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**Interfield antagonisms: An examination of the
New Zealand journalistic and visual arts fields in the
case of the mainstream media coverage of et al. and
the 2005 Venice Biennale**

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ABSTRACT

In June 2004, when Creative New Zealand announced that the artist collective et al. had been selected as New Zealand's representative at the 2005 Venice Biennale, much of the country's mainstream media engaged in a critical representation of the case that resulted in unprecedented national attention to a visual art news story. Using Bourdieu's field theory as its primary analytical framework, this thesis focuses on the coverage of et al. during the reporting period of June 2004 to December 2005 by a selected sample of mainstream New Zealand media outlets, including broadcast television and major metropolitan newspapers, to examine the antagonisms that structured the most high profile journalistic field representations of the controversy.

This study of the interfield relations of the journalistic and visual arts fields is primarily an examination of journalism's power. This power derives from the journalistic field's domination as a centralised mediator of a range of information and discourses to a general public, including the specialized knowledge of particular fields like the visual arts. Highlighting the capacity of the journalistic field to symbolically dominate other fields, this study examines how this power is reproduced through symbolic violent forms of representation and considers how the field's increasingly commercial (heteronomous) concerns constrain other fields, in this case, the visual arts field. Analysis of the case highlights the discursive logic of the New Zealand journalistic field's dominant narrative demonstrating values aligned with the populist sensibilities of an imagined mainstream public and represented through common-sense appeals such as those concerning political accountability, the funding cost to taxpayers, the representation of a national identity and an anti-intellectualist stance opposed to the elitist and even "bizarre" values of the artists and their associates.

Applying Bourdieu's approach to understanding this interfield relationship requires a consideration of the structure of the fields' social spaces in terms of their agents (the artists, journalists, politicians and other field participants), their products (textual and visual) and their consumers (readers and viewers) and to describe them, not in terms of causality, but in relation to each other and to their social, cultural and economic conditions. To examine various aspects of the fields' relational dynamics, this study employs the investigative approaches of content analysis and surveys and draws on different textual analytical methods, including critical discourse analysis and aspects of

conversation analysis, to analyse different print media and television representations of the case.

This study's analysis shows that a marketplace logic governed the media's construction of the et al. case with an emphasis on discursive appeals aligned to the populist sensibilities of an imagined mainstream readership. Furthermore, this thesis will show that an interfield analysis provides a more useful interpretive framework for understanding media power than a singular focus on internal journalistic field structures.

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List of Abbreviations

AJNZ	Arts Journalism in New Zealand survey
CNZ	Creative New Zealand
NAJP	National Arts Journalism Program
NZSEI	New Zealand Socioeconomic Index of Occupational Status
TVNZ	Television New Zealand
VAF	Visual Arts Field Survey of Visual Arts Journalism in New Zealand

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“It's crap. And most New Zealanders know it” (MP Deborah Coddington, July 13, 2004).

“The number of people who feel qualified to offer an opinion about something they know next to nothing about is astonishing.” (Mark Amery, visual arts reviewer)

“Ordinary kiwis may not know much about art, but they know enough to know this isn't it” (Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh [Editorial], *The Dominion Post*, June 4, 2005).

“I think they want to present her as outrageous, but all it is is contemporary art.” (Robert Leonard, Auckland Art Gallery curator)

“The taxpayer paid for it, but the taxpayer isn't allowed to ask about it” (McLean, *The Dominion Post*, June 23, 2005a).

“[T]here is a lot of suspicion around the visual arts and so questions get put that wouldn't get put to people who have been successful representing their country in sport or singing or some other achievement. And that issue needs to be thought about, not only by journalists, but by the contemporary art community as well.” (Greg Burke, Commissioner 2005 Venice Biennale)

1.1 Introduction: When art becomes news: Interfield antagonisms on display

The above quotations, selected from the textual materials analysed in this thesis, provide a sample of the views to be examined. Juxtaposed here are some of the contrasting perspectives voiced by members of New Zealand's mainstream journalism and visual arts fields concerning the selection of the artist collective et al. to represent New Zealand at the 2005 Venice Biennale, presenting a foretaste of the antagonisms that mark the relational dynamics of the two cultural fields. The notion of "antagonism" used throughout this thesis draws on Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) concept of identity formation through social antagonism. Following this view, identities are constituted negatively, and irreconcilably, through their relation to that which they are not, to an "other" that stands outside, or at the limits, of a social identity or formation. This process of constituting subjectivity, an outcome that is never fully realised, relies on social agents' ability to define and discursively exclude the "other", through constructed frameworks of equivalence and difference. The antagonistic constructions related to the case that is the focus of this thesis are examined at length in Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

The journalists' statements in the above quotations provide some insight regarding the journalistic field's various discursive constructions of the public (as "New Zealanders", "ordinary", "taxpayers") whose interests the journalists claim to represent. The visual arts field statements demonstrate a concern about the field's autonomy as far as who has the capacity to interpret and evaluate art. And in both cases, the pronouns employed ("it" and "they") points to an effort to distinguish and separate the two fields. These issues, and more, characterise the interfield power dynamics that are the focus of this thesis, which applies Bourdieu's field theory to an empirical study of the interrelationship of the New Zealand journalistic and visual arts fields.

Historically, the relationship between mainstream journalism and the visual arts fields has often been uneasy. Categorized as entertainment and therefore "soft news", the journalistic genres related to arts reporting, reviews, previews, criticism and features, are typically relegated to the "inside" pages or to the magazine supplements of many newspapers, along with other arts-related news stories. A similar treatment occurs in the case of broadcast news; arts stories are often reserved for the lighter culture and entertainment segments, whenever those are included in the newscast, and on a heavy newsday those stories are likely to be dropped. News about the arts is generally

considered less significant, less time-sensitive and less serious than news about national and world events (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007; Szántó, 2001).

However, when art news becomes “hard” news, the arts are, as Szántó observes, easily “hijacked by those with non-art agendas” (2001, p. 183). Presenting a story that deals with a specialist subject like the contemporary visual arts, ordinarily a somewhat complex and obscure topic about which much of a more mainstream audience may know little or even care less, can be challenging. To make the subject more accessible and interesting to a general audience, a typical journalistic approach, Szántó (2001) notes, is to simplify complex information, focus on description rather than analysis and attach the story to familiar tropes of scandal and social indignation. Lacking information, the general public are more likely to be persuaded by demagogic rhetoric, especially when an issue has been framed as a controversial social problem presented in the public interest.

Szántó’s observations are clearly illustrated by examples of visual arts controversies both overseas and in New Zealand where the media have played a significant role. For instance, in a study of the National Endowment for the Arts funding crisis in the United States, Koch (1998) found that during the previous decade, there had been a marked increase in the number of emotionally-charged stories that had appeared in newspapers throughout the country dealing with the NEA funding of so-called “pornographic” and “blasphemous” works by Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano (para. 42). Previously, the coverage of NEA-related stories had been limited primarily to newspapers located in the larger metropolitan arts centres, such as *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, and was concerned only with organisational and funding matters. The reason for the change in the NEA coverage, as Koch’s research indicates, was the social outrage that had been associated with the controversial artists.

What especially exacerbated this arts-funding debate was the appearance of a *Washington Times* editorial by Patrick Buchanan, founder of the Christian Coalition, describing contemporary art as “anti-American, anti-Christian, and nihilist” (Koch, 1998, para. 70). This editorial sparked a public outcry that reached Congress and led to debates calling for a reduction in arts funding and even the elimination of the NEA. While the conservative Christian agenda drove the movement, the media were instrumental in arousing public sentiment. As Koch (1998) explains, “The mediated

nature of virtually all communication on the issues put rational argument at a disadvantage. Simplification and emotionalism on the part of the opponents were more powerful and effective than the defenders' appeals to free speech..." (para. 72).

The media's role in politicizing art is evident as well in the controversy surrounding the Brooklyn Museum *Sensation* exhibition (October, 1999 to January, 2000) of contemporary British works from the collection of Charles Saatchi, the advertising executive. Two weeks prior to the exhibit's opening at the Brooklyn Museum, the *New York Daily News*' preview of the show (luridly entitled "B'klyn gallery of horrors: Gruesome museum show stirs controversy") focused on especially grisly details ("real animals sliced in half", "sculptures of corpses", "sexually mutilated bodies") of a few of "the more controversial works" of the 100 to be displayed at the R-rated show (Feiden, 1999). Among these was Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary* (1996), described as "splattered with elephant dung" (Feiden, 1999), which provoked the president of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights to call for all New Yorkers to boycott the museum. A few days after the article appeared, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani threatened to withhold the city's museum funding unless the museum cancelled the show and stated, "You don't have a right to government subsidy for desecrating somebody else's religion" (Barry & Vogel, 1999). Although he had only viewed the show's catalogue and not the actual artworks, Giuliani, who is also Catholic, described the art as "sick stuff" and pointed out "having so-called works of art in which people are throwing elephant dung at a picture of the Virgin Mary is sick" (Lombardi & Moritz, 1999). When asked if the museum was marketing controversy to sell tickets, the museum's director replied, "We're not denying it" (Feiden, 1999).

In his survey of visual arts controversies in American culture, historian Michael Kammen (2006) has observed that generally throughout the last half of the twentieth century, the media have increasingly engaged in reporting, and in helping to create, controversies. He attributes the media's role in provoking these events to commercially-driven motivations in their "quest for hype and enhanced sales" (2006, p xix). In the case of the Brooklyn Museum exhibit, Kammen notes that the hostility would not have reached such an extreme point if the media had not been so determined to inflame the issues. Certainly, the provocative headlines and rhetoric of the city's tabloids such as

the *New York Daily News* and the *New York Post*¹ contributed to the circus-like atmosphere of the event.

On first glance, the Brooklyn case appears to be rooted in the earlier culture wars and certainly there are homologous elements. In the case of *Sensation*, as in the previous NEA challenges, a politician, aligned with a conservative religious faction, challenged the work of contemporary visual artists and called into question art's social purpose and artistic freedom. However, as before, this visual art controversy was not simply a matter of community standards of morality at odds with artists' freedom of speech and expression. The underlying political and economic motivations of the key actors complicate the dynamics of the case, influencing their choices and actions in relation to those within their own fields (visual arts, political and journalistic) and in relation to those in other fields. Furthermore, these factors also serve to drive the media's coverage of the controversy. What is particularly valuable about the Brooklyn and NEA controversies in terms of this thesis is that they illuminate interfield dynamics and highlight the particularly significant role that the journalistic field can have (as Kammen had pointed out) in driving visual arts controversies. This thesis will examine the interrelational dynamics of these fields in the New Zealand context by focusing on the visual arts controversy concerning et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale and consider the role that the mainstream journalistic field's representation of the news story had in driving the dispute.

Also, and as the Brooklyn controversy illustrated as well, we must consider how the visual arts field may be complicit in constructing a journalistic controversy and the economic benefits, prestige (symbolic capital) and public visibility that the artists and others in the field potentially derive from the notoriety and sensationalism. In his discussion with Bourdieu of how artists may oppose the symbolic domination of journalists, the contemporary artist Hans Haacke observed that the relationship between artist and journalist is often collaborative (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995). He explained that an artist might attempt to initiate public discussion by producing works that express a point of view as well as "create a productive provocation" (p. 21). However, a constructive outcome can occur only if the press fulfils its role as "amplifier and forum

¹ The rhetoric of the *New York Post*'s coverage was especially creative in its useful puns and wordplay, for instance, in referring to Ofili's painting as "framed feces" and "dung-and-porno" and to the event's supporters as "leftist loons" and "Prospect Park Poo Peddlers".

for debate,” (p. 23). Expanding on Haacke’s observations, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995) noted,

There is a kind of censorship through silence. If, when one wants to transmit a message, there is no response in journalistic circles—if it doesn’t interest journalists—then the message is not transmitted. Journalists have been the screen or filter between all intellectual action and the public. [...]

This is where the specific competence of the artist is so important, because a person cannot just suddenly become a creator of surprise and disconcertation. The artist is the one who is capable of *making a sensation*. (p. 23; italics in original)

A “censorship through silence”, however, may also result from journalists’ overly enthusiastic negative coverage of a story. This effect can be seen in some of the fallout from the *Sensation* exhibition. For instance, Rosenbaum (2000) speculates that the somewhat tame and uninspired content at the 2000 Whitney Biennial was, to some extent, due to the *Sensation* controversy.

Repercussions of the media’s coverage of the event reached the Southern Hemisphere as well with the cancellation of the publicly funded National Gallery of Australia’s *Sensation* exhibition that was planned for 2000 (Vogel, 1999). The gallery’s recently appointed director, Brian Kennedy, attributed the cancellation to a decision to distance the museum from the questionable ethics of the Brooklyn Museum’s financial arrangements with the New York show’s sponsors. However, articles from the United States dealing with the controversial show were widely syndicated in the Australian press, prompting speculation in the media that the cancellation may have resulted from political pressure to avoid similar protests and disruptions in Australia and raising concerns about the autonomy of the institution (Harper, 2003/2004).

New Zealand has also had its share of media-driven visual arts controversies.² For

² Jim and Mary Barr’s exhibit, *When art hits the headlines* (1987), was a historical survey of New Zealand visual art controversies documented by news accounts and letters to the editor that were published in the mainstream press. One aim of the exhibit was to examine New Zealand audiences’ responses to art and the power of art and art institutions to elicit those responses. In this exhibit, journalistic accounts were accepted as transparent barometers of public taste, and the reporting process and journalists’ role in that process were not problematized. However, the exhibit and its catalogue documentation serve as a valuable historical overview of an aspect of New Zealand’s cultural field.

instance, a year before the Brooklyn Museum's *Sensation* exhibit, another international exhibition of selected works of contemporary British art, *Pictura Britannica*, was shown at Te Papa, the National Museum of New Zealand (March 1 to April 26, 1998), just three weeks after the new museum had opened. Although the show had not generated much negative response in Sydney where it had been on display for several weeks, the response was quite different in Wellington where members of the Christian community immediately voiced their objections to two works: Tania Kovats' *Virgin in a condom* (1994), a small statuette of the Virgin Mary encased in a latex condom, and Sam Taylor-Wood's *Wrecked* (1996), a large photographic tableau of da Vinci's Last Supper with a bare-breasted female in the place of Christ.

Harper (2003/2004) points out that the objections began soon after Paul Holmes, a media personality and the host of the eponymous current affairs television show *Holmes*, had previewed the exhibit on his programme, a week before the show was due to open. In addition, two of the free-to-air broadcast channels, TV1 and TV3, featured the exhibit at least six times on their newscasts, and a televised debate that included representatives of the Catholic Church and of the museum concerning the *Virgin in a condom* was broadcast on TV3 on April 13, 1998 and was seen by 14% of the viewing public (Harper, 2003/2004).

The weekly protests and prayer-vigils that were held outside and inside the museum throughout the exhibition period guaranteed ongoing media coverage. Although fewer than 10,000 people actually saw the exhibit, over 30,000 signed one of the petitions submitted to the Museum Board requesting the offensive objects' removal from the show, a request that the museum directors denied (Harper, 2003/2004). Many of the protestors based their objections on the view that as a publicly funded national institution, Te Papa (which, translated from the Maori, means "Our Place") should not display objects that the taxpaying public, a great number of whom embrace Christian values, find offensive (Lane & Mills, 2009). From the standpoint of those within the visual arts institution, controversy associated with the exhibition was expected; what had not been anticipated, and what became a significant and aggravating factor in the controversy, was the media's treatment of the arts story. According to Ian Wedde, curator and Head of Art and Visual Culture at Te Papa,

We expected there to be some controversy, but absolutely no one imagined it

would hit the blanket the way it has. I think much of that can be attributed to the fact the debate wasn't launched from within the exhibition by people encountering the work, but by the word going wide in the media, basically through Paul Holmes. Of course, if you're a Catholic, it must have been a profoundly shocking thing to see on television. (Johnson, 1998)

As this discussion of controversies concerning the visual arts has shown, and as was previously noted, when an art story becomes a “hard” news story, then the art story ceases being about art (Szántó, 2001). In all of the cases discussed, the media have played a significant role in perpetuating and, in some cases, initiating the controversies. One of the aims of this thesis is to examine how this constitutive effect of the journalistic field’s symbolic power is operationalized. This thesis conducts a detailed examination of how the journalistic field’s power is manifested in its coverage and construction of the et al. news story.

1.2 Analytical approach and key research questions

This study of the interfield relationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields is an examination of journalism’s power. This power derives from media’s domination as a centralised source of information regarding a wide range of social practices, including the specialized knowledge of specialized fields for a general public, but also, as Couldry (2001) has observed, from a general acceptance (misrecognition) of a version of social reality as the media³ represent it. It is because of the journalistic field’s influence through this symbolic domination that it is so important to closely examine how this power is reproduced. Moreover, the journalistic field’s pivotal role as a mediator among the fields makes it important to consider how the field’s intervention influences and affects other fields. Bourdieu has explained that as economic and political constraints on the journalistic field have increased, these constraints have been passed on to other fields, especially cultural fields like the visual arts which engage in presenting their own “vision of the social world” (2005, p. 40). Furthermore, according to Bourdieu (1998b, 2005), the journalistic field’s influences have had transformative and detrimental effects

³ The non-specific term “media” can refer to a range of symbolically representational mediums in both the journalistic field, (including television, radio, the press, social media, etc.) and the visual arts field (which may include types of artworks and the materials that are employed such as film, painting, paint, sculpture, ready-made materials, conceptual art, and so on). In the journalistic context of this thesis, the empirical focus is with the mass media forms of newspapers and television. Magazines and radio are also referred to in the data presented in Chapter 4. At times, “media” is also used to refer to visual arts-related materials.

resulting in increased heteronomous concerns about marketplace pressures on journalism.

Understanding journalistic power in its manifestation, reproduction and effects requires an analysis of journalism in practice. Bourdieu's field theory, therefore, offers a valuable approach for this analysis. Field theory is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, but the key concepts of field, habitus and capital are defined here in a preliminary way to facilitate the discussion of this chapter. As the following discussion shows, field theory provides a useful approach to examining the power dynamics of competition and cooperation that may occur in a variety of social relations, both within and between fields.

Bourdieu uses the "field" metaphor to describe the organisation of social space into a number of distinct social realms differentiated by particular concerns or activities. Each field is a bounded social system structured by the competition of its constituent agents (the individuals, groups or institutions) for the various forms of symbolic capital (economic, social, cultural) at stake in order to maintain or improve their relative status within the field. The effective functioning of the field relies on its participants' interest in the capitals at stake and investment in the rules of the game (the *illusio*). Interest "is what 'gets people moving', what makes them get together, compete and struggle with each other" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 88).

What makes it possible for social agents to effectively operate within a field is their habitus, an "embodied history" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p 56) of dispositions and tendencies structured by aspects of their past and present experiences, including familial, social and educational circumstances, that generates conscious and unconscious perceptions and practices. Within this structural system of social relations, habitus is the social expression of subjective experience, the "feel for the game...turned into a second nature" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 63). This "strategy-generating principle" (Bourdieu, 1977a, p.72) enables agents to respond to unanticipated circumstances according to their current context and position within a field, which further shapes their dispositions. A field of practice, then, is constructed through the dialectical relationship between field and habitus:

On one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which

is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field (or of a hierarchically intersecting set of fields). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world...endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's energy. (Wacquant, 1989, p. 44)

According to Bourdieu (1990a), an examination of the relational dynamics of field and habitus, the “two states of the social” (p. 190), is best undertaken through a detailed and extensive case analysis. As Yin (2003) has noted, a case study analysis is particularly useful in studying historical events and dealing with questions concerning how operational practices are implemented and how they unfold over time. This approach requires an analysis of “directly visible realities”, comprising a range of empirical data, concerning the dispositions of a field's agents in relation to the social conditions of production and to the particular logic and constraints at work within and through the various fields in which the agents are engaged (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 191).

According to Yin (2003, p. 8), the “unique strength” of the case study is that it can accommodate a variety of evidentiary materials and approaches including archival analysis, surveys and interviews. Not only can the collected data provide evidential information concerning the interaction of agents that may have taken place, but it can also reveal how knowledge about a particular field and its agents has been generated and whose interests were served in that process. Furthermore, as Bourdieu goes on to explain, structural generalizations can be made from the study of particular cases; what is learned in the study of one field can be applied to the study of another. Interestingly, Bourdieu's discussion briefly touches on an approach to media analysis as he suggests that details that might even be considered mundane can usefully inform a field analysis: “When it is guided by the search for pertinent features which enables data to be constructed for purposes of comparison and generalization, even the reading of dailies may become a scientific act” (1990a, p. 191).

In keeping with a field theory approach as recommended by Bourdieu, this thesis examines the interrelationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields through a detailed analysis of a case study: the New Zealand mainstream media's coverage of the country's participation in the 2005 Venice Biennale. The time frame of the case is clearly defined by the reporting period, from the first news items that appeared in July

2004 announcing the selection of the art collective et al. as New Zealand's representative at the Venice contemporary art exhibition to the end of December 2005, a month after the exhibition closed. Empirical analysis of the case highlights the journalistic field's symbolic violence in its imposition of a particular vision of the world, enacted in this case through the mainstream media's discursive construction⁴ of the identity, or "naming" (Bourdieu, 1991, p 239), of the artist et al. and of the public.

Several aspects of this art controversy make it an especially useful case for carrying out a range of investigations in order to develop a picture of the interfield relations of journalism and the visual arts. First of all, the event has the unusual distinction of having been an art news story of national prominence, which means that the story was covered, to some extent, by all of the major mainstream media. Secondly, the prominence of the story in the media means that agents in both the visual arts and journalistic fields would have taken notice of the coverage, and would likely recall how it was handled by the media. Thirdly, a relatively large number of news stories were generated during the reporting period, providing a useful sample for conducting a comparison of various news organisations' treatment of the story. Finally, different types of journalistic genres were generated including current affairs television broadcasts, newspaper editorials, op eds, letters to the editor, visual arts and cultural commentaries, and interviews involving agents from different fields, which provide examples of different journalistic practices and discourses for analysis. Overall, this case presents an abundance of data offering a number of different investigative opportunities to shed light on how the journalistic field positions itself in relation to the visual arts field.

The research and methods deployed in this thesis are guided by the following questions:

- How did New Zealand's mainstream media cover et al. and the country's participation in the 2005 Venice Biennale?

This question concerns the way the New Zealand mainstream media handled the visual

⁴ The term "construction" as it is used here and throughout this thesis is in keeping with a social constructionist view of knowledge following Bourdieu. Although he does not refer to "social constructionism" per se, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) maintains that knowledge, like other social phenomena, is socially produced through a mutually constitutive, complex dialectic between the externalized social structures of the field and the internalised social structures embodied as dispositions.

arts story, for instance, in terms of the selection and emphasis given to particular details of the news story, the frequency and extent of the coverage and the tone of the reporting. It is addressed primarily through surveys of respondents from the visual arts and journalistic fields (Chapter 4) and a content analysis of the coverage of the event by the four mainstream metropolitan newspapers (in Chapter 6).

- How did the media coverage of the event construct the visual arts and journalistic fields?

This question deals with the journalistic field's symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991), that is, its capacity to construct "representations of, and categories for understanding, the social world" (Couldry, 2003a, p. 668), demonstrated in the media's construction of the fields, including the role of journalists and artists, and the identity of the general public. Another consideration this question raises concerning the media's "construction" of the fields is the extent to which the journalistic field, subjected to the constraints of the economic and political environment, imposes these constraints on other cultural fields, in this case, the visual arts field (Bourdieu, 2005). Discourse analyses conducted in Chapters 5 and 6 and the analysis informed by conversation analysis conducted in Chapter 8 address these issues.

Examining the interrelational dynamics of the journalistic and visual arts fields might suggest that a comparable analysis of the practices of specialist visual arts journalists should be included in this study as well. However, as noted above, this thesis is concerned with and limited to examining the journalistic power of New Zealand's mainstream media. Therefore, the coverage of et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale by journalists and critics for the specialist visual arts media, which would include national and international visual arts publications such as *Art New Zealand*, *Art News* and *Art & Australia*, is not examined in this thesis. Undertaking a comprehensive study that included an equivalent analytical treatment of non-mainstream, specialist arts journalism would have significantly extended the scope of this thesis and required additional time and resources.

While field theory provides the conceptual framework for this thesis, the data generated in relation to this case have been analysed using a variety of textual analytic approaches. As previously noted, a field analysis employing a case study approach involves

gathering a variety of evidentiary material, which is determined in large part by the study being undertaken. Consequently, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) recommended that researchers employ whatever methods are appropriate to the analytical problems and questions that the case presents (see Chapter 2 for more on Bourdieu's "methodological polytheism"). The interfield analysis undertaken in this thesis has examined a broad range of materials including surveys, interviews, newspaper articles and television broadcasts. Consistent with Bourdieu's notion of a multivalent methodology, a multi-dimensional approach was deployed that drew on a variety of textual analytic methods, including quantitative and qualitative approaches to content analysis (Chapter 6), aspects of Laclau's discourse analysis (in Chapters 5, 7 and 8) and the rhetorical strategies of the news interview based on the conversation analysis research of Clayman and Heritage (2002) (in Chapter 8).

1.3 The case study: Mainstream media's coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale

Setting the scene: Comparison of the three Venice Biennale exhibitions' coverage

When Creative New Zealand (CNZ) announced on July 3, 2004 that the artist collective et al. had been selected to represent New Zealand at the 51st Venice Biennale in 2005, the organisation was not prepared for the media response this news would soon generate. To be fair, the media coverage of the country's participation in the two previous Biennales gave little reason for CNZ to expect a different media response to the third.

A summary comparison of the coverage of the three Venice Biennales by the four metropolitan dailies (including the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Dominion Post*,⁵ *The Press* and the *Otago Daily Times*, the four newspapers that feature as part of the analysis for this thesis) shows a significant difference in the editorial treatment of the 2005 event demonstrated by the number of articles and the extended reporting period allocated to the story.

⁵ The *Dominion Post* was so-named after the July 2002 merger of the *Dominion* with the *Evening Post*. The figures in Table 1 for 2000-2001 reflect the total coverage appearing in the two papers and is presented under the *Dominion Post* heading.

Table 1: Metropolitan newspapers' articles covering the Venice Biennales⁶

Venice Biennale	Sample Period ⁷	# of news stories	# of months
49 th	Nov, 2000-Dec 2001	36	13
50 th	Aug, 2002-Dec 2003	24	16
51 st	July, 2004-Dec 2005	92	17

An examination of the content of the domestic mainstream coverage for both the 2001 and 2003 Venice exhibitions shows that most of the reports focused on the events' organisational arrangements and on the artists' biographies rather than on their art. At times, the reporting even ignored the art. For instance, one arts journalist (Cardy, 2001) attributed New Zealand's success at the 2001 Biennale to the unexpected word-of-mouth promotion of the dawn kapa haka performance and the refreshments offered by the New Zealand sponsors to entice thirsty visitors to view the exhibit rather than the quality of the artists' work. In fact, the story downplayed the artists' efforts, which received only a brief mention. In addition, many of the stories cited the European and Maori (Ngai Tahu tribe) origins of the artists, Jacqueline Fraser and Peter Robinson, and centred on the promotional support provided by the tribe's dance group, Pounamu Kai Tahu, through a traditional cultural performance at the Biennale's opening event at piazza San Marco (see, for instance, Luke, 2000; Kapa haka to go to Biennale, 2001). The Prime Minister welcomed these interventions observing that the dance performance would "augment the work" of the artists and "give a European audience a unique cultural experience" that would "differentiate New Zealand's contribution...from that of other countries" (Kapa Haka to Venice, 2001). These statements clearly underscore the government's conceptualization of the Venice exhibit as a marketing event aimed at promoting the nation on an international stage. These remarks also demonstrate insecurity concerning the effectiveness of the visual arts in this promotional role by suggesting that the national identity of the artists' works would be enhanced through their association with a more spectacular and distinctly cultural experience.⁸

⁶ This information is based on data that was collected only through electronic databases and cross-checked against NewsIndex, since the coverage of previous Venice Biennales is not specifically relevant to this thesis. Therefore, the figures presented here are indicative rather than definitive.

⁷ The dates of each of the sample periods extend from CNZ's first media releases announcing the selected artists to the last newspaper articles covering the event.

⁸ Chapter 3 discusses the political economic implications of the country's presence at the Venice Biennale exhibitions.

As Table 1 shows, the country's participation in the 50th Venice Biennale prompted even fewer stories in the mainstream press. Most of the coverage centred on Michael Stevenson's international profile as an artist, frequently citing his residency in Berlin and overseas exhibitions and also highlighting the New Zealand-focus of his art. One report pointed out that Stevenson had been chosen with the "expectation...that he will...offer a reference to New Zealand in his work" (Herrick, 2002). His planned installation *This is the Trekka*, featuring New Zealand's only mass-produced automobile that was manufactured in the 1960s in cooperation with a Czechoslovakian company, sparked articles outlining the history of the short-lived phenomenon as a tribute of sorts to New Zealand ingenuity. Only a couple of articles considered the artistic merits of the proposed work.

Overall, however, domestic news stories explicitly criticising New Zealand's presence at the 49th and 50th Venice Biennales were rare. In both cases, only a few articles questioned the choice of artists or the value of the country's participation in Venice (e.g. Coley, 2000; Keith, 2003; Rudman, 2000), and because the mainstream media did not take up these themes, the stories became isolated criticisms. Organisational and biographical details also featured in the media's reporting of the 2005 Venice Biennale. But, most significantly, political, economic and even aesthetic issues were raised as well (see Chapter 6).

One reason for this difference in the reporting for the third event could be attributed to a difference in the habitus and disposition of et al. in relation to the previous Biennale artists. All the Venice Biennale artists' training and experience, however, were quite similar. They had studied art at university, graduating from either Ilam (University of Canterbury) or Elam (Auckland University), both of which are generally acknowledged as the most reputable of the schools offering fine arts degrees in the country (Knight, 2009). In addition, while the artists' works are, of course, distinctive, they all draw on a range of contemporary visual art idioms, including site-specific installations, conceptual art and the use of mixed media such as textiles, film, printed materials and found objects.

Also, prior to their selection for the Venice Biennale, all of the artists had accumulated extensive experience exhibiting in group and solo gallery shows and had acquired a similar cultural and symbolic capital through positive critical reviews in specialist art

journals both domestically and internationally. In fact, the artists had appeared in many of the same shows nationally and in Europe, a number of which were significant exhibitions of works that constituted New Zealand's contemporary visual art collections.⁹ Within the context of the visual arts field, all of the artists had acquired a significant amount of prestige (symbolic capital) and prominent status within the artistic hierarchy of the field.

Furthermore, the Biennale artist selection committee, comprising qualified experts typically including specialists in the visual arts field, were guided by institutionally established selection criteria and procedures. A field's organisational logic is maintained and transformed by its agents' accumulation of the capital considered significant within the field. The criteria governing the configuration of the Biennale selection panels as well as the selection process itself guaranteed to some extent the similarity in the field position, or status, of the chosen artists.

1.4 Critical differences that distinguish the third event

One aspect of et al.'s habitus that captured media attention early on and distinguished this domestic mainstream coverage from that of the earlier Venice Biennales, was the artist collective's so-called mysterious identity. From the outset, the artists' preference for "posing" as a collective, rather than as an individual, specifically-named artist, was the focus of a number of mainstream news stories in the press and on television. Often this practice was presented as an indication of the artists' eccentricity or, as the analysis shows in Chapter 5, a suggestion of instability. A more likely explanation, however, was the artists' refusal to appear publicly "out of character" to meet face-to-face with mainstream journalists, relying instead on other creative team members and on CNZ representatives to act as spokespeople. While this might be understood by many within the visual arts field as a demonstration of artistic integrity or perhaps a form of media shyness not uncommon for many artists, media reports represented the artists' behaviour in very different terms, not least of which was an intention by the artists to thwart the

⁹ For instance, Fraser, Stevenson and et al. showed at "Nine Lives: The 2003 Chartwell Exhibition", held at Auckland Art Gallery, featuring nine artists who shaped New Zealand contemporary art over the last 20 years (Leonard & Smith, 2003); and all the artists participated in the 1999 exhibition "Toi Toi Toi: Three Generations of Artists from New Zealand" held at the Museum Fredericandum, Kassel, Germany (Block & Burke, 1999). For these two exhibits alone, those who were identified either as principal organisers or contributors included Greg Burke, Chris Saines, Robert Leonard, Jenny Gibbs, Allan Smith, Wiston Curnow and Robert Leonard, among others—all of whom also had major roles in the various Venice Biennale events as curators, commissioners or as selection panel members.

journalists in fulfilling their public service role. The journalistic re-naming of the artists' practice as a form of social deviance and the suggestion that the artists had something to hide figured prominently in the news stories throughout the reporting period. (This issue is addressed in the empirical analyses in Chapters 5-8).

Actually, the identity of the artist collective was well-known to those within the New Zealand art scene. In reality, the individual artists that comprise the et al. collective are themselves pseudonyms for artist Merylyn Tweedie who began exhibiting in 1975. Although the name "MT was dropped quite a while ago" (Lotringer, 2003, p. 114), and the name et al. was adopted in 2001 (Vicente, 2005), the links between Tweedie and et al. were not concealed from journalists. The earliest CNZ media release explained that the name "et al.", meaning "and others", stood for the numerous entities and personae under which the artists had exhibited. Neither masculine nor feminine and always used in its plural form, the name describes the artists' collaborative process and recognises the contributions of others in creating the artwork. As a placeholder, the name et al. refers to a collective of up to 25 artists, including lionel b., marlene cubewell, merit grötting, Lillian Budd, blanche ready-made, c j (arthur) craig and sons, roland welles, p. mule and others, who have worked singly or in various combinations to produce conceptual art for around three decades. Vicente (2005) explains that the use of the name et al. is "pivotal to their artistic practice", demonstrating concern for "issues of authorship and originality, arguing against the emphatic role played by biography in art history in categorizing and creating artist identities heavily based in gender" (p. 77), and one might include nationality as well.¹⁰

Each of the artist entities has been associated with a distinctive medium and practice, and at various times they have contributed in their own ways to the collective's art activities. For example, popular productions created films using found footage and other graphic and audio elements and L budd (a.k.a. Lillian Budd) began with a literary career writing fiction concerned with issues of originality, which was also explored through sculptural works of recycled found objects, sometimes derived from the works of other artists (Barr, Barr & Burke, 2003). Many of the et al. artists have engaged in the production of ready-mades. Merit grötting, buddholdings and blanche ready-made combined found objects, such as recycled furniture, wrought iron furniture and

¹⁰ This thesis refers to et al. by their plural, collective identity consistent with the artists' practice and indicated preference.

photocopied texts, with the technique of blinding, a process of applying a thin layer of white paint (Barr et al., 2003; Vicente, 2005). One entity, cj (Arthur) craig and sons, a manufacturer and distributor of spare parts and wrought iron furniture, became an art maker and supplier of buddholdings [nz] ltd. P. Mule often acts as the group's spokesperson and art historian, documenting their events and reviewing their shows by using samples of art criticism with words that have been altered, erased, struck through and replaced (Vicente, 2005).

Another challenge for many journalists was the artists' choice of materials and expressive practice. The collective often produced immersive installations with ready-made sculptural features, constructed from everyday discarded, broken and rejected materials, including junked computers, monitors, office furniture, wall charts, construction site equipment, port-a-loos, metal mesh fencing, audio and visual materials and texts, and recycled materials from previous works. Primarily engaged in institutional and social critique, et al.'s works have explored aspects of technology, communication, hegemonic institutions, and systems of mind and social control. Often acknowledged as difficult, overwhelming and even disturbing (Amery, 2004; Hudsucker, 2005), et al.'s work generally calls into question conventional aesthetic assumptions about art and its social function.

Concurrent with Creative New Zealand's announcement of et al.'s selection was the contemporary arts show in Wellington, *Telecom Prospect 2004: New Art New Zealand*, a survey featuring the selected works of 43 contemporary New Zealand artists. Included in the show was the work by et al. that would provoke an outcry from journalists, politicians and members of the public: *rapture* (2004), often referred to in the mainstream media as the "donkey in the dunny", borrowed from Hamish Keith's description first introduced on *Frontseat* (see Chapter 5). While this installation did comprise a port-a-loo and an audio track that occasionally emitted the sound of a braying donkey, the so-called "call sign" of p. mule, absent from most journalists' descriptions were other features, including an underwater recording of loud, gallery-shaking, low frequency rumblings of 6 underground nuclear tests carried out by the French government in the Pacific in 1996; the presence of a small effigy of a mule; and a projection of a computer screen plotting a sound wave (Rees, 2004). Rather than approach *rapture* (2004) with curiosity or locate expert sources that might have been able to provide some guidance in interpreting it, most journalists instead chose to

dismiss it or represent it as deviant, drawing attention to elements that, out of context, turned the artwork into something bizarre and outrageous. (Chapters 5 through 7 discuss this issue in more detail.)

Two other aspects of the domestic media coverage distinguish the reporting of this event from that of the earlier ones: the role the broadcast media played in setting the tone for the coverage, and the discursive imposition of members of the political field. The broadcast media played a key role in the initial coverage in 2004.

A July 13 press release by Act Party MP Deborah Coddington intensified the public discussion and heightened media interest in the story by raising its profile in the political field. As her party's Arts, Culture and Heritage Spokesperson, a role that positioned her in opposition to Prime Minister Helen Clark, Coddington (2004) demanded that Clark explain why "it's a good idea to spend \$500,000 on a port-a-loo that makes donkey noises, and then explodes, in the name of art". She went on to accuse the minister of "the typical arrogant elitism that gives the arts a bad name" and summarily dismissed the artists' work as "crap—and most New Zealanders know it" (2004). Following Coddington's press release, the arts story gathered momentum in the media, and the next day it was covered on morning radio broadcasts, the TV One evening news television broadcast and then the *Holmes* show, with newspaper coverage of the story continuing until the end of the month. Coddington's criticisms were even carried into the chambers of Parliament. On July 27 and July 29, the Parliamentary debates focused for a period of time on visual arts-related issues, during which the Prime Minister sided with the opposition. With the 2005 general election on the horizon, Coddington had made the art news story a political opportunity, and by highlighting elements that could embarrass the ruling government, she had provided a new angle to engage the media.

Coddington serves as an especially significant catalyst in the context of this case because her habitus positions her, more or less, within three (that is, the political, journalistic and cultural or visual arts) fields and also in personal association with a number of the key figures in this case. Prior to entering politics, Coddington had worked as a magazine journalist, eventually rising to senior feature writer at *North & South*, and as a broadcaster at New Zealand's BBC World Service operation. During this period, Coddington was also in business with her partner, Alister Taylor, acting as director and

co-owner of a number of his publishing enterprises. Prior to her association with Taylor, Coddington had been married to John McCormack, who would later become et al.'s art dealer. Also, their daughter, Briar McCormack, was a journalist and producer on the *Holmes* programme in 2004 (Bingham, 2003; Dixon, 2004).

From a field theory perspective, the traditional use of biographical information as evidence of a progressive and logical linear trajectory is, according to Bourdieu (1998b; 2000a), a “biographical illusion”, in which the chaotic events of a life history are forced into a coherent, sequential narrative. Rather than viewing an individual's achievements as resulting from goals objectively established earlier in life, Bourdieu (1990b) has argued that life events and achievements are structured by an individual's habitus, a system of socially structured dispositions that are durable (endure over time), embodied (internalised as second nature), and transposable (flexibly adaptive to different fields). That is, habitus results from socialisation through which external structures are internalised and transformed into ambitions and expectations, which are then externalised into action. Habitus tends to adjust actions according to anticipated outcomes. According to Swartz (1997), “dispositions of habitus predispose actors to select forms of behaviour that are most likely to succeed in light of their resources and past experience” (p. 106). From a field theory perspective, then, appreciating Coddington's role in this case requires understanding her habitus in relation to her affiliations with the various relevant fields.

Following Coddington's press release, the arts story gathered momentum in the media, and the next day it was covered on morning radio broadcasts, the TV One evening news television broadcast and then the *Holmes* show, after which print coverage intensified until the end of July, 2004. After this point, negative stories continued to appear in the metropolitan newspapers until the end of October 2004 when the Walters Prize, New Zealand's richest and most prestigious contemporary art award, was announced. Acting as judge for the prize was Robert Storr, the renowned international art critic, academic and former Curator in the Department of Painting and Sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, who selected et al. from among four finalists. The fact that he was also to be the director of the next Venice Biennale in 2007 gave additional weight to his opinion and provided external validation of the artists. The media's coverage of the story then waned until May 2005 when CNZ released details about the content of the New Zealand exhibition a few weeks before the opening. As the content analysis in

Chapter 6 shows, the mainstream news organisations' coverage of the visual arts story continued into 2005, but their treatment of the story had changed. Of the four metropolitan newspapers, only the *Dominion Post* maintained, and even intensified, an attack campaign.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The thesis, comprising nine chapters, is structured in two parts. The first three chapters provide the background and rationale for the study and introduce the theoretical foundations for the research.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of Bourdieu's field theory as it pertains to the interrelational dynamics of the journalistic and visual arts fields. The chapter also reviews literature in journalism, visual arts and in other traditions relevant to this thesis that have drawn on field theory, including media studies, the fine arts and textual analysis. The discussion in this chapter provides the justification for the methodology and multivalent research approach deployed in this thesis.

Following Bourdieu's recommended field analysis approach, Chapter 3 examines New Zealand's journalism and visual arts fields in relation to the broader fields of power. This discussion considers the impact that the market-driven constraints have had on journalistic and contemporary visual arts practice and on the autonomy of their practitioners. The issues raised here inform the discussion and analysis of subsequent chapters.

The second part of this thesis, comprising Chapters 4 through 8, presents the empirical analysis of the case. The various empirical and textual analytic approaches deployed in Chapters 4 through 8 reveal aspects of the relational dynamics of the positions of agents within the two fields and identify the discursive tropes and strategies that characterise the antagonisms of the journalistic and visual arts interfield relations that were enacted in this case.

An examination of the habitus and practice of New Zealand's mainstream arts journalists is carried out in Chapter 4 through surveys conducted with journalists and agents from the visual arts field. The interfield dynamics of these fields are revealed

through the description and interrogation of individuals' perceptions and experiences. The respondents' assessments of the coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale are also presented in this chapter, with many singling out TVNZ and the *Dominion Post* for their poor coverage of the event.

Chapter 5, focusing on the television journalistic field, presents a textual analysis of the debates dealing with et al. and the Biennale that were presented on the current affairs programme *Holmes* and on the arts programme *Frontseat* broadcast by TVNZ. Providing the first extended treatments of the visual art story, these broadcasts set the tone for the journalistic coverage that followed. The chapter's analysis examines the news values of negativity and deviance and the symbolic violence implemented by these programmes' initial naming of et al. The legacy of this treatment is evident in the ensuing media coverage, which is examined in the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

Chapter 6 presents a comprehensive content analysis of New Zealand's mainstream metropolitan newspapers reporting on the event. The data empirically confirms survey respondents' impressions that the coverage of the event was predominantly negative and also that the *Dominion Post*'s negative reporting was especially persistent. Besides analysing the tone of the reporting, the content analysis in this chapter also highlights the differences in the four metropolitan newspapers' treatment of the arts story, the issues the newspapers emphasised, and how the key actors in the case and the two cultural fields were represented.

