regionalism of Hartshorne continued to be taught uninterrupted in all departments except Victoria which commenced the teaching of a distinctive style of human geography based on man rather than region. Buchanan had an unequalled charisma with his students. Trlin¹² recalls,

Buchanan was in full cry at the time. He did what few others did and that was to hold lunch time meetings with students, in the student centre and he would sit down and talk about what was going on in the world. Or he would come over with a paper which he had written for the overseas students association and he would read the paper to us and we all sat around his feet like little disciples, soaking it all up because he was talking about the things of the day and doing it fantastically well (Trlin, 1992, 1).

It was also a call to action.

Very much a call to action and a taking away of the shroud of what was there and showing us the world in all its stark reality as well as the appalling injustices of the world and this is what he focussed on and again and again (Trlin, 1992, 1).

DISCUSSION

There is much scope for institutional analysis within this section. The first, and most obvious, are the forces which tend to occasion the production and reproduction of an academic structure. In this case the sets of circumstances which facilitated the institutionalisation of the Hartshornian doctrine, reveal the role of Cumberland, who, from a relatively powerless position as a young lecturer was able to enlist a powerful actor in the form of Carl Popper who had the necessary power to support the

¹² Presently Associate Professor in Social Policy, Massey University.

establishment of an ideological model which permitted geography to stand alone as a discipline. It was from this platform that Cumberland was to become a powerful actor in his own right. Thus, once the ideology was institutionalised as a practice, he was able to use, as Benson(1977, 8) would say,

... they can use their power to maintain it as a rationally articulated structure by resisting interference from outside and opposing sources of resistance inside.

Cumberland did not hesitate to do this. He was prepared to use Popper in the first instance to institutionalise an approach to geography and then was prepared, and did, use Hartshorne to ensure that it continued.

Within the terms of organisational morphology, it is possible to identify the place of paradigm commitments in the form of a domain, a technology or an ideology (Benson 1977, 11). In this case it was ideological.

These commitments provide, respectively, a definition of the objectives of the organisation, a specific set of techniques for pursuing objectives and a set of ideas interpreting and justifying the organisation's activities (Benson 1977, 11).

The process becomes more complex when one understands that each individual department was constituted as an autonomous entity with no particular department technically able to dictate any ideological line to another. This then raises a scenario in which power relations extended beyond the internal boundaries of one setting to penetrate another. Cumberland was able to influence the process of institutionalisation by, to a large extent, imposing and enforcing the conception of ideological reality. At the same time, it must be recognised that even though Hartshorne's geography would undoubtedly have been the vogue in other departments anyway, Cumberland used his intellect and authority to ensure that it was the prevailing archetype. Ranson et al (1980, 7) see this power as the,

... capacity to determine 'outcomes' within and for an organisation, a capacity grounded in a differential access to material and structural resources.

In the case of Buchanan resisting the mainstream ideology, he also, was able to exert his influence on a lesser scale - to that of his own department which followed a distinctly different line, the pattern of which still exists. He went so far as to institutionalise his unique approach by establishing the journal, *Pacific Viewpoint*. This journal, produced by the Victoria department, enabled the articulation of the Victoria department's geography. Without doubt his dissensions with the Editor of the *New Zealand Geographer* convinced him that there was little point in submitting material for publication from his own department.

The actions of Cumberland in submitting the inaugural address of a peer for review, could be called into question. Hartshorne's actions in critically mauling a relatively unknown professor, reveal a certain nervous sensitivity to criticism within a sphere that he evidently regarded as his alone. That it concerned him enough to inquire as to why his review had not been published, is indicative of the seriousness with which he treated any 'deviation' from the norm. It is also noted that he was prepared to compromise his own standing by allowing Cumberland the privilege of selectivity in dealing with the issue.

Hence, my conclusion, that you should fix this statement up any way *you* think it will best serve your purpose (Hartshorne to Cumberland, letter, 24/6/1955).

The dialectic is clear, stretching in scale from the world scene, across to New Zealand and down to departments and to individuals.

FROM REGIONALISM TO QUANTIFICATION

Chapter 2 provides an overall portrait of the methodological transition from regional approaches to that of positivism. As Smith (1989, 91) observes,

Arguably, the most influential book in twentieth-century English speaking geography, Richard Hartshorne's *The Nature of Geography* was embraced almost as a holy text by one generation, utterly spumed by another, and is now a dim historical curiosity for yet another.

We now turn our attention to note the way in which the change from Hartshorne's areal differentiation to positivism became part of the institutional practice within New Zealand geography. Once again links outside of New Zealand geography were to provide a key.

The challenge to Hartshorne came initially at different orders of magnitude and from several sources including Sauer (1941), Whittlesey (1945) and Ackerman (1945). However it was the Schaefer 'debate' coming out of the Iowa department of geography which provided a New Zealand connection. The German born Schaefer along with Gustav Bergmann had fled Germany prior to WW 2 and both became faculty members of the Department of Geography at Iowa when it was formed in 1946 under Harold McCarty. Bergmann had been a member of the Vienna Circle, a group of logical positivists who came together in the 1920s. Bergmann influenced Schaefer greatly and in 1953, Schaefer submitted, to the *Annals* his manuscript entitled *Exceptionalism in Geography*. The paper was a firm commitment to a scientific systematic geographical approach to research as a base for regional geography.

It was also flawed. Schaefer failed to complete his manuscript before his death,¹³ and a colleague, the philosopher of science, Gustav Bergmann, edited the paper before publication (Lukerman 1989, 55).

Flawed or not, the 'debate' was enjoined. Lukerman continues,

Hartshorne's response to Schaefer was unforgiving, and Schaefer, whether understood or not, became a symbolic martyr for the proactivist wing of younger geographers who invoked 'lawfulness', 'quantification' and 'modelling' in the second wave of post-war geography after 1958. *Perspective on the Nature of Geography*, published in 1959, and the 1961 edition of *The Nature*, although ameliorative and conciliatory from Hartshorne's viewpoint, only alienated the scientific wing more (Lukerman 1989, 55).

Schaefer had attracted the attention of William Garrison at the University of Washington. Garrison and his group of graduate students were committed to the 'scientific legitimacy of a mathematically-minded methodology' (Martin 1989, 77). Garrison wrote in a letter concerning Schaefer,

I was and still am excited by Schaefer. . . Excited simply because Schaefer seemed to know in some crude way of the world of science of which geography is a part (Martin 1989, 77).

THE ENTRY OF QUANTIFICATION TO NEW ZEALAND GEOGRAPHY

In order to understand how quantification became institutionalised in New Zealand geography, one needs to be aware of several trends that characterised departmental practice in New Zealand from the 1940s and on. One was the practice of encouraging promising students to go overseas to obtain senior qualifications. Much of the credit goes to the personable nature of George Jobberns who had established close friendships in many of the American geography departments. Just a word from Jobberns was often enough to ensure entry (Jobberns¹⁴ 1991, 5). Craig Duncan(1991, 2)¹⁵ recalls that Jobberns was frequently the enabling factor in getting students accepted to American universities under the Fulbright scheme. 'Jobberns was always on the look out for placing his students in US universities' (Duncan 1991, 2).

Another practice was the budgetary provision for departmental visitors.

¹³ Schaefer died on 6 June 1953 at the age of 53.

¹⁴ Widow of George Jobberns, Vida Townsend married George Jobberns in 1963 after the death of Mrs Doris Jobberns. Vida Jobberns died in September 1991.

¹⁵ Inaugural Professor of Geography at Waikato.

Canterbury had the very good sense to set aside a lectureship for visitors. This has been an inestimable strength of the Canterbury department. This has kept the department on its toes. They have heard new views and met new people. This has been a brilliant tactic and has helped to keep morale high in that department (Hill ¹⁶1991, 12)

With these practices in mind, it is possible to understand the role of Leslie King, the person most credited for introducing quantitative methods into New Zealand. Leslie King, as a Canterbury graduate, went to Iowa on a Fulbright scholarship in 1957 and became part of the quantification thrust. His PhD supervisor was Thomas who had been at Northwestern University with Garrison (King 1992, 2). The influence of Schaefer, four years after his death, was still very powerful at Iowa and King returned to a position at Canterbury as a committed disciple of quantified geography. Peter Holland¹⁷ who was taught by Golledge, Rayner and King, remembers that they were all part of importing the new trends,

Any undergrad majoring in geography in the late 50s at Canterbury could not have avoided these changes that were taking place in Geography (Holland 1991, 2)

Roger McLean¹⁸ was also a student at Canterbury.

I am amazed now in hindsight. We took on a whole lot of duties trying to sell the discipline each in different ways. We were establishing ourselves within science in Australia and New Zealand. Enthusiasm was due to our youth and the fact that we were coming in with the North American quantitative revolution and King and Golledge were not far behind. And biking away completely away from Cumberland and Fox. Reform was in the air. It was all process oriented (McLean 1991, 4)

The enthusiasm spread to other departments, but not all. Ann Magee¹⁹ notes

The quantification revolution passed Vic with hardly a flicker until some of the younger ones started on it (Magee 1992, 2).

Brad Paterson who came to Massey in 1972, after having completed his first degree in geography at Victoria, was surprised to learn about quantification, claiming that it had never been mentioned at Victoria (Paterson 1991, 4).

King did not stay long in New Zealand and left to teach at McGill at the end of 1962. His influence extended on several fronts. One was in attracting McCarty to Canterbury

¹⁶ Department of Geography, Hong Kong.

¹⁷ Professor of Geography at Otago.

¹⁸ Professor of Geography at ADFL, Canberra, ACT.

¹⁹ Taught at Victoria and Waikato. Now working for Waitakeri City Council.

as a visitor during 1962 (King 1992, 2). As a student at Canterbury, Peter Hosking noted the impact that McCarty had on the staff in getting quantification accepted. With this influence behind him, King was also influential in getting Canterbury University's first IBM 1620. Reginald Golledge recalls the amazement with which they regarded the new computer with a 32K memory.

I spent many weekends and nights at the new computer centre with Rayner at Ilam trying to write statistical programmes consisting of punch cards. 250,000 cards per month (Golledge 1991, 2)

Both King and Golledge acknowledge the aggressive support of the new Professor, Leigh Pownall, who approved of the new geography coming into the department. The timing was right as the recently retired Jobberns was of another generation. Jobberns was heard to grumble that King was the man who turned geography into arithmetic (Hewland 1991, 7)

The number of New Zealand students returning to New Zealand universities after gaining PhD's in the progressive American universities, finally ensured the spread of quantified methods into all the geography departments in New Zealand.

At the same time, the energy of Ron Johnston, recently arrived from Melbourne's Monash University, began to impact on other geographers throughout New Zealand.

Ron Johnston was very important in the establishing the new ideas that were coming through. (Doug Johnston 1991, 2)

Garth Cant, speaking of Ron Johnston, is clear that the international reputation that Johnston was establishing, ensured the spread of new ideas.

Ron Johnston's coming added a whole new dimension, depth and variety to geography. He was just so wide ranging in his reading and publishing and talking to people. He was rapidly developing his international reputation. He was extremely good at international contacts and networking and taught us about networking. The timing of his arrival was significant in that it developed a network of international contacts that influenced a whole generation (Cant 1991b, 5).

The impact of positivism on New Zealand geography has been immense. In this aspect, New Zealand geography reflected what was happening overseas. Quantification penetrated into both human and physical geography and was the prevailing archetype until the advent of radical geography. Physical geography, rather than human geography, continues to be dominated by quantified techniques. Human geography, on the other hand continues to change.

A CONTEXT FOR CHANGE

A comprehension of the changes that took place, can best be understood in the contextual setting of wider society. The setting for quantification was provided, firstly, by the invention of workable computers, shortly after WW2. The move towards miniaturisation in the form of transistorised and, finally, printed circuitry, accelerated by the technology demanded by the Cold War and space race, meant that by the 1960s, computers were becoming part of the university scene. The precipitative nature of the Schaefer 'debate' came to a head at this time and, as is often the case in fashion, the pendulum swung fully in the direction of quantification. The reaction against positivistic methodology is somewhat harder to identify, but arguably came from the Civil Rights movement in the United States and increasing concern regarding the morality of the Vietnam War (Johnston 1991, 217) and the search for alternative ways of explaining inequality.

'RADICAL GEOGRAPHY'

The rise of 'radical' geography as been covered in Chapter 2. The institutionalisation of radical approaches into New Zealand came in two phases, not particularly connected, but none-the-less important.

The first radical geographer in New Zealand was undoubtedly Keith Buchanan at Victoria University. Embroiled as he was against mainstream regionalism, history will remember Buchanan as being ahead of his time.

New Zealand geography, and indeed most of geography, was not ready for the intellectual assault by spatially-oriented, quantitative, logical positivists. Buchanan had leap-frogged that entire movement to reach questions that today permeate radical geography, phenomenology and approaches to Third World research (Marcus 1987, 17)

Buchanan's approach to radical geography was undoubtedly based on his experiences in Africa and later in Asia. His convincing style and delivery, couched in elegant language, came from the heart.

Buchanan was an outstanding lecturer who could enthuse totally indifferent students. Some of the best lectures we ever heard were given to the Society, by Buchanan, on China. Writes beautifully and spoke just as well. . . History will remember Buchanan as a person who came with very strong ideological orientations and who was enthusiastic about propagating his ideas (Neville 1991, 1)

It could be said that Buchanan's 'radical' geography was rudimentary and undeveloped. The Marxist structuralism which gained credence in the 1970s had yet to be articulated within geography. His was, perhaps, an intuitive recognition of injustice and inequality, with possibilities for action, influenced by the rhetoric of Maoist idealism, rather than by an academic grasp of Marxist thought. His contribution to the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand is immense, in that numbers of his students who went on to distinguish themselves, both in New Zealand and overseas, attribute their career direction to the inspiring nature of Buchanan.

... a great deal came from Buchanan and as well as that, a number of us became important scholars. People like Gerard Guthrie who went to Queensland Uni and now is head of ADAB in China. Bradbury who died last year of cancer who was at Toronto. Terry Magee was one of the best and is now a world figure (Watters 1991, 4)

'RADICAL' MARXIST GEOGRAPHY

Marxist Political Economy approaches have no apparent dramatic entry to New Zealand geography. It came from overseas via the literature which was beginning to take a combative stance to capitalism.

The major contribution to the case for a marxist-inspired, materialist theory development within geography was made by David Harvey (1973), initially in his book of essays *Social Justice and the City* (Johnston 1991, 218).

The western world, still haunted by the ghost of McCarthyism, has taken some time to come to terms with Marxist approaches. Johnston (1991, 217) expresses it thus,

.. in the 1980s it became more sober and less combative as marxism was subjected to criticism, the recession of the 1980s led to more disciplined inquiry, greater knowledge of the problems of socialist economies made the prospects of revolutionary change less likely, geography became more narrowly professional, and some of the 'radical, anti-establishment Young Turks' joined the establishment.

The convincing explanatory power of political economy thought has done much to popularise the methodology within New Zealand geography where it now appears to have gained some acceptance. This shift is due in part to the accommodation that political economy theory has found in other disciplines such as sociology, education and history. A small number of geographers proved to be effective articulators of marxist theory in New Zealand geography departments. These include Le Heron, Thomas and Wheeler at Massey and the late Steve Britton at Auckland.

COMMENTARY

Structures and agencies working on several levels, within and without of New Zealand, are identifiable as being connected in a dialectical form. The Schaefer/Hartshorne debate thrust the inevitable emergence of positivism into the arena of geographical practice. The structure at risk was the established form of Hartshornian geography. The agents represented both camps and, viewing this watershed of methodological practice nearly 40 years on, one can begin to understand how agents within the power structure generated changes within the morphology of geographical practice. The seeming lack of resistance in quantification gaining entry to New Zealand, reveals some interesting variations to the power plays that marked the Victoria/Auckland standoff.

Cumberland promoted areal differentiation so vigorously, yet did not obstruct the passage of quantification. There could be several reasons for this. One is that he may have been slightly bemused by the new techniques. Blair Badcock²⁰ who was a junior lecturer in the department at the time, notes that, 'He was skeptical but permitted it' (Badcock 1991, 2). Groenewegen, committed to statistical demography, was a visitor to the Auckland department and this must have carried some weight. It would appear, however, that Cumberland would accept quantification on the proviso that it could be accommodated with areal differentiation.

But it certainly had to be consistent within his intellectual framework which was very much areal differentiation (Badcock 1991, 2).

Chalmers²¹ saw Cumberland in a similar vein.

Cumberland was not entirely opposed to new ideas in Geography, provided they could be rigorously defended and method suited his intellectual standpoint (Chalmers 1991, 1)

Another reason was undoubtedly the fact that the other geography departments were maturing and one powerful professor could no longer contemplate dominating the scene. Further to this, Cumberland's influence in geography had begun to wane, due to his interests outside of academic geography. Geography was part of an ongoing process of social construction in which all sectors of the organisation continually generate alternatives to any established morphology. As part of the institutionalisation of the discipline, geography in New Zealand had grown to the point where it could no longer be largely dominated by several strong agents.

²⁰ Department of Geography, University of Adelaide.

²¹ Department of Geography, Waikato University.

By the time quantification arrived in New Zealand, the ideological arguments which characterised the Hartshorne/Schaefer debate had been subsumed by the rapidly developing technology which was enabling computers to be used in the universities. It was a case of practice being dictated more by technology than theory. Thus areal differentiation could be incorporated into positivism. It was not until the criticisms of positivism arose later, that theory began to catch up with practice in New Zealand. The relevancy debate, spawned in the 1960s finally caught up with geography in the 1970s when it was realised that the quantified social sciences were addressing social problems in a mediocre, if not irresponsible, manner. This provided the setting for radical geography to become an institutionalised part of geography teaching in New Zealand.

What had happened in New Zealand is quite unique and contradictory. Mainstream Hartshornian geography had vigorously opposed the Victoria 'deviation'. The 'deviate' department at Victoria, determined to go its own way, missed the entry of positivistic methodology. Yet, when radical geography became part of the mainstream, the 'deviate' department is acknowledged as having been a worldwide forerunner. When considered in this light, it is realised that ideological construction-production is never a rationally guided centrally controlled process.

Despite the efforts of administrations to contain and channel the process, some elements in the organisation and outside of it remain beyond the reach of rationalisation (Benson 1977, 14).

This contradictory behaviour which is part of the process of institutionalisation is shaped and constituted by the participants provinces of meaning, with most credence given to the more powerful agents. Ranson et al (1980, 7) note that the organisation is an instrument of power and intrinsically embodies relations of inequality, dependence and compliance. From it all however appears a dialectic mode of resolution in which the 'deviant' becomes the 'norm'. Lourenco and Glidewell (1975, 490) state,

The dialectical mode of resolution proposed requires a formulation of new patterns, structures or attitudes wherein the original elements can still be discerned, In this (a) particular situation, component goals (are) . . . acted upon by another conflicting situation, organisational goals; out of the interaction, or conflict, a new situation, or resolution, more encompassing than component or organisational goals alone, arises.

In the case of New Zealand geography, any resolution in the changing of ideology has been contingent on a combination of perceptual and conceptual changes (within

the agents) that have been finally embodied within departmental operation (the structure). As departments grow, new, larger and more complex ideological patterns continually emerge which tend to subsume parts from both sides of a continuing dialectic.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented a series of *vignettes* that represent major ideological epochs in New Zealand geography. A close examination of the issues enables a comprehension of the dialectic relationship between structure and agency. Even then it is somewhat like throwing a stone into a pond and trying to watch the ripples which keep spreading out. If one had sufficient space, one could account for much more. The next chapter focuses on some of the personalities and issues which interleave events discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 10

THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF THE GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENTS.

*Wiv a ladder and some glasses
You could see to 'Ackney Marshes
If it wasn't for the 'ouses in between.
Edgar Batemen*

***If It Wasn't For The 'Ouses In
Between***

Introduction

The institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand cannot be understood aside from an articulation of the processes of institutionalisation which have distinguished the individual geography departments. The independent departments represent created structures. The people involved with departments as academics, ancillary staff, administrators, students and the general public, are the agents. Over time, structures alter in form and function. The agents are active in producing these changes. At the same time, the nature of the structures often determine the way agents operate. It is this process which demonstrates institutionalisation.

Intent

This chapter in no way intends to give a comprehensive chronological/historical account of the six geography departments in New Zealand. Rather, the intent is to identify those situations, in each department, which have denoted a signal step in the process of institutionalisation within that particular department (see fig 10.1) or in the wider setting of geography in New Zealand. For that reason this chapter should not be read as a systematic history.

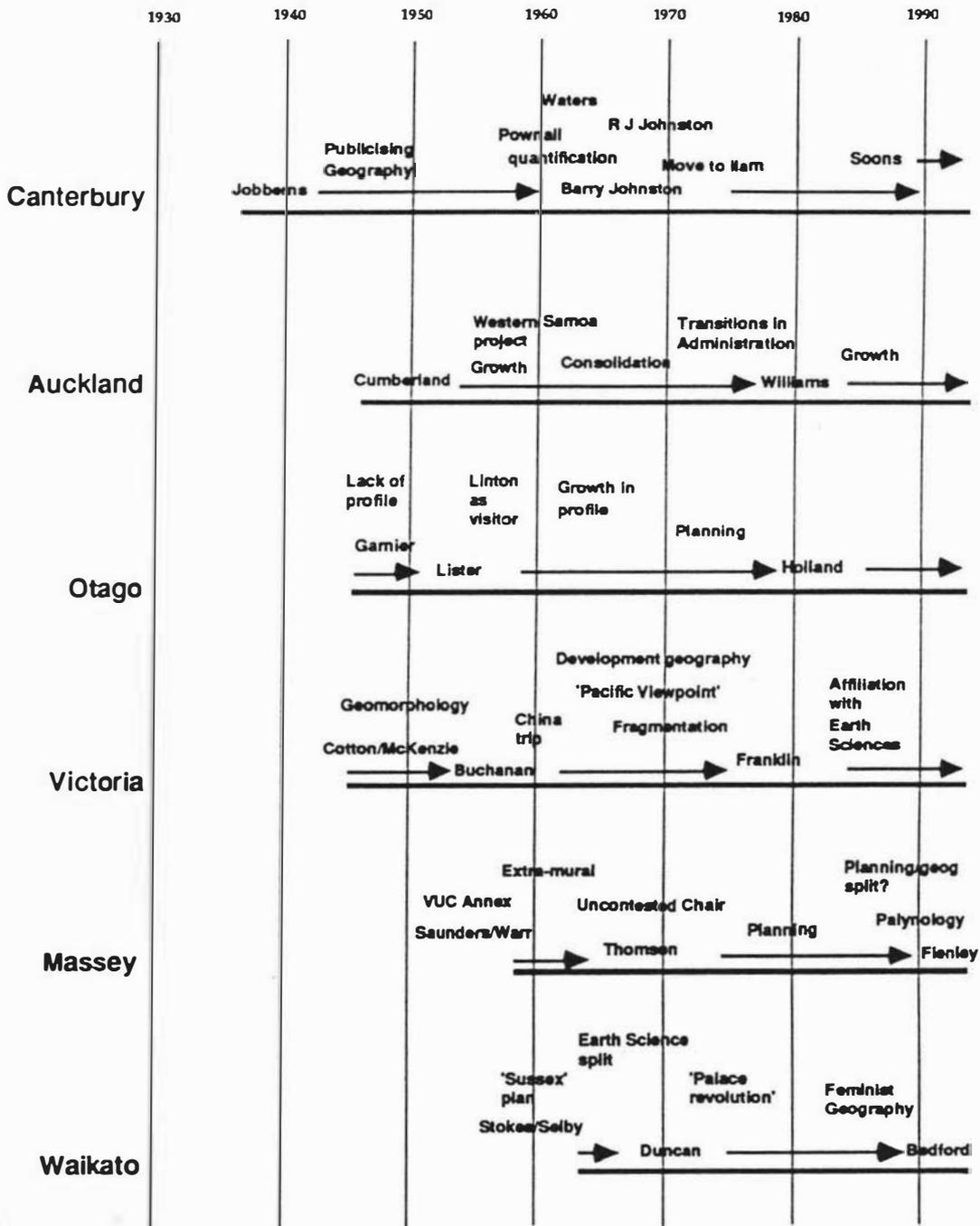


FIGURE 10.1 Institutionalising Episodes in the Geography Departments

Each department has a different history, occasioned by the unique structure imposed at the beginning and the unique interactions of agents and structures thereafter. The individual departments never exist in isolation from the others. Thus the processes of institutionalisation that characterise individual departments, have a compelling influence on the overall process of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand.

CANTERBURY



Of fundamental importance to the process of institutionalisation was the appointment of George Jobberns to establish a department of geography in Christchurch in 1937. His appointment was a combination of ability, timing and judgement on his part. His background was in geology and his teaching career had seen him come through the ranks as a pupil teacher, itinerant science teacher and finally to an appointment at Christchurch Teachers college as Lecturer in Physiography. The strictures of the Depression during the 1930s saw several of the teacher training colleges close and in 1934 Jobberns found himself out of work. He was shrewd enough to realise the necessity of expanding his horizons by becoming involved with the university system as a geographer. In 1934 he became a demonstrator in the department of geology teaching a full stage 1 geography course to a class of 26 students (McCaskill 1962, 17)

Jobberns was teaching at the Teachers College and was laid off during the depression and they had closed the college down. He got himself a part time job with Robert Speight, the Professor of Geology, as a demonstrator at Canterbury. From there on, Jobberns the politician created the Department of Geography (Cumberland 1991, 2).

His friendship with the Rector, (later Sir) James Hight, and the support of John Polson, Principal of the Christchurch Teachers Training College, was invaluable (Cumberland 1991, 7). Polson presented a comprehensive case for a geography department to the University College Council in 1936 (Macaulay 1987, 4). The submission stressed a greater recognition of the importance of geography and played on the necessity for

New Zealand to keep up with the rest of the Empire, 'to say nothing of countries outside of the Empire'. The submission was also astute enough to suggest a plan that encompassed modest syllabus and equipment needs. When the position of Lecturer in Geography was advertised, Jobberns gained the appointment over a field of eleven applicants (see Table 10. 1)

The Jobberns Era

To Jobberns must go the credit for being the primary agent in New Zealand geography. That he possessed the right combination of native charm, intuition and scholarship is unquestioned. Holland¹ (1991, 1) speaks for many,

Jobberns not only set the foundation for Canterbury but New Zealand Geography.

As does Howard Critchfield²,

George Jobberns was the founding father of New Zealand geography. . . He had many friends among students, faculty and the New Zealand population at large. In the parlance of the time, he had connections. Those extended overseas. Jobberns was a character in the best sense of that word. His membership in several private clubs and civic organisations, afforded access to the community . . . I could not exaggerate my affection for him and his family nor my regard for his contribution to geography in New Zealand (1991, 3).

Jobberns did several things which became part of an institutionalised pattern, thus greatly enabling New Zealand geography. The first was his network of overseas contacts which began when the initial submission of his DSc was not accepted in 1935. His overseas examiner, Douglas Johnson³ of Columbia University, wrote to Jobberns suggesting he come over to the United States of America, which he did in 1936. It was in the United States that Jobberns had his vision broadened,

So Jobberns went over, which opened up his mind, because he was a man who could absorb other people's opinions. He was a great soaker up of ideas. . . . Jobberns fell under the sway of Sauer and of the scientific views of Douglas Johnson (Pownall 1990, 6).

¹ Student during Jobberns's final years in the department. Currently Professor of Geography at Otago.

² Visitor in the department at Canterbury in 1949 and 1959.

³ Johnson had been a student of W.M. Davis and was an apostle of the Davisian cycle of erosion. As such he had a strong influence on Jobberns.

TABLE 10. 1 Applicants for Position of Lecturer in Charge of Geography at Canterbury University College, 1937.

NAME	AGE	QUALIFICATIONS	PRESENT (1937) POSITION AND EXPERIENCE
Back Miss C J	?	MSc in Geography, University of Sydney	Now Reading for Dip Ed. at Teachers' College. Appointed Lecturer in Geography at Sydney Teachers' College. 5 years Demonstrator Dept of Geology, University of Sydney. List of research and original papers given.
Bell J F	37	MA won prize in Geology, Hons in Economics.	Headmaster of Onga Onga Public School. 20 yrs teaching experience Primary and Secondary
Craft F A	30	3rd yr University Scholarship in Geography. BSc Hons (Syd) in Geography, Linnean Macleay Fellowship in Geography.	Technical High School Sydney since 1935, Demonstrator in Geography at University of Sydney, Long list of publications and research.
Draghorn W	28	BSc (Hons) in Geography at London, University Travelling Scholarship	Now on exchange University High School. Has spent 2 yrs at Birkbeck College (University of London)
Eford F G	29	BSc, Dip Ed (Melbourne); Research Scholarship in Botany; Member of Geographical Assoc England.	Asst High School, Ballarat 6 yrs; Lecturer Botany for Pharmacy, School of Mines, Ballarat.
Fairburn Miss E	43	BA (Botany and Maths); studied Geography at Cambridge for 2 years; Cambridge Dip in Geography.	Canterbury Girls High School since 1921 - now Asst A Grade Teacher; Teaches Geography and Maths only; in charge of Geography.
Jobberns G	41	MA Hons, Geology; Sir Julius von Haast Prize Geology; BSc; Dip Ed, Fellow American Geographical Society NY; DSc Thesis on shoreline physiography (Passed by Prof Douglas Wilson Johnson, Columbia University).	Lecturer in Geography, Teacher Training College, Christchurch; previously High School Master; 3 yrs part time lecturer at TT College - 1st year 26 students, 2nd - 47 and in 1936 - 62 students; Has compiled 3 textbooks for Whitcombe and Tombs on Geography; Has been consulted by several schools re equipment for Geography Labs; Past President of Phil. Institute, W E A Lectures in Geology, School Broadcasting Service.
Maze W H	25	MSc University of Sydney; Caird Scholar; Distinction in Geography and Geology.	Asst Lecturer in Geography, University of Sydney; previously demonstrator, Furnishes list research work, School examiner for 3 yrs.
Shea H C	50	Class 1 Certificate Queensland Ed. Specialised in Geography	'For some time publishing textbooks dealing with Geography and History'(Commonwealth Publishing Pty); Forwards copy Geography published.
Tiller K C C	36	Member Royal Society of West Australia; Young Australia League YWCA physical trainer; A3 Certificate, Education Dept.	Worked under Director Tech Educ; Now Asst Perth Junior Technical School; Worked at Narrogin School of Agric, Kalgoolie School of Mines; 10 years experience field work and oceanography; Maps etc submitted

Source: J U Macaulay, 1987

Murray McCaskill⁴ (1991, 2) recalls Jobberns.

It is clear that Jobberns had the idea that until New Zealand could start to breed its own people, he was anxious to tap into the best of Berkeley or London. Jobberns felt very strongly and often told me that he wanted to make sure that geography in New Zealand started off in a modern and thoroughly academic way. He didn't just want to take people who had served 20 years as school teachers and would move up. He wanted to tap into the best that overseas developments could bring and so far as he could tap into varied sources, he thought that this would be good for New Zealand geography. I think that was very farsighted.

Jobberns' first visit to the United States in 1939, co-incided with the commencement of WW II and resulted in his being stuck for several months in San Francisco.

The few months that he spent stranded in San Francisco at the outbreak of war were really crucial in Jobberns' development. I am very sure that they played a big part in it. Sauer provided him with space and time to chat. . . Bob Bowman and Andrew Clark came (to Canterbury) shortly after that. They were crucial in setting up geography with a Berkeley face⁵. They gave a broad humanistic slant, non prescriptive as to what methodology was to be. Respect for the long term influence of culture and the influence of time (McCaskill 1991, 2).

From this start developed the system of regular overseas visitors, the impact of which would be difficult to overemphasise.

Canterbury was able to get extremely talented people. They were all able to do research, teach and act as contacts for Canterbury and were a conduit for ideas and to allow geographers in New Zealand to make contact elsewhere and to get Sabbatical leave elsewhere (Holland 1991, 1).

A real achievement was in getting the university to set aside a regular budget for the expressed purpose of funding a yearly visitor. To begin with, it was an irregular practice and it is still unclear as to how Jobberns got away with it.

He managed to get it the first time through Council and somehow it slipped through the next time as though it was an established situation, It certainly wasn't for a long time. I know . . . Jobbie would warn us quietly to hold our breath; but it always got through and then it became established (Packard 1991, 3).

⁴ A student at Canterbury during the post war years, McCaskill was on the staff at Canterbury until 1966 when he left to fill the founding chair in Geography at Flinders University in South Australia. Retired at the end of 1991.

⁵ Clark and Bowman were visiting lecturers and were both working on their PhDs at the time.

Distinguished visitors during the time of Jobberns administration of the Canterbury department included, R G Bowman (1940), A H Clark (1941 - 1942) R O Buchanan (1947), H J Critchfield (1949, 1959), D J Patton (1949), and C A M King (1956). The list of visitors gives some indication of Jobberns' ability to pick the right people. Names like Bowman and Clark were to become distinguished but they were still unknown when Jobberns had them come as visitors to Canterbury.

As a corollary to the visitors coming, was the institutionalisation of a link which enabled young New Zealand graduate students to study overseas. Craig Duncan, who gained his PhD at Ohio, was one of many who used the Fulbright scheme, allied to Jobberns contacts overseas.

Like many other young NZ geographers, I decided to go to the USA to study because the UK was seen as a bit formidable and it was hard to get in. The Fulbright scheme was important, as was Jobberns' contacts with the American geography scene . . . Jobberns was always on the look out for placing his students in US universities (Duncan 1991, 3).

Jobberns' ability to influence people and to use his developed political skills to assist the department were just as important in New Zealand as they were overseas. Jobberns was sensitive to the need to promote Geography within New Zealand. Recognising that he was a geologist by training, he was prepared to use the newly appointed Cumberland to help. As a student, James Ross (1991, 3) remembers, 'Ken Cumberland brought in another dimension. Jobberns used to say that Cumberland brought in geography to us'. By 1945, Cumberland was involved in trying to have geography given greater representation,

The academic board of the university of NZ was made up of representatives of Professorial Board from the four constituent colleges, including the university of Otago which has always been a university; whereas the others were all university colleges and Jobberns the politician got me elected to the Professorial Board at Canterbury as lecturer's representative. He was on the board as a HOD because he still did not have his chair. Jobberns used the Professorial Board to appoint me to the Academic Board of the University of NZ. Prior to that, the Professors of Geology had dominated Geography⁶ (Cumberland 1991, 4).

The Canterbury department grew quickly.

⁶ The intent of Cumberland's remark was that the domination was of geography as an institutional entity rather than domination of geography as an intellectual enterprise.

Geography started to eclipse Geology as far as numbers, almost from the outset because there was the big demand from teaching. Secondary teacher training provided a demand for geography (McCaskill 1991, 4).

Jobberns' personality and penchant for new ideas enabled the formation of a distinctive department, self assured as to its place in New Zealand geography. Holland (1991, 1) as a student under Jobberns remembers him as being.

. . . enormously important in a personal sense and in fostering a freewheeling open minded Geography with a very strong basis in practical issues and fieldwork.

The fact that Jobberns seemed to know everybody of importance and was able to secure many advantages for the department, undoubtedly enhanced the department's image - to the extent that even the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, paid an unscheduled visit to the department in July 1949⁷.

Mr Fraser was most eloquent in his praise of a large world map adorning the full width of one of the walls, This showed New Zealand as the centre of the world, apparently the right attitude to rear young New Zealanders in (Newsletter to Graduates, 1949).

The Move to Ilam

Memory tends to overlook many of the battles which were fought to secure and maintain advantages within a department. A feature of university life appears to be that of securing sufficient space, in appropriate locations, with amenities of the right standard. Canterbury was no exception to this. One battle which Jobberns fought and lost, towards the end of his tenure, was the relocation of the department to the new Ilam campus. The move, as it turned out, was to have a profound effect on the institutionalisation of the geography department. Obsessed with the concept of 'Town and Gown', Jobberns fought to keep the university on the city site which had become badly overcrowded. During an address to the Canterbury College Branch of the Association of University Teachers, Jobberns remarked

. . . the College has been able to develop an intimate association with, and service to, the city. This relation between college and city is something very special and significant for Christchurch; the city should see this and simply not let the College be lifted out of it (Jobberns 1953, 1).

⁷ It was an election year!

Jobberns was fighting a losing battle on this count. He was criticised by Robin Allan, Professor of Geology who had been nominally responsible for geographical matters before Jobberns came in 1937. Jobberns had gained a chair before Allen and there was a suggestion of professional jealousy. Relationships had been,

. . . cordial but not desperately cordial because Jobberns got the chair before Allan. This was because of the ability of Jobberns to sell the subject in areas away from the university and thus (geography) had better numbers (Packard 1991, 1).

Allan had written a comment on Jobberns' address of April 30, 1953.

My personal reaction to this address was one of dismay. I do not question Professor Jobberns' right to make known to his colleagues his change of view⁸, But I do consider that a teacher in the University who elects to question the policy of his Council (a policy which he supported in 1949) has a duty to base his change of view on reason instead of emotion, and a responsibility not only to check his facts but also to separate statements of fact from expressions of opinion. . . Professor Jobberns is less than careful in his use of factual material (Allen 1953, 1).

By the time Jobberns retired in 1960, the die was cast. The Hughes Parry Report, released the same year, served to initiate a period of countrywide university expansion which mandated a move to a new campus. To appreciate the importance of the move to Llam, this account makes a short detour to note the changes in administration within the geography department.

Changes In Leadership

Leigh Pownall

Pownall, who had replaced Jobberns as Professor of Geography, was of a different mold to Jobberns.

Pownall was dynamic and an extraordinary character. He would even file his kindling in the way he could file everything else and find things. The complete opposite of Jobberns who was completely disorganised, but highly creative (Ross⁹ 1991, 2).

⁸ Jobberns' speech indicates that he had originally intended the 'temporary' geography buildings built in 1946, should only accommodate the department for five years or so. He had now changed this view and was happy to stay in a building that would 'house me and my Department more or less adequately for the rest of my teaching days':

⁹ Student of Jobberns. Co-authored several school geography texts with Jobberns. Later became Assistant Director General of Education.

Even in his short time as professor, Pownall's style was noted. Gardner et al (, 1973, 373) in the *History of Canterbury University*, wrote,

In the grey pcilite (sic) building, whose temporary life the City Council fixed in 1946 as five years, Pownall, when he succeeded Jobberns as the head of the geography department, had given the impression of an executive who wanted efficiency. He saw the advantages of technology and consciously set out to use them.

Pownall was Professor for just one year before being appointed as the University of Canterbury's second Vice-Chancellor¹⁰.

Ron Waters

Pownall was succeeded in geography by Ron Waters, from Exeter. Water's tenure was viewed, by some at least, as an *inter regnum* between Pownall and Barry Johnston.

Barry Johnston acted as Head of Department until the arrival of Professor Ronald Waters from England, but his stay was a relatively short one and Barry once again resumed his 'charge' status (Mahan¹¹ 1987, 68)

Waters never really settled into New Zealand geography (McCaskill 1991, 7) and returned to England at the end of 1965, where he assumed the chair at Sheffield. As a geomorphologist of some distinction, however, he is credited with bringing new concepts into physical geography at a time when Davisian approaches to geomorphology were being questioned.

Ron Waters came out; was Professor and he took us for soils. He talked about systems, something that we had never heard of before. We didn't understand what the hell he was talking about. He was talking about open and closed systems. It was the first time that I had ever heard about it (Davidson, 1991, 3).

Waters also gained some respect as an administrator. 'He was certainly very committed to geography and was a good administrator who did his job with a great deal of integrity' (Cant 1991b, 3). One needs to appreciate the difficult situation that Waters would have inherited, as an outsider to New Zealand university practice.

¹⁰ Pownall was Vice Chancellor from 1961 - 1966 before taking up an appointment as Clerk of Senate at the University of London until 1974. He then became Chairman of the NSW Planning and Environment Commission. He is now living in retirement in Sydney.

¹¹ Departmental secretary during the early 1960s.

There would have been a degree of tension for Ron Waters to come, from totally outside, into a department that Leigh Pownall and Barry Johnston had been operating very effectively with a lot of continuity from the Jobberns era. So there was a major discontinuity. Everybody who had been running the department, until the time Waters was appointed, had been there under Jobbie's wing and had a lot of administrative initiatives because of Jobbie's rather laid back and detached attitude to administration (Cant 1991b, 2).

Barry Johnston

The appointment of Barry Johnston to the chair of geography in 1966 saw the advent of an administrative style that has impacted greatly at Canterbury. Johnston is never referred to in ambivalent terms by those who worked with him. Chris Kissling's¹² (1991, 1) comment would find wide agreement.

He would be the most consummate operator that the department has ever had.

And Dick Bedford (1991, 5),

Barry did an outstanding job as Chair and equipping the department. Barry ran Canterbury like Cumberland ran Auckland. Consensus worked on the basis that everyone had to agree with Barry.

Even by his own admission (B Johnston 1991, 6), he was seen as a person who was prepared to sacrifice an academic career in order to concentrate on running the department. His style was characterised by careful planning and the ability to maximise on any advantage open to the department. It was this quality which enabled geography to get in on the ground floor of planning and gaining an advantageous foothold on the new campus. Bob Kirk, as a student and later as a staff member, was part of the old and new.

Moving out here has incredibly enhanced the department. We can service field work out here because we have our own workshops. From both teaching and research we have been able to enhance our work . . . much of the credit must go to Barry Johnston. The game was played magnificently. A lot of thought went into that (Kirk 1991, 2).

As was Garth Cant.

Barry was very significant in those things. He was an outstanding administrator, looking after geography and his staff. . . I don't think that there were any staff or

¹² PhD graduate and staff member in the Canterbury department.

department who got looked after better by a solo HOD who did most of the paper work and made most of the decisions himself (Cant 1991b, 3).

Johnston himself recognises the importance of the timing of events. Of particular importance was the expansion of the New Zealand university system with an emphasis on research, as a result of the Hughes Parry Report (see chapter 8). Canterbury, like Auckland, had been embroiled in battles over shifting sites away from the city centres. In the case of Christchurch, at least, the decision to shift was made in time to maximise the influx of spending which resulted from the Hughes Parry Report.

The move to Ilam to new buildings when things in NZ were reasonably affluent meant that we had an opportunity to obtain space and to equip that space in ways that were particularly generous. It also helped in that largesse, to be among the last departments to move. We came straight from the old huts, ex Guam, courtesy of the Americans, straight into this building (Kirk 1991, 2).

The gaining of these advantages did not just 'happen'. With Barry Johnston as Professor, the homework was always done well before decisions were to be made. Geography was one of the final departments to move out to Ilam in 1975 and the department had shrewdly taken over much of the available space on the old city site vacated by the science department when they had left in 1966. Johnston recollects,

When science came out, it released a lot of space in town. We got a lot of space out of that. We then went down to grass roots and designed the use of that space and got money to equip it - we had a physical lab and so on and a photographic unit . . . There was nine years between the two, 1966 - 1975, working on two campuses (Johnston 1991, 4).

This meant that when the time came to relocate geography at Ilam, the department had the opportunity to maximise on their needs in the new building programme. When the plans were drawn up for the new Science faculty¹³, it became apparent, just in time, that no provision had been made for space for geography, thus putting at risk its status as a science. Vice-Chancellor Lewellyn was about to leave for Wellington with the finalised plans to present before the UGC. The geography department discovered this on Easter Thursday in 1959.

Pownall, Packard, McCaskill and I were four Canterbury graduates who had been in all sorts of places and came together with Jobberns. Jobberns just left us to it and when Lewellyn was going up to Wellington with the plans to the UGC for funding for the science faculty, one whole faculty moving in one motion, one

¹³ This was a highly contested process but it outside the scope of this thesis.

building - the biggest single building contract in the country - the biggest floor space in any building in the country. We found that there was no space for geography. So one Easter we spent all of Good Friday and Saturday drawing up detailed specifications of what we wanted. How much space and the equipment and the arguments for it, and the forecast so as to give it to Jack Lewellyn on the Easter Monday so that he could put that in with all the rest of the faculty to take to Wellington . . . Lewellyn just took it through and we got what we wanted. We got space and money for the equipping of it (Johnston 1991, 4).

Johnston who was intimate with the battles to obtain privilege in a university setting, places great importance on such occurrences as being fundamental to the process of institutionalisation of the department at Canterbury (Johnston 1991, 4). Even though this was just to get room in the new Zoology building while the department continued to operate out of the town site, it marked an important gain for geography.

Geography here got much more decisively recognised within the science faculty and funded in terms of capital buildings and floor space in terms of being a science and in terms of working budgets, research budgets, technicians etc. Barry was very significant in those things (Cant 1991b, 3)

The same profile was maintained when plans were being drawn up for the new geography building. Cant again,

I don't think that there would be two or three other people in the university of Canterbury over the time span that I have had with it, who have done a better job of looking after their department and achieving resources for their department within the university system. Barry was tremendously conscientious in terms of doing his homework in every way. In terms of the documentation that went into cases. In terms of the interpersonal contacts with key people within the university. In terms of the strategic awareness of the importance of geography (Cant 1991b, 3).

Neville C Phillips, who succeeded Pownall as Vice-Chancellor was to write of Barry Johnston,

In putting his department's case in writing and in committees, he was wise enough never to strain credulity. Many departments, in my experience, asked too much, on a kind of percentage principle; a few asked too little and were given more. Geography argued well, hit the *juste milieu* and gave value for money (Phillips 1987, 118).

It would be easy enough to suggest that the changes taking place in New Zealand university administration, in regard to consensus management at departmental level, would be enough to ensure the unlikelihood of another person of Johnston's

administrative style being seen in a geography department. This is not necessarily the case. In the relatively short time in which 'open', consultative forms of management have been in vogue, there have been some who have lamented the constant staff meetings and the cumbersome ways of achieving consensus decisions. Johnston's administration, even though it was the cause of much frustration within the Canterbury department, was at least seen to be decisive.

The discussion now considers several powerful agents at Canterbury whose influence was to extend far beyond the Canterbury department

R J Johnston

An outlining of the major institutionalising milestones within the Canterbury department would be incomplete without a mention of Ron J Johnston who arrived at Canterbury in 1967. His inclusion within this account of departmental leaders at Canterbury is warranted despite the fact that he never held a chair within the department. Johnston himself, writes generously of his time at Canterbury

There I spent 7 1/2 years reaping the benefits of working among a group of young enthusiasts whose researches and publications were encouraged. Although we worked in separate fields we learned much from each other, and there was much valuable discussion and mutual help involving virtually the whole department (Johnston 1984, 45).

Johnston's rapidly growing international reputation in human geography¹⁴ did much for the department in which he was seen as a role model, particularly by junior staff (Smith 1991, 2). Chris Kissling (1991, 1) notes, 'He certainly enthused a lot of Masters students'. The significance of his contribution extended to other departments. Ross Cochrane (1991, 2) at Auckland, still regards Johnston as one of the most significant geographers that New Zealand has had; a feeling expressed by others, including Garth Cant;

Ron Johnston's coming added a whole new dimension, depth and variety to geography. He was just so wide ranging in his reading and publishing and talking to people. He was rapidly developing his international reputation (Cant 1991b, 5).

¹⁴ See appendix H for the list of publications by R J Johnston arising from his time in New Zealand.

Doug Johnston (1991, 2)¹⁵ observes, 'Ron Johnston was very important in establishing the new ideas that were coming through'. Roger McLean adds a personal touch to the style of Johnston.

Ron was the most organised person I have ever met in my life. I had an office right next to Ron. At five to nine every morning you would hear Ron walk in and sit. At one minute past, Ron would be writing or doing something. The reverse would happen at five to five. . . He did every thing that was asked of a lecturer. He did not have too much time for sitting around and chatting and had the goal of getting from A to Z. It was his efficiency which struck me. . . I have got a lot of time for Ron. He was not a person who would sit around and talk. It wasn't programmed (McLean 1991, 3).

If Les King was the person who introduced quantification to New Zealand geography, then Johnston was seen by many as the person who applied it widely. 'Ron Johnston was the midwife in Canterbury. He led the way by example' (Trlin¹⁶ 1991, 8)

Johnston himself freely admits that some of it at least, backfired.

Finally, during the early 1970s, I decided that all of my research had been in small pieces and that I should undertake a single large project, during the year's study leave which was nearly due, I chose to investigate spatial aspects of world trade; why, I do not know. . . But the result was a slim book, in every sense of the word (Johnston 1984, 46,47).

The loss of Ron Johnston to New Zealand still wrankles some who were close to him. 'Canterbury does not lead the pack any longer. It lost its chance of being world class when they let Ron Johnston go' (Poulsen, 1991, 3). Dick Bedford (1991, 10) states, 'The department never really gained another Ron'.

The politics of Johnston's not gaining the second chair in the department at Canterbury, were disquieting at the time, but did little to affect his rapid promotion to the chair at Sheffield. Although his reference to leaving New Zealand is brief,

And so I left New Zealand temporarily in 1972, to discover a new World Two, first in my four months at Toronto and then in the ensuing eight at the London School of Economics (Johnston 1984, 49),

15 Having Barry Johnston, Doug Johnston and Ron Johnston at Canterbury, at the one time, made nomenclature complicated.

16 Trlin was a Victoria geography graduate. He taught geography at Massey (1967-1971) before joining the Department of Sociology at Massey. He is presently A/Professor of Social Policy at Massey.

many speak of disappointment on his part. Ostensibly the choice in favour of the well qualified geomorphologist, Jane Soons, was an overt affirmation of the needed balance between physical and human geography at Canterbury.

Jane Soons

Soons had been in the department since 1960. Privately it has been expressed by some staff that Barry Johnston was not about to be threatened by someone of Ron Johnston's growing influence and status. Poulsen who was a post graduate student at the time, makes a statement which reflected conventional opinion, at least.

At that stage Barry made sure that no one could get near him in terms of being up there. He wanted absolute control. (Poulsen 1991, 2).

The perhaps makes it easier to understand why Soons was appointed as essentially a research professor and a highly distinguished one at that. Soons, had gained recent prominence as one of three vice-presidents of the *International Union for Quaternary Research*. She demonstrated that she was not a puppet to Johnston, but a competent administrator. 'Jane Soons was very important to the students as a role person. . . A very open person' (Smith 1991, 4). Bill Cutts¹⁷ (1991, 2) seems to agree. 'When Jane Soons came in (1970), things became much more open'. Organisationally, this was bound to happen as it represented a second line of communication within the department.

With the resignation of Barry Johnston as Head of Department at the end of 1989, the department moved to a system of rotating Heads of Department, with Soons as head. She was aware of the different style needed.

When Johnston decided to resign as HOD we moved to a rotating headship, towards a more complex committee system. Regular staff meetings set goals with goal checking systems being developed (Soons 1991, 2).