The discourse analyses of selected *Dominion Post* editorials and of visual arts commentaries in Chapter 7 examine the journalistic field's symbolic power. This analysis contrasts the symbolic violence of the antagonistic and polarizing discourse of the editorials with the rhetoric of conciliation and an appeal for patience presented in the discourse of the newspaper's visual arts critic and reviewer, Mark Amery, in his defence of et al. The marginalised position of the subfield of arts journalism within the larger journalistic field is illustrated through the contrasting discourses.

Chapter 8 centres on a published interview conducted by a *Dominion Post* reporter with p. mule on behalf of et al. Informed by conversation analysis, this examination analyses the rhetorical strategies employed by the two news interview participants, specifically the reporter's alignment with the interests of the public in a watchdog role, and the

artists' strategies of resistance designed to reaffirm autonomy. The chapter ends with a brief content analysis of the selection of letters reacting to the interview that were solicited by the *Dominion Post* and printed in the newspaper.

The concluding chapter, Chapter 9, broadly summarises the key issues concerning the interfield dynamics of the journalistic and visual arts fields, reflects on the value and limitations of the field theory approach that served as the framework for this study and discusses further opportunities for interfield research.

1.6 Summary

This introductory chapter began with a discussion of art controversies that have occurred internationally and in New Zealand to demonstrate the role the media has often had in the construction of these events. These examples also illustrate the complex dynamics of these events, especially in the interaction of the journalistic and visual arts fields and the significant influence that the political and economic “fields of power” have on these interfield dynamics.

The next section presented an overview of the analytical approach of this thesis. The section began by providing a preliminary overview of aspects of Bourdieu's field theory, the primary analytical framework for this study of the interrelationship of journalistic and visual arts fields. The emphasis that Bourdieu's methodology places on case analysis for the study of fields was also briefly examined here. This section then discussed the key questions that drive this thesis and the analytical tools and concepts that have been employed in order to carry out the research. The chapter also outlined the case study detailing the key events concerning the media coverage of the selection of et al. and the 2005 Biennale, which serves as the basis for the empirical analysis of the power dynamics of the journalistic and visual arts fields.

The next chapter presents an overview of Bourdieu's field theory as it pertains to the interrelational dynamics of the journalistic and visual arts fields. The chapter also reviews the literature in the areas of journalism, visual arts and other traditions relevant to this thesis that have drawn on field theory, including media studies, the fine arts and textual analysis. The discussion in Chapter 2 provides the justification for the methodology and multivalent research approach deployed in this thesis.

Chapter 2:

Relational dynamics of field theory: An examination of the theoretical and methodological approach used in this thesis

2.1 Introduction

Bourdieu's field theory provides the foundation for the analysis of the relationship between the journalistic and visual arts fields at the core of this thesis. The importance of Bourdieu's work is situated in his efforts to theorize social practice as a dialectical¹¹ system to address the contradictions presented by objectivism and subjectivism and demonstrated in the "absurd opposition between the individual and society" (Bourdieu cited in Jenkins, 1992, p. 18). The problem is that neither position adequately describes social experience, and methods that privilege one or the other are equally incomplete. As Johnson (1993) explains, "subjectivism fails to grasp the social ground that shapes consciousness" and objectivism fails "to recognize that social reality is to some extent shaped by the conceptions and representations that individuals make of the social world" (p. 4). In response to this problem, Bourdieu developed what he identified as a "*genetic structuralism*" that "combines an analysis of objective social structures with an analysis of the genesis, within particular individuals, of the socially constituted mental structures which generate practice" (Johnson, 1993, p. 4).

What emerged from his efforts is a set of conceptual "thinking tools" of which the principal organising elements are field, capital and habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 160). Bourdieu pointed out that these concepts are best understood "within the theoretical system they constitute" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96) and through researching the "practical problems and puzzles encountered and generated in the effort to construct a phenomenally diverse set of objects in such a way that they can be treated...comparatively" (p. 160). In other words, a comparison of fields of practice through the systematic analysis of their features is a goal of field theory. From the outset, a relational principle has been fundamental to Bourdieu's conceptualization of field theory.

¹¹ The notion of "dialectic" as it applies to Bourdieu's field theory is primarily located in his concept of "ontological complicity", referring to the mutually constitutive relation between subjective social action (embodied in habitus and dispositions) and objective structures (fields or positions within fields) (1990a, p. 194). This relational dynamic is discussed later in this chapter.

This chapter begins with an examination of the internal (within the field) and external (between fields) relational dynamics of fields and considers, in particular, how Bourdieu's conceptualization of fields has been articulated in the study of journalism and the visual arts. The chapter goes on to examine Bourdieu's recommended multidimensional analytic approach and how this is applied in this study. The second half of the chapter discusses the literature informing this study's analytical approaches and situates field theory within the traditions of media studies, the fine arts and textual analysis. The discussion of this literature will show that the combination of field theory and textual analytic approaches provides a suitable methodological framework for the analysis of the interrelationship of the visual arts and journalistic fields that this thesis addresses. The chapter ends with an examination of some of the criticisms from the fields of linguistics and discourse analysis concerning Bourdieu's treatment of language followed by a brief assessment of the literature to examine how studies have integrated field theory and discourse analysis.

2.2 The relational logic of Bourdieu's field theory

Bourdieu's theoretical framework for analysis is based primarily on the interrelation and application of three concepts: social fields, forms of capital and habitus. The metaphor of the field is used to describe the numerous differentiated and hierarchically organised social spaces that operate according to their own logic of competition and exchange. These fields are framed within a field of power, a meta-field that partially encompasses other fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and which is itself embedded in a social "field of class relations"¹² (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 38). Within each of these distinctive and semi-autonomous social spheres, struggles and manoeuvres occur regarding access to the various resources, or capital, that are relevant to the field. In fact, Bourdieu points out that there are as many fields as there are interests (1984; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Relational dynamics are a key principle governing Bourdieu's notion of field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Schultz, 2007; Topper, 2001). Bourdieu defined the field as

¹² Bourdieu's notion of "class" differs from a Marxian view of class, defined in terms of power and inequality derived from the possession of material resources. Bourdieu identifies social class as "a system of objective determinations" understood in relation to "class habitus" (1977a, p. 85), acquired through particular conditions and experiences, that results in the distribution of agents in social space according to the volume and composition of their various forms of capital (economic, cultural, social), and differentiated by time, (a quality that identifies the extent of change or stability of agents' capital and defines their relative prestige or dominance). See Bourdieu, 1987, 1991; also see Weinger, 2005.

a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

One may objectively describe a field according to its agents' current and potential access to forms of valorised capital and the relation between positions in the field that the acquisition of this capital provides. In other words, the primary object of study for field analysis is not the agents and the positions themselves but the relations between their positions.

Two types of relationships govern the dynamics of a field: those that emerge from the struggle for positions within a field, and those that occur between fields. These relational dynamics are significant to this thesis, which focuses on two of the fields of cultural production, journalism and the visual arts. What follows is a more abstract discussion of field dynamics beginning with an examination of the relational characteristics within fields.

2.2.1 Relational structuring of elements within fields

The structured space within a field is defined by the domination and subordination of its agents and institutions based on the unequal distribution of its principal forms of capital. In his discussion of capital, Bourdieu extends the concept beyond the monetary notion associated with economics to include other material and non-material forms as well. In general, Bourdieu distinguishes between economic capital and symbolic capital, which is associated with social prestige and honour. In the case of economic capital, the instrumentalist and self-interested motivations of an exchange are usually obvious. Symbolic forms of capital operate according to an instrumentalist logic as well, but these, "in their distinctive ways, deny and suppress their instrumentalism by proclaiming themselves to be disinterested and of intrinsic worth" (Moore, 2008, p. 103). A failure to recognise symbolic capitals as converted forms of economic capital involves a process that Bourdieu (2000b) identified as *misrecognition* whereby systems

of dominance and subordination in social relations are legitimized and reproduced.

Key forms of symbolic capital include social capital, which refers to a network of relationships and social connections with influential people, and cultural capital, which is generally associated with cultural knowledge. Defining cultural capital more specifically, Bourdieu (1986) explained that this form of capital may exist in an embodied state (incorporated in mind and body and corresponding, for instance, with a command of cultural knowledge and an ability to make cultural distinctions); an institutional state (represented by academic qualifications certifying cultural competence); and an objectified state (situated in material objects and cultural goods such as books, paintings and artefacts). The types of capital that may be valorised within a particular field are varied and may take any number of specific forms ranging from goods, services, status, power, physical strength or knowledge. In effect, there are as many forms of symbolic capital as there are fields.

Within the cultural field, for instance, the fields of journalism and the arts are structured primarily through the production and circulation of symbolic goods. These symbolic forms include types of cultural capital (such as those of a material sort including news articles and broadcasts, editorials, or any type of artwork) and social capital (such as peer recognition, critical reviews, press awards, prestigious exhibitions, and so on). In the case of a visual artwork, for instance, the value does not lie in its material construction but in its prestige accumulated over time through the work's circulation within the art field's complex subfields of dealers, collectors, galleries, museums, critics and art journalists (English, 2002; Thornton, 2009) and in relation to the encompassing meta-field of power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Similarly, journalistic capital, the cultural capital of the journalistic field (Schultz, 2007), is closely linked to the accumulation of prestige and respect within the journalistic field and other fields, especially the field of power. In both cases, the acquired symbolic capital may be converted to economic capital, for instance, through increased readership or sales of artworks and more income acquired through improved field status. Compared with economic capital, forms of cultural capital are not as stable, and their accumulation and value can be undermined by suspicion and negative criticism (Bourdieu, 1986).

While each field has its own logic governing the ongoing struggles and strategies of its actors (Bourdieu, 1993a), the basic dynamics of the system are similar, or structurally

homologous, for all fields. Bourdieu (1984, 1996a) described the cultural field as a multidimensional space organised relationally according to forms and amount of capital. A simple model of the basic structure underlying his concept consists of two intersecting axes (see Figure 1) displaying relative forms and volume of economic and cultural capital, with the X-axis representing the composition of capital (extending from more cultural capital and less economic capital on the left to less cultural capital and more economic capital on the right) and the Y-axis representing the overall volume of capital (more at the top and less at the bottom). Based on this schematic, the relative positions of agents, institutions, values, etc. within a field can be plotted according to the forms and amount of capital they have acquired.

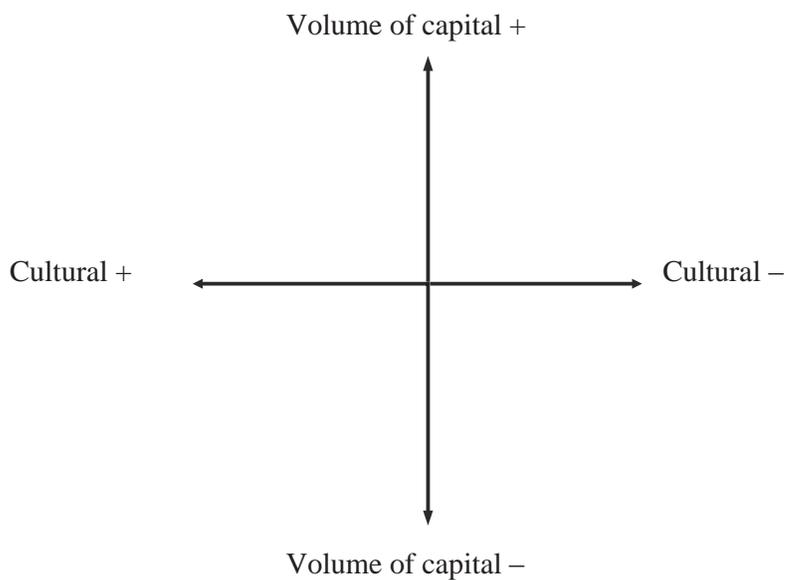


Figure 1: Diagram of a social field depicting the relative distribution of economic and cultural capital

It is important to keep in mind that one form of capital does not dominate a field to the absolute exclusion of another; rather, they exist in correlation. A cultural field is organised, for instance, through a dualistic division of its space into what Bourdieu (1996a) refers to as “delimited”, or restricted, and “large-scale”, or “heteronomous”, subfields of production correlating to opposing forms of cultural and economic capital (for discussions of the limitations of these field delineations in their application to contemporary cultural production, see Bolin, 2009; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Prior, 2008). The relative autonomy of the field depends on the extent to which the field is dominated

by either restricted or heteronomous principles. On a basic level, the subfield of “delimited” production, associated with cultural capital, is defined by its appeal to specialized audiences (produced for producers) and de-emphasis of commercial concerns, while “large-scale” production is defined by its broader audience appeal and by its links to the economic and political forces associated with the field of power (Prior, 2008). Agents may occupy positions in different fields and/or subfields at the same time, and their positions are determined according to the distribution of the forms of capital that are relevant within each field (Bourdieu, 1985).

As this brief overview suggests, the extent of the autonomy of a field, which derives from the internal logic of the relative dominance of either cultural or economic capital, is determined primarily by the influence of external forces (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 105). An “autonomous” field is one in which more of its agents are focused on the cultural capital that is unique to the field, while a “heteronomous” field is one in which economic and political forces external to the field play a significant role. Fields with more autonomy, or independence from external forces, have a greater capacity to operate according to their particular logic and reproduce their own social order (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In contrast, fields with agents that rely more on the economic and political forces of the broader “field of power” are less independent, and their agents are less able to resist the demands that may be imposed by external forces (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 41). Autonomy is a preferred condition because it enables the realisation of the “full creative process proper to each field” and greater “resistance to the ‘symbolic violence’ exerted by the dominant system of hierarchization” (Benson, 1999, p. 465).

Necessary to the functioning of a field is a shared *illusio*, or “commitment to the game” (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 194), that field participants demonstrate through their pursuit of the objectives and profits offered by the field. This investment in the way things are, often expressed as a common-sense assertion of the self-evident value of *doxa*, a set of fundamental beliefs accepted as apparently “natural”, perpetuates misrecognition (Bourdieu, 2000b) and operates as a form of *symbolic violence*, whereby social hierarchies and inequality are produced and maintained through symbolic domination (Schubert, 2008, p. 183). The position of power that a field’s dominant group occupies makes it possible for their views to prevail. This form of violence is, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, p. 115) explained, “a more effective, and in this sense

more brutal, means of oppression” since the dominated come to accept their condition of being dominated (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p 167). In effect, a shared commitment to the game and belief in the value of the field’s stakes underlie the competition and inequalities that exist within a field as a field’s forms of capital become the objects of struggle.

What motivates and enables agents to acquire and assume positions within a field is their habitus, which Bourdieu (1990b) defined as

systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles and representations which generate and organize practices that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively “regulated” and “regular” without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of any conductor (p. 53)

An individual’s habitus is structured within a system of embodied cognitive and physical dispositions, constituted through an individual’s past and present circumstances, including family upbringing, social position and educational experiences. Over time, these may become incorporated as “flexible but enduring ‘mental structures’” (Topper, 2001, p. 38) and as physical characteristics (“hexis”) (Bourdieu, 1977a). In other words, according to Bourdieu (1977a, p. 214, n. 1), dispositions become “*a way of being, a habitual state* (especially of the body)” and a “*tendency, propensity, or inclination*” [italics in original]. As an embodied tendency, habitus is, to a great extent, unconscious and may be displayed physically in posture and deportment and in linguistic characteristics which, acting as markers of socially defined competencies, reproduce and reinforce an agent’s social position within a field. Consequently, these physical markers of social status may operate as forms of symbolic violence differentiating and excluding those who do not share particular attributes (Topper, 2001). Also, one’s habitus provides an array of automatic responses that allow agents to react and adapt to constantly changing situations (Topper, 2001). In short, habitus can be understood in terms of an inherited tradition that is both schematic and improvisational.

As the previous discussion suggests, habitus, in relation to the field, generates practices that allow some social actors to demonstrate a more proficient “feel for the game” (a form of embodied cultural capital), which may differentiate them from their competitors. Those with a “well formed habitus” (Moore, 2008, p. 103) tend to have more symbolic capital and are more aligned with the social practices of the field. What appears to be strategizing in a practical anticipation of a potential outcome, however, is actually the result of what Bourdieu (1990a) referred to as an “ontological complicity” between “the intersection of the dispositions of habitus and the structures of constraints and opportunities offered by the fields in which it operates” (p. 194). Bourdieu, denying a mechanical determinism between field and habitus, emphasised instead the dialectical relationship of the two, and described the field as a “space of possibles” (1993a, p. 64). Opportunities for positions are activated in relation to agents’ aspirations and interests, and agents modify and adjust their dispositions in response to these available positions, depending on their interest in and perception of the position’s attainability and value (Bourdieu, 1993a).

Schultz (2007) referred to those who are especially adept at functioning within the social sphere of a particular field as having acquired a “professional habitus” (p. 193). These are the social actors who have mastered the rules of the game and have attained a relatively prestigious position within the hierarchy of a particular field. In the case of the journalistic field, journalistic habitus, for instance, entails cultural capital, a highly developed understanding of journalistic practices and the skills to identify and produce newsworthy stories, and social capital, social connections and prestige (Schultz, 2007). A homologous structure operates in the visual arts field, but engaging the particular dispositions and capitals associated with visual arts practice. According to Bourdieu (1998b), “Having a feel for the game is having the game under the skin; it is to master in a practical way the future of the game; it is to have a sense of the history of the game” (p. 81).

Just as there are numerous forms of symbolic capital and fields, so too are there many types of habitus in a field. Within the journalistic field, for example, are numerous positions associated with specializations (i.e., “arts journalist”, “media critic”, “business reporter”, and so on) and genres (i.e., “newspaper habitus”, “television habitus”, “editorial habitus”, “reporter habitus”) requiring particular forms of cultural capital and distinctive journalistic dispositions (Bourdieu, 1998a; Schultz, 2007). The relative

position and autonomy of these subfields and agents within the journalistic field are linked to symbolic and economic capital associated with factors such as years of experience, organisational status, and the prestige of particular news beats (Marchetti, 2005). The visual arts field can be described similarly in terms of numerous forms of habitus specific to the field.

As noted previously, the structuring effects of habitus in relation to the field become deeply embedded as part of a social agent's perceptions. The agent's commitment to the *illusio* of the field results in an acceptance of the way things are, which is especially significant in the case of those who operate within cultural fields of production. These social agents, in particular, are engaged with constructing and imposing their own discursive representations of social reality, as Bourdieu (2005) explains in the following:

Those who deal professionally in making things explicit and producing discourses...have two things in common. On the one hand, they strive to set out explicitly practical principles of vision and division. On the other hand, they struggle, each in their own universe, to impose these principles of vision and division, and to have them recognized as legitimate categories of construction of the social world. (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 37)

In other words, the struggles that occur in the fields of cultural production are discursive struggles concerning symbolic power. The journalism and art fields, like other subfields in the field of cultural production, battle for “the monopoly of the power to consecrate” (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 78) and for their categorizations (“principles of vision and division”) of the social world to be valorized. The success of a field's symbolic power depends, therefore, on the extent to which its agents' vision of the social world is able to dominate that of others in the cultural field.

2.2.2 Field theory's interfield dynamics and the cultural fields

Interfield relations as structural homologies

Although this description of relational dynamics has so far emphasised the internal structure of fields shaped by the interactions and conflicts of their social agents, relational dynamics exist between fields as well and these interrelations also play a role

in structuring fields. The demarcations of fields are often indistinct and contested, even though they are, to a great extent, differentiated by their distinctive logic of practice through which boundaries are more or less enforced. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) describes the boundaries of fields as “*dynamic borders* which are the stake of struggles within the field itself” (p. 104).

Consequently, a field’s boundaries are constituted, in part, through language, and the conflicts that occur in relation to these contested sites can be identified in the discourse of field participants. In fact, Bourdieu (1990a) has pointed out that one of the key issues raised in the struggles for symbolic dominance that take place in the cultural fields concerns “the definition of the limits of the field” according to which the legitimacy of a particular practice, art form or genre is challenged (p. 143). In the present study, the antagonisms concerning the limits of the journalistic and visual arts fields are revealed through the discourse analyses conducted in Chapters 7 and 8. In those chapters, questions concerning what is the nature of art and who has the right to speak about and critique art highlight the struggles for legitimacy and symbolic dominance that occur at the boundaries of the journalistic and visual arts fields.

No theory of interfield relations per se exists in Bourdieu’s work. In fact, in addressing the complex question of the nature of field relations, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) rejected the possibility of an overarching explanatory model for such a complex issue, stating “there are *no transhistoric laws of the relations between fields*” (p. 109; italics in original); instead, he recommended that cases of interfield relations should be investigated individually. He observed that

the relations between fields...are not defined once and for all, even in the most general tendencies of their evolution. The notion of a field... promotes a mode of construction that has to be rethought anew every time. It forces us to *raise* questions: about the limits of the universe under investigation, how it is “articulated,” to what degree, etc. It offers a coherent system of recurrent questions... . (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 110)

Here, Bourdieu dismisses the idea of a grand theory of interfield relations. However, he identifies the interactions of social spaces, such as the academic and political fields (1996b) and the cultural and economic fields (1993a, 1998a, 1996a), as forms of

“structural and functional homologies” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 105) in relation to the practical logic of habitus that underlies the connection across fields to describe the close correspondence between cultural production, social ordering and social practice (Bourdieu, 1977a; see also LiPuma, 1993; Swartz, 1997). This thesis draws on the homologies that Bourdieu identified to illuminate aspects of the interrelationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields. What follows is a brief overview of characteristics of these homologies.

Firstly, all fields are isomorphically homologous, despite the fact that they are distinctive and concerned with different forms of capital. In other words, various fields, such as visual arts and journalism, as well as journalism’s subfield of arts journalism, exhibit similar relational and structural characteristics, but “every one of these characteristics takes a specific irreducible form in each field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 106). Thinking of fields as structurally similar provides a foundation for comparing and identifying the connections between sectors of society that may not otherwise have been linked. This structural homology becomes evident in the course of the discussion in Chapter 3 situating the two fields in relation to New Zealand’s political economy.

Secondly, broader interfield relations are structurally homologous to the relational dynamics of agents within the field. Fields, like the agents within fields, exhibit varying degrees of autonomy and occupy positions within broader social fields of power according to their relative amount of forms of cultural and economic capital. Bourdieu (1993a) explains that analysis of the relative position of the cultural field of production places this field within the “field of power” and it, therefore, occupies a dominant position within the “field of class relations”. However, within the cultural field are subfields that are more autonomous (such as the artistic and literary subfields) as their agents tend to hold a relatively large amount of symbolic capital (prestige) but a relatively small amount of economic capital. Therefore, these subfields are described as occupying a “dominated position” within the field of power (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 38).

This “structural correspondence” (Swartz, 1997, p 130) is also found in the structural similarities of the relative position of agents in a field and the relative position within the field of the symbolic content of the cultural artefacts they produce. This type of homology figures in the discussion in Chapter 7 of the relational position of the arts

journalist, Mark Amery, and his weekly visual arts column to the journalistic field. As the analysis in Chapter 7 suggests, the relatively subordinated position and low cultural capital of the arts journalist within the internal hierarchies of the journalistic field (Marchetti, 2005) is reflected in the similarly subordinated position that his column has as a genre within journalistic practice. In a similar fashion in the case of et al., a homology in the relatively autonomous positions within the visual art field exists for both the artist collective and their art.

Finally, Bourdieu claims that a structural homology exists between the cultural field and the field of power reflected in the relation between cultural producers and their potential audiences (Swartz, 1997). That is, those who occupy a subordinated social position tend to select the cultural products of similarly subordinated producers.¹³ Commenting on the literary field, Bourdieu made the following observation:

The logic of objective competition at the core of the field of cultural production leads each of the categories of producers to offer, without any conscious search for adjustment, products that are adjusted to the preferences of consumers who occupy homologous positions within the fields of power. (Cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 131)

In keeping with the logic of field theory, artistic production and consumer taste are generated by the constraints and competitions associated with field structures and habitus and not simply by a response to consumer demands. In the visual arts field, relatively autonomous artists, like et al., who operate within the subfield of restricted production and who have relatively high symbolic capital or prestige (that is, as a relatively dominant agent within the dominated portion of a dominated field), produce works that appeal to a coterie of similarly-positioned agents within the field of power. These relationships can change over time in response to transitions that may occur in the habitus of the agents within the various fields. Dispositional changes, therefore, might account for the historical transformation of taste as demonstrated by the gradual popular acceptance of avant-garde works of art that had previously been dismissed as “bad” art.

¹³ A number of scholars have recently questioned the conventional distinctions between high and low cultural products and the associated social stratification of consumers that Bourdieu presents here and in other works, such as *The Love of Art* (Bourdieu, Darbel & Schnapper, 1990) and *Distinction* (1984). In general, they contend that Bourdieu’s model does not correspond to contemporary aesthetic categories or consumer practices, especially in relation to new media and music production and distribution. (See, for instance, Bolin, 2009, 2012; Prior, 2005, 2008.)

In any case, Bourdieu (1993a) notes that artworks exist as “symbolic objects” only if they are socially instituted and received by spectators, other producers within the field or by distinguished consumers with the power to consecrate them as works of art. Besides considering an artwork’s material production, one must also take into account its symbolic production, including the social conditions of the field and of its agents, which help to define and produce the value of artworks: “it is a question of understanding works of art as a *manifestation* of the field as a whole, in which all the powers of the field, and all the determinisms inherent in its structure and functioning, are concentrated” (p. 37).

Interfield dynamics and the field of power

As the above discussion suggests, Bourdieu’s notion of “homology” provides a useful approach to facilitate the discussion of the structural similarities of the cultural fields. However, another aspect of interfield relations that is a major focus of this thesis is Bourdieu’s conceptualization of the relative autonomy of fields in relation to the field of power and how this affects the interrelationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields. In order to consider this relationship, an elaboration on Bourdieu’s notion of the field of power is needed.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) describes the field of power as a

field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power... a space of play and competition in which social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields...confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces. (p. 76, n.16; italics in original)

The “holders of different forms of power” that operate within the field of power are those that can direct or influence other fields and include governmental and economic institutions, universities, the military and the media. The term “field of power” can be viewed, therefore, not as a specific institution or social space, but as “a configuration of capital—not necessarily economic capital, but any sorts of resources... contacts...status and anything else that has value and translates into the ability to make things happen” (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002, p. 86). Because it encompasses other fields, the field

of power functions as a meta-field in which the holders of power regulate the distribution of capital and influence the practices and structures of other fields to create conditions under which their own form of power becomes dominant (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The internal dynamics of fields can be influenced by the constraints imposed by external forces of the field of power. A field typically operates according to its own logic as a hierarchically ordered site of domination and subordination based on types and amounts of capital. From this standpoint, fields and their agents may be considered relatively autonomous or heteronomous depending on the degree to which the field operates according to its own organisational and specialized interests or in relation to the economic or political interests external to the field. In other words, a field that is dominated by economic interests is presumably more susceptible to external influences. In the case of the journalistic field, autonomy is considered a fundamental “nodal point” in the professional identity of the journalist (Carpentier, 2005) and essential to an independent journalistic practice that is resistant to various interests. However, Schudson (2005) questions the extent to which this assumed autonomy can be possible in light of the field’s “nonautonomous” reliance on the public marketplace and on government sources (p. 219). In contrast, within the visual arts field, artists who prioritise cultural capital, for instance, in the form of critical reviews and acknowledgement from peers may be considered more autonomous (engaged in “art for art’s sake”) than those who emphasise commercial interests through sales of artworks or the desire to acquire state supported funding (Bourdieu, 1993a; Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995).

The journalistic field is distinctive within the field of cultural production because of its “mediating” role in relation to other fields; in other words, it is the space where different fields “confront one another” in view of a wider public. The journalistic field’s authority, Bourdieu (1998a) argues, is tied to its symbolic power, exercised through its control of the means of producing popular knowledge concerning other more specialized fields and disseminating it to a wider audience. Moreover, he notes that the journalistic field is able to exercise this power despite, or, arguably, because of, its position within the cultural field. Benson (1999) describes the journalistic field’s position within the dominated cultural field as being located mostly within the subfield of large-scale production and, therefore, closer to the heteronomous pole of economic

power and more susceptible to the interests and influences of the economic field. As other cultural fields' reliance on the journalistic field's symbolic capital ("meta-capital") has increased, so too has the journalistic field's symbolic power and influence, subsequently, altering the forms and distribution of capital in other fields (Couldry, 2003a).

The significance of the journalistic field's domination of other fields lies in the homology (the ontological complicity) of field and habitus. In fact, the influence that external forces in the field of power can exert on the internal dynamics of a field and, by the same token, on the identity of a field's agents can be potentially devastating. As previously discussed, the mutually constitutive relation of habitus and field suggests that a field is a relatively stable self-calibrating social space. However, the field/habitus equilibrium may be destabilized by structural changes that result from economic or political forces. Field participants whose dispositional potentialities were formerly aligned with the doxic assumptions of a field, that is, those agents who identify strongly with the historically dominant logic of the field, may find they are no longer able to adapt to the new operational logic. Bourdieu, who observed these effects in the cultural transitions that occurred among Algerian peasants, referred to this timeframe when "dispositions are out of line with the field" (Grenfell, 2004, p. 124) as *hysteresis*, a disorienting and even psychologically devastating experience for those who must adjust quickly in order to maintain their position and status. Those who lose their feel for the game may, in a sense, lose their identity.

2.2.3 Bourdieu's methodology and field analysis approach

Bourdieu has been described as a "methodological polytheist" with allegiance to no particular research method (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 30). His primary recommendation was that "the array of methods used must fit the problem at hand" (p. 30) and that each case should be investigated on a case-by-case basis. In his view, researchers should adopt the "generative spontaneity" of a habitus that follows a "practical logic" of improvised responses to any number of circumstances that may present themselves (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 22). In effect, Bourdieu advocates adopting an embodied "research habitus" (Swartz, 1997; Brubaker, 1993) which "functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions* [italics in original] and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks"

(Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 83).

The challenge of researching social practice is to “produce a precise science of an imprecise, fuzzy, woolly reality” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 23). Bourdieu’s conceptual focus on the relational dynamics of habitus and field was concerned with linking the subjectivities of practice to objective social space rather than to analytically separate them. As a result his goal was to present an approach that was “polymorphic, supple, and adaptable, rather than defined, calibrated, and used rigidly” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 23). While some scholars have found this flexibility and “fuzziness” to be liberating, others have found it indicative of a poor research practice (Griller, 1996; for an overview of these varied readings, also see Lamont, 2012; Silva & Warde, 2010; Wacquant, 1993).

First and foremost, Bourdieu viewed his concept of field as “a research tool, the main function of which is to enable the scientific construction of social objects” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 30). To understand the interfield relation of journalism and visual arts, then, it is necessary to consider the structure of these social spaces in terms of their agents (the artists, journalists, politicians and other field participants), their products (textual and visual) and the consumers (readers and viewers) and to describe them, not in terms of causality, but in relation to each other and to their social and economic conditions.

Bourdieu outlined his method for field analysis as a series of “three necessary and interconnected moments” or analytical activities (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 104). However, the extent to which these steps should be meticulously followed is unclear. Grenfell and Hardy (2007) explain that determining how systematically Bourdieu applied his three-stage approach in his own analyses of social systems is difficult to determine, since he never carried out the steps in a strictly linear fashion. Instead, Bourdieu presented partial analyses or analyses in which the steps were integrated and merged (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007). Nonetheless, these steps provide a useful approach to conducting field analysis. What is most noteworthy about this analytical framework is its emphasis on unpacking the relational aspects, especially in terms of habitus and field. Bourdieu’s (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 104-105) recommended approach is outlined below along with a brief description of how it is addressed in this thesis:

- 1) The researcher “must analyze the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of

power.” This step calls for an examination of the relation between the fields in question and the structuring effects of the political and economic fields. This step is addressed in the analysis in Chapter 3 of the political economy of New Zealand’s mainstream media and visual arts and how this environment has affected journalistic and visual arts practices. The influences and effects of the economic and political fields are discussed in subsequent chapters as well.

- 2) The researcher “must map out the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority”, or capital, within the field. This step requires analysis of agents’ relative positions within their respective fields as well as identifying the forms of capital that are specific to the fields and how they are distributed. The relative heteronomy and autonomy of agents in the journalistic and visual arts fields are examined in Chapters 4 through 8 of this thesis.
- 3) The researcher “must analyze the habitus of agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a determinate type of social and economic condition” and the constraints and opportunities that occur within the field of struggle. Chapter 4, in particular, examines the practice and habitus of New Zealand’s visual arts journalists and looks at some of the constraints operating within this subfield. Mainstream New Zealand journalistic practice and habitus are considered more specifically through the discourse analyses of editorials in Chapter 7 and of an interview with et al. in Chapter 8.

The next two sections of this chapter present a review of literature to examine how researchers within media and journalism studies and the arts have deployed field theory in their own work.

2.3 Situating field theory in media and journalism studies

Bourdieu’s published work is multi-thematic and multi-disciplinary, revealing the range of his interests and consistent with his notion that critical research in social science

should endeavour to overcome institutionally imposed disciplinary boundaries and resist research specializations (Susen & Turner, 2011). Over the years, his writings have covered the fields of education, anthropology, language, sociology, the visual and literary arts, photography, museums, universities, religion, mass media and even banking. While Anglo-American academics in the fields of education and anthropology in the 1980s quickly adopted his recently translated works, his reception by scholars in sociology was mixed and their criticisms were often contradictory (Wacquant, 1993). These misreadings and the slow reception of Bourdieu's work have been ascribed to differences in the structures and emphases of the Anglo-American and French intellectual fields (Guillory, 2000; Susen & Turner, 2011; Wacquant, 1993).

Bourdieu's reception by media and cultural studies scholars was mixed as well. Garnham and Williams (1980), on the occasion of the publication of *Distinction*, presented a brief outline of Bourdieu's field theory and predicted its potential value to the field of British media and cultural studies. However, this optimistic assessment was disputed by Mander (1987) who agreed that Bourdieu was important but contended that his work was of limited value to sociological practices in communication research due to alleged paradigmatic differences. Describing the two distinct approaches to the study of culture, Mander notes that Bourdieu's focus was on a restricted, socially constructed notion of cultural production that emerges from the structure of relations of social practices rather than individual expressivity in contrast to a cultural studies perspective that examines creative and expressive practices more broadly and does not assume a unified or systematic integration of complex cultural practices (see Hall, 1980; Williams, 1961, 1982).¹⁴ A few years later, Garnham (1993) expressed some disappointment with Bourdieu's inadequate treatment of television in *Distinction*, especially considering the medium's importance, in Garnham's estimation, as a contemporary cultural practice. For the same reason, Marlière (2000) found this neglect of the media generally in Bourdieu's scholarship to be puzzling.

Bourdieu did address this gap in his scholarship to some extent, although in comparison with his writings on other aspects of cultural practice, his treatment of the media is modest. The English translation of Bourdieu's views on television journalism appeared

¹⁴ For a discussion of Bourdieu's critical assessment of cultural studies, see Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes (1990).

in 1998 in one slim volume, *On Television*. The book, comprising two lectures published together, was likely intended as a stimulus for debate rather than a formal study of journalism. Nonetheless, the work is significant in that it discusses the journalistic field in terms of its logic of practice within which “a set of shared assumptions and beliefs” operate as “mental categories” by which journalists select, reject and interpret information (1998a, p. 47). The book also presents a critical assessment of journalistic power in the context of the field’s domination by the economic field and the undesirable influences that television journalism may have on the autonomy of other areas of cultural production.

Like Bourdieu’s earlier work, *On Television* also provoked both positive and negative reactions from media and cultural studies scholars (e.g. Couldry, 2003a; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Marlière, 1998; for an account of the critical response, see Marlière, 2000).

Besides *On Television*, Bourdieu’s only statements concerning the media and journalistic fields are to be found in an essay examining the journalistic field included in the Benson and Neveu (2005) anthology,¹⁵ in various references to journalism, popular culture and mass media made in his other analyses of large-scale production in *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993a), and in *Homo Academicus* (1988) where he discusses the effect of journalistic values on academic autonomy and cultural prestige.

Neveu (2007), however, suggests that media and journalism researchers would benefit from exploring Bourdieu’s other writings. For instance, Bourdieu’s works on the sociology of language (1991), on culture (Bourdieu et al., 1990; Bourdieu, 1996a) and on education (1996b) may be useful to media researchers as they address questions concerning language and symbolic power and the autonomy of fields of practice in relation to the influence of other fields. The relational focus of field theory offers media researchers “another unit of analysis” (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p 11) to consider issues concerning journalistic practices and the relation of the journalistic field to other fields. This highlights one of field theory’s strengths, which can be attributed to what Neveu (2007) calls its “bridging power” (p. 344).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, fields are structured systems of social relations and field theory is concerned with bringing into focus the relational dynamics of these two

¹⁵ Bourdieu’s essay in this collection, “The political field, the social science field, and the journalistic field”, was an excerpt from a 1995 lecture.

domains. A field approach to journalism research can also reconcile the separate threads of research operating within journalism studies. Anderson (2008) presents these approaches to journalism research as a historical progression extending from the 1970s to the present and following three distinctive “strands” of scholarship: the first, comprising research concerned with “organisational analysis, objectivity and the professions” (p. 250), engaged with describing journalists’ knowledge and their construction of reality; the second, concerned with researching “culture, narrative and discursive communities” (p. 253) and highlighting journalists’ constructed identity, their role in society and their relationship to authority; and the third, engaged with analysing journalism as a field of practice reintroduces a stronger sociological approach to journalism studies (Benson, 2004). As Benson (1999) explains, field analysis bridges “micro-level” research, concerned with journalistic practice and organisational routines (Anderson’s “strand one”), and the “macro-societal” level of research, concerned with journalism’s relationship to society and the influence of the broader political or economic fields on the journalistic field (Anderson’s “strand two”).

Field analysis ideally addresses both research domains (as the three-step analysis approach presented earlier suggests).¹⁶ However, much of the field research that has been conducted has focused on the internal relational dynamics of the journalistic field. Besides the likelihood that this approach may be linked to researchers’ interests, this focused approach may also be more practicable for the purpose of conducting complex studies. As Benson (2005, p. 87) has pointed out, the comprehensive research required for full field analyses (“simultaneously examining historical geneses and trajectories, structural relations among fields and the practices and worldviews of social actors within fields”) makes these kinds of studies considerably challenging and resource intensive. As of 2009, Benson noted that “we still lack comprehensive studies” of news media (p. 403). In any case, the research that has been undertaken to examine media fields has been varied, if not copious (see Benson, 2009), and has provided useful insight into the forms of media as fields of practice. What follows is a brief review of this literature in relation to field analysis.

Bourdieu’s field theory has been used as the framework in a number of micro-level

¹⁶ Examples of journalistic field analysis can be found throughout Benson and Neveu’s (2005) *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*. Particularly noteworthy is Benson’s (2005) cross-national comparison of the journalistic fields in France and the United States.

studies of the journalistic field focusing on habitus and associated with a range of journalistic practices. Reporters, editors and media staff often share a journalistic habitus and tend to treat certain professional practices, such as standards of journalistic integrity and practices involved with selecting newsworthy stories and ways of writing and reporting information, as common knowledge (*doxa*). This aspect of journalistic practice has been borne out by the research of Schultz (2007) who employed a reflexive ethnographic approach to observe the process of news story selection in an editorial conference in a Danish television newsroom. She discovered that story choices based on a “journalistic gut feeling” for newsworthiness are structured by silent doxic values and explicit news values.

Much of the New Zealand-based journalism research employing field theory has focused primarily on the habitus of agents in relation to journalism practice (Phelan, 2008; Phelan & Owen, 2010; Rupa, 2007a, 2007b). For instance, Rupa (2007a) examined the reporting on the genetic engineering debate by New Zealand newspapers to consider how journalists’ habitus, in relation to journalistic *doxa*, influenced the creation of the news text. In another study addressing the same topic, Rupa (2007b) focused specifically on how professional identity is constituted through the logic of the journalistic field and how this identity is reproduced through editorial discourse. Phelan (2008) analysed the discourse of blog texts produced by two New Zealand journalists responding to an academic article and determined that their antagonisms to the academic field is consistent with a broader journalistic habitus of anti-intellectualism that has been reproduced, in part, through journalistic training.

Researchers have also employed field analysis in broader macro-level studies of journalism. This approach extends beyond the internal analysis of a field to consider interfield relations and the hierarchical structuring of the broader social space within which fields operate.¹⁷ For instance, in several studies, one group of researchers has used Bourdieu’s field theory as an analytical framework along with text analyses, to

¹⁷ The micro-/macro-level distinctions are not so clearly defined as this discussion might suggest and should not be reduced to a simple “inside the field” vs. “outside the field” dichotomy. Micro-level analyses may also be concerned with field interactions, for instance, when analysing aspects of a field’s relative autonomy or heteronomy in relation to the economic or political fields. For instance, deciding whether to classify a study of the interdependence of the journalistic and political fields as micro- or macro-level field analysis would pertain to the objectives of the study and whether it is primarily engaged with investigating journalistic practices or field relations. This thesis engages with both aspects of analyses.

reveal cross-field effects exemplified by the mediatizing of policy processes in relation to the overlapping fields of journalism and public policy within the political field (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004; Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2004; Rawolle, 2005). A study of changing interactive patterns of media entertainment culture conducted by Shefrin (2004), combining field theory with Jenkins' theory of participatory fan culture, argues that the cultural field in relation to the field of power is more permeable as evidenced by the increasingly elevated status and power of cultural producers and the effects on media entertainment corporations by the varied target audiences now accessible through the Internet.

Of particular note, and relevant to issues of symbolic power addressed in this thesis, is the work of Couldry. Couldry's research (2001, 2003a) has examined the media field's symbolic power in terms of its interfield effects. For example, one study, drawing on Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence, identified the effects of media's symbolic power in relation to its representation of the social world as "hidden injury",¹⁸ or symbolic violence, enacted by people's willing acceptance of the media's dominance and control of society's symbolic resources (2001, p. 162). In another study, Couldry (2003a) responds to what he refers to as a "gap" in Bourdieu's field theory accounts of the convergence of the media field with other non-media fields; Couldry argues that the mechanisms that underlie media's symbolic power to transform other non-media fields are unclear. To address this problem, Couldry extends Bourdieu's notion of the state's meta-capital and theorizes media power as a form of meta-capital, through which the media exercise influence over what counts as capital in other fields.

Elsewhere, Couldry (2000, 2003b) has described how a celebrity is apparently able to cross the "implied barrier" dividing the distinctive social spaces of the "media world" and the "ordinary (that is, non-media) world" (2001, pp. 171-172). In effect, "fame" or "celebrity", generated through media exposure, is a form of meta-capital. Couldry's discussions of media's symbolic power and meta-capital have led to a number of studies examining these aspects of media power in relation to the constructed identity of the "celebrity" in the literary field (Driscoll, 2008) and the political field (Davis & Seymour, 2010; Street, 2012). This notion of celebrity as media meta-capital will be relevant to the discussion of the symbolic power of television media personalities

¹⁸ Couldry (2001) adopts the term from Sennett and Cobb's (1972) study of class consciousness and the way cultural valuations of success shape the sense of self-worth of the working-class.

presented in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

The subfield of arts journalism plays a significant “mediating” role between the journalistic and visual arts fields as discussed in this thesis. Marchetti’s (2005) discussion of the generalist/specialist dichotomy and the structuring of these reporters’ roles within the journalistic field in relation to the logic of the marketplace is quite useful to this study. A review of the literature, however, reveals that there are relatively few studies that draw on Bourdieu’s field theory in relation to arts journalism, and all of these examine the state of arts journalism within particular national contexts: the Netherlands (Janssen, 1997, 1999), the UK (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007), Brazil (Golin & Cardoso, 2009), South Africa (Botma, 2008) and Portugal (Nunes, 2004). Two of these (Janssen, 1997; Nunes, 2004) focus on literary and music journalism respectively, and the others cover a spectrum of arts journalism, including classical and popular music, visual arts, media; none focuses just on visual arts journalism. In the only discussion of arts journalism practice within an Australasian context, Skilbeck (2008) considers arts journalism within a global context of overlapping cultural and economic fields and proposes a new way of writing arts journalism to reflect this polyphonic environment. All of these researchers use aspects of Bourdieu’s field theory, in varying degrees, to describe the relational features of the particular arts journalism fields with which they are concerned.