Changes In Structures and Agents

With the change of administration within the Canterbury department, it is suggested that the structures tended to change around some of the administrators, Jobberns, towards the end, became anachronistic to the new structures. His expansive style, ideal for establishing and building a department, in the era before the rapid expansion

¹⁷ Map Librarian at Canterbury.

of the 1960s, was not suited to the less personal but more efficient management style which characterised Pownall and Johnston. In turn, the changes in structures threatened to overtake Johnston, save for his judgment in electing to stand down, possibly having recognised the solecism which threatened his administrative effectiveness. No longer could a single person exert such influence in the day to day administration and planning of a department. Even then, it would be a mistake to assume that influence was the same as total dominance.

The Sub-professorial Staff Cadre

The Canterbury department has had a strong sub-professorial staff who have contributed greatly to the department both academically and organisationally. In organisational terms they were active agents within the departmental structure. Many have gone on to achieve professorial appointments in other universities. These include R D Bedford (Waikato), W A V Clark (UCLA), R G Golledge (California), P G Holland (Otago), R J Johnston (Sheffield), L J King (McMaster), M McCaskill (Flinders), R F McLean (ADFA, Canberra) and L J Symons (Wales).

Others have remained within the department to provide thrust in a number of directions and in assuming prominence within the department. The part played by Canterbury in first bringing quantified geography to New Zealand has been noted in Chapter 9. This was greatly facilitated by staff who were early to identify the need for computer technology. This has continued with investment in GIS with Pip Forer. Significant work with an emphasis in Asia and the Pacific has been a feature of the department since 1967 with the appointment of Garth Cant. This has been sustained by Dick Bedford (now at Waikato). Important work has been undertaken by Peter Perry, Eric Pawson and Doug Pearce in historical, rural and tourism dimensions (Skeldon 1992, 81). In physical geography there is a strong geomorphological perspective. Kirk and Owens have interests in coastal geomorphology and alpine environments and natural hazards, supported by Soons whose primary interest is in quaternary environments.

Conclusion

The Canterbury department, as the longest established in the country, may justly lay claim to a premier place among the geography departments in New Zealand. The department has moved through a number of distinct epochs, configured in this chapter by the distinctive roles and styles of administrators and academics, as well as

structural changes which were enacted when the entire campus relocated over a period of years. The department, because of the unique configuration of structure and agents, has a unique history, made even more important by having been the first department to be institutionalised. Every other department in the country has had Canterbury graduates on their staff, to say nothing of those who now teach overseas. The account thus far goes part way to revealing why no two geography departments could resemble each other in style and emphasis. The interactions between agents and evolving structures, as it will continue to be demonstrated, offer endless possibilities for individual differences.

AUCKLAND



Auckland vies with Canterbury in being considered the major geography department in New Zealand. A different configuration of structures and agencies have been at play to produce, once again, a unique pattern of existence. The Auckland department was established in 1946, but not without a struggle. There had been somewhat of an impasse within the Department of Education in Wellington. Until the Department was committed to an expansionist policy following the 1944 Thomas Report (see Chapter 7). On the other hand, money was not being readily provided to fund it. The Senate of the University of New Zealand wrote to the Auckland University College Council, approving the minutes of the University Entrance Board recommendation,

. . . that in view of the interest of schools in the subject, the attention of the university colleges be drawn to the importance of teaching geography in the colleges, at least to stage one (Auckland University College, Council Minutes 11/7/944).

In turn, the Auckland University College Council wrote back to the Senate informing them that action had already been initiated.

Resolved that Senate be informed that an application has already been made for the approval of the Conference of Colleges to the establishment of a lectureship in Geography at this college (Auckland University College, Council Minutes 15/4/1944).

The Council then had to wait for approval, in the form of funding, to come through. The same minute, concerning geography, appeared on four different occasions.

Resolved that the decision be deferred and that the Director of Education be written to for information as to the present position. (Council Minutes of 4/12/44, 12/3/45, 12/2/45 and 9/4/45)

Finally a minute on 2/5/45 notes that

. . . a letter from the Director of Education has been received advising it was receiving consideration (Council Minutes 2/5/1945).

The Education sub-Committee was able to report to Council on 13/6/1945, that,

. . approval has been given to the payment of an additional grant of £700 pa to meet the salary of a lecturer in Geography with an additional grant of £200 for equipment (Council Minutes, 18/6/1945).

The position was then advertised.

K B Cumberland

The dominant figure at Auckland has been Kenneth Brailey Cumberland, a Yorkshireman trained at Nottingham and the University College, London, where he had a temporary position as a Junior Lecturer whilst completing his MA (Cumberland 1991, 1). At the height of the Depression, permanent tenure was scarce in Britain, and on the recommendation of the expatriate New Zealander, R O Buchanan, Cumberland was appointed to the Canterbury department in 1938 from where he moved to Auckland, in 1946, to head the new department.

The early development of Cumberland's career was put at risk by the onset of the war and his being balloted for war service. He was excused from war service due to the strenuous efforts of Jobberns who argued the case for Cumberland. Jobberns had written to the Registrar.

I would suggest that in lodging an appeal on his behalf, you might point out, that as there is no advanced teaching in Geography anywhere else in this country, there is nobody else in the country to replace him. There is a university school of Geography in Sydney (the only one in Australia). We have found it impossible to get anyone from there. Therefore we had to import Mr Cumberland from England. If he goes we simply cannot replace him and much of the advanced work in this department will have to be suspended (Jobberns to Registrar, letter, 8/12/1940).

Perhaps it is a testimony to the ability of Jobberns to operate the system and the growing regard for Cumberland's ability, that enabled Cumberland, whose personal curriculum vitae of 1938 had lauded his prowess in international swimming (Macaulay 1987, 27), to be excused from the draft on medical grounds. The notice of determination from the Armed Forces Appeal Board made the matter final.

Regulation No 28 in the matter of appeal no 5/201a Registration No 112156 state of gazette 4/12/40 in the matter of Kenneth Brailey Cumberland, a man called up for the service overseas with the armed forces and in the matter of an appeal herein by Canterbury University College in respect of such service on the grounds of public interest and undue hardship. The determination of the appeal board on the above mentioned appeal is as follows:

That the medical grading of the appellant is not of the standard required for military service. The appeal is adjourned sine dieo without hearing.

Dated at Christchurch this 18th day of March 1941.

(Canterbury University College, Letter file No. 1911).

The successful appeal¹⁸ is important to the institutionalisation of geography at Auckland in that by the time the Auckland University Council advertised for the position of lecturer in charge to commence the new geography department, Cumberland was sufficiently well established in New Zealand geography to be the obvious main contender. His DSc thesis, *The regional morphology of soil erosion in New Zealand: a geographic reconnaissance*, was submitted in 1943¹⁹. He gained the lectureship having been selected from a field of six applicants (see Table 10. 2) (Auckland University College, Council Minutes, October 1945, 227).

A Period of Growth

The department at Auckland grew quickly. Cumberland was able to report to the University College Council in March 1946 (Council Minutes, 18/3/1946) that he had 195 students. In a letter to Council (Cumberland to Council, letter, 30/5/1946), Cumberland presented his needs.

Because of the difficulties presented by the lack of suitable quarters and suitable teaching equipment, because of the unexpected size of the class and

¹⁸ In fairness to Cumberland, a note in the Otago University Council Minutes relating to Cumberland's application (later withdrawn), explains that it was an eyesight problem.

¹⁹ The DSc was awarded on the basis of the thesis as well as published work, particularly his publications in *Geographic Review*.

because of the administrative tasks involved in equipping the new department, I have found the undertaking more than enough for one man.

The Council accepted the request for more teaching staff and Cumberland was joined by Ron Lister and James W Fox in 1947 (Anderson et al 1983, 8).

The Auckland department grew quickly during the immediate post-war years as returning servicemen entered the universities. Cumberland assumed the chair in April 1950, and headed the department until his retirement in May 1978. His importance to New Zealand geography is immense. Intellectually, he dominated New Zealand geography, particularly during the first half of his career. Norman Whatman who had taught geography at Ardmore Teachers' College is quite clear.

One has to concede that Cumberland was Mr Geography. There is no question about that (Whatman 1990, 8).

Cumberland came across as a fearsome personality. You did not have to like him, but one certainly had to respect him. Blair Badcock recalls him in the mid-60s.

We were all in awe of his intellect and he seemed to be mellowing at the time. He had modeled himself on the German god professors and did not suffer fools (Badcock 1991, 1).

Bedford's impression was similar.

Cumberland did not brook much dissent and ran the place very much as he wanted it (Bedford 1991, 2).

Geographical practice at Auckland followed a different track to that of Canterbury. Cumberland's aggressively orthodox style was different to the more benign approach taken by Jobberns²⁰. Cumberland, like Jobberns, established an international network of contacts and followed the practice of having regular visitors to the department. These included K C Edwards (1951), W Barrett (1955), H Mayer (1961), J Schmithusen (1962) and H Mykelbost (1964). Cumberland used a seminar method, similar to that instituted by Jobberns in Canterbury, for teaching post-graduate classes²¹. The seminars were intended to ensure that all staff and students were well grounded in the nature of geography. By all accounts, these events were approached

²⁰ Jobberns was not beneath sniping at the Hartshomian approach. He was more an admirer of Carl Sauer who was not so committed to regional approaches. Jobberns re-iterated this in his final publication (1959) *Of Many Things*.

²¹ Jobberns apparently picked this idea up in the USA and found it a convenient way to handle the staff student ratio as the department rapidly grew (Macaulay 1991, 2).

TABLE 10.2 Summary of Applications for Position of Lecturer in Charge of Geography, Auckland 1946

<i>Applicant</i>	<i>Qualifications</i>	<i>Comments</i>
LB Bryant (Timaru) , 1926.	BA(NZ), 1925, MA (Class 1),post graduate course at LSE in Geography, FRGS,Teacher at Waitaki Boys High for 12 years.	Member of 1935 Everest expedition, Became Headmaster of Pukekohe High School, Auckland
Cumberland, Kenneth Bralley.	BA (Nottingham) MA (London) DSc (NZ)	Testimonials from Jobberns, James Hight, CB Fawcett, Isalah Bowman and RO Buchanan.
B J Garnier.	BA (Cambridge)	Testimonials from Jobberns, RG Ridling, J A Steers.
JLH Hewland.	MA (NZ)	Testimonials from Jobberns, Hight, AE Caddick and AE Flower.
Francis Allan Long	BA, Schoolteacher	from Pukemiro
Paul F Martin from the USA (Oklahoma)	Graduate from Clark. Presently Assistant Professor of Geography at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater.	Testimonials from C A Cotton.

Source: AUC Council Minutes October (1945, 227)

with a degree of apprehension. Phil McDermott was a student in the department in the late 60s and early 70s.

You were nervous in seminars because of the intellectual rigour. You could not leave gaps (Mc Dermott 1991, 1)

Warren Moran notes,

Cumberland was very penetrative of a line of reasoning and could be interpreted as being too tough. Cumberland would respect people who stood up to him and could defend themselves. A lot would depend on the sensitivity of the individual (Moran 1991, 3)

Some learned to read the 'danger' signals.

When the tip of his (Cumberland's) nose started to quiver - then it was time to shut up (Watters 1991, 4).

Cumberland's rigorous approach to geography undoubtedly enhanced the discipline.

Ken Cumberland. . . put geography on the map in New Zealand (Wilson 1991, 3).

The passage of time allows an appreciation of what was a distinctive characteristic of geography at Auckland.

One of the strengths . . . was for all of its students to run a seminar at which all were expected to be present . . . (It was) chaired by Cumberland and on the history and nature of geography. Every staff member was expected to make a presentation and so was every student. It was fairly fearsome because the debates could be long and loud, leading, on occasions, to walk outs. But it did serve the purpose of getting to grips with the whole discipline. . . Not many of us really liked the stern medicine which was dished out to us at the time by Cumberland and some of his colleagues, but it was good for us (Hill 1991, 4).

The vigorous administration of Cumberland was enhanced by his work as a promoter of geography in the civic and school arena. He was foundation editor of the *New Zealand Geographer* from 1946 to 1954 which was edited in Auckland from 1946 to 1962. His involvement in publishing (see appendix I), both in school text books with James Fox (1958) and in numerous other publications unmistakably identified with geography, did much to publicise the discipline. Eleven years after his retirement, Cumberland was still able to clearly affirm his task in geography as being one of understanding and feeling the personality of place in a context of human purpose.

For many years I'd tried to do just that! I'd not only given lectures about New Zealand for nearly forty years in universities in five countries; I'd also lectured hundreds of times all up and down the country to anyone prepared to invite me to listen; I'd written books and newspaper articles as well as academic papers; I'd given talks on radio for forty years; I'd even spouted from the political platform and in local government and council chambers (Cumberland 1990, 4).

There was less writing towards the latter part of his career, but his contribution to the general public's awareness of geography continued strongly. Warren Moran recalls that he was

... interested in spreading the word by commentary, or series of guest speaking appearance in conferences and rural organisations. A superb publicist of the discipline which cumulated in the *Landmark* series (Moran 1991, 3).

His *Landmark* series of television programmes did much to bring a concept of geography to the general public which could have been achieved in no other way and, as such, must be recognised as being a part of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand.

As a footnote comment on the career of Cumberland, it is unlikely that his enormous contribution will be replicated. If Jobberns was the patriarch of New Zealand geography, then Cumberland was surely the apostle who raised geography in this country to intellectual status. His determined orthodoxy almost single-handedly influenced several generations of geographical thought. Cumberland's contribution was made possible by the fact that he arrived at a time when the discipline was very young. It was also made possible by his intellectual grasp of an ideology and the determination to see that ideology disseminated.

A Period of Growing Pains

Despite the strong programme administered by Cumberland, it is clear that there were some problems within the department during the 1960s. Sinclair's official history of Auckland University (1983, 207) makes a cryptic reference to one problem which may have had several causes

Cumberland built up a strong department, which included some outstanding geographers, such as Bryan Farrell, Leslie Currie, later an eminent theoretician of geography, Gordon Lewthwaite, and Gerard Ward, but was not successful at keeping them.

Cumberland's administrative style did not encourage free thinking and did he not tolerate dissent within the department. William Brockie who was on the staff, recalls, 'Cumberland could be very intolerant and demanding' (1991, 4). Russell Blong was a student under Cumberland and found him very helpful, but concedes that,

. . . people generally did not stay working with Cumberland for very long because he was a difficult person to work with (Blong 1991, 2).

In an unpublished communication to Sinclair, Gerard Ward, then a staff member, was to later note,

. . . as young staff developed their ideas a number of them began to feel very constrained within the intellectual climate of the Department of Geography, and this explains their subsequent departure (Ward 1978).

It would be wrong to attribute staff mobility to this alone. Anderson (pers com 1992, 2) comments.

The Department experienced a relatively high staff turnover, especially in 1959 - 60 and 1964 - 5, but this partly reflected Cumberland's ability to attract able people from overseas to positions that by North American and Australian standards, were poorly paid, and it was inevitable that most of them would move on to higher paid positions.

Anderson, in the same communication, further notes that this was a period of growth in university teaching of geography throughout the English-language world and instability was inevitable.

At the same, Cumberland began to cultivate interests, which although they had a geographical connection, started to consume much of his time and energy. Initially becoming involved with the Auckland businessman, Dove-Meyer Robinson, who later became long time Mayor of Auckland, Cumberland's expertise on soil erosion and composting was sought.

Robinson got involved in a public campaign to have the Auckland Drainage Board stop discharging untreated sewerage waste into the Waitemata Harbour . . . because he had a fine house overlooking the outfall (Cumberland 1991, 9).

It was decided that they both had to get onto the drainage board. This meant gaining a seat on the Auckland City Council. They formed a party called the United Independents, and gained five seats out of 21, holding the balance of power.

Cumberland became Chairman of the Town Planning Committee and eventually Chairman of the Regional Authority (Cumberland 1991, 9)²². The University Council apparently took a benign view of this 'conflict of interest' for some time, but when Cumberland announced his intention to stand for Mayor, he ran into trouble.

In 1957 he wanted to stand for mayor and, if elected, to continue to occupy his chair, though at a reduced salary. The College Council refused to permit this (Sinclair 1983, 228).

At the same time Cumberland became embroiled in the site row over a possible relocation of the University. His was not the sentimental 'town and gown' approach taken by Jobberns, but was pragmatic to the point where he used his influence as chairman of the City Council's Planning Committee to debate the issue. Sinclair (1983, 228) indicates Cumberland's preference for relocation out to Hobson's Bay. Cumberland's interest in civic matters and his involvement with Dove Meyer Robinson extended to the business sphere and many who worked with him in geography note the decline in his commitment to developing the department.

It was a great shame that Cumberland about 1960 began to see money more than geography (Linge 1991, 5).

At the same time a major project on Western Samoa soured relationships within the department. Cumberland had long felt that New Zealand geography should be interested in the Pacific region (Cumberland 1991, 11). James Fox recalls that the issue became the focus of divisions within the department.

Symptomatic of the whole thing were the problems that began to arise with the research project on Western Samoa which involved the whole department from 1955 onwards (Fox 1991, 5).

The issue boiled down to a matter of who was going to get credit for writing various chapters and the extent to which material was being used without due attribution. It became serious enough for some staff to seek legal advice. Thirty years on, the matter is still sensitive enough for most of those involved to find difficulty in going on record about the project which was finally released as a book, *Western Samoa: land, life and agriculture in tropical Polynesia* (Fox and Cumberland, 1962). Cochrane (1991, 2) adroitly notes that Cumberland's approach to departmental projects, reflects an era when a Professor was not as bound to the rules of co-authorship as would exist today.

²² See also, Cumberland, K.B. (1981, 261-263) *Landmarks* for a fuller account.

A Transition of Power

From the late 1960s a transition of power started to take place within the department. Cumberland was no longer a major figure within the university, to the extent he had been previously. Warren Moran would speak for many.

It would not be fair to say that he was not interested in the department, as such, but that he was not pushing it so aggressively anymore. He knew what was going on still. His interest in politics had gone through several phases. He had opted out of university politics when the university had refused to allow him to stand for the Mayoralty of Auckland and he perhaps was a little bitter about that. This was part of his not pushing Geography strongly because he was not longer attending senate regularly and was no longer on any university committees (Moran 1991, 4).

It would be fair to say that the transition of power within the department was not entirely due to Cumberland's apparent withdrawal from the centre stage of departmental administration. With the department having been operating for over twenty years and having grown to nine on the permanent academic staff by 1968, several generations of geographers had now been trained in New Zealand universities and many were now maturing to fill responsible positions within geography departments. As in Canterbury, this cadre of sub-professorial staff was well able to take up supporting and administrative roles within the department. Mike Taylor witnessed the transition of power, not as a direct confrontation but by a tacit recognition that a younger and different generation of geographers with an interest in running the department was coming in.

He (Cumberland) was still there as the decision maker but he was handing things over. There was a budget committee established and Peter Hosking was involved in that. I have a lot of time for Peter who was one of the unsung heroes of the department. He used to run a lot of the hack administration. It was never credited to him (Taylor 1992, 4).

As an institutionalising role within the department, Peter Hosking is considered to have played an important role within the department from the time he arrived in the department in 1968, having completed his PhD at Wisconsin. He was instrumental in introducing quantification to the department, having been influenced by Les King (Hosking 1991, 1). He also became interested in the running of the department and was prepared to face Cumberland to do so. Astute enough to recognise Cumberland's innate shyness and the loneliness following the death of his wife in 1963, Hosking was anxious to try some of the administrative techniques he had seen in other departments. Warwick Neville notes the changes that were taking place.

He was the type to take initiatives, including with Cumberland, on administrative matters and he has quite an interest in the running and operation of the department. He has always had that. As I recall, Cumberland probably turned to Peter quite a bit for discussion, not so much advice, and often Peter would work through things that Cumberland gave him (Neville 1991, 3).

Reginald Golledge felt that Hosking had the right sort of personality to handle the older Cumberland and recalls him as being self effacing to the point of being

. . . a very gregarious and social individual who falls asleep in the middle of cocktail parties. Has the knack of being confused with somebody else and has received apologies for things that he knows nothing about (Golledge 1991, 4).

Hosking was not the only one becoming involved in running the department.

Jim Fox had taken over some of the running. Several of the staff were doing most of the work around the place. Hosking was keeping an eye on the department finances. Cumberland was happy for this to happen (Moran 1991, 4)

Taylor also notes the contribution of Warren Moran, who, as a 'superb teacher' also knew how to get around the system and restructure courses to the advantage of the department (Taylor 1992, 5).

By the time Paul Williams arrived in 1972 to assume the second chair, the changes in administrative style had become institutionalised. Williams (1991, 2) felt that a transition in power had already taken place and that Cumberland had effectively handed over the reins.

Staff meetings were democratic to the extent that the matters open for discussion were fully discussed (Williams 1991, 2).

As a second chair to the department, Williams brought a different emphasis. Known as an active researcher with a background in physical geography,

Williams came in young and enthusiastic and there was a very big change. Paul was prepared to seek and listened to advice as he took over (Cochrane 1991, 3).

It was not always as simple as that. Phil McDermott (1991, 1) notes that Williams was very strong in promoting physical geography and approached his administrative responsibilities with an aggression that softened when he became more used to the styles of other people in the department. As the second chair, he assumed control

when Cumberland was absent but was on leave when Cumberland retired in early 1978. Hosking was HOD as *inter regnum* before Williams became HOD in September 1978 under a new university wide system of rotating headships.

A review of University government in the early 1970s had led to headships becoming fixed term appointments, and with the retirement of Kenneth Cumberland the Headship of the Department no longer was tied to one of the Chairs. Paul Williams was appointed Head of Department for the period 1978 to September 1981. In July 1981 Warren Moran was appointed to the Chair and took over the Headship of the Department for five years beginning September 1981 (Anderson and Hosking 1983, 7).

The changes which impacted on the Auckland department during the 1960s and 1970s have been very important to the subsequent operation and development of the department. Some of the changes such as rotating headships were imposed externally. Other changes came from within as a direct factor of the interplay between structure and agency and incoming agents, with new agendas, entered the department.

The influence of Cumberland during the latter part of his career at Auckland should not be discounted. Acknowledged for many years as the intellectual driving force behind geography in New Zealand, he may have been aware that the ideological form of geography which he had taught was now under siege. It is not out of place to suggest that he had the good grace to tacitly recognise this by allowing a younger generation to take a more prominent role within his department. It is also widely acknowledged that he was deeply affected by the death of his wife during this period. At the same time, he saw opportunities to develop in other areas away from the department but still be identified with geography.

During the 1980s and into the 1990s, the Auckland department of geography has gone through a period of growth. Staff continue to have a large input to the running and planning of the department. Physical geography has become a strength in a department where human geography was dominant for decades. Particular emphasis has been given to course development in Geographic Information Systems and Image Processing, Digital Mapping and Coastal Studies. Examples of recent research in physical geography are coastal studies, bioclimate modelling and paleoclimates (University of Auckland, Department of Geography, Annual Report, 1991).

Commentary/Conclusion

The department at Auckland represents a pattern in the dialectic of administration that is not totally unique to university life. Dynamic growth of a department around a single personality can give way to a period of decline in which the same figure plays a central role in the decline. In the case of geography, Cumberland gave a powerful and unmatched lead to the discipline. He established a world-wide reputation, finally becoming vice-president of the IGU and the only geographer to become a member of the Royal Society of New Zealand. To his own mind, he never relinquished his interest in geography, but merely extended it to outside the university arena (Cumberland 1991, 9). The decline in leadership during the 1960s and 1970s occurred at a time when the Canterbury department was making gains by expanding facilities. The site row at Canterbury had been resolved at a time when it was a big issue at Auckland. Furthermore, Cumberland's energies were directed away from the department. Taylor sums it all up.

Auckland languished because Cumberland was busy doing other things. . . The trigger was that it had been held back by Cumberland. Not by, but because of, Cumberland. He was not involved in it. If you have not got a HOD who is actively promoting his department in the rest of the university - you are dead. You get no resources or credibility and have no say in what the university does. . . Cumberland was not doing that (Taylor 1992, 5).

Paul Williams' entry to the department as a young professor in 1972 threatened to upset the balance of power which was starting to swing towards the staff via the *ad hoc* arrangements which had become institutionalised. At the time, he was seen as a good geographer but an inexperienced administrator. There were problems for a while. He was very definite with his views on the place of human and physical geography. Mike Taylor recalls his inaugural address.

The human geography staff members present cringed because he clearly didn't have the foggiest idea of what it was about and what it entailed and what the ideas were. It was frankly embarrassing (Taylor, 1992, 2).

The changes in departmental structure within the geography department at Auckland fit within the large sphere of the university itself. Sinclair (1983, 288) notes, concerning Auckland,

One aspect of the administrative consequences of size has been that in many departments the role of a professor has changed, A 'professor', always male, was not in the old idea, one who 'professed' a subject, but one who 'held' or 'occupied' a 'chair', sometimes doing little but sit on it. . . As student rolls

increased the big departments, from the sixties onwards, came to acquire several professors, The head of department's task began to circulate in one way or another.

The concept of rotating headships was based on North American practice and Peter Hosking's arrival back at Auckland from Wisconsin in 1968 was well timed to facilitate change within the geography department. It reveals the idea that an institution, as part of the social world, is always in a state of becoming. As such, one can sometimes gain the impression of an orderly, predictable relationship among its components at any particular point in time. This section has endeavored to demonstrate instead, the social process through which the orderly, predictable relations have been produced and reproduced. Benson (1977, 7) puts it thus,

Dialectical explanations observe or reconstruct sequences on the basis of historical evidence. The alternatives conceived by actors are explored; the constraints upon their decisions discovered; and the power bases of various actors uncovered. Once a pattern of organisational life is discovered, the processes by which it is maintained and/or modified are studied. Thus an orderly pattern is taken to be a crystallised by temporary outcome of the process of social construction whose emergence and maintenance demands explanation.

OTAGO



The establishment of the Otago department²³, like that of Auckland and Wellington, was part of the response to the Thomas Report and the need to cater for geography as a school subject.

The Otago University Professorial Board Minutes (16/6/1936) provide the first mention of the possibility of a geography department at Otago in a remit from the Association of Heads of Registered Secondary School, 'to provide funding for a full degree course in

²³ The writer has had some difficulty in collating material on the Otago Department of Geography. There are three reasons. 1. Professor Ron Lister died in 1985. 2. The Department has not kept an historical file. 3. The Registrar's office at Otago University, for reasons unclear, first gave and then declined permission to access the relevant Council papers in the Hocken Library. Any information concerning appointments, has been gained by application to the Ombudsman under the provisions of the Official Information Act. It took 18 months before Otago University released the relevant information. In a university setting, a researcher becomes aware of the ability of powerful actors to impede the flow of knowledge.

geography'. Immediately following the War, the university appointed a Post War Developments Committee with a brief to recommend directions to be taken by new courses, particularly with a view to accommodating the expected surge in enrollment of returning servicemen. It was quite plain how they regarded geography.

A recognised grouping of certain subjects among the social sciences, to be known as the Otago Course in Social Studies for BA should be established. This course would be designed to improve the training of such groups as secondary school teachers specialising in teaching social studies (history and geography) under the new syllabus (Post War Development Committee, Item 4 a, Otago University Vacancies and Sundries File, Jan - Dec 1945).

There is much meaning in the foregoing minute when one considers the quality of the field of applicants (see Table 10.3). If the university had been serious about developing geography as an academic discipline rather than an avenue for training geography teachers, it is unlikely that they would have chosen Garnier out of the field of 18 applicants. The list had some very attractive contenders. Bryant was qualified academically and had been a member of the 1935 Everest expedition. Shipton, in his book, *Upon that Mountain* (1933, 206) wrote of Bryant, 'I have never had a more delightful companion - cheerful, humorous and supremely competent'. Fairbridge had a DSc and was a distinguished expert on coastal formation. His recommendation from Sir Douglas Mawson was impressive.

My friend Dr Rhodes W Fairbridge is a keen and enthusiastic Geologist and Geographer of wide and varied experience (Mawson letter in File 409, 6/10/1945).

Graham Lawton has already lectured at Berkeley and Wisconsin and was strongly recommended by Sauer. Kenneth Tiller had excellent qualifications and was recommended by Debenham. The only female applicant was Lillian Plunkett who had worked as a geography specialist with Sir T W Edgeworth David. She would have had little showing when one considers the action recorded by the meeting of the Combined Faculties of Arts and Science, 'It is most important to secure a really first-class man as lecturer . . .' (Item 1.b.). Why then did the university chose Garnier?

Trying to provide an answer to this question after so many years requires a certain amount of speculation. There are several lines which provide clues. The first is obvious. There was a need to train teachers - and geography was a school subject. The minutes of the various committees establish the needs clearly enough. The second line is a little more subtle and after nearly half a century, harder to verify. It runs like this. W N Benson, the Professor of Geology, would have been well aware of

TABLE 10.3 Applicants for Position of Lecturer in Charge of Geography at Otago University, 1945.

<i>Applicant</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Subsequent career</i>
Bryant L V	Member of 1935 Everest expedition, experienced geography teacher at high school level. MA from LSE., 1938, Carnegie Fellowship, FRGS, Life Member of Himalayan Club	<i>Became Headmaster of Pukekohe High School, Auckland</i>
Cumberland K B	application withdrawn	<i>Became Professor at Auckland</i>
Dent E R	BA Queensland, Senior Master at Sydney Grammar School.	n/a
Devery P J	BSc (Hons) 1 and University Medal in geography from Sydney. Photo Interpretation Unit during war. Recommended by J McDonald Holmes	n/a
Fairbridge R W	DSc, FGS, Central Interpretation Unit, Photography. Expert on Coral Reefs for invasion landings, expert on Great Barrier Reef, Recommended by Sir Douglas Mawson	n/a
Garnier B J	Successful applicant, recommended by Benson, Debenham and Jobberns, BA (2nd Class) from Cambridge	became Professor at Abidan, McGill
Gentilli J	Doctor of Political Science, Venice	<i>became A/Professor of Geography in West Australia</i>
Hanson-Lowe J B	Application withdrawn, provisional only for Dr Cotton	n/a
Lawton G H	BA, BEd from Melbourne, MA (Oxon). Had already lectured in Geography at Berkeley and Wisconsin. Strongly recommended by Sauer	<i>Became Senior lecturer at Canterbury after Cumberland, thence to Washington</i>
Martin P F	Associate Professor at Oklahoma Agricultural College	
Parks F Fred	MA graduate of Canterbury	<i>Went into town planning - died young</i>
Payne A H	MA (1st Class), President of Otago Branch of NZGS	<i>Became lecturer in geography at Otago, father of Alison Holst</i>
Plunkett Lillian	From NSW, BSc, FRGS., Research Officer Radiophysics Laboratory University Group, Geography specialist doing research with Edgeworth David	n/a
Robinson K W	Senior Master at Cathedral Grammar Christchurch, MA from Christchurch. Moved to Australia,	<i>Became Professor of Geography at Newcastle, NSW, died 1982</i>
Sears P D	From Palmerston North, MA (Canterbury)	<i>Gained DSc, Director of Grassland Division, DSIR</i>
Thorpe E W R	BSc (First Class) Sydney University, Demonstrator in Geography at Sydney,	<i>University of New England, Armidale</i>
Tiller K C S	from Australia, BA (Perth), MA (Cantab), FRGS, FCGS, FGS, FCP (College of Preceptors). Triple exhibitioner of the university of Cambridge, recommended by Debenham	n/a
Walker O H	MSc Otago	<i>Became lecturer in Science at Christchurch Teachers College</i>

the situation that had developed at Canterbury where geography had started to outstrip geology in popularity (Packard 1991, 1). Benson was on the committee appointed to recommend how geography should operate and would have had good reason to support any move towards ensuring that geography would not threaten geology. The Report of the Sub-Committee on the Teaching of Geography had reported,

. . . It was necessary to appoint a well qualified full time lecturer who would be a specialist in human geography. His department should be allied to Anthropology rather than to Geology (Otago File 409).

A human geography department was not going to threaten geology and an anthropological thrust would make matters even more secure for geology. Benson was familiar with geography having assisted Cumberland as co-examiner of geography scripts from the Canterbury department. He suggested to Garnier that he might like to apply for the forthcoming position.

To what extent this was a factor in leading to the department's establishment or to my appointment to start it, I do not know (Garnier, 1991, 4).

Arguably it would have been a factor. Garnier gained the appointment.

Several things are noteworthy. The recommendations made by the sub-committee were to separate geography from being recognised as a science, This was to have a long reaching effect as this section will presently reveal. The second point is to note how easy it was for non geographers to make decisions on the way geography should be taught.

B J Garnier

Garnier, a Cambridge graduate, admits to having been sufficiently inspired by Cotton's *Geomorphology of New Zealand*, to apply for work in New Zealand (Garnier 1991, 2). This came in the form of an appointment to the Wellington Technical College in September 1940. Attracted to curriculum work in High School geography, Garnier wrote *Geography for Post-Primary Pupils* (1944) and was seconded by the Department of Education to work on the Consultative Committee on Social Studies. Garnier applied for the advertised position of Lecturer to commence the geography department at Otago after having attracted the attention of W N Benson. Under the stated reasons for wanting a human geographer, and the implied reason of requiring a person who was familiar with directions in high school geography, Garnier was

probably the best appointment. Morrell's history of Otago university records the appointment.

Discussions on postwar developments in the University took up much time in 1944 and 1945. A sub-committee of a joint committee of Council, Board and Lecturers' Association recommended inter alia the teaching of geography and political science in the University. . . the Council on 20 November 1945 appointed Mr B J Garnier, M. A. (Cantab) as Lecturer in Geography. (Morrell 1969, 168).

Garnier had to commence the department under far from ideal conditions, but shortages in space and equipment were fairly typical of what happened in all the geography departments being established shortly after the War.

The initial difficulties in starting the department were mainly due to an underestimate of the number of students wanting to take advantage of it. The department was to be housed in Mellor House, a former private house, nearly all of which was to be used as a student residence. For geography, two ground floor rooms had been knocked into one to provide a lecture room, and next to this the pantry off the house's original kitchen was an office for me. . . I had been told to expect and prepare for an enrolment of 15-20 students, but at class time there were at least 60 people squashed in the lecture room and spilling over onto the verandah outside! (Garnier 1991, 4).

Garnier presented a course based on the University of New Zealand requirements. Stage I examining was left to the department with Stages II and III being subject to outside examining from Christchurch and Auckland (Garnier 1991, 5). For this reason, Tweedie, a foundation student and, by 1949 a staff member, was given Hartshorne's *Nature of Geography* and told to read it during the Christmas vacation before commencing Stage II.

The geography department at Otago thus became institutionalised; but several things happened in quick succession which were to hold geography back for some time. Garnier had accepted an appointment to Nigeria, but the circumstances of his departure in March 1951, offended the staid moral attitudes of Otago. As Tweedie notes, 'Garnier's departure caused harm to the department' (1991, 3). Geography's status problem was further exacerbated by the unrelated departure of a staff member who had become pregnant.

. . . it began to look as though the department had low morals. . . There was no way that she could become an unwed mother and hold a job in the University of Otago (Tweedie 1991, 3).

It was into this setting that Ron Lister was projected as the new Lecturer in Charge, having been Lecturer in Geography at Auckland University College. Tweedie, as Temporary Assistant Lecturer had to superintend the department until Lister arrived in September 1951. It meant the immediate demise of the MA course which had been established under Garnier.

No doubt it was the experience of 1951 that led to the later decision to suspend Honours courses in Geography, for until R G Lister arrived in September, the staff was halved in number and decimated in experience by these departures (Tweedie 1962, un-numbered page 6).

The department was to struggle with low status for a number of years. Brockie, who arrived from teaching in the Auckland department in 1956, notes,

. . . the Department of Geography had languished since the departure of 'Ben' Garnier and the new incumbent was faced with the daunting task of consolidating Geography as a 'respectable' academic discipline where the general attitude was often unsympathetic (Brockie 1981, 9).

R W Lister

Lister took charge of geography at Otago until his retirement in 1981. His administration has left a strong stamp on the department, but it took many years before it was fully recognised. Coming into a troubled department, he was disadvantaged on several further points. Firstly, with a background in school teaching²⁴ and with no more than a baccalaureate, he often lacked the influence needed in a university setting.

Lister was only a Senior Lecturer in charge of the department and lacked the clout and access to corridors of power (Brockie 1991, 5).

Hill (1991, 12) suggests the reason as being,

. . . the reluctance of the university to recognise the worth of the HOD. They did not appoint Lister to the chair for an extended period. It made life difficult for those in that department including Lister himself and made it very difficult for the department to argue for resources and to compete with other departments within the university.

Secondly, Lister was seen as an Arts graduate and the Science faculty were not about to contemplate associating with geography which was in the faculty of Arts and

²⁴ Lister had taught at Christ's Hospital, the famous 'Bluecoat School' in West Sussex (Brockie 1981, 8).

Music. This situation continued right through the 1950s and changed dramatically only with the arrival and one year stay of a distinguished visitor.

Professor David Linton

The role of Linton²⁵ is of great importance to the development of the geography department at Otago. As Professor of Geography at Sheffield, and a distinguished geomorphologist, his stay at Otago during Lister's sabbatical year, in 1959, served to place geography on the pedestal that Lister had sought for nine years.

Linton was able to dignify geography with respectability within the science faculty. He did a great deal to ensure that geography at Otago was recognised as a science subject and that it should be funded on a science basis. He pushed in a way that Lister could not do because Ron was an arts graduate. Linton pushed and as a result of that we got extra labs and got a substantial hike in our departmental grants (Brockie 1991, 1).

Barry Johnston, observing from Canterbury, notes, 'Otago was saved by Linton' (Johnston 1991, 4).

As a result of Linton's stay, the science component was supported and strengthened and the Honours course was re-introduced. He did not allow himself to be intimidated by his professorial colleagues who questioned the right of geography to be considered as a science.

At one stage when Linton was told that Geography was not a science, he pointed out that he was the only person in the room who had a DSc. (Kidd 1991b, 1).

A Coming of Age

It would be a mistake to assume that Lister's elevation to the first geography chair in 1965 was on the shoulders of another person. He was doing much for the discipline and was seen as an approachable person with the touch of the common man. He is remembered as a geographer with a populist appeal by his involvement in environmental issues, particularly the Clutha Valley Development Commission and his active participation on the Otago Regional Development Council.

²⁵ Linton was well known for his efforts to improve the status of geography in relation to various national bodies in the United Kingdom, such as the National Environmental Research Council. He also played an important role in the development of the Geographical Association and the Institute of British Geographers. He died in 1971 at the age of 64.

Increasing international recognition of his professional competence, his widespread acceptance by extramural groups, his many administrative responsibilities, but above all his reputation as a teacher and uncompromising advocate for his subject, received its tardy but due reward. With conservative, elitist attitudes mollified, Professor Lister was appointed to the Foundation Chair of Geography in 1965, and Geography was once more truly on the map (Brockie 1981, 10).

Planning

A further major part of the maturing of the Otago department took place with the introduction of Planning in Geography. It is not entirely clear from where the impetus came; several are claimants to the distinction. Without doubt, it had much to do with Lister's continuing involvement with the community in projects relating to geography and his British background in geography which had strong links to planning. His 1966 report on departmental achievement enthused the department's participation in redevelopment planning in Dunedin.

We seem to have been bringing our activities out more into the open and, whether we wanted it or not, we have found ourselves creating a strong public image for geography (Lister 1966, 1).

Further in his report he wrote,

When the Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority published its first stage Report during the year, the University was invited to comment. Several departments have a very real interest in the problems covered and their representatives met in the Geography Department and produced a joint report (Lister 1966, 2).

Brian Heenan identifies the process of involvement and notes that it was being driven by more than simple interest in planning.

It seemed to me that lots of things were happening when planning came about. There were problems with the outlook of staff and student numbers. The numbers went down pretty precipitously here and they no doubt went elsewhere. This would be in the late 70s. I don't think all the reasons why planning got established were internalised within the place. There were outside influences. Ron Lister was working in Wellington and had contacts with a lot of people in planning and so through the Environmental Council which brought him into contacts with lots of people. He went away to the Stockholm Conference (1972) and was part of the much wider movement and what happened here was just one outcome of the experiences that Lister had been involved in. He had become involved with planners (Heenan 1991, 3).

At the same time, Lister was in no doubt as to the link between geography and planning. As a member of the 1974 Environmental Council, he was able to write,

The author's own position as Chairman of the Population Committee is a particularly interesting one for utilising his geographic experiences (Lister 1976, 205).

Planning commenced at Otago in 1980, as a Post-graduate Diploma in Regional and Resource Planning, with the appointment of Ali Memon as director. By 1984 it achieved Masters status.

P G Holland

Peter Holland's appointment to the chair of geography at Otago in 1982, at the time of Lister's retirement, marked a difference in administrative style which contrasts with that of Lister. He set about an organisational restructuring that has meant more staff meetings. Known as a better organiser than Lister, who tended to do things at the last minute (Kidd 1991, 2), Holland has completed two terms as professor. His academic ability is noted by a departmental colleague, 'Peter Holland has the ideal geographical intellect' (Perry 1991, 2), as is his commitment to the department.

He has done a magnificent job of pulling a fairly raggedy disparate department together and has promoted the discipline very well (Kearsley 1991, 4).

Holland has had to come into a department in which some of the staff have preceded him by over twenty years. This makes an administrator vulnerable to comparisons. He is a cautious administrator, careful to present plans that will work, tending to go for the possible.

Lister by contrast was the supreme optimist and would shrug off anything . . . was not afraid of being knocked back (Kidd 1991, 2).

Conclusion/Discussion

The department at Otago was the slow starter in New Zealand geography by not having a professorial head until 1965, eighteen years after the department was established. It has also had to battle a locational disadvantage by being at the 'bottom end' of the country, thus being outside the track of many visitors who would otherwise enhance connections.

The institutionalisation of the Otago department has gone through several distinct phases which strongly demonstrate the role of structure and agency. The fact that the department was 'held back' for many years after two staff members left in the early 50s, directs us to see the intricate ties of institutions to the larger society.

... not only to macro-structural features such as economic and political systems but also to the everyday activities of people (Benson 1977, 9).

The relation between the private lives of people working in an academic department and the processes through which conventional boundaries are produced and sustained, receive telling confirmation. The Chancellor of a secular university was apparently reflecting his own views, 'The Chancellor was a pillar of the Presbyterian church' (Tweedie 1991, 3), and the views of the community, yet these views penetrated through to the struggles which Lister faced in running his department.

The part played by Linton impacted strongly.

The ideas which guide the construction of the organisation depend upon the power of various participants, that is, their capacity to control the direction of events. Some parties are in dominant positions permitting the imposition and enforcement of their conceptions of reality (Benson 1977, 7).

In this case it was a powerful actor who entered the scene some thirteen years after the department was established. Recognition should also be given to the earlier role of W N Benson, the geology professor who was interested in geography. Benson, and Cotton at Victoria, were both important institutionalising influences in defining geography, albeit from the viewpoint of geologists. The New Zealand geology departments have been a significant 'nursery' to the early phases of geography.

The introduction of planning courses to geography represent, to a certain extent, a switching of paradigm commitment within the department. Lister's personable nature enabled him to become involved in community projects, and his background as a British geographer drew him towards planning, particularly after his period of study leave in 1959 during which he studied the 'New Towns' development in England; but it was the need to attract students to the department that won the day. Within an institutional setting, a paradigm commitment needs to be analysed in more than just the geographically ideological setting; there is also need to consider that the objectives (and techniques for pursuing the objectives) that justify the institution's activities, may have a more complex explanation grounded on need. The slow start made by Otago is now history. It is now strongly associated in both Arts and Science

faculties and runs a thriving graduate programme in Regional and Resource Planning.²⁶

VICTORIA



The geography department at Victoria plays a unique part in the institutionalisation process in that it has been often labeled a maverick amidst the mainstream of New Zealand geography.

Like that of Otago and Auckland, pressure groups had made submissions to the Victoria University College Council, urging the establishment of geography. The New Zealand Geographical Society had written to the Council,

. . . a resolution passed unanimously at the last annual general meeting of the society, urging the necessity for the full time teaching of geography to Stage III and the appointment of full time lecturers in the subject at Otago, Victoria and Auckland University Colleges (VUC Minutes 1944, 683).

The Council, when it did decide to offer geography, placed it within the department of geology.

. . . that the Lectureship be advertised if the Government makes a grant for this purpose; the lecturer to be associated for the time being with the department of Geology (Principal's Report August 1945, 862).

From a list of nine applicants (Table 10. 4), the lectureship was offered to Don W McKenzie, who had been acting as part-time lecturer at the Wellington Training College as well as lecturing in physical geography within the department of geology at the University College.²⁷

²⁶ From a methodological standpoint, the writer has difficulty in recording much of the current institutionalising taking place within the department. Three staff within the department, having been interviewed, placed *caveats* on usage of their taped interview. This effectively, within ethical limits, prevents discussion on significant change in the Otago department. It can be construed, however, that the institutionalisation of geography within the department, continues as a contested process.

²⁷ Under Cotton, it was a form of Davisian geomorphology. Cotton's publications included (1922) *Geomorphology of New Zealand, Part 1: Systematic: an introduction to the study of landforms*, New

The commencement of geography as 'geology's stepchild' (Beaglehole 1949, 247) meant that geography at Victoria initially had a strongly geomorphological emphasis.

Cotton saw Geography as a form of geomorphology, same as McKenzie did (Anderson 1991, 1).

A Chair Is Appointed

The arrangement with geology continued until the Council decided to give geography the status of a chair in 1954. Fox (1991, 1) notes that Cotton was 'a great supporter of this new science' and the advertised position attracted applicants from within and without of New Zealand. The New Zealand applicants were representative of the early graduates of the 1940s who were beginning to make their mark. The English connection was still strong, however, and Dr R O Buchanan, an expatriate New Zealander at the London School of Economics, once again comes into the picture as a 'kingmaker'. Professors R O Buchanan, C A Cotton (visiting from Wellington) and the historian, F L W Wood, interviewed Keith M Buchanan and William (Bill) P Packard at the office of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, in London (VUC Minutes 1953, 495).

The events that transpired in the appointing of Keith Buchanan to the first chair in geography at Victoria give insight into the political power plays that take place within university structures and to the strength of the ties that New Zealand still had with England at this time, despite Jobbarn's predilection towards the United States. Although the University Council had the ultimate say in deciding who would be appointed, the correspondence clearly reveals that the decision was effectively made in London. The London committee interviewed Buchanan and W P (Bill) Packard and indicated that Buchanan was the favoured applicant.

Mr Buchanan is tall and well built. He wears a short and well trimmed auburn beard and has a very good presence and an easy manner. He is thirty-three years of age, married with three children between five and eleven. He speaks well and confidently; at times during the interview a good sense of humour was suggested in his replies to questions. . . Mr Buchanan has had a wide field of

Zealand Board of Science and Art Manual no 3, Government Printer, Wellington; (1941) *Landscape as developed by the process of normal erosion*, London; (1942) *Geomorphology: and introduction to the study of landforms*, Christchurch; (1942) *Climatic accidents in landscape making*, Christchurch; (1944) *Volcanoes as landscape forms*, Christchurch; (1945) *Earth Beneath: an introduction to geology for readers in New Zealand*, Christchurch; (1955) *New Zealand geomorphology: reprints of selected papers 1912-1925*, New Zealand University Press, Wellington; (1974) *Bold Coasts* (ed by B W Collins, Wellington).

classroom experience in both Western and South Africa where his main interests have tended to be in human geography, including both agricultural and social geography in the wide sense. He had previously taught in Birmingham University and has since been in the University of London. Mr Buchanan asked the committee a number of questions about housing in Wellington and about the early possibility of obtaining field experience in NZ geography, and about the possibility of extending his work of cultural contact to the Pacific Islands, and about the likely date of the announcement of a decision (VUC Council Minutes 11/2/1953, 495).

They also considered the applications of the New Zealand based contenders, at a distance.

. . . Its general view is that three of them, Messrs Buchanan, McKenzie and Pownall merit serious consideration for the chair, and that a fourth, Mr Packard would be a possible choice if the others were not available. . . . the committee has no hesitation in recommending Mr Buchanan for the appointment (VUC Council Minutes 11/2/1953, 495).

There may have been more to it than met the eye. Leigh Pownall, one of the unsuccessful applicants was later to become, in a series of rapid promotions, Professor of Geography at Canterbury, the second Vice-Chancellor of Canterbury University and finally Clerk of the Senate at London University. He relates a conversation that R O Buchanan, 'in a burst of confidence' had with George Jobberns, apparently during his 1947 visit to Canterbury. R O Buchanan had Keith Buchanan on his staff at the LSE and was apparently finding him difficult.

. . . he was faced with a great problem involving Buchanan. . . and the way out would be if Keith Buchanan could get the chair at Victoria. And so R O Buchanan was pushing for Keith. He wanted it because it would help him politically. It would help him within his own administration to solve a problem which apparently must have been hurting. . . therefore he was unloading (Pownall 1991, 3).

Keith Buchanan was given the appointment and sailed to New Zealand to commence his duties.

Prof K Buchanan arrived in Auckland on the 18th inst after spending two days conferring with Prof Cumberland at Auckland University College, he arrived in Wellington inst to take up his duties as professor of geography (VUC Minutes 1953, 263).

The conferring with Professor Cumberland was to be about the last congenial contact with the Auckland department for many years. Chapter 9 deals with the debate

TABLE 10. 4 Applicants for Position of Lecturer in Charge of Geography at Victoria University College, 1946.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Degrees</i>	<i>Experience</i>	<i>Publications</i>
R S Foss	35	BSc (Hons) London. Dip Ed, London	Primary and Secondary	Nil
Joseph Gentili	33	MA (Prelim) Uni of West Aust. Doctorate in Political Science (Vienna)	2 Years at Uni of West Aust.	Atlases of West Australia
J L H Hewland	35	MA (NZ) Dip Ed	5 Yrs Primary 10 Yrs Secondary	Nil
D W McKenzie	39	MSc (NZ) 2nd Class Hons In Geology	11 Yrs Hutt Vail High. 6 Yrs Educ Officer at Dominion Museum. 2 Years Lect In Geol at Wellington Tec Coll. 2 Yrs Demonstrat- or at VUC	An Atlas of Practical Geog for NZ Secondary Schools
P F Martin	30	AB & MA from Oklahoma		
F Parkes	29	MA (NZ)	WEA (Otago)	Nil
K W Robinson	29	MA (NZ) History Sitting for MA (Geog) in 1945	Assist Master Christchurch Boys High School	A Method of Land Classification of NZ (Thesis)
J H Shaw	23	BSc (Syd) Class 1	little	
E W R Thorpe		BSc (Hons) Sydney	Demonstrator	

Source: VUC Principal's Report, Vol XIV, 1945, 964,965)

concerning Hartshorne and needs to be borne in mind when considering the remainder of Buchanan's career at Victoria.