2.4 Situating field theory in the arts fields

Bourdieu’s interest in the restricted production of the cultural field is represented by his research and examination of various aspects of the different arts fields. For instance, his writings cover photography as a leisure practice and mass cultural form (Bourdieu, Boltanski et al., 1990); the emergence of the modern literary field and its relation to the notion of the autonomous artist (1996a); cultural practice and consumption in relation to social differentiation within class structure (1984); the link between socio-economic status and museum attendance (Bourdieu, Darbel & Schnapper, 1990).

Particularly significant are those writings that explore issues pertaining to artistic perception and practice. For instance, an early essay, “Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception” (1968/2003), considers how artistic competence, or the skill by which artworks are decoded, functions as cultural capital to validate the dominance of

those who possess the skill and the ability to decipher works of art. He examines these same forces, the interaction of agents, their socio-cultural origins and the fields in which they are operating, in relation to artistic production and the social role of “artist” in another essay, “But who created the creators?” (1993b). Also, *Free Exchange* (1995), Bourdieu’s conversation with the artist Hans Haacke, examines a range of issues including the art field’s economic dependence on state sponsorship and the potential consequences for contemporary artists’ autonomy and the production of innovative and critically engaged art; the role of the media in promoting and discrediting intellectual activities and cultural products; and the strategies that artists and intellectuals can adopt to subvert the influence of the political and economic fields.

Another significant exploration of his theories is found in his essay on the publishing industry, “The Production of Belief” (1993a), in which he also discusses the character of the avant-garde in relation to commerce. In this essay, he clearly lays out his theory of large-scale and restricted production as it applies to the publishing industry. The opposing subfields consist of distinctively different motivations in relation to economic capital linked to different types of art: “bourgeois art” of classics and best-sellers produced by large, integrated firms that seek short-term commercial profits and follow a short-term publishing cycle, and “avant-garde art” produced by small firms that accept the uncertainty of long-term investments with no market in the present.

It is not surprising, then, that general references to Bourdieu and his ideas appear in the writings and scholarship of artists, philosophers, sociologists of culture and others who engage with questions dealing with cultural practices concerning the symbolic prestige of artists and consumers’ tastes within the cultural field (see, for example, Bryson, 1996; Jyrämä, 2002; Macdonald, 2006; Silva, 2006; Woodward & Emmison, 2001). The purpose here, however, is to present an overview of the research in the arts field that engages more specifically with aspects of Bourdieu’s field theory and identify some of the key debates that have engaged these scholars as they pertain to this study.

A number of research studies have been conducted that systematically employ Bourdieu’s field analysis approach. Grenfell and Hardy, who are responsible for a large percentage of these studies, apply Bourdieu’s three-stage approach to a range of artistic contexts (for another example of an applied field analysis, see Braden, 2009). For instance, one study applies field theory to the context of photography (Hardy &

Grenfell, 2010) and examines photographers and their practice in relation to social, political and commercial contexts. Other research (Grenfell & Hardy, 2003; Hardy & Grenfell, 2006) uses Bourdieu's socio-analytic approach to examine two examples of the avant-garde, the "Young British Artists" and the St. Ives colony, within the English visual arts field. The researchers consider the artists' habitus and their access to and acquisition of various forms of capital in relation to the development of particular styles and forms of artistic production. Two of their other studies (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007; Hardy, 2007) have an institutional focus and present cross-national comparisons of museums. Overall, these works exemplify the application of Bourdieu's field analysis, but are not especially critical of his conceptual approach.

Along with the applied research is literature that focuses on and critically engages with Bourdieu's theories and concepts. Some scholars (Born, 2010; Lane, 2006; Vickery, 2007) have pointed to several problems in Bourdieu's model of the cultural field, one of which is his notion of aesthetic value. Artistic value, in Bourdieu's model, is related to the artist's relative autonomy and distance from the market, rather than to the form or content of the artwork, although form and content do figure into the differentiation of artworks. The influence of the economic field, as Bourdieu presents it, is generally negative. However, as Lane (2006) points out, economic success can also offer a certain amount of autonomy.

Another related problem identified in the literature is that Bourdieu's notion of cultural production based on 19th century economic and cultural models (Lane, 2006; Prior, 2005; Vickery, 2007) is anachronistic. Bourdieu's (1968, 1984, 1996a) classificatory scheme linking socio-economic status and cultural capital does not adequately describe, for instance, the behaviours and choices of contemporary consumers of music (Prior, 2005, 2008) or media (Bolin, 2009, 2012). The criticism suggests that Bourdieu's ideas need to be reframed to apply to aesthetic categories and styles associated with postmodern art and with the speed and accessibility of digital cultural production and consumerism (Bolin, 2012; Prior, 2008). Notwithstanding, Prior (2005) notes that Bourdieu's conceptual categories of capital, habitus and field are useful as they provide one of the most comprehensive and flexible approaches for describing and understanding contemporary art and culture, or, as Jenkins (1992) has observed, Bourdieu is "enormously good for thinking with" (p. 11).

Researchers studying symbolic capital and the interrelation of fields with other areas of restricted production have also drawn on Bourdieu's concepts. As applications of field theory in these other contexts, these studies provide useful insights and serve as models of the application of field theory within cultural field analysis. For example, in his examination of the literary prize game, English (2002) found that competition for symbolic capital, or cultural prestige, underlies the "convergence of interests" (p. 115) between journalist-critics and those in the literary field and the strategies they employ. In her seminal work analysing the institutional culture of IRCAM (an institute engaged in researching avant-garde electroacoustic music and the promotion of contemporary classical music), Born (1995) draws on Bourdieu's theories to shed light on the systems of legitimation of high culture and of the avant-garde and the "relations of difference" (p. 29) that constitute and differentiate the IRCAM culture in relation to other areas of the music field.

This next section of the chapter discusses how this study employs textual analyses, particularly CDA, in relation to field theory, and demonstrates that combining field theory and textual analysis approaches provides a suitable methodological framework for the analysis of the interrelationship of the visual arts and journalistic fields. This section ends with a brief review of examples of media studies research that employ both textual analysis and field theory.

2.5 Textual analysis and field theory and its use in this thesis

In keeping with Bourdieu's eclecticism and his recommendation, as previously noted, that "the array of methods used must fit the problem at hand" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 30), this thesis employs a number of textual analytical methods to analyse journalistic print and broadcast materials at different stages of the study and to complement its field theory framework. For instance, in conjunction with field theory, the critical discourse approaches of Fowler (1986, 1991), Fairclough (1995a) and van Dijk (1997)¹⁹ are used to analyse selected newspaper texts in Chapters 5, 7 and 8. Other text-based analytical methods that are employed figure less prominently, including the analysis in Chapter 8 of a journalist's interview with et al. that draws on aspects of

¹⁹ This thesis also draws on Laclau and Mouffe's theory, but in a cursory way focusing on concepts of relational antagonisms and discursive equivalence (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). In contrast to CDA, Laclau and Mouffe's work collapses the distinctions between discursive practices and social practices, effectively treating them as one and the same (see Carpentier & DeCleen, 2007).

conversation analysis (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Heritage, 1985, 2002) and content analysis of the newspaper sample collected for this study (Chapter 6).

The practice of textual analysis is associated with a range of approaches that are grounded in different epistemological traditions that generally follow different interpretations of the meaning and ontological status of discourse (Mills, 1997; Torfing, 2005). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) works with written and spoken forms of communication and combines linguistic and critical theory approaches. Linguistic traditions (Halliday, 1989; Halliday & Hasan, 1989) define discourse in terms of the units of written and spoken communication that construct the content of texts and conversations and are reflected in analytical methods of conversation analysis, critical linguistic analysis, interview analysis and content analysis (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Fowler, 1986; Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Krippendorf, 2004; Sacks, Jefferson & Schegloff, 1992; Wooffitt, 2005).

Other social science traditions, influenced by the theories of Foucault, Bourdieu, Laclau and Mouffe, among others, examine discourse in relation to social practices. These approaches, including CDA, are concerned with identifying diverse discourses within social contexts and to understand how these are formed and shaped by particular social conditions and power relations. Fairclough (2003) identifies a major concern for CDA to be the “ideological effects” realised through the “representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation” (p. 9).

The combination of the linguistic and cultural analytic strains is evident in the critical linguistic approach of Fowler (1991; Fowler et al., 1979) and in the CDA approach developed by Fairclough (1989, 1995a) and van Dijk (e.g. 1993, 1997). These broader analytical approaches treat language and discourse as systematic and rule-based, but combine this with the idea of language (in all its symbolic forms) as both “socially shaped and socially shaping” (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 55). The proponents of CDA, which has been given different iterations by different researchers,²⁰ explicitly indicate

²⁰ CDA has been identified as a standard approach for analysing media texts (Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007). Some key examples of media analyses that have been carried out by proponents of CDA include an examination of the discourse of newspapers (van Dijk, 1983); studies of racism in the press (van Dijk, 1991a, 1991b); examples of television and radio broadcasts (Fairclough, 1995b); and imagery (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). For a more comprehensive overview, see Carpentier and De Cleen, 2007.

that interrogating this dialectical relationship is the focus of their investigations. As Ruth Wodak et al. (1999) explain, CDA examines the “dialectical relationship between particular discursive acts and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded.... In other words, discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it” (p. 8). Media discourse offers a particularly valuable resource for CDA researchers’ analysis of power and social struggle.

In *Language and Symbolic Power*, Bourdieu (1991) argues that linguistic analysis concerned with an “internal reading” confined to the text alone (1991, p. 153) is too limited.²¹ This approach, he contends, abstracts language and obscures its social significance as a distinguishing marker of social status within the “linguistic market” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 18) whereby symbolic power may be reproduced and symbolic violence imposed (see discussion in Chapter 7). His argument is primarily concerned with the embodied features of spoken language and serves to underscore the value, for instance, of examining paralinguistic elements when undertaking an analysis of broadcast media (as in Chapter 5 of this thesis). These embodied technical and social aspects (dispositions) of language competence comprise a “linguistic habitus” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 18) that is informed by the doxa, or underlying field-specific “shared beliefs”. Discourse analysis articulated with field theory may provide insight into not only the habitus and dispositions of the speaking agent, but also the agent’s position in relation to the field and the doxa of the field of practice that constitutes the speaking subject (see Chapter 8 which examines the field-specific doxa of the journalistic and visual arts fields in relation to the discursive interactions of the journalist and et al.).

Both field theory and CDA maintain a similar notion of the constitutive role of social practice. However, while a key goal of field theory is to explain how language and other symbolic forms relate to social practice, language within this dynamic is accorded a secondary status; that is, field theory subordinates language to the structuring forces of social practice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999b).²² Furthermore, in de-emphasising

²¹ Philo (2007) has also criticised discourse analysis on the basis that its text-based approach provides only a limited perspective on media phenomena. The main problems Philo identifies are concerned with relational and contextual factors and are therefore particularly relevant to this thesis. He argues that discourse analysis cannot provide insight into such aspects as the origins of discourses and their relation to different social interests and the impact of external factors (such as social and political factors) on discursive practices and content.

²² For an overview of criticisms of Bourdieu’s conception of language from the fields of linguistics and

the constitutive role of language in social relations, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999b) maintain that Bourdieu does not take into account language's constitutive effects on social relations and identities. They argue that Bourdieu, by being overly focused on discourse as only a form of linguistic capital and the struggle for its accumulation, has overlooked linguistic capital's role in the constitutive and classificatory struggle of social relations and in the constitution of the habitus. CDA, in their view, offers a more comprehensive way of linking discursive and social orders.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999a, 1999b) have also identified other points of difference that they suggest are weaknesses in Bourdieu's field theory model. For instance, they find fault with Bourdieu's failure to take into account "contemporary forms of mediation, such as television, or any institutional complex or field with its own structural logic and forms of capital"²³ (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999a, p. 103). Also, Bourdieu's emphasis on accumulating linguistic capital fails to consider how stylistic aspects of language constitute linguistic capital. One stylistic aspect of discourse Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999a) identify that features in the analysis of this thesis is aestheticized discourse, which refers to the idea that aesthetic choices, linked to the way people want to "constitute and project themselves" (p. 131), may partly affect discourse practices. This concept of an aesthetic quality of language informs the analysis in Chapters 5 and 8 of this thesis.

Field theory research has also failed at times to adequately examine the role of discourse in its conceptualization and analyses of fields. A review of selected literature to examine how the analysis of language has been integrated with field theory shows that much of it has not adequately considered media as a discursive practice or addressed the nature of media's symbolic power. These studies tend to be more descriptive than analytical and focus more on media's institutional features than on aspects of language. For instance, Benson and Neveu (2005) call for a focus on language in media studies but fail to present that in their work. Bourdieu's (2005) own essay in the collection is concerned primarily with examining the logic of the journalistic field and its relation to the field of power and only minimally addresses aspects of media discourse when he briefly refers

discourse analysis, see Myles, 2010.

²³ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, these failings are raised as well by Prior (2005, 2008) and Bolin (2009, 2012).

to journalists' linguistic categories, or "tacit presuppositions" constitutive of doxa (p. 37). In his study of British journalists' meta-discourses, Matheson (2003) examines the journalistic field through journalists' discourse concerning their notions of professional identity and their views of their writing practice. But this study of the journalistic field examines only the situated discourse of practitioners and does not take into account other field issues by, for instance, problematizing the mutually constitutive dynamics of the field and journalistic habitus or the symbolic implications of common journalistic assumptions concerning the representational transparency of language.

While a number of media-related studies have combined discourse analysis and field theory analysis to examine the media field, many tend to focus primarily on one or the other.²⁴ For instance, Popp (2006) examines Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital and mass media's "pivotal role in the political economy of language" (p. 8) demonstrated by the positive press coverage dealing with the language used in two successful mass media programmes: the children's television show *Dora the Explorer* and Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of Christ*. This study is primarily descriptive in its discussion of the media representations' linguistic capital and does not consider other aspects of media representation such as symbolic power or symbolic violence. Another article by Blackledge (2002) uses CDA and dialogic discourse analysis and draws on aspects of field theory, specifically Bourdieu's notions of habitus and symbolic power, in a cursory way to analyse one British newspaper article's discriminatory discourse representing a multilingual, heterogeneous state as a unified British national identity. Other research that has been conducted in New Zealand has integrated field theory and discourse analyses to examine media discourse in relation to aspects of the practices of the media field (Rupar 2007a, 2007b; Phelan, 2008).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the theoretical frameworks that will be used to analyse the mainstream coverage of the Venice Biennale for the purpose of illuminating the interfield relations of the journalistic and visual arts fields. The first half of the chapter discussed Bourdieu's field theory focusing in particular on the relational dynamics within and between fields. The next section considered Bourdieu's advocacy

²⁴ For one exception to this, see Phelan, 2011, which articulates field theory with Laclau's discourse theory.

of an eclectic methodology and the particular benefits that such an approach has for case analysis. The eclectic and pragmatic methodological approach to conducting field research and analysis that Bourdieu advocated provides a foundation for the varied methods employed in this thesis. This discussion also included an overview of Bourdieu's three-stage model of field analysis and how it is deployed in this thesis.

The next two sections presented a review of literature in the areas of media studies and the arts fields to examine the range of studies in these two areas that have drawn on aspects of field theory. The chapter's literature review suggests that the variety of analytic methods that have been deployed in conjunction with field theory supports the eclectic approach that has been undertaken in this thesis. Finally, the last section of the chapter briefly summarised Bourdieu's criticism of textual/critical discourse analysis as well as Chouliaraki and Fairclough's assessment of field theory's inadequate conception of language. This was followed with a brief overview of a few studies that have combined discourse analysis and field theory to analyse media practice.

In keeping with Bourdieu's field analysis approach, the next chapter examines New Zealand's political economy in relation to the media and to the visual arts.

Chapter 3:

New Zealand's political economy in relation to the journalistic and visual arts fields

3.1 Introduction

Bourdieu has argued that the field of cultural production cannot be understood in isolation from the “structural relations” (1993a, p. 29), or specific logics that shape the field and determine both what is valued and what is distributed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 94-98). As discussed in the previous chapter, one powerful influence on the structural dynamics of cultural fields and on their forms of production derives from the degree of these fields' autonomy in relation to the field of power. Following Bourdieu's recommended approach to field analysis outlined in Chapter 2, this chapter examines New Zealand's journalistic and visual arts fields in relation to the political and economic fields to consider how the structuring effects of the meta-field of power (Bourdieu's term for the power relations governing the hierarchical relations between analytically distinct fields) have influenced the production of these cultural fields.

This chapter begins by presenting an overview of the political economy of the media in New Zealand and the impact that the market-driven media environment has had on media content and journalistic practice in this country. The second part of this chapter considers how political and economic factors have influenced cultural policy and funding of the arts in New Zealand. Creative New Zealand, the country's primary arts development agency and the principal organisation overseeing the initiative to host New Zealand's exhibition at the event, serves as the focus of this discussion. This analysis will show how the rhetoric of the then recently-elected Labour government's arts policy reflected the economic priorities of a business paradigm operating in Creative New Zealand's discourse and practice. As the discussion will show, the cultural policy initiative to attend the Venice Biennale neatly fits in with a broader political agenda of nation-building and marketing the country in an international arena. The chapter ends by considering the potential impact of a market-driven cultural policy on cultural production and the autonomy of those in the visual art field.

3.2 Political economy perspectives on New Zealand's journalistic field

In general terms, political economy research is concerned with understanding how values and power are produced, distributed, exchanged and enacted and how these elements interrelate in the social world (Mosco, 2009). In its more specific application to the study of media, a political economy approach examines aspects of social and historical change, patterns of media ownership and revenue and the political and economic factors that affect media content and operations (McChesney, 1998; Mosco, 2009). Hallin and Mancini (2004) focus on specific political contexts in their analysis of Western media systems. With this approach, they demonstrate their claim that understanding a state's political systems and its other social structures as well as the interconnections of its economic and political interests is essential to an analysis of its news media.

While traditional political economy analysis, in its Marxist iteration, has focused on the determining effects of the economy, other studies of the political economy of the media have dealt primarily with the structuring influences of institutions, especially in relation to corporate-owned media systems and government involvement in aspects of media production and regulation (Mosco, 2009). Furthermore, researchers have found that examination of the political economy of media institutions offers some insight into the role economic and political forces have in shaping media systems and calls into question journalists' claimed fourth estate ideals of independence, objectivity and public service (McChesney, 1999; Schultz, 1998).

Many scholars have taken an explicit political economy approach to analysing New Zealand's media system (see Baker, 2006, 2007; Ellis, 2010; Hirst, 2012; Hope, 1996, 2012; Kemp, 2010; Norris, 2002; Rosenberg, 2008; Thompson, Mason & Chase, 2002). This literature has identified at least two implications that stem from the oligopolistic market structure and the resulting concentration and consolidation of media ownership that are important in the context of this study: the first implication is a reduction of pluralism and diversity in the representation of alternative perspectives and the second is an increased regionalism and homogenization of mainstream journalism.

New Zealand's media system has been described as following an Anglo-American Liberal Model system similar to that of Britain and its former colonies such as Ireland,

Australia and Canada (Hallin & Giles, 2005; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). As Hallin and Mancini (2004) have explained, the Liberal Model system is typically characterised by market-driven, self-regulated media; a strong degree of journalistic professionalization marked by distinctive values, standards of practice and independent news operations management; and journalists who assert a public service role and engage in a “strong tradition of ‘fact-centered’ reporting” (p. 246). As the following discussion will show, while New Zealand’s media system displays these characteristics as well, the structure of the journalistic field is also distinguished by an especially dominant free-market logic.

A strongly market-oriented notion of society and of the public as consumers has been the foundation of recent government media policy in New Zealand. In his account of the history of the political economy of New Zealand’s media environment, Hope (2012) describes how political policies resulted in the corporatization of state-owned media during the 60s and 70s and, in light of subsequent neoliberalized trends in government, facilitated an increasing commercialization and concentration of the media during the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, the News Media Ownership Act, which limited foreign shareholding of newspapers, was repealed in 1974 removing all restrictions. Before then, New Zealand companies had owned all the metropolitan newspapers, and almost 30% of the country’s other smaller daily newspapers were independently owned and managed (Ellis, 2010). Throughout the last half of the 20th century, economic pressures and lack of regulatory constraints led to increasingly higher levels of foreign ownership of print and broadcast media. The result has been an unprecedented concentration of the majority of the country’s print and broadcast media under foreign control.

The outcome of these neoliberal policies of deregulation and privatisation can be seen in the consolidation of media outlets in the hands of a few overseas conglomerates. For instance, of the newspapers that are used for this study, only one, the *Otago Daily Times*, is owned by a New Zealand company, the Dunedin-based Allied Press. The others are controlled by a duopoly of Australian corporations, namely Fairfax (owner of the *Dominion Post* and *The Press*) and APN News & Media (owner of the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Listener*), which together hold more than 90% of the country’s metropolitan and provincial newspaper and magazine publications (Ellis, 2010; Rosenberg, 2008). Cost-cutting measures have resulted in the restructuring of newspapers with layoffs of reporting and production staff and the discontinuation or

merger of media outlets, leaving most major metropolitan centres with only one regionally-focused news publication (Hope, 2012). This situation has reduced competition and decreased resources for news reporting in the mainstream print media.

The concentration of foreign ownership of New Zealand's broadcast media is similar to that of the print media. Like the newspaper market, commercial radio in New Zealand is divided between two foreign owners, in this case the Australian-owned MediaWorks²⁵ and The Radio Network (TRN), a subsidiary of another Australian company (Ellis, 2010). The non-commercial networks, National Radio and ConcertFM, operated by Radio New Zealand, a public service broadcaster and Crown entity, provide the primary competition for these two foreign-owned commercial radio conglomerates.²⁶ Of the four free-to-air television networks, TVNZ, a state-owned broadcaster, manages TVOne and TV2²⁷, and MediaWorks, an Australian company in which the Canadian broadcast company CanWest is a majority share-holder, owns the other two channels, TV3 and C4 (Rosenberg, 2008).

With the broadcasting reforms enacted by Helen Clark's Labour-led government, previous hardline neoliberal policies of deregulation and privatisation gave way, at least within the public sector, to a "third-way" approach combining neoliberal economic and public service principles (Thompson, 2004). In a politically motivated display of democratic ideals presented as a corrective for the distortions in social and cultural policies of the previous decades, the government sought to reclaim a public service role by restoring public service goals to the state-owned broadcaster. As part of these

²⁵ In 1991, Canadian broadcaster CanWest Global Group bought 20% of TV3 and then acquired 100% ownership in 1997. The company expanding its presence in New Zealand broadcast market, purchasing MORE FM Group and RadioWorks New Zealand Limited. In 2004, the company combined TV3 Network Services and RadioWorks to form MediaWorks and, as CanWest MediaWorks (NZ) Limited, acquired the New Zealand radio and television businesses of CanWest Global Group (MediaWorks, 2012; see also Myllylahti, 2011).

²⁶ As part of the data discussed in Chapter 4, some survey respondents refer in general to radio and to certain radio broadcasters. However, this broadcast medium has not been examined as part of this thesis. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that radio occupies a significant niche in New Zealand's media environment. As Rosenberg (2008) has explained, New Zealand's highly concentrated commercial radio environment was also highly saturated with a large number of licensed radio stations, over 320 in 2006, including a number of small, local radio stations. Besides these smaller community-oriented commercial radio stations, there are also non-profit, Community Access Radio broadcasters that operate as public service entities under the provisions of the 1989 Broadcasting Act to serve the needs of particular sectors of communities, including women, children, persons with disabilities, religious groups and ethnic minorities (Rosenberg, 2008). These community-based radio stations are primarily run by volunteers and supported by funds from New Zealand On Air, an independent crown agency that supports programmes and projects that have a local content focus (NZ On Air, 2009).

²⁷ The only commercial-free public service channel TVNZ7, that provided 24-hour news and information coverage, was launched in March 2008, but was closed down in July 2012.

broadcasting reforms, TVNZ, restructured as a Crown entity in 2003, would receive some public funding and offer public service oriented programming directed by a prescribed Charter.²⁸ The broadcaster would also maintain its commercial operations and continue to pay dividends to the Crown.

As Thompson (2004, 2005) has argued, however, contradictions existed in this hybrid approach to public service broadcasting. In its 2003 discussion paper, the Ministry for Culture & Heritage acknowledged the “areas of tension” in the principles and goals of private and public broadcasting, but asserted that combining the two systems through “a balance of public and private principles within a mixed economy” would establish a commercially viable public service broadcaster capable of “promoting and protecting the core values of civil society” (cited in Thompson, 2004, p. 63).²⁹ Underlying this position then, Thompson (2004) notes, is a presumed “compatibility between commercial and cultural-democratic principles and policies” (p. 82).

Overall, the objectives outlined in the TVNZ Charter resonate with the government’s broader cultural policy agenda concerned with promoting New Zealand’s creative industries and national identity (Skilling, 2005; 2008). Besides seeking to inform, entertain and educate New Zealand audiences, the Charter also included directives that called for programming to provide high standards of quality; serve a range of interests not addressed by other broadcasters but also extend viewers’ range of ideas and experiences; demonstrate “editorial integrity” and “independent, comprehensive, impartial, and in-depth coverage and analysis of news and current affairs in New Zealand”; encourage “informed and many-sided debate”; present “shared experiences that contribute to a sense of citizenship and national identity”; and encourage and support the arts (TVNZ, 2003). Chapter 5 of this thesis will consider aspects of the TVNZ Charter in relation to the broadcaster’s arts and current affairs coverage of et al. and the Venice Biennale.

3.3 The impact of media consolidation on mainstream media content

The concentration and consolidation of media ownership in New Zealand has shaped

²⁸ In July 2011, the TVNZ Charter was overturned and replaced by the Television New Zealand Amendment Bill. The Charter was in effect during the period of analysis for this thesis.

²⁹ For an examination of the questions that are raised here concerning notions of a “civil society” and what constitutes a public and private “balance”, see Thompson, 2004.

reporting practice and media content. One result has been a greater regionalism in newspapers' reporting focus and uniformity in reporting content. Researchers have noted that each of the four metropolitan newspapers dominates a particular regional market in its distribution and is associated with a specific regional identity (Phelan, 2009; Phelan & Owen, 2010; Rupa, 2007a). In fact, one arts journalist, in a comment provided in response to the Arts Journalism in New Zealand Survey conducted for this study, noted a distinctive local character to the reporting on et al. and described this reporting difference in terms of focus: "Wellington-and-politics-focused Dominion Post ... versus the Auckland visual-arts-focused NZ Herald". Although these newspapers are associated with a regional identity, the market logic of structurally similar corporate media has resulted in a homogenization of reporting, which can be seen in the similarities of the metropolitan newspapers' discourse and coverage of the Biennale (see Chapter 6) and in the similar constraints that govern the format and content in the approach to arts journalism in television news broadcasts and current affairs programming (see Chapter 5).

Another casualty resulting from this concentration of media ownership has been pluralism. In general, media pluralism is demonstrated within journalism by the presence of a variety of differing perspectives and voices within the media content, and is best ensured, it is believed, within an environment that supports a range and variety of media outlets and owners (Doyle, 2002). In fact, the rhetoric of policies that are enacted to regulate media ownership typically cites the aim of protecting diversity (Barnett, 2004; Doyle, 2002). Such policies demonstrate the assumption that those who own and manage the media control and influence its content. As Doyle (2002) has observed, "Democracy is threatened if individual media owners, with the power to propagate a single political viewpoint, are allowed to predominate over the supply of media" (p.171-172). Within New Zealand, an effect of the consolidation of media, according to Hope (2012), has been a decrease in the diversity of critical perspectives in the framing of mainstream news, and an increase in the "media authority" and influence of this "small cluster of primary, legitimated news sources" in relation to the country's political economy (p. 38). In other words, as Hope (2004) explains, competition between few commercially driven corporate news organisations "provides readers with a narrow range of viewpoints and stifles public debate" (p. 5).

One might expect that media organisations would be economically motivated to offer

diverse content, on the basis that a “free” market environment would produce a marketplace of ideas that the organisations would be able to exploit. By doing so, they would be able to reach a broader spectrum of the audience and thus increase their audience base. However, consistently producing news content that represents a variety of viewpoints and cultural perspectives can be challenging for organisations competing within a limited marketplace like New Zealand. Sparks (2006) has noted that a primary concern for media in a monopoly position is to build a general audience, especially an audience of those from relatively affluent segments of the population that would be likely advertising targets. The media content produced by these monopoly organisations, therefore, is designed to appeal to as many in this sector of society as possible by reflecting the concerns and values of this imagined audience (Sparks, 2006). Meanwhile, the perspectives of cultural groups and minority views that fall outside this privileged mainstream audience can often be marginalized or unrepresented.

This economic logic is evident within the New Zealand context in the mainstream media’s coverage of non-mainstream perspectives. To date, research has not been carried out regarding the representation of contemporary visual arts and artists by the mainstream media in New Zealand. However, research has been conducted concerning the media’s treatment of other minority and non-mainstream cultural groups. For instance, many scholars have noted the inadequate, and even discriminatory, reporting of Maori issues that have been described as a type of “colonial coverage” reproducing the subjugated position of Maori in relation to the norms of mainstream Pakeha society (Rankine & McCreanor, 2004, p. 23; see also Abel, McCreanor & Moewaka Barnes, 2012; Comrie & Fountaine, 2005). Rather than providing space for Maori-oriented news coverage, the mainstream media have instead consistently focused on negative and sensationalist representations, depicting Maori as criminal, deviant and socially disruptive (Abel, McCreanor & Moewaka Barnes, 2012; Matheson, 2007b; Walker, 2002).

In the context of this study, empirical analysis (see especially Chapters 5, 7 and 8) shows that many of the mainstream news stories about et al. employed a similar discriminatory language. That is, the antagonistic “othering” discourse of intolerance and exclusion (Fairclough, 1989; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; van Dijk, 1991b) employed in the journalistic constructions of different groups that exist outside a populist norm is structurally similar in this case. Therefore, it follows that analysis of the journalistic

discourse (see Chapter 7) dealing with et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale can draw productively on the work of Fowler (1991) and van Dijk (1989, 1991a, 1993, 2000) concerning the prejudicial and discriminatory character of media discourse and reporting conventions.

3.4 Political economy effects in relation to a mainstream journalistic habitus

In his discussion of the relevance of habitus to a political economy of communication, Park (2009) argues that “habitus can be thought of as the site of the internalisation of commodity relations in daily practices” (p. 7). In effect, habitus is the means through which institutions reproduce themselves and agents “accommodate themselves to institutional needs/functions” (p. 4). This close association of field and habitus suggests the two are mutually constituting and homologous, sharing an underlying logic.

Moreover, the dialectical relation between mental and social structures fulfils a political function; according to Bourdieu, “social structures and cognitive structures are recursively and structurally linked, and the correspondence that obtains between them provides one of the most solid props of social domination” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 14). From a political economic standpoint, analysis of ownership models of power and domination provides useful insight into the broader structure of the media environment, but a consideration of journalistic habitus as it relates to the production of media content can also highlight the political economic aspects of journalistic practice (Park, 2009).

As previously discussed, journalistic practice operating in a liberal media system is characterized by identification with professional standards. In their analysis of journalistic practice, researchers (Deuze, 2005; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Masterton, 1998) have noted a relatively consistent professional ideology, or *doxa*, shared by most journalists (as discussed in Chapter 2) and manifested through similar values, norms and protocols enacted in the processes of news selection and reporting: an “objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’” (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 53) set of dispositions that comprise the journalistic habitus (Schultz, 2007). Likewise, researchers have observed that New Zealand’s journalists share these same values and norms and maintain a strong sense of professionalism in their own journalistic practice as well (Elsaka, 2005; Hirst, 2010; McGregor, 2002; Phelan et al., 2012; Thomas, 2008).

This section of the chapter examines aspects of New Zealand journalistic practice and production identified in selected literature of relevance to this study. The discussion will focus in particular on journalists' proclaimed watchdog role and their conceptualization of the public sphere. How New Zealand mainstream journalists deploy these notions in their coverage of et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale will be addressed in the textual analyses of Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

Most New Zealand journalists appear to view their fourth estate role as guardians of the public interest as a standard part of their journalistic practice. A 2007 survey (Hollings, Lealand, Samson, & Tilley) asked journalists to evaluate the effectiveness of the media's watchdog role. The question itself highlights an underlying presumption that journalists' public service role of holding others to account is a norm and that the respondents understand what that role entails. The survey participants' responses to the question also indicate their acceptance of the role as a given with most identifying resourcing problems as a key impediment to performing their watchdog role effectively.

The so-called "watchdog role" is typically characterised in its most idealised form by independent investigative reporting that engages in exposing to public scrutiny hidden or little-known activities, especially nefarious or deceptive practices, of those in government, business or other public institutions who wield power in society. Within this role, the media are generally believed to be serving the public interest and are therefore seen to be essential to the effective functioning of a democratic society (Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Schultz, 1998). However, as Johnson-Cartee (2005) notes, journalists often do more than just uncover and report facts, and instead "frequently take a bite out of those they are covering" (p. 283).

Surveys of the public and of journalists suggest a general dissatisfaction with the overly negative and sensationalised approach in current public-affairs reporting (Patterson, 2000; Plasser, 2005). Moreover, most attribute this trend to increased commercialization and the demands of the news organisation. For example, a 2001 Pew Research Center poll of the American public showed that most respondents were dissatisfied with the way investigative reporting was being handled and indicated they believed that "news organizations actively drive stories in the direction of sensationalism and scandal" (Bennett & Serrin, 2005, p. 180). Another survey conducted with American journalists in local news organisations shows that a majority share the view that media

organisations drive the tendency towards sensationalised rather than fact-based and socially and politically relevant reporting (Bennett & Serrin, 2005). In general, the perception of news consumers and producers is that the public-service ethic diminishes within a market-driven media environment.

Besides an increased focus on sensationalism and scandal, scholars have also identified a predominantly negative and cynical tone in public affairs reporting (Atkinson, 2006; Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Patterson, 2000; Plasser, 2005). These qualities are exemplified, for instance, by the “pseudo-investigative style” of reporting typical of television news magazines and journalists’ “ritualistic displays of antagonism” (Bennett & Serrin, 2005, p. 179). This assessment of watchdog journalism is also reflected in the comments of former Washington Post journalist Murrey Marder, who observed that “all too often, the press appear not as watchdogs, but as a snarling, barking pack, substituting the spectacle or the posture of adversarialism for the sort of journalism that might better serve the public interest” (cited in Bennett & Serrin, 2005, p. 173). In fact, Clayman (2002) has demonstrated how journalists strategically use the public service mandate, especially when they are engaged in adversarial reporting, to justify their antagonistic reporting style or to avoid what might be seen as an apparent loss of professional objectivity.³⁰

Other aspects of journalistic practice provide some insight into conceptualizations of the mainstream public whose interests many journalists claim to serve. One ideal that journalists are encouraged to demonstrate in their presentation of a news story is clarity. Bell (1991) notes that clarity, along with brevity and colour, has an impact on the perception of a story’s news value and is considered a favourable quality by editors. One way clarity is achieved is through the use of simple language. In his training handbook for the “Kiwi Journalist”, Tucker (1992) stresses the importance of providing “familiar, simple material” (p. 34) and recommends simple, easy-to-follow sentence structures, language free from ambiguity and elaboration, and news stories pared down to “the words that count” (p. 37). Journalists are also called on to simplify complex issues. Cotter (2010) describes this process of understanding a complex situation, identifying its salient details and writing about these in a way that is concise and comprehensible as one of the primary responsibilities of journalists.

³⁰ The rhetorical strategy is demonstrated in the discourse analysis in Chapter 8 of this thesis, which draws extensively on Clayman’s analytical approach.

The effort to simplify complex issues and ideas, however, can result in inaccuracy and distortion. The constraint of brevity, for instance, can result in the omission of essential ideas and information, and in some cases, complex ideas cannot be easily simplified. Also, many editors and news producers share the view that any good reporter should be able to cover any story, and, in fact, generalist reporters are often preferred over specialists (Bennett, 2007; Marchetti, 2005). The belief is that specialists may present information that is overly technical for a mass audience to understand. However, the disadvantages are that non-specialists may not have a sufficiently nuanced understanding of the subject matter to effectively interview sources or they may have to depend more on official news releases, on their sources, or on other journalists' reporting (Bennett, 2007).

The emphasis on clarity, simplification and non-specialisation points to a journalistic notion of a "public" that valorises common-sense norms. However this "doctrine of simplicity" (MacGregor, 2009, p. 241) is not just a guideline for journalists to construct media content suitable for a mainstream audience. These ideals are consistent with an anti-intellectual sensibility that MacGregor (2009) has identified as a trend in UK journalism and characterised by a preference for ordinary language, an aversion towards ambiguity and abstractions, and a distrust of academics. These characteristics have been identified in the reporting approach of New Zealand journalists as well (Phelan, 2008; Phelan et al., 2012; Simmons, 2007; MacDonald, 2012). These journalistic notions of common-sense values and anti-intellectualism will be explored in the discourse analyses in Chapters 7 and 8.

3.5 Political economy perspectives on New Zealand's visual arts field

The New Zealand Toi Aotearoa Act 1994 established Creative New Zealand (CNZ) as an autonomous Crown entity "to encourage, promote, and support the arts in New Zealand for the benefit of all New Zealanders" (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2008a, para. 2). CNZ's structure and independent decision-making role reflect an "arm's length" approach to arts patronage of the NZ government that was put into practice with the establishment of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council in 1963. Distancing the government from arts funding separates it from the day-to-day operational control of the arts organisation, but also, in theory, serves to "protect the arts from political interference and to insulate governments from the ill will arising from unpopular

funding decisions” (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 1998, para. 11).

In accordance with the Act, the Ministry for Culture & Heritage (2008b) administers funds to CNZ’s Arts Council and manages the organisation’s relationship with the Crown. The Arts Council, however, is charged with developing and implementing policy within a legislated framework, overseeing the organisation and distribution of funds to CNZ’s two arts boards, one focused on arts in general and the other on Maori arts, and to its Pacific Arts Committee.

The funding the organisation receives comes from the government and from public grants and initiatives, such as the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board and Vote Arts, Culture and Heritage, and covers a variety of arts areas and activities and include fellowships, scholarships and national and international residencies in the performing arts, dance, music, literary, craft, visual arts, Maori arts and Pacific arts fields. These funds support the professional and creative development of artists, the creation of new works, and the presentation and distribution of artists’ works. The Act also stipulates that the Ministry appointees to each of the boards should represent culturally diverse backgrounds and be selected for their skills and experience in professional and community arts and in management and finance (Creative New Zealand, Nomination form).

In 1997, CNZ commissioned a report to assess the country’s visual arts infrastructure and recommend improvements to the services provided to artists. The resulting report, *New Vision* (McDermott Miller Limited, 1998), showed that of all the arts funded by the organisation up to that time, the visual arts had received the least support. The report’s conclusions highlighted a number of concerns including a “high degree of disaffection within the visual arts community” (McDermott Miller Limited, p. 78) and a lack of improvement in the working situation of artists and arts professionals due to “a failure of policy coordination, the absence of strategic vision and leadership” (p. 80). Criticism concerning the lack of promotion of New Zealand’s visual arts abroad through “global networks” in Australia, the wider Asia Pacific region, Northern America and Europe was especially significant:

New Zealand has yet to establish properly funded residencies in any of these centres, nor has it sought inclusion in major international events like Documenta

or the Venice Biennale. There is a policy vacuum regarding the presentation of New Zealand’s visual arts internationally and a lack of coordination both of effort and of investment. (p. 64)

The report’s findings suggested that the visual arts community’s dissatisfaction with CNZ’s support was justified. While CNZ’s limited funds had to serve a range of arts and cultural activities, the report’s analysis indicated that of all the sectors, the visual arts had suffered the greatest amount of disinvestment as funding had been channelled to other art forms. Noting that visual arts funding had fallen from 17% in 1990 to only 9% in 1996, the report stated “that no other sector of the arts has suffered the degree of disinvestment that has affected the visual arts” (McDermott Miller Limited, 1998, p. 82) and suggested that this outcome was not likely the result of any deliberate policy targeting the visual arts. However, the lower funding allocated to the visual arts did suggest that the visual arts were not valued as much as other artforms. Table 2 illustrates Creative New Zealand’s distribution of funds to the arts over the decade prior to the *New Vision* report and demonstrates the comparatively modest support the visual arts received during that period:

Table 2: Creative New Zealand’s grant allocation to different forms of art

Year	Visual Arts (incl. visual art and craft/object art)		Performing Arts		Other Arts		TOTAL	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
1987	957,851	11%	5,800,840	70%	1,558,916	19%	8,317,607	100%
1990	2,212,480	17%	7,265,600	57%	3,357,000	26%	12,835,080	100%
1993	2,246,909	13%	8,500,600	48%	6,889,314	39%	17,636,823	100%
1996	1,716,768	9%	10,993,562	57%	6,704,174	35%	19,414,504	100%
1997	2,480,358	13%	10,869,075	58%	5,546,266	29%	18,895,699	100%

Note: \$ = “dollars of the day”

Results excerpted from McDermott Miller Limited (1998). *New Vision: A critical view of New Zealand's visual arts infrastructure*, p. 92.

Moreover, the report’s analysis revealed that New Zealand’s visual arts sector relied primarily on sources other than the government’s arts agency for support: CNZ’s annual expenditure on the visual arts actually amounted to only 2% of the total visual arts

infrastructure funding with the rest provided by other sources, including local authorities, the tertiary education sector and the private sector (p. 81).³¹

Besides highlighting the poor state of visual arts funding, the report also noted that New Zealand's status as a postcolonial nation, engaged in working through cultural issues, was of interest to others internationally and recommended a new policy framework that would promote New Zealand abroad through such initiatives as international artist residencies, overseas exhibitions and participation in international biennales and triennales (McDermott Miller Limited, 1998, p. 85). According to Greg Burke, who was the visual arts advisor to CNZ in the late 1990s, members of the visual arts community responded to the question, "if the Arts Council could do anything, what should it do", by indicating, "the number one was 'get us to the Venice Biennale'" (Hudsucker, 2005, p. 25).