K M Buchanan

To understand the place that Keith Buchanan holds in the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand, it is necessary to understand his personality which was so strongly reflected in his teaching. Buchanan is often described in terms approaching the hyperbolic. Bedford, as a student at Auckland in the 1960s was left in no doubt, by his teachers, that, 'the devil was down in Victoria in the form of Buchanan' (Bedford, 1991, 2).

Buchanan made an immediate impression at Victoria. Ronald Hill, as a student at Victoria recalls,

Buchanan was undoubtedly a great character; wore a beard when it was considered a bit daring; summer and winter tended to wear thin shirts and wore sandals . . . smoked a pipe and wore a French beret and was a café type . . . He was a considerable polemicist for radical and lost causes and supporter of the underdog (Hill 1991, 12).

It did not take long for Buchanan to establish a reputation for powerful teaching and to become a cult-figure among the students.

Buchanan was something else again. Charismatic and one of the most brilliant lecturers that I have ever heard (Brad Paterson 1991, 1).

Graeme Lay's novel, *The Fools on the Hill*, describes life at Victoria University in the early 1960s. His 'Professor Lewis' is a thinly disguised Professor Buchanan, with a description that fits him well.

Stephen still held his pen, but had not written a word. Neither had the people below and beside him. They too were transfixed by the speaker. He continued for fifty minutes, using no notes. He transported them through his rhetoric to regions of unrelieved misery and injustice whose inhabitants were victims of exploitation and their own fecundity, a Malthusian world whose problems could only be solved by radical restructuring of their economies and an end to what the professor called 'coca-colonisation', steps which would amount to nothing less than a massive reallocation of the world's wealth. He spoke slowly and fluently, his eyes constantly sweeping the rear wall of the lecture theatre as if he fully expected his hungry shirtless hordes to appear on the horizon at any

moment . . . It was a gripping, vivid evocation more drama than lecture (Lay 1988, 35).

The China Trip

It was not long before the 'Red Professor' ran up against the conservatism of the University College Council. An element of 'McCarthyism' had permeated some parts of New Zealand society and Buchanan was regarded with some suspicion. Matters came to a head in 1956, when the government of Communist China²⁸ invited him to visit as part of an unofficial group of academics and artists. In order to test the feelings of the Council, James Bertram, in the English department at Victoria, noted,

So it was agreed that Keith Buchanan, the bearded professor of Geography at Victoria who looked rather like a youthful Bernard Shaw, and I, should make the first formal request for leave (Bertram 1957, 17).

The College Council met on March 26th and turned the application down (VUC Minutes 1956, 134). The explanation was that it conflicted with the college teaching term and that time off should not be given. Closer to the truth, was the knowledge that the Chinese wanted the delegation to attend the May Day Parade in Peking (Bertram 1957, 16). It became an instant *cause celebre*, drawing in the press, who took up the argument, in a special supplement of *Salient*²⁹, as a decision based on 'political expediency'.

. . . students believed that the reason given for the refusal of leave . . . was neither the real reason nor a sufficient one (Dominion 29/3/1956).

The resultant publicity was not good for the College Council and the next application, in 1957, by Buchanan, was better received. His letter of application (see appendix J) is not only a masterpiece of careful construction, but also clearly illustrates the direction of Buchanan's future thrust as a geographer interested in third world development. As Franklin notes (1991, 4), 'The department really moved out into the development field'. This thrust still characterises the department and is thus significant to the institutional process.

Buchanan's second attempt to get to China met with greater success. This time the invitation was from the Academia Sinica, rather than the Chinese Government. The College Principal, T W D Stout, mindful of the some of the conservative lay members

²⁸ New Zealand did not officially recognise China at this time.

²⁹ The VUC student newspaper.

on Council, made sure that the discussion, this time, was at the discretion of a special committee of Principal and Deans who opined that,

It would to a substantial degree, strengthen the Geography degree at the college and would be of real value to work in the field of Asian studies, if Prof Buchanan had an opportunity to familiarise himself at first hand with the geographical problems of the Far East and South East Asia (VUC Minutes 1957, 75).

It carried the day and Council granted Buchanan a one month leave of absence,

. . . on the condition that his suggested programme be first submitted to, and approved by, the Vice-Chancellor (VUC Minutes 1957, 264).

A Distinctive Geography

The next ten years marked the apogee of Buchanan's influence on geography and the institutionalisation of a distinctive 'Victoria geography'. Largely remote from mainstream New Zealand geography, as a result of the 'Hartshorne' debate, the uniqueness stemmed largely from Buchanan and, not insignificantly, Harvey Franklin. The programme at Victoria did several things. On one hand, it spawned a distinctive type of geography, arguably the first anywhere, which concentrated on 'man' and the third world.

At Victoria University we were going well beyond customary boundaries of Geography . . . All that spatial Geography left us cold and I think what happened to Victoria University was that we were pioneers and well ahead of the field (Franklin 1991, 5).

The form of geography which came to characterise the Victoria department has endured through changes in ideology which impacted more strongly on the other departments. Another claim made of Victoria was that it produced several generations of geographers who remain grateful to the department for giving them a view of geography which is readily identifiable and which provided valuable tooling for future careers (Trlin 1992, Hill 1991, Badcock 1991, Neville 1991, Paterson 1991).

Pacific Viewpoint

An important function of the department was the establishment of *Pacific Viewpoint* in 1960. Ian Burnley³⁰ recognises that *Pacific Viewpoint* was reaching where other geographical journals could not.

That journal would have more impact on the other social sciences than would have the average geographical journal. What a lot of lot geographers need to understand is that the spatial interaction approach, no matter how good they were, would not be seen as being of tremendous value to people in other disciplines (Burnley 1991, 5).

The thrust for initiating a new journal came from several areas. One was a genuine desire to break new ground. Watters notes that,

... the department wanted to move away from the parochial purely New Zealand based departments and wanted to look into the Pacific basin and outside New Zealand and to begin to look at what was happening in the world. The *New Zealand Geographer* was seen as a good journal but was overwhelmingly concentrating on New Zealand (Watters 1991, 7).

Secondly, the personal rift between Buchanan and the Auckland department, from which the *New Zealand Geographer* was being edited, gave an added impetus. Privately, it appears, the *Pacific Viewpoint* was not well initially well received.

The Society was fairly cross at this but it did not diminish things at all (Packard 1991, 5).

Officially, at least, Lister's review of the first edition was generous enough.

The appearance of the first issue of a second geographical periodical in New Zealand marks a major stage in the development of the subject in this country. If its publication may seem to be an unduly ambitious undertaking for the geographers of only four comparatively small departments of geography to support in addition to the *New Zealand Geographer*, it must be said at once that in its purpose and organisation, *Pacific Viewpoint* has set itself a path that is clearly complementary to that of the older journal, and it is to be welcomed for that reason (Lister 1960, 224).

³⁰ Department of Geography, University of NSW, Kensington.

The *Pacific Viewpoint* became a well respected journal but its editorial direction proved to be problematic within the department and signified a growing concern about Buchanan's administrative style. Buchanan's preoccupation with third world issues was pushing him towards an increasingly radical approach which began to conflict with others in the department.

One of the major disputes between Buchanan and the staff was because Buchanan tried to push *Pacific Viewpoint* increasingly to the left and the staff would not be in it and were determined to keep it scholastically viable rather than a leftist ideological publication (McKinnon 1991, 2).

The statement of intent in the early issues edited by Buchanan, clearly indicate how he saw *Pacific Viewpoint*.

Pacific Viewpoint specialises in the study of significant problems of the Asian and Pacific areas (*Pacific Viewpoint* Vol 1, No 1, March 1960).

Within one issue of Buchanan relinquishing his editorship in 1967, in favour of Franklin and Watters, the statement of intent indicated a more moderate line.

Pacific Viewpoint seeks to bring Geography into the mainstream of the social sciences (*Pacific Viewpoint* Vol 9, No 1, May 1968).

From that time on the emphasis was on,

... publishing the research of geographers, historians, economists, sociologists and anthropologists concerned with the systematic, regional and theoretical aspects of economic growth and social change in the developed and developing societies (*Pacific Viewpoint* Vol 9, No 1, May 1968).

Fragmentation

The department of geography at Victoria commenced a very difficult period marked by fragmentation within the staff, finally leading to Buchanan's resignation and early retirement in 1975. The intensity of his commitment to 'leftist' solutions in development and his increasingly divisive administrative style, began to isolate him within his own department. Despite his great public appeal, Buchanan was shy and did not mix well with his staff. 'Buchanan had a great concern for mankind but not for individuals' (Brad Paterson 1991, 3).

The writer, in visiting Buchanan, who now lives in reclusive retirement in New Zealand³¹, soon discovered that the events of thirty and forty years ago still cut deeply into his feelings. It would appear that Buchanan does not discriminate between ideological and personal criticism and expresses considerable bitterness about the way he has been treated. Whatever the rights and wrongs in the department, where the matter is still sensitive, it certainly did not help his administrative reputation.

. . . he put himself up on such a pedestal that he finally he could not behave in an honest and democratic way. He had to be bigger and better and be acclaimed as the oracle (McKinnon 1991, 3).

The staff began to take sides as the fragmentation took effect. Brad Paterson³² mentions petty power plays in which students became involved.

I had to have a course approval in honours year and a certain member of staff came along and said, 'Don't take that silly old bugger's course. Take mine'. (Brad Paterson 1991, 3).

It became known to all that there were deep differences within the department. John McKinnon was an undergraduate and recalls a certain staff member,

. . . sitting out in the corridor and addressing all passers at the end of a tutorial and holding a book on the Amazon with pictures of poor natives full of snot and scratches and saying, 'How can you have a professor who can claim that this is the better way of life? Look at these pictures and see what the real reality really is.' I had this sense that he was criticising Buchanan for his naivety and innocence (in believing) that the savage was noble (McKinnon 1991, 3).

Buchanan withdrew from administering the department in 1973, two years before resigning as professor. History will remember him more kindly than some of his contemporaries. Without doubt he has been the most charismatically original thinker that New Zealand geography has produced³³. Peet (1977, 12) notes him as an

31 Most people who knew Buchanan were very surprised to find that he is now living in New Zealand. It took several months to track him down.

32 Postgraduate student in the department. Now in the Stout Research Centre, VUC.

33 Buchanan's published work includes; (1972) *The geography of empire*, Nottingham, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; (1958) *Land and people in Nigeria : the human geography of Nigeria and its environmental background*, London : University of London Press; (1970) *Map of Love*, Sydney : Pergamon Press Australia; (1968) *Out of Asia; Asian themes*, Sydney University Press; (1966) *Reflections on education in the third world*, Nottingham; (1967) *The Southeast Asian world; an introductory essay*, London; (1970) *The transformation of the Chinese earth: aspects of the evaluation of the Chinese earth from earliest times to Mao*, London, Bell.

exceptional radical geographer who did not try to fit into the existing politics of the discipline. His soaring eloquence was matched by his considerable writings. The lengthy quote, by Andy Trlin, which closes this discussion on the impact of Buchanan on the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand, says much.

The Vietnam War did not help. He was profoundly affected by that . . . I recall very clearly an occasion when I . . . met Buchanan in the lift and he had brought a newspaper and it had a photo on the front page of a Vietnamese girl. I think she was dead. He looked troubled and he said to me, 'Trlin, have you seen this?' 'That could be my daughter?'. About a week later he came out with a paper which he read to us and it was about the Vietnamese girl. He published it later in one of his collections. That was incredibly moving. . . That epitomises what was happening to him as a person. He was outraged that the outrages of the world had reached a peak (Trlin 1992, 5).

The Yin and the Yang

The transition of professorship from Buchanan to Franklin, introduced a very different person who espoused different administrative views, but whose administration, with the passage of time, is often likened to that of Buchanan. Trlin provides a portrait of both men. Of Buchanan,

Buchanan used emotion as part of the way he operated and taught. He appealed to your sentiments, your romantic instincts (Trlin 1991, 4).

And of Franklin,

He was communicative in his own way but this man had a razor sharp intellect. He was able to coldly take apart the real world and to show you what it was in a dispassionate way and it was almost as though he put an embargo on emotions (Trlin 1991, 4).

Trlin would speak for many people when he states,

It was like the yin and the yang. The same but so opposite. The different sides of the coin. If you realised that and if you were able to sort of grapple with it and take in what both of them had to say, you were the better for it (Trlin 1991, 4).

Harvey Franklin accepted the chair, a position which he still holds in 1992, even though the department has had a number of Heads of Department on a rotating basis. His appointment, in many ways, if it continued the distinctive form of geography at

Victoria, also served to perpetuate the style of leadership which tends to produce isolation within departments. On one hand, there is admiration of his scholastic leadership. 'When Harvey Franklin speaks, people listen' (Hosking 1991, 1). On the other, it would appear that Franklin is not all that interested in administrative matters.

Franklin is bored by institutional procedure. . . prides himself that over the years he has hardly ever attended a meeting of the Professorial Board (McKinnon 1991, 4).

It is at this level that departmental strategy needs leadership interested in working the university system to secure advantages for the department. This has not always been the case at Victoria.

. . . both Franklin and Buchanan rarely attended Faculty meetings and were not known for participating in a lot of university development issues . . . For a while we attempted to have planning meetings where what were doing, pertaining to the courses, was reviewed and discussed. Staff meetings did not contribute a great deal to the running of the department (Lawrence 1991, 3).

Franklin's Contribution to New Zealand Geography

This account would be incomplete without a recognition of Franklin's major contribution to geography in New Zealand. In attempting this, the writer draws on Bedford and Heenan's (1987) substantive acknowledgement of Franklin's work in population geography.

Franklin admits to having an unusual academic background in Birmingham where he read a commerce degree with a geography major, graduating in 1949 (Franklin 1991, 1). Upon arriving in Wellington to take up a teaching appointment in the geography department at Victoria, McKenzie, as lecturer in charge left Franklin in little doubt that his responsibilities were to be in human geography. Franklin recalls McKenzie's welcoming words.

'Here is your half and this is my half. Come and see me when you are in trouble.'
I looked after the human side (Franklin 1991, 1).

Without a background in the way geography was taught in New Zealand and with his distinctive background in economic geography, Franklin brought, as Bedford and

Heenan (1987, 141) record, a perspective to the study of New Zealand's rural and urban communities which was quite different to that which had prevailed in the geographical literature during the first two decades of university geography.

He could also be called the pioneer of modern population geography in New Zealand and his studies of variations in age-sex compositions of rural and urban communities in the 1950s were in the vanguard of contemporary international research by geographers (Bedford and Heenan 1987, 141).

Franklin was able to incorporate the prevailing regionalism with statistical data to demonstrate the dynamic underlying processes which govern population distribution and structures. Franklin's work in the area of internal migration further laid important groundwork in detailed systematic population geography. At the same time he was moving away from the dominance of areal differentiation and was introducing processual concepts such as diffusion, acculturation, segregation and ethnocentrism (Bedford and Heenan 1987, 142). His original contributions, via his writings, also covered European peasantry with his locally directed work including work on New Zealand society and economy.

The timing of Franklin's impact is as important to the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand as was his unique approach. His publishing career matured during the 1960s when quantification began to make an impact in New Zealand geography departments. It was also during a decade in which there were substantial re-evaluation in directions of economic and social development in New Zealand.

New Zealanders as a whole, and the older generation in particular, were forced by circumstances to re-examine the assumptions underlying their attitudes and prejudices (Franklin 1969, 1)

The work which Franklin had already done in population geography gave him the international recognition he deserved. The changes which he saw taking place in society provided him with the direction his subsequent research has taken in theory building aspects of economic geography.

As a footnote to this brief evaluation of Franklin, he readily admits to being less interested in administrative matters now than he may have been when he took over the department. He was quite happy to relinquish his administration to others. 'I think that people had got fed up with me being chairman because I was spending more time on teaching and research than on administration (Franklin 1991, 6). The move to

a rotating Chairmanship in the department has brought geography into line with other departments within the university.

Recent Changes In the Department

Since 1980, important changes have taken place in the orientation of the department. The propelling forces have come from without more than within. Without in the sense that some university wide structures have been imposed on the geography department determining changes that effect geography. There is a general feeling among some staff that the department has not had the requisite representation within the university administration to continually ensure that geography's best interests were being safeguarded.

There has not been any great direction for the department. Some would disagree as to what the directions were but at least Buchanan had one, like it or not. At present we have collections of people doing their own thing with very little direction or interference (Anon 1991)

Physical geography within the department has been affiliated with the School of Earth Sciences since 1980. There have been advantages in being linked to wider groupings, including geology, which has tended to provide students who need the 'rounding out' provided by physical geography.

There is a lot of interchange between physical geography and geology (McConchie 1991, 3).

In recent time, the department has produced a 5 Year Strategic and Management Plan (1989). It represents a concerned thrust by the staff to have some say in the direction of the department within the university structure. It is also indicative of the departmental thrust to ensure a strong programme in physical geography.

Currently, undergraduate courses in physical geography are the responsibility of the Geography Department and graduate courses are administered by a Board of Studies for the Research School of Earth Sciences. Current proposals would return the administrative responsibility of all physical geography, the degrees in physical geography, and the diploma of applied Science (hydrology) to the Department of Geography (1989, 10).

Geography and the Research School of Earth Sciences

The relationship between the geography department and the Research School of Earth Sciences is part of a wider sphere involving other departments within the university and the political maneuvering which takes place within university structures. The move towards the RSES came with the appointment of Axford as Vice-Chancellor in the 1970s and his desire to raise the profile of research within the university. It was to involve a repackaging of physical geography, geology, geochemistry and geophysics to give them a common benefit to the university. The geography staff had been given little say in the matter until it was presented as a *fait accompli*. Lawrence recalls the dilemma in which Crozier, departmental chairman at the time, found himself.

Pressure never came from the physical geographers. It placed Mike (Crozier) in a very difficult position because he was chairman at the time. He wanted to give up the chair so he could operate in a different way than as chairman but that he could respond at an individual level. We discussed this at staff meeting and decided that it wasn't appropriate. Geography should not split. When I became chairman I had a long series of discussion with Malcolm the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, and managed to convince him that there was a benefit in having an integrated geography teaching so when the research school was formally brought into being it, only related to the postgrad activities and all of the positions that were shifted over were part positions and that framework has never been resolved as to what we should do. The geography department as a whole feels that their best interests would be served in staying together (Lawrence 1992, 2).

The geography department has been able to tap into funding made available to the RSES and as well as regular funding to the geography department. The further development of the RSES is uncertain. With Axford leaving in 1985 and with uncertainty as to how the RSES should relate to the undergraduate programme, much of the earlier thrust of the RSES appears to be moderated by other administrative concerns within the university, not apropos to this account. From it however is the determination of the geography department not to be split. This has been clearly articulated in both the Strategic and Management Plan and the 1992 Review.

The Strategic and Management Plan is an important articulation of the department's focus. It remains to see what will come of it. A development strategy is only as good as it's implementation. 'The department does not have a structure to examine the

document to evaluate it.' (McKinnon 1991, 6). This problem, not necessarily unique to the department of geography at Victoria, is currently being addressed by the review which the university administration has required of the department. The review is part of the general rolling reviews conducted by the university but is significant in view of the fact that the retirement of two major figures in the department at the end of 1994 will signal significant administrative changes within geography. The review requires a comprehensive self-evaluation of past, present and future strategies within the department.

Conclusion/Discussion

The major foci of institutionalisation within the department of geography at Victoria University have been:

- *The origins of geography within the department of geology under Cotton and McKenzie.

- *The appointment of Keith Buchanan.

- *The resistance, to and influence resulting from, Buchanan's trip to China (the flowering of development geography and Pacific Viewpoint).

- *The internal fragmentation of the department under Buchanan.

- *The subsequent administration of Harvey Franklin.

- *The emergence of a distinctive form of development geography which, in that it identifies the department, would be considered a unifying characteristic.

An analysis of institutional behaviors reveals characteristics seen in other departments (i. e. paradigm commitments, conflict, periods of crisis). There are also some characteristics which particularise the Victoria department. Buchanan was appointed as 'the candidate, who, both on academic standing and on grounds of personality' (VUC Minutes 1953, 496), was the clear choice. It was also apparently helping the London based Professor R O Buchanan out of a difficult situation in his own department. Lachman's examination of power relationships, describes this concept of power as the capacity of a subunit to influence the behaviour of other subunits.

The view that the power of a subunit results from its ability to control certain inputs required by other subunits underlies almost all the specific conditions proposed as power sources (Lachman 1989, 232).

There is no doubt that Professor R O Buchanan was an important part of the early institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand universities. He features in the appointments of Jobberns, Cumberland and Buchanan, and by extending Lachman's argument, his acquisition of power within the institutionalising of New Zealand geography, was in itself a complicated process with links extending back to New Zealand as well as what was currently happening in his own department. The process of institutionalisation thus has longitudinal as well as latitudinal linkages of extreme complexity.

The intensity with which Keith Buchanan pursued his view of geography, resulted in a combination of contradictions which Althusser (1970) would describe as a 'ruptural unity'. His difficult personality, allied with his view of geography, exacerbated different layers of conflict within the department and the university in a way that enabled him to gain his own ends by managing or manipulating the combinations of contradictions. This is generally a situation which finally crumbles in the face of repeated crises within a department.

Other combinations may tend to fragment the organisation in a series of overlapping, partially competitive interest groups (Benson 1977, 15).

This is exactly what happened at Victoria as Buchanan finally became isolated within his own department with the erosion of his own power base.

The administration of Harvey Franklin has tended towards the *laissez-faire*. In fairness to Franklin, this characteristic appears common to many brilliant minds whose scholarship apparently qualifies them for positions of administration. It would appear that the roles of a scholarly professor and an administrative head are often mutually antagonistic. Survival in the administrative circles common to university structures is a complex business. Not being committed to manipulating these structures for departmental ends, is not a weakness in itself. But when no-one is doing it for geography in a setting where other Professors are 'working the system', then the departmental profile must be adversely affected. The retirement of the two senior people within the Victoria department, at the end of 1993, will, without doubt, signal a new chapter in the process of institutionalisation.

MASSEY



The geography department at Massey University had its origins as a sub-department of Victoria University. Because of the role of Dr Keith Westhead Thomson as Professor of Geography at Massey and contender for the first Vice-Chancellorship, this account of the institutionalisation of the geography department can only be understood in relation to the establishment of Massey University.

There were official and unofficial reasons for establishing a university college at Palmerston North. Officially, the expansion of the university system following the Hughes Parry Report provided the stimulation required. The Palmerston North University College was to have a special function.

In 1960 a branch of the Victoria University of Wellington was founded in Palmerston North, to offer extramural³⁴ courses in selected subjects to students throughout the country and to provide tuition for Arts students in the Manawatu area (MU Calendar 1991, 60).

Unofficially, there may also have been some political expediency involved. Pownall³⁵ (1991, 5), notes that P O Skoglund was the Minister of Education whose incumbency was under threat due to the marginal nature of his Palmerston North electorate. He was attracted to the idea of having a University College at Palmerston North and was in a position to influence locational choice.

By its approval of the establishment of branch universities at both Palmerston North and Hamilton, the Government is implementing a party election pledge (Manawatu Evening Standard, May 1, 1959).

The Minutes of a joint meeting between representatives of the Councils of Victoria University and Massey College give a further clue.

³⁴ Extramural is the generic expression used at Massey University to denote distance education by correspondence.

³⁵ Pownall was shortly to be appointed Vice Chancellor at Canterbury and was in a position to know.

The Chairman³⁶ advised that, in discussions with the Minister of Education, he had ascertained that Cabinet had approved of the introduction of legislation to establish the new university institution during this session of Parliament. It was agreed that the development of a unitary university institution in the Palmerston North Area, initially a university college, should proceed as soon as possible (Joint Meeting, VU and Massey College 21/5/1962).

The Palmerston North University College³⁷ was set up in 1960 with the initial appointments to the geography department being decided by Victoria University (see Table 10. 5).

The committee resolved that a lectureship be offered to Mr B G R Saunders at the commencing salary of £1175 per annum, and that the question of the Head of Department be deferred in the meantime.(VUC Council Minutes 1959, Clause XXIV, Committee Report).

Saunders was the first HOD of geography at the PNUC and was joined, in the same year, by E C R Warr³⁸. Both were officially on the staff of the Victoria department, but were expected to live and teach in Palmerston North. As such, K Buchanan³⁹ was in charge and the geography course at PNUC was expected to replicate the Victoria offering.

The first years were not without their problems. Possibly the fact that a *raison d'être* of PNUC was to cater for extramural students, meant that there was no real pressure to introduce Stages 1 to 3 in consecutive years. Perhaps closer to the truth, was the suggestion that Skoglund pushed the establishment in an election year³⁹ (Pownall 1992, 5). Questions asked on the floor of the House (House of Representatives, 1960 Parliamentary Debates, Vol 324, 2573), make it clear that PNUC was set up faster than its ability to cope with an immediately growing programme. The department of geography at PNUC was required to commence Stage 1 in 1960 and consolidate it in 1961 before commencing Stage 2 in 1962. This meant that the full time students who commenced with PNUC in 1960 could not hope to complete a major until 1964. Twenty three first year students (See appendix K) wrote to the Victoria University Council to plead for Stage 2 and 3 to be available in consecutive years. Their letter (VUC Minutes, 1960, 312) was received, but there is no evidence of a response.

36 Dr F J Llewellyn

37 Hereafter called PNUC.

38 See Table 10.5.

39 Labour lost the election and Blair Tennant became the new Minister of Education.

TABLE 10.5 Applications for Lectureship in Geography, Palmerston North
University College, 1959.

<i>Applicant</i>	<i>Position at time of Application</i>	<i>Later Career</i>
A G Anderson	teacher at PNBHS	Auckland University
AA Brownlie	NSW	n/a
M Carpenter	Geography Master at Grammar School	n/a
WDredgehorn	Andover Grammar School	n/a
B Goodall	just returned to UK from Indiana	n/a
G A Harris	teaching at Matamata College	n/a
J Jackson	full time student at Leicester University	n/a
R J E Loudon	Headmaster at Tullibigeal	n/a
J W Mc Nabb	assistant lecturer in Geography at Victoria University	Victoria University
MWD McTaggart	Royal Naval Instructor Branch	n/a
Dr J H Mercer	research worker with the American Geographical Society	n/a
Warren Moran	University student	Auckland University
R J W Neville	University student	Auckland University
EE Owen	n/a	n/a
B G Pegler	teacher at Freyberg High School	PN Teachers College
BGR Saunders	schoolteacher in South Australia	Massey University
T D Vaughan	Ireland	n/a
A G Ward	Melbourne	n/a
W T Ward	DSIR	
ECR Warr	School teacher completing MSc at London School of Economics	Massey University d 1988

Dr George Culliford's temporary appointment, as Principal of PNUC, expired at the end of 1960 and Dr K W Thomson was appointed as the new Principal (VU Council Minutes 1960, 52). Thomson was seen as a fitting choice, having been brought up in Palmerston North and was, by then, a senior lecturer in geography at the University of Adelaide⁴⁰. His career connection with New Zealand geography came with the merger between Massey College and PNUC.

PNUC/Massey Merger

After the dissolution of the University of New Zealand, at the end of 1961, Massey College, moving away from its origin as an agricultural college, entered into association with PNUC, as a branch of Victoria University, pending the assumption of full autonomy of both institutions as Massey University of the Manawatu⁴¹ (Massey Calendar 1991, 60).

The merger of the two institutions into a university, presented the dilemma of having to decide which of the two heads might be appointed as the first Vice-Chancellor. The Principal of Massey College was Dr (later Sir) Alan Stewart. With the other contender being Dr Keith Thomson, a possible impasse was circumvented by a unique piece of government legislation which decreed that the loser would be offered the consolation prize of a Chair and Deanship⁴².

The Massey College Council swung into action with an impressive plea for Stewart to be appointed as Vice-Chancellor. The Council knew its bargaining strength by appealing on the basis of Massey College's confirmed place in New Zealand education and Stewart as a natural extension of that.

The maintenance and co-ordination of the strengths of the special schools so essential for the type of development envisaged, demands leadership by a man with a sound background knowledge of agriculture and related field. That Dr Stewart possesses this knowledge is beyond question (Massey College Council to Chairman of UGC, undated).

⁴⁰ Thomson completed his BA at Canterbury and did his MA and PhD at the University of Washington, Seattle.

⁴¹ Changed to Massey University in 1966.

⁴² See appendix L for full text.

Stewart was appointed Vice-Chancellor. 'It was more than a foregone conclusion, it wasn't a race' (Pownall 1991, 5).

An Uncontested Chair

As a direct consequence of Stewart's appointment, Dr Keith Thomson became the recipient of an uncontested academic chair. This appointment, resulting from an Act of Parliament is unique to any chair in the history of the New Zealand university system. As an essential element to the institutionalisation of the geography department at Massey, the appointment was to have far reaching effects.

The first effect relates to the concept that academic chairs should always be contested, with the most suitable candidate gaining the position. Thomson's innate suitability was not entirely related to the situation. It was a case of the conventional process not being followed. The establishment of a chair of convenience is a matter of some concern to a department that wishes to be collectively recognised among its peers. The Massey department was not given this privilege for 26 years, until Thomson's retirement.

The second effect had to do with Thomson's automatic appointment as Dean of the Faculty of General Studies (later as Dean of Social Sciences). Thomson proved to be an effective Dean with a desire to be fair to all departments under his administration. The problem was that the geography department often felt that this 'fairness' worked against geography. Trlin makes a representative comment.

Being Dean affected his ability to do a lot of things, particularly in furthering the interests of geography. He was always bending over backward to prevent people from saying that he was protecting geography. He was always looking after the interests of others more than geography. This came down to promotions, staffing, money for projects etc. He seemed to be a good Dean but we did not want a good Dean; we wanted a good professor of geography (Trlin 1992, 10).

The Deanship continued for a further six months after Thomson's retirement as Professor of Geography in 1988.

The growth of the Massey Department

Several characteristics have occasioned the subsequent institutionalisation of the department. One has been the unmistakable perception among some of the physical geographers, that the department, until the change in professorship essentially catered for human geography (McArthur 1990, 8). There was a period in which an attempt was made to integrate both human and physical geography in the first year course (1970). It was not a success.

It didn't work because we secretly, I think, we⁴³ did not want it to. We wanted it as human and they wanted it as physical or maybe we had competing agendas. I don't know. It was an interesting experiment and gave us a better understanding of each other for a while (Trin 1992, 15).

Another feature appears to be a fragmentation which existed in the department for many years. It becomes a sensitive matter to try and pin-point⁴⁴, but a 'slightly underground' (Brad Paterson, 1991 pers com) news sheet, *Pocket Compass*⁴⁵, put out by the *Student Society of Geographers* in 1974, makes the observation.

The Department is seen as a fragmented body not dealing with the subject in a coherent way (1974, 5).

To be fair, the students tended to express the fragmentation as a function of inadequate course structures, but it is apparent that the students were aware of tensions in the department involving staff.

There is a view that encouraging more co-operation between lecturers rather than sitting back taking in the wrangling would be a constructive role. . . Why shouldn't 'physical' and 'human' geographers be able to contribute together. (Pocket Compass 1974, 5).

Tensions are inherent to any university department, but the tensions that characterised the Massey Department generally stem from the feeling that the professor had a chair by privilege rather than by contest and that his personal interests did not continually reflect the interests of geography but of the 'arts and

⁴³ Staff teaching in the department.

⁴⁴ This is not an easy area to research when one has been involved with the same department over a period of six years. Much is said in conversation but there is a marked reluctance to go on record.

⁴⁵ The official student geographical publication was *Compass* and was very formal. The *Pocket Compass* was little more than a duplicated sheet.

museums'. These latter contributions to civic life were justly recognised with a CMG and MBE. As such Thomson maintained a high public profile which was often identified with geography but which, at a departmental level, did not particularly benefit geography.

I was tutoring up there (early 1970s) . . . and the tensions were very obvious. It was a very divided department. Suspicion - everyone was suspicious of everyone else. Everyone looked down on the Professor who didn't do much - wasn't interested in Geography. . . one or two of them were fairly sensitive personalities who were a bit worried about the others and that sort of thing, about how much they were being noticed, I think, and they had grievances about their work load and that sort of thing. It was worse than a secondary staff room (Davies 1991, 1).

The fragmentations that characterised the Massey department were more complex than the previous paragraphs may suggest. This account is indicative of the complex nature of departmental operation.

When Thomson took over as Professor of Geography in 1963, the Massey department had already operated under Saunders for four years. Saunders had broken away from the Victoria 'yoke' and had developed a strong programme of instruction. Heerdegen (1992, 1) recalls that there was no sudden change in style; it was more of a whittling away of the stable structure. This took place in the form of decisions taken by Saunders that Thomson as Professor would not actively support. The de-stabilising element was mainly evidenced in the form of strong academic control (recognisable as a program in which the Head of Department played an active role in organising and coordinating courses) being replaced by little academic control. Within several years the staff were feeling that too little direction was being offered to the department. Even then the common expression was that the Professor seemed disinterested in administering the geography department, being too busy with the Deanship.

There were very few periods when he referred to himself as the Professor of Geography. He was always the Dean of Social Sciences (Heerdegen 1992, 2).

There were occasions when the department did display a cohesive approach to their work. This however appeared to have been generated in spite of the Professor rather than through him. This was occasioned by the impending introduction of an extramural component to geography. This entailed considerable organisational planning by the staff within the department. Heerdegen recalls many informal

meetings at lunch times and tea times during which the details of the extramural course were 'thrashed out'.

We actually integrated the human and physical components. We worked hard at it. It may have been forced and artificial - but we did work together. . . That was the high point in the department - a lot of togetherness (Heerdegen 1992, 4).

At the same time, Thomson was respected for being a personable figure who could represent geography well. He took keen interest in geographical matters - but at a larger scale. His successful efforts to attract a Regional Conference of the International Geographical Union held in Palmerston North in 1974 did much to have the Massey department recognised both in New Zealand and abroad. He maintained an impressive network of overseas contacts among prominent geographers and was a very capable representative for the department and for geography in New Zealand. Being single, he was in a position to lead a lifestyle which enabled him to reach the community. What was often thought of, at the time, as a poor administrative style, in retrospect was recognised as a degree of acumen which comes from having to 'operate' the university system (Hesp 1991, 1). But at the departmental level, he was noted as being remote from the day to day activities of the department.

Ebb and Flow

For a large part of the 1980s, the Massey department was under some stress. It is generally recognised that personal differences within the department and the declining health and performance of a long standing staff member did nothing to enhance the department's profile. The administrative style of the Professor had several consequences. A positive aspect was the fact that staff were generally allowed to get on with their work without interference from above. At the same time, the *laissez-faire* approach from Thomson did little to address problems that clearly demanded some attention.

The impending retirement of Thomson as professor at the end of 1988 was the setting for another example of the contested nature of departmental operation. Thomson had let it be known that he intended to take an active role in the appointment of the new professor (Roche 1992, pers com). His personal choice was Le Heron, who as an internal candidate was well qualified; but no person perceived as a Thomson nominee was likely to gain sufficient support from within the department. Le Heron, once he agreed to be a candidate, withdrew from all participation in the selection process and took no part in any lobbying, either for himself or any of the other candidates. In an organisational sense he was distinctly disadvantaged in

comparison to the other candidates, by being a known quantity in a setting where the staff clearly wanted to move away from any connection with the previous administration. There was a strong feeling that Thomson appeared to be manipulating the advertising process to advantage⁴⁶. Staff representation to the Vice Chancellor resulted in the setting up of a Professorial Appointment Committee coordinated by Heerdegen. The committee mailed off over 70 advertisements to overseas universities and played an active role in the selection process. When the short list was announced, it did not include Le Heron. However when one of the candidates withdrew due to ill health⁴⁷, Le Heron's name was one of several placed on the list without the consultation of the committee. It was strongly felt that Thomson had used his influence as Dean to achieve this. In the end the appointment went to John R Flenley.

Extramural Study

A significant part of the institutionalisation of geography at Massey has been the extramural programme. As one of the reasons for the establishment of the university, the geography department became involved in 1969, initially representing 1.4 per cent of the total university enrollment (Bewley 1971, 6). The extramural programme became popular. By 1982 the department was able to offer a full undergraduate programme to extramural students.

Massey's extramural programme was founded as an alternative to untutored external study. It seems also to have become an alternative to part-time study for many who might have attended internally (Bewley 1971, 7)

It did cause several problems. The first was the 'unseen' extra workload which it imposed.

People were not explicit but they felt that there was a large work load due to the extramural programme (Lawrence 1991, 3).

The second was the image that Massey was a 'correspondence school'.

It stemmed from the fact that we taught extramurally. . . I have heard from extramural students, for example, who have started off their Geography here

⁴⁶ There was a selective placement of advertisements and only three weeks in which to respond.

⁴⁷ This was Bradbury who subsequently died. In fairness to Thomson, it should also be noted that he was the only human geographer on the short list.

extramurally and then gone to other universities to finish off. They have made remarks to me that have been made about Massey by their teachers (McArthur 1991, 10).

Criticisms aside, the extramural programme operated by the geography department at Massey has provided an extra dimension to geography which is unmatched by any other department. This dimension has enabled many external students in New Zealand and within the Pacific region, to study geography at university level. This in itself, is a significant institutionalising factor.

Planning

The Massey department was the first to introduce Planning courses to geography in New Zealand. Bryan Saunders spearheaded the programme which began in 1977 when the department began offering post graduate studies in Urban studies, These gradually became Urban Studies and Planning and by 1980, the department was graduating students with the Bachelor of Regional Planning degree (Saunders 1991, 4). Interest in the course has continued to grow and students doing the planning degree represent a substantial percentage of departmental numbers. There were some struggles to have the course established and recognised. These took place at three distinct levels.

Within the Department

Saunders's efforts to establish Planning came at a time when the number of students doing geography was decreasing. This was mainly due to the decision by the Teacher's Colleges to teach Social Studies methods⁴⁸ rather than geography. Previously the emphasis had been on geography or history and this meant that students were not being automatically channeled towards geography at Massey. Thomson's supported the concept of introducing Planning. Williams (1992, 1) recalls a degree of skepticism from the physical geographers within the department who were concerned that lessened resources for physical geography might result.

Within the Faculty Board

The second level at which Planning had to manoeuvre was at Faculty Board which had to approve the proposed course before going to the inter-university Curriculum

⁴⁸ See Chapter 7.

Committee. Questions were raised as to the allocation of extra space and the cost of setting up a new section within geography. Because Planning in New Zealand had only ever been taught from within the Department of Architecture at Auckland, it was considered debatable as to whether geography departments should be involved in such a venture. There was also the suggestion that 'Planning' as a generic term could represent some form of intrusion into the work of some of the other disciplines within the Social Science Faculty.

On the Curriculum Committee

The third level at which Planning had to battle was that of the Curriculum Committee⁴⁹ which had representation from the other universities. The introduction of Planning at Massey was opposed by Auckland University which did not want opposition to their Planning programme within Architecture. There was also some opposition from the geography department at Otago (Williams 1992, 2) which was also in the process of setting up a Planning course. They opposed the Massey scheme on the grounds that it was essential to have a lawyer to teach Planning Law. They did⁵⁰ but Massey did not. Thomson and Williams were present at the final Curriculum Committee meeting in 1977. Williams (1992, 3) recalls that Auckland had more or less acquiesced by this time but that Otago was still opposing Planning at Massey; suggesting that the Massey proposal be postponed until such time as their own programme was ready to start. The Curriculum Committee did not agree to this.

Marriage or Divorce?

Planning and geography at Massey proved to be an easy marriage; so easy, as Saunders claims, that a situation of dependency has arisen which now threatens geography as a stand-alone discipline.

It has been too easy really, because they were so integrated that it would be dangerous now to split them off. Without Planning, geography would have to go out and market itself afresh, because if we tried to divorce the two disciplines now, the numbers in Geography would drop (Saunders 1991, 4).

At time of writing, the possibility of a geography/planning split, at Massey, is very real, following a review imposed on the department's Planning programme in 1991. The review came about as a reaction to submissions from dissatisfied students who wrote

⁴⁹ This was a sub-committee of the UGC.

⁵⁰ This was Tim McBride who was in the Department of Sociology at Otago.

to the Vice-Chancellor expressing concern on several fronts. One was that the course structure was,

. . . not being sufficiently oriented towards modern New Zealand issues and practice (Planning Review 1991, 12).

Planning courses had not fared well at the 1990 Resource Management Conference in Wellington. An editorial report of the conference, commenting on the 4th year presentation by Massey students at the conference, noted,

The profession has a right to look to the planning schools to be at the forefront of planning thought as we head into the 21st century. It does not expect to be dished up 'innovative thought' which reflects teaching that was only marginally relevant fifteen years ago, let alone today or tomorrow (Constantine 1990, 8).⁵¹

The other main reason for discontent related to the general organisation of the planning course.

A lot of people (students) were annoyed with the way that geography and planning lecturers did not seem to talk to each other when timetabling assignments. Heaps of assignments would all be due in the last week without being spread over the term⁵². Students were still being taught things to be included in assignments right up to the end (Drake⁵³ 1991, 4).

The findings of the Review Panel⁵⁴ clearly indicate the problems faced by the department.

The superior staffing position of Geography is reflected in the teaching loads of the two groups: staff members in Planning have teaching loads that are almost double those of their colleagues. (Planning Review 1991, 5).

and that,

⁵¹ To be fair to Massey, the remarks by Constantine were 'invited comments'. His thrust may also have been aimed at planning courses being taught at Auckland which has had a chair in Planning since 1957 (Sinclair 1983, 211) as part of the Department of Architecture.

⁵² This was disputed by staff who felt that having all assignments due on the last day allows for maximum flexibility.

⁵³ Drake was at the time a final year planning student at Massey. He was the coordinator of the submission from the students.

⁵⁴ Staff in the department have disputed some of the findings, particularly those relating to teaching loads in Geography and Planning.

While the effects of the location of the planning programme and its staff in the Department of Geography were undoubtedly positive in the initial phase of the programmes development, this organisational arrangement has become less appropriate in recent years (Planning Review 1991, 5).

The thrust of the review findings was for splitting geography and planning into two departments. John R Flenley, geography professor since Thomson's retirement in 1989⁵⁵, has argued that planning is stronger within geography because the combined clout at Faculty level would be far greater. At the time the planning staff agreed.

All planning staff members support a structure which involves a close working relationship with geography and can see no major advantages in a separate department (Review Submission 1991, 3).

The Review panel conceded this but,

On balance, however, the Committee concludes that for its long term future, the BRP programme needs a separate Departmental base (Planning Review 1991, 11).

The Future

The decision to break away or remain part of geography has yet to be decided. A Planning Chair has been offered and it appears that the future relationship would be decided by the incoming Planning professor.

The Massey department of geography has taken a new direction since Flenley's arrival in late 1989. A palynologist from Hull, Flenley has lifted the profile of physical geography and has worked hard at an unofficial mandate from the Vice-Chancellor to increase the number of post-graduate students in the department. Development studies, headed by Associate Professor Croz Walsh is now classed as a programme distinct from geography and with interfaculty status. In human geography, Associate Professor Richard Le Heron superintends an aggressive programme. The *New Zealand Geographer* gives the Massey department a strong New Zealand presence, being currently edited by Le Heron, with Michael Roche as review editor.

⁵⁵ Saunders acted as HOD until Flenley arrived in 1989.

Special Strengths

The Massey department has a number of particular strengths that merit mention. The first relates to the extramural programme. Mention has already been made of the ability of the extramural geography programme to draw students from every part of the country and from countries within the Pacific rim. In so doing, the department reaches a particular type of student missed within the normal university system. Geography teachers wishing to upgrade their qualifications are able to do so through the department. The 'tracks' created by teachers coming in during vacation courses are used by other teacher groups who regularly use the department as a teaching resource by arranging special in-service visits in groups who wish to be kept aware of the latest developments in geography teaching.

A further strength within the department relates to publication in which a number of individuals have or have had vigorous publishing records. Saunders and Trlin were consistent publishers in the early days of the department. In latter years, Le Heron and Roche have been among the more active publishers in both journals and books within the community of New Zealand geographers. Flenley and Shepherd have recently published books in physical geography.

Conclusion/Discussion

In a sense, the Massey department represents a watershed in New Zealand geography. It was the first of a new generation of geography departments following the post war expansion which saw the establishment of the Auckland, Otago and Victoria departments. The Massey department also signals the last of the era of universal geographers in New Zealand departments. The early days of the department saw Saunders, Hounsell and Heerdegen involved in teaching both human and physical geography. As late as 1968, Saunders was publishing in the *New Zealand Geographer* in the area of physical geography (Saunders 1968). That day has past. By the time the Waikato department was established in 1963, lecturers were only teaching in their specific fields.

Institutionally, the administrative side of the Massey department has represented, for much of its existence, a complex scenario compounded by the conflicting roles of professor and Dean being vested in one person. Ranson et al (1980, 2) note,

The properties of structural frameworks have important consequences for the organisation's effectiveness: the extent of functional differentiation, the degree of integration, connectedness, and 'coupling', the centralisation and concentration of authority, the formalisation of rules and procedures, etc. will influence the effectiveness of control, adaptability, and member motivation.

At the same time, however, a conceptualisation of structure within the department needs to accommodate the emergent and realised patterns of interaction which enabled the department to function none-the-less. This apparently contradictory view is overcome by conceiving of structure as a complex medium of control which is continually produced and recreated in interaction and yet shapes that interaction. Thus as Benson (1977) continually stresses, structures are constituted and constitutive. The fragmentation which occurs within departments does not mean that the department ceases to function. The pattern of institutional behaviour, as it transpired at Massey, would support the previously used quotation from Ranson et al who note,

An organisation is thus better conceived as being composed of a number of groups divided by alternative conceptions, value preferences, and sectional interests. The analytical focus then becomes the relations of power which enable some organisational members to constitute and recreate organisational structures according to their provinces of meaning (Ranson et al 1980, 7).

This, in itself can be a highly contested process marked by a series of behaviours identified as; confrontational measures from some; leaving the department; 'sitting tight' and operating in your own area; or learning how to best manipulate the exigent conditions. The appointment of Flenley in 1989 signifies a still emerging pattern of departmental operation. A fair comment at this point, would be the frequently made observation that Flenley is seen more as a field practitioner and scholar than as an administrator who feels comfortable in the political arena of university administration.

WAIKATO



The nature of the geography department at Waikato has, to an extent, been determined by the structures of the university itself. Waikato university, from its

inception set out to be different; to offer something that no other university in New Zealand was offering.

Originally conceived as a branch of Auckland University, Waikato university was subject to the usual political contests that mark university establishment. Many are not important to this account. By 1962, a new university was about to be established. D R Llewellyn, the first Vice-Chancellor, notes,

Auckland didn't take very kindly to the branch college, and I don't think the branch college took very kindly to Auckland. In 1962 it was decided that the branch college would become fully autonomous (Llewellyn 1968, 18).

In the same year the University Grants Committee had set up an academic advisory committee, 'to confer and advise on the way the University of Waikato should be set up' (Day 1984, 38). This committee made a report to the UGC, prefacing the submission by asking,

What balance should be struck between general education and specialised study? And what should and can be done to make scientist and non-scientist alike more aware of the pervasive influence of science and technology on our modern way of life? (Waikato Academic Committee, 1963, 4).

The report then proceeded to outline the shortfalls of the prevailing 'unit system'.

The existing universities in New Zealand, which have emerged from the federal structure of the University of New Zealand, tend to follow a common pattern of administration, degree structure and teaching. Variations in this pattern are developing, but the essential features remain. Their academic work is controlled by faculties and departments, and degree courses based on the unit system are typical (Waikato Academic Committee, 1963, 4).

Critical of the specialising and inflexible nature of the unit system, the committee proposed a system of schools similar to that being developed in some of the overseas universities.

It believes that this system provides the flexibility necessary for the contextual approach to university which the Committee favours (Waikato Academic Committee, 1963, 6).

Loosely known as the Sussex plan, the system of Schools was to play a major part in the institutionalisation of geography at Waikato by splitting geography into what was to become two separate schools, Social Sciences and Earth Sciences (see fig 10.2 for an overview of geography subjects taught by Earth Sciences). During an era when other geography departments were seeking to be identified with the sciences, this was to have a far reaching effect on geography at Waikato.

Beginnings of Geography at Waikato.

The first appointments to teach geography at Waikato were Dr Evelyn Stokes who had just completed a PhD at Syracuse and Michael Selby with an MA from Oxford. Stokes and Selby were officially under the superintendence of Cumberland at Auckland. Stokes and Selby were to teach at Waikato several days a week and the rest at the Auckland department. Cumberland did not go out of his way to help the fledgling department.

Professor Cumberland, the Auckland head of department, unlike the other subject heads, did not believe that Waikato staff should reside in Hamilton, In fact, they were explicitly ordered by Cumberland to live in Auckland⁵⁶, and to spend two days per week in Hamilton, to carry out their Stage 1 teaching (Day 1983, 29).

Selby (1991, 2) notes that Cumberland only ever made one visit to the Waikato department, thus leaving them free to develop the prescriptions as they pleased. Stokes taught all the human geography and Selby the physical geography. For the first two years, 1964 and 1965, they taught the Auckland prescription and by 1966 the department was formally separated from Auckland. At the time of this separation both Stokes and Selby were given the choice staying with the Auckland department or linking full-time with Waikato. For differing reasons, they both opted for Waikato.

Professor Craig Duncan

In mid 1966 Professor Craig Duncan arrived from the University of Queensland to assume the Chair of Geography. His views on geography suggested that he was the right person to develop geography within the school of social sciences as set up by the university.

⁵⁶ Stokes refused to comply.

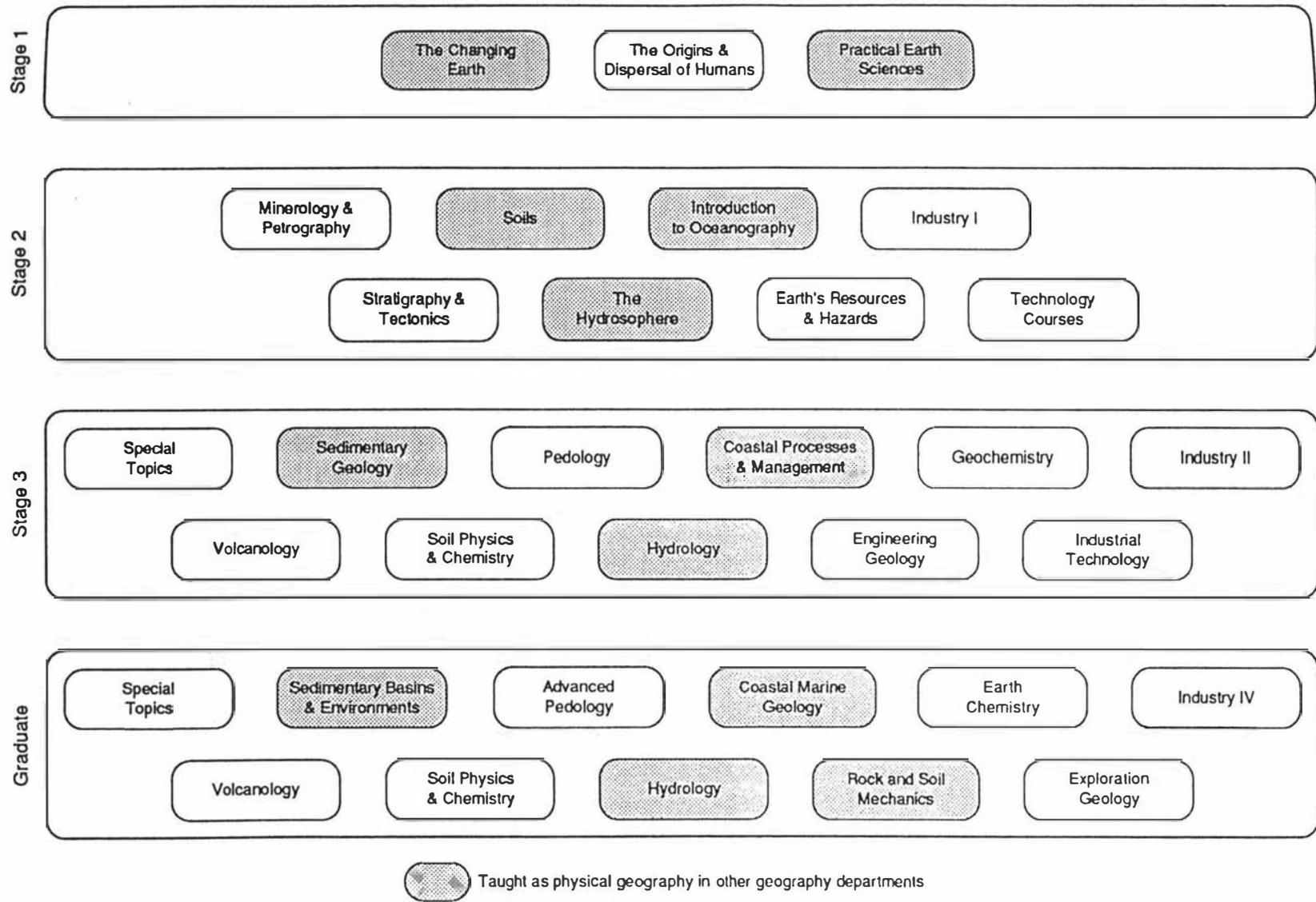


Figure 10.2 Physical Geography Subjects taught in the Department of Earth Sciences, Waikato University

My particular interest in geography - emphasis of its subject matter and in method of its study - would place it nicely within the broad field of the social sciences. It may best be studied within a context of subjects with which it has methodological and content frontiers. . . Perhaps geography is a social science exclusively, and finds its most meaningful bases for exploration within the field? (Duncan 1968, 5).

In the same issue of the Massey University *Compass*, Duncan reveals his stance on physical geography.

The writer at one stage in his career was misled into believing that he would be contributing more effectively to geographical explanation if he took an introductory course in physical meteorology. . . I should not have been side-tracked into this field (Duncan 1968, 2).

On the first day of work in his new department in mid 1966, Duncan met Selby, who recalls,

When Duncan arrived, we still had a responsibility to teach physical geography for Auckland. I think to his credit, even though it sounds a bit blunt, on the first day here, he and I were chatting and he said, 'You realise of course that you have no future here and you really ought to think about getting yourself an appointment in a more suitable department' (Selby 1991, 4).

Selby, who had just commenced working on a doctorate at Waikato realised that Duncan was intent on developing human geography by gradually eliminating physical geography from the programme. Selby became part of an advisory panel set up by the Vice-Chancellor with a view to setting up a Science School within the university. He was aware that the University Grants Committee had already informally indicated to Waikato that it would not support the foundation of a new Geology department (Selby 1991, 5). Selby was still completing his D Phil, with Duncan as his nominal supervisor. In reality, much of his research had involved assistance from physical scientists. One of these was the soil scientist, John McGraw, who was offered the founding chair of the School of Science at Waikato in 1969 (Waikato University 1987, i). He immediately brought Selby in as his first appointment.

Together he and Selby began the exhilarating task of planning and setting up a brand-new subject (Day 1984, 139).

Selby notes,

Because we were right at the beginning of founding a school of science, we were able to make a case for founding a Department of Earth Science at Waikato (Selby 1991, 5).

Selby is at pains to point out that the split with geography was without rancour and that his personal relationship with Duncan remained good.

In one way it actually suited the geography department well because it meant that the geography department could put all its resources into the social geography and right from the beginning of earth sciences, we undertook to provide first year courses that would provide a background in physical geography for geographers and to put on a minimum of two or three courses at higher level so that geographers with a particular need at higher levels to study, say climate, could go to part 2 level without specialising in physical geography or earth sciences (Selby 1991, 4).

Thus geography became institutionalised at Waikato with a distinct split between human and physical. The earth science department is viewed by many as privileged when it comes to funding (Bedford 1991, 6) but the strength of its programme is undeniable.

The 'Palace Revolution'

Each geography department in New Zealand represents a different story of contested growth. Although Waikato is the youngest department, it has been subjected to much tension, cumulating in what is now remembered as the 'Palace Revolution'. This is another part of the institutionalisation of geography which is difficult to relate in that its recency closely involves Professor Craig Duncan. Some who worked in the department during those years have difficulty in distinguishing between Duncan's personality and administrative style. Others found Duncan to be a warm and encouraging person, away from the department, but whose administration of the department was both divisive and maladroit. Suffice to say that by 1976, the academic staff of the department went to the Vice-Chancellor, as a body, to express more than concern.

... so we all went to the VC, and it is really quite serious when the whole staff go to the VC and say that we have no confidence in our head (Farmer 1991, 2).

It was not something that enhanced geography.

The whole episode did Geography discredit in the way that the department was perceived by many senior people in the university . . (Dixon 1991, 3).

Duncan took the opportunity of special leave, in the mid 1970s to go to the geography department at Macau where he remained for several years. Chalmers notes that this was not necessarily a forced move.

I don't think it was a bolt-hole decision. I think it was an opportunity he saw for himself to do something interesting (Chalmers 1991, 4).

In the meantime Roger Frazer took over as interim administrator. It was to be a university prototype for the system of rotating headship that the Council was to make part of the permanent structure within the university by 1986 (Selby 1991, 4). In 1976 however, it was the way around a distinct problem within the geography department.

Upon returning from Macau, the second time, Duncan found himself increasingly isolated within his department. To a certain extent he may have been a prisoner in his own castle. Referring to problems in the department Duncan notes,

No one at any stage has ever asked me to comment on it all. Perhaps it may be because I wasn't much in contact with other HOD's, but no one at the time ever asked me for any arguments from my point of view at all (Duncan 1991, 4).

In his absence, the departmental administration had moved distinctly towards a committee system. To be fair to Duncan, it appears that the opposition to him, once established, was carefully orchestrated. Duncan is well enough aware that being overseas made him especially assailable.

I come with hindsight perhaps to see me leaving myself very vulnerable when I thought I had considerable justification for some of the actions that I took. If you step outside you leave people to move around in their political circles to generate comment and so on (Duncan 1991, 4).

He also felt that geography in the department had moved in a direction which troubled him. Feminist geography had made an entry and he felt uneasy.

I was concerned to see the feminist movement going. It was anecdotal in nature rather than academic. I saw it as hardly worthy of university study. These questions were not asked by geographers while I was away (Duncan 1991, 4).

Duncan took the opportunity to retire in 1987, having been professor for 21 years. It is important to note his contribution to the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. His was the undoubtedly difficult responsibility of introducing a new form of university geography, which, in so many ways, cut across the accepted mainstream practice of the other departments. This, in itself, would have caused tension within the department. His practice of having staff teach different courses, on a rotating basis, although it was not well accepted by staff, was in keeping with the multi-disciplinary function expected of the department. His limited publishing record reveals a skillful ability to express difficult ideas in writing, as well as a sharper comprehension of developments in geographical thought than was generally being published in New Zealand at the time⁵⁷.

Feminist Geography

The Waikato department is perhaps better known as the driving force behind feminist geography in New Zealand, than for any other reason. Once again, the enabling platform has its roots in the structure provided by the university. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of Waikato university, it was easy to become involved with kindred issues in other departments. Women's studies in Sociology had become established by the late 1970s. At this point we note the impact of Ann Magee, who proved pivotal to the cause.

Ann Magee

Magee had come to the department of geography at Waikato in 1978, having taught in the Victoria department from 1969 to 1975. Her entry was no accident to a department which already had a higher percentage of women lecturers than other geography departments. In this respect, the role of Evelyn Stokes in the institutionalisation of the Waikato department cannot be understated. 'Ann's coming was partly sponsored by Stokes' (Chalmers 1991, 4). An outstanding teacher and personality, Magee's style attracted students to her.

⁵⁷ For example, see Duncan (1967) *Geography in a Schools of Study Programme, New Zealand Geographer*, Vol 23, No 1.

Everybody seemed to hold Ann Magee in total reverence. The movement would not have started without her. She is quite an idiosyncratic person. The sheer force of her personality and the respect that she had built up (Johnson 1991, 2).

Magee came to Waikato with an existing interest in feminist studies. The transition to incorporate feminist study into geography was natural for her.

There was no literature on feminism around at the time; but it was no real problem because of the whole Victoria background. We did not read of geography but of the subject, whatever the source might be. In other words, we were not confined to geography text books. It was an attitudinal thing so feminism was not difficult to apply (Magee 1992, 7).

Magee began teaching feminist geography within the context of existing courses, and taught a course called Radical Urban Geography. By the early 1980s she had developed a course called *Women in Australasia*. This could be considered the first stage of four, in the institutionalisation of feminist geography in New Zealand. The next stage concerns the influence Magee had on her students. Lex Chalmers recalls her as the groundbreaker ahead of feminist geography in New Zealand

She was the leading intellect in the department in her early time here in that she had a breadth of view and would be quite happy to accommodate a variety of perspectives. . . Her ability to talk to people and get them to compromise and work round something. She was more than just a teacher (Chalmers 1991, 4)

Feminist Geography Comes of Age

From these first generational courses in feminist geography, came a group of post-graduate students who produced a plethora of publications in the form of theses, monographs and conference presentations. This was the second stage.

Very good students came through, in the late 70s and early 80s, who were heavily influenced by Magee and then went on to do graduate degrees; Louise Dooley, Josephine Kelly and others who wrote novel Masters theses and some of these were published as monographs⁵⁸. Ann was very much involved with that (Bedford 1991, 10).

58 Published as Occasional Papers in Human Geography, University of Waikato 1985. Dooley, L. (1985) A Study of the Bedroom as an Area of Personal Space; Kelly, J. (1985) Gertrude Stein's Sense of Place; Longhurst, R. (1985) Sexual Violence: One of the Reasons Why Space, Both Public and Private, Belongs to Men; Robertson, P. (1985) The Noxiousity of Conventional Wisdom: Whose Rational(e) Is Rational (e).

Wendy Larner who had been a student at Waikato and later at Canterbury, caught the enthusiasm that was being generated.

As a student in a lower year, we were always 'blown away' by the actions of this group. They were a committed and very enthusiastic group of students - but it works both ways. It is not just about mentors, but about the support that the mentors get, and the enthusiasm of the students, and who is coming through, and what is their interest and expertise (Larner 1991, 1).

The third stage in the institutionalisation of feminist geography came as the group began to publish. At the forefront was Louise Johnson, recruited from Deakin University (Victoria) as a lecturer⁵⁹ to the department by Magee, to be her replacement. Johnson has proved to be the most effective publicist for feminist geography. Bedford observes, 'If there is any individual who has put the department on the map by publishing, it is her' (Bedford 1991, 12). Johnston's current position at Deakin University in Victoria has enabled close links between feminist geography in Australia and New Zealand.

The fourth stage in the institutionalisation of feminist approaches was achieved at the 13th New Zealand Geography Conference held in Hamilton in 1985. The conference was hosted by the Waikato department. In a wide ranging Presidential address at the commencement of the conference, Stokes provided an elegantly worded rationale for the inclusion of alternative approaches to studying geography.

I would add that the attitudes and values of the teacher are significant, that the personal experience of the teacher colours the way he or she views the world. It is also significant that, despite our protestations of objectivity and 'value free' teaching and research, we are products of our social and cultural environment and we are agents in passing on the values we espouse, consciously or unconsciously (Stokes 1985, 1).

The first four articles in the Proceedings focused on geography and gender. The plenary session will be long remembered as the watershed at which feminist geography, if not accepted, at least had to be recognised by the other geography departments. It had been decreed that the women would be given the first opportunity to make uninterrupted comments. It did not go over well with some and feelings ran high.

⁵⁹ Johnson was on a three year contract.

It was quite something. The first time that Barry Johnston had been told to shut up and sit down, *ever* (Farmer 1991, 7).

The distinct message was that gender geography had arrived and was not to be pushed aside.

Present Status

It is not the expressed purpose of this thesis to debate the relative merits of the gender in geography debate. It is important to note, however, that the thrust is still largely coming from the Waikato department. Johnson has returned to Australia and Wendy Larner has left to pursue further study overseas⁶⁰. The impact on New Zealand geography is extremely significant, but still tenuous. To the observer, the impact of gender geography is still predicated, to an extent, by the personal relationships of those involved. With the passage of time, gender approaches are becoming more sophisticated and harder to gainsay as being irrelevant and affronting. Johnson (1991) has clearly distinguished between possible, likely and desirable trajectories in future feminist geography. Of one thing there is general agreement - it has been a highly contested process and not insignificant to the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand.

Professor R D Bedford

The appointment of Dick Bedford, in 1988 to a department known to have a complex and troubled history, has been pivotal. Within his department, he has been acknowledged as having the right combination of academic and administrative skills (Paterson 1991, 4) which will enable the department to compete within the system.

Professors coming in often have a big benefit in getting research facilities and extra money for extra purposes. Dick Bedford is an example. It sometimes depends on the particular personality. . . You need to be primed and wide awake these days (Neville 1991, 5).

The department is not as marginalised within mainstream geography as was originally the case at Waikato. Bedford is anxious to have a much closer working relationship with earth sciences (Selby 1991, 5). Neil Ericksen has worked hard with CEARS (Centre of Environmental and Resource Studies) which has become a sub-department of geography. The emphasis within the departmental is still distinctively

⁶⁰Larner has been replaced by Dr Mark Cleary.

human geography (see Fig 10.3), but draws on the strengths of the interdisciplinary character of the university.

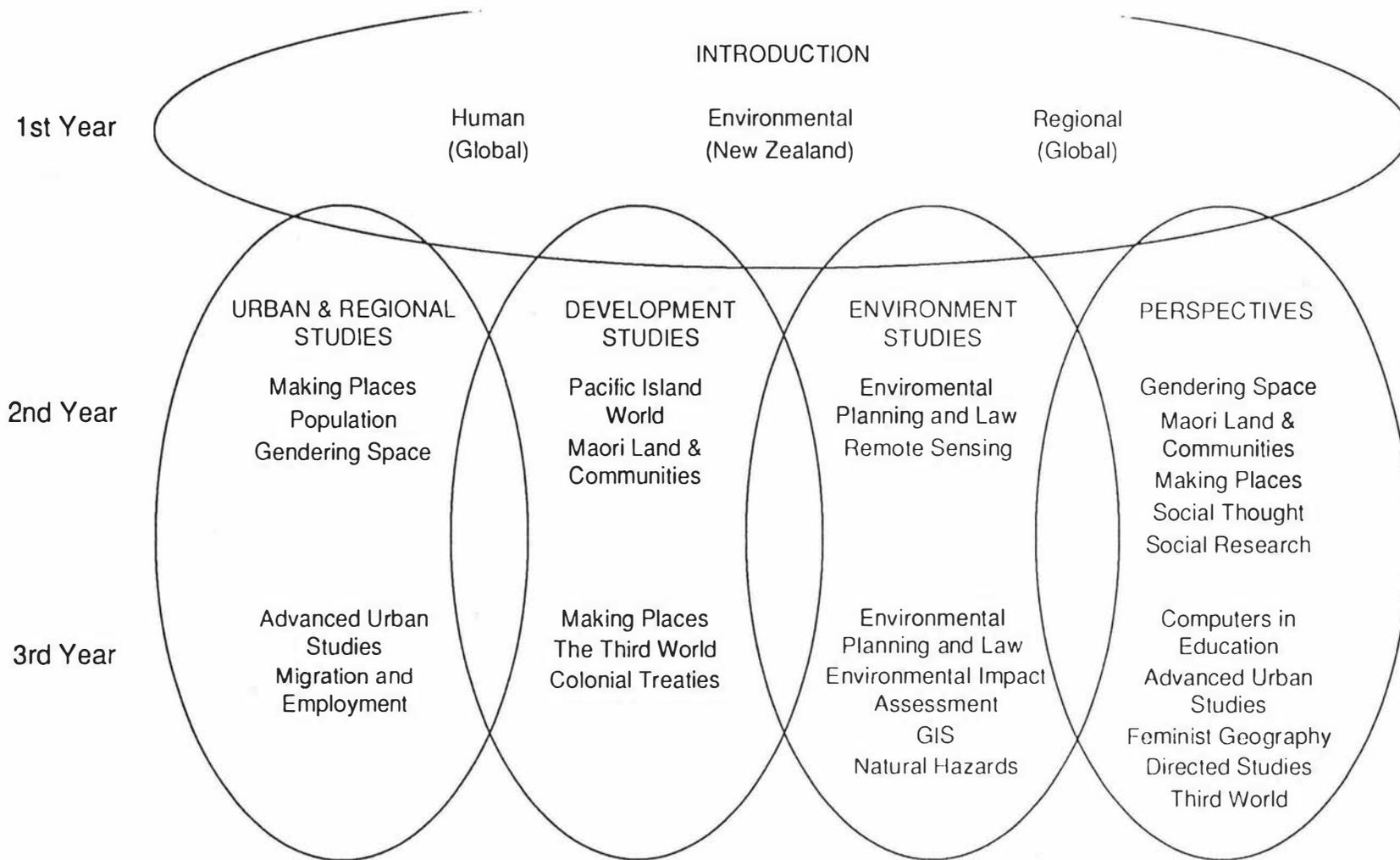
Concluslon/ Discussion.

Organisational contradiction has been a distinguishing feature of the early part of the Waikato department's life. Much of the contradiction was generated from within by a largely isolationist administrative style which did not allow individual staff to feel as though their personal contribution was essential to the operation of the department. The lack of a departmental *esprit de corp* left a vacuum which generated opposing models or images of organisational morphology.

Beyond this, the subgroups created by sectoral divisions, levels and the like may be sufficiently autonomous to implement their opposing models to some degree. . . This should not be seen as a mysterious occurrence, but as a result of the rooting of present arrangements in a concrete structure of advantages, interests, commitments, and the like (Benson 1977, 14).

In the case of the 'Palace Revolution', the organisational contradictions produced a series of crises which increasingly suggested possibilities for reconstruction. To a degree, it represents a form of organisational praxis in which the staff became familiar with the contradictions (i.e. ruptures, breaks, inconsistencies and incompatibilities) and thus arrived at the position where they devised a way to reconstruct the existing order with a view to overcoming its limitations.

The establishment of feminist geography, from the viewpoint of institutional analysis, is an example of the freeing of the process of social construction from blockages occasioned by dominance. In so doing, they are up against the powerful forces which tend to enforce the reproduction of the existing social structure. In this case, the structure is more than an ideologic battleground. The feminist geographers have had the task of unmasking an incredibly deep seated, to the point of being barely articulated, male centred and dominated world view. They have to do what other geographers have not had to countenance, by being concerned with more than geographic matters. This thesis is inadequate to express more than a hint of the complexity of the processes involved in the gender debate other than to suggest that any ground gained by the feminist geographers has been hard won. As Lachman (1989, 233) suggests, the power position of a subunit at any particular point in this process may be a direct extension of its previous power position.



*Note: Courses fall loosely within four overlapping fields of interest.
Course Pre-requisites are given in the Calendar.*

FIGURE 10.3 Waikato University Geography Subjects

Bedford's arrival in the department has signaled a new era at Waikato. His preparedness to accommodate divergent views demonstrates, at least intrinsically, an awareness of institutional reality.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

This chapter has covered a lot of ground, but even so, has barely outlined the major institutionalising factors of the individual geography departments. In a few lines, it is now important to underscore that the six department represent six strands of a rope that is continually being woven. By unraveling the strands it is possible to understand that each department is separate, but still an essential part of the whole.

Structures and Agents

The structures and agencies that have operated to produce six departments are of extreme complexity and serve to ensure the distinctiveness of the departments. The relative isolation of New Zealand has meant that no department has grown in seclusion. As Marcus (1987, 19) rightly observes,

One must suffer the frustrations and insensitivity of large institutions and massive bureaucracies to appreciate the usefulness of networks that cut across the fabric of society. . . New Zealand is still small enough for these networks to flourish, but few such places remain in the northern hemisphere.

The institutionalisation of the geography departments in New Zealand has strong vertical and horizontal linkages. Vertical in the sense that the school system and universities have a commonality based on a single educational system which theoretically enables school leavers at any place in the country to have access to any of the universities. Horizontal in the sense that the departments maintain strong official and unofficial links with each other. These may take the varied forms of seminars, visitors, co-supervision, co-publishing to say nothing of the personal *camaraderie* hoped for within the discipline. Tempering all of this is the realisation that departmental life still represents the contested process that this chapter suggests. The overt contests, some of which have been covered in this chapter are easy to identify. More subtle is the contest of credentialling which has taken place.

Institutional Credentialling

Within the contested process which characterises institutional existence at a department level, is the constant credentialling need which has a governing effect on departmental operation. The web of events portrayed in this chapter are constantly, albeit sometimes unconsciously, involved with this. Once a department, by virtue of a University Council edict, assumes the credentialled right to 'practice' geography, it then has to concern itself with the contest to maintain those credentials. Even within a stable university environment, it is not unknown for a geography department to be disestablished⁶¹. The ebb and flow of a department's fortunes have produced situations, even in New Zealand, where the operation of a department can be impaired. The split between physical and human geography at Waikato is evidence of that.

Credentialling takes place at several levels. At an individual level, an applicant for an academic position has to compete to achieve credentials, which may be by training or reputation (or both), to gain a position. At a higher level, the department has a need to maintain an image within the university that ensures a positive reputation and will thus attract students and high profile applicants for staff positions. As such it is important to be clear about the way the departments are subject to institutional credentialling as being linked to larger credentialling systems. Once again it is convenient to suggest horizontal and vertical linkages or networks. In this sense it may be horizontal in the way that a single geography department can influence the practice of the other departments. As an example, mention has been made of the number of Canterbury graduates who hold positions in the other departments. A credentialling function is taking place here by which the hard to define 'style' of one department is able to influence the practice of another. The dominance of the Auckland department in exercising editorial control over the *New Zealand Geographer*⁶² from 1945 until 1960, is another example. Vertical credentialling is important when one considers the need of a department to be perceived in the right way by the university administration if one is to be granted funding or provided with extra space and equipment.

The credentialling function serves to ensure that the different departments continue to teach a geography which is generally common to the university system in New

61 For example the Harvard Geography Department in 1948. See Smith, N (1987) 'Academic War over the Field of Geography': The Elimination of Geography at Harvard, 1947 - 1951, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77.

62 See Chapter 11.

Zealand. Even the Victoria department, which fostered a different emphasis within geography, was bound by the credentialling function that is basic to education within a capitalist society. Insofar as a prerequisite for institutional credential is conformity to some set of standards that is assumed by those who make the initial appointments, and insofar as those standards bear on the composition and disposition of the internal division of labour and management of those who practice geography, it follows that those who practice the dissemination of geography are presumed to be authoritative custodians of the knowledge and skill claimed by the profession in constituting their credentials. It does not end there. Those who graduate from geography departments are expected to absorb the knowledge and skills of their profession and then go out and practice them.

If anything, this chapter demonstrates the complexity of the institutionalising process. Selecting key points at which institutional change took place only just begins to establish a cogent view of the process which has seen six geography departments established and operating over nearly six decades.

CHAPTER 11

CONTESTS IN CONTEXT

*Great contest follows, and much
learned dust
Involves the combatants.*

William Cowper

The Timepiece, l. 161

INTRODUCTION

The last chapter demonstrated the way in which geography has become institutionalised in the different departments. To a degree, it has portrayed each department in isolation. Some issues, however, have a commonality and it is the purpose of this chapter to examine three of these. The longstanding human/physical geography debate and the placement of feminist geography, are issues faced by most contemporary geographers anywhere in the world. This does not make them commonplace, but in many respects represent the continuing debates within contemporary geography. The final section of the chapter considers the relationship between geography and the New Zealand Maori. The broad lines of discussion would almost certainly have relevant parallels in other countries with recent colonial intrusion.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUMAN AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Human and Physical geography have not always been easy bedmates in New Zealand geography departments. This discussion is not so much concerned with intellectual dimensions, but with the way human and physical geography and geographers, have related to each other. It also draws heavily on the views of those involved. These views, if not tending towards chauvinism, are generally clearly stated. The relationship between human and physical geography is complex and one cannot readily use the same criteria to consider the views of both sides. For example, human geographers, particularly since the 1970s, have largely tended to a stronger philosophical underpinning for their views. Most physical geographers are not as

particularly concerned with a philosophical explanation for their position, preferring instead to express their views from a more pragmatic position. The comments received are often contradictory and unrepresentative of an overall viewpoint, if one does exist. For this reason, the following discussion tends towards a department by department view in the quest for a common statement. Cochrane (1991, 3) probably makes as representative a comment as any, when he states that relations between human and physical geographers in New Zealand are generally in the form of an amiable animosity. This animosity is derived from several sources.

Personality

Many of those interviewed, when asked to comment on affiliations between human and physical geography, relate the issue to particular personalities. These have generally been the Professor who is/was seen to favour either human or physical geography with emphasis on human or physical geography being largely determined at that level. Blong (1991, 2) speaking for the Auckland department in the 60s and 70s, indicates this as being a source of tensions between the two sides. Hesp (1991, 1) suggests that at Massey, the inequity expressed was driven more by personality conflict between two individuals. Certainly during the period of Buchanan's professorship at Victoria, there was much more emphasis on human than physical geography. This contrasts greatly with the emphasis on Victoria geography before Buchanan, when the department was part of Geology. Several things need to be mentioned here. McKenzie, as the original geography appointee to Victoria, was an enthusiastic and inspiring physical geography teacher. The second, and related, issue is that there is nothing to suggest that Buchanan set out to inhibit physical geography. He was more interested in human geography, and it was in that direction that the department tended to gravitate. In New Zealand, 'preferential treatment' to either human or physical geography, does not necessarily imply a covert subjugation of the other. Lister, Buchanan, Thomson and Cumberland, as human geographers, would possibly fit in this category. Duncan was in a different category in which he was willing to use the decreed university structure to underscore his preference for human geography. At least there was nothing covert about his intentions. Barry Johnston, at Canterbury, was recognised as a human geographer who was even handed in the soliciting of resources for both human and physical geography. Soons is credited with having a similar approach. At Massey, Flenley has predictably made a considerable investment in equipment and space to facilitate palynology.

Funding

Physical geography has always been visibly more expensive than human geography. The purchase of equipment and the facilities to store and operate it, generally make physical geography the more obvious part of a geography department. It is towards the 'inequity' of budgetary allocation that some negative comments are directed. Soons, in commenting about relationships between human and physical geographers at Canterbury, observes that 'Tensions are more likely to be centred around funding differences' (Soons 1991, 2).

On occasion, the funding differences have little to do with arbitrary decision making at departmental level. McConchie notes that at Victoria, funding for physical geography is independent of human geography, due to physical geography being affiliated with the School of Earth Sciences since 1980. At Massey and Otago, physical geography has always had a different funding mechanism to that of human geography.

Human geographers sometimes lament that they are unable to attract the same level of funding as their physical geographer counterparts. This is difficult to verify because of an understandable coyness in revealing the extent of work contracted outside the department. Certainly the results of consultancy work done by physical geographers is likely to be more visible. It does not present a convincing case, however for physical geography as being more marketable, in a commercial sense, than human geography.

Is Geography an Art or Science

Geographers view themselves in diverse ways. This is not unexpected when one considers the diverse nature of contemporary academic geography. A recurring question concerns the definition of geography as an Art or a Science. This short section does not assume to cover the comprehensive writings that have tackled this issue (for examples see Gould and Olsson 1982, Haggett 1990, Johnston 1985, Stoddart 1986). Within the New Zealand setting, however, it might be claimed that the extent of the penetration of Richard Hartshorne's definition of geography as an accurate, orderly and rational description and interpretation of the variable characters of the Earth's surface (Hartshorne 1959, 21) has left a legacy which still manifests itself in the way in which New Zealand geographers tend to view their discipline.

Haggett (1990, 9) elucidates on the problems of a Hartshornian definition by suggesting that, as defined above,

. . . geography occupies a very puzzling position within the traditional organisation of knowledge . . . It is neither a purely natural science nor a purely social science. Its intellectual origins as a distinctive field of study predate such a separation, going back to ancient Greece, when man was viewed as an integral part of nature (Haggett 1990, 9).

In the New Zealand experience, polarised views of geography have, on occasions, been taken out of the hands of geographers by university administrators who have determined whether geography should be considered within Arts or Science (as faculties rather than purely intellectual categories) or whether physical geography is a hard or soft science. These decisions, decided in terms of practice, by having geography departments either funded by or affiliated with Science faculties can cause strain within a department which is forced to comply with course requirements and methodology commensurate with several different faculties. Heenan notes of the Otago experience.

The department was not driven by what the Geography department wanted, but what the science faculty required, if it was to remain within the science faculty. We were only an odd subject within a faculty guided by a very deep conservatism . . . geography had to tow the line and has been doing so ever since . . . the geographers on the science side have to meet the criteria, the rules and regulations governing degrees, set by the science faculty (Heenan 1991, 3).

Britton (1991, 4) observed that the differences within departments were often not intellectually based or even over funding issues, preferring instead to view it in terms of scientific methodology and scholarship, again often externally imposed.

At Victoria, the physical and human geographers were separated by accommodation requirements.

They (the physical geographers) were over here and we were over in Easterfield. We were split for a long time. . . There was never enough office accommodation over in Easterfield. We used to have office accommodation in one of these houses. We have always been a physically split department (Franklin 1991, 8).

As a footnote to the discussion, there is also the need to be aware of differences within human geography, again as a possible legacy to the way in which geography

was defined in New Zealand. Divisions between the way the 'Hartshorne' school taught human geography from a regional base and the 'development' view favoured by the Victoria department, have received ample coverage. At the same time, university geography was perceived as primarily preparing geography teachers for the schools. Once in the schools, geography teachers were having to teach Social Studies which was derived from a different philosophical base¹. This was more of a problem to social studies than to geographers, as geography teachers generally tended to teach social studies from a geography perspective.

Work Loads and Promotion

A final commonly cited divisive factor between the two types of geography comes at the level of work loading and promotional opportunity. It becomes a largely academic question to ascertain who works the hardest in a particular department. Some physical geographers claim to have the added task of being responsible for preparing and maintaining equipment for fieldtrips and practicals. This function however, is generally performed by technical staff. The actual teaching load would be more of a function of the staffing ratios within individual departments. Less easy to measure would be the perceived differences in research and publishing. It is claimed that human geographers are more likely to be able to conduct their research from their desks whilst physical geographers have the added time and expense of field oriented research. Such a generalised statement may also be countered by the equally generalised suggestion that the physical geographer, once field data is collected, have an easier access to publication due to a certain 'sanctity' of data. Human geographers, on the other hand are more liable to confront abstract theoretical considerations in getting publications through referees. Both suggestions of course, are generalisations which would be difficult to substantiate. Much research in both physical and human geography requires considerable 'away from base' collection of material. An analysis is outside the scope of this thesis. As a general observation, the writer, after spending much time in all the New Zealand departments comes away convinced that within individual departments, the geographers, both the physical and human, who are respected by their students and peers, seem to work very hard at their craft.

There is the suggestion that promotion and appointments within departments can be influenced by the existing balance between human and physical geographers. Cant notes a recent Canterbury episode.

¹See Chapter 7.

We went into the situation where Peter Holland had gone and Dick Bedford went to Waikato. Even before we made that appointment, the numbers of human geographers were greater than the numbers of physical geographers and the luck of the draw was that the outstanding candidate in the draw was John Overton, who is a human geographer. We cycled and cycled for a long time and took a lot of votes. The physical (geographers) were basically looking at the physical geography applicants and the human geographers at human applicants. Barry (Johnston) finally exercised a casting vote but I don't think that it has meant any long term hurt (Cant 1991b, 5).

Paul Williams concedes that differences in promotion levels, because of divisions between human and physical geography, do tend to generate tensions in the Auckland department.

School Geography

There has been a long held view that school geography is biased towards human geography. The source for this claim is generally based on school geography's antecedent relationship with Social Studies and the number of geography departments which had predominantly human geographer representatives on high school curriculum panels. This problem is discussed in the contextual setting of Chapter 7 and is only mentioned at this point in order to list it as a cited reason for differences between human and physical geography. The work achieved by the NGCC addressed the problem to a significant degree.

Conclusion

To conclude with a statement representing a commonality is difficult. There is no denying that tensions have, and continue to, exist. On occasions, it effects a whole department. At other times, it can be localised to an individual. To some, it is a major cause of concern; yet to others it scarcely rates a mention. There is some collaborative work between human and physical geographers, individually and at departmental level, but not much. R J Johnston (1983, 131) suggests an integrative framework for human and physical geographers based around resource management and designed to bring together the 'process studies' component of each side. He rounds off his article on the integration of physical and human geography by posing a number of questions.

. . . why is it that there is a continual search for a way to counter the split between physical and human geography, to promote unity rather than the fission that is

clearly preferred by a large number of geographers? Is it because of some kind of neurosis - among physical geographers especially, who seem to need to be needed Is it a need to define academic territory, to try and establish some kind of overlordship with respect to other disciplines? Is it because place is central to the study of so much of both physical and human geography that there is a feeling that they must be integrated? (Johnston 1983, 143).

Perhaps there is an even more basic explanation that is tied to the basic nature of humankind, in that wherever groups of people work in proximity, there is a natural tendency to 'protect your patch' by making comparisons which are generous to your own needs and critical of others which may be seen as competition. Even so, Johnston employs a geographically analogous conclusion by viewing geographers as sitting in an archipelago with bridges linking them - some more firmly than others - to other disciplines.

But to emphasise certain bridges at the expense of others, particularly if this is done because of disciplinary paranoia rather than to advance scientific understanding is potentially dangerous (Johnston 1983, 143).

GENDER GEOGRAPHY

Gender geography is an equivocating expression that, in the New Zealand setting at least, has come to be associated with a feminist perspective. Feminist geography has been addressed twice thus far; once from a theoretical perspective in Chapter 2; and secondly from an institutionalising perspective in Chapter 10. This discussion takes a more general look at gender in geography within the New Zealand setting.

The mention of Feminist approaches to geographers, is capable of evoking a variety of responses ranging from accommodation to hostility and defensiveness. Waikato is the only department, at time of writing, with courses specifically designed to cater for feminist studies. To an extent, this must be attributed to the interdisciplinary nature of Waikato University itself as much as to the people within the department. There is a palpable difference between what the feminist geographers perceive to be a supportive attitude from the other geography departments and what those departments (or individuals within the department) consider as being supportive. The writer admits to the problematic situation of writing, as a male, about attitudes to women in relation to gender problems in geography. No observer/participant, of course, is neutral about anything. It takes a special effort, in this case, to present the point of view for the aggrieved. In order to demonstrate changes, this section treats

the topic under two main headings. The first outlines the lack of gender sensitivity that characterised the earlier days of New Zealand geography.

GEOGRAPHY AND WOMEN

It is necessary to note that attitudes to women in higher education from the 1930s were merely reflected in the geography departments. This does not offer an excuse but neither should the system be judged and found guilty outside of a context in which educated women were regarded with some suspicion.

New Zealand geography departments were geared to teach men and to be taught by men. Jobberns, when looking for his further staff in 1937, was to write to the Registrar of Canterbury University College,

I do not want the appointee to be a woman if this can possibly be helped
(Macaulay 1987, 23).

The significant number of women who trained at Canterbury in its first nine years was a reflection of the wartime drain on male students who were eligible for military service. Of the seventeen theses presented through the Canterbury department from 1941 to 1945, nine were written by women (University of Canterbury, Department of Geography Historical Collection, 1990). Despite this, and in an effort to illustrate the extent to which geographical practice was male centred, this account focuses on the problem area of field trips.

Geography as a Field Science - and Women.

Field trips have always had a central place in New Zealand university geography. Even in 1985, a representative statement of all the geography departments was submitted to the Vice-Chancellors' Committee,

Geography is a field subject and the Conference reaffirms that fieldwork is an essential component of undergraduate and graduate teaching (Johnston 1985, 2)

That geography was regarded as a male domain was nowhere more clearly demonstrated than when it came to field trips, a perception which still clings after 50 years. Norman Whatman recalls the very first field trip.

In May of that year, we went of a field trip with Jobby. The amazing thing is, there were two women in the group. . . this was in *Canterbury* (Whatman 1991, 3).

It would appear that the field trips, physical and human, with their attendant *camaraderie* was regarded as a male phenomenon. Jobberns was not all that keen on having women along.

It was during the Stage III year in 1939 that we were taken by George Jobberns on a five-day field trip which was one of the original ventures of its kind and which I am convinced remains quite unique. Firstly it was organised and conducted as a male exercise in spite of the presence of at least three women in the class. Jobby's explanation, which would now send major shock waves through the whole country was: 'They would only be a bloody nuisance!' (Whatman 1987 21).

Ronald Hill recalls a field trip when the class stayed at Linton Army Base. The base was not set up to accommodate the women who had to use the men's amenities. 'They were shocked by the graffiti they found' (Hill 1991, 2). To be fair, Mrs Geraldine Packard (nee Ulrich) (1991, 4) feels that the system, within a few years, became much more accommodating to women who became a regular part of the field trips. This however, serves to disguise the claim that field trips, were, and still are, a male oriented preserve. The very elements that have served to appeal to so many career geographers, were also alienating to many women. That there was a macho, drinking, fellowshipping, image which strengthened teacher/student relationships, there is no doubt. Macaulay's (1987) Jubilee compilation of memorable moments in the Canterbury department over 50 years makes that very clear. At the same time, some women found it difficult. Jenny Dixon recalls that by the end of third year, she was finding it difficult to find the motivation to keep doing geography.

It was particularly related to behaviour on field trips, drinking and also the denigration of women staff (Dixon 1991, 1)

Dixon feels that it was part of the subculture common to male students and some of the staff. Wendy Lamer saw it as an often alienating experience.

I am not suggesting that it is somehow a conspiracy to keep women out, but I am saying that the culture is alienating for women and I know that was very much my experience and I know that there were a whole heap of women in that department who were having that same experience (Lamer 1991, 2).

It is hard for men to visualise a sense of vulnerability that female students might experience when removed from the more closely structured environs of the geography lecture rooms and lab blocks.

The lines of 'acceptable' behaviour seem to be blurred when you are not only learning from, but socialising with, staff members (Bowler 1991, pers com).

At the risk of overdoing a well worn cliché, many women could thus see themselves as having come through geography *despite* the system rather than *because* of it. The feminist literature offers powerful arguments which suggest that the university system privileges the position of men by having a greater percentage of male teachers who teach from the male perspective (for examples see Haack, 1991; Harding, 1986; Fox Keller, 1985; Snow, 1991). Using a concept explicated by Haack (1991, 11) this, in itself masks the even further ingrained convention that geography is *privileged* epistemically rather than only being *distinguished* from an epistemic point of view (Haack, 1991, 11). Susan Bowler goes part way to explaining this phenomenon.

A lot of what we are taught and what we read, refers to geographers as men. While some say this is not important, it does have a subconscious impact (Bowler, 1991 pers com).

Even deeper than this suggestion that men are perhaps more suited to geography than women, is the unarticulated view that the 'applied' concept associated with geography is part of a male domain. The fact that New Zealand geography is seen as a 'field' science, intrinsically associates it with a 'masculine' image. It is suggested that this male intellection is so pervasive within geography, that many male geographers, when challenged by it, are simply affronted.

Those women who have 'done well'² have probably been those who have been as good as, if not better than, their male colleagues. It is not necessarily a case of the system accommodating women. It is a case of exceptional women accommodating a male oriented system. It says little for the discipline that, in the eyes of some males, female geographers had to be accepted as 'honorary males' (Badcock 1991, 1). When Jane Soons was appointed to the second chair in the department at Canterbury in 1970, she created history as the first woman to occupy a chair at the university. The press of the day was quick to headline the novelty of a woman geography professor (Christchurch Press, 10/10/1970). Evelyn Stokes, in the early 1960s became aware that geography was largely a male dominated and oriented affair. She recalls the disappointment of being passed over for a position in the Auckland department. With previous teaching experience, and a newly acquired PhD from Syracuse, Stokes had good reason to consider herself as the likely appointee. The successful applicant had an English BA (Hons) and no teaching experience, but

² This in itself, could be construed as a value laden expression.

		<i>Associate Professor</i>		<i>Lecturer</i>		<i>Lecturer</i>							
		<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Auckland	1984	2	-	4	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	14	-
	1989	2	-	4	-	6	-	3	-	-	-	15	-
	1992	2	-	2	-	4	-	5	1	-	-	13	1
Waikato	1984	1	-	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	2	4	5
	1989	1	-	2	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	5	4
	1992	1	-	1	1	-	2	1	1	-	-	3	4
Massey	1984	1	-	3	-	8	-	1	-	1	-	14	-
	1989	1	-	2	-	8	-	1	1	-	-	12	1
	1992	1	-	3	-	7	1	-	1	-	-	11	2
Victoria	1984	1	-	2	-	5	1	3	-	-	-	11	1
	1989	1	-	2	-	6	-	1	-	-	-	10	-
	1992	1	-	2	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	10	-
Canterbury	1984	1	1	2	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	13	1
	1989	-	1	2	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	12	1
	1992	1	1	3	-	8	-	1	-	-	-	13	1
Otago	1984	1	-	3	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	10	-
	1989	1	-	3	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	10	-
	1992	1	-	2	-	4	-	5	-	-	1	12	1
Total	1984	7	1	15	1	36	3	7	-	1	2		
	1989	7	1	15	1	35	1	7	3	-	-		
	1992	7	1	13	1	29	3	14	3	-	1		
Total	Males	1984	66	Females	1984	7	Total Staff	73					
		1989	64		1989	6		70					
		1992	63		1992	9		72					

Table 11.1 Balance of Female to Male Staffing in New Zealand Geography Departments- 1984,1989,1992.

Source: After Johnson, University Calendars.

was male. Some time later a member of the interviewing panel enlightened her as to what had happened.

The reason was . . . that Cumberland did not like female academics. That was par for the course in those days . . . When it was pointed out that I was better qualified, apparently his answer was that he considered that this other bloke was 'more suitable' - and that was it (Stokes 1991, 1).

HAS ANYTHING CHANGED?

The fact that Gender sensitivity and equal opportunity have become catchcries of the 1990s becomes problematic if one assumes that, by some tokenism, gender matters have become de-radicalised and able to be handled at a more superficial level. It is now possible to undertake distinct courses in feminist geography. The question remains as to how much enlightened attitude and practice has infused New Zealand geography. Table 11.1 indicates the balance of female to male staffing over the years. Aside from a statistical representation, there is a perceptual gulf between departments which claim to be non discriminatory and those that actually are perceived to be so. There is also a gulf between non discriminatory practice and actively promoting feminist approaches. Mention has already been made of the plenary session during the 1985 Conference at Hamilton. At that time, Professor Barry Johnston was able to officially report to the Vice-Chancellors' Committee, a heightened awareness on matters arising from the conference.

Our staff is overwhelmingly male yet half of our students are female. It is generally proving difficult to rectify this at a time of static staffing, thereby inhibiting our ability to address important intellectual and personal dimensions of geographic training (Johnston 1985, 4)

We now look at several further occasions in recent times, which indicate that New Zealand geography has yet to take up all the slack in coming to terms with feminist geography and feminist geographers.

The Inter-university Conference of Teachers of Geography, 1989

The 1989 Conference of Teachers of Geography brought gender awareness in geography to attention at a different level to that achieved at the 1985 Conference. The inter-university Conference was at the behest of the Vice-Chancellors' Committee which,

. . . would be particularly interested in any comments or advice the Conference has on, a) the scope for rationalisation within the subject . . . to ensure appropriate concentrations of academic strengths; b) ways in which collaboration and/or networking in the subject . . . could be developed (Vice-Chancellors' Committee Circular, 10 December 1987).

The memo was passed on to all geography HODs with a view to each department bringing its response to the Conference which was held in Dunedin under the Chairmanship of Professor Barry Johnston. The submission prepared by the Waikato department, represented by the newly appointed Professor Richard Bedford, Lex Chalmers and Louise Johnson, was clearly directed towards policy change in the matter of equity issues and got to the point in the opening paragraph.

A concern for equity is a concern for justice. In particular, the geographers at the University of Waikato feel that the dominance of male and Pakeha³ interests in the discipline is iniquitous and unjust and that positive steps should be taken to end this situation (University of Waikato, Department of Geography, 1989).

The agenda prepared from the combined departmental submissions catered for a discussion of equity issues. Louise Johnson saw it a meeting of the conservative and the progressive, representing a newer order.

. . . we eventually got this thing through - some sort of a statement that departments would monitor their gender matters (Johnson 1991, 4).

Johnson felt that Professor Barry Johnston was not happy about the matter.

His argument was that we cannot actually commit future HOD meetings to decisions that we make now. It was a procedural thing which was crap of course. It was really nice having the support but I think that they all kind of enjoyed it too. The older guard of geography meeting a new guard. It was all about power (Johnson 1991, 4).

The report sent by Johnston to the Secretary of the Vice-Chancellors' Committee, sheltered the response to 'equity' under the specifications dictated by the Government's charter requirements for PSET⁴ institutions in *Learning for Life Two*.

Conference made a commitment to achieving greater equity especially with reference to participation of women and Maori in the discipline: as students, teachers, and researchers. Future conferences are asked to review progress on the achievement of greater equity (W B Johnston 1989, 3).

³ Maori expression for Europeans.

⁴ Post Secondary Education Training

Waikato Vs The Rest?

The departure of Magee and Johnson from Waikato stood to put the programme in feminist geography at risk. This has not been the case. Wendy Larner took Johnson's place at Waikato in 1990 and continued to actively promoted feminist thought in geography⁵. She visited the Victoria department which turned out *en masse* to listen to her presentation on the place of feminist geography. The reactions, which remain anonymous, are revealing⁶.

In a sense she stuck her neck out and was fairly courageous in coming down here. . . Feminist geography is very much dogma driven and lacking in depth.

Another said,

Every member of the department went to hear Wendy Larner to see what it was all about. The general impression was that they were disappointed. She appeared to be trendy with not a hell of a lot of substance. Tended to lack a solid base.

And finally,

We would like to think that we teach geography and that our students can think for themselves and to give them the skills to do so and that our women interpret them from their perspective but that they interpret them from reality I guess.

Perhaps it is unfortunate that Victoria is being singled out for attention. Victoria's attitudes are not unique. There was a similar reaction when Magee and Johnson spoke to Planning students at Massey. Comments made by some male geographers in other departments range from passive acceptance,

Feminism, I don't actively promote or oppose. A couple of my students take a feminist perspective in a very moderate level. It is not something that I have had to actively include or exclude.

to outright hostility.

. . . as far as I am concerned, if that is what geographers want to do, and call Geography , then I am ashamed to be part of it.

Or even patronising,

⁵ Larner left the department at the end of 1991 to commence a PhD in the USA.

⁶ A draft of this chapter was read by several female geographers who raised a pertinent objection as to why some male geographers are privileged with anonymity whilst the female geographers quoted, are all carefully cited. Regretably, the male geographers concerned insisted on not being identified. It was however a mixture of physical and human geographers.

Not much of an issue here. We have an active group of feminists in the department but they have not been extreme in their views. . We are not all 'gung ho' for Maori issues and feminism.

What has been achieved?

Feminist geographers admit to facing a struggle in gaining male support for a serious recognition of their cause. A small number of male geographers are repeatedly mentioned as being open minded and supportive of the alternative views. Professor Richard Bedford's supportive role has boosted Waikato's efforts.

I opposed Dick Bedford when he applied for the chair. . . Dick and I had a showdown over that. I have a lot respect for him now (Johnson 1991, 5).

The support of Lex Chalmers is also noted. The sprinkling of names cited from several other departments include; from Massey, Richard Le Heron and Michael Roche; the late Steve Britton from Auckland; Lex Chalmers and Evelyn Stokes from Waikato; Eric Pawson, and particularly, Garth Cant from Canterbury (Larner, 1991, Johnson, 1991; Dixon, 1991; Magee, 1992).

Cant is very unassuming, works behind the scene and is very determined. He is always there when he is needed (Larner 1991, 3).

Mention has already been made of Johnson's contribution to feminist geography. She has returned to Australia and concedes that the initial stages of getting feminism accepted have not been easy.

The initial reformers will stick up people's noses by becoming extreme. . . It is going to take a lot of effort from a lot of people to keep it going now. We are entering a period of tokenism . . . There will be marginalisation and deradicalisation (Johnson 1991, 6).

CONCLUSION/ DISCUSSION

It is difficult to attempt a conclusion without being drawn into the realm of speculative discussion. At least two things are obvious. The first is that New Zealand geography is now far more aware/tolerant/acceptive of feminist geography than, say, ten years ago. The second thing is that opposition to feminist geography is real. It would be somewhat unrealistic to claim that it has become actively institutionalised as part of geography. Rather, the male oriented construction of reality is such an intrinsic part of New Zealand society, that institutionalising took place long before academically geographic matters were considered. It cannot even be accurately called a

perspective because this indicates a form of equality of views. It is more an overwhelming mainstream platform from which life, society and action was orchestrated. In attempting to come to terms with feminist geography, one first has to realise that feminism has a political as well as an academic agenda. This would start to explain why, as Jackson (1991, 199) suggests, that to some male geographers, the nature of patriarchal oppression is less obvious and the political agenda more difficult to articulate.

The real situation is that some geographers will never come to terms with according feminist approaches a place in New Zealand geography. With permanent tenure, it will take time for some to leave the scene. Others, but not so many, will possibly take their places. Current selection and appointment procedures have started to ensure that a more balanced equity in equal opportunity takes place. Applicants to significant postings are now obliged to declare their views more openly. At the same time, it must also be accepted that attitudes to feminism are formed by more than education. Basic personality will always be a factor. There is an educative time factor which will possibly extend over several generations and, the writer suggests, could encompass at least three phases in which acceptance can occur.