The report presented a number of recommendations as part of a proposed new visual arts policy framework. In response to funding deficiencies, it called for the government, by way of CNZ, to increase its funding level for visual arts programmes in order to re-establish its role as "a lead investment agency" in the sector (McDermott Miller Limited, 1998, p. 82) and to recover its standing, or symbolic capital, within the field. In addition, the report noted that a clear international strategy was needed to introduce priority programmes³² that would provide opportunities for New Zealand artists to gain

³¹ While the report points out that the NZ government's support for the arts is low, the overall support of the arts may be considered comparatively strong in relation to other industrial societies. In her presentation at the Creative New Zealand Arts Reviewers' Seminar, Wynne Delacoma (2007), Chicago Sun-Times arts journalist and Northwestern University journalism faculty member, compared New Zealand's arts expenditure with that of the United States. According to her data, government arts spending per capita was \$9.20 NZD in New Zealand, but only \$.58 NZD per capita in the United States, which relies heavily on philanthropic donations from individuals and civic organisations to make up the shortfall. This disparity in philanthropic support may be due to a combination of factors in NZ such as the comparatively small percentage of the population economically situated to provide that support, or the lack of sufficient economic incentives that would support and promote such behaviour. Another possibility could be that the practice has not been culturally well-established as an accepted, or expected, behaviour (Perani & Wolff, 1996), although there is evidence that this may be changing with the recent establishment of the Arts Foundation of New Zealand Award for Patronage (The Arts Foundation, 2009). The symbolic capital acquired from rewarding arts patronage may incentivise the practice (see Swartz, 1997).

³² The report recommended establishing a separate specialized organisation, a temporary task force with the suggested name Visual Arts Projects Aotearoa, consisting primarily of visual arts professionals that would oversee the proposed international programmes and provide necessary expertise to successfully carry out the initiatives, reduce the pressure on CNZ staff from taking on additional projects and ensure support from the visual arts community who would be more likely to support initiatives led by specialists in their field (McDermott Miller Limited, p. 88). CNZ did not adopt this approach. Currently, participation in international events of all the artforms, including the Venice Biennale, is managed by CNZ's International Team (Creative New Zealand, 2008).

international exposure and experience through participation in overseas exhibitions and biennales/triennales (p. 86). Besides highlighting CNZ's shortcomings, the report also identified failures within the journalistic field citing "inadequate media coverage" and noted that "coverage of the arts in mainstream media still flounders due to the refusal of daily newspapers and lifestyle magazines to commission informed writers to cover the visual arts and the ongoing lacklustre performance of television programmes devoted to the arts" (p. 62). However, the report did not offer recommendations to improve mainstream media's coverage of the visual arts or what role CNZ could take to improve that coverage.

Responding to criticism concerning a "policy vacuum" in showcasing New Zealand's visual arts overseas identified in the report, Creative New Zealand endeavoured to establish a New Zealand presence at the Venice Biennale, with the enthusiastic support of Chris Finlayson, who became Arts Board chairman in 1998, and Peter Biggs, the director of the advertising agency Clemenger BBDO and chairman of Creative New Zealand in 1999 (Finlayson, 2007).

3.6 New Zealand's "third-way" cultural policy

From the outset of the Labour Government's election to power in 1999, Prime Minister Helen Clark brought special attention to New Zealand's arts and culture. Describing herself as having "a lifelong love of the arts", Clark adopted the Arts, Culture and Heritage portfolio, "to indicate that the Government places a very high value on arts and culture" (2000, August 22).³³ Moreover, the cultural recovery programme was designed to redress what Clark referred to as "a legacy of underfunding and of undervaluing these aspects of our national life" (2000, August 22, para, 52) and to distinguish her government's cultural policies from those of her predecessors, which had not supported substantial investment in the arts sector (McDermott & Miller Limited, 1998). As both Prime Minister and Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage, Clark elevated the social and economic capital of the arts, conferring a degree of prominence and support that they had not received previously.

Within five months of taking power, the government announced it would honour its election commitment to stabilize and strengthen the country's cultural infrastructure by

³³ The portfolios New Zealand Prime Ministers adopt often suggest their interests and political priorities.

implementing a Cultural Recovery Package (CRP) in the form of an immediate injection of \$86 million into the culture sector, with additional funds of \$20 million a year for the next three years. Clark (2000, May 18) proclaimed that this funding “acknowledges the positive economic impact of investment in our creative industries” and would “provide sustainable and rewarding employment, and contribute a great deal to economic growth and prosperity.” In addition, CNZ would receive an extra \$20 million dollars, to stabilise its funding, to offset the inadequate support provided by the previous government, to enable the organisation to make longer-term commitments over the next three years, and to allow it to respond to increasing funding requests (Clark, 2000, May 18).³⁴ After outlining this rationale for funding the arts organisation, Clark was careful to remind her audience, perhaps for the purpose of forestalling objections, of the government’s arm’s-length role, noting that Creative New Zealand “is an independent body, and the government does not dictate to it the details of how it spends its funding.”

Clark’s use of the term “creative industries” in New Zealand’s cultural policy discussions corresponds to a democratic trend in cultural policy that had been occurring internationally (Hesmondhalgh, 2002) and that had emerged in the UK in 1997 with the appointment of Chris Smith as Secretary of State for the New Labour government’s new Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). Smith’s book, *Creative Britain*, outlined the agenda for the country’s “creative industries”, identifying the “creative impulse” as important to the growth of Britain’s modern economy and emphasising the economic value of culture and creativity (1998, p. 1). Smith underscored the government’s commitment to create conditions to maximise the arts’ economic and employment potential. A key factor underlying Smith’s vision of a cultural democracy was an economy in which “quality” arts, regardless of high or low culture labels, were made accessible in terms of physical delivery, relevance and meaning to “the greatest number of people” (1998, p. 2). However, as Garnham (2005) has pointed out, the logic of the market imperative that drives the creative industries is the need “to attract the widest range of consumers” which may result in a “democratisation of access” but “do[es] not sustain a hierarchy of artistic forms and practices” (p. 28). In effect, as the

³⁴ Creative New Zealand’s funding continued to grow during the Labour Government’s administration. In 2003/2004, Creative New Zealand received \$13.5 million from the Government and \$18.5 million from the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board (Humanities Research Network Website, 2004). Funding for the organisation was increased in 2008 to \$15.5 million from the Government, with New Zealand Lottery Grants Board contributing almost \$28 million; along with additional income from other sources, the total funding for Creative New Zealand was \$45.037 million (Creative New Zealand, November 2008).

discussion in the next section of this chapter will point out, the arts often lose autonomy when they achieve economic success and move closer to the heteronomous, or commercial pole of the arts field.

In her first address to Parliament after the election, Clark clearly demonstrated her government's commitment to provide support for the arts but also signalled an expectation that the arts would serve a wider national agenda:

My government has a special interest in the promotion of arts and culture. That has been signalled by the Prime Minister also being the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage. A small country which exists in an increasingly globalised environment has to work hard to maintain and develop its own cultural identity. My government will strongly support our professional, performing artists. ... A range of new initiatives will provide better support for established artists, community arts, and emerging artists. The aim is to expand job opportunities and wealth creation based on the arts as well as to promote New Zealand's identity. (Clark, 1999, December 21)

Linking the arts with “wealth creation” and “national identity” in this passage positions the arts within the creative industries as a source of symbolic and economic capital. The arts are seen as a way of promoting New Zealand as a distinctive and “coherent ‘brand’” (Skilling, 2005) in a homogenized global market. The rhetorical coupling of the economic and social benefits of the arts evokes the discourse of the TVNZ Charter initiative reconciling commercial and public service principles discussed previously. As with its investment in public service broadcasting, the Labour government's support for the arts, within a cultural infrastructure, was accompanied by an expectation of economic return.

As Skilling (2005, 2008) has explained, strengthening national identity, both internally and internationally, was a keystone of the government's nation-building agenda. Policy initiatives emphasised a national identity formulated through shared values and social cohesion considered essential to global economic competitiveness. These notions are evident in Clark's (2000, August 22) speech outlining the government's arts and culture policy objectives that emphasises the arts' social and economic roles. Prefacing her remarks with a reaffirmation of the government's commitment to the “public good”,

Clark points out the government's obligation to support the arts while respecting artists' freedom of expression and their "time-honoured function of serving as conscience and critic of society" (para. 5). The first objective, in recognition of the intrinsic value of the arts, seeks to enable creative expression and to build audiences whose support "will help sustain and nurture artistic and cultural forms", including both traditional performing arts and new visual works "presenting fresh perspectives" (para. 7). Second, New Zealand's arts and culture will advance nation building by helping define the country's unique and creative national identity. Finally, as part of the creative industries, arts and culture will enhance the country's economic potential by providing "rewarding employment, opportunities for creative entrepreneurs, and good economic returns" (para. 13). These objectives explicitly link New Zealand's arts and culture policy goals with the country's economic well-being and national identity.

Providing support to send New Zealand's contemporary artists to a major international exhibition like the Venice Biennale contributed to the government's cultural policy initiatives by achieving two goals. First, funding participation in the international event addressed the criticisms voiced by the visual arts community, as reported in the *New Vision* report (McDermott & Miller Limited, 1998). Furthermore, this evident support for arts and culture conferred the governing party with symbolic capital by earning the gratitude and esteem of members of the artworld, especially those dealers and curators who occupy a dominant position in this dominated field and have acquired high levels of social and cultural capital. The importance of New Zealand's participation in the international exhibition to some in the visual arts field is evident, for instance, in the comments of long-established Wellington art dealer Peter McLeavey, who noted the prestige that the event would afford the New Zealand visual arts community: "We who work in the art world, we will all walk a little taller" (Creative New Zealand, 2001, April 12).

Second, being represented at this international contemporary art event also advanced the Labour government's cultural diplomacy objective to create an up-to-date image of New Zealand (Mark, 2008). The Labour Party's 1999 arts and culture policy manifesto "Uniquely New Zealand" presented arts and cultural activities as the basis through which "New Zealanders express our aspirations as a nation, who we are, and where we stand in the world" (Clark, 2000, May 18). From this standpoint, because the arts are crucial in defining New Zealand's unique national identity, it was "essential that they

play a role in the promotion of New Zealand itself” (New Zealand Labour Party, November, 1999). Therefore, New Zealand’s presence at the Venice Biennale would achieve the government’s objective of rebranding the country as “a dynamic and creative nation in the 21st Century” by presenting a contemporary image of the country overseas. Later, this nationalistic agenda becomes a basis for the media’s criticism of et al.’s lack of accountability to the New Zealand public (see Chapters 7 and 8).

In a Creative New Zealand news release entitled “Why the Venice Biennale is important for New Zealand”, Helen Clark, speaking about the first New Zealand entry at the Venice Biennale, neatly linked the social capital derived from artistic recognition with gains in economic capital in the global marketplace and with the nation’s symbolic capital abroad:

It is a big opportunity for New Zealand to profile itself in Europe and to a very influential audience. We certainly see benefits flowing from this for our trade, our tourism and for boosting the overall image of New Zealand as a nation which produces not only primary produce, but also sophisticated products, has great tourist attractions, is very competitive in sporting terms, and is up with the best in its arts and cultural products and work. (Creative New Zealand, 2001, April 12)

The rhetoric here suggests an expectation that New Zealand’s exhibit in Venice would function as a kind of trade fair showcasing the country’s artwork and “creative” economy, with the artist playing a marketing or promotional role. Ultimately, the goal would be for the country as a whole to benefit, not so much from the sale of artwork, but from the social, economic and symbolic capital acquired by being associated with the event.

Participation in the Biennale, therefore, is seen as prestigious not only for the artists but also for their sponsoring countries. Within a field theory perspective, the transfer of symbolic capital from the art field to the field of power (the political field) occurs through the structural and functional homologies that exist between fields. In other words, the properties of the practices and hierarchies that organise the fields are strikingly similar, even though the predominant form of capital may not be the same. This isomorphism is identifiable in the habitus and position-taking enacted within the particular logic of any field, and is also a consequence of the influence that a dominant

field, such as the field of power, maintains over other weaker fields (Jenkins, 1992). Artists (the culture producers), who occupy the economically dominated positions within the field of cultural production, correlate to those who occupy the economically and culturally dominated positions in the field of power, illustrating the “almost perfect homology” that exists, according to Bourdieu (1993a), between the “positions occupied within a space of production...and the positions in the space of consumption” (p. 45). As noted earlier, artists who accrue social and symbolic capital also often acquire more economic capital, as they move from the field’s autonomous polar position towards the dominant, heteronomous polar position, where a greater degree of wider public recognition along with consumer and political interest exists. Now implicated and visible within the field of power, the struggles of these dominant agents within the arts field operate within a dual logic and “have political effects and fulfil political functions by virtue of the homology of position” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 106). These homologies are clearly evident in the case of et al. whose increased symbolic capital positions them towards the heteronomous pole within the visual arts field and exposes them to “political effects” in the form of expectations and calls for accountability.

According to Bourdieu (1977a), dominant groups in the field of power convert economic capital into symbolic capital in two ways: by acquiring symbolic “capital of ‘credit’” through the forms of “legitimacy-giving redistribution, public (‘social’ policies) and private (financing of ‘disinterested’ foundations...), which they make possible” (p. 196); and through “the collection of luxury goods attesting the taste and distinction of their owner” (p. 197). Bourdieu (1977a) goes on to point out that for the dominant groups in the field of power, “the domain of art and culture” has become a “favorite refuge...the site of pure consumption – of money, of course, but also of time convertible into money. The world of art...opposed to the profane, everyday world of production, [is] a sanctuary for gratuitous disinterested activity in a world given over to money and self-interest” (p. 197). This reconfiguration of different kinds of capital requires a process of misrecognition, which may be a conscious or unconscious strategy, whereby those in power appear to be acting in a disinterested or principled way for the benefit of the members of a field (for example, as with Clark’s gesture of supporting “the arts”), but are actually serving another more self-interested and market-oriented logic that functions within an “economy of prestige” (Leppert & Lincoln, 1989; English, 2005). State sponsorship becomes a “tool for the seduction of the public” and a way

sponsors can achieve their goals by creating a favourable political climate (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995, p 17). How this sponsorship plays out in the media, as the primary space of the public, becomes a crucial factor.

The Labour government's policies concerning arts support were dominated by a discourse that reveals an economic paradigm and neoliberal ideology extending funding justification beyond the social welfare principles of the arts simply serving the "public good". Like other government-subsidised areas, artists and arts organisations were required to provide demonstrations of their economic value to society. As noted above, the mission of the Arts Council in 1994 was "to encourage, promote, and support the arts in New Zealand for the benefit of all New Zealanders" (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2008a, para. 2). However, this idealistic goal was tempered by business and marketing rhetoric. In the CNZ (2003) promotional booklet, *Celebrating the Arts*, Chief Executive Elizabeth Kerr³⁵ suggested that the country's national identity and branding were represented through its creative sector: "In the twenty-first century, it's our culture – manifested through the arts and creative industries – that sets us apart and defines our point of difference in an increasingly globalised world" (Creative New Zealand, 2003, p. 1). Kerr then pointed out that this sector, of which the arts are an essential part, "is growing faster than the rest of the economy, contributing \$3.5 billion to New Zealand's GDP every year and employing 50,000 New Zealanders" (Creative New Zealand, 2003, pp. 1-2).

This blending of idealist and pragmatic discourse seeped into other arts policy discourse and strategic planning as well. For instance, a small 2001 publication describing the *Future Strengths* initiative, a three-year arts development strategy initiated through the cultural recovery package, began with an uncharacteristically poetic quote from Prime Minister Helen Clark extolling the arts as "the sixth sense, transporting us to dreamed-of places, which the other five cannot reach" (Creative New Zealand, 2001). The document then outlined three goals—capability, sustainability and development—each with artistic, organisational, financial and market objectives.

The language illustrates the divergent ideas that construct the political concept of art: the idealist, almost spiritual, aesthetic that emphasizes the transformative power of art to elevate and enhance social experience versus the functionalist and pragmatic business-

³⁵ Elizabeth Kerr served as CNZ's Chief Executive from 2000 to 2006.

like language of marketing, audience numbers and sustainability that identifies art as a commodity. In effect, the symbolic value of artists and the arts, “their contribution to the nation’s wellbeing” (Humanities Research Network Website, 2004), justifies their public support and funding, but *only* if assurances that business principles of effective management and accountability are in place. Creative New Zealand fulfills these accountability requirements by monitoring and evaluating the impact of its investments in the arts sector; conducting evaluations of its responsiveness to its stakeholders such as Maori funded organisations and government agencies; and reporting its financial performance annually to Parliament (Creative New Zealand, 2004, p. 26). To function effectively in the political field, the arts sector must demonstrate its role in fulfilling the government’s agenda to warrant the economic capital it receives, a far cry from what had been previously pointed out as an “arm’s length” relationship.

3.7 The impact of the business paradigm on the visual arts field

This section discusses the potential impact of the political field’s focus on the economic potential of the arts and their contribution to nation-building on the autonomy of the arts field. On one hand, as suggested in the previous section, the arts may benefit by acquiring symbolic capital from their association with business, especially in light of the emphasis given to the benefits of cultural exports and to culture’s income-generating ability.³⁶ The discourse of cultural policy shifts the fine arts from their traditionally marginalised position to one that has recognisable and measurable economic merit. As one of the creative industries, the arts are politically promoted as a source of employment opportunities and as a legitimate contributor to the nation’s economy, which may elevate the arts’ symbolic capital. In this role, the arts sector’s future government funding would then be secure,³⁷ but would necessitate government scrutiny

³⁶ One of three key industry sectors (along with biotechnology and information and communications technology) identified in the government’s Growth and Innovation Framework (2002), the creative industries were formally recognised as a potentially significant contributor to future economic growth and to the international profile of the country. In fact, according to the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (NZIER), the creative industries grew during the period 1997–2001 at an average of 8.7% per annum, compared with 3.7% for the rest of the NZ economy. The creative sector’s contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated at 3.1% in March 2001, comparable to the GDP of communication services (3.3%), government administration and defence (3.3%) and education (3.9%) (NZIER, 2002, p. iii).

³⁷ The argument that the arts are significant contributors to the national economy has become a standard approach to promoting cultural policy. For instance, Rocco Landesman, appointed head of the National Endowment of the Arts in 2009, stated that his preferred new “muscular” slogan for the agency was “Art Works” to highlight the importance of the arts as an economic driver and to address the dismissive view in American politics that the arts were “elitist, left wing, maybe even a little gay” (Pogrebin, August 8, 2009).

and an ongoing demonstration of accountability. The trend towards increasing centralised administrative oversight, according to Tregaskis (2001), likely diminishes “any autonomy that the arts may have had from government” (p. 52).

Positioning the arts within the creative industries appears to “democratise” arts’ accessibility in another way by moving them from the realm of an elitist cultural production to one that operates within a generally more familiar business and mainstream cultural framework. On one hand, a government-funded arts organisation’s practice of demonstrating accountability in its disbursement of its funds and its contribution to the national economy is a reasonable expectation. However, applying a business paradigm presents potentially negative consequences for the arts. For instance, researchers in other countries, such as Australia (Caust, 2003), the United Kingdom (Gray, 2000), and the United States (Dorn, 2004), have described their governments’ arts support as “instrumentalised,” driven more by political, financial or social objectives than by consideration of the arts’ inherent value (also, see Glow & Johanson, 2006; Holden, 2004; Mirza, 2006). In fact, as Caust (2007) has noted, this instrumentalist focus has led to the perspective that ascribing intrinsic value to the arts is considered “irrelevant or elitist”, unless the arts can be shown to be providing a tangible “value adding benefit to other activities” (p. 228).

Another disadvantage that instrumentalised government arts funding may pose is its potential negative impact on the quality of art. When arts funding is tied to achieving objectives that operate within the political and economic field, then conflict between different value systems is likely. The government’s focus on economic or political measures, the “logic of profitability” (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995, p. 72), to quantify the value of the arts could lead to the view that the purpose of the arts is to serve the interests of the state. The danger is that arts activities that are critical of the state, that do not reflect the government’s political agenda or that lack popular appeal, may be unlikely to receive support. What becomes of the artist whose arts practice is experimental, who is inclined to be innovative or to take artistic risks? Commenting on the potential deleterious effects of governmental funding of the arts, Bourdieu noted, “State patronage always risks favoring the mediocre, who are always more docile” (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995, p. 74). Government funding of the arts linked to the “logic of profitability” (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995, p 72) risks compromising artistic and intellectual autonomy by favoring those who are more compliant.

Just as significant is the potential disincentive that market-driven funding may pose for artists to produce work that is experimental or “art-for arts sake”. According to Caust (2003),

dominant market-driven values are foreign to the basic *raison d'être* of many artists. Artists are trained to experiment, to use their imagination and to move into the unknown to create new and different solutions. If they now have to operate within an environment where whatever is created must be “popular” or “saleable” or “efficient”, then the very notion of the experiment maybe [sic] defeated. It could also be a recipe for producing bad art. (pp. 57-58)

In effect, as discussed previously in Chapter 2, the imposition of marketplace logic on artists operating within a subfield of restricted production undermines the autonomy of artists and of the arts field.

Within the New Zealand context, several years of the Labour government’s arts support and the popularity of art as an investment option prompted New Zealand journalist Nikki MacDonald (2007) to wonder, “Has NZ art gone soft?” MacDonald describes art galleries filled with parochial imagery of Kiwiana and local flora and fauna and cites Auckland Museum art director Rodney Wilson who describes contemporary art as “generally more comfortable”. As an eagerly sought, tradeable commodity, New Zealand art has acquired significant economic and symbolic capital within a more mainstream cultural context, which, according to Wilson, “can’t help but have some influence on what artists produce”. Funding support can be “seductive”, according to choreographer and painter Douglas Wright, who MacDonald describes as having been “long supported by Creative New Zealand”. Wright observes that many artists are producing “easy work, which is pre-digested...not challenging”.

When asked whether “artists censor their own ideas in a bid to improve their chances at a slice of the funding pie”, most of those MacDonald interviewed believed this to be the case. According to sociologist Peter Beatson, for instance, “Artists and art promoters almost instinctively monitor their work with an eye to funding and profits.” Also, New Zealand poet Bill Manhire observed that while government funding provides an important endorsement of the arts, he believed it had an effect: “Without anyone quietly prescribing it, or insisting that it happen, it does make people behave well. You feel

there's a kind of slow incremental creep in terms of what people feel might be admired or accepted or earn them a dollar" (MacDonald, 2007).

Research suggests that the problems with artistic production that Caust and others have identified when a market-driven logic is applied to the arts are linked to conflicting values between the arts and economic fields. For instance, Townley's (2002) study of the impact of rationalized concepts of business planning and performance measures on a cultural organisation within the public sector identified evidence of "competing and inconsistent logics brought about by a clash of value spheres between the cultural and economic" (p. 175). Townley's demonstration of the incompatibility of business and cultural organisations corresponds to Bourdieu's view (1993a) that the incentives and objectives of the art and economic fields are essentially different. Bourdieu (1993a), speaking of the literary field, attributed the incompatibility of the restricted and heteronomous subfields to a difference in their underlying production logic. He described the nature of this difference in the following passage (cited in full here):

The fundamental principle of the differences between 'commercial' businesses and 'cultural' businesses is to be found...in the characteristics of cultural goods and of the market on which they are offered. A firm is that much closer to the 'commercial' pole (and, conversely, that much further from the 'cultural' pole), the more directly and completely the products it offers corresponds to a pre-existent demand, i.e. to pre-existent interests in pre-established forms. This gives, on the one hand, a short production cycle, based on the concern to minimize risks by adjusting in advance to the identifiable demand and provided with marketing circuits and presentational devices (eye-catching dust jackets, advertising, public relations, etc.) intended to insure a rapid return of profits through rapid circulation of products with built-in obsolescence. On the other hand, there is a long production cycle, based on the acceptance of the risk inherent in cultural investments and above all on submission to the specific laws of the art trade. Having no market in the present, this entirely future-oriented production presupposes high-risk investments tending to build up stocks of products which may either relapse into the status of material objects...or rise to the status of cultural objects endowed with an economic value incommensurate with the value of the material components which go into producing them. (p. 97)

Fine art takes time to be understood, appreciated and consecrated within the field. The faster production cycle of business operates according to time constraints, consumer demands and risk assessments that are characteristic of the logic of the economic field and different from the values and logic of the art field. The visual arts field, like the literary field that Bourdieu describes in the passage above, operates according to its own internal logic, and its autonomy is threatened by the interpenetration of the art and business worlds. As commercial logic exerts more pressure, the control of cultural production threatens artists, distributors and “instances of consecration” (Bourdieu, 1996a, p. 345). These threats extend to all aspects of the field of cultural production including the media, which are increasingly forced to accept and reproduce mainstream norms and values. Bourdieu (1996) has observed that, in adapting to the norms and pressures of the marketplace, journalists tend to regard as a measure of intellectual skill those practices which have been shaped by the conditions of their work, that is, “fast writing and fast reading, which are often the rule in journalistic production and criticism” (p. 345).

Implicated in the logic of the economic field by the pressures of the marketplace and in the logic of the political field by politicians seeking media attention for their policies and programmes, journalists play a role in potentially undermining artistic autonomy by favouring accessible (and perhaps more commercial) works and, as noted previously in this chapter, by sometimes trivializing complex ideas and controlling public debate (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995, pp. 18-22). Moreover, journalists, no longer satisfied with just reporting the news, also want to create the news by “impos[ing] the subjects of discussion and reflection, as well as the obligatory reflections on the subjects” (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995, p. 31). Bourdieu’s contention is affirmed by the analysis in Chapter 5 of the TVOne arts and current affairs programmes covering et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale. That chapter’s discussion examines some New Zealand media personalities’ performative appropriation of the role of authorized experts (“poor men’s intellectual guides”) and self-proclaimed watchdogs of quality on behalf of “New Zealanders”.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has followed Bourdieu’s field theory approach in considering New Zealand’s journalistic and visual arts fields within their political economy contexts. It

presented an overview of the political, economic and cultural factors operating in relation to the fields in question. What this examination has shown is that as the heteronomous influences of the economic field have increased, the autonomy of the fields' agents has diminished. Political policies, ostensibly aimed at fulfilling democratically driven agendas, have resulted in an institutionally imposed business paradigm accompanied by demands for accountability with audience engagement as a measure of success. Moreover, the impact of this marketplace logic on the practices and cultural production of both journalists and artists has been fraught, in part due to the contradictions that exist between the cultural and economic fields. Bourdieu (2002) has noted that "the logic of speed and profit, merging into quest for *maximum short-term profit* (driven by audience ratings...) seem to me hardly compatible with the idea of culture" (p. 173).

The similarity of these effects points to a structural homology that may exist, to some extent, between the journalistic and visual arts fields – one marked by increasingly heteronomous logics and pressures. The conflicts between these differentiated culture producers, however, may lie in the extent to which they identify with, and even the extent to which they are able to exercise autonomy in relation to, the economic field. The textual analyses in Chapters 5, 7 and 8 of this thesis dealing with specific examples of media stories about et al. and the event in Venice will show that journalistic antagonism towards the visual arts field reveals the strongly heteronomous position of the journalistic field within the broader field of cultural production. The next chapter carries on with Bourdieu's field analysis approach to attempt to construct a picture of the journalistic subfield of arts journalism in New Zealand, by presenting the results of surveys conducted with members of the New Zealand journalistic and visual arts fields concerning their experience of these interfield dynamics.

Chapter 4:

Surveying the Fields: Agents from New Zealand's journalistic and visual arts fields assess mainstream arts journalism

4.1 Introduction

Bourdieu's notion of fields as highly complex sites of struggle emphasises the conflictual and divergent aspects of social relations. Rather than homogeneous and unified, fields should be understood as fragmented social spaces made up of different, though often overlapping, discourses and practices shaped by a range of interests and perspectives. Subfields exist within fields and while these fields may share some principles in common, they also maintain distinctive characteristics, assumptions and ways of operating (Grenfell & James, 1998).

According to Marchetti (2005), a significant characteristic of the journalistic field is that it is structured through the opposition of generalist and specialized poles. Journalistic specialization corresponds to departmental categories arranged according to the convention of rationally structuring and representing the social world in terms of various specialisms (such as business, entertainment, arts and culture, lifestyle, etc.). The relative position of these subfields within the journalistic field can be determined based on external economic and professional factors (Marchetti, 2005). In other words, the relative autonomy or heteronomy of a subfield derives from its internal structural logic (in terms of the dominance, for instance, of economic or cultural capital) in relation to the economic logic and influence exerted by the broader journalistic field within which the subfield operates. The power dynamic played out through the relative autonomy/heteronomy of the journalistic field in relation to its subfield can be identified by its impact on news production (Marchetti, 2005).³⁸

A major objective of this thesis is to examine the relationship between the journalistic and visual arts fields. For the most part, this study considers the journalistic habitus broadly and in general terms as a professional field of practice. However, the case on which this study is based centres on the journalistic representation of a visual arts story,

³⁸ The impact of the economic logic of the journalistic field on the arts journalism subfield's news production is examined more specifically in Chapter 7.

which is usually the domain of those within the specialized subfield of arts journalism concerned with the coverage of other cultural (arts) fields, including music, literature, theatre, visual arts, dance, film and architecture. An analysis of journalistic habitus can be undertaken by examining its articulation through media coverage, both specialist and general news coverage, of a visual arts story. This approach follows from Marchetti (2005), who suggests that comparative research should be conducted by examining “journalism in its complex relations with the other social spaces with which it relates” (p. 75).

Ongoing economic pressures that have affected the media industry internationally (as noted in Chapter 3) have brought about a rationalization of resources and the reduction or even elimination of arts journalism staff in media organisations. International research has shown that arts journalists typically cover a range of arts and non-arts topics and quite often non-arts journalists are assigned arts stories (DeWerth-Pallmeyer, 2003; Janeway, Levy, Szántó, & Tyndall, 1999; Media Monitoring Project, 2006; Szántó, 2002; Szántó, Levy, & Tyndall, 2004). Moreover, as Marchetti (2005) has noted, what arts journalists do is often seen by generalists as being too technical and narrow to appeal to a mainstream audience. In fact, a commonly held view among generalists, according to Marchetti, is that having a specialized knowledge of art is not necessary; any journalist who has mastered fundamental journalistic techniques should be able to deal with any topic and present it in an accessible way to a general audience.

As a result of these pressures, arts journalists must carefully balance the demands of the generalist and specialist poles of the journalistic field. They need to be able to maintain their credibility (their cultural and symbolic capital) not only with their professional peers and editors within the journalistic field, but also with those in the arts field, including specialized audiences and arts practitioners (Marchetti, 2005). According to Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007), “many arts journalists see themselves as part of the larger category of ‘journalists’, [and] they also lay claim to an arts exceptionalism” in that arts journalism is, for instance, “qualitatively different from news journalism” and that arts journalism has an advocacy role concerning the “transformative nature of the arts” (p 620). This chapter not only explores these claims but also seeks to identify the characteristics of arts journalistic practice within New Zealand.

Research of journalistic practice in New Zealand has focused on the journalistic field in

general. Periodic surveys of New Zealand's mainstream journalists and editors have been carried out over the past two decades that have profiled the demographic characteristics of journalists (Lealand, 1994, 1998; New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, 2006). Another more recent general survey of journalists, the so-called "Big NZ Journalism Survey" (Hollings et al., 2007) captured not only a range of demographic data but also journalists' attitudes about the state of their field, including professional practices and conditions. Other studies have examined the gender imbalance of newspaper organisations in New Zealand and Australia (Strong, 2011; Strong & Hannis, 2007). No attention, however, has been given to the professional characteristics and perceptions of those who operate within the arts journalism subfield of New Zealand's mainstream news organisations.

The challenges that arts journalists face as described here are particularly relevant to this thesis. New Zealand's participation in the 2005 Venice Biennale had the rare distinction of being an arts story that also became a national news story in the mainstream media, and in many cases this news story was presented by journalists who were not visual arts specialists. The tensions between the specialist and generalist poles of the journalistic field became a significant nodal point in the critical discourse responding to the coverage of the event (as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7). Following the field analysis approach described by Bourdieu (as discussed in Chapter 2), understanding the nature of these tensions requires an empirical examination of the habitus and disposition of arts journalists in New Zealand. To this end, surveys were conducted with arts journalists from the mainstream media and with members of the visual arts field to interrogate aspects of the practice of arts reporting in New Zealand, including journalists' preferences and attitudes, their position in relation to mainstream journalism and the way they carry out their work. Analysis of these journalists' responses sheds some light on aspects of the position and autonomy of this specialized subfield in relation to the journalistic field and in relation to other fields, especially the economic and visual arts fields, and the degree to which the subfield's agents respond to these fields' structuring forces.

Scholars have identified a number of problems intrinsic to the survey as a method of inquiry. These include concerns regarding the reliability of respondents' self-reporting, the inflexibility of the preplanned questionnaire, the difficulties of constructing and selecting questions, and the challenge of quantifying and interpreting responses (Berger,

2011; Bream, 2012; Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007; Groves et al., 2007). Bourdieu (1984) also discussed the limitations of using surveys to study habitus because they could not fully represent the “modality of practices, tastes or opinions..., one of the best indicators of deep-rooted dispositions” (p. 567). However, as Bennett et al. (2009) have noted, surveys are useful for the study of habitus as they capture aspects of social practice, and Bourdieu (1984, 1996a) employed them for this purpose.³⁹

This chapter begins with an overview and discussion of the relevant results of two surveys conducted with New Zealand’s mainstream news media arts journalists and with agents from the visual arts field. Aspects of professional practice reported by arts and visual arts journalists are identified and analysed and the results are compared with those of other journalism surveys, including an American survey of visual arts journalists.⁴⁰ Participants in the visual arts field survey were also asked to assess the practice and quality of New Zealand’s mainstream arts journalism and these results are also presented. The last section of the chapter focuses on the two surveys’ assessments of mainstream media’s coverage of et al. and the Venice Biennale.

4.2 Perspectives on journalistic practice: New Zealand Arts Journalism and Visual Arts Field Surveys

Very little research has been carried out regarding arts journalism as a practice. Only two studies of arts journalism in New Zealand have been conducted. The first was a historical survey of art criticism published in the country’s newspapers and magazines during the 1930s and 40s (Velvin, 1985), and the second was a content analysis examining mainstream metropolitan newspapers’ arts coverage in 2007 (Harris, 2008).

Arts journalism research has been almost as rare overseas. The majority of this research has consisted of content analyses of newspaper articles, reviews and criticism (see Chapter 6 for this overview). Only a small number of international studies have directly examined arts journalists’ attitudes about their field and aspects of their professional practice. The earliest of these was a survey conducted in 2000 by DeWerth-Pallmeyer (2003) of 56 American and international media arts critics, in the visual arts, literature,

³⁹ For more on Bourdieu’s discussion of the use of surveys, see Bennett et al., 2009. For examples of subsequent research employing surveys to study habitus, see Robson and Sanders, 2009.

⁴⁰ While these survey results are chiefly examined in this chapter, the results are also drawn on elsewhere in this thesis where illustrative.

film, music, television and pop culture, regarding their role and work as critics. In 2002, The National Arts Journalism Program (NAJP) carried out an online survey of 169 visual art critics at daily mainstream newspapers, alternative weeklies and news magazines throughout the United States (Szántó, 2002). Participants were asked about their background, work habits, tastes and views about visual art and about the visual art journalism profession. A few years later, a study in South Africa was conducted by the Media Monitoring Project (2006) to assess the state of arts coverage by that country's mainstream media; this study drew on a variety of methods including a content analysis of a sample of arts news items, interviews with those involved in producing arts news, such as arts journalists, arts editors, publicists, and presenters, and an online survey of members of the arts community. More recently, a study of the self-image of print and broadcast media arts journalists based on interviews with 20 classical music DJs, arts reviewers and reporters, and arts and music editors was conducted in the United Kingdom. (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007).

Since no formal studies concerned with journalistic practice within New Zealand's mainstream media have been conducted prior to this research, no data concerning the subfield within this country's mainstream media was available. Establishing the object of study, as Bourdieu has explained, requires "constructing the space positions and the space of position-takings in which they are expressed" (1993a, p. 30). Therefore, two surveys were carried out: one in 2007 with arts journalists and the other in 2008 with members of the visual arts field.⁴¹

The Arts Journalism in New Zealand (AJNZ) Survey (see Appendix 3) was conducted with arts journalists working in New Zealand's mainstream media who were invited to fill out an online survey concerning aspects of their journalistic habitus, such as their background, work routine and opinions about the state of this specialized journalistic field. Some of the questions used in this survey were taken from the American NAJP Visual Art Critic survey (Szántó, 2002) and adjusted to reflect the New Zealand context and the circumstances concerning the 2005 Venice Biennale case. Additional questions were developed pertaining to aspects of the Venice Biennale and a range of issues, including cultural policy concerning participation in international exhibits, the choice of

⁴¹ Each of the surveys was peer-reviewed by university colleagues including a staff member of the University's Human Ethics Committee. Adjustments to the wording and selection of questions were made to accommodate a suitably low-risk approach for survey participants.

et al. as the country's representative, and the domestic coverage of the international event. The questionnaire was produced in an online format provided by an established commercial service (SurveyMonkey). Further refinement and selection of the questions took place after the questionnaire was piloted and feedback was received.

A survey distribution list of print, online and broadcast news organisations was developed from the review of resources including the Newspaper Publishers' Association of New Zealand (NPA) list of 30 metropolitan and regional papers, and from internet searches for online information regarding arts and culture radio and television programmes. Since arts journalists were the target group for the survey, potential participants were identified by purposive sampling (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011) and were recruited directly from media organisations. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), such a sample is not representative of a general population but the selection approach is typically used in mass media research when investigating specific skills and experiences of particular specialized respondents. The initial communication with each of the news and broadcast organisations was by telephone. Relevant arts journalism personnel at each of the media organisations were identified and their email address was obtained either from them directly or from their associates within the organisation. While this targeted approach was a useful means of identifying and accessing a representative group of arts journalists who worked for the mainstream media organisations that were contacted, some casual contributors and freelancers were likely overlooked through this sampling method.

Each potential participant was then emailed an information sheet describing the research project and its goals, along with an invitation to participate in the research, and a link directing them to the questionnaire (see Appendix 1). It was made clear in the provided information that only arts journalists or those who reported on the arts were to be the targeted participants for this survey and that all participants' details and results would remain anonymous. Of the 54 potential participants who were contacted directly by email, 31 participants completed the survey, which indicates a response rate of 57%.

A second online survey, the Visual Arts Field Survey of Visual Arts Journalism in New Zealand (VAF), (see Appendix 4) was conducted with agents in the visual arts field, a group likely consisting of some of the most interested and critical readers of the country's mainstream visual arts coverage. This survey was conducted in order to

capture their views about the state of mainstream arts journalism's coverage of the visual arts generally. In order to facilitate a comparison of the two surveys' results, many of the questions used in the VAF survey were similar to those in the arts journalism survey. However, the questions were modified for respondents to assess aspects of arts journalism practice from the perspective of their field.

An announcement of the visual arts journalism survey was posted on June 23, 2008 at The Big Idea website (see Appendix 2). This website, launched in 2001, serves as an environment for members of New Zealand's creative communities to network, post practitioner profiles or CVs, list job opportunities, and share industry-related news and facilitates links between creative practitioners and those in other non-arts sectors. The announcement described the survey and its objectives, indicated that the survey was targeting members of the visual arts community and provided the researcher's details and email address and a link to the online questionnaire.

Additional potential participants identified through art gallery and dealer websites and through university listings of fine arts and design faculties were emailed an invitation to participate in the survey (see Appendix 2). These emails included an information sheet describing the project, the researcher's contact details and a direct link to the online survey. Because the survey participants were self-selecting, the VAF sample cannot be considered random or entirely representative of the New Zealand visual arts field. However, the 85 respondents who completed the survey drew on a broad range of experiences within the visual arts field and included visual artists, tertiary-level arts educators, curators, art collectors, gallery owners/directors, members of government arts organisations and art writers/commentators.

The AJNZ and VAF survey results provide useful insight into the dispositional tendencies of arts journalists and the habitus of arts journalism. As Park (2009) points out, "it is through habitus that institutions reproduce themselves (or reproduce the dispositions that make them possible), and it is through habitus that individuals develop the means through which to accommodate themselves to institutional needs/functions" (p. 4). The following section examines and compares the results of these surveys and, where relevant, these results are also compared with those of other journalist surveys. For instance, the demographic results of the AJNZ survey are compared with those of the 2007 New Zealand journalism survey (Hollings et al., 2007) to create a picture of

the arts journalistic subfield in relation to the broader journalistic field. In addition, the discussion draws on the results of the Arts Editors Survey (2003), an unpublished survey conducted by CNZ with both general and arts editors, chief reporters and bureau chiefs, in other words, key figures overseeing the publication and broadcasting of arts coverage at mainstream New Zealand media organisations, including the major metropolitan newspapers, the *New Zealand Listener*, Television New Zealand and Radio New Zealand.⁴²

The New Zealand arts journalism survey results are also compared with those of the American NAJP Visual Art Critic survey (Szántó, 2002) where similar questions were used. A cross-national comparison of arts journalism in New Zealand and the United States is not the focus of this thesis, as such research would require an equally extensive and comprehensive analysis of the field within both national contexts (Benson, 2005), which is beyond the scope of this study. However, juxtaposing the data of the two countries is a useful means of validating the results of the New Zealand survey. Furthermore, relating the New Zealand results to those of the American study “cosmopolitanizes” New Zealand’s arts journalism practice, situating the New Zealand arts journalism field in relation to a broader Anglo-American context (Benson, 2005, p. 104, n. 8). The similarity of the two country’s arts journalists’ perceptions of the subfield and its relation to the broader journalistic field indicates a consistency in the forces that structure the arts journalism subfields in both countries.

4.3 Arts Journalism and Visual Arts Field Surveys: Perspectives on arts journalism

Arts journalists’ employment experience

Employment status serves as a form of symbolic capital to demonstrate one’s prestige and standing within the journalistic institution. Being employed full-time, according to

⁴² This survey was archived at the SOCA gallery website (SOCA, 2007). The gallery director, Charles Tongue, indicated that he had found the information in 2003, but could not confirm the source or location of the original survey (e-mail communication, 14 Sept 2007). According to the details provided on the website, the survey was conducted by CNZ “to determine opinions and attitudes towards the arts in the media”. The results of this survey, however, were never officially released or published by CNZ. Paul Atkins, Audience and Market Development/Communications Manager at Creative New Zealand, was contacted to authenticate the survey. Upon investigation, he located an undated electronic file of this survey in the archives at CNZ, and confirmed that the version on hand was a fair summary of the contents and results of the full survey (phone conversation, 30 Oct 2007).

Szántó (2002), is “the strongest indication of the importance of a given journalistic beat” (p. 21). From this standpoint, arts journalists in New Zealand are somewhat better off than their American counterparts where over half of the arts journalists work as freelancers. In contrast, a majority (59%) of the New Zealand respondents indicated they worked as full-time members of their media organisation, while only about a third of the respondents indicated they worked as freelance reporters without a contract. These results suggest that most arts journalists in New Zealand enjoy relative security in their workplace situation.

It is likely that the prestige of many of these arts journalists, however, may be undermined by their junior status in the workplace. Compared with journalists in general, the number of years survey participants indicated they had worked as arts journalists suggests that an even larger percentage of those working as arts journalists are newcomers to the field. Close to 70% of respondents indicated they had worked in the field seven years or less, and almost 55% of these had less than 2 years experience. Only 15% indicated they had worked as arts journalists for eight to twenty years, and 16% indicated having over twenty years of experience in the subfield. In their general survey of New Zealand journalists, Hollings et al. (2007) found that approximately 50% of the full-time journalists had less than five years experience, around 30% had between five to fifteen years, and almost 20% had more than twenty-one years of experience. Based on this data, the researchers concluded that the journalistic field could soon be “facing a serious shortage of [journalists] with mid-range experience” (p. 181-182). Comparison of the results of the two surveys indicates that a substantially larger proportion of arts journalists tend to be younger and less experienced than those working in the broader journalistic field and suggests that the problems Hollings et al. (2007) identified in the general population of journalists are perhaps even more evident in the arts journalism subfield.