The first phase sees the entry of the visionaries who early come to the realisation that the only way to attract attention (and thus have their vision become reality), is to go to the far end of the spectrum and risk alienation of their erstwhile peers by adopting a confrontational approach. In some cases they saw themselves, if not militant, then certainly well organised.

One of the lessons we learned very early was that the way to effect change was to act collectively (Lamer 1991, 4).

In the New Zealand scene there was a slight variation in which Ann Magee, as the one who introduced Feminist geography to New Zealand, was more of the inspirer than militant. She provided a stable platform which greatly enabled the more militant surge which followed. In this scenario, the plenary session at the 1985 Hamilton Conference assumes importance.

The second phase comes with a personal accommodation of the feminist position. This would be typified by a secure academic, male or female, who does not feel threatened by alternative approaches. New Zealand geography is fortunate to have some in this category. It is these people who are able to attract visitors with alternative views, act as appropriate supervisors and thesis examiners, teach alternative courses

and generally act as mentors to students. In a very generalised sense, New Zealand geography could be at this phase. It is certainly not considered by feminists to be at a third phase.

The third phase is highly speculative and draws on Jackson's (1991) monograph on the cultural politics of masculinity. Jackson, in confronting the patriarchal assumption of male supremacy, with a view to postulating a more emancipated, less oppressive form of masculinity, suggests that,

In general, it has been easier for such men to voice our support of feminist imperatives rather than to work through the contradictions of our own experiences as men (Jackson 1991, 199).

It is at this level that feminist approaches would be most readily assimilated into the mainstream of New Zealand geography. It requires, however, the unmasking of a deep-seated ethos that is difficult to comprehend. Jackson cites Davidoff and Hall (1987)

If 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are recognised as constructs specific to historical time and place, continually being forged, contested, reworked and reaffirmed, it may also be possible to identify the space for negotiation and change around these different interpretations and shifting boundaries.

It is probably only within this setting that effective change can take place. Although much work is being done concerning the way in which masculinity/femininity is embodied and subjectivities constructed, experienced and changed, we cannot underestimate the persistent imbalance of power between men and women. Jackson concludes with a thoughtful consideration of the options.

On the one hand, it reaffirms the limitations of trying to base a political movement around the voluntary renunciation of power by men. On the other hand, it serves to refocus political attention on fundamental asymmetries of power, defined in terms of 'race', class, gender and sexuality (Jackson 1991, 210).

MAORI GEOGRAPHY OR GEOGRAPHY OF MAORIS

This heading provided by Evelyn Stokes (1987) is the title of one of the few papers written that attempts a placement of geography into a Maori perspective. There is no doubt that mainstream New Zealand geography, in the national and international sense, is a western phenomenon. As in the case of gender sensitivity, it takes a considerable unmasking of attitudes and institutionalised practices to bring geographers to a point of being aware of the blinkered viewpoint of some

geographies. There is always the not necessarily spoken view that incorporating a 'Maori' geography represents some form of academic declension into unfamiliar territory. To refer to Maori concerns as 'issues', in itself suggests a conciliatory mindset that serves to peripheralise the Maori perspective. It seems to matter little that 'Maori education has probably the most substantial literature of any topic in New Zealand Education' (Shuker, 1987, 191). Of greater pertinence is an understanding of the application of cultural hegemony, particularly Pakeha cultural hegemony⁷ - 'white ways are best' which, as Shuker (1987, 193) cites, began with the missionaries and became officialised by the Colonial Office.

The 1847 Native Trust Ordinance declared the goal of native policy as 'assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the native to those of the European population (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974, 40).

Academic geography has only begun to address the potential of an ethnic outlook, significantly through the efforts of Stokes, who with a Maori background, intellectual standing in both Maori and Pakeha settings and plain determination, has laid a cornerstone for an understanding of a Maori perspective in geography. In a commissioned paper relating to Maori education, Stokes notes,

A great deal has been written about Maoris, a large proportion of it by Pakeha researchers, who in recent years have been mostly university based . . . Even the small amount written, and some of it published, by Maori students and academics is largely written in an 'academic framework, within the constraints and methodology of existing university discipline (Stokes 1985, 3).

From this, Stokes asks a series of open-ended questions.

Where is the research to provide guidelines for Maori people to establish and reinforce self-pride, self-respect in the younger generation?

How can Maori people who have lost touch be re-educated in Maori language and culture?

How can Maori resources in land and people be better utilised to form a sound economic base for Maori communities? (Stokes 1985, 4)

These questions all lead to one underlying plea.

Perhaps the issue is really how to get Pakeha society in New Zealand to divest itself of the nineteenth century colonial view of the world which we have all inherited, that European culture is 'civilised' and indigenous cultures are not, and have to 'catch up' (Stokes 1985, 5).

⁷ See Chapter 6.

Murton's (1987) essay on 'Maori Territory' recognises a potential for geographical research as well as the potential for controversy.

. . . the issue is even more complex than it appears at first glance because it involves two very different ways of thinking about nature and society, two vastly different world views (Murton 1987, 91).

Murton provides ample evidence that the geographical literature has paid attention to Maori themes⁸, ranging from demographic studies and agriculture, to environmental and planning concerns. He also advances possible areas of future inquiry. It is not suggested that the literature has been of no value, to Maori or Pakeha. Murton's comprehensive bibliographic listing is, in itself, a significant resource for study in this area. The concern has always been that, generally speaking, the literature has not been able to escape from presenting an 'outsiders' view, by being descriptive or analytical with parameters that cannot absorb cultural agendas.

This discussion now turns to a limited consideration of New Zealand geography from a Maori view. The significant endpoint is, and this represents the main reason why Maori geography has been neglected, that the logical extension of any cogent discussion on Maori geography can only lead to an operative acknowledgment of conflicts over land and land tenure. And this, in turn, can only lead to an active recognition of Maori sovereignty and the right to justice in land issues.

The concept of space and place is fundamental to Pakeha geography, but to the Maori mind, space and place penetrates spheres that other minds cannot fully conceptualise. Originating from a Fourth World⁹ dimension, space and place assume characteristics with a living and emotional identity which are culturally defined and can only be understood within specific cultural contexts (Murton, 1987, 92). Hong-Key Yoon's study of the Maori people from an outsider's perspective notes,

The Maori mind has always been on Maori land. In fact, the entire Maori culture has been centered around issues relating to land. From the land, the people acquire the sustenance of life, both materially and spiritually. From the ancestral land, people find their places to stand (turangawaewae). Deepest affection for it is only natural to them (Yoon 1986, 24).

Stokes writes of the Maori apprehension of place.

⁸ See also Murton, B. J. (1979) Place in Maori New Zealand, *New Zealand Geographer*, Vol 35, No 1.

⁹ Murton uses 'Fourth World' to denote the pre-european era.

The concept of turangawaewae describes a sense of belonging to tribe, region and marae, The English word land is quite inadequate to translate the Maori term whenua which has both a physical dimension and also a spiritual dimension, taha wairua. The term whenua is also used to describe the placenta which is buried in a special place in the land where one belongs, thus reinforcing the tie, the sense of belonging to a particular region and the relationship with kinsfolk (whanau), sub tribe (hapu) and tribe (iwi), The mauri of the land is the life force, essence, spirit of the land, People are custodians of land and resources, kaitiaki for the next generation (Stokes 1987, 120).

The partitioning of land from the time of the Treaty of Waitangi has cut right across traditional social, political and economic structures. The alienation of the Maori from their land has served to embitter and has polarised the two cultures 'apparently' equal under the provisions of the Treaty. Stokes cites Awatere in order to demonstrate the extent to which land is central to current debate about Maori sovereignty and the role of the Treaty of Waitangi.

In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgment that New Zealand is Maori land, and further seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural society, one in which taha Maori receives an equal consideration with, and equally determines the course of this country as taha Pakeha. It certainly demands an end to monoculturalism (Awatere 1984, 10).

As Stokes (1987, 121) so succinctly notes, 'These are uncomfortable words for Pakeha.'

Discussion/Conclusion

Where then does this leave geographers? If the picture just portrayed represents the base line for an academic accommodation of the Maori perspective, then it calls for a pro-active approach that would propel New Zealand human geography to a level not yet undertaken. The only possible parallel would be the Victoria department in the 1960s when Keith Buchanan was in his prime, challenging the establishment and generally opposing conventional geography. Even this, was apparently not sympathetic to Maoris

Few Maori students came to Victoria. One notable was Puketapu¹⁰ and Buchanan was very hard on him. Regarded him as a dumb Maori but should have known better because he taught in Nigeria. But they had the colonial rank

¹⁰ Puketapu was also a Wellington Rugby representative and a Maori All Black. He was later Head of Maori Affairs.

there. But to Buchanan he was just another creature in the place. He was always being put down, academically behind his back. He was being rubbished (VU Staff member, 1991).

There is a vast gulf between what should happen in geography and what is likely to happen in practice. It would be simple if it just entailed an academic commitment. A placement of Maori in geography, like that of Feminism, demands a dispositional enlightenment that is not likely to be at all universal. More sinister is the thought that some scholarship is tied to the marketplace. Planners, for instance, could feel compromised by having to advocate a Pakeha theme which offers financial security at the expense of the Maori. At the same time, enlightened mediation approaches could greatly enhance a Maori position. Stokes concedes that there is a good deal of Maori geography which can be researched but which should not be limited by boundaries of Pakeha academic disciplines. There is however a clear warning.

Be careful Pakeha. Tread warily. This is not your history or geography. Do not expect all to be revealed to you. You must be prepared to serve a long apprenticeship of learning on the marae . . . Do not expect that because you are an academic or experienced researcher in the Pakeha world that all this will come easily to you (Stokes, 1987, 121).

On a more conciliatory note Stokes concludes by noting that although the sternest critics will be the Maori people who expect some benefit to accrue, any geographer who accepts these constraints will find satisfaction in the aroha of the people.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter has selectively covered three areas that have occupied the recent attention of New Zealand geography. The relationship between Human and Physical geography is, naturally, unique to geography. The areas of Feminism and Maori concerns are not. They occupy an increasingly prominent part of the national consciousness. They both follow a different trajectory when it comes to the way in which they have come to prominence. However, they both highlight a common problem when it comes to dealing with the issues. That problem is a matter of contested power vested in a particular way to become part of an institutionalised pattern of governance. In one case, it refers to the male oriented society and masculine construction of history. In the other case, colonial attitudes die hard. Geography in New Zealand has achieved prominence in Feminist geography, through the efforts of a small group. The elevation of Maori consciousness has not been so dramatic because it has not had the international exposure of feminism.

Evelyn Stokes, as a Member of the Waitangi Tribunal, is surely one of the leading Maori intellects in New Zealand. Sadly, there are not more Maori geographers. As a non-Maori, Garth Cant at Canterbury has probably done more in recent years than anyone in promoting a Maori outlook in geography (Larner, 1991). In both areas geography has the structural capacity to lead the vanguard in academic circles.

CHAPTER 12

SHAPING AND SUPPORTING GEOGRAPHY

Not only is there but one way of doing things rightly, but there is only one way of seeing them, and that is, seeing the whole of them.

John Ruskin 1819 - 1900

The Two Paths, lecture II.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis would be incomplete without a recognition of the role played by other forces within New Zealand geography. Of greatest importance has been the work of the New Zealand Geographical Society (NZGS) which has played a fundamental role in the story of geography in this country. This chapter will also acknowledge the contribution of the Teachers Colleges; the role played by professional geographers away from universities and schools; the important connections New Zealand maintains with Australian geographers; and the essential support of ancillary staff in the geography departments who so often enable the work of academic geographers.

THE NEW ZEALAND GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

It would be hard to overemphasise the role played by the NZGS throughout most of the period covered in this thesis. Lacking the secure structure and guaranteed existence enjoyed by university and school geography, the NZGS has in many ways reflected the ebb and flow of geography in New Zealand. At the same time the NZGS has enjoyed a degree of independence achieved by a subscription based incorporated society providing a certain independence from the university and school system. It was the vehicle by which a coherent geography in New Zealand was

initially brought to the public, as well as providing a publishing outlet for academics. The NZGS has also served in a unifying role to associate the work of academic, professional and school geographers within a common *milieu*, which although it has not always been a level playing field, has served a valuable purpose. The writer notes that few comprehensive attempts have been made to document the impact of the society. The sub-headings of the section to follow, begin to suggest a reason for this in that the NZGS has performed a number of very complex roles which are often difficult to separate out. The role of the society also does not readily lend itself to a linear account. The purpose of this section is to isolate some of these roles rather than to provide a definitive history.

The Beginnings

The credit for initially advancing the concept of a geographical society is given to Cumberland, shortly after he arrived at Christchurch University College. By his own admission, Cumberland (1991, 6) visualised an antipodean equivalent of the *Geographical Association*, the English society with links between schools and universities. Cumberland was astute enough to realise the advantages in having an organisation which would serve to link university geography with the public and school teachers and more particularly, provide a publishing outlet for New Zealand geographers.

... once I got here, I realised that a geographical society was going to be helpful and New Zealand did not have one. Then my first thought was to establish one in New Zealand, as an overseas branch of the Geographical Association of Manchester. That's how it lasted for about six months (Cumberland 1991, 6).

Jobberns recorded the beginnings in the first volume of the *New Zealand Geographer*.

The *New Zealand Geographical Society* had a modest beginning in Christchurch in 1939; a small group of students and graduates of the Department of Geography at Canterbury University College and other interested people formed themselves into an overseas branch of the English *Geographical Association*¹. Dr J. Hight, then Rector of Canterbury University College, and Messrs. C.T. Aschman, A.E. Flower, and J.G. Polson, members of the College Council specially interested and active in the foundation of the Department of

¹ This is slightly different to the Manchester connection mentioned by Cumberland in the previous quote.

Geography, were presidents of the Society in its early years (Jobberns, 1945, 3)

The early minutes of the society reveal an enthusiasm and expansive attitude to geography, characterising the mission that it felt it had to accomplish in order 'to promote and stimulate the study of geography' (*New Zealand Geographer* 1945, 99). The minutes also reveal a certain looseness in organisation that was to persist until two things happened. The first was the establishment of a New Zealand society. As an overseas extension of the English society, the New Zealand branch was distributing *Geography* to members, but it clearly lacked the local emphasis that was needed. There was a need for a distinctly New Zealand society. Cumberland (1991, 6) recalls,

It was pretty informal until they established things as the *New Zealand Geographical Society*. We needed to have something to give members, so we had the magazine *Geography* by becoming a branch of the *Geographical Association*. It took us a year or two to organise the production of the *New Zealand Geographer* which was first published in 1945 with the *Record* a year or two later, specifically for teachers.

The second feature that enabled the NZGS to gain a sharper focus, occurred in the early 1950s when Pownall was appointed secretary and reorganised much of the operation by establishing sound accounting practice and in preparing manuals for each of the branches to provide some coordination between the different branches.

When I took over from Gamier, Jobberns and I went down and took over the files and all the back copies of the *Geographer*. It was chaos. The structure was hopeless. I remember when Rilda Gorrie was treasurer in Auckland and I wrote to her and said, 'You can't do this Rilda, the receipts are not in any order'. And she said, "I have been using up all the old receipt books". I produced a manual which went out to every branch, laying down in loose-leaf form what had to be done and we kept updating it . . . The only way to survive was to set up these manuals (Pownall 1991, 6)²

Of this, McCaskill (1991, 4) was to observe that, 'Pownall would bring efficient organisation to any task. If it was lacking before, it would not lack it then'.

² In retirement, Pownall admits that this reorganisation of the NZGS was what brought him, initially, to the attention of Professor Don Llewellyn whom he was to succeed as Vice-Chancellor.

Alms and Purposes

Garnier, writing several years after the NZGS had commenced publishing, was able to amplify the aims and purposes of the society into three main themes. As the first purpose, ' . . . the society was founded to provide an organisation to which people interested in geography may belong' (Garnier 1947, 155).

The second major purpose was to undertake and encourage publishing activities. 'Indeed, this is the main reason for the existence of the main body' (Garnier 1947, 156). The infant society was sensitive to the fact that the late entry of geography to the university scene meant that there was a dearth of published material relating to geography. Garnier (1947, 156) makes particular reference of the need to promote regional approaches.

The final purpose for the general publicising of geography to remedy public ignorance on geographical matters. It is apparent that the new academic geographers were reacting against their previous association with geology.

The position is analogous to regarding a training in French as adequate for the teacher of English or in chemistry for the teacher of botany (Garnier 1947, 158).

It was an attempt by geographers to establish their own identity.

Discussion

The apparent ease with which a group of people decided to form a society by affiliation belies the complex institutional processes which undergird such a movement. Aschman, Flower, and Polson, as members of the college council were caught up in the ongoing financial battle to keep the University College viable during the Depression years of the 1930s. They, along with Hight, were aware of the need to attract students. A geographical society would certainly assist in this. They were also sensitive to the fact that they needed the support of the community. There were comparisons with Otago and Auckland where, it had been expressed, even in 1925, they had a closer network of support between 'town and gown' than that of Christchurch.

There has not yet quickened in this province such a civic passion for the advancement and development of higher education as that which animates, say, Otago and even Auckland, where the distractions from the serious

business of life are more alluring than in other centres (*Christchurch Sun*, 28/8/1925, cited in Gardner et al, 1973, 182).

Jobberns was well known for his desire to integrate the activities of the university and the city of Christchurch³. Polson, as Principal of the Teachers College had already expressed his interest in seeing geography promoted. It would strengthen his own position at the Teachers College, recently reopened after being closed during the depression. He wrote,

The increasing demands from primary, secondary and technical schools for more liberal provision for developing human and social geography (Polson cited in Macaulay 1987, 6).

The interest of James Hight is significant. Although Professor of History and Rector, some of his earliest work had been in geography, having argued for the inclusion of geography in New Zealand universities as early as 1906 in the *British Geographical Teacher* (Hight, 1906), and in the production of the *Southern Cross Geographical Readers* for schools in 1913. Hight was known as a broad minded administrator, always on the lookout for ways of extending the influence of the university (McCaskill 1991, 3). His interest in geography was such that he had taught it at Canterbury University College, apparently from within the History faculty (Cumberland 1991, 2). He had also taught the young George Jobberns at the beginning of his teaching career, and influenced him towards geography (Jobberns 1991, 3). McCaskill (1962, 15) also records that Aschman was 'an incomparable teacher' who had stimulated the young Jobberns with his lectures in physical geography at the Christchurch Teachers' College.

Different Roles

Although the purposes of the NZGS have remained constant over the years, the society has played a number of differing roles. It is of interest to note that role perception started out differently for each of the groups interested in the society.

³ See Chapter 10.

The University Staff

The first role of the NZGS, was possibly perceived differently by the two main players, Jobberns and Cumberland. Jobberns was a superb publicist for the discipline and was eminently suited to the task of traveling around the country promoting the new society, and university geography with it.

I think that Jobberns went to all the centres to give inaugural lectures when the branches were established in about 1944 and 1945. This helped to crystallize the demands when the teachers came together to hear Jobberns and he told them what we were doing and he would meet the university geologists and economic geographers and probably the chairman of the professorial board and probably the president of the council and he just used his skill. He was so clever and wily, astute. . . Looking back, it all went quite smoothly. Jobberns had the job of establishing the branches by lending his reputation (Cumberland 1991, 6).

To the scholarly Cumberland, it was the urgent matter of providing a publishing outlet. He was to write in the very first volume of the *New Zealand Geographer*,

Already a body of original work in the subject is rapidly accumulating and existing academic journals in the Dominion provide an insufficient and inappropriate outlet for this material (Cumberland 1945, 1).

McCulloch (1992, 172) cites Cumberland's personal papers, noting his interest in accommodating teachers. In a letter to Eileen Fairbairn⁴, he wrote,

. . . there is need for such an organisation, at the same time separate from the teachers' organisation and yet embracing members outside the University student body (Cumberland to Eileen Fairbairn, 24/7/1939).

McCulloch (1992, 172) further observes that the school subject association was closely associated with university curricula, being driven by university scholars who sought to redefine the subject area in order to defend and advance its interests and their own.

⁴ Geography Mistress at Christchurch Girls High School

The Teachers

High school teachers saw the purpose of the society as supporting their needs. It was the pressure applied by the teachers that was to provide most of the early impetus within the society. For a start, as Franklin (1991, 7) notes, the society was modeled on the British association which tended to involve school teachers. High School geography teachers in the early 1940s had very little intellectual support for their discipline. With only one geography department at Canterbury, they welcomed the opportunity to associate with fledgling branches of the NZGS and quickly proved to be a force in arguing for an expansion of university geography. They were providing pressure from the school level as well as through the Teachers Colleges. Pownall (1991, 2) recalls,

It became a forum for the teachers of geography in schools and teachers college. In turn that became a force for moving whoever needed to be moved in order to have geography introduced. But you come back to the basic force in the society - once you had the brilliance of Cumberland perceived, then in came the teachers.

Hill (1991, 5) notes the impact of the society in the 1950s.

We had this community of feeling basically through the strength of the geographical society which had long drawn in laymen and teachers and people who saw geography as being relevant to their interests as well as their profession.

Fox (1992, 5) recalls the enthusiastic response by teachers for the refresher course held at Waitaki Boys High in January 1948 with Garnier, Jobberns and Cumberland in attendance. The course, to be held in the North Island, was canceled due to a polio scare. Refresher and in-service courses have been a valuable contribution made by the society and geography departments. A later course run by the Canterbury in 1967 came at a time when quantified methods were becoming popular and resulted in two publications being edited by Professor Barry Johnston.⁵

Relationships between the academics and school teachers were to be somewhat brittle at times. Quite early in the publishing history of the society, it was decided to

⁵ See Johnston, W. B. (1967) *Dynamic Relationships in Human Geography*, NZGS and Johnston, W. B. (1967) *Dynamic Relationships in Physical Geography*, NZGS.

provide a separate publication in the form of the *Record* which was published from 1946 to 1969 until being superseded by the *New Zealand Journal of Geography*, which continues to the present. The journal was intended to provide for teachers and to record on branch activities such as guest speakers, summaries of interesting presentations and teaching suggestions. The relationship problems appear to have been centred on differences in what the teachers and the university academics viewed as being the prime purpose of the society. McCulloch makes a telling statement.

Arguably the radical ideals of the NZGS at its inception were rooted in the academic aspirations of the university rather than in the realities of schools (McCulloch 1992, 177).

McCulloch also notes a comment made by W.B.Harris⁶ who, in a memo to the Director General of Education, wrote,

Cumberland has, I think, a better knowledge of the geography of New Zealand than anyone else, but does not seem to be able to reduce it to child level (in McCulloch 1992, 177).

The editorial control which Cumberland exercised on the NZGS, very quickly excluded other approaches to the discipline and was arguably responsible for the lack of real impact by the society into any curriculum reforms during the 1950s⁷. The structural organisation of the society at that time, was such that there was very little room for deviation from the perceived 'correct' approach⁸. The structural changes within the society that were to enable a 'ground up' reform process, with teachers having a larger say, were to be part of a contested process lasting several decades. It serves to remind, once again, of the tendency for control to be exerted by particular groups of agents who use structures to maintain their interests.

⁶ First Chairman of the NZGS in 1944

⁷ At the same time, the early issues of the journal contained contributions from many prominent people in New Zealand. Cumberland was astute enough to realise on the input from 'non geographers'. These included: L K Munro, editor of the *New Zealand Herald* (Vol 1, No 1), C A Cotton, Victoria University College's eminent Geology professor (Vol 1 No 1); A H Tocker, Rector of Canterbury University College (Vol 1, No 2); Dr G H Cunningham, Director of Plant Diseases, DSIR (Vol 2, No 1).

⁸ See section later in this chapter on battles for editorial control.

The Public

The reaction of the general public to the new society was enthusiastic. To understand the enthusiasm, one needs to recall the *milieu* in which New Zealand society existed at the time. Large chunks of school atlases still had large sections coloured red to signify the dominance of the British Empire. People could relate to meetings, where the themes of exploration and adventure still pervaded. Respectable crowds would turn out to listen to lectures, enlivened with slides, on geographic themes.

There was disappointment for some when the NZGS began to publish. Fox's (1992, 6) comment reveals the tenuous hold on the public.

Members of the public early on thought that the New Zealand society was going to be something like the *National Geographic* but they were disappointed when the *New Zealand Geographer* turned out to be an academic journal.

With the passage of time, and for many reasons, the public no longer turns out *en masse* to meetings put on by the society. Eileen Banks, for many years the Editor of the *Record*, in an almost poignant statement, adds,

Geography no longer interests the 'ordinary' person as much as it did, because Geography in the university is now for the educated, where Geography in the old days was about people and places and exploration (Banks 1991, 3).

A present problem faced by the society is in attracting sufficient members to make up a working quorum for Annual General Meetings.

The Ebb and Flow of the NZGS

Lacking the stable structure that underwrites university and school geography, the NZGS has been reliant on the efforts of school, university and professional geographers to sustain it. As such, it is suggested, it also reflected the general fortunes of geography. At the same time, it has had to counter other problems relating to economic and social factors not entirely related to the general conduct of geography. Attention is now given to the major facets of the society's activities over fifty-five years.

Publishing

The role played by the NZGS in providing a publishing outlet is seen by many of the university geographers as having been the strong arm of the society. Right from the first issue of the *New Zealand Geographer* it was apparent that Cumberland, as editor was insistent on a high standard. He was clearly intent on fashioning a periodical that would reflect the best of overseas publications.

That the name, the style, and the format of the *New Zealand Geographer* may each in turn bring to mind some one or other of the long-established journals of geography, is a mark of our respect for and appreciation of the journals in question (Cumberland 1945, 4).

Publishing has remained the central role of the NZGS. There have been conflicting tensions concerning the balance in catering for professional geographers, in an academic sense, or in providing an outreach to the community. Within a year of the first issue of the *New Zealand Geographer*, the *Record* was introduced in order to inform on branch activities. The *Record* continued until 1969 when it was changed to the *New Zealand Journal of Geography* with a particular emphasis on the geography teaching profession. The transition was a response to the decline of branch activities and the continuing problem of trying to get branch secretaries to submit regular reports. The major publications have been supplemented by the *Proceedings* from the 16 Conferences sponsored by the society since 1955 as well as a number of miscellaneous publications over the years⁹.

There have been several attempts to evaluate the contribution of the society's publications. The first of these was Hargreaves' (1969) track review of *The New Zealand Geographer* over its first 25 years. As a yardstick, Hargreaves used Cumberland's inaugural Forward to the journal, which proposed that the *New Zealand Geographer* would essentially cater for New Zealand by stimulating the study of geography and by providing solutions to developmental and conservation problems within the Dominion.

It would be fair to suggest that all these aims have been fulfilled by New Zealand geographers, if not necessarily by the *New Zealand Geographer* (Hargreaves 1969, 85).

⁹ See Appendix M.

Written in 1969, Hargreaves' observations are perceptive in that he notes the move away from the strong regional emphasis that characterised New Zealand geography to that time. Hargreaves foresaw the swing to quantification and was concerned that the general public would become bewildered by the incoming revolution in quantified geography.

Today, unfortunately, fewer and fewer laymen are remaining members of the Society for they find so many of the articles in our journal, 'beyond them'. Geography is using newer techniques, particularly the use of mathematics, and where applicable this is to be welcomed (Hargreaves 1969, 88).

Hargreaves lamented that many scholars had lost their ability to communicate with the public, a lament that is echoed by Norman Whatman, a career geographer, charter member of the society and former branch president.

I find the magazine now . . . beyond my comprehension. They seem to have gone overboard with technique or technology or the use of these incredible formulas and things and I just turn off. I am not up to that play at all . . . many of these highly complex statements about industry or what ever is quite beyond my comprehension (Whatman 1991, 9).

A later evaluation of the publication trend was by Anderson (1987) who distinguished between editorial styles which adopt a *readership* strategy aimed at catering for the general readership or an *author* strategy to encourage major papers. Anderson (1987, 64) points out that successive editors have tried to cater for both by following the stated intent of the several publications and by including sections of more general interest within the *New Zealand Geographer*. Anderson (1987, 65) notes that the *New Zealand Geographer*, as a primary journal, has had to compete within a world market (Figs 12.1;12.2;) by responding to the need to standardise citation formats and information retrieval procedures. It has also raised the question of focus in which geography, as a social science, needs to clearly identify its contribution in the international setting as well as serving a home market. With a greater than 50% subscription now reliant on overseas institutions and exacerbated by the fact that New Zealand subscribers can no longer claim subscription against tax, the publishing arm of the society has come under pressure. The possibility of merging the *New Zealand Geographer* and the *Journal of Geography* has been debated a number of times (Anderson 1987, 68) and the change in format from the mid-1970s was a response to cost cutting measures.

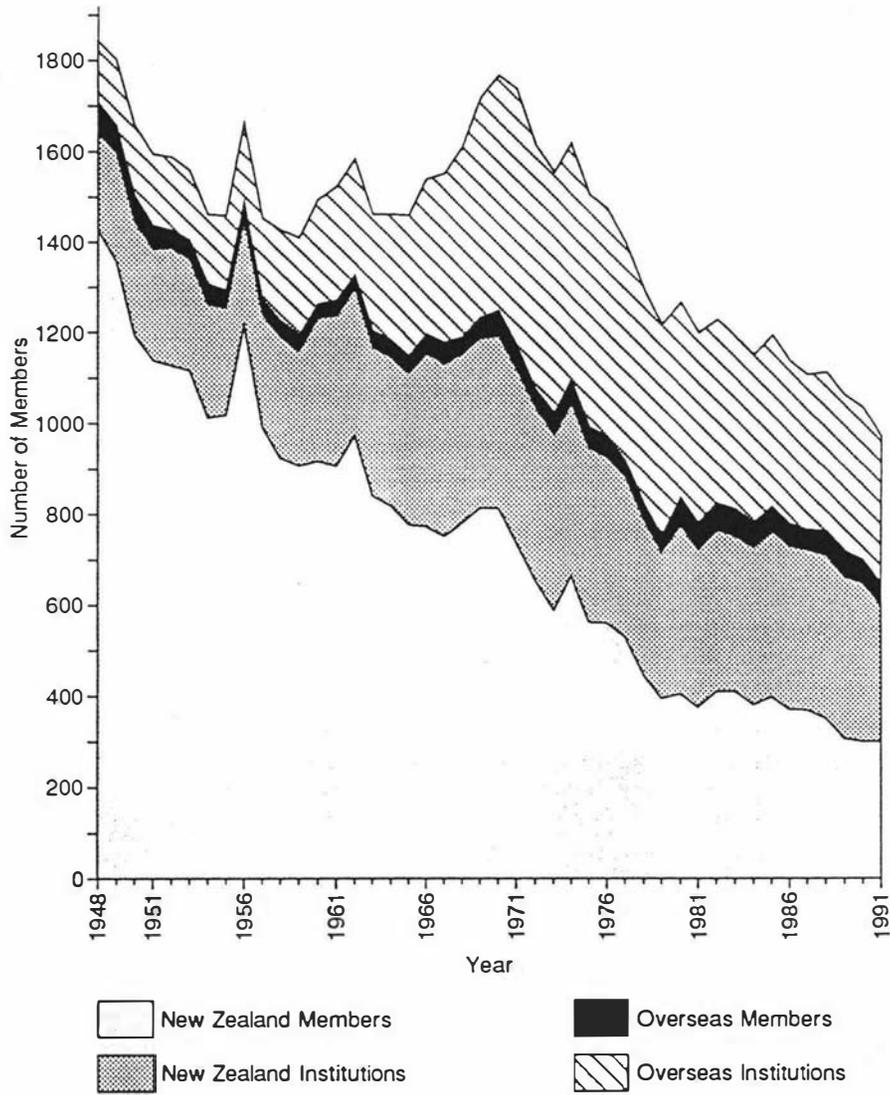


FIGURE 12.1 New Zealand Geographical Society Membership (1946-1991)

Source: NZGS Annual Reports

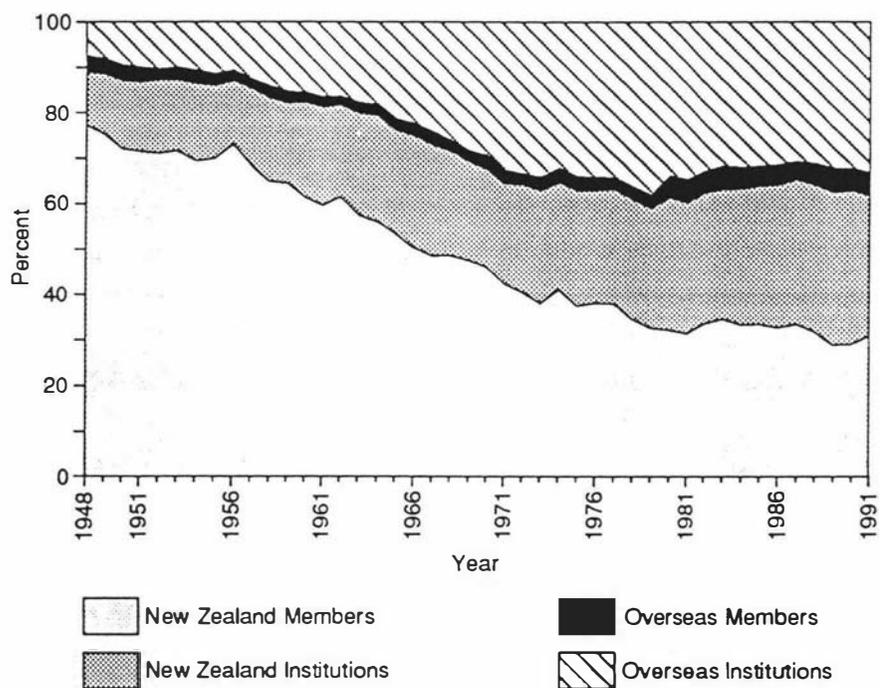


Figure 12.2 New Zealand Geographical Society Membership (1946-1991)

Source: NZGC Annual Reports

Battles for Editorial Control

It would be euphemistic to assume that there have not been struggles for editorial control within the society. Hill (1991, 9) recalls James Fox as a diligent editor (see Table 12.1 for list of editors since 1945) who did not feel impelled to publish things that he felt were methodologically suspect.

Certainly a number of geographers did not feel happy about publishing (in the *New Zealand Geographer*) and this was true of King, Golledge and Franklin. Buchanan never published in the *Geographer* because it was somewhat parochial to boot (Hill 1991, 9).

Packard recalls an explosive incident involving a young Barry Johnston and Cumberland.

I know the exact incident because it was when Fox was away and Cumberland stood in for Fox as Editor of the *New Zealand Geographer*. Barry put in his article about the Pacific Islands¹⁰. Leigh (Pownall) was away because I was acting secretary of the Society. Cumberland altered words in Barry's article. The altered script was not shown to Barry and Barry took very great offense . . . it was two things . . . Barry's was a review article on Pacific Studies and Barry criticised some recent work of Cumberland's and Cumberland added a couple of sentences which quite changed the tone of that criticism . . . he also added a couple of sentences at the end (1991, 5).

The struggle for editorial responsibility did not end there. The battles between Cumberland and Buchanan washed over into the editorial stance of the *New Zealand Geographer*, then being edited from the Auckland department¹¹. As a direct response, the Wellington branch of the society made a counter attack, in the form of a submission to the editorial board at meetings in Christchurch in early 1962.

The *New Zealand Geographer* was meant to represent Geography in New Zealand and it was simply Geography in Auckland. We wanted the journal to represent the represented and we actually forced the society to stop having

¹⁰ The article was, Johnston W. B. (1957) The Human Geography of the Pacific: A Review. *The New Zealand Geographer* Vol 13.

¹¹ See Chapter 9.

one editor at the time - who was Fox - but to actually have associate editors . . . there was one from each department and Fox didn't like it at all. This was a consequence of the way that Auckland dealt with Buchanan (Watters 1991, 4).

The success of the move may be gauged by the immediate change in facing page listings, from Editorial Staff to Editorial Board, from the April 1962 issue of the *New Zealand Geographer*. Instead of J W Fox (Editor), M McCaskill (Senior Assistant Editor) and Miss A.M. Iverach (Assistant Editor), the next issue edited by the Editorial Board was comprised of J W Fox (Auckland), M McCaskill (Canterbury), R G Lister (Otago), B G R Saunders (Massey) and R P Hargreaves (Victoria), thus signifying representation from all of the university departments.

Catering for the Teaching Profession

The interaction between the society and teachers has provided a forum in which some of the strongest reforms in high school geography have been initially generated. Chapter 7 treats these in some detail. It is likely that the society, administered principally by university geographers, has been slow at times, to appreciate the strength of the high school teachers in wanting the society to cater for teachers. The support of the teaching profession in the first days of the society has already been documented. As the society matured, it became clear the teachers viewed the usefulness of the society differently to that of the academics. The academics saw the society as serving them by providing an outlet for publishing and in assisting the standardisation of high school syllabuses. This was particularly so with the resurgence in publishing that followed the recommendations of the Hughes Parry Report in 1959. The teachers saw the society as a tool to enhance their teaching and as a lever to move the Department of Education. Neville (1991, 6) notes a tendency for teachers to,

. . . evaluate the usefulness of the society by what they can take away in their hand and use for teaching tomorrow.

This statement, not designed to be critical of the teaching profession, serves to note a changing role.

More and more we are feeling that the importance of that connection is not between the society and the teachers but between the (university) department which in the long run, provides most of the things that the teachers want

anyway. The branch is not providing much of a catalyst anymore. It is almost just an extra stage (Neville 1991, 6).

It is argued then, that the pressures on the society to cater for an academic and international market, as well as catering for and needing the support of the teaching profession, has produced a tension which has been manifested in different forms throughout the history of the society. What follows is an example of this. It is also a good example of structure/agency dialectic.

During the 1970s there was pressure from the society to raise the profile of academic geography by a form of registration in which academic geographers would be distinguished from laymen and secondary school geography teachers. McLean (1991, 4) was secretary of the society and notes that Professor Keith Thomson was anxious to see a New Zealand equivalent of the *Institute of Australian Geographers*.¹²

I was charged with putting into effect this registration business . . . I felt that geography in New Zealand was too small to become divided into a lay group and an academic group and a consultants group and a secondary teachers group. The strength of New Zealand geography was to remain as a coherent with linkages from high school to university and back to high school and then into the open market and government departments and regional authorities etc. And as soon as you break that, I thought that things would collapse. . . . I thought that the registration of the academics, as it were, was going to be the first stage in the disintegration of the society . . . I just didn't write the letter. I didn't believe in it . . . I saw it as the tertiary geographers setting themselves separate from the secondary ones and that to me would be absolutely wrong (McLean 1991, 4).

At the same time as this push was taking place, the secondary school geography teachers were becoming increasingly disenchanted with their limited input into curriculum change. The society provided the mechanism by which the *Board of Geography Teachers* (BOGT) was established¹³. It has also maintained the Geography Resource Centre which continues to assemble and provide support material for geography teachers.

¹² Thomson had been centrally involved in the setting up of the IAG in the 1960s.

¹³ See Chapter 7.

TABLE 12.1 Editors of the *New Zealand Geographer*

<i>Editor</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Location</i>
K B Cumberland	1945 - 1950	Auckland University College
J W Fox	1950 - 1951	Auckland University College
K B Cumberland	1952 - 1955	Auckland University College
J W Fox	1956 - 1957	Auckland University College
M McCaskill	1957 - 1958	Canterbury University
J W Fox	1959 - 1962	Auckland University
	1962 - Establishment of Editorial Board	
M McCaskill	1964 - 1965	Canterbury University
R P Hargreaves	1966 - 1969	Otago University
R J Johnston	1970 - 1974	Canterbury University
A G Anderson	1975 - 1981	Auckland University
P C Forer	1982 - 1989	Canterbury University
R B Le Heron	1990 -	Massey University

Branch Activities

The initial formation of the NZGS centred on the activities of the Canterbury department. Once branches were formed in the other major centres (Otago, Wellington and Auckland), the society was able to respond to representative input from other areas. This is perhaps a subtle way of noting that the activities of the society were sometimes difficult to coordinate. Each branch reflected geography differently and with varying degrees of success. Ian Owens, currently national secretary of the society, concedes (1991, 2) that, 'some branches are virile and some almost non-operative'.

As public interest in the NZGS began to decline, the burden for running the branches increasingly fell on the university staff. It was this that was to cause the society to reflect the fortunes of the various geography departments. Warren Moran makes a revealing comment.

University staff at this time were suffering from increased work loads and this might have contributed to it. The Victoria branch is the one which has been most up and down. Auckland has been relatively steady and Canterbury has always been steady. Massey has been up and down and so has Waikato (Moran 1991, 5).

Departmental involvement was not always entirely voluntary.

Typically the department has a central role to the local branch. It was almost departmental policy to have to serve on the committee (Neville 1991, 5).

It would be rendering a disservice to leave the impression that the branches in some way represented a weak link of the society. Immense effort over the years by branch members, unpaid and generally unheralded, has been the backbone of the public activities of the society. Branch activities are a testimony to many who are genuinely interested in promoting the best interests of geography.

Conferences

The regular conferences, now numbering sixteen, have performed a valuable function for New Zealand geography. Apart from providing a paramount forum for geographers to gather together in one place and thus cultivate the geographical

network, the conferences have served to focus publications and presentations that journals would not normally furnish. The conferences have not been without cost. It invariably involves enormous effort on the part of the particular branch (in actuality it means a geography department) whose turn it may be to organise. The success or otherwise of a conference can then hinge on the cohesion within a particular department. An example of this was the 1981 Wellington Conference when the entire organisation was effectively done by one member of the department.

The arrangement of agendas and the emphasis given to particular themes at conferences are the privilege of the organisers. Thus a conference provides a venue to bring particular issues to prominence. Of memorable recency was the 1985 conference hosted by the Waikato department. It was the Presidential Address and the first four articles in the *Proceedings* (1985) which set the feminist theme for which the conference is best remembered. Lex Chalmers' *Preface* to the *Proceedings* was quite unabashed about so doing and cited precedence as a justification.

The proceedings from various conference inevitably contain a strong essence of geography at the host institution, with perhaps the strongest example being the policy orientation of the Victoria proceedings. The local branch of the Society determines the emphases and structure of the conferences to a considerable extent, but the influences of the local university department are generally detectable. The 1985 conference of the Society and these proceedings reflect this (Proceedings 1985).

As part of an institutionalising process, it is important to realise that the interchanges between agents at the conference¹⁴ were just as important in the placement of feminist geography in New Zealand as were the formal presentations.

It is apparent that the rift between Cumberland and Buchanan was enacted at almost all levels in New Zealand geography. The 1961 Conference at Palmerston North was no exception. Buchanan presented his celebrated *West Wind, East Wind* as his Presidential Address, to the manifest annoyance of Cumberland (Bedford 1991, 2). Having been appraised of this and exercising his editorial privilege, Buchanan added a postscript to the *Proceedings* in which he again took up cudgels.

The informal discussion and comment which followed the presentation of my paper *West Wind, East Wind* indicated very clearly that there was some

¹⁴ See Chapter 10.

considerable misunderstanding of my remarks on the subject of change in geography (Buchanan 1961, 18).

The 'postscript' which ran to at least 2000 words, warmed to the task when he wrote,

When I talk of the need for the geographer to concern himself more with change I mean, then, something more than the lip-service so often accorded to the dynamics of geography . . . (Buchanan 1961, 19).

The conferences have also provided a venue in which the *New Zealand Geographical Society* has the opportunity to loosely affiliate with its Australian counterpart, the *Institute of Australian Geographers*¹⁵. There are several reasons why this should be so. The number of New Zealand geographers now working in Australian departments and the smaller number of Australian who work in New Zealand departments, suggest an obvious reason. Differences between the Australian and New Zealand dollar make New Zealand a tempting conference destination, only several hours by air from Australia. As such, it is a positive recognition of the interchange between geography departments on both sides of the Tasman.

Conclusion

It is difficult to imagine the track New Zealand geography would have taken without the role played by the NZGS. Depending on the timing and personalities, it has either been seen as; a forum to expedite the institutionalisation of university geography; a weapon at the hands of editors; a mouthpiece for New Zealand geography in an international context; or a vehicle to coordinate the activities of high school and university geography. Through it all it has had a shaping and defining role and has been an active part of the dynamics involved in the institutionalisation of geography. Without a stable structure it has had to bear the brunt of major changes within the practice of geography in this country. During the 1980s university geography has had to take on board changes relating to the destination of graduates. For many years geography departments had primarily been about the task of training geography teachers. The emphasis is now on professionals outside of the classroom. The society, has had to be sensitive to this change. It has involved a major rethinking of emphasis and relationships within membership and the direction to be taken by the society as it attempts to meet the expectations of all parties. These problems are very

¹⁵ This has been largely at the level of the academic geographers.

much in the present as it grapples with declining membership in an age of financial recession and rapid changes in society.

THE TEACHERS' COLLEGES

The teachers' colleges appear to have had several distinct roles in the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. The first was in providing a pool of geographers who were to significantly influence New Zealand geography. Initial ties with geography go back to the establishment of the Dunedin Teachers' College in the 1920s when A H Payne¹⁶, a young geology graduate, took responsibility for teaching geography. Payne was the first of a number of training college personnel who were to later promote and hold office in the various branches of the NZGS, or teach geography at university level. He was also representative of a generation of promising academics whose careers were severely affected by the Depression years of the 1930s (Holst 1991, pers com), particularly when the teachers' colleges were closed as economy measures.

Jobberns records another very clear reason why people like himself sought to leave the teachers' college to seek teaching positions elsewhere.

Like most of my colleagues in the teachers' college of my time, I came inevitably to another point of frustration. This is a very serious matter indeed. Professionally the teachers' college lecturer in New Zealand has become a sort of forgotten man. The salary may entice the really first-class young man of ability, enterprise and ambition into the college as a lecturer but is not enough to keep him there (Jobberns 1959, 4).

In the case of Jobberns, any concerns about salary were taken care of when he became redundant following the closure of the Christchurch Teachers' College in 1934.

The relationship between some colleges and university geography departments, already strong in the foundation days of the society and the departments, was boosted by the post-war thrust to train high school teachers. Many of the present teaching staff in New Zealand geography departments came through the universities in the 1950s and 1960s as sponsored (and bonded) 'Division U' students. This was

¹⁶ Father of Alison Holst, prominent New Zealand nutritionist and writer.

to open the way for the second distinct role of the teachers' colleges, in which the institutions were to become a forum for promoting reform within school geography.

The teachers' colleges provided this function in a way that the universities could not, due to the fact that the colleges were concerned with both social studies and geography. This meant that the students at the colleges were being challenged on the social as well as academic foundations of the social sciences. Averilda Gorrie, on the staff at the Auckland Teachers' College before joining the geography department at Auckland University in 1961, was closely involved with teaching methodology in both social studies and geography.

The Auckland teachers college under Gorrie was a very lively place, at least the geography group was and we were fortunate in having someone of her calibre (Hill 1991, 2).

It was on this front, for several decades, as Trlin recalls, that some of the more exciting exchanges between students of different universities took place. With students from both the Auckland and Victoria departments, tutorial sessions could be lively.

We had marvelous debates with the meeting of two different schools . . . We had frequent arguments as to what was geography. There was a coming together more than conversions (Trlin 1991, 7).

Hill was of the same opinion.

Loud, long and fierce were the methodological discussions in our geography specialist groups in the Auckland Teachers College (Hill 1991, 2).

If the Auckland Teachers' College was stimulating to students training as geography teachers, it was the Christchurch Teachers' College which demonstrated the strongest links with high school geography reform. Why it should be so, is suggested when one considers the early strong links in the establishing of geography in the university and in establishing the society. If so, these were initially the actions of agents which then took on a structural form¹⁷. At the same time, a number of strong personalities at the college were to have a very strong impact. As Wilson Pyne (1991,

¹⁷ Jobberns would go to great lengths to time his classes to suit students coming over from the Teachers' College.

1) observes, 'Knight and Renner¹⁸ were in full cry at the Teachers college in Christchurch'. Davidson picks up on the importance of this.

John Renner was at the Teachers College and they decided that Christchurch was the sort of hub, if you like, of the society and they decided that there was a need for a Geography teachers' arm of the society because they had lots of them who were members and the society catered more for the academic than they did for the teachers (Davidson 1991a, 7).

It was this movement that was to generate much of the focus for the curriculum reforms that followed and are discussed at length in Chapter 7. Cant (1991a, 7) makes the perceptive comment that the teachers' colleges in themselves were politically peripheral and lacking in direct power, but provided capable and enthusiastic individuals like Renner, Knight and Macaulay. Collett extends this by noting that,

. . . they were enthusiastic and building up resources and devising all sorts of relevant material and involving the people in the schools in the producing of resources. Renner ran courses in the teaching of Geography right through the country. He got things moving in terms of the curriculum because of his broader perspective (Collett 1991, 3).

At the same time these people had the enthusiastic support of the Canterbury geography department (Cant 1991a, 7). It is not difficult to see how the teachers' college was to act as a medium assisting the communication between school teachers and the university departments.

This account which has thus far as concentrated on the activities of the Auckland and Christchurch colleges is not intended to be exclusive of the other teachers' colleges that also contributed to the institutionalisation of geography. Not all of the colleges have had close association with their constituent university. At Palmerston North, Norman Whatman was Vice-Principal of the Palmerston North Teachers' College. He was closely involved as a charter member of the NZGS and chaired the 1961 NZGS Conference at Palmerston North. There has not been significantly close involvement between the college and the university since Whatman's retirement in 1974 (Pegler 1991, 6). The fragmentation that marked the Victoria department for many years did not lend itself to close relations with the Wellington Teachers' College. At Otago, the

¹⁸ Both were teaching geography at the college.

period right through the 1950s, when the department struggled for status, saw students who wanted to continue geography at Masters level having to go up to the Canterbury department. John Huggett (1992, pers com) cites this as the principal reason for the limited interaction between the Otago department and Dunedin Teachers' College.

The contribution to New Zealand geography has been considerable. Structurally, the teachers' colleges have been in a situation to do so. Often it has been the agents within the structure who have proved to be the effective dynamic. The role of the teachers' colleges has inevitably declined in recent years with the cutting of student quotas. The uncertain nature of future curriculum design and reform within New Zealand make it difficult to predict the possible future roles of the training colleges. The very nature of their operation, however, suggests that they will again provide a forum for action, as present government curriculum structures come under increasing pressure from the teaching profession to reform

THE CONTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL GEOGRAPHERS

It would be a mistake to assume that the community of geographers begins and ends with academics and school teachers. Geography in New Zealand owes much to the professional geographers in the workplace. Their active affiliation with geography varies. The current President of the NZGS is Dr Mary Keys Watson, a Wellington stockbroking analyst. Previous Presidents have been Brian Lynch who later became Director of Civil Aviation and Euan McQueen recently retired as General Manager of the Queen Elizabeth II National Trust¹⁹. The variety of expertise demonstrated by these professionals may be partly assessed by Table 12.2 which provides a sampling of geography graduates from New Zealand universities and is indicative of the types of work skills for which geography is seen as an ideal preparation.

The contribution by professional geographers, apart from raising the profile of the discipline has direct spin-offs for geography. Apart from bearing office within the NZGS, many of these professionals have made themselves available for seminar presentations, guest lecturing, keynote addresses and professional support for departmental research. There is room in the workplace for professionals with a geographic approach to their work. McDermott (1991, 3) as Director of the

¹⁹ At the time of being president, McQueen was Deputy General Manager of New Zealand Railways.

McDermott Miller Group²⁰ is well enough aware of the distinctive contribution to be made by geographers but notes that many people have difficulty in visualising what geography is all about.

The public struggles with the concept of a geographer. Most people assume that I am an economist . . . a guy on radio said that I was a geographer!
(McDermott 1991, 2).

ANCILLARY STAFF

The contribution of ancillary staff who work in geography departments must be acknowledged. Without their assistance, geography departments would operate with the greatest of difficulty, if at all. Technicians, librarians, cartographers, secretaries and executive assistants are rarely included on staffing lists yet have ample right²¹ to be classified as professional geographers. Some, who have worked within departments for some time, develop skills that make them particularly valuable to a department. On occasions they act as a buffer between staff and students and frequently take on duties never dreamed about in job descriptions. Ancillary staff tend to stay in departments for a long period of time. Unlike the academics who will move away on promotion, the ancillary staff may work in one department for the duration of their working life. As such, people like Otago's Hugh Kidd, a graduate of the department in 1955 who remained as technician, and John McDonald at Canterbury who joined the department as a technician and studied part time to graduate in geography. He was then awarded a Churchill fellowship to undertake further work in Canada on photo interpretation. Technical and administrative staff have thus provided a most valuable longstanding link in departmental life.

TRANS TASMAN CONNECTIONS

The final section of this wide ranging chapter is concerned with recording the important connections between New Zealand and Australian geography. Reference has already been made to the connections maintained through the geographical societies. The connections between Australian and New Zealand geographers have been significant to the rise of geography in both countries. As New Zealand's closest neighbour it is natural for academics on both sides of the Tasman to participate in a number of activities that have influence the geographical practice of both groups.

²⁰ Planning Consultant company with offices in Auckland and Wellington.

²¹ This is sometimes determined by University protocols when Calendars are produced.

TABLE 12.2 Some Geographers in the Workplace (1992)

Alec Astle	<i>Deputy Principal, Palmerston North Boys High</i>
Patrick Aldwell	<i>Research Field Leader, Forest Research Institute</i>
Dave Birrell	<i>Managing Director, DDB Needham NZ Ltd</i>
Bruce Burton	<i>Fletcher Challenge Ltd</i>
Stephen Cox	<i>Assistant Registrar (Research) Massey University</i>
Clare Crawley	<i>Manager, Corporate Policy, Palmerston North City Corporation</i>
Ron Garland	<i>Lecturer in Market Research, Massey University</i>
Ross Graham	<i>Trade Commissioner, Trade Development Board, Kuala Lumpur</i>
John Haylock	<i>Business Development Manager, Palmerston North Enterprise Board</i>
Jan Henderson	<i>First Secretary, Diplomatic Corp, Ministry of External Relations and Trade</i>
Jim Hickey	<i>Weather Presenter, TVNZ</i>
Trevor Hook	<i>Ranger, Mana Island</i>
Judith Johnston	<i>Director, Research and Development Unit, Department of Health</i>
Philip McDermott	<i>Director, McDermott Miller Group Ltd</i>
Euan McQueen	<i>General Manager, Queen Elisabeth II National Trust</i>
Sally Marx	<i>Consultant, Applied Geology Associates</i>
Edwina Palmer	<i>Department of Asian Studies, University of Canterbury</i>
Harvey Perkins	<i>Lecturer, Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, Lincoln University.</i>
Jim Sallinger	<i>Scientist, New Zealand Climate Centre, NZ Meteorological Service</i>
Evelyn Stokes	<i>Member, Waitangi Tribunal</i>
Doug Tennant	<i>Manager, Finance Policy, DSIR</i>
Andrew Trilln	<i>Associate Professor, Social Policy, Massey University</i>
Brent Wheeler	<i>Economic Consultant, Wheeler Campbell Associates</i>

Australia has 16 university geography departments compared to New Zealand's six. The close cultural and economic ties between the two countries are strengthened by the fact that no visa restrictions exist to prevent staff transfers between the two countries for Australian and New Zealand citizens.

The Universities

University geography in Australia commenced in 1920 with the appointment of T Griffith Taylor to the foundation Chair in geography at the University of Sydney. Taylor had been a graduate assistant to the geologist T W Edgeworth David (Powell, 1986, 17) who had influenced his fellow Australian, W N Benson, later to become Professor of Geology at Otago and who was to be influential in having geography established at Otago.

Taylor left Australia in 1928 and his place was taken by J. McDonald Holmes who was to have close links with New Zealand geography in the early days of the Canterbury department. Powells' (1986) generous appraisal of Holmes recognises the difficulty Holmes must have faced in following Taylor's footsteps. This does not alter the widely held perception that Australian university geography did not really flourish under McDonald Holmes (Lawrence 1991, Linge 1991, Fox, 1992, Biddle 1991) This thesis is only concerned with McDonald Holmes' career as it touches New Zealand geography. This it did directly and indirectly.

In a direct sense Taylor's involvement was important. Jobberns was obligated by the University of New Zealand for reasons of proximity, to use Holmes as an external examiner until 1949. Holmes must have represented somewhat of a nemesis to anxious students. McCaskill recalls his turn.

. . . all the members of the honours class, there were about twenty of us, drew pictures of McDonald Holmes marking our theses. It was surprising the number of horns that J McDonald Holmes developed (McCaskill 1991, 2).

Holmes was also to act as external examiner for Cumberland's DSc in 1945 (Cumberland 1991, 7).

In an indirect sense, the decline which marked Australian university geography in the 1950s and the upsurge in Australian university establishment in the 1960s following

the Murray Report²², were to prove beneficial to New Zealand Geography. Prior to the Murray Report, Australian graduates entering the teaching profession were not encouraged to do more than a first degree. By contrast, New Zealand teachers would receive a salary loading for having done a post-graduate degree.

There seemed to be an amazingly large number of students doing Masters . . . There was a structure that encouraged students to do an MA which was not existing in Australia at the time. Only one or two people were ever encouraged to go on. The Australian programme seemed to be aimed at the undergraduate programme at the time whereas New Zealand seemed to be much more progressive and more complimentary to strong undergraduate programmes with a strong and vigorous graduate activity. This seemed to make the school programme stronger as well because of the teachers who went through the MA programme (Golledge 1991, 2).

With well qualified graduates coming out of New Zealand geography departments, there were plenty of openings in the Australian universities. Russell Blong states it plainly.

The five year Masters degree generally meant that you were bloody well qualified to get jobs in junior teaching positions (in universities) in Australia and you were competing with people with four year degrees from Australia. More marketable for sure (Blong 1991, 3).

Curson's (1991, 2) comment is just as plain.

More than doubled my salary by coming to Australia from New Zealand

The rapid expansion of the Australian university system during the 1960s and 1970s, came at a time when jobs within the New Zealand geography departments were beginning to dry up.

The opportunities were in Australia when they were drying up in New Zealand. Australia was also offering more pay at the time. Also the ethic to go overseas to train and to work that is ingrained to the Kiwis (Hesp 1991, 2).

²² The Australian equivalent of the Hughes Parry Report.

School Geography

School geography has also been the source of links between the two countries, but on a more tenuous basis, due to the more centralised nature of New Zealand education which was not encumbered by the differing State systems that had plagued geography curriculum reform in Australia (Biddle 1991, 2). Jobberns had gained copies of Australian work schemes as early as 1940²³ with a view to adapting them for New Zealand consumption. Thirty years later, when the work of the NGCC was getting under way, Don Biddle, as Principal of the Sydney Teachers' College and Foundation President of the Australian Geography Teachers' Association in 1967, twice responded, in 1970 and 1974, to invitations to come to New Zealand and present his ideas on curriculum construction. Although he was to experience an undefined feeling that his New Zealand counterparts were determined to develop 'home grown' reforms (Biddle 1991, 2), the impress of his 'Australian' contribution may be seen in the structures adopted by the NGCC to initiate curriculum reform in New Zealand²⁴. When one reads Biddle's considerable publications in the curriculum area (for examples see Biddle 1974,1977,1978,1980,1982) one realises the extent to which Young was undoubtedly influenced by Biddle in deriving his approach to organising the way the NGCC should approach curriculum matters.

CONCLUSION

This penultimate chapter has brought together some of the remaining major and minor features that became part of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. There are more that could be mentioned. Scant reference has been made of contemporary New Zealand links with geography departments in North America, Asia and Europe. Significant contributions from Teaching Fellows have not received sufficient mention. Academic geographers who have moved out of geography into other university departments have made undocumented contributions. The writer is tempted to name a number of current geographers whose work represents the backbone of current geographical practice in this country. A thesis of this nature tends to identify the more famous or notorious, often at the expense of the others. To yield to the temptation would recognise some but render a disservice to the rest.

²³ See Chapter 7.

²⁴ For example see Fig 7.3.

CHAPTER 13

REFLECTING ON THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND

*Better is the end of a
thing than the beginning
thereof.
Ecclesiastes 7:6*

INTRODUCTION

To clearly bring theory and practice together and by way of recapitulation, it is appropriate to begin this last chapter by asking, What claim does critical institutional theory have in contributing to an understanding of the way geography has evolved in New Zealand?

The immediate answer is that critical theory about institutionalisation allows general questions to be asked in a way that provides a unique focus. The focus looks beyond events and patterns to the processes that enabled and prompted them. Three simple focusing questions ask 'Why?', 'For Whom?' and 'To Whose Advantage'? It is these questions that avoid the 'rational development' model of institutional development which assumes a logical and vaguely harmonious sequence of events. In turning now to present an overall view of the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand, it is not intended to needlessly repeat what has already been covered at some length in this thesis. Rather it is a repositioning of selected events in and aspects of New Zealand geography that serve to provide an understanding of structure and agency in the institutionalisation of geography. The subheadings to follow, relate to the general questions posed in the first chapter.

UNIVERSITY GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND BECOMES INSTITUTIONALISED

University geography in New Zealand became institutionalised under George Jobberns who oversaw the establishment of the first Department of Geography at

Canterbury University College in 1937. Any university geography taught before then was allied to other disciplines and did not represent any formal attempt to have geography recognised as a distinct academic entity.

The focusing questions of Why?, For Whom? and To Whose Advantage? suggest that we question why Jobberns identified himself so strongly with geography? He was clearly a talented man anxious to establish a niche for himself. He recognised the precarious nature of his tenureship when the teachers' colleges were closed as an economy measure for several years from 1934. He was also committed to teaching.

I was informally attached to the Department of Geology at Canterbury College. There by a mutually friendly arrangement with Dr R. S. Allan, I taught a group of students a full year's Stage 1 course in geography as prescribed in the university calendar (Jobberns 1959, 5).

Jobberns saw an opportunity and moved to take advantage of it. Several significant agents were co-opted by Jobberns to achieve his aim. He negotiated with Dr Robin Allan of the geology department and the University College's Chairman of Council, C T Aschman who had been his teacher and mentor in physical geography at teachers' college in 1914. He also had the support of J G Polson, Principal of Christchurch Teachers' College, and the Rector of Canterbury University College, James Hight. This very initial step in the institutionalisation of geography, presents a paradoxical view of agency, with the key agent trying to reconcile or reduce uncertainty. Kurke (1988, 200) hypothesises that the reduction of uncertainty (permitting exquisite adaptation to an existing environment) is incompatible with flexibility (or adaptability to a changing environment) and as such, represents an important organisational dilemma. If this is true, then it would be argued that Jobberns adapted to the existing environment and made opportunity within existing structures to knowingly lay the foundation for a new department.

Structural Templates

As an academic discipline, geography was not simply plucked from the air and given an identity. Hinings and Greenwood (1988, 54) argue that institutionalising change is legitimated as a template in which pre-existing structures define the appropriate structures to follow. If so, the initial organisational pattern for geography was determined by the way in which geology was organised. Disciplines like geology were predisposed to the concept of geography. University geography commenced in 1937 under the aegis of the Canterbury geology department, demonstrating a strong

geomorphological link in doing so. It was not long before geography established its own identity. By 1939 a stronger regional emphasis is evidenced in the college Calendar (1939, 134) and the department was following its own track. To a degree, geography eclipsed geology, as Jobberns was awarded the geography chair before the more senior Allen was granted the chair in geology. W N Benson in Otago played an important role in determining the form of geography there. He had studied geography under T W Edgeworth-David in Sydney. Jobberns (1959, 5) notes that Benson followed closely the ideas of Griffith Taylor, Edgeworth-David's successor. The Victoria department was established under C A Cotton who, in the first part of the century was the most distinguished geomorphologist New Zealand had seen (Fitzharris and Kearsley 1987, 200).

The concept of a structural template can be further extended if one considers the way in which all university departments are set up. Taking Canterbury as an example again; it hardly needs stating that Canterbury College was based on an English system of university organisation. This 'template' of departmental organisation was to be duplicated in all subsequent geography departments with the possible exception of Waikato where the department was established with a more interdisciplinary focus. This pattern or 'template' assumes greater importance when one realises just what was being established and reproduced. It was more than just a way of organising a department. The template of curriculum organisation established by Jobberns showed up in the early course structures at Auckland, Otago and Wellington. The way in which academic staff were appointed was quickly institutionalised when one appreciates the 'king-maker' role of Professor R. O. Buchanan at the University of London. Buchanan's ability to influence appointments in the early days of New Zealand geography cannot be understated.

Jobberns was not responsible for the institutionalisation of any particularly strong ideological thrust in New Zealand geography. This was left to Cumberland, and has been covered in some detail in Chapter 9. Jobberns was influenced by Carl Sauer but did not pursue the rigid policy of proselytising an ideological view with the same forcefulness that was to distinguish Ken Cumberland and Keith Buchanan. The network of formal overseas contacts (departmental visitors) and informal inputs (for example the influence of Hartshorne and Sauer) moderated the set of practices that characterised New Zealand geography into a form that was not only recognisable and acceptable to the University of New Zealand, but recognisable and acceptable to geographers overseas. Strengthening this was the practice of having theses and some examination scripts marked overseas. From this it is clear that exogenous

forces acting from outside New Zealand played an important institutionalising role in determining how university geography in New Zealand was organised and taught. Some of these linkages were less obvious than others. In other areas, like that of the standard textbooks written by overseas authors, the links are plain to see.

It is important to understand, in some detail, what must have been involved with the initial institutionalisation. It is pointless to presume that a new academic department could come into existence without some sort of contestation either intellectually or organisationally. As a broad based discipline, geography was taking bits off other departments which had previously been responsible for economic geography and geomorphology. It was also having to battle for recognition as a science. That contest has been covered in Chapter 9. Further to this were battles for physical space and sharing of resources. It was these sorts of pressures that mandated that geography should, organisationally, very quickly resemble all other departments within the University of New Zealand. Geography should pattern itself on what was being done in other university systems. Jobberns, and his cohorts, were obliged to exploit any opportunity to employ materials, capital and service in order to ensure the infant department's survival. The more quickly the geography department was seen to have become institutionalised as a distinct discipline, the greater its chances of survival. As Zucker (1977) notes, this kind of social permanence may provide the advantage of stability, but it simultaneously creates rigidities that may interfere with organisational performance. Thus the pressure to conform to what is deemed acceptable practice is powerful, but rarely articulated. The same forces that prevent the institutionalisation of a radically innovative department can also act to rapidly legitimate one that conforms. It also starts to answer the general question that the unique trajectory of geography in New Zealand, did not necessarily signify a unique geography. There is an important difference between unique and distinctive. The published works of Cumberland (1944) *Soil Erosion in New Zealand* and Clark's (1949) *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals*, were important in directing New Zealand along a pragmatic, empirical path (Marcus 1987, 15) which was to give New Zealand a distinctive but not entirely unique geographical flavour.

It noteworthy to observe that the closest that geography in New Zealand has come to being unique, occurred place in a department where the initial institutionalisation had taken place seven years before. The uniqueness came with the radical geography promulgated by Professor Keith Buchanan who was not faced with the task of establishing a set of acceptable practices. This had been done for him by D W McKenzie who, like Jobberns had brought a new geography department out of a

geology department. It presents a scenario in which, as Hannan and Freeman (1977) propose, a *specialist* strategy took the place of a *generalist*.

A generalist strategy exploits a broader range of resources but does not exploit any specific subset of them as fully as a specialist strategy (Kurke 1988, 201).

As a *generalist*, McKenzie was not about to rock any academic boats in setting up a department. His actions were the same as Jobberns before him and those of Cumberland and Garnier who were simultaneously setting up new departments. A *generalist* strategy reduces the possibility of failure and denotes a department which is generally adaptable. Buchanan's arrival in 1953 marked the advent of a *specialist* strategy.

A *specialist* strategy exploits a limited set of resources at the risk of not being adaptable to changes in those resources. When an organisation is subjected to a change in the niche that it has exploited, the specialist strategy will have produced behaviour no longer optimally suited to the environment, and the organisation may fail (Kurke 1988, 201).

In the case of the Victoria department, it did not fail, but certainly paid a price in being isolated for many years because it simply did not fit what was generally considered as being the acceptable norm in New Zealand geography. The last few paragraphs have attempted to explain how that norm of acceptable practice became institutionalised.

The first phase of institutionalisation of New Zealand University geography was completed with the establishment of all the geography departments. In so stating, the writer points out considerable overlap. While some departments were being formed, others had moved on to the era of reproducing institutional forms. Although Canterbury set a template which the other departments followed, there were still unique circumstances in their establishment. First, the several common features.

1. The thrust to expand the education system following the 1944 Thomas Report ensured the need to train geography teachers in the universities.
2. The infant New Zealand Geographical Society was very much concerned with promulgating the need for teaching geography in the universities. This was coordinated by Jobberns, Cumberland and Garnier who had personal and professional reasons for wanting geography established in the University Colleges.

3. Funding for the new departments was coming from a common source, as a special allocation from the government. This was also the cause of lengthy delays in getting the department off the ground.

The uniqueness appears to have emanated from those who were chosen to establish the departments. As agents with power, to a greater or lesser degree, operating within the departmental structure and interacting with other agents, Jobberns, Cumberland, Garnier and McKenzie all functioned differently. Jobberns expanded his horizons with overseas input. Cumberland initiated a very rigorous academic programme centered on the ideas of Richard Hartshorne. Garnier made a promising start, the curtailment of which was to limit the department for years. McKenzie was content to run the department in a way that signaled its geological parentage. There is no doubt that Jobberns and Cumberland were the principal operators in the early institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. One is reminded of the statement made by Melvin Marcus in his commemorative article celebrating university geography's golden jubilee, in which he concludes that geography in New Zealand,

. . . has been significantly, and perhaps disproportionately, influenced by a few distinguished strong willed professors (1987, 15).

The different sets of agents using similar structures, ensured that the circumstances were all unique. By the time Massey and Waikato established geography departments, things had changed considerably. The establishment of the Massey department was coloured by political convenience and the extra responsibilities expected of Thomson, as Dean of a Faculty, probably ensured a *generalist* approach to geography at Massey. The Waikato department became a fixture within a different structure based on the interdisciplinary 'Sussex' system. The fact that Duncan employed a *generalist* strategy within that structure meant that the department also conformed to conventional geography as much as possible.

Formal Knowledge, Power and the Profession of Geography

The normative view of the professions places the responsibility for determining a valid foundation for the professional knowledge and practice of geography in the hands of the academic geographers themselves. This complex process, not previously described in the New Zealand setting, has been a feature of this thesis. The following discussion attempts to place some measure on the wide ranging question which probes the relationship between those who create, transmit and apply geographic knowledge and the actual exercise of power? What might initially appear as going over ground already canvassed in this thesis, is in fact, a final theoretical

exercise to link geography to power and formal knowledge. The discussion relates to Fig 13.1 which attempts to render these relationships in a diagrammatic setting.

There is still a fundamental question to be satisfied. The question is, How is it possible for formal geographical knowledge to have an impact on anything? Paradoxically the subsidiary questions arising from it have already been addressed. The subsidiary questions posit, What are the characteristics of those who are the carriers or agents of formal knowledge? Who are they? and What are the characteristics of the institutions that make their activities as agents of knowledge viable? The reason why these questions have been addressed first is quite simple; one will have difficulty in understanding the role of geographic knowledge without first understanding the character of those who declare and apply it¹. And to understand the character of those who declare and apply it, one must also understand the structures they created and sustained as vehicles to facilitate their work.

How is it possible for formal geographical knowledge to have an impact on anything? The agents in New Zealand geography cannot appeal to the nature of geographical knowledge itself - that is as Freidson (1986, 14) would argue, whether or not it is objectively transcendent or not, teleological or not, pure or not, humanistic or not. The answer relates to the circumstances that are necessary in order for the activity of producing, transmitting, or applying such knowledge to go on. This study has established that clearly enough, but the fact remains that academic geographers are a breed apart. Freidson puts it this way.

In contrast to school teachers in 'lower' educational institutions, university professors are granted enough time free from teaching² to make possible for them to do scientific, scholarly, and intellectual research and writing that does not generally have sufficient market value to provide a living by itself (Freidson 1986, 15).

By this, Freidson is asserting that academics, within limits by virtue of their sinecures, are free to address only each other, rather than the general public. At the same time, they are also free to communicate to the public without being directly dependent on them for economic support. It is thus argued, that it is the independent nature of the

¹ At the same time it is recognised that the way in which geographic knowledge is used may have nothing to do with its teachers.

² There would be some vigorous denial of this.

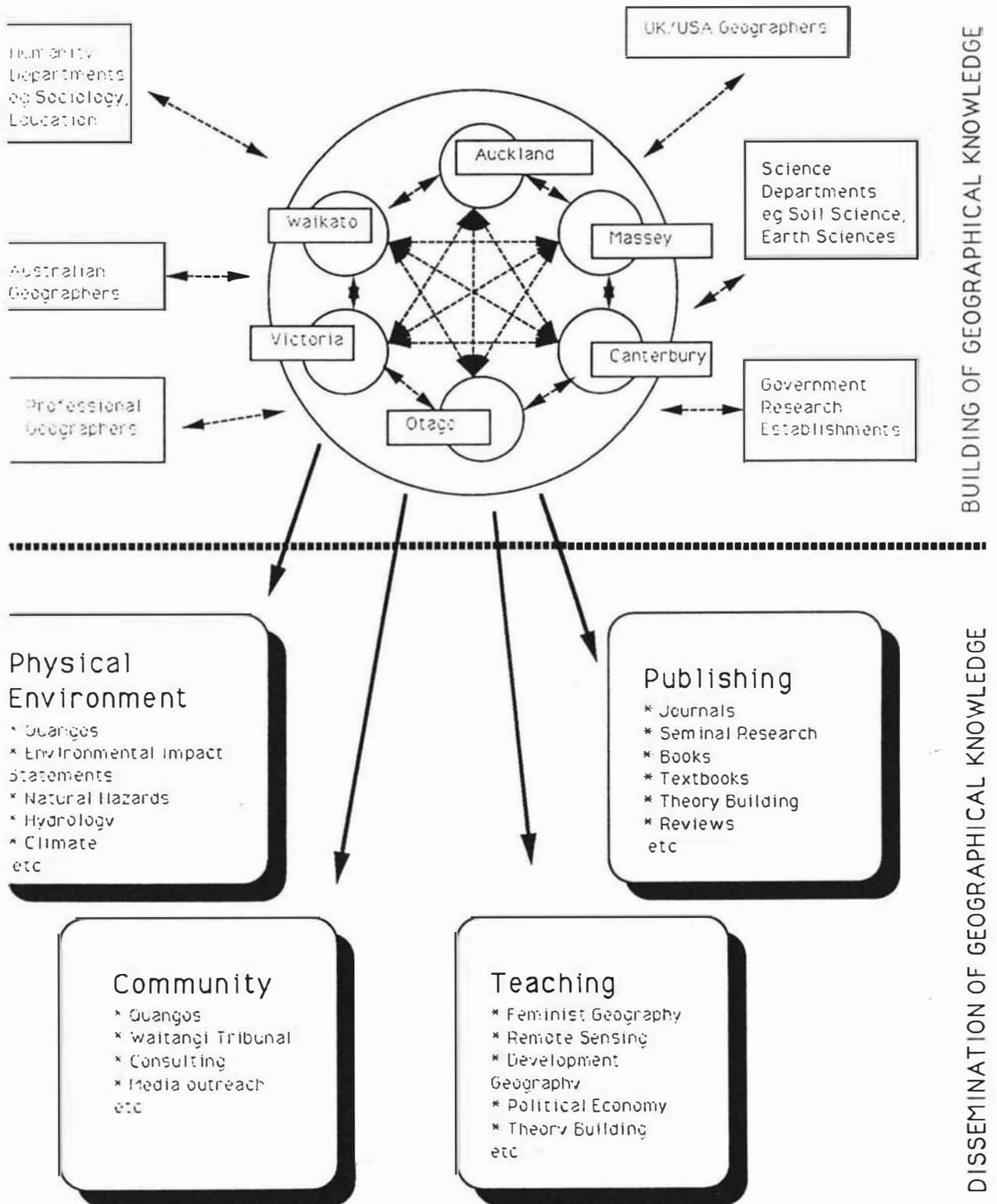


FIGURE 13.1 Building and Disseminating Geographic Knowledge in New Zealand

academics involved with geography that make it possible for them to play a strategic role in the creation rather than the mere transmission of formal knowledge.

By virtue of being members of the profession of teaching they gain the opportunity to be preoccupied with the pure, the transcendent, and the teleological, none of which are ordinarily considered to be strictly professional issues (Freidson 1986, 16).

It is this feature that most clearly distinguishes between university and high school geography teachers. Thus the delineation of professional power accorded to academics, giving them access to power and the institutional complex that creates and sustains that position, furnishes insight into the exercise of power within university geography departments. It remains to provide some examples.

Knowledge Building

Geographical knowledge in New Zealand can be identified in several ways. The building and disseminating of knowledge (as in Fig 13.1) over 54 years can be identified broadly and specifically. Broadly in the sense that it is possible to note periods in which, in part or in whole, New Zealand geographers made substantial contributions to knowledge. The Canterbury department in the 1940s determined a form of geography characterised by a field research tradition. In the 1960s, the department oversaw the entry of quantified geography. The Auckland department in the 1950s established a firm image for rigorous scholarship and editorial strength. The Victoria department in the 1960s was forging a radical geography. Waikato University in the 1980s led New Zealand and Australia in establishing feminist geography. When geographers meet, it is not uncommon to hear these departments referred to by these characteristics, almost as a sobriquet. It would be misleading to assume this to be the end of knowledge building projects which may be claimed for New Zealand geography. The second level, or site at which knowledge building takes place is more personal and involves groups and individuals. It is at this level that horizontal collaboration takes place, crossing departmental barriers, doing much to weld otherwise disparate departments together. The writer at this point, wishes to make clear that what follows are only examples, in no way intending to give the impression that those not singled out for mention have not contributed sufficiently to the building and dissemination of geographical knowledge.

Fig 13.1 indicates four main venues by which geographic knowledge is disseminated. The first of these is **Publlshng** which covers a variety of activities.

Names like K B Cumberland and R J Johnston come to mind as prolific authors and editors of journals and books. The exercise of power as editors of the *New Zealand Geographer* would be admitted to by all those who edited the journal (see Table 12.1). Collaborative seminal research and theory building has been undertaken by, for example Le Heron and Britton, working from different departments. There is also research conducted from within a single department. Perry, Moran, Britton and Anderson are examples of student/staff research involving venture capital, deregulation and rural change. This type of work also extended to joint research involving graduate students. Soons and Selby are examples of a geographer and earth scientist collaborating in textbook writing. Franklin's (1978) *Trade Growth and Anxiety* has been used as a text in other geography departments. Bedford has collaborated with Brookfield in Australia, on demographic work. Owens, at Canterbury, and Fitzharris at Otago have jointly published on avalanches.

A second area is that of **Teaching** in which powerful ideas take a tangible form when students act from them. A prime example is that of the growth of feminist geography through the teaching of Magee, Johnson and Larner at Waikato. Remote sensing at Auckland has been made attractive due to the teaching of Cochrane. Buchanan and Franklin taught a unique form of devilment and economic geography with great effect.

Some geographers have had immense impact on the **Community**. Stokes, at Waikato has the distinction of being a full member of the Waitangi Tribunal. The popularising of geography by Cumberland via media outreach undoubtedly did much for geography in this country. He broke new ground in the dissemination of geography with his monumental *Landmark* series for television in the early 1980s.

Physical geographers have disseminated knowledge in a number of ways, some of which is directly measurable on the **Environment**. Lister's involvement with the Clutha Valley Development Commission and his active participation on the Otago Regional Development Council was significant. Others advise on matters identified by the public as relating to geography. Heerdegen, at Massey, maintains a regular newspaper column on weather patterns. Crozier and McConchie at Victoria are frequently consulted on natural hazards in the Wellington region. Environmental impact statements are a feature of development within New Zealand and both human and physical geographers have contributed to these.

This section has essayed the way in which geographical knowledge is built and propagated, thus becoming part of an institutionalised process. It is never straightforward, or even to be taken for granted. Despite the fragmentation that is often perceived, geography departments are resource centres in which individual agents operate. Departmental settings may present settings for obstacles or opportunities for the development of knowledge building programmes. Even though, when put together, the New Zealand geography departments may not have exhibited great ideological unity, they have demonstrated ideological distinction, generally from a few key individuals - the 'makers and shakers' of geography in New Zealand.

THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF HIGH SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY

The conclusion of Chapter 7 details the institutional process as it related specifically to high school geography in New Zealand. This discussion reiterates similar ground but now places high school geography in the wider setting of the Universities and New Zealand society.

High school geography in New Zealand has always followed a different institutional track to that of university geography. There is no question that there have been strong linkages, generally one-way, between university and high school, but the institutional forces operating have been primarily distinct. High School geography has more closely reflected the social and political agendas, covered in detail in Chapter 7.

This thesis argues that the institutionalisation of school geography in New Zealand has taken place in at least three phases.

The First Phase

The 1877 Education Act was important in that it was the first centralised placement of geography within the school curriculum. Before that time, geography like any other school subject was in the hands of regional boards of education, and was not subject to any form of curriculum control or development. By posing the focusing questions of Why?, For Whom? and To Whose Advantage?, the purpose for school geography at that time is soon derived. The education agenda was serving distinct social and political needs, discussed in some detail in Chapter 6 in which a credentialling function, commensurate with the New Zealand colonial economy of the late 19th Century, is apparent. Any curriculum structure associated with school geography was derived from the way geography was being taught in England. From the turn of the

century, there were some serious attempts to write geography textbooks from New Zealand but without any specialised attention to curriculum reform.

The Second Phase

The way geography was taught did not alter significantly until several, not entirely unconnected factors, co-incided during the late 1930s. These were the rise of social studies and the formation of the first university geography departments. The level at which these were connected is in the timing of an increased interest in expanding the school system with linkages extending through the school system to the universities. The Minister for Education, Peter Fraser was strongly influenced by the meetings of the *New Education Fellowship* in 1937. The economy was showing the first signs of recovery from the Great Depression of the early 1930s and Fraser was anxious to tap into the burgeoning overseas concern with new theories of education practice. As Minister, he would have had to give the approval for the establishment of the geography department at Canterbury. He was interested enough to pay a personal visit to the department in 1941, after he became Prime Minister. Several things happened in a short space of time in which the school and university system interacted. The geography department at Canterbury was anxious to strengthen its claim to legitimacy and quickly became involved with trying to change the way in which geography was taught at school. Jobberns, with the consent of the Department of Education, organised the *Geography in Schools Group* (1940) with the intention of restructuring the geography curriculum. The interest in doing this ran both ways. It was to help the schools and also to ensure that a student flow-on to geography at university would occur. The fact that the war curtailed the group's activities, matters little now. In retrospect, it clearly forged the first strong link between university and school geography. This continued in other ways; Jobberns and James Ross commenced a publishing liaison in school textbooks that was to help institutionalise the practice of school geography in New Zealand. The same is to be claimed for Cumberland and James Fox who were also productive in the publishing of school text books. A common link in this has been the publishing company of Whitcombe and Tombs. Bertie Whitcombe was a neighbour and fellow 'Christchurch Club'³ member with Jobberns. Again it can be seen that the process of institutionalisation extends across different but connected planes.

³ One needs to appreciate the extent of the networks of influence existing in the traditional clubs, of which the 'Christchurch Club' was the epitome.

The links between university and high school geography went well beyond furnishing the school system with the standard geography textbooks. The Department of Education relied on the university geography departments to write and periodically revise the syllabus. This practice was continued for many years up until the time of the NGCC in the 1970s. They also set and moderated the senior high school examinations and would report regularly to the Minister, their opinions on the conduct of geography in schools. A strong reinforcement to the system would have been found in the initial university geography students, many of whom entered the teaching profession, and who would have felt comfortable with teaching the regionalism which then epitomised New Zealand geography. It also needs to be stated that university geographers like Jobberns, Cumberland and Fox, in earlier days and the likes of Williams and Cant latterly, went to great lengths to ensure that school geography was a good training ground for future university geography students.

Thus high school geography in New Zealand became an integral part of the education scene. As in other spheres, once a system is firmly set in place, several opposing forces commence to operate. There is one force which is propelled by those who feel comfortable with the derived structure and will be prepared to resist attempts to change the *status quo*. These work towards a reproduction of the existing institutional form. In this case it was the geography departments and the Department of Education which had an apparently cosy arrangement. The second force springs from desire for change and will to work towards the cessation or modification of the institutional form. This latter tendency grew and finally contested for the right to become a dominant force in curriculum change thus initiating the third phase.

The Third Phase

The third phase in the institutionalisation of high school geography was the significant work of the *National Geography Curriculum Committee* (NGCC) which went far beyond a reworking of previous syllabus efforts. The new syllabus was significant in that it represented a 'ground up' approach to curriculum reform never seen before in New Zealand. The phase was greatly accelerated by what was taking place in university geography. The entrenched regionalism of the high school syllabus was becoming increasingly criticised by younger teachers who were anxious to put into practice the newer theoretical and methodological ideas coming from the university geography departments.

Conclusion

In concluding this section on some of the significant institutionalising steps of geography in New Zealand, and at the possible risk of repetition, there is value in checking these against the general questions.

In this summary of the way in which New Zealand geography emerged, one becomes aware of the conflation of structure and agency. One does simply not exist without the other. One cannot but conclude that the initial act of institutionalising a new phenomenon, in this case geography, requires the active input of motivated agents with a gift for manipulating structural forms. Even at the very outset there was an incredible array of possible outcomes which had the potential to push geography in a number of directions. The conclusion of this chapter will illustrate how just one single conversation in 1937 could have changed the whole profile of New Zealand geography. One also comes away with the conclusion that fundamental adjustments to geography as a discipline were more likely to take place in the beginning when geography was actively being institutionalised. Once the practice of geography became recognisably set, change came slowly.

What became Institutionalised was a set of practices which dictated the way in which geography could and was to be taught and departments operated. This occurred very quickly in response to the unstated need to assume a legitimate structure as fast as possible. The practices included teaching techniques, class organisation, examination and assessment procedures, course content and development. This set of practices brought geography into line with the structural requirements of the University of New Zealand and also into line with geographical practice overseas. Also institutionalised was a corpus of knowledge strongly moderated by geography overseas. At the same time, strong contributions with a local flavour ensured that New Zealand was to establish a reputation for teaching geography with a pragmatic appearance. The set of practices and the corpus of knowledge which represented early geography in New Zealand was thus a constitution of the unpredictable interworkings of the structures and agents which were brought into operation.

Significant developments during the process of Institutionalisation are not always easy to pinpoint for the simple reason that each significant point hinges, in turn, on other contingent events. The writer, in interviewing many people, has noted

that what one person regards as an important institutionalising moment, may differ from what others regard as significant. Some developments, however, have universal appeal as having been very significant. In particular, was the way in which Jobberns set about laying plans to have a geography department come into existence. The appointment of Cumberland to a teaching position in New Zealand was fundamentally important. The post-war expansion of the university system and the setting up of the *New Zealand Geographical Society* enabled the public to discover what geography was about. Finally, and not unrelated, the enthusiasm with which teachers and students became involved in the new discipline, did much to ensure that geography became firmly institutionalised.

Did the unique trajectory of geography in New Zealand signify a unique geography? This thesis argues that, in fact, it did not, because of the factors involved with the rapid institutionalisation already detailed in this chapter. The geography was progressive and highly respected but did not produce any great new theory builders. Here again, one ponders whether it was the constraining structures or the interests and capacities of the agents, or both which provide the reasons. The relatively small size of the New Zealand geographical community suggests that it was a matter of statistics which dictated a conventional geography. The fact still remains, however, that when Buchanan attempted to carve out a new type of geography, the New Zealand establishment of institutional geography stood against him.

Using critical institutional theory, **Is it possible to say that the historical events that occurred and underwrote the trajectory of New Zealand geography were in any way predictable?** The answer is yes and no. One can readily sense the pressures that the early geographers felt to set up and work under structures that would guarantee rapid recognition and acceptance. It is easier to identify these factors from a distance. The structures are seen as having been reasonably predictable in their conformity with existing ones abroad. One cannot say the same for the agents. On an individual level, it would be difficult enough to suggest predictability, but when interacting with each other and within structures, then it is impossible to state that the way it all happened in New Zealand was predictable. What can be argued, is that some of the structural mechanisms which were set in place by the early geographers became enduring simply because these were the initial structures. This, of course, is difficult to prove because structures also endure when they are seen to work. A possible example would be an intellectual one in which 'areal differentiation', once fixed within the practice of New Zealand geography assumed an, arguably, structural dimension in dictating the whole approach to the

discipline for many years⁴. Another example stems from the strongly centralised mode of university control which was the pattern of governance associated with the University of New Zealand before its dissolution in 1961. Even though the departments thereafter had only to recognise the authority of their own university, the highly centralised structure of control continued on in matters of budget allocation and staffing appointments where the real power was still seen to be in the hands of the university administration. Innovation has to do several things. It not only needs to prove its intrinsic worth, but also needs to clearly demonstrate that previous regimes of thought are no longer sustainable.

In becoming institutionalised, New Zealand geography had to cross a threshold at which it became something identifiable. One side of the threshold was a loosely defined structural possibility allied with agencies. No single event can lay claim to constituting the process. Rather, as Smircich (1983, 160) notes,

The emergence of social organisation depends on the emergence of shared interpretive schemes, expressed in language and other symbolic constructions that develop through social interaction. Such schemes provide the basis for *shared systems of meaning that allow day-to-day activities to become routinised*⁵ or taken for granted.

It is at this point when a discipline has been 'routinised' or 'officialised', that the threshold is crossed and institutionalisation has taken place, or, as Berger and Luckmann (cited in Scott 1987, 495) are wont to say, there has been a reciprocal typification of habitualised actions by types of actors. Starting as process, it remains so as the institution sustains and justifies its continued existence. Within the changing abstraction known as a structure, actors are not merely bystanders but active participants in the making of experience. As Smircich (1983, 161) suggests, they impose themselves on, and thus make, their world through intentional actions that assumes their meaning and significance within the context of interpretive schemes embodying a particular pattern of purpose, value and meaning. It is within this context that we now turn our attention to how geography was *sustained* as an institutional form which though sometimes seen as concrete and real, is in actuality, constantly being enacted and given meaning.

⁴ A classic illustration of how intellectual approaches may be retained in the face of newer approaches is given in J. A. Peddiwell's (1939) *The Sabre-tooth Curriculum*.

⁵ My emphasis.

THE REPRODUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION OF INSTITUTIONALISED GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND

The initial institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand is one thing. How it continues to reproduce and transform itself is another. This account draws on the theories of cultural reproduction outlined in Chapter 3. The underlying question which asks just what has, and is being reproduced and transformed in New Zealand geography, will be approached by first clarifying those behaviours which are associated with geographers. These behaviours which do not exist in isolation, operate within a context entwined within structural conditions which influence their operation, and as such, their perpetuation. The section then strives to satisfy the general questions put concerning the institutionalising process, by taking a closer examination of the controlling elements of institutional existence which places very limiting constraints on change within geography.

What has been Reproduced or Transformed?

The question may be simple but the answer is not. What has been reproduced or transformed is a very complex combination of behaviours and structural conditions. Some are readily identifiable; others are easier to describe than identify.

The Behaviours

Fundamental to the discipline is the teaching, a complex function involving - competence as a geographer, competence as a teacher, rapport, personal organisation, course design, course allocation, appointment procedures, teaching loads, attracting students, networking with other departments, field trips etc.

Also essential to university geography is the research function which involves - provision of research facilities, publishing frequency, collaboration, citations indexes, invitations to publish, conference invitations, seminar presentations, outside consultancy.

There is the non-teaching involvement in the department's activities - committee involvement, negotiating on behalf of the department, 'Quangos'⁶, rotating and casual administrative responsibilities.

Within the school setting there is a different scale of operation in which teaching is again the central function - teaching, programme creation and revision, in-service inputs, Board of Geography Teachers, Society Membership, Conference participation etc.

Naturally these behaviours, or activities, do not exist in isolation from each other. It is their interaction which demonstrate the interplay of structure and agency.

Structural Conditions

The day to day activities of departmental or school life, reveal little to suggest that institutional reproduction is taking place in a structural sense. It is this feature, this thesis argues, that makes cultural reproduction so effective in that educational institutions in New Zealand serve to reproduce the production and distribution of the dominant culture in a tacitly hidden way. There is a lack of theoretical clarity about such fundamental units and relationships, especially of social formation reproduction as extended through time to show how such formations are perpetuated, developed and transformed. Chapter 3 postulates that the work of Bourdieu presents the most appropriate mode of analysis, drawing a distinction between a reproduction of the mode of production and the reproduction of social organisation and culture. Put in its most simple form, By what mechanisms do the configurations of knowledge, administrative procedures, rules and codes of conduct keep going?

The key focusing questions of Why?, For Whom? and To Whose Advantage? are again put to suggest a contested process. Why should the system, once institutionalised, continue? For Whom is it continuing to be institutionalised and to Whose advantage? Using Bourdieu's circular conception of *habitus* as a structural set of dispositions which generate practices of an appropriate kind, one is in a situation of being able to give some articulation to the process. The behaviours or activities listed above, in the setting of geography, are all contingent on structural conditions which govern (rather than determine) their operation and perpetuation. The first of these is the manner of making appointments.

⁶ Quasi Autonomous Non Government Organisations.

Appointments

Right from the start, the system of appointments to geography departments ensured the reproduction of the newly institutionalised pattern. Applicants for academic positions are carefully screened to ensure that they will fit into what that department, or university administration sees, as a competent performer within the mainstream of the discipline. Even in the latter day setting of geography in the 1990s, it is quite clear that, even though staff and students are given input into academic appointments, the decision is always going to be made in favour of a predictable performer. The concept of what constitutes a predictable performer is formed on the perception of need based on an existing structure. In the case of geography departments, the predictable performer is someone who is qualified to practice and teach geography in the sense that their training is generally conventional and that their contribution will serve to strengthen the discipline, *as it is understood by those making the decision to appoint*. It is this which fundamentally serves to perpetuate or reproduce the practice of geography, as it has been enacted in New Zealand. This process equates with Bourdieu's contention that cultural capital becomes a commodity, related to the social and cultural characteristic of the habitus and may be a basis of domination. This cultural capital is recognisable in the form of credentialism. This is not an entirely closed cycle (see Fig 3.2) but is efficient enough to ensure it to be an effective reproducer of an institutional form.

Conditions of Employment

A second structural feature is the condition under which continued employment is assured. Once a practitioner in a university department has gained permanent position, there are intrinsic and extrinsic pressures that govern performance. It is an inescapable fact, that given roughly the same conditions, some university geographers maximise their conditions to advance their own careers, and the cause of geography, by maximising opportunity while others are regarded as 'static achievers'. Extrinsically the promotional ladder is provided to reward and enable the activities of the highly motivated. Others may find some comfort in the same extrinsic system, which, while they will not use it for seeking promotion, realise that it at least offers security. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that those who don't have the 'publish or perish' drive, are still making valuable contributions as teachers and administrators. The foregoing statement is attempting to describe a reality rather than an ideal and as such, probably fits most departments. It serves as a reminder that the agents within geography departments, university or high school, are all different. It is

beyond the scope of this study to do little more than acknowledge individual differences.

Personal Relationships

Less structured, but still a fact of institutional life, are the personal relationships within departments. Cooperative collaboration within and between departments and individuals can be, and is, extremely important in supporting institutional life. This extends to teaching as well as research and publishing. Unfortunately, the unfolding of New Zealand geography is also littered with examples of situations where personal relationships have impeded the advancement of the discipline. In interviewing most of the university geography community within New Zealand, the writer was frequently made aware of the reality of institutional life in which poor relationships within departments are often signaled by deep bitterness and hostility which extends through the entire career of some individuals. The profile of whole departments can be soured by the breakdowns in the working relationships of a few individuals. Although the Victoria and Waikato departments are the most commonly acknowledged examples of departments that have been significantly hindered by personal problems, it would be fair to say that every department faces similar problems from time to time.

Funding Apparatus

Another structural feature with strong governing potential is that of funding sources. The availability of external funding and the ability of agents to exploit this, can significantly influence departmental advantage. External funding for research projects in geography have tended to come from different sources for human and physical geography. The ability to attract such funding may be the result of personal effort by some or by coordinated planning at a departmental level.

Ideological/Methodological Change.

Ample evidence has been provided to demonstrate that the accommodation of ideological change does not come easily. The challenge to the Hartshornian view of geography caused the most heated and protracted divisions that New Zealand geography has yet endured. The ability of powerful actors to impose their view of ideological reality and to resist change has been enormous. It is interesting to see how this was actually done. In the case of Cumberland, he apparently well

understood the dictum that 'knowledge is power'. He was probably aware that he did not have a local intellectual peer and his overpowering performances at conferences, staff meetings and student seminars were, by all reports, daunting testimony to the awe with which he was held. A leader of this type will sometimes attract acolytes who serve to reproduce the ideological view without necessarily possessing the same intellectual ability. The support counts however and may be detected in editorial comments and partiality in journals and books.

The adoption of positivist methodology in New Zealand is an indication of the capacity of the institutionalising process to make geography into what may appear to be a 'level playing field', by ensuring that overseas practice becomes the norm at home. It was not a simple, one-to-one relationship whereby an innovation becomes standard practice. The structural set up which enabled quantification to become so readily accepted in New Zealand extended from Jobberrn's foresight in establishing a network of two-way exchange whereby New Zealand geographers were susceptible to new ideas from overseas. Succeeding generations of young geographers took advantage of the institutionalised procedure of studying overseas. Any new innovation was bound to make an eventual appearance back in New Zealand. Even then, when quantification took off in New Zealand, Jobberrn was heard to lament that geography, as he understood it, had become 'arithmetic'. The acceptance of quantified methodologies was undoubtedly assisted by the fact that it was perceived as a methodology as well as an ideology. As a methodology, it could be applied across human and physical geography and was not exclusive to geography. Social and 'applied' science alike went over to quantification.

The Reproduction of Structures - Certain or Uncertain?

As has been indicated, university geography in New Zealand, very quickly became an identifiable structure. This happened quickly, it is argued, as part of natural survival and legitimating needs. This section now looks at how this structure reproduced itself.

It is important to understand the first claim of institutional theory that the most guaranteed form of structural reproduction emanates from a stable existing structure (Hannan and Freeman 1989, 67). New Zealand university geography is representative of such a structure. Being part of a public institution, immersed in a large bureaucratic network and with permanent tenure for most academic staff, geography departments are buffered from direct market forces which have to respond

to immediate supply and demand. There is no denying that these forces exert pressure, but it lacks the immediacy of an unsecured business. The university geography departments are cosseted within the security of the New Zealand university system. There has been no known threat to disestablish the discipline in any of the universities. Problems within departments which result in reviews and political moves to solve management problems do not represent a threat to the continued existence of geography. Even a pruning of a department by giving departmental status to a facet of geography (e.g. Earth Science at Waikato, and the possibility of Planning being split from Geography at Massey) does not threaten the overall existence of university geography.

The structure by which school geography operates may also be considered very stable. The account of change and innovation in curriculum reform given in Chapter 7 is made against the background of a governmental structure in which the continued existence of geography is never questioned.

Resistance to Change

The second basic claim of institutional theory is that a stable structure is resistant to change. This resistance, described by Haveman (1992, 48), operates in the form of inertia, and is demonstrated in a number of ways, both external and internal.

External pressures are identified as,

1. *Legal barriers, economic barriers and legitimacy considerations to entry into new areas of activity.*

In the case of geography departments, it would take compelling reasons, particularly during a time of economic recession, to initiate an expansionist programme.

Change in high school geography is currently at the whim of the Ministry of Education which has been through a period of restructuring arising from the implementation of the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy in 1989. With curriculum experts being 'contracted' only as the Ministry perceives need, it takes little imagination to visualise the problem of inertia when 'legitimacy considerations' are vested in government agencies removed from the active practice of geography.

2. *Constraints on the external information received by decision makers.*

When geography departments are but one of many within a university, the major decisions which mitigate structural change are made by administrators above departmental level. Professorial input becomes only one of many and the information given by an individual department has to compete with many different and often competing sources of information.

3. *The problem of collective rationality and the general equilibrium.*

When a geography department is part of a larger network of other academic departments, the particular needs of a discipline are likely to be swallowed up in the collective rationality applied to all departments. Administrators are more likely to be motivated by the need to maintain an overall equilibrium of university departments rather than respond to individual need.

At the level of high school geography, the discipline has to compete with other subjects. Often not regarded as a distinctive science subject, geography is frequently disadvantaged by being timetabled against the science subjects. High school students who would otherwise opt for geography, sometimes find themselves having to decide against it in favour of other 'science' subjects.

The internal constraints are,

1. *Investment in plant, equipment and specialised personnel.*

This is self explanatory and an example will suffice. The geography department at Massey, over the three period from 1989, has invested over \$100,000 on equipping a palynology laboratory. It has also involved the dedication of space and ongoing technician wages. It is plain that this level of investment is expected to be long term and, as such, will tend to constrain the future development of other research facilities within the department.