Most of the New Zealand respondents (84%) identified the visual arts to be the arts area they most frequently cover. Arts journalists, however, rarely have the luxury of specialization and identified a number of other arts areas. According to the results in both the American and New Zealand surveys, those who work as full-time arts journalists tend to divide their time reporting on more than one area of cultural production, most commonly, the traditional performing arts of theatre, dance and classical music (or “all arts-related topics, as one journalist indicated), or even other

non-art areas. One New Zealand arts journalist who also covers education wrote:

I have a degree in Art History, and I feel thankful that my first job out of Journalism school is one which utilizes my educational background, which isn't something most reporters can attest to. I also use the arts round as my "sweet relief" from the boredom and seriousness of the education round. I see the arts round as my chance to instill a bit of creativity in my writing and offer my opinion and bias.

The effort to report on more than one arts area can be stressful for some. One American visual arts journalist participating in the NAJP survey complained that trying to cover more than one art area puts too much pressure on one's time and results in doing a less thorough job as a critic (Szántó, 2002). Under these circumstances, freelance journalists may benefit from the autonomy provided by their employment status by being able to choose their stories and specialize in a particular arts area.

Perceptions of arts journalists' status within the journalistic field

Examining arts journalists' perceptions of their status in relation to those in other areas of news and arts reporting provides some insight into their self-concept as well as their position in relation to the journalistic field. Within a field theory perspective, these views present a dispositional profile of the arts journalistic habitus.

The perception that the New Zealand survey participants had of their employment status suggests that despite the majority's full-time position, many feel insecure about the institutional status of arts journalism in their media organisation. Almost 41% of the AJNZ respondents felt that the arts round is not as respected within their organisation as other rounds, and of the 59% who felt otherwise, 33% indicated they only "somewhat agreed" that the arts round was considered as valuable.⁴³ When asked to give their views about the status of the visual arts round in relation to other arts, culture or entertainment rounds, only 8% of the New Zealand respondents who self-identified as visual art journalists indicated that they "strongly agreed" that the visual arts round was just as respected. This result is quite different compared to the 37% of the NAJP

⁴³ The 4-point Likert scale responses for this question were as follows: "strongly agree", "somewhat agree", "somewhat disagree", "strongly disagree".

respondents who “strongly agreed” that the visual arts area was equally respected. However, both surveys show the same overall results with 75% of the respondents agreeing that the visual arts round was considered as valuable and only 25% disagreeing.

The New Zealand arts journalists expressed a similar uncertainty regarding the commitment their employer might have to arts journalism. When asked whether their media organisation would prioritize filling their position if they left their arts journalist job, 40% indicated that they did not believe filling their position would be a priority. These results are similar to those of the NAJP survey in which 39% of the respondents indicated that they believed their organisation would not prioritize filling their vacated position while 61% thought otherwise. Although a majority of the New Zealand arts journalists indicated a somewhat or strongly positive view concerning their organisation’s esteem for their role, the figures suggest that a relatively high percentage of arts journalists felt uncertain about the status of arts journalism within the journalistic field.

The VAF survey results indicate that those in the visual arts field may have an even greater skepticism about the way arts reporting is perceived and valued. A majority (84%) of VAF respondents felt arts reporting was considered relatively unimportant when compared to other areas of news reporting. The survey participants also questioned the status of visual arts reporting in relation to the other arts. Almost 67% disagreed when asked if the mainstream media’s reporting on the visual arts was as respected as the reporting on other arts and culture areas.

Arts journalists’ relative autonomy

Developing a picture of arts journalism also requires examining its relationship to other social spaces and the influence these interactions may have on this subfield’s autonomy in relation to the journalistic field (Marchetti, 2005) and to other fields as well. Marchetti (2005) has identified a number of factors that may be evaluated when analysing the autonomy of a specialized subfield.

One important variable to consider is the extent to which the subfield and aspects of the meta-field of power, in particular the economic and political fields, are interdependent. As discussed in Chapter 2, the economic and political forces within the field of power

can exert considerable influence on the internal dynamics of a field. Comparison of the New Zealand and American surveys suggests that New Zealand arts journalists appear to be more aware of external pressures influencing how and what they write. In the American survey, 78% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that they sometimes felt pressured to write positive reviews to please advertisers or others connected to the news organisation, while 48% of the New Zealand respondents indicated they rarely felt pressure of this sort. Moreover, only 21% of the American arts journalists indicated that they felt these institutional pressures either strongly or to some degree. In contrast, 52% of the New Zealand respondents indicated that they felt pressured to write reviews to accommodate others' expectations.

The American and New Zealand arts journalists' perceptions of institutional pressures suggest that the influence of external fields may have been expressed within media organisations as constraints of one sort or another imposed on journalistic performance. Moreover, New Zealand's arts journalists' perceptions of pressure may be a response (experienced as *hysteresis*⁴⁴) to the subfield's ongoing loss of autonomy in relation to changes effected by the redistribution of capital. In any case, the arts journalists' indications of uncertainty suggest that the autonomy of the arts journalism subfield seems to be under threat by the heteronomous restructuring of New Zealand's journalistic field. This situation illustrates Bourdieu's observation that "external determinations that bear on agents situated in a given field...never apply to them directly, but affect them only through the specific mediation of the specific forms and forces of the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 105).

The logic of the marketplace underlies editorial decision-making concerning the extent and nature of arts coverage. This interdependence is most clearly evident in the instrumentalist discourse of media organisation editors' responses to the Arts Editors Survey (2003). One survey question asked how the levels of arts coverage by their media organisations are set. One respondent explained that advertising and income determine the size of the publication and noted, "If the paper goes up in size arts coverage may increase accordingly". Not surprisingly, the news organisation's

⁴⁴ As noted in Chapter 2, *hysteresis* is a time lag that occurs when dispositions no longer correspond to the conditions or normative expectations of the field. Bourdieu (2000b) has explained that this condition arises when a major change occurs either in the field or in the positions in which agents operate. The dispositions of the New Zealand journalists may be obsolete in relation to journalistic practices increasingly dominated by economic conditions.

commitment to arts coverage is linked to the economic health of the organisation. Another arts editor participant took the position that the level of arts coverage was in the hands of those in the arts field who promoted the arts and would improve if arts advertisers were more strategic in their approach: “The arts are not big advertisers. If advertisers as a group indicated an interest in greater coverage (eg as travel companies have done) then this may well have some influence (eg in development of supplements)”. The travel journalism analogy suggests that arts journalists might take on a marketing role covering the arts in a way that combines information, entertainment and advertisement to “sell” the arts.

The constraints of the economic field also govern the kinds of art stories that are covered. In response to the survey question asking them to explain “what makes an arts story attractive to run”, the Arts Editor Survey participants identified the properties they looked for: “a crisis”; “something new, fresh or different”; “interesting, colourful, controversial people”; “unusual or ‘I didn’t know this’ stories” (Arts Editors Survey, 2003). These characteristics indicate an emphasis on presenting arts stories that tend to be sensationalist. As one respondent explained, “Every story needs a hook”. In the case of American arts reporting, Szántó (2001) observed, “The need to position art as ‘news’—which is increasing as the mantra of cost cutting steadily replaces the civic obligation to cover arts—results in the single-minded focus on scandal, money, and death” (p. 184).

Moreover, the criteria of those participating in the arts editor survey suggest that art stories should also be geared to a general audience. This viewpoint is apparent in the comment of one arts editor who gauged an art story’s value by its mainstream appeal based on the following question: “Will Mrs Jo Blow from middle New Zealand be interested in this story?” The editor’s comments concerning the selection criteria for art news are particularly relevant to this study. As the analyses in the subsequent chapters of this thesis will show, journalists tend to simplify complex concepts and may draw on typical news tropes of scandal, deviance, conflict and controversy to frame the issues of the art story (Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

The above survey results suggest that economic interests clearly influence New Zealand media organisations’ editorial choices regarding arts journalists’ role and practice. As discussed in Chapter 2, the social conditions of a field are factors that shape the

disposition of its agents and, in this way, serve to define their creative production. Thus, a structural correspondence exists between the journalistic field and the subfield of arts journalism: like the journalistic field, the subfield of arts journalism tends to be heteronomous based on the significant influence of market forces and of the meta-field of power.

Besides evaluating a subfield's autonomy according to its interdependence with the meta-field of power, Marchetti (2005) also recommends considering the "strong proximity" (p. 78) of those within the subfield and the field they are covering. Arts journalists' uncertainty regarding their status within the journalistic field, as previously discussed, may also be associated with their somewhat ambiguous affiliation to this field. Survey results showed that many arts journalists simultaneously occupy a position within the arts field. Almost 45% of the New Zealand VAF survey participants also identified themselves as "an artist" in some creative capacity such as visual artist, composer, musician, playwright, actor, etc. Almost 79% of these had, at some point, exhibited, performed or published in this role, and almost 47% had done so in the last five years. The NAJP survey's question concerning this issue focused just on the visual arts ("Do you make art?"); however, a similar ratio (44%) of these arts journalists considered themselves "art producers" with almost half currently active as artists. These findings suggest that many arts journalists are committed to the arts field in a personal way that extends beyond their journalistic role. However, these roles operate conjointly. Bourdieu (1993a) acknowledged the conflicted status of specialist writers in relation to other fields: "No one has ever completely extracted all the implications of the fact that the writer, the artist, or even the scientist writes not only for a public, but for a public of equals who are also competitors" (p. 116).

Arts journalists' "insider" affiliation with the arts field likely advantages them in their role as journalists by securing their position within the journalistic field, but may interfere in some ways too. According to both the AJNZ and NAJP surveys, 75% of the stories art journalists write about are topics they themselves have chosen and are likely to have been suggested by their network of sources. However, arts journalists must not only please their managers and editors, but also retain the goodwill of their sources and contacts, those in the art field they rely on for their stories. Arts journalists' treatment of a topic may be hampered by this relationship. Sources may be more likely to deal with journalists who give positive coverage, and reaction from these sources tends to be more

immediate and personal than the feedback from a general audience (Elkins, 2008; Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007). These types of pressures are linked to the effort by those in the artistic field to maintain their autonomy and that of their field, as Bourdieu (1993a) explained:

The autonomy of a field of restricted production can be measured by its power to define its own criteria for the production and evaluation of its products. [...]

It is significant that the progress of the field of restricted production towards autonomy is marked by an increasingly distinct tendency of criticism to devote itself to the task...of providing a “creative” interpretation for the benefit of the “creators”. And so, tiny “mutual admiration societies” grew up...signs of a new solidarity between artist and critic. (p. 115-116)

This passage focuses on how the relative autonomy of the arts field depends on the cultural producers and their associates controlling both the interpretation of and the criteria for evaluating artwork. However, what is also clear here is the interdependence (the “mutual admiration”) of the art and arts journalist fields.

Visual art form preferences

The visual art journalists participating in the AJNZ survey were asked to select their four favorite and four least favorite art forms to write about from a list of 17 categories. They were also given the freedom to indicate additional categories that may not have been included. Similar questions were also posed in the NAJP survey of visual art critics. Table 3 presents the top AJNZ survey responses to these questions alongside the results of the American NAJP survey (Szántó, 2002, p. 34).

Table 3: Visual art form preferences: Comparison of NZ and US survey results

AJNZ Survey: NZ visual art journalists				NAJP survey: US visual art critics			
most like to write about		least like to write about		most like to write about		least like to write about	
Painting	76%	Art indebted	53%	Painting	77%	Online art	51%
Installations	52	to theory		Photography	35	Art indebted	47
Photography	48	Online art	47	Sculpture	32	to theory	
Sculpture	43	Conceptual art	37	Installations	30	Crafts	32
Performance art	43	Crafts	32	Conceptual art	27	Performance art	23
Drawing	24	Performance art	21	Drawing	20	Video	22
Conceptual art	19	Installations	21	Outsider art	20	Art exploring	22
						identity	

Source for NAJP survey results: Szántó, 2002, p.34

Comparison of the two surveys' results shows a number of similarities. In both cases, the first four preferred visual art genres are the same, with the traditional genre of painting receiving a similarly favoured status among a majority of the respondents. This preference for mainstream genres is also apparent in the ranking of other traditional art forms such as sculpture and drawing as well as photography, a more contemporary visual art form, in the top seven choices. However, participants in both surveys identified avant-garde forms of conceptual and installation art as preferred choices as well. Similarities also exist in the surveys' lists of least preferred visual art forms. The two art forms both groups indicated they least enjoyed writing about were online art, a comparatively new art medium, and "art indebted to theory".

The extent to which attitudes to theory may influence the art form preferences of arts journalists is unclear from the survey results. For instance, both the New Zealand preferred and least preferred art form lists include installation, performance and conceptual art. This overlap may be due, in part, to limitations resulting from the AJNZ survey's small sample of arts journalists who answered these two questions ($n=19$, most preferred art forms; $n=21$, least preferred art forms) and were asked to choose up to four of the 17 listed types. However, a similar inconsistency appears to be operating in the American visual art critic survey. According to Szántó (2002), the critics' comments often include their "disdain for theory...as a component of art and as an approach to critical writing" (p. 34). Nonetheless, conceptual and installation art, which are often informed by theory, appear in the top five of the NAJP survey's preferred art categories, and only 13% of the respondents selected conceptual art and only 3% chose installation

art as the art topics they least preferred.

These choices, however, are still revealing. The AJNZ findings suggest that a significant proportion of New Zealand arts journalists do not enjoy writing about these avant-garde categories. Ultimately, the implication of journalists' preferences may be reflected in the art forms these journalists choose to cover. As noted previously, the majority of arts journalists choose their own stories. If arts journalists chiefly focus on the visual art topics they prefer to write about, then the visual art forms the journalists are less interested in may receive little if any media coverage at all, and the coverage these art forms might receive could be half-hearted.

Arts journalists' approach to writing about the arts

Developing a picture of the arts journalistic habitus requires delving into aspects of their journalistic practice. The previous section identified the art forms arts journalists enjoy writing about; this section focuses on the characteristics and objectives of arts journalists' writing. Arts journalists were asked to rank the degree of emphasis they placed on certain dimensions of their writing art reviews or criticism for their audience.⁴⁵ The three aspects that respondents indicated they emphasized most were "providing historical and other background information" (96%), followed by "providing an accurate descriptive account" and "creating an entertaining piece of writing" (93%).⁴⁶ The first two aspects primarily entail journalists describing an artwork's context to "explain" the work in a basic way, and the third demonstrates journalists' concern for the literary value of their writing. The journalists' emphasis on these three elements suggests an interest in addressing general readers' needs by presenting basic information about art using an accessible and engaging style.

The next three writing dimensions respondents rated as significant in their writing approach were concerned with educating their audience about art's significance. Of

⁴⁵ The items for this set of questions were adapted from the NAJP Visual Art Critics survey and presented in a 4-point Likert scale as follows: "a great deal of emphasis", "some emphasis", "not much emphasis" and "no emphasis at all". To accommodate the relatively small number of participants in the two New Zealand surveys and to adjust for central tendency bias (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011), the response results for the two positive rankings and the two negative rankings of each of the items were combined. The results presented in this section reflect these summary scores.

⁴⁶ While the results show these last two writing issues to be ranked equally by the survey participants, it should be noted that 63% of the respondents identified the literary value of their art reviewing and criticism as receiving "a great deal of emphasis"; 61% of the respondents devoted "some emphasis" to "providing an accurate description" in their writing approach. The combined results showed these two issues to be equivalent.

equal importance to 86% of the arts journalists was “educating [their] audience about the importance of the artwork” and “analyzing [its] meaning and implications”; also a concern was “informing [their] audience of worthwhile current arts events”. The characteristic that ranked lowest in the arts journalists’ estimation, and the only characteristic that some respondents indicated they did not emphasize at all in their writing about art, was “rendering a personal judgment or opinion”. This aspect of arts writing was considered significant by only 70% of the arts journalists, and only 33% of these emphasized this dimension of writing a great deal.

Overall, the hierarchy of these six writing characteristics points to a focus on description and suggests that arts journalists see themselves not only as educators, but also as advocates, “crusaders for a cause” (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007, p. 633), supporting and championing the arts as well as promoting the public’s participation in the arts. This sense of social responsibility indicates that arts journalists identify with a “public-service ideal” associated with conventional fourth estate principles of journalistic practice (Deuze, 2005; Schultz, 1998). Moreover, many in the visual arts field concur with this notion of the arts journalists’ role; over half (58%) of the VAF survey respondents agreed that it is the job of visual art journalists “to educate the public about the visual arts and why they are important”.

The VAF survey included statements addressing the same art writing dimensions, but asked respondents to indicate how much emphasis arts journalists should give each characteristic. A comparison of the resulting rankings produced by the two groups reveals some similarities as well as significant differences in their priorities. Like the arts journalists, the VAF survey participants indicated that historical and background information should be emphasized in art reviews and criticism. In contrast, however, the visual arts field respondents considered the analysis of an artwork’s meaning and implications to be more important, rating it second over “providing an accurate descriptive account”; also, the writing’s literary quality was given a lower fourth place position. Interestingly, like the arts journalists, the visual arts survey respondents considered the expression of personal opinion to be least important. However, the overall proportion of those who believed this dimension of writing should be emphasised in art reviewing and criticism was much higher (at 81%). Generally, the VAF survey results suggest that the visual arts participants consider the interpretive analysis of the artwork to be more important than the way the review or criticism is

written, although entertaining writing is considered somewhat important as well.

The different rankings indicated by the two survey groups may be indicative of the distinctive dispositions of the actors occupying the two fields. The visual arts group seems more concerned that writing about art critically engages with the artwork while the arts journalists seem more interested in producing something that appeals to a general audience. However, it could simply be the case that the arts journalists' choice to emphasize fact-based historical background and description may indicate that they are not inclined to engage in the subjective activities of interpretation or asserting personal judgments. Further research would need to be conducted to understand the basis for these writing preferences.

New Zealand arts journalists are not unique in their approach to writing about art. Like the New Zealand survey respondents, the respondents to the American NAJP survey gave top ranking to descriptive and informational details and rated "rendering a personal judgment" lowest. These findings figured prominently in the roundtable discussions presented in *The State of Art Criticism* (Elkins & Newman, 2008). What surprised many of the notable seminar participants was that the surveyed visual art critics appeared to shy away from making judgments, which was assumed to be a key function of art criticism. Elkins proposed two reasons for journalistic critics' "shift away from judgments": the current trend towards pluralism, along with relativism, has meant that no single position can be privileged over another; also, general readers' lack of familiarity with contemporary art means that journalists' "*need* to simply describe the work, in order to generate the enthusiasm that would help create a public" (Elkins & Newman, 2008, p. 157; italics in original). Szántó, who had directed and authored the NAJP Visual Art Critic study, attributed arts journalists' de-emphasis of critical judgment in part to the constraints of mainstream media (Elkins & Newman, 2008), a view that corresponds with Elkins' second point. Within the mainstream context, according to Szántó, journalistic critics are supposed to inform their general audience about events in the art world without resorting to obscure jargon, intellectualism or insider references.

Likewise, Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007), who interviewed arts journalists about their journalistic practice, found that many of their interviewees considered objectivity and impartiality, characteristics associated with "hard" news reporting, to be important

in arts reporting, rather than criticism. Furthermore, some of their interviewees advocated elements of objectivity in the case of opinionated art criticism as well. These arts journalists emphasized “ideals of fairness” by stating that arts journalism should be “intelligent” and “sincere” and negative opinions should be justified and well-explained (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007, p. 631). These information-focused elements reflect an objective reporting style characteristic of Hallin and Mancini’s Liberal media system model (as discussed in Chapter 3), which is not only consistent with a traditional journalistic ideology of news reporting, but may also provide a means of acquiring derived authority in relation to a general audience and legitimacy in relation to journalistic peers.

A generally accepted norm of journalistic writing practice is to suppress opinion and judgment outside of the editorial pages, and research shows that an objective and informative writing approach appears to be a “norm”, as well, for arts reporting and even, to a certain extent, arts criticism. However, as the analyses in Chapters 6 and 8 suggest, an objective stance was not evident in much of the coverage of et al. and the Venice Biennale. In fact, the visual arts journalist Mark Amery, in his defence of et al., pleaded for journalists to restrain their opinions and provide more objective and balanced reporting (see Chapter 7).

Arts journalists’ reporting practice: Perceptions of the interview experience

Like other journalists, arts journalists typically engage in an information-gathering routine that involves drawing on expert sources and conducting interviews with members of the visual arts field. This aspect of arts journalistic practice is examined here from the point of view of those members of the visual arts field who had been interviewees. Almost 72% of the VAF survey respondents indicated they had participated in an interview with an arts journalist from one of New Zealand’s mainstream media organisations. The most commonly addressed topics of these interviews concerned the works of other New Zealand visual artists, aspects of the country’s contemporary visual arts scene and the visual artworks of the interviewees.

A series of survey questions asked each of the respondents to evaluate aspects of one of their interview experiences. Questions covered the interviewees’ impressions of their interviewer’s preparation, knowledge, handling of the topic and treatment of the

interviewee. The majority (76%) of the respondents felt that the experience had been positive overall, and almost as many noted that the purpose of the interview was clear and the journalist seemed interested in understanding the artwork. Also, over half of the survey participants thought that the written article represented their responses fairly and that the journalists' preparation for the interview was apparent. However, the respondents were less certain about the depth and breadth of the journalists' understanding of the subject matter. Only 44% thought that the journalist appeared to know something about the visual arts generally or about the topic being discussed.

Of course, the interview is usually not a context in which journalists display their own expertise and the questions are often formulated with a general reader in mind (Tucker, 1992). However, the range and type of questions can be indicative of the interviewer's understanding. From this standpoint, the quality of the interview questions and the extent to which the arts journalists engaged the interviewees on the topic were considered by the survey respondents to be less satisfactory. Only 35% thought the interview questions were thorough and only 29% considered the questions sufficiently thought provoking.

Some of those who described their unsatisfactory interview experiences attributed their frustration to the mainstream audience focus of the media organisation. For instance, one respondent described an interview with a journalist conducted for National Radio as having been pitched to a "fairly general audience [and] therefore wouldn't expect more than what it delivered". Another complained about the difficulty of addressing interview questions presented from a non-specialist "common sense" standpoint "in a way that briefly and convincingly rebuts the [built-in] bad assumptions". This limitation is evident in Chapter 8 of this thesis; analysis of a journalist's interview with et al. shows that questions are pitched to a mainstream audience in order to maintain the framework of a "news story" perspective, but do little to actually engage with the artists' practice.

Visual arts reporting: Perceptions of arts journalism quality in New Zealand

A number of questions in both the AJNZ and VAF surveys interrogated the respondents' perceptions of the quality of arts reporting by New Zealand's media. One survey question in particular summarised the contrasting positions of the two groups: "When visual art becomes topical as a general news story, the general media does a

good job reporting the story”. A majority (59%) of the arts journalists agreed with this statement; however, over 70% of the visual arts field respondents disagreed.

To examine journalists’ and visual arts field agents’ perceptions of this issue further, a series of questions were posed asking respondents to identify which New Zealand media organisations covered the visual arts most effectively or least effectively. One question, for instance, asked survey participants to identify two examples of media in New Zealand that do the best job covering the country’s visual arts. The results of the AJNZ survey show that of the top five choices the arts journalists identified, the two media organisations most frequently selected were journal publications: *Art New Zealand*, a specialist quarterly journal featuring criticism of contemporary visual art in New Zealand, and *New Zealand Listener*, a current affairs magazine that covers culture, politics, lifestyle and entertainment. The media organisations next most frequently identified by arts journalists as covering the visual arts well were two mainstream newspapers, the *Dominion Post* and *The Press*, and the online arts community website, The Big Idea.

In response to this same question, the VAF survey participants (almost 30%) overwhelmingly singled out Radio New Zealand as the media organisation that provides the best visual arts coverage, an interesting choice considering the medium’s nonvisual format. The next most popular choices were the *New Zealand Listener* followed by *Art News*, a specialist magazine published quarterly that covers a range of visual arts issues and includes listings of upcoming exhibitions. A number of survey respondents also selected two mainstream newspapers: the *New Zealand Herald* and *The Press*. It should be noted that approximately 10% of the visual arts field respondents wrote “none”, indicating they thought no media organisations covered the visual arts particularly well.

A summary comparison of the results of the VAF and AJNZ surveys shows that the mainstream publication that agents in both fields most frequently identified as providing the best visual arts coverage was the *New Zealand Listener*, and *The Press* was deemed to be the best among the metropolitan newspapers.

The VAF survey also asked participants to identify two media organisations they thought were least effective in covering New Zealand’s visual arts. Over a quarter of the responses identified TVNZ, or TVOne, (one of TVNZ’s commercial channels) as

having the least effective visual arts coverage. The next most frequently indicated media organisations were the metropolitan newspapers, with the *New Zealand Herald* (at 11%) and the *Dominion Post* (at 7%) identified as least effective in their visual arts coverage. A number of respondents answered this question in a general way by identifying a medium, such as “television”, “commercial radio”, or “newspapers”, or a genre, such as “women’s magazines”, instead of naming a particular media organisation. Of the general categories indicated, “television” was identified by 10% of the respondents as least effective in reporting art news, with “commercial radio” and “newspapers” following at 6% each.

4.4 Perspectives on mainstream media’s reporting on et al. and the Venice Biennale

Perceptions of the coverage of the event

As mentioned above, both surveys included a similar set of questions asking respondents to address issues pertaining to the media coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale. Only those who indicated they remembered the media reporting of the event and of the selection of et al. were able to access and respond to this set of questions. In total, this came to 91% of the visual arts field participants and 78% of the arts journalist survey respondents.

When asked what news media sources they followed for reports about et al. and the event, the top five choices of both surveys’ respondents were the same and included national newspapers, television reports, radio reports, press releases from CNZ and articles in specialist visual arts magazines published in New Zealand. One notable difference, however, was that the visual arts field respondents (54%) ranked the specialist arts magazines in third place and the arts journalists (35%) ranked these in fifth place. This finding suggests that while some of the arts journalists indicated they read the specialist journal articles, most preferred to follow other mainstream media sources and the CNZ organisational press releases for information about the artist collective and the event. Arts journalists’ preference for mainstream sources is consistent with a journalistic routine of intermedia reliance, as identified by Shoemaker and Reese (1996), and may account to some extent for the similarity in the coverage of the event (as noted in Chapter 6).

According to the arts journalists, the media outlets that provided the best coverage of et al. were *Art New Zealand*, the *New Zealand Listener* and RadioNZ, each of which were selected by 22% of the arts journalists. Likewise, the VAF survey participants identified RadioNZ (14%) and the *New Zealand Listener* (11%) as the two media organisations that provided the best reporting. However, a large proportion of the VAF participants (31%) indicated ‘none’ in response to this question, while only one of the arts journalist respondents did so.

The VAF respondents were also asked which media outlets they thought did a poor job covering the artists and the event.⁴⁷ Of the media organisations that were identified, the *Dominion Post* was selected most frequently in this regard by 24% of the respondents, followed by TVNZ at 12%. When combined with the 7% who specifically singled out the *Holmes* show as doing an especially poor job, TVNZ was identified by 19% of the respondents as ineffective in its coverage of the event. Again, a large proportion (38%) of the respondents indicated ‘all’ in response to this question, meaning that they found all the mainstream media’s coverage of the event to be poor.

One respondent’s elaboration on the nuanced interpretations that could be given to the survey’s use of the term “poor” and “good” in characterising the media coverage is revealing. The respondent noted that if by “poor” one means “unbalanced and occasionally hysterical, that would apply to most media outlets”. The respondent went on to indicate that “good” coverage could be associated with “a significant amount of coverage” but whether that was “good” in presenting “balanced considerations of the art rather than the hype is debatable”.

Views concerning the mainstream media’s reporting practice in the coverage of the event

Both surveys included a set of Likert scale items concerning the quality of the coverage of et al. and the event. Survey participants were asked to assess this coverage by selecting their level of agreement with the statements ranging from “strongly agree”, “agree”, “disagree” or “strongly disagree”, or select the option “don’t remember”. The five statements were the following:

⁴⁷ Colleagues who previewed the AJNZ survey advised not including this question. Even though the survey participants were anonymous, it was suggested that this negative question could create a high-risk problem for the arts journalist participants who operate as a small, defined population in the journalistic field.

1. Overall, the reporting of the 2005 Venice Biennale was balanced, thorough and accurate.
2. Journalists reported effectively and fairly how government funds would be spent to support New Zealand's participation in the Venice Biennale.
3. Journalists reported effectively and fairly et al.'s philosophy concerning the artists' identity.
4. The attention given by journalists to et al.'s previous work (especially *rapture*, 2004) was appropriate.
5. The philosophical disposition of et al. had a strong influence on the journalistic representation of the story.

Overall, the results of the surveys show that a majority of the participating arts journalists and visual arts field agents were dissatisfied with aspects of the reporting. A high percentage of participants in both surveys indicated they strongly disagreed with the first and third statements, and a majority of both surveys' respondents disagreed with statement four as well. For instance, 91% who participated in the VAF survey and 61% of the AJNZ survey respondents disagreed with the statement that the journalistic ideals of balance, thoroughness and accuracy had been demonstrated in the treatment of this art story. The statement concerning the effective and fair reporting about et al.'s identity met with disagreement from almost 88% of respondents from the visual arts field and 78% of the visual arts journalists. Almost 70% of the visual arts survey respondents and 65% of the arts journalism survey participants disagreed with the statement concerning journalists' attention to et al.'s work *rapture*.

The responses to statement two concerning the effective and fair reporting on the cost and funding of the event, however, highlighted some differences in the perspectives of the two surveys' respondents. First of all, while both surveys' results in relation to this statement were similar with a larger proportion of the total number of respondents disagreeing in both cases, only a relatively narrow margin separated the numbers of arts journalists who agreed with this statement (35%) from those who disagreed (43%); in contrast, 88% of the VAF participants disagreed and 5% agreed with this statement. A narrower margin separated the numbers of arts journalists who agreed (44%) and disagreed (39%) with the fifth statement. In contrast, over two-thirds of the VAF respondents indicated they agreed as opposed to the 18% who disagreed with this statement.

Also, basic background information concerning et al.'s artistic practice as it pertained to their identity and to their current and previous artwork was perceived as having been poorly communicated. There was a certain amount of disagreement in the two groups' views concerning the reporting of the expenditure of government funding and the extent to which the artists' disposition had influenced the way journalists had represented the story. In effect, the VAF survey results suggest that from the perspective of those within the visual arts field, journalists did a poor job presenting and explaining basic facts, and the artists' somewhat challenging philosophical stance influenced the way the art story was presented. What is suggested here is that respondents thought the media's coverage, in general, was neither thorough nor objective, and felt that it was affected by the artists' challenging disposition.

Visual arts field perspectives on the impact of the coverage

As discussed previously in Chapter 2, the media's capacity to intervene in other fields and in agents' struggles over the distribution of various forms of capital derives to a great extent from the journalistic field's symbolic power to present a naturalized construction of social reality (Couldry, 2003a). Several questions were included in the VAF survey asking participants to indicate their agreement or disagreement with statements pertaining to the media's influence over aspects of public perception and political decision-making.

A clear majority of the respondents (86%) felt that the media's negative coverage contributed to the public's lack of support for the event and for New Zealand's presence in Venice. This result resonates with the findings of the 2006 report assessing New Zealand's participation in the Venice Biennales. According to the report, negative media coverage was a significant factor in "eroding" the general public's support for the country's participation in the Venice exhibition (*Evaluating New Zealand's participation*, 2006, p. 42).

Furthermore, three quarters of the VAF survey participants believed that the criteria for selecting artists for future Venice Biennales would be strongly influenced by the artists' potential for positive support from the media. Likewise, in an interview conducted in 2009 as additional research for this thesis,⁴⁸ Howard Greive, who acted as Direct

⁴⁸ Interviews were conducted with et al. and with some members of the Venice Biennale creative team,

Marketing Adviser for the 2005 Venice Biennale team, made a similar point noting that artists selected for the Venice event will likely be required to talk to the media. Greive made the following observation:

There's no question about it. I don't think they'd ever select another artist who said I'm never going to talk to the media. [...] I think it will be an expectation. ... And so there you go. There's the media...changing the whole selection process of artists to go to Venice, which is nonsense. (Personal interview, October 9, 2009)

In this description of the media's capacity to influence and reorder the operations of the CNZ selection process, Greive illustrates how the journalistic field's symbolic violence may be misrecognised through its transformation as a process of consecration whereby symbolic capital within the visual arts field is reconfigured. In this way, the journalistic field's symbolic power redefines the principles of operation of what is ostensibly an autonomous arts funding organisation.

Finally, VAF survey participants were asked to respond to the statement that negative media coverage in 2005 was a key reason for the decision to not participate officially in the 2007 Venice Biennale. While 18% of the respondents selected the "don't know" option, 68 % indicated their agreement.

On one hand, rather than gauging the actual effects of media influence, survey participants' responses to these statements are speculative and may be viewed as merely indicative of attitudes concerning media's possible and potential influence. On the other hand, by asking respondents to critically reflect on the extent of media's power to control and manipulate the relational dynamics and symbolic capital operating in other fields, these responses reveal the aspects of journalism's symbolic violence. With their agreement, the visual arts field agents not only acknowledge the journalistic field's symbolic power, but also to some extent accept this power as a given.

including Howard Greive, Greg Burke and Jim and Mary Barr; however, only the comments of Greive, the Direct Marketing Adviser, and et al. appear in this thesis. The interviewees' responses provided valuable insights regarding the team's organizational arrangements and personal impressions concerning the media's role in the event.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has examined the habitus of arts journalists working in New Zealand's mainstream media from the standpoints of those in the arts journalism and visual arts fields. The survey results presented here provide some insight into arts journalists' professional practices and experiences, but also considers many of those elements from the perspective of those on the "receiving end", that is, from those in the visual arts field who engage in a critical and often personal way with what many arts journalists do.

The responses to the AJNZ survey suggest that the arts journalist role can be precarious. Many express uncertainty about their position and status within the journalistic field. Economic constraints have resulted in some expression of insecurity regarding their professional status and sense of worth in relation to the perceived values of their media organisation. Also, arts journalists' efforts to cover the arts, especially the visual arts in this case, in a way that is accessible to a general audience has resulted in a loss of symbolic capital within the visual arts field, among those in the visual arts field these journalists rely on in order to carry out their work.

This chapter also examined how survey respondents evaluated arts journalism practice in relation to the coverage of et al. and the Venice Biennale. While respondents from both fields found aspects of the coverage to have been poorly handled, they disagreed regarding the journalists' effective and accurate presentation of facts and the journalists' objective response to et al. The arts journalists' somewhat defensive reaction when their journalistic practices of accuracy and fairness were called into question highlights the ambivalent role that these specialist journalists may have as they try to manage their contradictory positions within the journalistic and visual arts fields.

The survey results indicate that of all the mainstream media, the television coverage of the visual art story, specifically by TVNZ, was considered especially poor. The next chapter takes an in-depth look at TVNZ's coverage of et al. and the Venice Biennale presented on the broadcaster's arts and culture programme, *Frontseat*, and its flagship current affairs programme, *Holmes*. As the initial treatment of the art news story, these broadcasts were key moments in establishing the story's media and public visibility and in setting the tone for the subsequent controversy.

Chapter 5:

Interfield antagonisms and the televisual spectacle: et al. and the *Frontseat* and *Holmes* broadcasts

5.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 4, a large percentage of the VAF survey respondents expressed dissatisfaction with how the reporting on television covered the 2005 Venice Biennale, with many singling out TVNZ and the *Holmes* show in particular. Those results are the basis for this chapter's analysis of the coverage dealing with et al. and the Venice Biennale that was presented by two TVNZ current affairs programmes: the arts-specialist show *Frontseat* and the popular prime-time programme *Holmes*.

Examining these two television broadcasts in the context of this thesis is useful for a number of reasons. First of all, the broadcast journalism and current affairs programmes present extended treatments of the visual arts story that exceeded the brief information-oriented reports that occurred on the evening newscasts. Secondly, in fulfilling the TVNZ Charter requirements, these shows demonstrate the network's public service-oriented engagement with the topic purporting to exemplify the aim of current affairs programming, which was, as Holland (2006) has explained, "to dig behind the headlines and to explain, explore and challenge as well as to tell" (p. xiv). Moreover, both programmes were broadcast within ten days of the CNZ announcement of et al.'s selection, preceding most other coverage of the event. In their reporting of the event, these shows established many of the key issues that would be the nodal points for the discursive antagonisms (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001)⁴⁹ between the journalistic and visual arts fields and set the tone for subsequent coverage of the event.

Also following on from the Chapter 4 interrogation of the dispositions of journalistic practice, this chapter looks at the news values, the criteria of newsworthiness, that are displayed in the programmes' journalistic performances. This analysis of news values, negativity and deviance in particular, is based in part on Phelan's (2011, p. 141) notion

⁴⁹ As previously noted, this thesis draws on Laclau and Mouffe's theories in a cursory way focusing primarily on their notions of "antagonism" and "nodal points" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) to discuss how identities are constructed and embodied through discourses. For a definition of antagonism, see Chapter 1, note 1. Nodal points are understood as privileged and somewhat rigid signifiers that provide stability within discourses by fixing the meaning of a chain of signifiers (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 112).

of a media “logic of self-interest” underlying the journalistic tendency to narrowly explain publicly displayed actions as self-interested. Negativity, associated with stories of conflict, scandal, disaster and violence, has been established as one of the more important criteria of newsworthiness (Bell, 1991; Graber, 1989; Johnson-Cartee, 2005; McGregor, 2002). Related to negativity is the news value of deviance, which has been found to be a significant criterion of newsworthiness (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Shoemaker, Chang, & Brendlinger, 1987; van Dijk, 1988a, 1995) and, in fact, was described by Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1987) as “*the* defining characteristic of what journalists consider newsworthy” (p. 4). Deviance refers to unconventional behaviour that strays from accepted social norms and is associated with news stories of organisational failure, criminality or other abnormal behaviour, and an apparent disregard for common sense (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987).

Fundamental to the criteria of negativity and deviance is the selection of stories and reporting of events that demonstrate apparent signs of disorder and procedural failure. These issues demarcate the limits of social tolerance, define what constitutes social order and identify directions for change and improvement. Mainstream media usually present stories that deal with disorder and deviance in a fragmentary and underexplored way, or through simplified and recognisable narratives of failure (Protest et al., 1991; Johnson-Cartee, 2005). In fact, the journalistic field’s symbolic power positions its agents among the so-called “deviance defining elite” routinely allowed to name who or what is good or bad and who or what should be given more or less freedom (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 357). The symbolic violence of asserting what is acceptable and unacceptable can be seen, for example, in how journalists may present some people and groups frequently and in powerful positions or in a positive light, while others may be marginalized by being omitted from the reporting or presented less positively as unconventional or outside the mainstream. In other words, a journalistic representation of social normalcy is reaffirmed by its contrast with what is deviant (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Shoemaker, Chang, & Brendlinger, 1987). In this way, media institutions may serve a hegemonic function of social control by reproducing a set of values and norms that legitimate a mainstream social structure (Gitlin, 1979; Gitlin, 1980/2003), the purpose of which is to promote and reconstitute social stability. Furthermore, these values and norms emerge “naturally” as part of typical journalistic newsgathering routines (Tuchman, 1973). From this standpoint, this chapter’s discussion also serves to

illustrate the observation made in Chapter 3 that the market-driven media environment influences media content and journalistic practice.

This chapter carries out a textual analysis of the *Frontseat* and *Holmes* broadcasts to consider how these programmes deploy the news values of negativity and deviance. This analysis will also examine the struggles that occur between the journalistic and visual arts fields over the naming of et al. As Bourdieu (1990) has observed, such “struggles over words...owe their seriousness – and sometimes their violence – to the fact that words to a great extent make things, and that changing words, and, more generally representations, is already a way of changing things” (p. 54). In this case, the symbolic violence of the discourse that those in the journalistic field employ to precisely “pin down” the artists’ identity, and the efforts of those in the visual arts field to reassert autonomy is evidence that what is at stake, the right to impose a “legitimate vision of the social world” (Bourdieu, 2005, p 36), is indeed serious. The symbolic power that lies in the “power of constitutive *naming*” (1990, p. 55) suggests that “naming”, as a site of antagonism between the journalistic and visual arts fields, operates as a significant form of symbolic capital and power. According to Bourdieu (1990, p. 134), “names which construct social reality as much as they express it are the crucial stakes of political struggle” of agents seeking to impose their vision of the social world.

This chapter is organised chronologically with the first half of the chapter presenting the analysis of the earlier *Frontseat* programme followed by the analysis of the *Holmes* broadcast. Because visual and performative elements are essential features of television, the “textual” analysis carried out here encompasses visual material as well (following from Banks, 2001; see also Hughes, 2007) to consider how these media texts generate meaning and construct their versions of the social reality of this visual arts story.

5.2 *Frontseat*: Emergent journalistic antagonisms

Frontseat’s engagement with “naming” et al. began even before the artists’ selection was publicly announced. The day before CNZ identified who would be representing New Zealand at the Venice Biennale, a press release for the upcoming broadcast of TV One’s arts programme *Frontseat* announced that during its upcoming broadcast, the segment entitled “Anonymous in Venice” would profile “the next artist(s) to represent

New Zealand” and consider “whether the half-million dollar investment is still worth it” (“This Sunday”, 2004). The release, signalling the programme’s critical stance by the deliberate use of the word “anonymous” in the segment title, by the curious ambiguity of the bracketed plural form of the word “artist” and by the scepticism concerning the project’s value relative to its cost, heralded three of the issues that would become the centrepiece of the arts story in less than two weeks.

The broadcast on July 4th would be episode eight of the relatively new arts show, which had only started broadcasting two months earlier. The half-hour current affairs programme, hosted by actor/director Oliver Driver and covering New Zealand arts, culture and performance, was supported by the independent broadcast funding agency NZ On Air⁵⁰ and screened late on Sunday nights, with varying start times, but generally after 10:00pm. The cultural/critical mandate of the TVNZ Charter for programming to “encourage and support the arts” and promote “informed and many-sided debate and stimulates critical thought, thereby enhancing opportunities for citizens to participate in community, national and international life” (TVNZ Charter), is reflected in the language of the press release announcing the show’s premiere. NZ On Air Chief Executive Jo Tyndall, for instance, described the show in terms typically associated with both the “soft” news cultural focus of arts journalism (as “a blatant and unashamed celebration of New Zealand art and culture” that would “demonstrate just how talented and creative New Zealanders are”) and the critical “hard” news approach of a more investigative journalism register (“asking the hard questions about the arts in this country – questions about funding, relevance, value and promotion”) (NZ On Air, 2004).