2. *Limits on the internal information received by decision makers.*

Decision makers often have to make policy and planning decisions based on information received from departments. This information may be disguising deeper issues. For example, when a significant appointment is made to a department, the real reasons given for wanting, or not wanting a particular applicant, may be different to the reasons stated to the decision makers. The balance of power within an organisation is constantly being tested.

3. *Internal political constraints supportive of vested interests.*

The pressure to conform is considerable. The actions of certain staff, with a view to security, privilege or promotion will often make them overtly supportive of policies affiliated with the interests of those with power.

4. *Organisational history, which justifies past action and prevents consideration of alternative strategies.*

This is particularly noticeable in a department where the professor has had a long tenureship and tends to operate the department using strategies that are considered by others to be outdated.

One of the first battles faced in getting the NGCC functional was the battle to convince the government to allow a form of curriculum reform to be generated by teachers instead of the traditional 'top down' structuring of curriculum committees.

Unstable Structures

The delineation of resistance to structural change, just described, fits the institutional setting of high school and university geography. It is a different story when one considers the *New Zealand Geographical Society* which operates without the same stable structure.

The New Zealand Geographical Society operates through the goodwill of people with a common interest in the promotion of geography. The membership and funding of the society is contingent on the ability of these people to maintain a level of interest in and commitment to the society. The principal functions of the society are in providing a venue for publishing and in convening the periodic conferences. Without the 'fail-safe' mechanism that enables geography departments to remain viable during difficult periods, the fortunes of the society tend to fluctuate in response to different forces, and arguably, provides a truer picture of the relative status of geography in the community at any one time. An example of the fluctuating fortunes of the society may be observed in the vulnerability of having conferences hosted and organised by different geography department. There has been at least one notable occasion when the organisation for a conference was put at risk by the fragmentation within a particular department, with the result that the total organisation was eventually picked up by one individual.

Locked into the structure of New Zealand geography are several further mechanisms which have served, in a unique way to ensure the reproduction of the institutional form.

Buffering and Transformational Shields

New Zealand has six university geography departments. Each department is autonomous yet the strong informal linkages between departments have served to protect and reproduce the separate structures. It is possible to identify a distinct buffering phenomenon in which departments act to support each other, prompted not by charity but by the need to co-exist. Miner and her associates (1990, 689) describe resource buffers which serve to insulate an organisation from environmental disturbances by stressing legitimacy with other organisations. Even when a department like Waikato was troubled with leadership problems, it was able to pull on the resources of other geography departments. Such resources would be the collaboration between staff in other departments, conferences and seminars involving other departments. The geography department at Victoria, through the thin years when it was effectively ostracised by the Auckland department, was still involved in moderating and marking procedures with other departments. All departments use buffering procedures based on access to material resources involving information and technology sharing. Miner et al (1990, 689) suggest that the ultimate form of buffering takes place as a transformational shield in which an organisation is able to accomplish change with a lower risk of failure by using inter-organisational links. Professor Peter Holland's appointment to Otago from Canterbury and Professor Dick Bedford's appointment to Otago, both as known quantities within the New Zealand scene, could be argued as a form of transformational shield against failure.

Environmental Imprinting at Founding

A somewhat intangible feature with possible relevance to the geography departments, relates to perceptions held about each department. The human tendency to classify or typify, perhaps unfairly, has already been mentioned. Why is it that some departments are accorded a classification which seems to stick? For example, Victoria for most of its time has been regarded as a 'maverick'. Massey is still unkindly referred to as a 'correspondence' school. Waikato has been branded as a centre for 'alternative' geography. Boeker (1989, 289) suggests that patterns of influence established at founding are also demonstrated to maintain some

consistency over time, contingent on the organisation's performance, the organisation's age, and the tenure of the leadership. These may point back to the institutionalised features present at the founding of a department either as structure or agency. These would be complicated to argue and it is not intended to take the discussion further, other than suggesting that these types of 'imprinting' can occur. It should be noted that the three departments cited as possible examples are the three newest of the departments, if one accepts that Victoria was effectively reorganised with the arrival of Professor Keith Buchanan in the early 1950s.

Conclusion

To conclude this section on the ongoing reproduction and transformation of geography in New Zealand, one thing becomes plain. The same mechanisms that enabled the rapid initial institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand have also served to ensure that institutions remain stable by resisting change. There is no doubt that geography has responded to change, but it has tended to be reactive and pragmatic rather than proactive and dynamic. The set of practices and corpus of knowledge has been reproduced and transformed in a way which once again signals a unique trajectory, yet without a unique geography. This does not discredit geography in New Zealand but rather indicates that geography has followed a predictable path. The community of university geographers, numbering about 70 individuals, does geography proud. The small size of the community of professional geographers belies the contributions made to geographic knowledge. The export of talented geographers, trained in New Zealand, is widely acknowledged.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF GEOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND

This thesis has been concerned with the path taken by academic geography in this country. It is not inappropriate to finally take a reflective look at where geography stands within New Zealand society and to suggest some strategies for the future.

A healthy discipline, as Johnston (1985, x) remarks,

. . . is one which subjects itself to continual, constructive criticism, involving all its adherents in debates about its goals and procedures.

The extent to which this happens to geography at university level in New Zealand is debatable. Johnston (1985, 6,7) suggests two levels of debate rationales at which

people within and without the discipline consider the *raison d'être* for geography. The first of these are the *internal reasons*.

Internal Reasons

A viable discipline will continuously endure a process of self evaluation in which those agents who participate in it, question the way their discipline conducts itself. This may be part of a formal or informal process. Formal in the sense that some departments may elect to go through forms of self-evaluation independent of any mandatory review procedures. These processes, which may be time consuming, are generally indicative of secure leadership and open management. It may also be formal in the manner of seminar presentations by staff and graduate students. Informally, much time is spent in 'commonrooms and corridors' debating everything from methods and meanings, to the basic underpinnings of the discipline. The importance of discussion at this level cannot be overestimated. Very little is understood about the birth of ideas and change and the informal 'meeting places' of academics must play a fundamental part in any discipline. The general and specific nature of these interchanges enable geographers to keep in touch with academics in other disciplines. Many of the understandings and misunderstandings about the value of geography may be generated at this level in which the individual abilities and personalities of those involved can influence the way geography is perceived. Internal evaluations of geography also occur away from university situations when geographers meet at conferences. The formal presentations at geography conferences and the informal exchanges which also characterise such meetings are very important informational vehicles to geography in New Zealand.

External Reasons

External reasons refer to the ability of geography as a discipline to relate to society - in itself a very ambiguous expression that can embrace everything from the clichéd 'average person in the street' to the equally clichéd 'State'. Assuming that society is represented by all those outside of academic geography, external reasons question the way in which geography relates to those not visibly connected with the discipline. New Zealand geographers motivated by the current world-wide economic recession have taken particular interest in the restructuring of New Zealand society within an international setting. Physical geographers have also related their work to matters of environmental concern. As a discipline geography is accepted because it fits within the broad justifying statement (Johnston 1985, 6) that knowledge is 'considered

desirable in a well-educated society'. In times of economic and environmental crisis, this 'desirability' tends to be replaced by 'accountability', a much more demanding theme to which geographers have demonstrably responded.

External reasons go deeper than this however. Academic disciplines respond to and accommodate, emerging ideas and trends emanating from diverse sources. The feminist movement and the Maori point of view are two areas in which New Zealand geographers are gradually beginning to establish a geographical viewpoint. This type of change is contested and does not come readily - as this thesis attests. Consensus statements made at Heads of Departments Meetings and Conference Plenary Sessions are important but these types of statements are often 'external posturings' (Johnston 1985, 9) which may be traced to debates taking place within individual departments.

On a larger scale, it is interesting to ponder the extent to which geography has been part of the total picture of society in New Zealand. As well as being part of a restructuring cycle in recent times, geographers have been involved in the major educational debates in which the content, process and evaluation of school syllabuses have been influenced. The consequences of that alone are difficult to imagine. The impact of Professionals with a geographer's viewpoint (see 12.4) has merely been surmised in this study. The *New Zealand Geographical Society* has been an immensely important instrument for New Zealand geography. It is almost impossible to place a measure on the consequences of academic geography on society.

Having demonstrated, with an 'apparent' surety, the way in which geography in New Zealand has evolved, one wonders why predicting the future of geography in this country should not be as straightforward. This is not the case. The relationship between structure and agency is sufficiently dynamic and provides too many possibilities to risk offering prognosis rather than conjecture. One thing is certain, however, and that is that New Zealand as a small country, is going through a period of restructuring that is unique to its past experience. The changes are based on worldwide economic trends which cannot be entirely equated with past cycles of recession. The effects penetrate every facet of New Zealand life, from consumption patterns to our presence and impact as a Pacific nation with a receding occidental dependency. It would be safe to assert from this, that certain ground rules concerning the conduct of geography are changing. The context in which geography is to continue operating as a successful enterprise, demands recognition and spelling out.

Geography is faced with change, whether it wants to or not. If past trends are followed, changes within geography will tend to be reactive rather than proactive. If the community of geographers in New Zealand, be it professional geographers in industry, academic geographers or teachers of geography in the school, were to grasp the possibilities that a relevant geography could offer, then the discipline would surge.

What Should Geography be Doing?

The previous paragraph concluded with an almost evangelistic plea for action. This fervor is tempered by a knowledge of the way in which geography has tended to react to change and possibility in the past. However, change *does* occur, initiating from individual agents and there is value in outlining some possibilities.

Claiming a Distinctive Place

If geography is worthy of claiming a distinctive place in the academic world, then geographers should be the first to question their validity and right to claim relevance in a world wide setting of dynamic change. Geography, like any other discipline, should be reducible to a clearly understood mission statement. The wording may vary, but must encompass the essential features of the following paragraph.

Providing Something of Value

This thesis has been concerned with organisational form and the institutional processes which govern it. Organisational form, as Haveman (1992, 51) notes, is encompassed by domain, meaning the claims an organisation stakes out for itself in terms of the clients it serves, the goods and services it produces, and the technologies it employs. Change in any one or more of these dimensions involves change in geography's core form. In its most basic form, *the ultimate function of geography, as a discipline, is to provide something of social value*. If geography cannot be applied in some way, then it has nothing to give back to society that will justify its existence.

Adjusting to Change

If the core activity domains are the defining features of geography as an institution, then geography needs to periodically examine these domains to gauge, in some

way, the need to adjust to change. Geography claims to be a bridging discipline with an overarching spatial perspective. The possibilities of geography to provide a lead in accommodating societal change are enormous. The scale at which geography operates enables a range of enquiry which moves from micro to macro. The early part of this thesis has taken pains to establish the *capitalist* nature of New Zealand society. The process of capitalist accumulation is inherently global. In recognising this, some New Zealand geographers have been attracted to focusing an emerging role for New Zealand geography. The recent work of Britton, Le Heron and Pawson (1992) in coordinating the work of 50 geographers writing within a 'restructuring' theme, is significant but incomplete in the sense that it is largely concerned with establishing a level of awareness which previously did not exist. In noting the global nature of capitalist accumulation, there is a direct acknowledgment of the scale at which geography needs to operate.

But to single out global forces alone, is to miss the significant influence of national and local process. Our position is that the global must be seen in the local, and the local in the global (Britton et al, 1992, 3).

Of interest to the approach taken throughout this thesis is another statement which heeds the call for,

. . . a perspective that examines economic processes in their institutional settings, with the object of revealing *restructuring outcomes as products of human agency in a turbulent structural environment*⁷ (Britton et al, 1992, 3).

The call is for geography, both human and physical, to take the initiative in informing and planning. Geography can provide the necessary bridge between human and physical priorities. Capitalism represents ongoing change to all facets of human life. Resource management has dimensions extending over the domain of human and physical geography. Geography in New Zealand has gone to some lengths to distance itself from the pervasive embrace of regional geography, as it was taught for so many years. Restructuring in the late 20th century is beginning to demonstrate the need for a new type of regional awareness as geographic differences between regions within national and global systems are becoming more and more apparent. The differences in wealth, opportunity and resources are frightening and are exacerbated by the lack of a coherent approach to the problems. Geography, of all disciplines should have the capacity to approach the problem. New Zealand geography has a particular advantage, if we can only recognise and act on it - it has to do with scale of enterprise. New Zealand is a small country with a strong centralist

⁷ Author's emphasis

administration. It clones many of the larger countries with a complete infrastructure, but at a smaller scale which can be more readily apprehended than in many of the larger states. This is where a geographer in New Zealand is advantaged. This study on the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand is an example. It has been possible to document the development of a discipline in a way that could not be achieved in a larger country. Most of the players are still living in New Zealand. It has been a relatively simple task to isolate the links between state government and educational institutions. The relationship between structure and agency is able to be elicited. Networks between private and public sectors are far easier to trace in a smaller country. From a research perspective the advantages are clear. New Zealand represents a microcosm of more complex states and as such, present considerable research potential for physical and human geography.

Modern geography, as we understand it within the New Zealand setting, exists within structures that have been built up over many years. This thesis has gone to considerable length to establish the links between structures and agents. Structures come into existence, and then modify with time, through the actions of agents. It is possible to identify the present structures with structures derived many years ago, even though the agents have long been replaced. An interesting pattern emerges however. The concerns that occupied the agents in the 1930s and 1940s and which brought about the institutions which we today identify as pertaining to geography - the university departments, the NZGS, the *New Zealand Geographer*, the school geography system - are long forgotten, but the structures remain identifiable, even though they too change. The factors which propelled the institutionalising process in the first place are still there. Agents coming on the scene react to the same needs as those who acted before them. The script is different, the actors are different, but in the New Zealand setting at least, the evolving structures continue.

What Might Have Been

When one considers the complexity of structure and agency and the endless combinations which constantly present themselves, it is perhaps excusable, in this closing chapter of the thesis, to indulge in a short exercise of what might have happened in New Zealand geography. It serves to demonstrate that one small event can set in motion a chain of vastly different outcomes. What follows is one possibility that did not eventuate.

At the end of his first year as lecturer-in-charge of the new geography department at Canterbury, Jobberns sought, and was given, permission to travel to Sydney to meet Professor Frank Debenham who was visiting from Cambridge University. Jobberns was scouting for another staff member for Canterbury and realised the value in contacting Debenham who was trying to find an appointment for one of his Cambridge graduates. Debenham strongly urged Jobberns to appoint a young man by the name of Augustus Caesar. Alan Tweedie was a student at the time and he recalls Jobberns' reaction,

And Jobbie, as he told us later, said, 'Can you imagine my going back and telling them that I wanted to appoint Augustus Caesar?'⁸ He did not have the courage to do it and we subsequently got Ken Cumberland (Tweedie 1991, 2).

It is difficult to contemplate the extent to which the whole course of geography in New Zealand would have been very different, had that one hinging incident turned out differently⁹. One also wonders how the passage of New Zealand geography may have been different if Cumberland had accepted the teaching position offered him at Wisconsin in the early 1950s. A family medical condition blocked immigration to the United States.

CONCLUSION: WHAT DOES A CRITICAL INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH OFFER TO THE AGENTS IN NEW ZEALAND GEOGRAPHY?

This final part of the thesis makes bold enough to suggest that an institutional approach has something to offer to the agents in New Zealand geography. In so doing there are several conclusions which need to be re-emphasised.

1. The way in which geography in New Zealand has unfolded, is the result of an unforeseeable inter-working of structure and agency.
2. Paradoxically, however, it is argued that an organisation, once it is firmly institutionalised as part of a relatively stable structure, does not lend itself to radical change. Those involved generally react to changing circumstances rather than pro-acting to opportunity.
3. Structural changes to the way in which geography is practiced, occur when active agents do their part. The role they play is not always seen as pivotal at the time, but effects can penetrate deeply. Frequently they

⁸ He had a brother called Julius but that is another story.

⁹ The writer is indebted to Dr Mark Billinge, Department of Geography, Cambridge University, for biographical detail on the subsequent career of Augustus Caesar.

encounter structural inertia and outright hostility. It is a tribute to their perseverance. Only the highly significant agents gain kudos but the fact remains that institutionalisation is a process which occurs continually at all levels. Every act in the name of geography marks a point in the institutionalisation of geography.

What can the agents in New Zealand geography gain from this study? First would be an acknowledgment that some understanding of the power relations within the structure/agency debate is pivotal to survival in the real academic world. This thesis has brought this understanding out of the realm of the speculative into that of the demonstrated. Structures and agents do not exist in isolation and the process of institutionalisation is contested. Change is initiated by agents. Only rarely is the reward readily apparent. A common quality appears to be a dogged persistence and belief in their enterprise. Chapter 10 particularly indicates some of the pivotal points where the process of institutionalisation was taking place. These have been all shown to feature the work of particular agents. There is little predictable commonality in their actions. They are not always occupying centre stage when they are making their impact. The high fliers like Jobberns, Cumberland, Buchanan, Ron Johnston and King are matched in many ways by others like Ian Young, Ann Magee, Barry Johnston and Pownall who also set in motion changes still being experienced. In mentioning some, a disservice is done to the rest. This is not intended. What is intended is a recognition that the continued relevance of New Zealand geography depends on the current agents who operate as professional geographers. A structural accommodation of geography to meet new challenges will never precede the agents.

The second way in which this study may offer something to the agents in New Zealand geography relates to learning theory. The previous paragraph was concerned with establishing a level of awareness concerning the way geography as a discipline has unfolded. Awareness is only of value if it is followed by some form of action based on a fully internalised understanding of conditions governing the existing situation. This is known as 'plus one' (Hammond 1983, 33) in which planning future strategy is most effective when an agent is aware of present governing situations. An institutional approach represents a structured way of looking at events as being connected by provinces of meaning, rather than as isolated events. This is not a claim for an institutional approach as being the only way of linking events. It does however provide another dimension which goes beyond the anecdotal.

The third way in which this study may contribute to geography in New Zealand is in providing a benchmark from which geographers may evaluate their discipline up to 1992, in much the same way that Rilda Gorrie's thesis records the rise of the discipline to 1955. Both theses come from different perspectives and this latest effort, like the last, is likely to cause a degree of controversy. This thesis has steered away from a chronological account to one which demonstrates institutional process. At the same time, it has attempted to capture some of the issues and debates that have been part of the heritage of New Zealand geography. The timing has been appropriate. With a university discipline now 55 years established, most of the original players are still living and able to recall. This first generation will pass away before another project of this type is undertaken. Without a study of this type, an irredeemable opportunity would have slipped away. One does not expect universal approbation for a work which reflects the personal thoughts and feelings of so many people. No one can ever write an account involving so many contested issues and which relies on the personalised recollections of so many diverse people, to meet with anything akin to universal approval. For this reason I wish to end by once again acknowledging the trust and freely given information, of the many people connected with New Zealand geography. They have allowed a total stranger to come in and closely question them about events and processes which represented their lifework. As such, it touched some very deeply and brought back to life many things long put away. Their contribution has made possible this thesis on the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand.

AND FINALLY . . .

One finds it difficult to walk away from a three year project without wishing for some final definitive statement that 'says it all'. It does not come easily. The complex interplay between structures and agents is ever apparent. Little would have been achieved if the final lines did not clearly state that a fundamental way to comprehend the present and influence the future of academic geography is to, in some small way, understand the processes involved in the history of the discipline.

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Appendix A

List of Interviews

NAME	LOCATION	POSITION	NOTES
Anderson, G. A/Prof	Auckland	Academic Geographer	
Astle, A. Mr	Palmerston North	Assistant Rector, PNBH	2 interviews
Badcock, B Dr	Adelaide	Academic Geographer	
Banks, E.	Christchurch	ex Editor of Record, retired	
Barnes, V.	Hamilton	Prin, Waikato Diocesan, retired	
Bassett, I.G. Mr	Wellington	Professional Geographer	by phone
Bedford, R.D. Prof	Hamilton	Academic Geographer	
Beeby, C.E. Dr	Wellington	Dir. General of Educ, retired	
Biddle, D.S. Dr	Sydney	Curriculum expert, retired	
Billinge, B. Dr	UK	Academic Geographer	letter
Blair, R. Mr	Palmerston North	Teacher	informal
Blong, R, Dr	Sydney	Academic Geographer	
Bowler, S. Ms	Palmerston North	PhD Student	
Britton, S. Dr	Auckland	Academic Geographer	Died 1991
Brockie, W. A/Prof	Dunedin	Academic Geographer	2 interviews
Brookie, E.W. Mr	Palmerston North	Teacher, retired	
Buchanan, K.M.Prof	Raumati Beach	Academic Geographer, retired	informal interview
Burnley, I. A/Prof	Sydney	Academic Geographer	
Cant, R.G. A/Prof	Christchurch	Academic Geographer	2 interviews
Chalmers, L. Dr	Hamilton	Academic Geographer	
Cloher, D Dr	Adelaide	Professional Geographer	by phone
Cochrane, R. A/Prof	Auckland	Academic Geographer	
Collet, B. Mr	Palmerston North	Teacher	
Critchfield, H.Prof	USA	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Crombie, G. Mr	Dunedin	Teacher	
Crozier, M.J. Dr	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
Cumberland, K.B.Prof	Auckland	Academic Geographer, retired	
Curson, P. Prof	Sydney	Academic Geographer	
Cutts, W. Mr	Christchurch	Map Librarian	

Davidson, C. Mr	Wellington	NEQA/ Teacher	
Davies, G. Mr	Palmerston North	Teacher	
Dixon, J. Dr	Hamilton	Academic Geographer	
Drake, G. Mr	Palmerston North	Student	
Eyles, R. Dr	Napier	Clergy/Academic Geographer	
Farmer, R. Dr	Hamilton	Academic Geographer	
Fincher, R. Dr	Melbourne	Academic Geographer	
Flenley, J.R. Prof	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	informal
Fox, J. Prof	Armidade	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Franklin, S.H. Prof	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
Fraser, G. Prof	Palmerston North	Assistant Vice-Chancellor	
Gollege, R.G. Prof	USA	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Gorrie, A.V. Dr	Auckland	Academic Geographer, retired	
Hargreaves, R. A/Prof	Dunedin	Academic Geographer	
Hartshorne, R. Prof	USA	Academic Geographer, retired	letter
Hay, I. Dr	Wollongong	Academic Geographer	now Adelaide
Heenan, L.B.D. A/Pro	Dunedin	Academic Geographer	
Heerdegen, R. G.	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	informally
Hesp, P. Dr	Sydney	Academic Geographer	
Hewland, J.L.	Christchurch	Teacher/Lecturer, retired	
Hill, R.D. Prof	Hong Kong	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Holland, P.G. Prof	Dunedin	Academic Geographer	
Holst, A. Mrs	Wellington	Writer/Nutritionist.	phone/letter
Holyoake, D. Mr	Christchurch	Teacher, Shirley Boys High	
Horsley, P.G. Mr	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	informal
Hosking, P. Dr	Auckland	Academic Geographer	
Huggett, J. Mr	Dunedin	Teacher, retired	
Hunt, N. Ms	Dunedin	Teacher	
Jobbems, V. Mrs	Christchurch	Widow of George Jobbems	Died Sept 1991
Johnson, G. Ms	Auckland	Executive Assistant	
Johnson, L. Dr	Melbourne	Academic Geographer	
Johnston, D. Dr	Christchurch	Academic Geographer	
Johnston, R.J. Prof	Sheffield	Academic Geographer	informal
Johnston, W.B. Prof	Christchurch	Academic Geographer	
Joyce, W. Mr	Hamilton	Inspector of Schools, retired	
Kearsley, G. Dr	Dunedin	Academic Geographer	

Kidd, H. Mr	Dunedin	Senior Technical Officer	2 interviews
King, L.J. Prof	USA	Academic Geographer	Auck interview
Kirk, R.M. A/Prof	Christchurch	Academic Geographer	
Knight, C. Dr	Christchurch	Principal Chch College of Ed	Geog Curric
Lamer, W. Ms	Hamilton	Academic Geographer	
Lawrence, R. Dr	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
Le Heron, R.B.A/Prof	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	supervisor
Lewis, J. Mr	Wellington	Lecturer, Auck College of Ed	Soc Stud
Lewthwaite, G. Prof	USA	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Linge, G. Prof	Canberra	Academic Geographer	
Macaulay, J. Mr	Christchurch	Academic Geographer, retired	2 interviews
Magee, A. Ms	Auckland	Professional Geographer	
McArthur, J. Dr	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	
McCaskill, M. Prof	Adelaide	Academic Geographer	
McConchie, J.A. Dr	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
McDermott, P. Dr	Auckland	Professional Geographer	
McDonald, J. Mr	Christchurch	Senior Technical Officer	
McKenzie, D. A/Prof	Wellington	Academic Geographer, retired	
McKinnon, J.M.	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
McLean, R.F. Prof	Canberra	Academic Geographer	
McNaughton, A. Prof	Auckland	Prof of Education, retired	
Memon, A. Dr	Dunedin	Academic Geographer	
Mooney, W Mr	Dunedin	Technical Officer/Cartographer	
Moran, W. Prof	Auckland	Academic Geographer	
Muckersie, C. Ms	Palmerston North	Phd Student	
Neville, R.J.W. A/Prof	Auckland	Academic Geographer	
O'Riordan, T. Prof	UK	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Openshaw, R. Dr	Palmerston North	Academic	informal
Oulton, M. Mr	Hamilton	Cartographer	
Owens, I.F. Dr	Christchurch	Academic Geographer	
Packard, W.P. Mr	Canberra	Academic Geographer	
Paterson, J. Mr	Hamilton	Academic Geographer	
Patterson, B. Dr	Wellington	Academic	
Paulson, M. Dr	Sydney	Academic Geographer	
Pegler, B. Mr	Palmerston North	Lecturer, PN Coll of Education	Social Studies
Perry, P.J. Dr	Christchurch	Academic Geographer	

Porteous, D. Ms	Hamilton	Technical Officer	
Pownall, L.L. Dr	Sydney	V-Chancellor/Geographer, ret.	2 interviews
Renner, J. Dr	Perth	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Renwick, W. Mr	Wellington	Dir. General of Educ, retired	
Rimmer, P. Prof	Canberra	Academic Geographer	
Roche, M.M. Dr	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	supervisor
Rose, W. Dr	Sydney	Academic Geographer, retired	
Rosier, J. Dr	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	informal
Ross, J. Mr	Waikanae	Ass. Dir. General of Ed, retired	
Rowland, D. Dr	Canberra	Academic Geographer	sociology
Saunders, B.G.R. A/P	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	
Selby, M.J. Prof	Hamilton	Academic Geographer, Ass. VC	Earth Sciences
Shuker, R. Dr	Palmerston North	Academic	informal
Skeldon, R. Dr	Hong Kong	Academic Geographer	informal
Smith, W.W. Prof	Canada	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Soons, J. M. Prof	Christchurch	Academic Geographer	
Stokes, E.M. A/Prof	Hamilton	Academic Geographer	
Sunde, L. Mr	Wanganui	Inspector of Schools	
Symons, L Prof	UK	Academic Geographer	questionnaire
Taylor, M. Prof	Perth	Academic Geographer	2 interviews
Thomas, E.G. Mr	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	supervisor
Thomson, K.W. Prof	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer, retired	
Trlin, A.D. A/Prof	Palmerston North	Sociologist/Geographer	
Tweedie, A.D. Prof	Canberra	Academic Geographer, retired	
Ward, G. Prof	Canberra	Academic Geographer	in Auckland
Watson, M. Dr	Wellington	Professional Geographer	
Watters, R.F. A/Prof	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
Welch, R.V. Dr	Dunedin	Academic Geographer	
Whatman, N. Mr	Palmerston North	Vice P, PN Teach Coll, retired	
Wheeler, R.H. Mr	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
Williams, D.B. Mr	Palmerston North	Academic Geographer	
Willis, R.P. Mr	Wellington	Academic Geographer	
Wilson Pyne, K. Mr	Christchurch	Liaison Officer/Teacher	
Wilson, M. Prof	Wollongong	Academic Geographer	
Yoon, H.K. Dr	Auckland	Academic Geographer	
Young, I.T. Mr	Wellington	Teacher/Consultant	

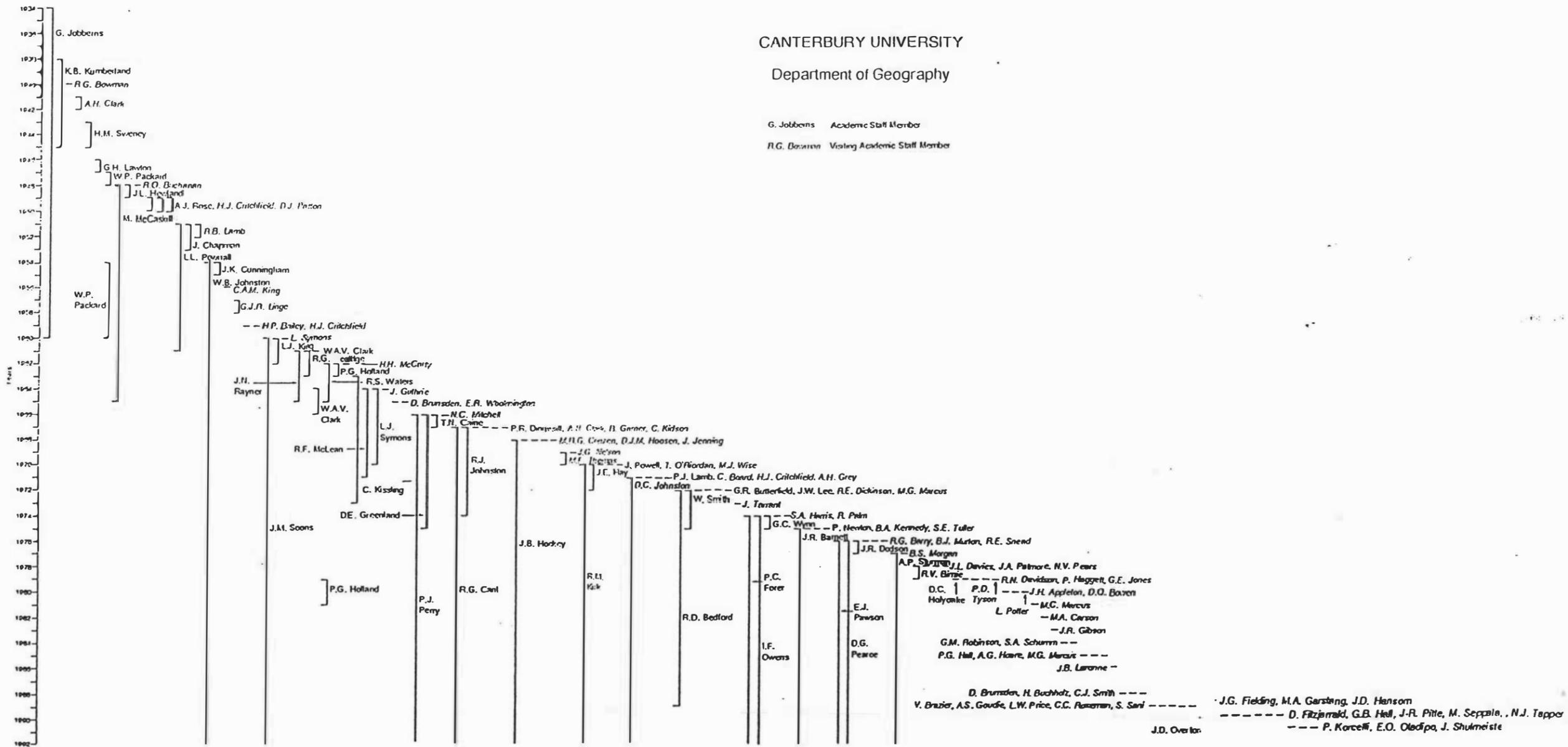
Appendix B
New Zealand University Geography Department Staffing,
1937-1992.

CANTERBURY UNIVERSITY

Department of Geography

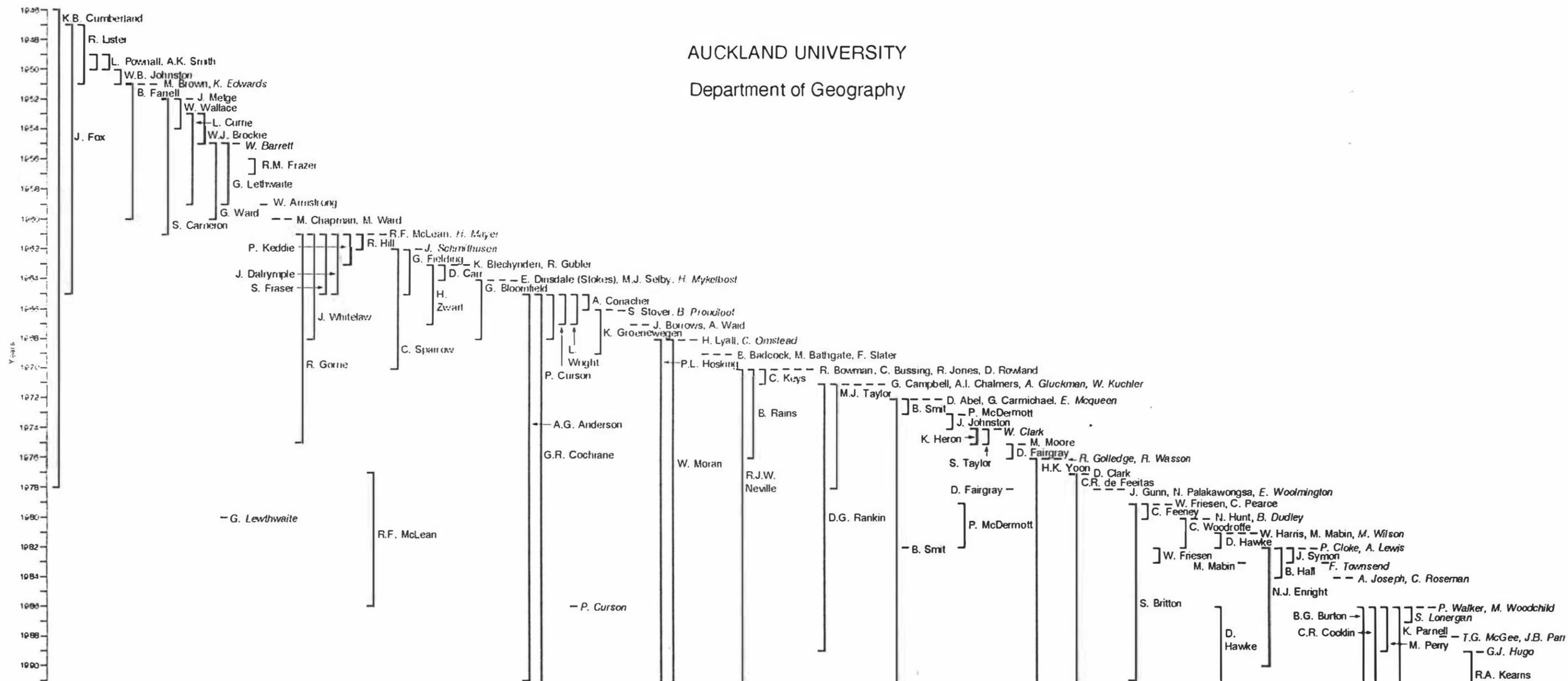
G. Jobbens Academic Staff Member

R.G. Bowman Visiting Academic Staff Member



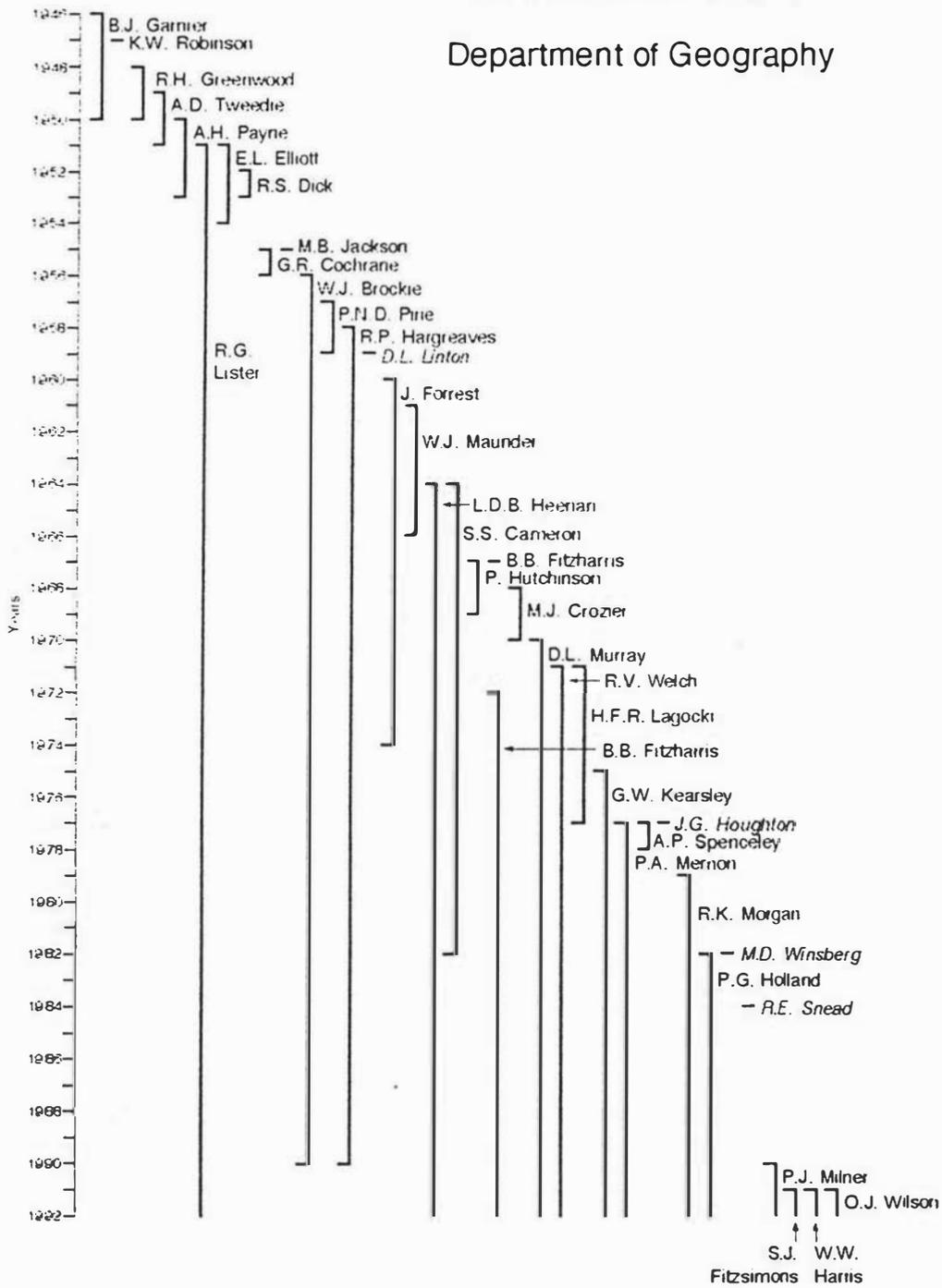
AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY

Department of Geography



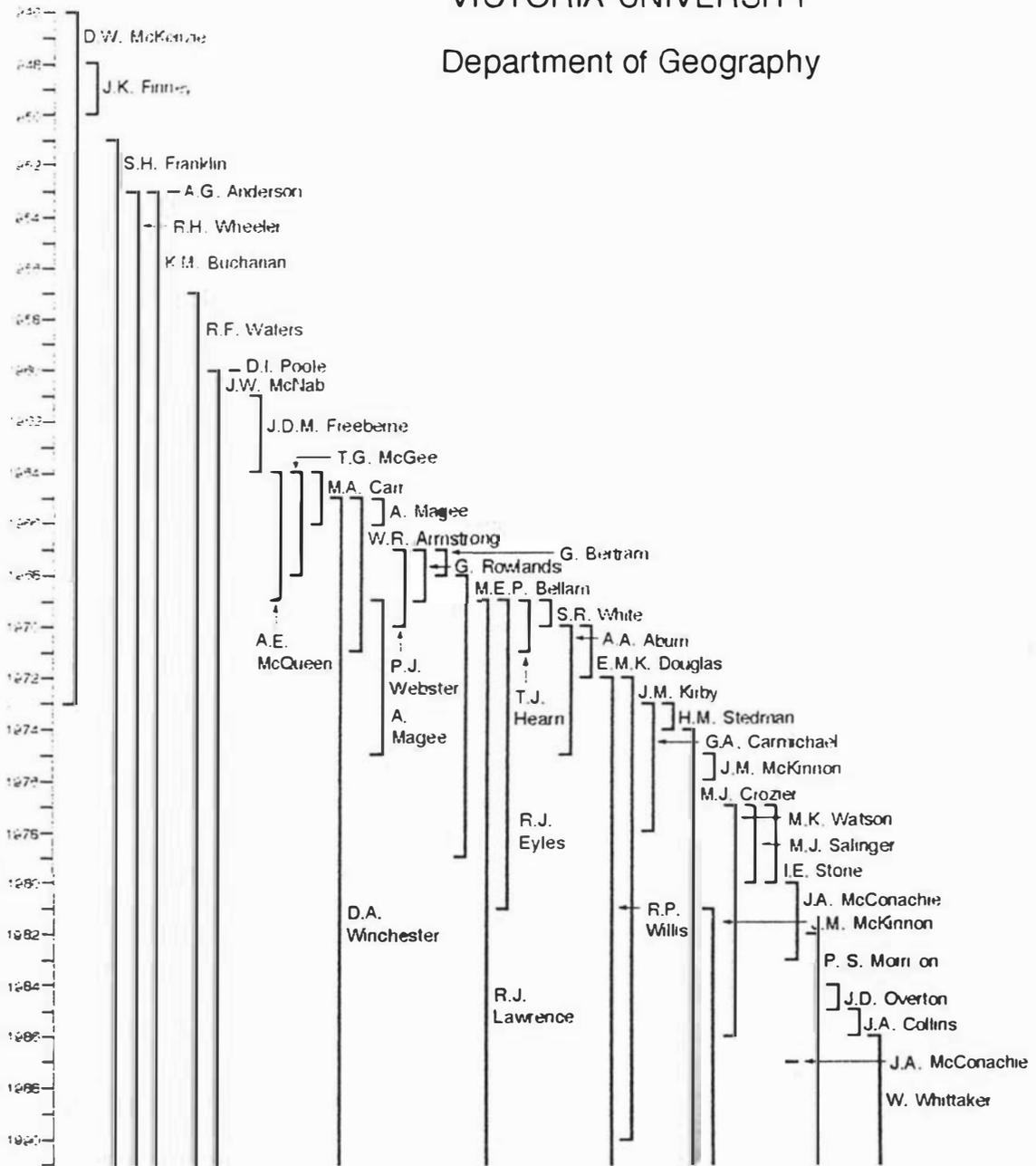
OTAGO UNIVERSITY

Department of Geography



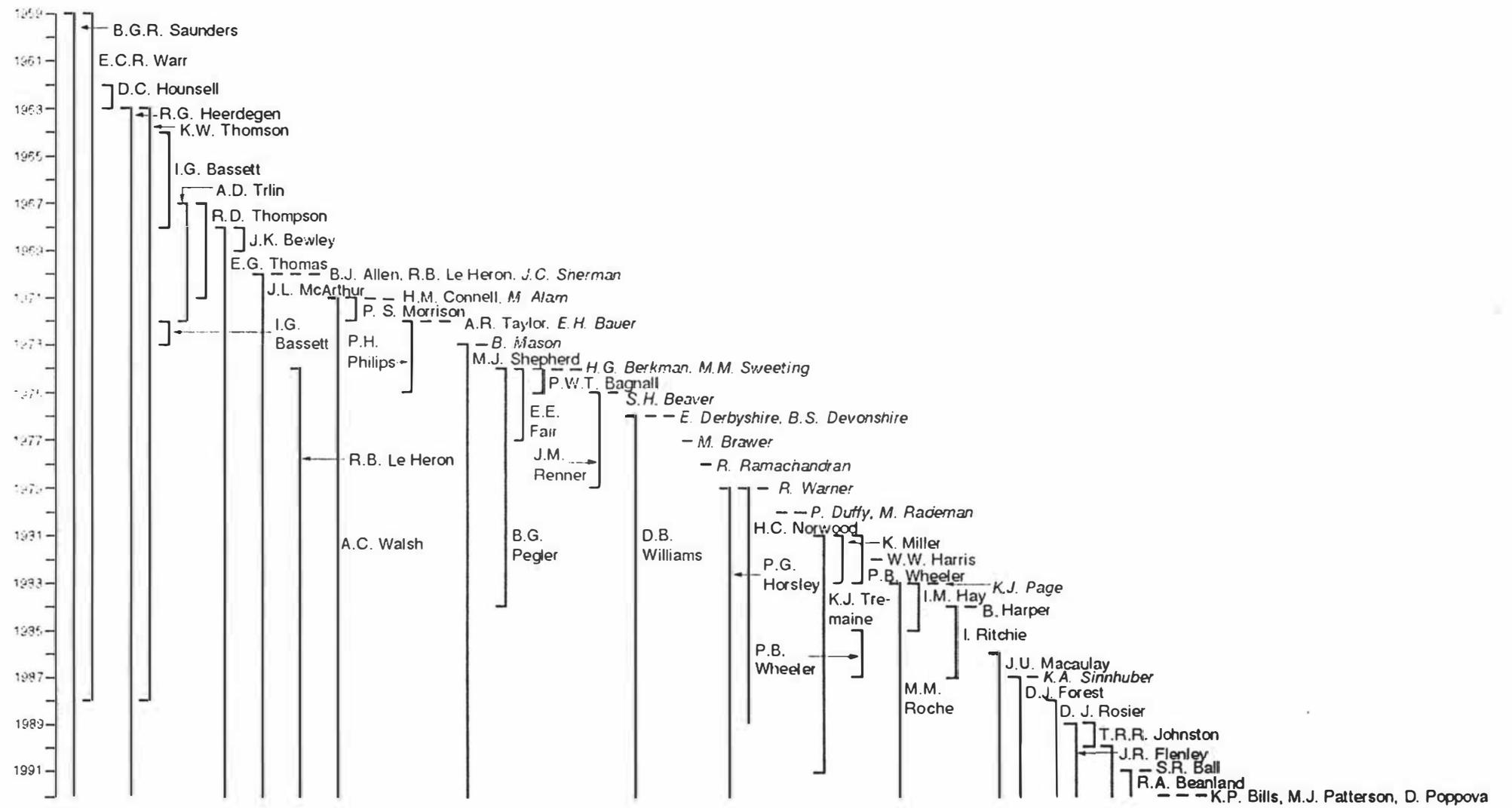
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY

Department of Geography



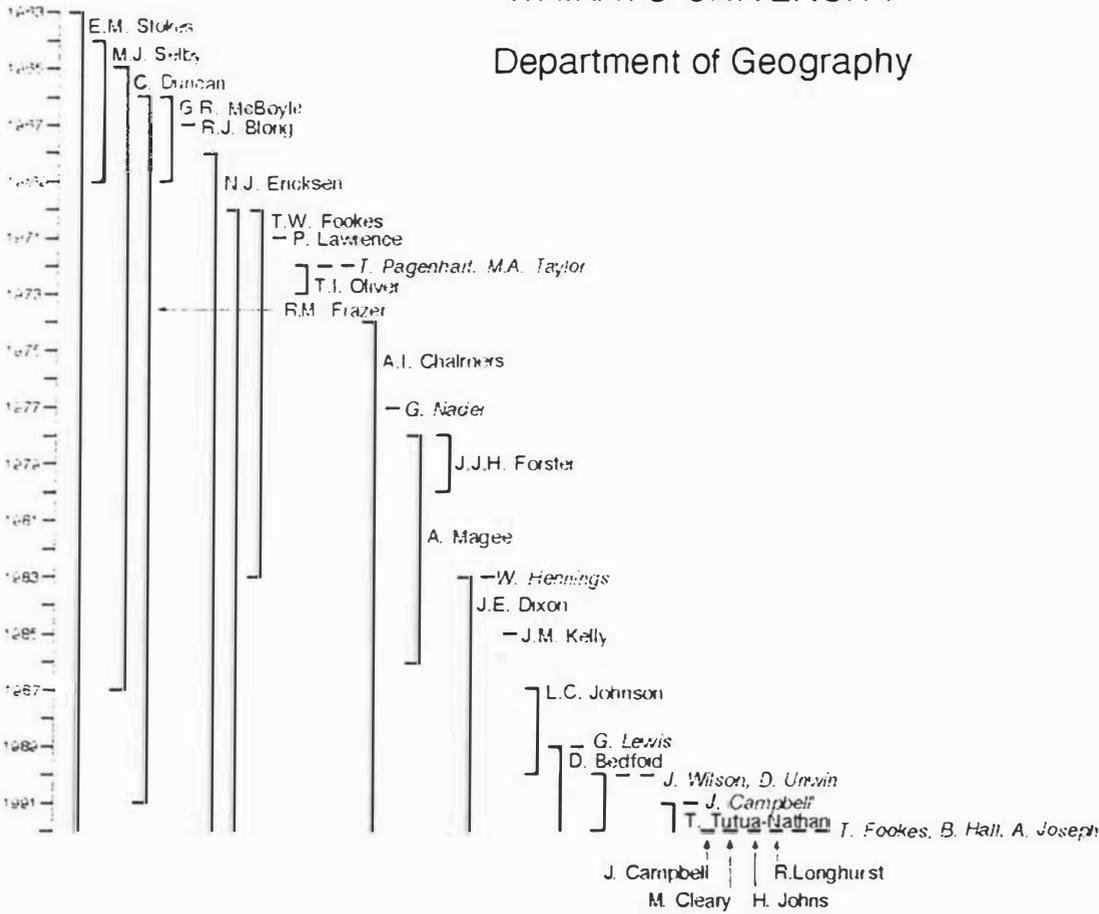
MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Department of Geography



WAIKATO UNIVERSITY

Department of Geography



APPENDIX C**Data Clearance Form**

Department of Geography
Massey University

DATA CLEARANCE

I give permission for the information contained in this cassette recording to be used for analytic purposes, and to be part of a data base that can be consulted by researchers and students. This permission is conditional upon the undertaking to respect any requests for confidentiality concerning specified parts of the interview.

I understand that parts of the recording will be used in a forthcoming PhD thesis dealing with the institutionalisation of geography in New Zealand. Parts of the thesis may be used for future publication. All persons interviewed will be acknowledged by name in the thesis except in those cases where anonymity is specifically requested.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

This clearance relates to Tape Number:

Appendix D

Sample of Interview Transcript

Note: All names and places likely to identify 'Jones' have been removed.

Interview ****

John Jones

Location:****

Tape No: ****

Note: This is a verbatim transcript with minor editing to enable continuity and making allowances for repetition and irrelevant conversation. Emphasised words have been underlined.

HAMMOND : How/When Why did you become a Geographer in the first place?

JONES: It is ludicrous really. Just a good mark in an exam. Good mark in a test paper and then, in response to that, I continued to put some effort into it and through the effort, got the results.

HAMMOND : What year did you finish high school? Where did you finish high school?

JONES: **** which was an institution of Philistines and good sportsmen. It would have been about ****.

HAMMOND : Can you remember any of your Geography teachers?

JONES: Yes I can. ****and ****.

HAMMOND : None of them still teaching?

JONES: No. They are all retired. They were older men then. They had been through the war and they had been scarred by that. One or two younger ones.

HAMMOND : After high school?

JONES: I went to Victoria and that's when I ..oh my brother also being older than me (****) being an historian and helped me quite a lot. So I knew something about university life and so ****chose Geography and came across some very stimulating people....Buchanan and Harvey Franklin had won a Ford Foundation Scholarship and had taught and done research in Germany. He was very astute, an economic geographer and quite different from Buchanan.. Franklin is a dynamic..He may well still be at the university. There were a couple of others. Dr McKenzie..very ..he was a physical geographer but he had plethora of other interests as well. Photography, music..he was a grand old man, he really was. He was understanding and quite fatherly, even at that stage. He had a very serious road accident and I am not sure how much that impaired his work in subsequent years. He had lost his research and was developing other interests.

HAMMOND : What about Buchanan? How would you describe him?

JONES: A humanitarian and a scholar. A man of principle. Very stimulating lecturer.

HAMMOND : As an undergraduate, you just mentioned before that he was 'branded' and could perhaps be inclined to being a little bitter. Could you perceive these sorts of issues when you were a student?

JONES: The bitterness was to come later. I think when he began to be pilloried by his colleagues. There were factions that developed within the university, within his own department.

HAMMOND : You saw those at the time?

JONES: No I had left at that stage?

HAMMOND : How did you become aware of this?

JONES: Because I maintained a contact with the university and to ****as well.

HAMMOND : In what form did this conflict all take place?

JONES: I think it was vying for leadership. Others wanted the chair and he, I can only surmise, that he was losing interest in the direction of some of the new people coming into the university.

HAMMOND : Was he the HOD.

JONES: Yes, he was the Prof

HAMMOND : Who succeeded him?

JONES: Frankin

HAMMOND : Was ****after his job or was he the one that was..

JONES: Both..****, I imagine could be quite a schemer.

HAMMOND : What happened after you left university?

JONES: I went for a years training at ****teachers college and then ran into people...It was just a geography group and so I ran into people from Otago and Canterbury, both of whom had a very strong accent on the physical aspects of Geography and they had heard about Victoria and said that wasn't real Geography and our response was to say well, you tell us what is the significance of the impact of a drop of rain on a hectare of land. You know..it was that kind of nonsense but we offered them a very different perspective in our geography and because of that, it made the beginning of our teacher a lot more realistic, appropriate, sensitive and I think it set us up well for a teaching career to look at the humanities side of geography.

HAMMOND : As a student, were you aware of philosophical changes taking place within Geography or did that come later?

JONES: That came later.

HAMMOND : How did you know that it was taking place?

JONES: It came about because we looked at the curriculum. Even early on, about 1970, we looked at changing parts of the Geography curriculum.

HAMMOND : Who were 'we'?

JONES: Just a group of Geography teachers.

HAMMOND : Where were you centred at this stage?

JONES: ****, and I can remember looking at the 5th Form programme and I discussed it with my **** and then we went and discussed it with Keith Buchanan and Buchanan rubbished it, which was a bit distressing. But he was seeing it from his perspective because he had a different view of what Geography should do and what we were trying to do was to bring in an amalgam of things that others recognised as being significant in g; perhaps the physical dimensions and we tried to weld a more integrated course together.

HAMMOND : Was this before the days of the BOGT?

JONES: Oh yes. So that prior to the BOGT, it seemed to be a ground swell of opinion amongst the teaching fraternity and perhaps lobbying with the university. The university had a terrific amount of influence.

HAMMOND : Was this groundswell coming from the rising generation, which would have included you, or was it coming from the established older Geography teachers.

JONES: No, it was a new group coming through and the ones that you mentioned; people like ****

HAMMOND : So it wasn't just in ****?

JONES: Oh No. It came together, the whole thing came together really at a an inservice course that was run in Auckland in which Barry Johnson had a part to play. It was a National Geography Teachers Refresher Course..

HAMMOND : This wasn't Hogben House?

JONES: No, it was the fore runner for developments that were to ...its my impression that was the catalyst for change, that there were a lot of practicing teachers and training college personnel too. I think that Colin Knight, John Renner were people at training college who had an influence there - and John Macaulay and you have to accept that is my generation that is coming through but those people that I have mentioned there were all key note people; I think **** is another one too, and there were others. Those were the ones then who were keen to see change and ..

HAMMOND : What sort of change were they suggesting?

JONES: It was, I think, frustration at the nature of the curriculum. There didn't seem to be any integration; that the 5th Form one was under the authority of the Dept of Education with School Certificate as the outcome there. Then you went on to University Entrance as it was there and the university has a tremendous influence there and depending on which school had an influence, so the direction shifted this way and that. And for bursary Geography it was the same. There was no coordination. Some parts of the course gave satisfaction; others we saw little relevance in it.

HAMMOND : This dissatisfaction, did it just come out as a 'we don't like this', or did someone devise or formulate a set of practices that they wanted to establish?

JONES: (long pause) I don't remember clearly now. I think at the Auckland refresher course, we had an opportunity of (about 1970) devising a spiral curriculum, and I am sure that Australian geographers would have been going through the same thing. Building at ground level. What were the key things? What things could kids understand at that level and then building it on so that it had a rational and it followed through, Now those were the first major concerted effort for change and I think that we made a number of recommendations which went through to the Department of Education, to I suppose the curriculum developers and out of that I am sure that you will see the

growth of and the movement of people like Ian Young into the Department, picking these threads up and beginning to weld the whole thing together.

HAMMOND : I have heard another reason suggested for the frustrations and that was that the older teachers who were a little bit nervous of the quantitative revolution that was going on and the suggestion that a lot of it was going over their heads. Did you see this at all?

JONES: No. We didn't because at that time, at the school that I was in; three of us were appointed to the same job. ****, myself and one other who had physics. It was senior Geography at **** at a school called ****. There were three geographers. **** had been at Canterbury, I had been at Victoria and **** has been at Auckland. And we all had a different focus. Now the three of us worked together pretty well and we brought about quite a number of changes within our school itself. I guess we were conscious of some of the older teachers who were less willing in other schools to pick up the changes that we sought. Because we three were all young and reasonably well qualified, certainly in our own field.

HAMMOND : Did you see yourselves as the 'wave' of a new vanguard or as visionaries or missionaries?

JONES: I guess we saw ourselves as a new wave. Yes you would have to be aware that the way that we were looking at Geography and the changes that we wanted, were different from some of the teachers that we met at some of the other local schools.

HAMMOND : Has you seen that what you had in mind was going to carry through to the what happened after that. Could you see the NGCC in the future?

JONES: No. That was some way into the future and at that stage all that we wanted was to get a prescription change; to bring about things that were relevant interesting to teach .

HAMMOND : Who were you putting pressure on to bring about this change?

JONES: I guess that it was the department of Education.

HAMMOND : Any particular person?

JONES: Not known to us but I would think so. And I also had contact with the university.

HAMMOND : What encouragement and discouragements did you have?

JONES: I think that the encouragements were that we began to see change. It began to come through and as time went on, we began to get people who picked up a responsibility for the subject and for curriculum development and they began to invite us to **** courses. These were the residential inservice training courses and they were, boy that was something very vital because what they did; you were charged with the responsibility of developing something which then got distributed throughout the country.

HAMMOND : Are you saying then that you sort of arose with this independent little group and you wanted change. You started to see some concessions being made and around about the same time, the Hogben House meetings started and you had the Blue Book an all the rest it and you went on the crest of that.

JONES: Yes, Yes. Now what I say about our group, ****; that was only in our little area. Obviously there was an Auckland group; there were Christchurch groups; there was Hamilton etc. We were a part of that and while we didn't know ... until there were residential inservice courses, we didn't really know about the groundswell of change that was occurring nationally.

HAMMOND : You mentioned **** as being some sort of a linkage between what you were doing and what was happening at the university.

JONES: Yes. We were conscious that there was a lot of information and a lot of ideas available at the university; but Vic in particular, never went out of its way to assist teachers. Now because I had a personal contact there, it was possible to go to the university, to **** and to whoever else was available and to say, 'Listen, what information is available?'. And in one instance, 'would you come and talk to us; to all the senior students on an aspect of the Form 6 Certificate course or the University Entrance course. and he did that and we organised students from all over the **** area attended a day course at our school.

HAMMOND : Was **** there then?

JONES: **** was to come later.

HAMMOND : In a more reflective way, do you see NZ as having a distinctive brand of geography?

JONES: (long pause) I don't know. I'm not sure what the future holds. I thought that we had made a tremendous stride forward when we got the BOGT together and the NGCC. That was a coup. That was the first opportunity that you got all the key elements, the interested parties together.

HAMMOND : Was that due to a fortuitous event or due to particular personalities who arose at the right time.

JONES: I have a feeling that it was good planning and the personalities involved. I think the influence of Ian Young has been very significant. He was a very sound organiser and then had very good university personnel that offered support. Johnson and Garth Cant and Otago was involved in that as well. Notice again that Vic wasn't there and Massey offered a good deal of support as well. Richard (Le Heron) and Heerdegen and those people were supportive of this move; but was Young who was..I seen him as a keystone here. But he was able to touch key university people; key training college personnel and he had a network picked up, sound practitioners in the classroom...he was bloody good.

HAMMOND : Do you feel that the role of the geographical society had any part to play in all this?

JONES: It is strong in various areas. Your Auckland people I am sure will speak highly of there society. When I was in Hamilton, I teaching just out at **** society was quite active as well. There was a good link between the university and the teaching profession. That worked well. Victoria came and went. I don't know much about PN and Massey, nor about the other societies. And in****, there wasn't a tertiary institution there at all at the time so we lost that contact.

HAMMOND : Are you a member?

JONES: Have been but I am not now.

HAMMOND : Do you see the role of the society as having changed?

JONES: I think that the society tried to do...yes it did change. I think that they tried to put out their..the equivalent of the British Journal and it was at the cutting edge of research. They tended to be very esoteric and of not a great deal of practical value for teachers. Now teachers I guess are looking for things that you can lay your hands on and in response I said that it did change because they turned out the teaching Journal which was good. It had some good articles, good ideas and I suppose that it was the equivalent of the British Classroom Geography which was also very helpful.

HAMMOND : Coming back to your own career. I think we left you at Hastings. What happened after that.

JONES: ****

JONES:****

HAMMOND : Did you apply for that position?

JONES: No I had a couple of people recommend me. First of all it was a secondment. Would I like to pick it up for a year? And that was the end of it.

HAMMOND : What brought you to ****?

JONES: Restructuring.

HAMMOND : What is your role now?

JONES: ****.

HAMMOND : Do you have anything to do with Geography at all now?

JONES: Yes. I have maintained an interest and I attend the local Geography teachers association meetings here but is a different perspective now because the advice and guidance element is gone now, I haven't maintained close contact with classroom practices.

HAMMOND : What was the rationale for dropping the advice and guidance element?

JONES: It went back to David Lange who was the Minister for Education as well as the Prime Minister, and his legal background, I suspect had something to do with it. He said that you couldn't be Judge and Jury. You couldn't come in and criticise what was going on in a school after your colleague or yourself some years previously had given advice and guidance, some years previously, on how it should be done. Then you came back and criticised it. Well you cant do that. It could also be to do with the changing philosophy that schools know what they are meant to be doing and how to go about it and you have no right to go in an impose your perspective of education and the way in which things are going in a school.

HAMMOND : Has this point of view found general acceptance?

JONES: It is a paradox. You will get individual Principals who are opposed to receiving advice and guidance and you will get some who will welcome it and that's ...some of your bitter critics are those who believe that they know the direction that they are going in they don't want to have any body brooking their will or path of endeavour. But there are a lot of people who are desperately seeking support, direction and other professional opinion and it is just not there.

HAMMOND : How is this affecting Geography in the schools?

JONES: At the moment things are going along reasonably well. The process of curriculum development is now in place and there is an element of satisfaction in what we have got. How it will be seen in five years or ten years time will be different and that's why I am have difficulty in predicting on what is going to happen in the future.

HAMMOND : Do you see the whole cycle starting again ?

JONES: Yes I can. That's exactly what I..that's my perspective. I can see us going back to the 1970's and saying that was fine for the previous era but we are looking towards the year 2000. Who is doing the planning for that.

HAMMOND : Is there an inevitability in that. no matter how you restructured as you went along, would you come to an inevitable cycle after a few years?

JONES: I don't think so. I feel that with the curriculum committee that was established as teachers expressed frustration, they would have had an avenue to express their viewpoints and concerns and that would have been listened to and also of course to give credit to the unis and training colleges, where they saw change being necessary, they were in a position to filter that through and to bring about change. Now if you drop the amount of that whole planning and development process, then it will stagnate. It must do.

HAMMOND : At present there is really nothing in place which allows for this sort of thing?

JONES: It is thrown back on local teaching associations. Some are active and but I am not sure who they are going to direct their recommendations to, to bring about change.

HAMMOND : Would you see the changes that have taken place within the ministry in the last five or six years, to be mainly the result of philosophical ideals that the Labour Party wanted to instill or are the results of financial constraints or controls that they are trying to bring upon the system?

JONES: It just depend how cynical you wanted to be I suppose. In the depths of despairs I would say that it is promoted because of ..there must be some economic savings to be made, if you break down the, so called, bureaucracy; then there are cost savings.

JONES: More cost savings or is there an element of bringing to heel or having a control of the social agenda?

JONES: There was frustration with the department. There were seen to be intransigent and to put up unnecessary obstacles at times, and the process of change was too slow. All sorts of things or

...

HAMMOND : you haven't seen attempts by the government to introduce social engineering to influence a field like geography?

JONES: Well some would see it. For example, there is an increasing accent on the Treaty of Waitangi and according Maori people greater recognition. Now some would say that this was social engineering..some would see that as part of the whole social climate. There is a process of change going on there and we must be sensitive to that.

HAMMOND : Has there ever been evidence of a coup or takeover along departmental lines e.g. where someone has been ousted because someone else has wanted their way.

JONES: (pause) I think that ****will give you better perspective on that,. **** was the Dept of Education policy maker through curriculum. He succeeded****. And even there you will see that Geography has diminished in significance because ****had to split his interest between Geography and ****, so I guess that there was a feeling that Geography had got a fairly good whack of the cake and that there had been a great many changes that had occurred and the process of curriculum change..?

HAMMOND : Who would have expressed that opinion?

JONES: (pause) I'm not sure. But I guess time, commitment, money and there may have been some indication from schools that,'Hey, this whole process of change is painful. It is going on too regularly. Lay off and lets consolidate what we have got'

HAMMOND : Looking at the high school/university interface, there is no real set up at present to handle this or how do they work it?

JONES: The last time that we really had any influence, well I had some influence, was when the regional inspectors came together and we had an input into the changes that would occur or the changes that we saw desirable in social studies. (end of 89) and we saw this as the dying gasp of curriculum change. We have had change in Geography . There needs to be some changes in social studies and we got **** who was the person responsible for social studies to attend that meeting or he was at that meeting and a group of us exerted a good deal of pressure on ****to get this curriculum change completed and out into the schools and that was accomplished.

HAMMOND : In your contact with the classroom teachers, do you see a building frustration as what is going on and that they don't feel as though they have any part in the curriculum development process?

JONES: It is early days I think and this is not ..no it is not fair to say that it is not an active area. A lot of teachers have been involved in change but it has been in the assessment process. Now that is something that has involved Geography and Geography has been at the vanguard of that process

of change. We have had good people involved in that. That's another aspect of change which has kept Geography teachers pretty busy.

HAMMOND : Who has been involved in that.

JONES: One of the local teachers here, in that, would be ****. Geoff was part of a two person group that went through our particular region.**** this year at the training college but he has been HOD at PNGHS.

HAMMOND : Looking over your particular sphere, have there been periods of what you would call 'Highs' and 'Lows' as far as Geography is concerned?

JONES: I guess the periods of high were that the early years of bringing about change and contributing to things like resource management, questioning techniques. There were a lot of working parties that came together and being involved with that process was really quite stimulating, it really was and I had ten years of quite intense involvement there. The frustration was the era of Merv Wellington. as Minister of Education when he tended to put a halt on curriculum development.

HAMMOND : On financial grounds?

JONES: Finance and his own narrow perspective. He was a conservative. So that was a low because it put a break on development and the frustration was..Gosh it took so long to implement. It was all set. We distributed to teachers to get their response; amended it by taking into consideration the concerns that teachers and groups had then distributed again. Kept teacher informed all the way along with the process of change. When we are all set to go with timetables established and this bloody block came down. So there is your frustration.

HAMMOND : In a situation like that, were there occasions where groups that normally be opposed to each other would form a convenient 'marriage' to get around someone like Wellington.

JONES: Yes I am sure it did. it became a real focus of taking your frustrations out on the obstacle. I didn't get too involved in the politicking but I would imagine that there would be some conflict between the training college and the universities.

HAMMOND : Was Wellington in any way specifically involved with g?

JONES: He was the education Minister.

Side Two

JONES: He often comes up for an 'honourable mention'

JONES: I bet he does (Laughing)..he didn't interfere with the appointment of people but certainly the constraints that he laid on all sorts. He really delayed the process in change in Education.

HAMMOND : My final questions and I think that you will appreciate the reason for asking them. The first one is...have I channelled the questions too much along a particular line and thus not permitting you to say what you really want to say?

JONES: You have to look at a particular perspective and you are inhibited by,of course, by your structure but I have not been inhibited at all. It has been an interesting exercise for me because, as you said, it is the first time that anybody has asked me about the process of development and change.

HAMMOND : Finally, is there any question that I should ask? Is there some gaping hole that I have missed. Some egg that you have been incubating for 15 years.

JONES: (pause) No I am just concerned about our future development. I thought that we had laid some fairly positive networks and processes that would enable liaison between teachers, training colleges and universities so that there could be a filter and expressions of concern or someone to turn to for support for change and I see that the opportunities to support the individual classroom programmes diminishing as well as competition as well..this whole market driven concept begins to take place. I have seen so many good things done. When our 7th Form programme came out. I personally had the opportunity of hearing concerns and observing deficiencies in classrooms practices and being able to say,'Your programme and the way in which you are tackling this is really good. How would you like to go around our region and talk to individual Geography teacher about this..' I did that. That's how I got hold of involved, ****Those were some of the key people that we were able to target to get them to spread the good word, and also on another occasion, finding out an area of that 7th Form course that was not well understood. Getting a group of teachers together for a residential course..sat down and nussed out some responses and edited and distributed it.

HAMMOND : And that machinery does not exist any more?

JONES: Well who else is going to do it? Who does it.

JONES: And you can trace that back to David Langes view?

JONES: I don't think you saw it quite in that light but as a consequence of that reform. That kind of assistance has gone. The opportunity to do that. The opportunity to do that. The only alternative for that will be for the individual boards to allow teachers leave, with pay. It will have to be an individual effort. I don't see boards all that anxious to relinquish people to do that task. I mean if it is a direct benefit to your school, maybe. But if you are doing it for the good of everybody else, well I am not so sure. It would have to be a fairly benevolent board to do that.

End of Interview..

Appendix E

Interview Questionnaire

1 Primary Objectives

- 1.a To trace the development of the institutional structure of Geography in New Zealand.
- 1.b To articulate the interface between University and High School Geography.
- 1.c To ascertain how and why has New Zealand geography emerged in the way it has?
- 1.d To discover what has become institutionalised in New Zealand geography?
- 1.e To determine what were the contests which represent significant points in the process of institutionalisation?
- 1.f To discover whether the unique trajectory of geography in New Zealand signifies a unique geography?
- 1.g Is it possible to foreshadow the future trajectory of geography in New Zealand?

2 Ancillary Objectives

- 2.a To demonstrate the mechanisms through which Geography in New Zealand has been established and has been maintained.
- 2.b To demonstrate the role of the state apparatus in the institutionalisation of Geography in New Zealand.
- 2.c To ascertain the extent to which individuals and departments are interconnected as part of a larger whole.
- 2.d To examine the contradictions, inconsistencies and incompatibilities in institutional behaviour.
- 2.e To analyse/identify the institutional role played by the free and creative reconstruction (Praxis) of social arrangements within a dialectical setting.
- 2.d Who made decisions affecting geography and within what settings were they made?
- 2.e What were the philosophical thrusts and who promoted them?
- 2.f How did an academic discipline evolve that appeared fragmented yet united?
- 2.g How did the State intervene in matters academic, and what were the issues at stake?
- 2.h On which battlefields did geography have to fight for recognition and who were the protagonists?
- 2.i Why did six different university geography departments develop in such a distinctive fashion?

1 General Questions (all groups)

- 1.1 Do you see New Zealand as having a distinct brand of Geography (either in schools or universities)?
- 1.2 How did the NZ brand of Geography acquire its distinctiveness?
- 1.3 Can you account for the philosophical development of University Geography in New Zealand? Did it follow other countries?
- 1.4 What committees/executives/panels have you served on that you now perceive may have been influential in New Zealand Geography?
- 1.5 Can you recall the principal players on those committees?
- 1.6 Did the same people tend to reappear on different committees
- 1.7 Were they perhaps working from 'hidden agendas' or were the underlying issues quite plain to you?
- 1.8 Do you still have the written agendas and minutes (if they exist) of such meetings, or know where they may be found?

- 1.9 Do you believe that the Geographical Societies have had an influence in the development of Geography in New Zealand?
- 1.10 Are you a member of the New Zealand Geographical Society?
- 1.11 If you are not a member, are there any particular reasons for not joining or allowing your membership to lapse?
- 1.12 When did you join?
- 1.13 Why did you join?
- 1.14 What purpose do you see the society fulfilling?
- 1.15 What changes/initiatives would you like to see occur (if any) within the society?
- 1.16 How/Why /When did you become a geographer in the first place
- 1.17 How did you get into the system (i.e. from the workplace, university, another Geography department, from High School Teaching, Government Service)
- 1.18 Which universities did you attend?
- 1.19 Did you come under the influence of any particular geographers/ school of thought.
- 1.20 Were you aware of philosophical changes taking place within the discipline? How? When?
- 1.21 Has your personal specialty been changed or modified, by choice or circumstance, over the years?
- 1.22 Have you practiced Geography in other spheres apart from the school system/ university department?
- 1.23 Have you retained any of your notes or memorabilia that reflect your earlier days as a geographer?
- 1.24 Can you provide me with a list of your publications?
- 1.25 What would you consider to be the major 'events' or 'phases' affecting Geography during your career?
- 1.26 Who do you see as having been the major personalities in New Zealand Geography?
- 1.27 What have been the main changes, for better or worse, that you have seen within Geography in New Zealand? What do you see as having been the 'Highs' and 'Lows' of Geography during your career?
- 1.28 What steps has the department, or personnel within the department, taken over the years to enhance or strengthen the position of the department (i.e. perpetuate the department by active promotion, lobbying, long term goals etc.)
- 1.29 Within your particular discipline, who were the power brokers/decision makers/policy formulators etc.? (Names/positions)
- 2 University Geography**
- 2.1 Are you aware of the circumstances that led to the establishment of this particular (or any other) department?
- 2.2 If so, can you recall the political/economic/ ideological/personality, issues that were extant at the time?
- 2.3 Has the organisational structure of Geography departments altered during your time as a geographer? (autonomy of Departments, intellectual freedom etc.).
- 2.4 Does the department have goals that generally reflect departmental consensus or the ideals of a minority?
- 2.5 Can you give examples these goals (specified and unspecified) were?
- 2.6 How were these goals developed?
- 2.7 What form of relationship existed between different Geography Departments? (e.g.. communication, interchange of personnel, professional jealousies, team teaching)
- 2.8 Was parochialism between different Geography departments apparent?
- 2.9 Was there pressure to conform to particular 'codes of belief'?
- 2.10 If so, was compliance explicit or implicit?
- 2.11 How is status generally measured within a department? (e.g. by qualifications, publications, length of tenure, committee membership, media exposure, class sizes etc.)
- 2.12 Did particular individuals appear to have followings or disciples?

- 2.13 If so, were the 'followings' based on intellectual/financial/ friendship/coercive basis?
- 2.14 Have there been apparent "pecking orders' within the department over the years?
- 2.15 If so, how has this power structure been manifested?
- 2.16 Has there ever been evidence of a 'coup d' état' or takeovers (successful or otherwise) within departments.? (Perhaps involving issues like a 'revolt' against an HOD's method of administration of a department or factions seeking support on contentious issues at staff meetings etc.)
- 2.17 Are some groups within department able to extract advantages and privileges at the expense of other groups?
- 2.18 If so, how was this achieved?
- 2.19 Were some groups better able than others to influence the major decisions affecting the directions of the department?
- 2.20 Have divisions between human and physical Geography been responsible for tensions within the department?
- 2.21 Has the system of appointments been consistent and fair over the years?
- 2.22 How were promotions/appointments decided and how did the procedure take place?
- 2.23 Was/Is there evidence of sexual or ethnic inequality when it came to staffing?
- 2.24 On what basis do you think appointments are/were made? (i.e. What qualities or requirements did/do appointment committees look for?)
- 2.25 Who did the University academics see as being the 'power brokers' when it came to philosophical/paradigmatic change? (i.e. Was is people within the NZ system who were quick to perceive changes happening overseas or visiting academics from overseas universities?) Or was the whole process seen as a form of 'osmosis' in which changes gradually 'trickled down'?
- 2.26 Were there periods of low/ high morale within the department, and what were the reasons behind them?
- 2.27 Were there periods that would be best described as 'periods of crisis'?
- 2.28 What were the causal factors behind these 'periods of crisis'? (i.e. personalities, financial, political, philosophical etc.)
- 2.29 Have there been instances/ periods in which opposing groups came together to achieve convenient ends (thus altering/overthrowing the officially enforced and conventionally accepted view of the organization)?
- 2.30 Were some personnel given more opportunity than others and what were the reasons behind this?
- 2.31 In retrospect, were there any 'cues' that indicated that changes were about to take place (i.e. economic, political, social factors, staffing changes, internal promotions, new financial policies etc.).
- 2.32 When changes (i.e. new HOD, new financial structures, comparative salary scales within different university departments/ overseas universities/ training colleges etc., different forms of tenure) came, were they accompanied by tensions, conflicts. reconstructions within department, crises etc.?
- 2.33 How have/did paradigm or philosophical changes within Geography become established within the department?
- 2.34 Were there specific sets of techniques for pursuing these objectives?
- 2.35 Were there sets of ideas interpreting and justifying the department's activities?
- 2.36 Were reward systems employed (intrinsic and extrinsic rewards e.g. overseas trips, office allocation, funding for projects etc.)?

3 Geography Departments and their place In society

- 3.1 What was the extent of Geography Department collaboration with other departments within the university
- 3.2 To what extent has there been coordination between University and High School Geography (formal and informal links), either in the University or Departmental levels?

- 3.3 How did the Ministry of Education and University Departments communicate and what was the level of effectiveness?
- 3.4 What was the rationale for allowing entry to 1st year courses without a high school Geography prerequisite?
- 3.5 Were there identifiable tensions between the High School and University geographers? (What were the settings/ timing?)
- 3.6 If so, how/when were these tensions manifested and what steps (if any) were taken to alleviate situations?
- 3.7 Whom did the High School teacher perceive as being the 'power brokers' when it came to curriculum change?
- 3.8 Have there been instances which you can recall, of the Geography Department mediating between the state and the local population?
- 3.9 Relating to the previous question, has there ever been any inference of pressure being involved to make decisions in a certain fashion?
- 3.10 Has there been evidence of funding allocations that were related to the government, or funding of projects by large corporations to justify particular interests.
- 3.11 What degree of unofficial influencing/dialogue took place outside of the official settings of the department?

4 Ministry of Education/ Inspectorate

- 4.1 What were the circumstances that led to the setting up of the BOGT and the NGCC?
- 4.2 Have changes in government or in major ministerial appointments ever signaled changes in funding, policies and management for school or university geography?
- 4.3 Can you recall the reasons (political/economic/social) behind major government initiatives affecting Geography (e.g. Picot)?
- 4.4 Has there ever been evidence of outside intervention or influence in syllabus design (e.g. social engineering, political bias)?
- 4.5 To what extent did the Departments/Ministry reflect the prevailing social thinking intellectual climate of the time?
- 4.6 To what extent was sexual or ethnic sensitivity in matters of staffing, teaching emphasis existent/non existent at particular times?
- 4.7 Was/is there evidence of people (principals/ministry/ inspectors/parent groups/ politicians etc.) trying to maintain or engineer syllabus changes?
- 4.8 What was the rationale behind the concept of 'Teaching Fellows' linking the Universities and Ministry?
- 4.9 What was the basis of selection for positions such as 'Teaching Fellows'?

5 High School Geography

- 5.1 Where did the thrust come from to develop new courses/subjects in High School Geography?
- 5.2 Where did innovative ideas come from? (i.e. individuals, groups, external or internal)
- 5.3 Who were the organisers/moving forces behind conferences/symposiums/workshops.
- 5.4 With whom lay the responsibility to initiate/develop new courses?
- 5.5 Whom did the High School teacher perceive as being the 'power brokers' when it came to curriculum change?
- 5.6 How would you assess the effectiveness of the BOGT and NGCC in aiding the communication between University and High School Geography?
- 5.7 Did the classroom teacher feel that s/he was part of the process of change and development?
- 5.8 What steps were initiated by teachers to be part of change and development?
- 5.9 To what extent did the Departments/Ministry reflect the prevailing social thinking intellectual climate of the time?

- 5.10 To what extent was sexual or ethnic sensitivity in matters of staffing, teaching emphasis existent/non existent at particular times?
- 5.11 Was/is there evidence of people (principals/ministry/ inspectors/parent groups/ politicians etc.) trying to maintain or engineer syllabus changes?
- 5.12 Can you recall the reasons (political/economic/social) behind major government initiatives affecting Geography (e.g. Picot)?
- 5.13 Has there ever been evidence of outside intervention or influence in syllabus design (e.g. social engineering, political bias)?

APPENDIX F

Submission to the Minister of Education by the Board of Geography Teachers

THE BOARD OF GEOGRAPHY TEACHERS' SUMMARY REPORT ON THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM OF NEW ZEALAND AND SCHOOL CERTIFICATE DISCUSSION DOCUMENT PROPOSALS

Although some aspects of the National Curriculum of New Zealand and School Certificate Qualification proposals have merit, others raise serious issues, especially relating to the imbalance in importance of various 'Essential Learning Areas', culminating in the final School Certificate year. The likely 'downflow' effect on the amount of time given to 'Essential Learning Areas' (other major subject groups) other than the obligatory English, mathematics and science areas is likely to diminish the status and therefore the time spent teaching the social sciences, with traditional further dilution of geography and history teaching by development of 'cultural studies' and 'citizenship' studies, besides social studies and economics, as extra options.

When we examine the list of 'Essential Skills' in the **National Curriculum** document we have further cause for grave concern because

- * **Graphicacy Skills** e.g. diagram and map interpretation and use, are omitted from the group of communication skills.

- * **Valuing Skills**, explicitly included in the **Forms 5 - 7 Geography Syllabus** (1990) pp 6 - 7 and 18 and the **Social Studies Forms 3 and 4 Handbook for Teachers** (1991) p 5, are ignored, apart from aspects which some might assume as implicit to 'Problem Solving and Decision-Making Skills' and 'Social Skills'. Surely these are so important they need strong emphasis in helping develop future citizens in a democracy.

- * **Higher-level Thinking Skills**, especially the ability to synthesize and evaluate, are not made explicit, yet they are emphasized in both the **Geography Syllabus** (p17) and the **Social Studies Handbook** (p 5).

It should be noted that, although geography is grouped with other specialist sciences as part of the 'Science and Environment' Essential Learning Area, its role is unlikely to be a major one, as most science teachers would regard it as 'earth science' that some are already trying to teach, not always with much expertise.

There have been public announcements by the Minister of Education about the inclusion of 'technology' as a fourth 'basic' SC subject and this is mentioned in the School Certificate document (p 11). The way this will operate e.g. whether the 'umbrella' term could cover a wide range of options, including geography is not clear and should not be allowed to 'fudge' the main issues:

The Board's Recommendations are:

* That major secondary school social science subjects viz. geography and history be given a 'basic subject group' status alongside English, mathematics and science with all students required to study at least one as part of their School Certificate course. The main objective would be for students to not only consolidate their knowledge and understanding in this essential learning area but also to develop their valuing, higher-level thinking and graphical skills better than would likely be so otherwise.

* To implement this proposal that a compulsory schedule of units of work or time allocations be promulgated which gives the social sciences group equal status with English, mathematics and science both in the SC year and those preceding it where science is specified, with which it should have equal status, (Time allocations were used in the Secondary School Curriculum Regulations (1945) following the report of the Thomas Committee.)

Appendix G

Comments and Poem attributed to K M Buchanan

Lines Induced (rather than inspired) By A M Gorrie's 'History of Geography in New Zealand'

'There go Professors, O illustrious sparks!
And there, scarce less illustrious, go their Clarks!
(18th century, adapted)

p 290 dangerous gods
p 355 places where Hartshorne is not denied
p 357 The fourth university department of geography deviates
.. and there is still deviation
p 448 in its esoteric stage, geography

"Biography
is better than Geography;
Geography is about maps,
Biography is about chaps."

But the maps and chaps of Geobiotheology
- with a share of Sycophantology -
are better than either:
they advance you farther.

Not once or twice in this smooth island story
the disciple Gorrie,
a woman of bibliographic parts
is Mistress of Arts.

And from the scarce areally-differentiated smog,
if not a frog,
at least we may see a fox
blown to an ox.

But this takes a modicum
of odium theologicum;
esoteric religions
set the fox among the pigeons.

We must have our Doctrine fixed, sir;
if the fixer's a slickster
that just shows that Auckland
is far and away the best talkland.

The Master came to redeem men
from the Bluff to Maria van Diemen,
to lay an embargo
on Christchurch and Otago,

that the Faith be not denied but kept pure
from the grisly spectre
of heretic free thoughters
who don't think as they oughter.

The Gospel According to Hartshorne,
on our sleeves if not on our hearts worn,
will enable us to state
quite firmly; Wellington, though Victorian, is deviatel

APPENDIX H

Bibliography of Published Works by Ron J Johnston whilst In New Zealand (1967 - 1977)¹

- 1967 (with P.J. Rimmer) Commercial leadership in New Zealand. *New Zealand Geographer*, 23, 165-168.
- 1968 Commercial leadership as an urban function: some international comparisons. *Proceedings, Fifth New Zealand Geography Conference*, 153-157.
- _____ (with P.J. Rimmer) Population movements to nine Victorian towns. *The Australian Geographer*, 10, 421-424.
- _____ An outline of the development of Melbourne's street pattern. *The Australian Geographer*, 10, 453-465.
- _____ Land Use Changes in Melbourne's CBD 1857-1962. In P.N. Troy (ed.) *Urban Redevelopment in Australia*. Australian National University Press, Canberra, 177-201.
- 1969 *Land Values, the Housing Market, and the Planning Process in Christchurch*, Economic Bulletin 532, Canterbury Chamber of Commerce, Christchurch, .
- _____ On the General Methodology of Human Geography. In W.B. Johnston (ed.) *Human Geography: Concepts and Case Studies*. Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 5-27.
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- _____ Population movement and metropolitan expansion: London 1951-1961. *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers*, 46, 71-91.
- _____ Towards an analytical study of the townscape: the residential building fabric. *Geografiska Annaler*, 50B, 2-32.
- _____ Processes of change in the high status residential areas of Christchurch. *New Zealand Geographer*, 25, 1-15.
- _____ Urban geography in New Zealand, 1945-1969. *New Zealand Geographer*, 25, 121-135.
- _____ Population changes in an urban system - the examples of Scotland and the Republic of Ireland. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 85, 132-140.
- _____ Population changes in Australian small towns, 1961-1966. *Rural Sociology*, 34, 212-218.
- 1970 Grouping and regionalising: some technical and methodological observations. *Economic Geography*, 46, 293-305.
- _____ Components analysis in geographic research. *Area*, 2, 68-71.
- _____ On spatial patterns in the residential structure of cities. *The Canadian Geographer*, 14, 361-367.
- _____ Zonal and sectoral patterns in Melbourne's residential structure. *Land Economics*, 45, 463-467.
- _____ Latent migration potential and the gravity model. *Geographical Analysis*, 2, 380-190.
- _____ (with P.J. Rimmer) *Retailing in Melbourne*. Department of Human Geography, Australian National University, Canberra, 141 pp.
- 1971 (with Jane M. Soons) *Proceedings of the Sixth New Zealand Geography Conference*. New Zealand Geographical Society, Christchurch, 288 PP
- _____ (with June Chapman) *Geography and Education* (Volume II of the Proceedings of the Sixth New Zealand Geography Conference), New Zealand Geographical Society, Christchurch, 144 pp.

¹ Johnston left New Zealand in 1974 but continued publishing using New Zealand based material for several years.

- 1971 (cont) The residential preferences of New Zealand school students. *New Zealand Journal of Geography*, 50, 13-24.
- _____ Some limitations of factorial ecology and social area analysis. *Economic Geography*, 47, 314-323.
- _____ On value systems in urban planning. *Town Planning Quarterly*, 23, 9-15.
- 1971 Mental maps of the city: suburban preference patterns. *Environment and Planning* 3, 63-72.
- _____ *Intra-Societal Patterns of Increasing Scale: A Pilot Study*. University of New South Wales, Department of Geography, Discussion Paper 1, Kensington, New South Wales, .
- _____ (with W.B. Johnston and C.C. Kissling) *The Fendalton Shopping Centre*. Report to Waimairi County Council, .
- _____ *A Decade is Too Long: Observations on Regional Development in New Zealand*. Economic Bulletin 547, Canterbury Chamber of Commerce, Christchurch, .
- _____ *Squatter Settlements in South American Cities*. Perspective, New Zealand Geographical Society, Palmerston North, .
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- _____ *Urban Residential Patterns: An Introductory Review*. G. Bell and Sons Ltd., London , 380 pp. (reprinted 1975).
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APPENDIX J

Letter from Buchanan to the Vice-Chancellor Dr J Williams,
25/7/1958.

I have been invited by the Academia Sinica to visit China for a one month lecture visit from September/ October this year. I would ask you to make formal application to the Council on my behalf for period of research leave for a period of one month, commencing on October 10 to enable me to accept this invitation. In support of this request I would raise the following points.

1. In our work here in the Department of Geography at Victoria University, we are concerned to a very large extent with conditions in East Asia, sizable sections of the stage 1 and stage 2 courses are devoted to East Asian Geography. Half the stage 3 Asian course is devoted to China, Japan and South East Asia and some years we have included a detailed study of South East Asia as part of our Western Pacific Honours option.

2. The Department is actively concerned with and, and interested in teaching in the field of Asian studies. As the projected programme for this course stands, we will be contributing to both stage 1 and stage 2 levels and I would hope that if Asian studies advances to stage 3 the trained geographer would be able to make an important contribution both in teaching and research.

3. For the last 10 years I have been working to a considerable extent on Asian geography and, more particularly on the geography of South East Asia. My preoccupation with this area has of course increased since taking up my post at Victoria. I could claim, therefore that in making such a trip, I would go with a not inconsiderable background knowledge of the area and of its major problems in that the visit would enable me focus clearly the picture which has emerged from reading and teaching of East Asian topics over recent years. I would go also with a reasonably clear picture of the total situation and with very definite ideas as to the area problems to which I could most profitably give such time as is available.

4. At present my teaching must be based upon secondary or tertiary sources of information since no member of the Department has any field experience of Asian conditions. You will recall that from the date of my first appointment here, I have stressed the need for a geographer who possesses first hand field experience of at

least part of Asia and I feel that recent developments both in the world as a whole and the University of New Zealand have underlined the urgency of this need.

5. The research visit such as I have suggested would enable me, as a person concerned both with the teaching of Geography and of Asian studies at this University, to acquire at least the beginnings of first hand field knowledge of an area which contains one third of humanity and which is of vital interest and concern to us in New Zealand. To these considerations which are important in looking at the general development of Victoria University and of the Geography Department in particular I would add another: my field experience has been acquired largely in Africa. It is now six and a half years since I was last in Africa and, with the completion of the text upon which I am at present working, I will have exhausted my research capital. I am confronted with a personal problem in the reorientation of my research work and I feel that, placed as I am in New Zealand and given the sort of teaching commitments which I have, the obvious field of specialisation would lie in the geography of Southern and Eastern Asia.

I would therefore welcome any sort of opportunity such as this research trip would offer of making first hand acquaintance of the area which is virtually untouched as far as post war geographical research is concerned. I might, perhaps, at this point stress that my past training and most of my basic research work has been in the tropical and subtropical areas of the world and has been particularly concerned with the non European peoples. I would feel therefore that I have some qualifications for taking research work at this type even though the human environment of East Asia is very different from that of inter tropical Africa. One final and valuable contribution which the visit might make lies in the building up of the personal contacts with geographers in East Asia. I would hope that it might be possible to initiate an exchange of material and that a reciprocal flow of research information between New Zealand geographers and Asian geographers. Such contact between academic work is, I think, of the very highest value at all times and is particularly urgent in the present climate of world opinion.

Signed

Keith Buchanan
Professor of Geography

Source: VUC Minutes Vol xxxvi, August 1958.

Appendix K

Petition from Stage 1 Students - Palmerston North University College

We the undersigned Geography 1 students of the Palmerston North University College respectfully request the Council to give favourable consideration to the introduction of Stage 2 Geography in 1961 instead of 1962.

The Class, in submitting this petition wish to convey to the Council their appreciation for the provision of Stage 1 in Palmerston North and the splendid service that has been received from the college staff.

Encouraged by the service we are receiving from our lecturers, Geography has made such an impression that it is the genuine desire of the undersigned to make it the foundation for their academic future. Our confidence in the staff of the good will and inspiration engendered by their service convinces us that the provision of stage 2 in 1961 instead of 1962 is well within their capabilities and we are sure that it would be in the interests of all concerned. Should Council's previous decision have been based on the possibility that it might overburden our lecturers, we would respectfully suggest that if Stage 2 were limited to those student who were successful in their finals this year, should eliminate this possibility.

We are, quite confident that from the services we are receiving, that the staff is more than capable of coping with the teaching of Stage 2 in 1961. From our own personal point of view we consider that this class has much to lose if Geography 2 is not available from Palmerston North next year. It is felt that this Class possesses an enthusiasm that could be destroyed by years delay for those who passed Stage 1 this year. In addition to the detrimental effects in the break in the continuity of the work, we have other factors which we wish the Council to consider.

Our Class has high proportion of older students who are desirous of taking geography further than Stage 1, and these students are likely to find it very difficult if they are unable to proceed directly to Stage 2 when successful with Stage 1.

In this group there are four members of the staff of Palmerston North City Council, Town Planning Department, who main interest is in Geography as it affects their profession. They are, however, taking the class seriously and will be sitting the exams to preserve the class spirit. They also wish to proceed to Stage 2 but may find it very difficult after a years break.

Next year one of our students will require a Stage 2 subject to complete a BSc degree. This student is married with a small child and it is essential that he be able to complete his degree in Palmerston North. Two of our students on the successful completion of the Stage 2 subject next year would qualify for a Teachers B Certificate. These students who are teachers in the city would not be able to achieve this goal unless Stage 2 Geography is offered in Palmerston North next year. One of these students transferred from Southland to Palmerston North in order to avail himself of the university facilities that were being provided in this city. Should no Stage 2 Geography be offered next year then his studies will come to a standstill.

Among the undersigned are five school teacher/students in the older group who have three or four units towards degrees and hence have reached the stage where it is necessary for them to have a Stage 3 subject which they desire to be Geography. The Training College students in the class need a Stage 2 subject, Geography would be preferable, particularly where practical work is a prerequisite, while they are still in a university town. If they are unable next year to undertake this course then they may not be able to continue Geography for three years, should they wish to complete their country service requirements as early as possible. Finally the full time students enrolled this year who wish to major in Geography could complete the three Stage 1 subjects this year and unless Geography 2 is offered next year the students will have to leave Palmerston North to continue their studies. This they would prefer not to do as it is better for them to continue their studies while living at home. Should Council feel that it cannot accede to our request at this stage and provide for the Stage 2 Geography in 1961, then we would respectfully request, that Council give further consideration to the Stage 1 results are announced.

Signed by 23 Students

APPENDIX L

Massey College Report of the special meeting of the standing committee of Council 28/7/62

Item 3 Massey University College of Palmerston North Bill (C62/42)

Clause 28 : 1 of the Bill states that

i. The first Principal of the College shall be appointed by the University Grants Committee.

iii. If the person appointed by the University Grants Committee to be the Principal of the College is not at the time when such an appointment is made or on the 31st December 1962, whichever shall be the earlier, Principal of Massey College or Principal of the branch of the Victoria University of Wellington at Palmerston North, the University Grants Committee shall offer to the two last mentioned Principals offices in the new College suitable to their qualifications and experience on terms with regard to tenure and emoluments not less favourable than those on which the same Principals are then employed by the Councils of Massey College and the Victoria University of Wellington respectively.

iv. If the person appointed by the university Grants Committee to be Principal of the College is at the time when such appointment is made or on the 31st December 1962, whichever shall be the earlier, Principal of Massey College or Principal of the branch of the Victoria University of Wellington at Palmerston North, the University Grants Committee shall offer to either of the two last mentioned Principals offices in the new College suitable to their qualifications and experience on terms with regard to tenure and emoluments not less favourable than those on which the same Principals are then employed by the Councils of Massey College and the Victoria University of Wellington as the case may be.

v. Without limiting the powers conferred on the University Grants Committee by paragraphs iii and iv of this subsection, it is hereby declared that the University Grants Committee may pursuant to the said paragraphs offer the office of Dean or Director of a section of the academic work of the College and such office of Dean or Director may include an appointment as a Professor of the College in an appropriate field of knowledge.

viii. If the Principal of Massey College or the Principal of the branch of the Victoria University of Wellington at Palmerston North accepts appointment under this subsection to any office in the College he shall have no right to damages or compensation in respect to the termination, by reason of the operation of this Act, of his tenure of any office or employment in Massey College or the branch of the Victoria University of Wellington at Palmerston North.

APPENDIX M

Selection of Publications Produced by the New Zealand Geographical Society and Branches

- Anderson, A.G. (1980) *The Land Our Future: Essays in Honour of Kenneth Cumberland*, Longman Paul.
- Annual Report, *New Zealand Geographical Society (Inc.)*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, Christchurch, N.Z.
- Bedford, R. & Sturman, A. (1983) *Canterbury at the crossroads : issues for the eighties*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Bockemuehl, H.W. (1970) *New Zealand's wealth; studies in resource development*, Manawatu Branch, *New Zealand Geographical*
- Britton, S., Le Heron, R. and Pawson, E. J. (1992) *Changing places in New Zealand : a geography of restructuring*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*
- Cant, R. G. (1978) *Canterbury at leisure : studies in internal tourism and recreation*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, Canterbury Branch,
- Freer, W. W. (1973) *Industrial and regional development in New Zealand*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, Auckland Branch.
- Heerdegen, R.G. (ed) (1965) *Looking north : readings in Asian geography*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, Manawatu Branch.
- Holland, P.G., and Johnston, W.B. (1987) *Southern approaches : geography in New Zealand*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- International Geographical Union (1983) *Issues in tourism research in the South Pacific : proceedings of the meeting of the Sub-Commission on Tourism, Sub-commission on Tourism in the South West Pacific*. Aix-en-Provence : Centre des Hautes Etudes Touristiques.
- Jarman, N. E. (1978) *Implications of New Zealand's declaration of a 200 mile exclusive economic fishing zone*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, Auckland Branch
- Johnston, R. J. (1974) *Spatial planning and social goals in New Zealand*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Johnston, R. J. (1974) *Society and environment in New Zealand*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, Whitcombe and Tombs.
- McCaskill, M., (1962) *Land and Livelihood: Geographical Essays in Honour of George Jobberns*, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- McQueen, A. E. (1983) *Railways and the Auckland region* A.E. McQueen. *New Zealand Geographical Society*.

- Muldoon, R. D. (1969) Economic planning for New Zealand's future, edited by B. G. R. Saunders and R. G. Heerdegen, Manawatu Branch, New Zealand. *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- New Zealand geographer (1971) Cumulative index to volumes 1 to 25, 1945 to 1969 plus an index of New Zealand theses and dissertations in geography, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- New Zealand Journal of Geography, (1969 -) Christchurch, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Perspective, Occasional publication, *New Zealand Geographical Society*. Manawatu Branch.
- Proceedings (1955) The First Geography Conference, Auckland, 22-26 August, 1955, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1958) The Second New Zealand Geography Conference, Christchurch, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1961) The Third New Zealand Geography Conference, Palmerston North, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1964) The Fourth New Zealand Geography Conference, Dunedin August 1964, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1967) The Fifth New Zealand Geography Conference, Auckland, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1971) The Sixth New Zealand Geography Conference, Christchurch, edited by Johnston, R. J. and Soons, J. M. *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1972) The Seventh New Zealand Geography Conference, Hamilton August 1964, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1974) The Eight New Zealand Geography Conference and International Geographical Union Regional Conference, Dunedin August 1964, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1974) The Ninth New Zealand Geography Conference, Dunedin August 1964, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, edited by T.J. Hearn and R.P. Hargreaves
- Proceedings (1977) The Ninth New Zealand Geography Conference, Dunedin August 1977, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1979) The Tenth New Zealand Geography Conference and Forty-Ninth ANZAAS Congress (Geographical Sciences), Auckland, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1979) The Tenth New Zealand Geography Conference, Auckland, August 1964, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1981) The Eleventh New Zealand Geography Conference, Wellington, August 1964, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1983) The Twelfth New Zealand Geography Conference, Christchurch, August 1964, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.

- Proceedings (1985) The Thirteenth New Zealand Geography Conference, Hamilton, August 1985, *New Zealand Geographical Society*, edited by Ann Magee.
- Proceedings (1987) The Fourteenth New Zealand Geography Conference, Palmerston North, August 1987, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Proceedings (1989) The Fifteenth New Zealand Geography Conference, Dunedin August 1989, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Record (1950-1968) Record of proceedings of the Society and its Branches, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Ward, R.G. (ed) (1960) New Zealand's Industrial Potential, Auckland Branch, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.
- Watters R. F. (1965) Land and society in New Zealand; essays in historical geography, Wellington Branch, *New Zealand Geographical Society*.

Appendix N
School Geography Within Government Education.