The “hard” news approach is also evident in the emphasis placed on the show’s “timeliness”, a characteristic that has been identified as a key news value (Bell, 1991; Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; the notion of “timeliness” is discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8). For instance, the emphasis on current news in the arts field is highlighted in TVNZ publicity describing the show as a “topical and provocative weekly arts series investigating the issues facing local arts and culture” and in a news item advertising the first episode that stated, “A late deadline will ensure that each show is as topical as possible” (NZ Musician, 2004). Timeliness is a characteristic

⁵⁰ This independent crown agency invests in the production of local content-focused programmes and projects that will be broadcast on free-to-air television channels; the agency is also the principal funder of the non-commercial, public radio broadcaster, Radio New Zealand (NZ On Air, 2009).

that distinguishes “hard” news from arts journalism, which, as Szántó (2001) has pointed out, is viewed by most news organisations as a less time sensitive, more relaxed genre. In this case, *Frontseat* was being promoted, not simply as arts journalism, but as “hard-hitting” arts journalism (“asking the hard questions about the arts”), a hybrid form that might be considered somewhat unusual within a journalistic field standpoint on the visual arts. As the following discussion will show, this “hard” news approach can also be seen in the programme’s antagonistic stance in its naming of et al.

The eleven-minute segment, “Anonymous in Venice”, was organised into two parts, each primarily centred on one of the issues identified in the programme’s press release and signalled by the question that Oliver Driver, the host of the programme, posed in his introduction to the segment: “Why is the taxpayer spending half of a million dollars to send an artist to Italy yet the art world won’t tell us who it is?” The second half of the segment presented a debate between Peter Biggs and Josie McNaught, led by Driver, concerning the merits of New Zealand’s participation in the Biennale. Typically, the discussion or interview segment of current affairs programmes is prefaced by a background report (Örnebring, 2003) comprising previously filmed material to establish and frame the topic. Consistent with this current affairs format, the segment’s first five minutes were devoted to a pre-taped field story by *Frontseat* reporter Jeremy Hansen that profiled et al. and featured visual examples of their work and interviews with experts from the visual arts field.

5.2.1 The *Frontseat* field story: Symbolic violence and the initial naming of et al.

The artists’ deviance was established even before the taped field story began with the set up for the report, which emphasised the artists’ eccentric behaviour. Driver explained that even though the Venice Biennale was considered one of the most highly regarded contemporary art exhibitions in the world, “New Zealand’s next representative won’t be there to brag about it...because the members of the shadowy collective...don’t want their images made public” (Gracewood, 2004).⁵¹ The description of the artists as “shadowy” and of their resistance to public scrutiny suggests a reclusive and secretive quality that seems not only intriguing but also odd, especially in relation to the prestige

⁵¹ The analysis in this section of the chapter is based on a transcript of the *Frontseat* programme broadcast on July 4, 2004. The citations for all subsequent references to the broadcast should be understood as being the same as the one provided for this quote.

associated with the highly public art event.

This focus on deviance and negativity continued in the opening moments of Hansen's pre-taped report, which drew out the ambiguity and peculiarity of et al. and their artwork in the report's content and visual information. Hansen's presentation began mysteriously, with video of a corrugated metal structure standing in a darkened room and punctuated by the sounds of a braying donkey and an explosion. The reporter's voice-over simply described the obvious material features⁵² of what was being shown ("It's a port-a-loo, that sometimes makes donkey noises, and sounds like it's exploding.") and then went on to explain: "The installation is by the art collective known as 'et al.'" Unlike the artists' other works shown throughout the report whose titles were clearly displayed onscreen, this work's name, *rapture* (2004), was only briefly shown in a dimly-lit shot of the artwork's title card displayed on the gallery's wall. The journalist never referred to the work by name, even though it featured extensively throughout the report.⁵³ Instead, the journalist overwrote the name of the work by his description, which in effect, redefined it as an exploding port-a-loo that sounds like a donkey.⁵⁴ In addition, the report maintained the work's ambiguity and mystery by never providing an interpretation or context for the installation, even though the visual arts experts that were interviewed throughout the report were standing next to the artwork.

Another detail that was obscured in Hansen's report concerned what artwork would be travelling to Venice. In his voice-over introduction, Hansen also observed that the "committee that chose et al. thinks the collective's work will fit in perfectly at the 3 month exhibition." The general reference to "the collective's work" stated concurrently with images of the artwork *rapture* could easily lead one to assume that what was being shown was the work that would be going to Venice, even though this was not the case. The ambiguous and obscured information concerning et al.'s artwork and the plans for the exhibition in Venice likely initiated, and certainly contributed to, the confusion

⁵² As the survey results and discussion in Chapter 4 noted, the apparent objectivity of factuality associated with description is a tendency within current arts journalistic practice.

⁵³ The art installation, entitled *rapture* (2004), was then on display at the City Gallery in Wellington as part of the Telecom Prospect 2004 show.

⁵⁴ The symbolic violence of this journalistic naming of the artwork is re-enacted many times in the subsequent reporting about et al. and the Venice Biennale over the next two years and in later journalistic references to the 2005 Venice Biennale (see Chapter 6; for more on how the "donkey" continues to operate as a journalistic referent for the 2005 Venice Biennale, see Bernanke, 2012).

about these details in subsequent coverage.

Following this visual introduction, two spokespersons, experts from the visual arts field, voiced their assessment of the quality of et al.'s art while standing next to *rapture*. Their onscreen titles named them, not in terms of their expertise, but according to their self-interested involvement with the artists and attachment to the event, in effect, calling into question the objectivity of their assessments of the artists. For instance, Greg Burke, identified as “NZ Commissioner for Venice”, but whose status as a highly regarded curator of contemporary art both nationally and internationally was not identified, described the work as “very compelling” and illustrated his point with a description of another piece by et al., *serial reform* (2002). The other spokesperson was Tina Barton, named as “Venice selection panel member”, who is also well-known to those in the visual arts field as a curator and art historian specializing in the conceptual and critical practice of contemporary New Zealand art (Victoria University Press, 2008). She explained that she was “so impressed” by et al.'s recent work, and described the artists' achievements and social capital within the field (“senior figures now”, “working for some twenty years”, “a maturity to what they are doing”). On one hand, these specialists' testimonies validate et al.'s work. On the other, however, the juxtaposition of these experts praising the artists while standing next to the somewhat mundane and unimposing corrugated centrepiece of *rapture* appears incongruous.

The remaining three minutes of Hansen's report centred on enacting an investigation of the artists' identity, beginning with an explanation of the structure of the “collective” and the rationale for this approach. Hansen's observation that ““et al.’ is a name that its creators don't want to put a face to” highlights the artists' resistance to social norms and hints at the idea that something shameful was being hidden. Also, he notes that the “absence of an identity” was a “deliberate strategy” to ensure that their art would be judged on its own merits. As clarification of these issues concerning the artists' identity, a brief video clip was shown in which Tina Barton explained that, throughout the 20th century, artists have struggled with “the cult of the artist” and with people's “fascination with the name of the artist” and artists' identities.⁵⁵ Within an art historical perspective,

⁵⁵ Barton's assertion regarding the significance of an artist's identity in relation to artistic practice was reflected in an observation provided by et al. In this researcher's e-mail correspondence with the artist collective, p.mule, on behalf of et al., noted that “art practice is often in opposition to the media cult of the personality – which is where et al. was not seen to be performing correctly” (p.mule, personal communication, July 30, 2009).

then, the precedent for et al.'s strategic conceptualisation of their identity is well grounded and the collectivist concept can be understood as an artistic expression in response to a historical condition.⁵⁶ The ambiguity of the name, as Greg Burke (2005) has explained elsewhere, is consistent with the artists' practice, which "evades notions of certainty conferred through taxonomies that rely on an identification of an author" (p. 36).

The artists' strategy can be understood from a field theory standpoint as well. In his discussion of naming in relation to the symbolic strategies by which agents impose their vision of the social world, Bourdieu (1991) observed that the struggle over naming and the administering of titles is a struggle over symbolic capital. Agents generally engage strategically in either "maximising the symbolic profit" of acquiring a prestigious name or choosing a "less precise" designation to avoid "symbolic devaluation" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 240). In other words, many agents make choices regarding their positions within a field that are linked to self-designation, and often these decisions function as a strategic circumvention of the imposition of official designations. According to Bourdieu (1991), "agents always have a choice between several names and they may play on the uncertainties and the effect of vagueness linked to the plurality of perspectives so as to try to escape the verdict of the official taxonomy" (p. 241). While the "vagueness" that Bourdieu describes as associated with multiple perspectives may not have been the aim of et al.'s collective identity approach, the frustration expressed by journalists, and others in the field of power routinely invested with naming authority, in response to a perceived "slipperiness" of the artists' identity confirms that the struggle over "naming" is a struggle over symbolic power.

In Hansen's report, this kind of "slipperiness" may be associated, to some extent, with Barton's esoteric explanation of the artists' rationale for their name. In contrast to Barton's art historical discussion, Hansen followed with a simplified description of how the collective was organised. He pointed out that "et al. is not a group, but a single artist named Merylyn Tweedie", who "spawned a variety of artistic identities", whose names were listed onscreen, and who was known by most within the art world. However, he noted that the artists have not allowed their curators to "announce their identity". While this account of a profusion of identities contradicts Hansen's earlier statement

⁵⁶ In effect, the artistic construction "et al." could be partly viewed as a reaction to media exposure, and its associated prestige and notoriety, which Couldry (2003) has identified as media's meta-capital.

concerning the artists' so-called absent identity, his factual and descriptive approach reflects an objective, investigative style that comes across as an exposé of the "truth" behind et al. that affirms the journalistic field's symbolic power and authority in naming.

The reporter's reassertion of journalistic authority over the artists' name can also be seen in his focus on the apparent problems resulting from the artists' strategy of a collective identity. For instance, he alludes to the artists' incomprehensibility when he describes the members of the collective as "enigmatic" a word that can mean "mysterious" but also "mystifying" and "difficult to understand", ideas that are also reflected in his reference to the artists' "opaque visage". A suggestion of et al.'s instability underlies Hansen's reference to their "split personalities" and the notion of organisational failure highlighted in his description of the day-to-day confusion that the numerous identities cause gallery staff when they book airline tickets or are unsure of who they are speaking to on the telephone. Moreover, the journalist's indication that et al. "won't be basking in the spotlight while they're [in Venice]" called attention to their resistance to public scrutiny and, by the same token, their refusal to, in effect, "break character" by communicating in person with the media. Instead, intermediaries, curators and other members of the CNZ team were to act as their spokespersons.

Hansen interviewed two of these spokespersons, Greg Burke and Natasha Conland (identified as "NZ curator for Venice"), regarding the issue of the so-called problem of the artists' identity. Again assuming an investigative journalist's style, Hansen confronted the interviewees to establish whether the collective members' names (and, by the same token, the members themselves) were real. Greg Burke's answers were somewhat evasive and he responded defensively by asking a question in turn: "Why wouldn't they be their real names?" To Hansen's follow-up ("are those members actually people, or are they different identities that are recruited?") Burke replied that it was a good question but one that he couldn't necessarily answer. The reporter challenged Burke's response and asked him if that was "because you don't know or because you'd prefer not to?" To this Burke abruptly ended the exchange by indicating he had "probably said enough on that issue".

Conland's halting response to Hansen's question suggested some uncertainty: "These are....these are....these are names, yeah." Her uncertainty was also demonstrated in her

reply to his question regarding whether it mattered if the names were real: “I don’t think so, no.” Conland went on to praise et al.’s integrity, describing them as “artists who put their art making at the forefront of what they do”, and explained that “this was easy to understand once you realise that what you are dealing with is an “artistic concept”. Here, Conland suggests that the problem with understanding et al.’s identity lay not with the artists but with those (such as some journalists or members of the general public) who had not yet grasped the artists’ conceptual premise. Overall, the defensiveness, hesitancy and deflection that characterise the spokespersons’ answers indicate that they were either unprepared for the journalist’s questions or perhaps unwilling to address them. In any case, the implication was that they may not have been up to the task.⁵⁷

In a final display of negative news values, Hansen’s report introduced conflict in the form of a dissenting interjection concerning the choice of et al. strongly voiced by Hamish Keith, a well-known New Zealand art historian, curator, social commentator and broadcaster. Keith has had an extensive career from the 1960s to the 1980s as the host of some of the earliest arts programmes on New Zealand radio and television and an ongoing presence in broadcast and print media as an art and cultural critic. He has also written several books on New Zealand’s art history, including *New Zealand Painting 1827-1967: An introduction* (co-written with Gordon H. Brown, 1969) and *The Big Picture: A history of New Zealand art from 1642* (2007)⁵⁸. What is significant here is that Keith’s habitus and well-developed “feel for the game” (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 81) in both the visual arts and journalistic fields has resulted in his acquiring significant levels of cultural and symbolic capital to validate his symbolic power and dominant, heteronomous position within both fields. Keith’s habitus and elevated status within both the visual arts and journalistic fields augments his symbolic power and visibility within the media environment.

Keith, whose expertise was designated onscreen as “Art consultant”, expressed his disapproval of the selection committee’s choice of Merylyn Tweedie. In answer to his

⁵⁷ While other interpretations are possible, this chapter’s analysis of the programmes is concerned with understanding “preferred” readings of the texts (Hall, 1992).

⁵⁸ In 2007, a six-part television series written and presented by Keith, entitled *The big picture: A personal view*, was broadcast on TVOne and coincided with the publication of the book, *The Big Picture* (2007). Described in the TVNZ promotional material as “several years in the making”, the programme’s general audience appeal was emphasised in its “[e]schewing ‘art speak’ in favour of plain language” (cited by MacGregor, 2007).

own question (“What were they thinking?”), Keith speculated that in a “glorious remake of the colonial cringe”, the committee “were thinking this is what foreign people like”. The dichotomy that Keith presented here establishes a strongly marked antagonism, a logic of difference, between what he identified as the kind of art that “foreign people like” (“them”), associated with et al.’s more avant-garde art making, consisting of site specific installations that employ multi-media and non-traditional materials, and New Zealand art (which in opposition must be “us”), equated with works that draw on more traditional and familiar materials like paint and canvas.⁵⁹ Keith’s division between “us and them”, between those who do and those who do not represent New Zealand, also extends through a chain of equivalence (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) to the CNZ committee whose choice of et al., as Keith noted, appears to serve the interests of foreigners rather than those of New Zealanders.⁶⁰ In effect, Keith demonstrated his *media nous* by presenting a well-defined stance evoking a strongly nationalistic populist sentiment appealing to a mainstream public opposed to foreign influences and interests.

This dichotomy was also played out visually in the field report. As previously mentioned, et al.’s supporters spoke while standing beside (a visual metaphor for “standing by” or defending) the artists’ work *rapture*, whereas Keith stood in front of a recent painting, *Blackout Movement* (2001), by Shane Cotton. The contrast between these opposing positions was even more clearly made by Keith, himself, who, while gesturing to the painting on the wall behind him, asserted, “Look, this is the stuff that we do, and this is the stuff that we do superbly. ...New Zealand art is peaking right now, and why do we really have to represent ourselves with donkeys shut in the dunny?” Here, Keith constructs a chain of equivalence linking New Zealand, the New Zealand artform that he advocates (“the stuff that we do”) and New Zealanders (“we”). Keith’s final question establishes a contrast between the work that he indicates best represents “us New Zealanders” and the ludicrous image that he verbally constructs. Moreover, with this symbolic violence, the name of et al.’s work is once again overwritten, and the artists’ autonomy and control over the naming of their work is subverted.

⁵⁹ These oppositional categories are reproduced in subsequent reporting on et al. See the analysis of the *Dominion Post* editorials in Chapter 7.

⁶⁰ Following from Laclau and Mouffe (2001), a chain of equivalence brings together terms or elements that are given common meaning (constituted) by what they are assumed not to be, that is, through a shared opposing or adversarial relation to an external element that both threatens and stabilizes the identity of the chain.

5.2.2 The *Frontseat* discussion panel: Mild antagonisms within homologous heteronomies

As previously noted, the second half of the eleven-minute segment, “Anonymous in Venice”, was devoted to a five-minute debate concerning the relative value of New Zealand’s participation in the Venice Biennale and whether participation in the event should continue. One of the discussion participants was Peter Biggs, the Chairman of CNZ, who was appointed to the position in 1999 and reappointed in 2003. Biggs was also the Managing Director of Clemenger BBDO, one of New Zealand’s leading advertising agencies representing a number of high-profile clients including Mitsubishi (Braunias, 2004). The other discussion participant was Josie McNaught, a *Frontseat* reporter, who had also covered the 2003 Venice Biennale. In addition, McNaught had previously worked as a freelance arts journalist and reporter for specialist arts and lifestyle magazines; for other television news and magazine programmes; and for several newspapers, including the *Dominion Post*, *New Zealand Herald* and *Sunday Star Times* (McNaught, 2012).

Both discussion participants’ profiles positioned them towards the heteronomous pole within the visual arts field. Biggs, in his government-appointed role, applied his managerial skills to overseeing the administrative processes of the arts organisation’s various boards and committees (see discussion in Chapter 3), and as head of CNZ, he served as the spokesperson and advocate for the organisation and its activities. McNaught, constituted by her arts journalistic habitus, was invested in and primarily concerned with the challenges to news gathering and reporting that resulted from the CNZ selection committee’s choice of et al. The discussion participants’ particular journalistic and visual arts field perspectives and concerns are evident in their discourse, characterised by the relatively mild antagonism of this initial reporting of the arts story. These antagonisms, however, are intensified and amplified in subsequent coverage, especially in the case of the TVNZ *Holmes* programme, which will be examined in the second half of this chapter.

First of all, while both Biggs and McNaught agreed that New Zealand’s participation in the Venice Biennale art exhibitions was a good idea, they did not agree on its purpose. Biggs explained that the reasons for going to Venice were “to raise the profile and standing of New Zealand...visual arts internationally and...to give career development

opportunities for artists and administrators and those involved with the Biennale.” From this standpoint, exhibiting in the same environment as other international art producers was seen as a way to increase the visibility of New Zealand’s visual arts, but participation was also viewed as a way for those involved to gain experience, develop their skills and acquire symbolic and social capital within the international visual artworld. Biggs’ discourse concerning the Venice Biennale reflected CNZ’s official mandate as an arts funding organisation providing capability-building “opportunities for artists, practitioners and arts organisations to increase their skills” and “advocating for and promoting New Zealand arts...to building relationships that ensure New Zealand work is presented overseas” (Creative New Zealand, 2010).

McNaught also agreed that the exhibition was a good showcase for promoting New Zealand art, but argued that it served as a promotional opportunity for New Zealand more generally as well. McNaught claimed that “one of the most important things about it is that New Zealand is there promoting its art and in a way promoting NZ, and the marketing of the shows is very, very important.” Therefore, the artist’s role in relation to this promotional process was important as well. However, in this instance, McNaught asserted, “we might be making it very difficult for ourselves with this particular concept known as et al. that’s been chosen.”

Implied here is that having as representatives of the country artists that refuse to communicate with the media and art that is inaccessible and difficult to explain could jeopardize New Zealand’s international opportunities. McNaught’s argument indicates a focus on the public good and a regard for the best interests of the country, but also operating here is a question concerning how she will undertake her journalistic role.

Just as Biggs’ notion of the objectives of New Zealand’s participation in the Venice Biennale was defined by his role as Chair of CNZ, McNaught’s discourse suggests that her perception of the exhibition stemmed from a journalistic habitus related to the necessities of a newsgathering practice. This media-centric perspective is evident, for instance, in McNaught’s observation that et al.’s personal interaction with journalists “is incredibly important because the media descend on this event... and so promoting it is incredibly difficult when you don’t even have an artist to stand up there and to front the work.” This focus on a certain notion of journalistic practice clearly underlies McNaught’s frustration when she complained at one point, “And who am I going to

interview when I get to write about it? Well, I can take my pick, I suppose.” These concerns not only highlight the primacy of sourcing information in journalistic practice and the centrality of what Barton referred to as “the cult of the artist” in arts journalism, but also indicate a somewhat limited notion of how arts journalism is undertaken. Moreover, besides undermining journalists’ ability to do their job, the artists’ refusal to “front” their work also subverts journalistic authority and symbolic power. At another point in the discussion, McNaught reasserted the journalistic field’s authority and role as “a crucial mediator” (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 6) by pointing out that even the official selection criteria had required the artist to be “prepared to do media...to front up and talk about the work.”

While McNaught emphasised the artists’ responsibility to the media, Biggs downplayed this aspect of the artists’ role noting that “this criterion was only one of the issues in selecting the artist, but it’s not the only one and it’s a little way down the list.” Distancing himself from the decision-making process, he noted, somewhat vaguely, that contingencies had been implemented to accommodate the media: “As I understand it the panel made this decision and we put...things in place to enable the work to be promoted”. He explained that others such as the commissioner and the curator would be available instead (“you can speak to people in Venice”). McNaught, however, reflecting the field story’s earlier representations of the discursive failures of the artists’ spokespersons, rejected this alternative approach and questioned the ability of the surrogates to explain the artists’ work in comprehensible terms: “I don’t think these pointy headed curators are the way to go—talking about post modern didactic—whatever”. Here, McNaught’s derisive representation and dismissal of art analytical discourse displays an anti-intellectualism that some scholars (Hirst, Phelan, & Rupar, 2012; also, see Chapter 7) have identified as characteristic of the New Zealand journalistic field.

Finally, the segment’s discussion ended where it began, with the two participants’ agreeing up to a point. Both Biggs and McNaught thought that New Zealand’s participation in the Venice Biennale should continue. However, they disagreed on whether et al. was an acceptable choice. On this point, McNaught questioned the idea of New Zealand being represented “with a concept like this instead of an artist, and with a site-specific installation” rather than with art that was “clear, and simple, and expressive and, you know, sends a story or a message about New Zealand art”. While it is not clear

whether McNaught is expressing her own aesthetic preferences here or purporting to speak in a journalistic sense on behalf of a general public, the problems that McNaught identifies regarding et al. are indicative of a journalistic field position, as these issues recur as narrative motifs in the subsequent coverage of the story (see Chapter 6).

The first problem with the artist that McNaught identified here is revealed in the dichotomy she constructs between “concept” and “artist”. The hierarchy of this binary opposition is clear as McNaught expresses doubt about the potential merit of the ambiguous entity representing New Zealand in Venice, preferring, instead, a more conventional notion of “artist”. Much of the subsequent reporting of this arts story (one of the first instances being the *Holmes* broadcast) emphasised the negative and deviant news values associated with the artists’ identity by representing it as a problem or as an indication of instability or eccentricity.⁶¹

Besides having a problem with the artists’ identity, McNaught also identified a problem with the artists’ work. In her criticism of et al., McNaught presented a second dichotomy that opposed “a site-specific installation” (i.e., art that is complex and challenging) to art that is “clear, and simple, and expressive” (i.e., accessible and communicative). While not all installation art is necessarily difficult, McNaught’s characterisation of this art form may be indicative of the writing preferences of New Zealand visual art journalists, many of whom do not enjoy writing about installation and conceptual art, or especially about art that is informed by theory (see Chapter 4). However, in the case of et al., Peter Biggs, in fact, agreed that their work was challenging (“it’s tough work”), but noted that the choice of et al. was strategic for the context of the Venice Biennale. According to the CNZ Chair, “because we are new there, we have to break through in an impactful kind of way.” In other words, and as Hamish Keith had suggested, et al. was chosen apparently to make an impression on “foreign people”.

McNaught’s final assertion was that the art sent to the Biennale should communicate something about New Zealand art. In other words, et al.’s work did not sufficiently display a New Zealand character. This perspective rearticulates Keith’s nationalistic sentiment that the New Zealand artwork chosen for the Venice Biennale should be

⁶¹ As the content analysis in Chapter 6 shows, references to the artists’ identity appeared most often in relation to negative reporting.

representative of New Zealand culture and artistic tradition and should be unmistakably of this place. McNaught's comment also reflects McNaught's earlier views concerning the Biennale artists' promotional role and the political economic notion of the Venice exhibition as an opportunity to promote the country's unique national identity through its creative products (see Chapter 3).

5.3 *Holmes*: Amplification of the journalistic field's antagonisms

Ten days after the *Frontseat* broadcast and a day after Coddington's press release, in which she accused the Prime Minister and her Associate Minister Judith Tizard of "arrogant elitism" and described et al.'s work as "crap", the popular prime-time, TV One current affairs show, *Holmes*, devoted a segment of its half-hour programme to et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale. In many ways, the *Holmes* segment was a restaging of the *Frontseat* presentation. Like *Frontseat*, the *Holmes* programme was framed as a public affairs discussion focusing on an issue of social concern, apparently in keeping with the TVNZ Charter mandate.⁶² Also, the *Holmes* broadcast drew on ideas and sources presented in the earlier TVNZ programme, demonstrating what Shoemaker and Reese referred to as an "inbred reliance" (1996, p. 123) on the previous reporting of the news organisation. For instance, the *Frontseat* field report was the source for the material used in the brief background report that introduced the *Holmes* segment, and Peter Biggs reprised his role as et al.'s defender in the discussion that followed.

A number of characteristics, however, also distinguish the two programmes. First of all, the specialist arts and culture programme, *Frontseat*, broadcast only once a week late on Sunday evenings, was relatively new, having been on the air for only two months, and with a viewership average of only 98,900 per episode during its first year (Nielsen Television Audience Measurement (TAM), 2007). In contrast, *Holmes*, which began in 1989, aired every weekday following the early evening newscast and typically had over a half million viewers (Nielsen TAM, 2007).

A comparison of the viewership data correlated to the New Zealand Socioeconomic Index of Occupational Status (NZSEI) highlights two NZSEI categories that are especially significant in distinguishing the two shows according to their popular appeal.

⁶² This assessment is based on the claim made by TVNZ CEO Ian Fraser: "My view is that everything we broadcast, one way or another, reflects the charter" (Frewen, 2004).

The NZSEI, derived from 1996 New Zealand census data, indicates socio-economic status based on income, education and age in relation to occupation; according to Galbraith (“The New Zealand Socio-Economic Index”), the theoretical model is based on “the way cultural capital (education) is translated into material rewards (income)”. Viewership data show that of those who watched the two shows, a higher ratio of the total number of *Frontseat* viewers (20%) were ranked as NZSEI Level 2 compared to *Holmes* viewers (14%); in contrast, a higher percentage of *Holmes* viewers (19%) than *Frontseat* viewers (14%) were ranked in the NZSEI Level 6 category (Nielsen TAM, 2007). The NZSEI Level 2 category refers to occupations that generate a somewhat higher income and require skills and training including architecture, engineering, health professions, business and legal professions, business, teaching and public service that generally earn higher incomes (Galbraith, Jenkin, Davis, & Coope, 2003). The NZSEI Level 6 category refers to the low-skilled occupations earning a lower income and includes service workers, agricultural and fishery workers and machine operators (Galbraith et al., 2003).

These viewership data, and their associated economic logic, help explain the especially mainstream, populist stance that *Holmes* adopted in its treatment of the visual arts story in comparison to *Frontseat*. Besides reiterating the specialist arts programme’s concerns regarding the artists’ identity and suitability as a representative, the *Holmes* show also centred on the issue of the exhibition’s cost, a detail that had only been mentioned but not problematized on *Frontseat*, and an issue that would be of particular concern to *Holmes*’ mainstream viewers. The significance of this issue was signalled from the outset by the prime time show’s framing of the exhibition’s cost to taxpayers as “the big question”:

Should we, the taxpayers, be stumping up half a million dollars to send to the Venice Biennale, the world’s most prestigious contemporary arts festival, the work of an artist whose latest work is a toilet braying like a donkey? Ask yourself.

The appeal to the mainstream viewer that is evident here and throughout the *Holmes* segment illustrates the market pressures on the journalistic field (as discussed in Chapter 3) and that, as Bourdieu (1998a) noted, drives television journalism in particular. In his discussion of television journalism, Bourdieu (1998a) identified a number of “mechanisms” which underlie television’s “particularly pernicious form of symbolic

violence” (p.17) exerted through “control of the instruments of production.” Of particular relevance to this discussion is the symbolic violence that was enacted in two ways: through the effective exploitation of the television medium; and through the ongoing process of naming as a means of representing a particular social reality through misdirection and the misrepresentation of facts, which Bourdieu (1998a) observed is “how, paradoxically television can hide by showing” (p. 19). A consideration of these elements, along with the show’s emphasis on news values of negativity and deviance, will be the focus of the following discussion. This analysis will demonstrate that the *Holmes* segment extended and amplified the visual arts story by creating a media event featuring an intense display of journalistic antagonism that heightened mainstream public interest and inflamed the controversy.

5.3.1 The *Holmes* background report: The re-edited and reconstituted field story

As noted above, the material that comprised the brief background report that initiated the *Holmes* segment originated from the *Frontseat* field story and similarly focused on information concerning the artists’ identity and on experts’ critical assessments of their work. Two key factors, however, distinguished this later version. First, the *Holmes* field report, narrated by Haydn Jones, was much more condensed, only one and a half minutes, and secondly, this report reframed the original report, to give more attention to the cost of the New Zealand exhibition, an issue that Paul Holmes had already emphasised when he introduced the upcoming segments at the beginning of the show. During his somewhat rambling set up for Jones’ report, Holmes raised the issue again as one of the key points of concern:

I don’t know, you go away for a week and you come back to work and straight away something’s got you buggered.

We, the taxpayers, are to pay -- we're told we're going to... this is wha... what... -
- no questions about it -- we are to pay around half a million dollars to send to a very elegant international art exhibition as an unseen work, or that is to say we are sending, as yet unseen work by an artist whose latest work is a dunny that brays like a donkey. And what's more, the artist's name or names are to remain a secret. We don't know who she is or he is or they are. Anyway, here's the guts to start us

off from Haydn Jones. (Keane, 2004)⁶³

With this stumbling and halting reaction to the government's expenditure, Holmes comes across as stunned and outraged, and in effect, mirrors the emotional responses that the imagined or preferred viewers would, or should, have to the situation. In other words, he is preparing his viewers by showing them how to respond to the information they are about to see and hear. Holmes performance at this point and throughout the segment demonstrates one of the major constraints of current affairs television according to Hirst, White, Chaplin, & Wilson (1995): "the closure of interpretation affected by the presenter's comments" (p. 80).

Jones' report relied extensively on the *Frontseat* field story for conceptual and visual material. However, the rhetoric of this re-edited version presented a more intensified symbolic violence that had been only implied, to some extent, in the previous report. Jones' report began with the same video image of *rapture* (2004), once again identified only by a brief shot of the artwork's title card, and again accompanied by the sound of the braying donkey, this time the only audio from the artwork that was presented. Like Hansen, Jones described the work, even more briefly, and never referred to the work by name, but unlike Hansen, Jones omitted the artists' name in his discussion of the work, thereby emphasising the reporter's description and naming.

In addition, the dichotomy between those with specialized knowledge of contemporary art and those without was more overt in this condensed report. Like the earlier field story, Jones' report presented supporting comments for the artists and their work by two of their spokespersons, Tina Barton and Greg Burke, but in this later report these experts' names and roles were not provided and their comments were abbreviated. In Hansen's report, the incongruity of these experts' glowing assessments of et al.'s quirky art was only implied; however, in Jones' report the dissonance of these perspectives (the "expert" as opposed to "the untrained eye") was more explicit: "To the untrained eye it looks like a toilet making donkey noises, but the experts will tell you something very different." To underscore the absurdity of the experts' views, the reporter, mimicking

⁶³ The analysis in this section is based on a transcript of the *Holmes* programme broadcast on July 14, 2004. The citations for all subsequent references to the broadcast should be understood as being the same as the one provided for this quote.

the patronising attitude of the expert, addressed the untrained viewer, “You see this is art, very good art.”

Next, Jones described et al.’s collective structure (“They go by many names.”). The same list of names presented onscreen in the earlier report was shown here. However, in this case the list of names was not simply displayed; it was also read aloud by Jones. Following this was an excerpt from Hansen’s interview with Burke that had appeared in the earlier report. In response to the reporter’s question of whether he used those names when he spoke to the members of the collective, Burke (identified with an onscreen credit as “Gregory Burke Venice Biennale [sic] Commissioner”) replied, “Absolutely...and my colleagues do as well, yeah.” Again, underscoring the absurdity of the charade carried out by someone who was apparently an authority attached to the exhibition, Jones, the journalist, revealed the truth and his own mastery of the facts: “Most believe et al. is actually Merylyn Tweedie.”

At this point, Jones raised the other key issue that Holmes had signalled in his introductory remarks: the exhibition’s cost. The reporter, noting that Tweedie would be “going halfway around the world to represent New Zealand in the Venice Biennale” pointed out that this would be “a taxpayer funded trip costing half a million dollars.” Significant here is the use of the phrase “taxpayer funded trip”, which recalls a controversy that had been covered by the media earlier in the year from March to May. The political scandal concerned the so-called “hip hop investigative tour” (Claridge, 2004), a government-funded world tour, in which a mother and daughter were given \$26,000 to study hip hop overseas, and which had been criticised by opposition politicians as a “junket” (Devereux & Beston, 2004). In implicitly connecting this visual arts story to the previous controversy, Jones alluded to the questions concerning government accountability and the funding of what were reported as frivolous arts-related activities at taxpayers’ expense.

Finally, like the earlier field report, Jones’ report ended with Hamish Keith. Here, Keith was presented with the onscreen credit of “Art Commentator”, a role emphasising his visual arts field expertise and function as expert source within the journalistic field, rather than as “Art consultant” (as indicated in the earlier arts broadcast), which stresses his heteronomous position within the visual arts field. Keith’s previous remarks concerning “foreign people” were omitted and his comments pared down to centre on

his criticism regarding the choice of et al. as New Zealand's representative. The focus here was given to his entertaining and witty observation: "why do we really have to represent ourselves with donkeys shut in the dunny?"

Jones summed up his report by posing questions that touched on issues that would appeal to mainstream viewers and that, as I will show in later chapters, often structured the overall media representation of the case. First, Jones returned to the issue of taxpayer funding and government accountability and linked this to Keith's compelling and humorous image: "So, is it money well-spent, or are our taxes going down the [sound of braying donkey]." The donkey sound used in this context refers not only to et al.'s work *rapture*, images of which were once again displayed, but also to the idea of money being flushed down the toilet (the "dunny"). Jones then alluded to the "expert/untrained eye" dichotomy that began the report: "Or is it just a case that we simply don't understand art like this?" While Jones suggests the possibility that the artists' advocates could be right -- that et al.'s art may be as worthwhile as they claim, the question, posed as an appeal to the commonsense values of the mainstream viewers, is meant to provoke. Moreover, the journalists' use of the pronoun "we" aligns him with the viewers in opposition to the elitist, and apparently mistaken, visual arts experts.

5.3.2 The *Holmes* discussion panel: Symbolic violence and the exploitation of the medium

The appeal to mainstream viewers and the antagonisms established in Jones' background report were further developed and amplified in the course of the discussion that followed. As previously noted, Peter Biggs reprised his *Frontseat* role and once again appeared as et al.'s defender in this discussion. However, the belligerence with which Holmes' treated Biggs and the artists on whose behalf he was speaking made this a very different event. Holmes' symbolic violence, articulated as the pugnacity of a journalist championing the values of mainstream New Zealanders, was more likely rooted in competitive tensions derived from the market-driven media environment and from Holmes' field-driven impulse to exert symbolic power and regain symbolic capital. By underscoring familiar narratives of failure that he constructed through accounts of government corruption and lack of accountability, the murky backroom operations of an elitist and inaccessible art world, and the mysterious artists' displays of deviance and instability, Holmes could be perceived as articulating -- in his trademark

tabloidized fashion – a fourth estate ideal of serving the public good.

Essential to Holmes' imposition of symbolic power in this journalistic role was his control of the television medium and the components of the current affairs genre. Paul Holmes' habitus and position within the journalistic field derived from a well-established and successful career in the media. He had been a broadcaster and media personality on New Zealand's airwaves since the 1970s and had hosted popular talkback radio programmes in the 1980s. He moved into the television medium in 1989 when TVNZ offered him the opportunity to simultaneously host his own television current affairs show, *Holmes* (Holmes, 1999). This programme remained the largely uncontested leader in current affairs broadcasting within New Zealand's limited television broadcasting environment until his resignation from TVNZ in November 2004.

Holmes' aggressive and often-confrontational interviewing style, which had at times been staged for publicity, earned him notoriety both locally and internationally. Holmes' history of provocative behaviour suggests deliberate attention-seeking, not surprisingly, and his often nationalistic and anti-radical sentiments generally aligned with the mainstream New Zealand values embraced by the majority of his viewing public. One of the most notable censures of Holmes came in 2003 as a result of his calling the UN Secretary General Koffi Annan a "cheeky darkie" in response to Annan's speech concerning the United States' invasion of Iraq without sanction. Holmes' comment not only generated strong negative national and international reactions but also led to key advertiser Mitsubishi pulling its one million dollar annual sponsorship from the *Holmes* television show because the remarks, as the company spokesperson indicated, were "'incompatible' with its philosophy" (Boland, 2003).

This incident was especially significant to this chapter's examination of the exchange between Holmes and Biggs. As previously noted, Mitsubishi Motors was a client of the advertising firm Clemenger BBDO of which Biggs was Managing Director. When Mitsubishi dropped its sponsorship of *Holmes*, Biggs praised the automobile company's "integrity" for being "prepared to put their principles before profit" ("More on Holmes' gaffe", 2003). As others have noted, this conflict likely served as "grist to the mill", fueling Holmes' "undisguised contempt" for Biggs during the programme's interviews (Drinnan, 2004).

The other discussion participant was John Gow, a well-established art dealer and founding director of the Gow Langsford Gallery, established in 1987, and a founding member of the New Zealand Contemporary Art Dealers Association (Gow Langsford Gallery, 2006). Highly regarded as an authority on both historical and contemporary New Zealand art, Gow acts as a consultant for private collectors, corporations, museums and public institutions. From a field theory standpoint Gow's relative position towards the heteronomous pole of the visual arts field suggests that his dispositions may be guided to some extent by the forces of the marketplace. Frequently sought by members of the media to analyse art-related events and comment on issues of authenticity as well as the value and significance of New Zealand art, Gow maintains symbolic capital within both the visual arts and journalistic fields.

A known advocate of a distinctly New Zealand art, Gow had already voiced criticism of the selection committee's choice of et al. In a *Dominion Post* article published the morning of the *Holmes* broadcast, Gow had referred to the selection panel's choice as

pandering to the sort of more extreme curatorial choice of artists rather than a mainstream major artist which I would rather see there. It's about curators breeding the right image for themselves, not about necessarily New Zealand being represented correctly by the kind of art which is respected here. (Haines, 2004)

By representing an opposing viewpoint, Gow could be seen as a counterbalance to Biggs' position of authority and role as champion for et al. Moreover, by association, Gow's symbolic capital added authority to Holmes' antagonisms by providing an opposing expert's view of the issue combined with an insider's understanding of the art world. As Steele (1990) has pointed out, broadcast journalists often select "specialists who will reinforce their own understanding of a story" and "create the illusion of objective reporting" (p. 28).

Holmes also exerted symbolic power through the control and manipulation of other aspects of the television medium. First of all, the time limitations and magazine-style format of a current affairs programme define its structure and necessitate its brisk pace. In this case, as one of three segments to be presented in the course of the half-hour programme, the time allocated to the discussion of et al. amounted to just over seven minutes. This time constraint, which is generally understood to be an inherent part of

the practice of television programming, not only curtailed any extensive discussion, but may have also, to some extent, justified the host's antagonistic and brusque interviewing approach during the programme.

Holmes' interview process was another way in which he exerted his power. For instance, Holmes, who had a reputation for a confrontational and aggressive interviewing style (Staff, 1989), controlled Biggs' responses, and consequently, his opportunity to present his version of a social reality, by interrupting and speaking over Biggs. In fact, in the course of the discussion, Biggs was able to speak only twice without interference. Reacting to these frequent interruptions, Biggs asked Holmes four times during the interview to be allowed to speak, and at one point, Holmes replied by telling Biggs to "stop grandstanding." This characterisation of Biggs' request as a form of self-interested attention seeking ("grandstanding") is consistent with a journalistic "logic of self-interest", often displayed as suspicion regarding the motivations of public figures (Phelan, 2011).⁶⁴

Certainly, Holmes' treatment of John Gow was markedly different. In fact, the differences in the performances of the two interviewees, and presumably how the imagined public, and perhaps most importantly how other journalists, would perceive them, had a great deal to do with how they were treated by the host. Unlike Biggs, Gow was given the chance to complete his statements and, even occasionally, to elaborate on his ideas. In addition, Holmes' style when speaking to Gow was quiet, conversational and respectful. For instance, in contrast to his characterisation of Biggs as "grandstanding" and his accusation that Biggs was not answering questions, Holmes even thanked Gow "for being honest", when Gow confirmed that et al. was in fact someone named Tweedie. Holmes' attribution of honesty portrays Gow as a trustworthy informant revealing the truth about the artworld's "shenanigans" and coverups. In this more positive and supportive environment, Gow appeared composed, relaxed and reasonable, while Biggs came across as incoherent, disjointed, evasive and somewhat distressed. As Bourdieu (1998a) has observed, television moderators can shape the way interviewees perform and influence the way they are perceived, simply by encouraging

⁶⁴ Also, as previously mentioned, Holmes' aggressive approach may, to a certain extent, be related to his resentment towards Biggs concerning his programme's loss of economic capital as a result of Mitsubishi's withdrawal of sponsorship and his subsequent loss of symbolic capital. From that standpoint, Holmes' symbolic violence would have been a means by which he could reassert his authority over Biggs and re-establish his symbolic power.

or discouraging their responses.

The appearance and location of the discussion participants were other aspects of the medium through which Holmes could exert symbolic power. The interviewees and host were not all together in the same studio. Holmes and Gow, in the Auckland studio, sat across from each other and carried out the interview in a conversational style. A multiple-camera setup that presented Gow in varied medium and medium close-up angles were used in this studio, and he was shown relaxed and at ease, sitting back in his chair and smiling and gesturing calmly. In contrast, Biggs was located in the Wellington studio where only a single, fixed camera was used. Throughout the discussion, Biggs was presented in an unvaried, static medium shot looking straight ahead and unsmiling, into the camera. Occasionally, a split screen showed Biggs and Holmes side by side, but for the most part, Biggs appeared isolated, uncomfortable and distant.

In discussing his interviewing technique, Holmes observed how, in his experience, location disparities can affect an interview when one guest is in the studio with him and the other is in Wellington:

That always puts the person 500 miles away at a disadvantage. Their presence is diminished. Not on the set at home, but in the studio. It is very easy to start focusing your attention on the person you're sitting with. (Staff, 1989, p. 172)

Aware of the handicap that a remote location can create, Holmes would also be aware of how to exploit this situation. The disparity in the way the two participants were presented suggests that such manipulation may have occurred. Certainly, of the two interview subjects, Gow appeared to have received preferential treatment in contrast to Biggs who struggled to communicate his ideas.

Finally, Holmes' delivery style and performance was another aspect of the medium that he was able to exploit to exert his symbolic power. For instance, in an entertaining tirade after the Jones' report, Holmes complained about the artists' identity and their resistance to publicity, as well as the incomprehensibility of difficult art and the intellectual elitism of the art world. He illustrated the last point through mimicry, quoting in a mocking and derisive tone Tina Barton's art historical explanation of the

notion of the artist's identity, which she had presented in the *Frontseat* field report:

Collective they call it, when there's a group of artists it's a collective. [chuckles]
So we don't know who the collective is or the artist is, though we know it's a woman called Merylyn Tweedie, as Haydn says, and she refuses to comment or be photographed.

No problem, no problem about this, about refusing to be identified, says one Tina Barton from the Venice selection panel. To quote her she says, this is from the Oliver Driver arts programme, she says, "The very idea of the cult of the artist or the fascination with the name of the artist is a very historic specific category," she says.

As he repeated Barton's statement, Holmes opened his eyes wide, tilted his head from side to side, elevated his vocal pitch slightly and assumed an affected nasal tone to ridicule Barton's intellectual discourse. Then, Holmes, returning to his normal vocal delivery and rolling his eyes, indignantly snorted, "Whatever that means." He followed his lampoon of the art intellectual by urging the viewing audience to "please feel free to throw up."

This display of annoyance immediately gave way to theatrical outrage. Portraying an aggrieved journalist who had made every effort to fulfil his responsibility to present a balanced programme, he complained, while tapping the desk with one end of his pen, "Nobody from the selection panel would front up on the programme tonight; not one of the people who made the selection to go to the Venice Biennale would front up to this programme to justify that selection." Holmes' comedic and irreverent performance played to an anti-intellectual sensibility that his imagined mainstream viewing audience would presumably share. Moreover, his mercurial and eccentric display was also entertaining and ideally suited for the medium of television. This performance, though, raises the question: where do Holmes' parodies end?

During the rest of the discussion, Holmes presented himself in the persona of the watchdog, impersonating an investigative journalist to uncover ostensible wrongdoing and reveal the truth on behalf of outraged taxpayers. As journalist, but mostly as showman, he presented dramatic accounts of failure, disorder and eccentricity,

characteristic of the news values of negativity and deviance, to highlight a perceived social problem, but also to entertain and provoke his mainstream viewers. Conflict and its complement, drama, Johnson-Cartee (2005) has argued, are essential features of news stories and especially investigative reporting, which requires constructing “narratives that establish the forces of evil and the forces of good” (p. 84). In his assumed role as watchdog, Holmes drew on the familiar journalistic narratives of governmental failure associated with the wasteful spending of taxpayers’ money and the lack of honest and fair administration of government programmes (Protess et al. 1991). According to Carpentier (2005), these appeals to accountability and transparency activate key nodal points of the objectivity and autonomy of the investigative journalistic habitus associated with the “‘traditional’ identity of the media professional” (p. 200) and serve to validate Holmes in this role.

Holmes’ narrative of failure and social deviancy highlighted the inaccessibility and lack of accountability of those involved in the Venice exhibition. One example was that of the selection panel members, whose refusal to appear on the programme to speak about their choice had been the object of his outrage earlier in the programme (as previously discussed). Later in the segment, the show’s host again drew attention to the selection committee’s reluctance to defend their choice of et al.:

Biggs: Et al. is a New Zealand artist at the top of their game judged by seven of the most eminent art people in New Zealand...

Holmes: None of whom were prepared to come on the programme and talk about their selection.

In effect, by refusing to face the media, the CNZ panel members had failed to meet their obligation to the public. The argument implied here reproduces notions concerning the power of the media and its, presumably, essential fourth estate role. A democratic society requires an open and transparent government, and the media functions as an essential conduit for an informed citizenry. Suspicions are aroused when those associated with a government agency refuse to be held accountable for their behaviours and decisions. Furthermore, in resisting the “normal” organisational routines of journalistic practice, the visual arts organisation’s committee members were obstructing an essential democratic process.

Holmes' account also brought into question the selection committee's judgement and common sense. The panel's choice of et al. had been based, in part, on a 45-page proposal for a site-specific installation that would be created in Venice and details concerning its appearance were contingent on the site that would be chosen. A series of exchanges between Holmes and Biggs focused on this issue and Holmes complained taxpayers' funds were being spent on something that no one had yet seen:

Holmes: Right. This is all fine but the bottom line is, Peter Biggs, you've spent money on... You're committing to spending money on what... you don't know what it is yet. Nobody does that, not with mah...our money.⁶⁵

As Holmes represents the situation, spending money on art that had not yet been created, but only described in a proposal, was irresponsible as well as unconventional, even though it is common in other fields, such as business and politics, to allocate money for projects based on proposals.

Holmes' questions concerning the rationality of the selection panel extended to et al. as well, and his representations of the artists emphasised their peculiarity. According to Holmes, et al. was a single artist named Tweedie, who only pretended to be more than one person. Furthermore, this single artist's insistence on presenting herself as multiple personalities and refusal to appear publicly suggested they might be unstable. At first, Holmes raised the possibility that these eccentric behaviours might be an advantage, making et al. "the right choice" to fit in with the rest of the artists at the Venice Biennale, which, he pointed out, is "full of oddballs." However, at another point, he suggested, perhaps not completely seriously, that their apparent instability made them an unreliable choice, that they "might have a breakdown, the public pressure, the exposure, you know, there might be a complete collapse of the artistic flow." As a consequence, he suggested, they might not be able to complete the installation.

The artists' refusal to face journalists, explain themselves or use their "proper" name also served as evidence of their irresponsibility and dishonesty. Holmes complained that

⁶⁵ In this example, Holmes' watchdog façade slips momentarily, evident in his quick correction of the use of the single possessive determiner "my", perhaps revealing his personal identification with the issue of the loss of economic capital (associated with his personal conflict with Biggs) to the plural possessive form "our", which rhetorically conveys his identification with the concerns of his mainstream audience.

et al. would receive taxpayers' money even though their "names are to remain a secret. We don't know who she is or he is or they are." Holmes' focus on the artists' lack of accountability implied that, like the selection committee, they had something to hide, and Peter Biggs, the CNZ spokesperson, was complicit in this dishonesty.

In fact, the secrecy surrounding the artists' identity was a principal focus of Holmes' antagonism and symbolic violence in his exchanges with Biggs. For instance, at one point, Holmes feigned ignorance concerning the artists' name, mispronouncing it, even though Jones' report and Holmes, himself, had presented that information earlier in the segment:

Holmes: Who is this et al., Mr Biggs?

Biggs: et al. is a collective, Paul...

Holmes: Well we know it's not. Stop right there, we know it's not a collective. We know it's this Merylyn Teedie... Tweedie.

Holmes' correction of Biggs and assertion that "we know" who the artists actually are suggests that this line of questioning was designed not to inform the viewers, but to goad Biggs into naming et al. as Tweedie and to demonstrate that Biggs was, indeed, hiding a truth. As Clayman and Heritage (2002) have argued, accusations often operate in relation to "accountability" questioning and assert the interviewer's position and advocacy role on behalf of an overhearing audience. The symbolic violence that Holmes enacted here was similarly evident at another point in the discussion when he once again insisted that Biggs identify et al. by name rather than maintain the apparent illusion, from Holmes' standpoint, of the artists' collectivist identity:

Holmes: ...I'm asking you who this et al. is, and you haven't even answered that, out of... apparently, out of respect to the artist, who we are paying half a million dollars to send to Venice. Who is representing us? Don't tell us it's some kind of collective when it's one person.

Biggs: et al. Would you give me a chance to speak please, Paul... .

Despite Holmes' insistence, Biggs resisted Holmes' symbolic violence and reasserted the artists' name. If Biggs had conceded to Holmes' persistent antagonism and adopted the name "Tweedie", he would have been complicit in Holmes' symbolic violence. With that misrecognition, Biggs would have yielded to the journalistic field's symbolic and constitutive authority and undermined the artists', and his, field autonomy.

Although Holmes' naming of et al. met resistance, his renaming of et al.'s installation, *rapture* (2004), was more successful. Throughout his interview with Biggs, Holmes frequently alluded to the work. However, as Jones and Hansen did in their field reports, Holmes never identified the work by its title but only by its most comic features: the port-a-loo and braying donkey. In fact, during the seven-minute interview, Holmes referred to the artwork as "the donkey" eleven times, with an occasional mention of the "dunny". At one point, even Biggs succumbed to the symbolic violence of Holmes' persistent assault and referred to the work as "the donkey".

The success of Holmes' naming campaign and of the programme's other mainstream-oriented appeals to accountability and transparency was evident in their proliferation as tropes in the reporting of the other mainstream media, such as the metropolitan press (as demonstrated by the content analysis of Chapter 6). However, a more immediate indication of the show's symbolic power was demonstrated by the apparently effective filtration of some of these notions in the construction of an indignant audience reaction. Drawing on the populist appeal and democratic rhetoric of audience feedback (these aspects of mainstream journalism's "vox pop" approach will be discussed more in Chapter 8), Holmes read a selection of unsolicited correspondence from eight viewers' responses to the segment at various points during the remainder of the half-hour programme. Two of these referred to the donkey, two used the term "dunny" and one used the phrase, "flushed down the goobler". Five of the viewers, though, echoing the segment's mainstream appeal to accountability, complained that taxpayers' money was being wasted, with several suggesting the money should be spent instead on children's healthcare or education. Finally, he noted that some of the contributors suggested he "should have gone to Venice as a live art exhibit". Concurring with the view, and with a somewhat disarming comment that suggested his awareness of his theatricalized media role, Holmes observed, "Could be a good idea... be time to make an exhibition of myself. I'm good at that."

5.4 Summary

This chapter presented an analysis of two TVNZ broadcasts, *Frontseat* and *Holmes*, the earliest in-depth reports that covered et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale. Comparison of the two current affairs programmes indicates that in their handling of the visual arts story, both adopted an apparent investigative journalistic practice, in keeping with their Charter-mandated public service roles, and engaged in the symbolic violence of naming and both focused on issues reflecting news values of negativity and deviance. However, the two programmes' antagonisms differed in degree and focus which, the analysis suggests, was likely related to the shows' differing heteronomous positions within the journalistic field.

Within the journalistic field, the less-favoured and marginalised status of the specialist arts show was demonstrated by its weekly programming late on Sunday nights and justified by the smaller and more elite demographic of its viewing audience. The arts journalism show's liminal position within the journalistic field was reflected in its attempt to reach both mainstream and specialist viewers through its focus on news values of negativity and deviance, engaging populist appeals to common sense and nationalism, and on arts policy-related issues concerning the merit of the artistic choice rather than the value of New Zealand's presence at the exhibition.

In contrast, the *Holmes* programme's treatment of the arts story was shaped by efforts to appeal to its largely mainstream viewership. This was accomplished to a great extent by amplifying the negative and deviant issues dealing with organisational failure and identity confusion that had been addressed in the earlier show, but was also achieved by introducing familiar journalistic appeals to accountability and transparency likely to activate values that would be of particular concern to this show's primary viewership. Moreover, the symbolic violence of these self-interested appeals was instead articulated as a "sensationalized watchdogism" (Louw, 2005, p. 62), via an assumed adversarial stance engaged more with providing an entertaining spectacle than serving the public interest. Furthermore, this perception was facilitated by and concealed within *Holmes*' exaggerated impersonation of an investigative journalist, a performance that was partly motivated by his own disposition and self-interests within the journalistic field.

This chapter has examined how the antagonisms of the journalistic and visual arts fields

were shaped initially in the case of television journalism by the heteronomous constraints of the economic field. The next chapter extends this analysis to print journalism and presents a content analysis of New Zealand's mainstream metropolitan newspaper coverage of the visual arts story.

Chapter 6:

Content analysis of the news articles: The relational logic of NZ's mainstream journalism presses

6.1 Introduction

The broad aim of this thesis is to examine the interrelationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields as demonstrated by the case of New Zealand's participation in the 2005 Venice Biennale. Achieving this goal requires an investigation of how New Zealand mainstream journalists covered this visual arts story and represented the New Zealand visual arts field.

The survey results in Chapter 4 suggested that agents in New Zealand's visual arts and journalistic fields were dissatisfied with much of the mainstream media's reporting on et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale. In fact, a majority of the participants in both the visual arts and arts journalism surveys believed that journalists' reporting of the arts story was not balanced, thorough or accurate. When VAF survey respondents were asked which media organisations they thought had done a poor job in their coverage of the artists and the event, a high number of respondents singled out the mainstream newspaper, the *Dominion Post*, followed by TVNZ and its programme *Holmes*. The previous chapter considered broadcast journalism's treatment of the art story by examining the TVNZ current affairs programmes that dealt with et al. This chapter extends the analysis of the journalistic field by focusing on New Zealand's mainstream metropolitan newspapers.

In this chapter, content analysis is employed to explore the mainstream metropolitan newspapers' reporting about et al. and the Venice Biennale. While content analysis is not the primary analytical method of this thesis, it is an ideal approach for empirically describing similarities and differences in the various metropolitan newspapers' coverage. This method is concerned with identifying the frequency "of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts to their wider social significance" (Hansen, Cottle, Negraire & Newbold, 1998, p. 95). Applying this approach to the analysis of the mainstream newspaper content relevant to this case is useful in addressing the key research questions of this thesis presented in Chapter 1

concerning how New Zealand's mainstream media (in this case, the metropolitan newspapers) covered et al. and the country's participation in the Venice Biennale, and how the media's coverage of the event constructed the visual arts and journalistic fields.

The content analysis method was used to identify the key variables, or recurring narrative motifs, the mainstream newspapers relied on in their construction of the art news story and representations of the journalistic and visual arts fields. The occurrence of these motifs in the various newspapers' reporting was compared in order to identify similarities and differences in the newspapers' treatment of the news story. Content analysis was carried out with a range of news texts including articles; opinion discourse such as editorials, arts columns and op-ed essays; and letters to the editor. These results are examined in the second half of this chapter. Furthermore, the results of this content analysis serve as a foundation for the in-depth discourse analyses of selected news texts presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

This chapter begins by presenting an overview of content analysis, why this method was useful for this study and how it was carried out.

6.2 Defining content analysis and its relevance to field analysis

Content analysis is a well-established method for the analysis of media texts. A frequently cited definition by Berelson (1952) identified this method as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). As this definition suggests, content analysis has been primarily conceived as a descriptive, quantitative process that centres on denotative meaning, the meaning that most people share. Jensen (2002) explains that Berelson recognised the aim of this type of research to be the interpretation of media but, according to Berelson, such interpretations follow the analytical process and are not part of it. With this quantitative approach, the content analyst measures specifically defined textual features and then uses this data as the basis for general inferences about the meaning of the texts and their implications regarding social circumstances. In effect, Berelson sees quantitative and interpretive practices in content analysis as separate activities occurring at different points in the content analytic process.

Hansen et al. (1998), however, argue that content analysis can never be completely

objective or value-free (see also Krippendorf, 2004; Jensen, 2002). Even in the case of quantitative content analysis, certain dimensions of a text rather than others are selected as the focus of an analysis. Moreover, these subjective choices are made in relation to other factors external to the object of study, such as the research objectives and theoretical framework (Hansen et al., 1998). Furthermore, although content analysis entails quantitative practices such as the identification and calculation of the frequency of some characteristic of a text, the inferences that can be drawn from this descriptive information alone are limited. This point was clearly made by Holsti (1969) who insisted, “simple descriptions of content are of limited worth without comparisons and relationships drawn from theoretical concerns” (quoted in Kaid, 1989, p. 198).

One should not assume from this, though, that a descriptive content analysis is not useful. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005), for instance, point out that descriptive analysis can provide a “reality check”, or a real life standard, against which a representation of a person, group or phenomenon may be compared to identify media distortion or bias. Also, descriptive content analysis can play an essential role in early stages of a research project to prepare the way for other types of research (Riffe et al., 2005).

Departing from Berelson’s definition, Krippendorf (2004) advanced an alternative, less restrictive, view of content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to their context” (p. 18).

Krippendorf agreed that content analysis should be replicable, and therefore systematic, but not necessarily quantitative. Another significant difference is that Krippendorf calls for analysts to make replicable and valid “inferences from texts...to their context”; in other words, interpretation occurs throughout the research process (Crano & Brewer, 2002; Jensen, 2002).

These scholars’ divergent views reflect the quantitative/qualitative debate among researchers concerning the observational technique and substance of content analysis (Crano & Brewer, 2002). Many quantitative researchers contend that the analyst should only code and not interpret observed, or manifest, elements; qualitative researchers, on the other hand, require the analyst to interpret the intentions or motives that might underlie the observations. Crano and Brewer (2002) point out that the inferential approach may offer “a richer, more meaningful picture of the event under study”, but often “at the cost of lower reliability and validity” (p. 246). A number of scholars have

viewed such distinctions concerning content analysis as “artificial” (Schreier, 2012, p. 14; see also Krippendorf, 2004; Martin, 2002; Neuendorf, 2002). Overall, as Ridenour and Benz (2008) argue, the qualitative/quantitative opposition represents “a false dichotomy” and actually, they claim, the two strategies interact within “a continuum of scientific inquiry” (p. 17).

The problem of how and whether to represent contextual perspectives is addressed in this study by the use of field theory. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 2), Bourdieu’s field concept seeks to overcome the epistemological divide between structure and agent, or between an “objectivist” perspective that treats “social facts as things”, and a “subjectivist” one that “can reduce the social to the representations that agents have of it” (Bourdieu, 1989, pp. 14-15). Instead, Bourdieu calls for a dialectic relationship between the two ways of thinking to overcome “the artificial opposition between structures and representations” (Bourdieu, 1989, p.15).

Thinking relationally means looking beyond the obvious or manifest features of the social world to locate the relations between the positions in a particular social field. Just as the journalistic field can best be understood through its differentiation from other fields, the same is true in terms of the interrelationship of the various agents and entities that constitute the journalistic field itself. According to Bourdieu (2005), “Part of what is produced in the world of journalism cannot be understood unless one conceptualizes this microcosm as such and endeavours to understand the effects that the people engaged in this microcosm exert on one another” (p. 33). To understand the New Zealand field relationally, the content analysis approach articulated in this study incorporates the relational and critical framework of field theory to analyse the relation between agents within the New Zealand journalistic field and the interrelation of the journalistic and visual arts field within the New Zealand context.

6.3 How content analysis is used in this chapter

Arts journalism is a relatively recent research area and content analysis has been deployed in many of the studies that have been undertaken. For example, comprehensive content analyses identifying contemporary trends in the journalistic arts reporting of metropolitan and national daily newspapers and other media have been conducted in the United States (Janeway, Levy, Szántó, & Tyndall, 1999; Szántó, Levy,

& Tyndall, 2004), in the Netherlands (Janssen, 1999), in South Africa (Media Monitoring Project, 2006) and in Finland (Hellman & Jaakkola, 2012). These studies have highlighted historical changes, economic constraints and the current characteristics of arts journalism in these national contexts. Also, in their study of the globalization of arts journalism, Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord (2008) used content analysis to carry out a comparison of the reporting of foreign arts in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States over a 50-year period. The media coverage of other specialized areas of arts and cultural production have been studied as well, including music (Schmutz, 2009), film (Baumann, 2002) and fashion (Janssen, 2006). Finally, Strahan's (2011) content analysis of public relations activity in the arts journalism in Melbourne, Australia shows that arts publicists are significantly involved in the production of arts journalism there.

Up to now, researchers' applications of Bourdieu's field theory to the study of arts journalism have been rare. One exception is a study of globalization and arts journalism by Skillbeck (2008) that uses field theory to discuss arts journalism's loss of autonomy in relation to the overlapping economic and cultural fields. Another exception is the research of Botma (2008) who applies a field theory framework to the content analysis data of the Media Monitoring Project (2006) in order to analyse the changing field of arts journalism in post-apartheid South Africa.

As discussed previously, content analysis can provide an empirically derived description of social phenomena, and so serve as a basis for comparison of representations of these same social phenomena. In other words, content analysis, as Stempel (1989) described it, is "a formal system for doing something that we all do informally rather frequently, drawing conclusions from observations of content" (p. 124). In light of these reasons, content analysis was used to explore how the metropolitan newspapers covered the 2005 Venice Biennale in order to compare their reporting and to serve, in part, as a "reality check" to assess the impressions regarding the state of arts journalism in New Zealand expressed by participants in the Arts Journalism in New Zealand and Visual Arts and Journalism in New Zealand surveys discussed in Chapter 4.

To carry out this comparison, this study identified and examined recurring discursive motifs that constructed the journalistic accounts of the visual art story. Analysis showed

that these rhetorical elements became stabilizing features of the narratives and sites of contestation in the antagonistic discourse of the newspapers' opinion-based texts, though there were some significant differences in how these were articulated across newspapers. The antagonisms activated by these discursive elements will figure extensively in the more in-depth discourse analyses of Chapters 7 and 8.

Furthermore, field theory guided inferences that were made concerning data and their context (Crano & Brewer, 2002; Krippendorf, 2004). This comparative approach is also consistent with Bourdieu's relational concept of the field according to which the agents and positions within a field are not autonomous or isolated elements but are defined in relation to other agents and positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Topper, 2001).

The content analysis addresses three sub-questions:

- How did the reporting of the arts story differ among the four main metropolitan newspapers?
- How were the key actors in the case (and their corresponding fields) represented in the coverage? What issues did the newspapers emphasise?
- What was the general tone of the reporting of the four metropolitan newspapers?

An overview of the way the content analysis method was employed to answer these questions is discussed in the next two sections of this chapter.

6.4 Selection of media, sample and coding units

6.4.1 Metropolitan newspapers: General and art news readership

Data for this analysis were gathered from the four metropolitan daily newspapers representing the country's four major urban centres: *New Zealand Herald* from Auckland, *The Dominion Post* published in Wellington, *The Press* from Christchurch and the *Otago Daily Times* published in Dunedin. These were chosen because of their geographical spread and their numbers of both general and arts and culture readers. These four metropolitan newspapers maintain the largest circulation of all the New Zealand newspapers and cover both the North and South Islands. The results of the Nielsen Media National Readership Survey July 2005–June 2006 showed that on an average day 1,112,000 (35% of the total population) read a metropolitan newspaper, and

1.8 million people (57% of the total population) read at least one issue of a metropolitan daily within a single week (Newspaper Advertising Bureau, August 27, 2006).

Although published in the country’s major urban centres, these newspapers are mainly regional in their distribution and readership. As Phelan and Owen (2010) have demonstrated, this regional focus follows a market-driven logic that is reflected in the coverage and selection of stories that accommodate the interests of the local readership. The *New Zealand Herald*’s circulation positioned it as the largest of the four metropolitan dailies (see Table 4) and the preferred choice among readers in the Auckland and the northern regions of the North Island (APN New Zealand, 2006). The Central and Southern sectors of the North Island were dominated by *The Dominion Post*, which, according to the Nielsen readership results for 2005, gained more new readers per average issue during this period than any other daily paper and increased its circulation in the capital city with half of all Wellingtonians reading the paper each day and over 75% reading it each week (Fairfax, March 1, 2006). In the South Island, *The Press* was the preferred daily newspaper not only in Christchurch, with over half (55.3%) of the population reading the paper daily and 82% reading it weekly, but also among all South Islanders in general (Fairfax, March 1, 2006). Finally, the *Otago Daily Times* maintained the smallest circulation of the four and was read by over half the population of Dunedin. Table 4 displays a comparison of the daily circulation figures for each of the metropolitan newspapers during the six-month period of March through September 2005.

Table 4: NZ metropolitan newspapers: Daily circulation (March–September 2005)

NZ Herald	Dom Post	The Press	Otago Daily Times
201,254	98,245	90,909	44,075

Source: *Audit Bureau of Circulation* (September, 2005)

While the visual arts play a significant role in the cultural life of many of New Zealand’s cities and towns, each of the major metropolitan centres maintains a particularly vibrant visual arts culture characterised by the presence of dealer galleries, non-profit artist run galleries, and public art museums that display works ranging from traditional early European to contemporary New Zealand visual art. This cultural life is apparently reflected in the newspaper readership as well. Table 5 presents the findings

of the Nielsen Media National Readership Survey (A.C. Nielsen, 2005) showing on average how many of those who read a metropolitan newspaper within a seven-day period also read that newspaper's arts and culture news.

Table 5: NZ metropolitan newspapers: Comparison of general and arts/culture news readership for 2005

Metropolitan Newspaper	Avg # of general readers per wk	Avg # of Arts/Culture readers per wk
NZ Herald	1,044,000	157,000 (15%)
Dom Post	456,000	210,000 (46%)
The Press	389,000	178,000 (46%)
Otago Daily Times	176,000	74,000 (42%)

Source: *Nielsen Media National Readership Survey* (A.C. Nielsen, 2005)

For instance, according to the survey, of those who read the *Dominion Post*, 210,000 (46%) also read the paper's arts section. Based on the data, the total number of readers of the four daily metropolitan newspapers who also read these newspapers' arts and culture sections constituted almost 28% of the population (total population of 3,487,000 New Zealanders aged 10 or older). Interestingly, a comparison of the data shows that the proportion of arts readers for most of the four metropolitan newspapers was relatively similar.⁶⁶ However, the value of these figures in gauging the nature of arts news readership is questionable, since it is not possible to determine what stories readers were drawn to. For example, movie and entertainment listings are typically located in the arts and culture sections of newspapers, and interest in that information may be driving these figures to some extent.

6.4.2 Sampling approach for analysis

Although the dates of the 51st Venice Biennale itself were from 12 June until 6 November 2005, this study focuses on New Zealand mainstream journalists' coverage of the selection of the artist collective and of the exhibition. Therefore, the period to be examined, 3 July 2004 – 31 December 2005, extends from the date of the first CNZ press release announcing the artists' selection to the end of the exhibition year and also

⁶⁶ A comparison of the data shows that the percentage of arts readers was relatively similar for all the metropolitan newspapers except for the *New Zealand Herald*. This disparity may be due, in part, to the fact that the Table 5 figures are based on a sample of daily readership and the APN's weekend publication, *Canvas* (a lifestyle and culture supplement), was not included in this data.

covers any assessments of the event immediately following the exhibition.

Because of the limited number of pertinent news items (n=155 comprising 92 news stories, 25 editorials and 38 letters to the editor), employing a census approach, rather than a selection from a random sample of texts, was deemed best. The census comprises every relevant article published within a given timeframe. Riffe et al. (2005) has explained that a census approach makes sense when researching a particular event (p. 98). When dealing with a small population of content a random sample is likely to omit key stories and possibly distort the results (Riffe et al. 2005, p. 98). For instance, since the coverage of the event by some of the newspapers was sporadic, randomly sampling a date range, e.g., several weeks during the reporting timeframe, would not have provided a reliable indication of whether the news organisations' stance throughout the event was consistent or a sufficient sample size for comparison of the different newspapers' coverage. Moreover, analysing selected content from particular timeframes would have limited any insight regarding the ebb and flow of the different newspapers' coverage as it intensified or abated during the reporting period.

The relevant content for this analysis was initially gathered from a search of the Newztext and *Otago Daily Times* electronic databases using the search terms "Venice", "Venice Biennale", "et al" and "Tweedie". The Newztext database archives the full text of many of New Zealand's major news and business publications, not including *Otago Daily Times*. These results were cross-checked with the more comprehensive Newzindex database, which does not include full text articles but does provide references to many publications not available online, and with Factiva. This cross-checking approach was especially important since some of the arts journalists who figure in this analysis, such as Mark Amery and Josie McNaught, are freelance, and not all of their articles are included in the Newztext digital database. These along with other articles were identified and photocopied from the National Library newspaper collection on microfilm.

Within a constructionist paradigm, any published items can be considered part of the journalistic narrative that may influence news consumers. Since the focus of this research is the journalistic representation of et al. and the Venice Biennale, published items that present these aspects in an evaluative way operate as part of the journalistic narrative that constructs the public's understanding of the event. Therefore, the

published items selected for analysis include editorials, opinion pieces, news stories, features and letters to the editor that dealt specifically with the artists and/or the event. Excluded from the sample were announcements of peripheral events, such as diary notices of upcoming lectures or feature articles that included a passing reference to the Venice Biennale.

6.4.3 Selection of coding units

The units of analysis are the distinctive items or categories identified and counted by the researcher (Krippendorff, 2004). For instance, the sampling units, as described in the previous section, are the newspaper articles, editorials and other items drawn from the larger collection of materials published by the newspapers and distinguished by some particular characteristic, in this case their subject matter and timeframe, that determines whether they will be included for analysis.

The recording, or coding, units are the elements of content to be classified in the coding process. Typically contained within the sampling unit, the coding units demonstrate a particular descriptive characteristic that can be categorized and are “the smallest units that bear all the information needed in the analysis” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 100). Defining the appropriate elements to be analysed is the “conceptually most taxing” aspect of content analysis (Hansen et al., 1998, p. 106). Coding units are defined empirically by their distinctive characteristics. According to Riffe et al. (2005, pp. 74-78) these may be physical (such as a text’s word length, duration or dimensions), syntactical (for instance, words, sentences, headlines or articles), referential (such as elements that share a classification or category) or thematic (such as recurring motifs or concepts).

For this study, a review of the sample texts was carried out in relation to the research questions in order to identify the categories of content that could be examined in relation to the research objectives. Guiding this process was a consideration of the research questions and their objectives as well as the types of coding units that would be relevant to achieving these objectives. The following categories, therefore, were selected as the primary focus of this content analysis:

- Physical characteristics: descriptive or identifier categories, including the

newspaper, date of publication, headline, reporter's name, section and page number, and genre (editorial, letter to the editor, feature, report, etc.) for each news item

- Recurring concepts/language (motifs): repeated reference to key figures and issues that appeared in each newspaper's account of the art story
- Tone: the dominant evaluative position each news item conveys

Based on this framework, relevant units of analysis were identified. These were then tested against a sample of texts and adjusted to create a coding schedule. The following section discusses the structure of the coding schedule and provides details about the coding units that comprise the three sections of the coding schedule.

6.5 The coding schedule and the coding process

The coding schedule (see Appendix 5) for this content analysis consisted of three sections corresponding to the categories previously identified. For each news story, the coder completed each of the coding schedules' sections according to the information presented.⁶⁷

6.5.1 Section One: Physical characteristics

In the first section of the coding schedule, the coder classified each of the news items according to most obvious descriptive variables, such as newspaper, date, page number and/or section, headline, genre type and reporter by-line, if provided. Coding these features helped organise and distinguish the various news items and facilitated the outline comparison of the quantity and frequency of categories of reports published by each of the metropolitan newspapers. These factors were relevant to the first research question pertaining to comparison of the coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale by the mainstream metropolitan press.

6.5.2 Section Two: Recurring concepts/language

The second section of the coding schedule focused on how the various newspapers represented key aspects of the arts story. In the process of reviewing the sample texts,

⁶⁷ For the coding process, the researcher coded the entire sample; the coding assistant coded a portion of the sample to verify intercoder reliability. This process is discussed later in this chapter.

the researcher identified recurring elements in the narratives that structured and framed the newspapers' accounts of the arts story (see Table 6). As suggested by Hansen et al. (1998), a list of recurring elements was compiled and then tested to identify inadequacies in the category system. A random selection of fifteen news stories distributed across the sample period was coded by simply placing a tick (✓) next to the listed item each time it appeared in the story. Those elements that received most frequent mention were retained and represent the key narrative elements (including their referential associations) that were regularly referred to in newspaper accounts. This approach reflects the notion that the more frequently a word or phrase is used, the greater its importance to the area under investigation (Fowler, 1991; Fowler et al., 1979). For the subsequent coding process, the coder indicated the presence of these 17 content categories in the news stories by placing a tick (✓) in the column next to the item listed in Section Two of the coding schedule.

Table 6: Recurring narrative elements in the coverage

Taxpayer(s)	Cost/funding of event; \$500,000
et al.; artists; art collective	Tweedie
et al.'s identity/anonymity	et al.'s media shyness,
Donkey, portaloos, dunny,	resistance or reluctance
braying, toilets, etc.	Curators: Greg Burke, Natasha
PM Helen Clark (and MP	Conland
Judith Tizard)	Government arts
CreativeNZ (CNZ)	policies/funding
MP Deborah Coddington	Peter Biggs
Paul Holmes (or other	Elizabeth Kerr
broadcasters, journalists)	Reference to "crap"
	Reference to media coverage

The value of this focus on an overall narrative lies in the significance of storytelling to journalistic practice. While the recounting of events is a standard feature of most news stories, the fragmented and discontinuous structure of the journalistic narrative, as Bell (1998) has pointed out, is controlled by media values, such as newsworthiness and immediacy, and results in a selective presentation of details as “facts” that are, according to McNair (1998), contextualized and given meaning when they are transformed into stories. Schudson (1982) and Johnson-Cartee (2005), among others, have shown how journalistic storytelling relies on patternistic and conventional narrative formulas. Furthermore, as Bennett (2007) has argued, this reliance on formulaic stories that focus on particular events and key actors can oversimplify narrative detail and introduce distortions to the news story. Moreover, the language of these accounts can provide insight into the institutional stance of the news organisation. In his discussion of the language of headlines, van Dijk (1991b) observed that words are “never neutral”; they not only “manifest the underlying semantic concepts used in the definition of the situation...they also signal the social or political opinions of the newspaper about the events” (p. 53).

Content analysis, as Berelson’s (1952) definition suggests, has primarily been used as a research tool for examining the manifest, or observable, content of texts. This approach, then, may not usefully explain the complex layers of meaning that comprise journalistic narrative, but can provide data from which inferences regarding journalistic representational practice may be drawn and further investigated. According to Zelizer (1997), “Narrative helps us explain journalism by stressing elements that are formulaic, patterned, finite, yet mutable over time” (p. 26). For this chapter’s general focus on the New Zealand journalistic field, content analysis was a useful means to describe systematically the recurring narrative elements that each of the mainstream newspapers relied on to (re)construct its account of et al. and the Venice Biennale.

6.5.3 Section Three: Tone

The coding schedule’s third section identified the tone of the coverage and addressed the objectives of the third research sub-question. The coder classified as positive, negative, balanced or neutral the news stories’ overall evaluative stance as well as their treatment of key narrative elements selected to represent the visual arts, economic and political fields. Hansen et al. (1998) have pointed out that assessing tone is especially

challenging since these classifications generally cannot be inferred from single words or sentences but may be derived from information found throughout the text. For this reason, evaluating tone requires perceptive interpretational skills as well as clear coding guidelines. As noted above, however, an inferential approach can affect reliability and validity.

The overall tone of the news stories required an interpretive approach derived from the context. As Riffe et al (2005) have explained, “context units are the elements that cue researchers to the context that should be evaluated in assigning content to categories” (p. 71). They point out that specific assertion about the content, such as the overall tone, may be derived from any number of details in the story, including what was highlighted in the headline or lead, or the descriptions of key actors in the news story.

To carry out the analysis, the coder read each item in the sub-sample twice. The first reading, to assess the overall tone of the item regarding the event, followed Einsiedel’s (1992) approach whereby coders were instructed to identify their “overall impression” after reading the news item the way they ordinarily would (p. 93). Advantages of this approach are its simplicity and speed, and it also recreates, to an extent, the impression formation that occurs during the reading process.

As discussed previously, a news story’s account of an event comprises numerous details, and various attitudes, or tones, may be conveyed within a single account due to the different treatment of the various narrative elements. For instance, a story may focus negatively on CNZ, but may be neutral in its treatment of et al. To look more closely at the stance of the story in terms of particular narrative elements, a second reading assessed the positive, negative, neutral or balanced tone, via the use of quotes, assertions, or innuendo, regarding particular narrative elements that might be present in a news item’s account of the event. These key elements, selected from those categorised according to the visual arts, political and journalistic fields in Section Two of the coding schedule, included et al., CNZ and/or the Venice Biennale; key political figures Helen Clark, Judith Tizard and/or Deborah Coddington; and media coverage of the event.

Examples of Coding Decisions for Tone

The following examples demonstrate coding decisions concerning the evaluation of the tone of the news stories.

First of all, the stories that were assessed as “neutral” were those that reported information related to the artist and the event in a straightforward way. An example of this type of coding was the *Dominion Post* story, “Et al. wins art prize” (October 30, 2004), which simply announced that the art collective had won the \$50,000 Walter’s Prize and included a brief description of the winning artwork, *restricted access* (2004). This article neglected to include the detail that Robert Storr, former senior curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York and a prestigious figure in the international visual arts world, was the judge who had chosen et al.’s work.

In order for a story to be coded as “positive” or “negative”, it had to clearly reflect either a positive or negative perspective. Articles that two different newspapers produced about the response of international critics to the New Zealand exhibit provide examples of these two categories. On June 11, 2005, the *NZ Herald* published “Et al make splash in Venice” (Donaldson, 2005) that described the successful opening of the exhibit. The story cited the positive reactions of international arts journalists to et al.’s work that described it as “brilliant” and focused on its novelty (“a level of freshness”) and suitability (“it works perfectly”) for the event. Besides quoting the praise of international critics, the article also described the well-attended party held for the exhibition opening and cites the New Zealand commissioner Greg Burke’s analysis of the work’s New Zealand character. The overall positive tone of the story, and its representation of et al., was apparent and it was coded as such.

In contrast, an article on the same topic published thirteen days later by the *Dominion Post*, “Critics silent on biennale exhibit” (McLean, 2005d), described the international response to the exhibit as being “as elusive as the artist”. The reporter detailed her unsuccessful search of the Internet for reviews as evidence of the lack of international reviews of the exhibit, although she did point out in a subsequent paragraph that the specialist art magazines that cover the event had not yet gone to print. McLean cites other international coverage such as a *Time* magazine article that described New Zealand’s marketing strategy and the controversy surrounding et al. and their previous

work. The overall coding of the article and of its treatment of et al. and CNZ was indicated as “negative”.

The most challenging assessments of tone occurred in the case of “balanced” reporting. A story that presented both positive and negative viewpoints was coded as “balanced” in tone (that is, both positive and negative). An example is McLean’s story, “We know best, says biennale team” (2005h). One half of the news story cited the views of a number of sources from the art field including the chief executive of CNZ and members of the artist selection panel expressing their support for et al. as the New Zealand representative. One panel member’s comment did not refer to et al., but instead focused on the lack of substantive information in the media as the main reason for the adverse reaction to the artist collective. In contrast, the other half of the story presented quotes from selected readers’ e-mails critical of the artists, their artwork and the organisation responsible for their selection. Also, a balanced perspective of the story is represented in the title of the news story which suggests positive and negative elements: it reports the positive position of the biennale artist selection panel, but represents that view in a way that suggests an arrogant, self-important stance. The tone regarding et al. expressed by the sources cited in the story was roughly equivalent (four positive and three negative views). The inclusion of the panellist’s criticism of the media resulted in a negative coding for the “media coverage” category. Helen Clark was coded as neutral; her spokesperson indicated that she was awaiting the CNZ report but her comment did not include an opinion about the artist or event. Since the story presented a somewhat equal amount of positive and negative views on the topic of et al., the overall assessment of the story as balanced was confirmed.

6.6 Reliability

After the coding schedule was developed, a pilot study was conducted to check the reliability and validity of the coding categories. A measure is considered reliable if the results are consistent, or nearly identical each time the measure is made, and validity is the degree to which an instrument measures what it is designed to measure. In the case of content analysis, a study’s reliability is defined as agreement, or consistency, among coders (intercoder reliability) regarding the coding categories (Riffe et al., 2005), while its validity may rest on the adequacy of the category definitions (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

Since the researcher was the sole coder for the entire sample, measuring intercoder reliability was not a valid way to test the reliability of the overall coding process. However, an intercoder reliability test was carried out to measure the consistency of the coding process and adequacy of the coding categories and to establish, to some extent, the potential reproducibility of the research. For this purpose, a post-graduate student from the School of Communication, Journalism and Marketing at Massey University, was employed to help pilot the coding process.

A sub-sample of 17 articles randomly selected from the larger collection of material to be analysed was assembled by choosing every fifth news story from each of the newspaper's group of stories. Two copies of this sub-sample were made and then each was independently coded by the researcher and by the coding assistant following the schedule that had been developed. Prior to coding the sub-sample, the coding assistant underwent training in which the researcher reviewed the details of the case, the research method, the coding schedule categories and coding process. A coding protocol defining each of the categories in relation to the case was provided for the coders to refer to during this intercoder reliability coding process.

The coding assistant and researcher initially coded five of the sample items in a practice session. The results were compared and clarification and adjustments of the coding protocol were discussed. Changes to the schedule included adding Judith Tizard's name and linking it to Helen Clark and also including Peter Biggs and Elizabeth Kerr to the Creative New Zealand category. Once the discussed refinements and adjustments were made, the rest of the sub-sample was coded.

When the coding process of the remaining 12 sub-sample items was completed, the two sets of completed coding sheets were compared. Intercoder reliability was checked using Holsti's formula (as presented in Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 172) used to determine reliability expressed as a percentage of agreement:⁶⁸

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

⁶⁸ In this formula, M stands for the total number of coding decisions agreed upon by two coders and N_1 and N_2 are the total number of coding decisions by each of the two coders (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

The level of agreement overall was 86%, which is considered acceptable under most circumstances (Neuendorf, 2002).⁶⁹

After the pilot study, the coding of the entire sample was carried out. As previously indicated, the researcher was the sole coder of the study's full sample. The reliability of a single coder (intracoder reliability) can be measured by testing the consistency of an individual's coding over time (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For this purpose, an intracoder reliability test was conducted to measure the consistency of the coding process. A random selection of 20 stories was recoded ten months after the original coding process. A comparison of the results showed a 92% level of agreement, which is considered an acceptable outcome for reliability (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Neuendorf, 2002).

6.7 Analysis of the news stories: Comparisons of the coverage

6.7.1 Frequency and tone

While *The Dominion Post* was not alone in its negative coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale, the quantity and proportion of critical articles the paper published during the reporting period distinguished it from its competitors. In fact, as demonstrated by the results of the VAF survey discussed in Chapter 4, three years after the event, 24% of the respondents singled out the *Dominion Post* for its poor reporting on the event compared to all other mainstream media outlets. This response suggests that the newspaper's negative reporting not only set it apart from other media outlets but was also striking enough to make it memorable. This outcome is consistent with research that has shown that media's emphasis on negative attributes has a greater effect on public perception of an object's salience than positive coverage (Sheafer, 2007).

Empirical analysis of the relevant stories published by New Zealand's four major metropolitan daily newspapers (n=92), and presented here in Tables 7, 8 and 9, highlights the difference in treatment that the *Dominion Post* provided. Table 7 shows

⁶⁹ The results for the coding of Sections Two and Three of the coding schedule were as follows: the level of agreement between the researcher and coder for Section Two was a highly acceptable 93% (Neuendorf, 2002), while the level of agreement for Section Three was 77%. The lower results for Section Three were not surprising considering the challenges involved with measuring tone, as Hansen et al. (1998) have pointed out.

the total number of relevant articles⁷⁰ published by the four metropolitan newspapers in the sample period along with their classification according to evaluative tone. The figures indicate that the *Dominion Post*'s 43 articles represent almost 48% of the total number of news stories published about et al. and the Venice Biennale in this sample period. Also, in comparison to the other newspapers, a much higher percentage of those stories were negative, confirming the general impressions of the survey respondents.

Table 7: Quantity and tone of news stories: Summary of coverage throughout the sample period (July 2004–Dec 2005)

	Total #	Positive	%	Negative	%	Balanced	%	Neutral	%
NZ Herald	19	8	42%	4	21%	1	5%	6	32%
Dom Post	43	6	14%	29	67%	3	7%	5	12%
The Press	17	4	24%	6	35%	4	24%	3	18%
Otago Daily Times	13	1	8%	6	46%	3	23%	3	23%

When these totals are broken down according to year, more details emerge concerning the coverage of the art story. A comparison of articles published during the five-month period in 2004 and 2005 (see Table 8) shows that the early coverage of the story by three of the four newspapers was somewhat similar. For instance, the figures show that the *Dominion Post*, the *Press* and the *Otago Daily Times* published at least four times more negative than positive stories during the sample period. In contrast, the *New Zealand Herald*'s reporting indicates a comparatively even-handed approach with a higher percentage of neutral articles (40%) and an equal number that were either positive or negative (27%).

A comparison of the 2004 and 2005 figures, however, indicates that in the next 12-month period the *Dominion Post* took an approach that was markedly different from the other newspapers. First of all, the reporting of the event decreased for all the metropolitan papers except the *Dominion Post*, which more than doubled its coverage. While the paper produced a few more positive and balanced stories as well, the largest increase was in its quantity of negative stories. The *Press* produced the next highest

⁷⁰ The sample does not include articles that refer to et al. or the Venice Biennale in passing or to the editorials or letters to the editor, which are examined separately later in this chapter.

total number of stories in 2005. In comparison with the previous year, the number of positive stories published by the *Press* increased slightly, while the number of negative stories decreased. A particularly notable distinction can be seen in comparison with the *New Zealand Herald*, which published only four stories on the event in 2005, all of which were positive.

Table 8: Comparison of quantity and tone of news stories published 2004–2005

Newspaper	Total # of articles		Positive		Negative		Both		Neutral	
	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005
NZ Herald	15	4	4	4	4	0	1	0	6	0
Dom Post	14	29	2	4	8	21	1	2	3	2
The Press	9	8	1	3	5	1	2	2	1	2
Otago Daily Times	9	4	1	0	4	2	2	1	2	1

What is apparent from the data is that the *Dominion Post* devoted more news space and resources as well as more ongoing editorial attention to the story than did the other metropolitan newspapers. The *Dominion Post*'s continued, and even increasing, number of negative news stories simply may have been the result of an editorial decision to take a negative campaigning stance on the issue of et al. An effort to appeal to the local readership may have also played a role in the continued editorial attention to the story. Wellington is the political centre of the nation, and so the local readership would have been particularly attuned to topics that might relate to public policy issues, particularly stories related to the use of public funding. To determine if this conclusion is valid, it is necessary to examine the content of the stories more closely.

6.7.2 Narrative motifs

Content analysis of the published articles revealed recurring narrative motifs that the four newspapers drew on when recounting the arts story. Table 9 displays a selection of the coding results compiled from Section Two of the coding schedule. The table compares newspapers according to their use of these motifs in articles published in 2004

and 2005. For instance, references to “donkey”⁷¹ and “cost” appeared in the coverage of all four newspapers during both years, while other motifs, such as “et al.’s media shyness” or the name “Tweedie”, were present in some news organisations’ stories and not others. Because of the significantly higher number of stories produced by the *Dominion Post*, a proportional analysis, i.e., the percentage of stories in which motifs appear in relation to the total number of stories published, is presented in this analysis to indicate their prominence in each of the newspapers’ coverage.

Table 9: Comparison of recurring narrative motifs in news stories published 2004–2005

	NZH		Dom Post		Press		ODT	
	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005
Donkey, portaloos	10	0	11	11	4	1	6	1
Cost, \$500,000	3	3	7	15	5	3	5	1
et al.’s identity	5	3	7	16	8	3	0	1
et al.’s media shyness	2	3	5	10	4	4	0	0
Coddington	2	0	4	6	2	0	2	0
“Crap”	0	0	4	4	1	0	1	0
Taxpayer	0	0	3	11	0	1	0	0
CNZ	4	3	10	12	6	5	6	0
Tweedie reference	0	0	5	20	6	6	2	0
PM Helen Clark, MP Judith Tizard	1	0	2	13	3	0	1	0
Media coverage	4	2	3	8 neg 1 pos	2	2	0	0

An examination of the 2004 coverage indicates that the metropolitan newspapers employed mostly the same narrative motifs. The consistency in their initial naming of the case supports what Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identified as a routine intermedia reliance on other journalists, not only to generate ideas but also to confirm the news value of a story. According to Sabato (1991), “Pack journalism more than bias leads all

⁷¹ A lexicon of equivalent terms was identified for each of these motifs and was included as part of this analysis; for instance, the “donkey, portaloos” motif also included related words such as “ass”, “dunny”, “bray”, etc.

media outlets to the same developing ‘good story’ and encourages them to adopt the same slant” (p. 91). Bourdieu (1998a, p. 23), also noting the similarity of “journalistic products”, attributed this uniformity to “circular circulation of information”, a logic of practice within the journalistic field related to competition between different news organisations and media that are under pressure to produce stories. Bourdieu (1998a) observed that “competition homogenizes when it occurs between journalists or newspapers subject to identical pressures and opinion polls” (p. 23).

Competitive pressure not only results in pack journalism, but it can also motivate a news organisation to distance itself from the herd. One way journalists detach themselves from this interdependency is by critically examining and exposing those in the field that appear to be contravening accepted professional norms. This reflective engagement operates as a kind of “paradigm repair” by which journalists and their news organisation may maintain or even acquire symbolic capital while distancing themselves from other news organisations or reporters that may be perceived as challenging journalistic norms and practices, especially that of objectivity (Haas, 2006).

This effort to create distance appears applicable in the case of the articles published by three of the metropolitan newspapers in 2004. As Table 9 shows, the media coverage became a significant part of the visual arts story. Comparison of the metropolitan newspapers reveals differences in their emphasis and treatment of the issue. For instance, each of the four *NZ Herald* articles, written by a range of different reporters (including the newspaper’s political reporter, arts editor and assistant editor), commented on the *Holmes* broadcast and the host’s handling of the art story and treatment of Peter Biggs, the Chair of Creative New Zealand. The few *Dominion Post* articles published in 2004 also criticised the media’s reporting on et al. and the Biennale. Two of the three *Dominion Post* articles, one by the visual arts columnist Mark Amery and the other an op-ed contribution from Peter Biggs, alluded to the *Holmes* broadcast but also complained about the misinformation and “low level of public debate” (Amery, 2004) provided by the media. One article, written by the newspaper’s TV columnist, was devoted to a discussion of the *Holmes* and *Frontseat* broadcasts about et al., but primarily criticised them in regards to their value as television programmes rather than as arts journalism. The focus of most of the newspapers’ media criticism was directed at the broadcasts that covered the arts story, suggesting that the rhetorical distance that is being created is between print and

television journalism.

In 2005, the issue of the media's coverage of the event figured more prominently in the *Dominion Post's* coverage than in that of any of the other metropolitan newspapers. An op-ed contribution from Peter Biggs celebrated the positive reviews the exhibition received from the international arts media, while another article contradicted this, claiming the exhibit had "barely registered overseas" (McLean, 2005d). Five other articles, published throughout June, focused on the artist collective's resistance to giving interviews and journalists' lack of access as a result. In other words, from the journalists' standpoint, their failure to cover the event and the artists and their artwork satisfactorily was due to the artists themselves. The only reflexive assessment of the *Dominion Post's* general editorial stance appeared in a visual arts column by Mark Amery in the *Dominion Post*. (Discourse analyses of the antagonistic relation of Amery's visual arts columns and selected editorials will be discussed in Chapter 7).

Comparison of the narrative motifs in Table 9 indicates the possibility of other distinctive editorial decisions pertaining to the newspapers' treatment of the story. In fact, the data shows that in 2005, the appearance of many of these motifs decreased in the coverage by all the newspapers except the *Dominion Post*. For instance, an examination of references to the "donkey in the dunny" indicates that these tapered off during 2005 in the articles published in most of the newspapers excluding the *Dominion Post* (for example, see row 1 in Table 9). The "donkey" motif was not used in any of the *New Zealand Herald's* four articles published in 2005 (all of which were positive), and it appeared in only one article in *The Press* and *Otago Daily Times*. However, the reference appeared in 11 articles (38%) in the *Dominion Post* in 2005. Due to the *New Zealand Herald's* reduced coverage of the arts story in 2005, the proportion of its articles referring to the cost of the event, to the artists' identity and media shyness is quite high; however, the four articles published that year were all coded positively, so these references functioned primarily as narrative description and contextualisation rather than a focus of criticism.

A sharp contrast to the pack journalism of 2004, the *Dominion Post's* fixation on the visual arts story may have been motivated by several factors. First of all, the newspaper's different approach to the coverage may be interpreted as the news organisation's demonstration of its professional independence, an effort to distinguish

itself by asserting its autonomy in relation to competing news organisations (McDevitt, 2003; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Alternatively, the newspaper's ongoing and increased negative coverage may have been a strategic way of obtaining an interview with the elusive et al., by exerting pressure on CNZ and the members of the creative team. Landing an exclusive interview would have been a coup and the news organisation may have been motivated by that possibility and by the readership interest along with the economic capital it could generate. (The interview as a key aspect of journalistic habitus and its economic and cultural capital will be discussed in Chapter 8.)

In general, the narrative elements can be grouped according to two broad categories: those that pertain to et al.'s public persona and those that have political implications. The first category is associated with the artists' resistance to the normalized social expectations, such as their reluctance to participate in media interviews with the mainstream press and their ambiguous name and identity. From a journalistic perspective, these characteristics are newsworthy because they can be associated with controversy, a news value that signals a potentially important issue (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996); in this instance, public figures that resist giving interviews appear suspicious and may be judged as concealing something.

Considerable variations occurred in the reporting of et al.'s media shyness and identity over both years. As Table 9 indicates, references to the artist collective's media shyness or multiple personas hardly figured in the *Otago Daily Times*'s reporting but was more of an issue in the news stories of the other three newspapers. For instance, references to the artists' media shyness appeared in well over half of the *Press*'s news items, in 35% of the articles in the *Dominion Post* and in over 26% of those in the *New Zealand Herald*. The issue of et al.'s name and identity generated even more news interest among these three papers; 78% of the *Press*'s articles, 53% of the *Dominion Post*'s and 42% in the *New Zealand Herald* referred to this idea.

Also, of the four newspapers, the "actual" name of the artist, "Merylyn Tweedie" appeared in more of the articles published in the *Dominion Post* (58%) and the *Press* (71%). The presence of the artists' name suggests that these newspapers were more thorough and detailed in their reporting. Tweedie, though, was born, educated and known locally in Christchurch, and that local pride may have played some role in the *Press*'s reference to her identity. However, as Bourdieu (1991) has explained, naming –

in this case, the decision to identify a named individual – is “a symbolic act of imposition, which has on its side all the strength of the collective, of the consensus, of common sense” (p. 239). It can be argued, then, that the naming of et al. was a form of symbolic violence by which the artists’ collective persona was demythologized and a key aspect of their artistic practice interrogated and undermined.

The influence of the political field on journalistic editorial practice is revealed in the way politically charged and politically sourced motifs were employed. In general, the evaluative term “crap” was accompanied by a reference to Deborah Coddington, who was the first to publicly apply the description to et al.’s art. The words “crap” and “Coddington” appeared in more of the *Dominion Post*’s narrative accounts of the visual art story than in those of the other three metropolitan papers. In fact, these narrative motifs did not appear at all in the 2005 coverage of the other newspapers. A similar pattern exists in the newspapers’ references to the Labour government’s key players in the story, Prime Minister Helen Clark and MP Judith Tizard. References to either or both political figures appeared in 35% of the *Dominion Post*’s stories and in very few of the other newspapers’ stories. Finally, the term “taxpayer” appeared in 32% of the *Dominion Post*’s stories but only once in the Press and in none of the stories produced by the *Otago Daily Times* or *New Zealand Herald* during 2005. This data shows that the *Dominion Post*’s use of political motifs distinguishes its account of the visual arts story from that of the other metropolitan newspapers.

The data suggests that the *Dominion Post*’s representation of the art story in its coverage emphasised a distinctly political angle. This conclusion also supports the point made earlier that the local political context in which this newspaper operated likely had a strong impact on its construction of the visual arts story and the expressed concern about an indulgent abuse of taxpayer funds. Furthermore, the ongoing reference to the “taxpayer” within the political focus of the narrative framework highlights the newspaper’s effort to appeal to the mainstream populist sensibilities of readers. How these perspectives figure within the antagonistic dynamics of the journalistic and visual arts fields will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The next two sections of this chapter present content analyses of the texts published by the metropolitan newspapers during the sample period that are associated with the expression of opinions: editorials, columns, op-ed essays and letters to the editor. The

data presented here serves as a foundation for the in-depth discourse analyses in Chapters 7 and 8.

6.8 Content analysis of the opinion discourse: Editorial coverage

Editorials and op-ed essays are distinctive types of opinion discourse that express opinions about an event or situation. Besides newspapers' information-based genres, such as the news reports and feature articles, there are the opinion-based forms, such as the column (or commentary), displaying a journalist's authoritative viewpoint on an issue, and the editorial, "the anonymous public voice of the newspaper" (McNair, 2008, p. 109). According to Santo (1994), "the most precise barometer of a newspaper's position on political and social questions is assumed to reside on the editorial page" (p. 94). Op-ed essays, typically submitted by experts or private citizens who have an established media presence, are intended to offer alternative views from a diversity of sources and stances (Day & Golan, 2005) and demonstrate the democratic ideal of an open forum for debate. Wahl-Jorgensen (2008) has observed that the editorial and op-ed pages, the "only place where journalists are authorized to express opinion often guided by the political leanings of the newspaper", are "central to a newspaper's identity" (p. 67).

This section focuses on the editorials, arts columns and op-ed essays presenting opinion discourse dealing with et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale that were published by the metropolitan newspapers during the sample period. This opinion discourse was included in the dataset discussed in the previous section, but is examined in isolation here in order to look more closely at the way each of the newspapers framed the debate concerning the visual arts story. The analysis identifies the types of opinion discourse that were printed and the overall stance (negative, positive or balanced) of each item. Since the purpose of these journalistic forms is to articulate particular viewpoints, the "neutral" category was omitted from this analysis.

As Table 10 indicates, a total of 22 editorials, arts columns and op-ed essays were published during the sample period. Only four editorials and eight op-ed essays relevant to the event appeared in the newspapers during the sample period. The *New Zealand Herald's* five opinion-based articles published during 2004 demonstrated a comparatively even-handed approach. This stance is best displayed in the newspaper's

one editorial, which was coded as “balanced”. The article praised the artists for being innovative in response to the challenging international exhibit, but insisted that the work should reflect national identity and the artists should be willing to discuss what they are doing.

Table 10: Opinion pieces published by the metropolitan newspapers 2004–2005

Output form: reporter	NZH			Dom Post			Press			ODT								
	2004			2005			2004			2005			2004			2005		
	+	-	=	+	-	=	+	-	=	+	-	=	+	-	=	+	-	=
Editorial: not specified			1					1			2							
Column: arts columnist	1						1	1		1						2		3
Op-ed: various	1	1	1				1			1	1					1		
Total	5			8			3			6								

Although more than ten arts columns referring to the artist collective and other aspects of the Venice Biennale were published during this sample period, only ten were selected for this analysis because these clearly demonstrated the journalists’ authoritative viewpoints, in keeping with the characteristics of an opinion-based commentary as defined by McNair (1998). References to et al. or the Venice exhibition were tangential in the other columns, which often focused on other issues.

Of the eleven articles written by Christopher Moore, the *Press*’s arts editor, only one presented the writer’s viewpoint, in this case negative, concerning et al. as the choice for Venice. The others were informative feature articles profiling various aspects of the event and its key personnel. For instance, one, entitled “Tantalizing imagination”, (2004, July 21) was an informative, fact-based feature presenting background about et al., their work, issues concerning their identity, and the CNZ support they had previously received. Another of Moore’s articles, “Hearing it from the curators” (2005, June 22) explored the notion that artists are not necessarily the best interpreters of their works, and presented a selection of the curators’ comments about the Venice exhibition, *fundamental practice* (2005). Although the comments that were presented in the article were somewhat theoretical and obscure, Moore never evaluated the curators’ opinions.

Other arts columnists' articles addressed peripheral concerns that were related to et al. but did not focus only on them or the event. *Otago Daily Times* published no editorials per se and only one op-ed contribution; 38% of its reporting on the event was presented in its regular Artbeat columns by Peter Entwistle, the newspaper's arts columnist. While most of these articles were critical, they addressed other relevant issues besides and, in some instances, in addition to commenting on et al. and their art. For instance, in several of his columns, Entwistle noted his scepticism about the effectiveness of the work that would be shown in Venice, but the focus of these articles was mainly on broader arts policy issues such as the questionable wisdom of continuing to attend Venice Biennale exhibitions and promoting only one artist rather than showcasing the diversity of New Zealand art. Another issue that was raised by some of the columnists was the overly negative media coverage; for example, one column by Linda Herrick (2004), the *NZ Herald* arts editor, focused on and condemned the unfairly hostile media climate generated by the *Holmes* show and local talkback radio programmes.

A number of characteristics of the *Dominion Post*'s opinion-based articles distinguished this newspaper's treatment of the topic from its competitors. First of all, in contrast to the other newspapers' opinion-based texts concerning the Venice Biennale which also engaged with other issues relevant to the situation, the discussion in the *Dominion Post*'s opinion texts were chiefly confined to the standard narrative elements listed in Table 9. This narrow construction of the story is also reflected in the simplified antagonism represented by a two-sided debate in the *Dominion Post*: half of the eight articles were positive and the other half negative. Overall, an argument could conceivably be made that the fact that the newspaper provided space for both supporters and detractors demonstrates a fair and balanced presentation of the controversy. However, this apparently equitable and democratic balance was undermined by the fact that the four positive articles were produced by the same two contributors: the columns were written by the newspaper's own visual arts journalist, Mark Amery, and both op-ed items were contributed by Peter Biggs.

Ideally, the op-ed section should feature a diversity of sources and opinions to promote public discourse and inform readers of different viewpoints about controversial social issues (Day & Golan, 2005). Research suggests that readers exposed to a range of competing views are able to think about a situation in complex ways (Porto, 2007). The lack of diversity in the *Dominion Post*'s op-ed pages reduces the range of discussion

and may also give the impression that et al. had few supporters aside from a CNZ representative who may have been acting in the interests of the organisation. In his comparison of the “multiperspectivalism” of French and American newspapers, Benson (2009) found that the economic field and cultural capital of readers influences the degree of diversity newspapers display; for instance, multiperspectival newspapers are those that rely more on advertising and are read by audiences with lower cultural capital. This suggests that the Liberal economic model (Hallin & Mancini, 2004) and the focus on a general readership characteristic of the New Zealand mainstream press may have some influence on the limited amount of diversity presented.

Also, Biggs may not have been the ideal choice as spokesperson as his op-ed contributions may not have been received entirely favourably. Although Biggs often took the lead as spokesperson in responding to the domestic media for the creative team, his authority, or symbolic capital, in that role was undermined to some extent by his poor showing during the *Holmes* broadcast. The final report, *Evaluating New Zealand’s participation in the Venice Art Biennale* (2006), pointed out that a key problem with the domestic communication was that the team lacked “a super articulate champion for the arts...able to speak the language of the people” (p. 48). The report’s criticism suggests that, in the opinion of the report-writers, none of the spokespersons, Biggs included, were able to effectively communicate about art to the general public, “to speak the language of the people” through the mainstream media.

Finally, another differentiation of the *Dominion Post* from its competitors was its ongoing production of editorials. Like its reporting of the arts story, the newspaper’s publication of opinion-based articles carried on into 2005. Moreover, it was practically the only newspaper to publish editorials about the Venice Biennale that year. In other words, the newspaper’s continuing campaigning stance on the visual arts story meant that it was the only domestic metropolitan newspaper to voice its institutional position on the arts story and in relation to the visual arts field in a public forum in 2005. The news organisation’s antagonistic stance towards the visual arts field is unpacked through discourse analysis of two of the *Dominion Post*’s editorials in Chapter 7.

6.9 Content analysis of the opinion discourse: Letters to the editor

Like the op-ed pages, the letters-to-the-editor section traditionally has been considered a

crucial space where members of the public can voice their opinions concerning issues and events. However, some researchers have called into question the degree to which published letters represent public opinion (Grey & Brown, 1970; Richardson & Franklin, 2004; Sigelman & Walkosz, 1992; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2001, 2002b). Popular with readers, the letters section is seen by those in the newspaper industry as, in part, a public relations tool and revenue booster and, therefore, important to a newspaper's marketing and circulation success (Richardson, 2008; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2001, 2002b). The letters-to-the-editor section poses a number of challenges for researchers, Thornton (1998) has pointed out, due to the gatekeeping role of editors which may result in the omission of some letter-writers' viewpoints, the distortion of public opinion, and the number of letters submitted on a topic being unknown (p. 38).

Research shows that the criteria for the editorial selection of letters serve the needs of the news organisation as much as they do the democratic ideals of public deliberation (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2002a, 2002b; Nielsen, 2010). For instance, according to Wahl-Jorgensen (2002a, p. 73), the most important of these selection criteria, "relevance," means a letter should address an issue that has already been deemed newsworthy. In fact, studies have shown that most letters reflect the issues found in a newspaper's front page and editorials (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2002a). The constructed debate and public identity presented by the selection of letters weakens the notion of the letters-to-the-editor section as a democratically engaged and open-ended public forum. Nielsen (2010) observes that a "close relationship between the news agenda and the letters... could suggest it is misleading to consider the letters institution distinct from the news institution" (p. 33).

For this thesis, a content analysis was conducted of the unsolicited letters⁷² to the editor related to the 2005 Venice Biennale and published during the sample period. These contributions from the public were not included with the other news story data discussed previously in this chapter as they are "fundamentally different" to the extent that they are "co-constituted" as participatory contributions (Nielsen, 2010, p. 22). The tone of the letters was assessed according to the protocol for Section Three of the coding schedule as discussed previously. A comparison of Tables 11 and 8 showed

⁷² This content analysis considers only the letters published in the letters-to-the-editor section during the sample period and does not include additional submissions that the *Dominion Post* had requested from readers in response to an interview with et al. that appeared June 27, 2005. A discourse analysis of these specific submissions appears in Chapter 8.

generally similar results: in both cases the negative items outnumbered the positive, and the total number of items published decreased in 2005 for all newspapers except the *Dominion Post*. Also, just as the *Dominion Post*'s coverage of the visual arts story continued in 2005, so too did its publication of letters on the topic, demonstrating an apparent ongoing public interest in the story and validating the editorial decision to carry on with the coverage.

Table 11: Letters to the editor: Quantity and tone (July 2004–Dec 2005)

Newspaper	Total		Positive		Negative		Balanced	
	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005
NZ Herald	12	0	3	0	8	0	1	0
Dom Post	9	11	2	2	7	7	0	2
The Press	3	1	3	0	0	1	0	0
ODT	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0

Content analysis of the texts showed that the letters reflected the journalistic agenda by reproducing the discourse of the coverage. For the most part, the letters that were published employed the same key narrative motifs that figured in the news stories, demonstrating the characteristic selection criterion of “relevance”. Table 12 displays the recurring motifs, broken down by year and by positive or negative tone, which appeared most frequently in the coding sample. Analysis indicates that, to varying degrees, the letters published in the sample of newspapers employed all but one of the journalistic narrative motifs. The issue of et al.’s media shyness, which figured prominently in journalistic accounts (see Table 9), was mentioned by only one *Dominion Post* letter-writer (Seaman, 2005) and presented as a criticism of the journalists: “I see you continue to bray like a donkey trapped in a port-a-loo over et al.’s lack of cooperation”. Apparently, et al.’s reluctance to be interviewed was of greater concern to journalists than to the letter-writers.

Table 12: Letters to the editor (2004–2005): Key narrative motifs

Recurring motifs	NZH				Dom Post				Press				ODT			
	2004		2005		2004		2005		2004		2005		2004		2005	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
et al.	3	6			2	1	2	6	3							
et al.'s identity; ref. to Tweedie		2								2						
et al.'s media shyness							1									
Donkey, portaloos		5				3				1				1		
CNZ		4			2	3	1	1								
Contemporary art	1	3			1	1	2	5	2			1				
Visual Arts Field		1				3		3				1				
Clark, Tizard		2				1										
Coddington, "crap"						1		1								
Cost, taxpayer		5				1	1	3						1		
NZ Political Field		2				3								2		1
Eval. of media coverage		2				1	1	4		1						

Research suggests that the editorial selection of letters constructs public debate through the semblance of open expression and the exchange of opinion. Nielsen's (2010, p. 29) research of the criteria for the editorial selection of letters for publication has shown that "disagreement" is one of the most important characteristics editors consider. Editors claimed that debate and contention stimulates reader interest and potentially generates more letters, a key indicator of success (Nielsen, 2010). Types of letters demonstrating "disagreement" include those by different letter-writers expressing conflicting viewpoints and those criticising the newspaper's coverage of an issue (Nielsen, 2010). According to Wahl-Jorgensen (2001), editors choose letters they consider to be "'good' for the community and, hence, for increasing circulation and advertising revenue" (p. 309).

Content analysis of the relevant letters published during the sample period identified a focus on motifs in two of the newspapers presented in the simple binary of positive or negative points of view. The presentation of debate is particularly evident in the *Dominion Post*'s letters. As Table 12 shows, divisions among the letter-writers were most evident when they addressed the issues of et al., CNZ and contemporary art. For instance, in their discussion of et al., letter-writers were clearly positioned through their identification of the artists as either a good or poor choice for the event. Also, letters discussing the role CNZ and the creative team played in the event focused on either praising the organisation and its team's efforts and achievements or blaming them for perceived problems and failures.

Finally, journalists' coverage of the arts story was the topic of almost a quarter of the letters. Several of the letters' authors who were artists or closely allied with the visual arts field, including Jenny Gibbs, Maggie Gresson and Elizabeth Kerr, engaged in correcting journalists' factual errors and misinformation. Gresson (2004) described the *NZ Herald*'s reporting as "a case of not letting the facts get in the way of a story". Of the five letters published by the *Dominion Post*, three were written in response to the newspaper's editorial of June 4, 2005 ("Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh"), and one of these supported the editorial's views. Other examples identified problems with the reporters' journalistic skills; for instance one critic complained that the newspaper's arts journalists' could not present clear explanations and another described the reporting as "unprofessional" and called for "real investigative reporting" (Seaman, 2005).

The last category of letters to be considered here are those that used the et al. case as the basis to comment on conditions external to the narrative constraints of the news story. All of these letter-writers identified the et al. case as symptomatic of the failings of the New Zealand visual arts and political fields. For example, one letter-writer published by the *Dominion Post* argued that et al.'s work represented New Zealand perfectly, as "a desperate attempt by a scruffy bunch of "artists", butt-lickers and Creative New Zealand money men to be noticed by the elitist and arrogant international arts community"; he then goes on to slam the political field by recommending that the work be sent to Venice to "show the world once again what dipsticks control our Government's arts funding" (Hall, 2004). Another, less hostile letter-writer (Langdon, 2004) also linked the arts story to the country's political field by asking, "Will critics of the donkey-braying portaloo...desist if the art piece is entitled Parliament?"

6.10 Summary

Content analysis is typically used in media research to compare data produced over time and was therefore a reasonable approach to analyse and compare the metropolitan newspaper coverage that took place over the year and a half timeframe of this study. This approach also provided empirical confirmation of some of the survey results discussed in Chapter 4 and serves as the basis for the discursive analyses in subsequent chapters. In addition, this chapter presented an overview of the content analysis method as it was undertaken for this study.

The results discussed in this chapter reveal initial similarities in the way the various newspapers represented the art news story. However, the difference demonstrated in the *Dominion Post*'s coverage distinguished this newspaper's reporting from that of the others. Unlike the other papers, the *Dominion Post*'s ongoing and mainly negative treatment of the story suggests that this newspaper apparently engaged in a persistent attack campaign in its coverage of et al. and the Venice Biennale.

Also, the results of the content analysis of the opinion-based articles published by the four newspaper organisations shows that the *Dominion Post*'s editorial treatment of the issues was limited in scope and reduced to the simple polarity of a two-sided debate. This reductive dichotomy, simulating the debate of a public forum, was also demonstrated in the positive/negative distribution of the *Dominion Post*'s letters to the editor.

The next two chapters present discourse analyses of selected articles published by the *Dominion Post* to examine the content of this newspaper's coverage in more detail. The following chapter examines the antagonisms of the journalistic and visual arts fields as they are played out through the contrasting discourses of the newspaper's editorials and visual arts commentaries.

Chapter 7:

Between and within the fields: Discourse analysis of *Dominion Post* editorials and Amery's visual arts commentaries

7.1 Introduction

The content analysis in Chapter 6 presented an empirical overview of the mainstream metropolitan newspaper reporting on et al. and the Venice Biennale. The results of this research highlighted the *Dominion Post*'s persistent and primarily negative coverage that not only set it apart from the other three metropolitan newspapers but also suggested that the newspaper was engaged in what could be considered an attack campaign. What also stood out about the *Dominion Post*'s coverage was the fact that the newspaper produced a comparatively higher number of negative opinion-based articles, especially editorials, during the selected reporting period. Another unique feature of this newspaper's output of opinion-based articles was the fact that the two columns defending the artist collective and responding to the critical media coverage were produced by the newspaper's own visual arts journalist, Mark Amery.

These two sets of texts, presenting opposing views concerning the visual arts story, present a unique opportunity to examine distinctive journalistic field positions. On one hand, there is the *Dominion Post*, an institutional agent that occupies a dominant position within the journalistic field. On the other hand, there is the visual arts journalist, Mark Amery, who occupies the subfield of arts journalism, a dominated position within the larger journalistic field. A discourse analysis of both sets of opinion-based texts can provide some insight into the distinctive journalistic dispositions of these two agents and also allows comparison of these two agents' symbolic constructions of the journalistic and visual arts fields. Because editorials generally function as the voice of the news organisation, a discourse analysis of the newspaper's editorials dealing with et al. can provide some insight into the ideological stance of the institution and the journalistic representation of the visual arts field. An in-depth analysis of Amery's visual arts columns can provide some insight into the arts journalistic habitus and how an agent within this specialized subfield operates in relation to the visual arts and journalistic fields.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the discursive and formal characteristics of

editorials in relation to journalistic practice. This is followed by discourse analyses, drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) concept of antagonism, of four opinion-based texts: two *Dominion Post* editorials and two visual arts columns by Mark Amery.

7.2 Newspapers' opinion discourse: Editorials and commentary articles

Newspaper editorials and op-ed articles are types of opinion discourse that play a significant role in forming and altering public opinion, influencing debate and promoting social interaction among journalists and readers (Van Dijk, 1996a; Le, 2004; Belmonte, 2007). The purpose of these two interlinked forms of journalistic discourse is to comment on recent events, perhaps endorsing either an established consensus or a controversial alternative, and persuade readers to agree with the writer's position. Generally, editorials serve as the "institutional voice" of the newspaper and present the position of the organisation's most important or influential figures, such as key members of the editorial staff or the publisher, while op-ed⁷³ and comment articles reflect the views of individual authors, usually freelance writers, guest opinion writers or regular or syndicated columnists.

An editorial's content and position are generally institutional rather than personal and often result from the decision of the newspaper's editorial board. Typically, the editorial board evaluates which issues are important and determines the tone and approach of the publication's editorial policy (Hallock, 2007). The editorial decision-making process of New Zealand's metropolitan newspapers, as described by Rupa (2007b), appears consistent with standard editorial practice: an editorial board discusses the topic, the newspaper's position and the editorial's main arguments, and the editorial writer reviews previous news stories dealing with the topic. Seldom signed, an editorial is considered the opinion of the newspaper.

The editorial's role distinguishes this form of journalism from traditional news reporting. While news coverage claims to provide an objective account of daily events, the primary purpose of an editorial is to express a viewpoint (Hynds & Archibald, 1996). Therefore, neutrality is not a characteristic of opinion journalism, and one would expect that editorial and news reporting would treat the same issue in different ways

⁷³ The term "op-ed" was coined in reference to commentary appearing opposite the editorial page, and is typically devoted to personal comment and feature articles (Socolow, 2010).

(McNair, 1998). In fact, an essential feature of the “journalistic doxa” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 37) is presumably the “wall of separation” between the news and editorial pages (Kahn & Kenney, 2002, p. 381). However, this division has been called into question by recent research (Althaus, Edy, & Phalen, 2001; Druckman & Parkin, 2005; Firmstone, 2008; Kahn & Kenney, 2002; Rupar, 2007b) examining the influence of editorial choices and positions on the reporting of events. This research shows that news reportage often reproduces the ideological assumptions and opinions presented in the newspaper’s editorial pages.

Many editorial writers believe editorials contribute positively to the newspapers’ alleged role as guardian of public welfare through their performance of social functions such as surveillance, interpretation and value transformation or socialisation (Hynds, 1994). According to Hynds (1994), these writers believe they fulfil a leadership role in their community by taking stands on issues and by publishing these opinions via the institutional authority, the consecrated cultural capital, of the newspaper. Furthermore, this leadership role, acquired through the newspaper’s claimed authority and reinforced by its dominance of symbolic resources, provides readers with persuasively written “benchmarks” that allow them to “reinforce existing ideas, crystallize ideas that are not yet clear and at times consider a very different viewpoint” (Hynds and Archibald, 1996, p. 15). In other words, the discourse of editorial texts conveys values and beliefs that represent a preferred world-view, an ideologically constructed model of events, as “natural” or “obvious”.

The media’s ideological and leadership function and its potential constitutive effect on the subjectivity of readers resonate with Bourdieu’s concepts of symbolic violence and misrecognition (see earlier discussion in Chapters 2, 4 and 5). Bourdieu’s formulation of symbolic violence is especially relevant to this discussion of domination through language, a means of communication that also operates as “an instrument of power and action” (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, p. 111). Bourdieu (1991) explains that language, like other symbolic systems including art, religion and science, creates order and meaning through three distinct but interrelated functions performed simultaneously: a cognitive function through the “structuring structures” of different modes of knowledge that organise and construct the objective world; a communication and social integration function that, through shared systems of language, make possible a consensus regarding meaning; and a political function as “instruments of domination” (p. 166) that establish

and legitimate hierarchies through social differentiation.

However, for Bourdieu, power does not lie in the symbols or words themselves, but in the relational structure reproduced in and through the field. “What creates the power of words... a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them. And words alone cannot create this belief” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170). Misrecognition, understood as a kind of denial through which self-interest is transformed into disinterest, plays an essential role in validating symbolic power (Swartz, 1997, p. 90).

This logic of disinterest explains the symbolic power of editorial discourse and that of journalistic discourse generally (the latter to be discussed in Chapter 8). Symbolic practices, according to Swartz (1997), can conceal the complex forms of self-interest that underlie social practices and contribute to their acceptance as disinterested activities. Through this process of legitimation, these practices acquire symbolic power, which also diverts attention from underlying material interests such as the acquisition of economic capital, and are misrecognised as disinterested activities (Swartz, 1997). Extending this logic to the journalistic field, editorials acquire symbolic power through their formation as institutionally produced and valorized discourse and through an associated leadership role of serving the public’s interests, a value that is embedded in the logic of the field and in the habitus of its social agents. By transforming self-interest into disinterest, editorial discourse acquires symbolic capital, which Bourdieu (1977a) refers to as a “disguised form of physical ‘economic’ capital” (p. 183). In effect, this disinterested stance deflects attention from the self-interests of agents, including the journalistic institutions, who position themselves as mere observers of events and objects constituted elsewhere.⁷⁴

The aim of editorials is to persuade readers to identify with the news organisation’s ideological position that has been presented, through the diversion of the symbolic practices of discourse, as normal or commonsensical. Because the editorial plays a

⁷⁴ It is important to note here that for his conceptualization of “interest”, Bourdieu used an economic model as a metaphor to explain interest-oriented action. “Interest”, defined as whatever motivates or drives an agent towards an outcome that is considered important, may be expressed in terms of whatever capital (economic, symbolic, linguistic, etc.) that is valued within a field (Bourdieu, 1990a). Interest-driven strategies are tacit, prereflective and unconscious, rather than the result of conscious rational calculation, and emerge from the dispositions of agents acting in relation to the *illusio* of the field. (See Swartz, 1997; Grenfell, 2008.)

prominent role “in the expression and construction of public opinion”, analysis of these texts may usefully “trace the formulation of opinions and the expression of ideologies” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 265) that underlie the discourse.

Like editorial writers, those who write op-ed or commentary articles submit their views on a current controversial issue and seek readers’ agreement. While some of these opinion writers may not have the symbolic capital, or institutional prestige, of the editorial voice, they may, to some extent, augment their authority and prestige through the newspaper’s publication of their writing, even though their views may not agree with those expressed by the newspaper in which they appear. Also, as with editorials, the disinterested discourse on matters of public interest of commentary writers may obscure their self-interested dimensions. Discourse analysis of the opinion discourse of editorials and commentary articles, therefore, is a useful approach not only to uncover institutional self-interests but also to investigate antagonistic field relations displayed through the discursive conflict between different social identities.

Bourdieu (1984) explains that the oppositional concepts and categories enacted through discourse reveal the dialectical links between social structures and ways of thinking. He argues that the ideological force of these divisions derives from the opposition between the dominant and the dominated within the social order, that is, from the contestation among agents within and between fields:

All the agents in a given social formation share a set of basic perceptual schemes, which receive the beginnings of objectification in pairs of antagonistic adjectives commonly used to classify and qualify persons or objects in the most varied areas of practice. The network of oppositions...is the matrix of all the commonplaces which find such ready acceptance because behind them lies the whole social order. (1984, p. 468)

Bourdieu (cited in Grenfell, 2004) points out that symbolic violence is produced by the media’s deployment of these oppositions, which animate and reinforce dispositions and reproduce a worldview that privileges the interests of some over those of others. While Bourdieu sees antagonisms as indicative of the struggles that take place through the social ordering of fields, Laclau and Mouffe (2001) argue that antagonism is essential to identity construction. Every identity, they claim, is constructed by opposing it to

something that it is not—to an outside or negative identity. A consideration of Laclau and Mouffe’s notion from a field theory perspective suggests that agents’ identities, and to some extent their dispositions and positions within “the social order” of fields, are discursively and mutually constituted through interfield antagonisms, or as a “network of oppositions”, as Bourdieu described this kind of interrelationship in the above quote. (For further discussion of the resonances between Laclau and Mouffe and Bourdieu, see Phelan, 2011).

The strongly demarcated interfield conflict that is the focus of this study is especially evident in the discourse of the editorials and opinion articles dealing with New Zealand’s participation in the Venice Biennale published in the *Dominion Post*. The journalistic habitus and distinctive dispositions of the institution are displayed in the discourse and rhetorical strategies enacted in language through antagonistic oppositions, such as the “us/them” and “populist/elitist” (MacGregor, 2009; Matheson, 2007a; Turner, 2007) structuring of social groups, as well as the “specialist/generalist” and the homologous “autonomy/heteronomy” (Marchetti, 2005) structuring of the journalistic field. The editorials, functioning as the representative voice of the news organisation, articulate a clearly antagonistic position in relation to the visual arts field. However, Amery, as a specialist within the subfield of arts journalism, straddles both the visual arts and journalistic fields and his discourse is, at times, complicated by this duality and liminal positioning.

The journalistic field and its agents are often presented as a uniform entity referred to as “the media”, a collective identity whose uniformity has been called into question by some researchers (Couldry 2009; Silverstone, 1999). The fragmentation of the field is demonstrated, in part, by its categorization of news reporting according to various subfields, in which specialized journalists report on particular areas of society. According to Marchetti (2005), specialist journalists are often characterised as having a narrow or technical view of their subject matter, or of functioning as “de facto spokespersons” for their specialty (p. 67). In fact, the generalists’ view is that specialized knowledge of a particular field is unnecessary; all that is required to cover any topic is good journalistic skills and the ability to write about a topic so the general public can easily understand it (Marchetti, 2005, p. 67).

Major news stories and the competition they generate among reporters and specialist

beats can shed light on a news organisation's internal hierarchy and the prestige that particular specializations maintain. Marchetti (2005) observes that the more important a news story becomes, the more likely specialist reporters will be replaced with generalists or with more prestigious specialists, such as political journalists and editors. By this same token, the lower strategic value of these subfields within a news organisation's internal hierarchy also means that agents in these areas may (as noted in Chapter 4) operate more autonomously in their choice of subject matter, story angles and writing style (Marchetti, 2005). While this autonomy offers specialist journalists some freedom, those who enjoy the "privilege of esotericism" (Bourdieu, 2005, p 45) may struggle to communicate to a general public.

7.3 Analysis: Two *Dominion Post* editorials

In this section, the approach to the analysis of the editorials will rely on the three-part hierarchical structure of editorials and their conventional rhetorical features described by van Dijk (1996a).⁷⁵ Based on this format of news texts in which the most important information is stated first, the headline and lead paragraph typically summarise the overall topic or theme of the discourse (van Dijk, 1996a). The abstract and generalized nature of headlines condenses the news text's key ideas and serves to "summarize the summary" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 226). According to Bell (1991, p. 189), however, headlines are more than just summaries; they operate as part of the news rhetoric to attract the reader and newspapers frequently use rhetorical devices for that purpose.

These prominently placed macrostructures encapsulating the main idea of the text that follows play a significant role in information processing because they are constructed to attract readers' attention, allow readers to decide whether or not to continue reading, activate knowledge readers need to understand the text, and provide a global framework that strategically controls the way the information in the rest of the text is understood (van Dijk, 1983). Moreover, research suggests that headlines help readers store and recall summary information, which means that headlines likely define the way readers, including other journalists, think about the information later on (van Dijk, 1988a, 1991b).

⁷⁵ Others have described the editorial structure in different terms. Bolívar (1994, p. 281) identifies the structure of editorials as consisting of "situation", "development" and "recommendation", while Rugar (2007b, p. 603) uses the terms "lead, interpretation and evaluation". However, the function of the sections, as described by the two writers, is fundamentally similar to and in accord with van Dijk's (1996a) framework.

After the headline and lead, the next section of an editorial will generally summarise and interpret the event. The last section, usually an evaluation, or “pragmatic conclusion”, presents the newspaper’s warning or recommendation in terms of what should/should not or could/could not be done to address the issue (van Dijk, 1996a, Section 5, para. 4-7). Textual analysis of an editorial’s interpretive and evaluative discourse can provide insight into the institution’s values and ideological stance.

This section’s analysis begins with the *Dominion Post*’s first editorial commentary on et al. and the Venice Biennale, published twelve days (15 July 2004) after Creative New Zealand’s press release announcing the artists’ selection. Within that brief period of less than two weeks, the story had received critical scrutiny on nationally broadcast current affairs programmes and news reports, in a few newspaper articles printed in *The Press* and *Dominion Post*, from a member of the opposition party in Parliament and even from the Prime Minister herself. The art story had quickly become a sensationalised and politicised national media event (as discussed in Chapters 1, 5 and 6).

7.3.1 Example 1: Making an ass of ‘art’⁷⁶

The headline and lead paragraph of the unsigned *Dominion Post* editorial encapsulates the tenor of the piece. This editorial begins as follows:

MAKING AN ASS OF ‘ART’

- 1) WHEN it comes to art appreciation, few have the courage of ACT list MP Deborah Coddington in bearding the establishment. Most people prefer not to look like philistines in the face of controversial art. They prefer to ooh, aah and sip on free pinot while secretly watching how friends react to a massive canvas that their three-year-old granddaughter might equally have daubed.
- 2) None of that for Ms Coddington. "It's crap," she said this week of New Zealand's latest contribution to the most prestigious international art festival. "And most New Zealanders know it." This year, Creative New Zealand --

⁷⁶ The text presented for analysis in this section of the chapter originates from the *Dominion Post* editorial “Making an ass of ‘art’” (2004). The numbering of the paragraphs presented here corresponds to the order of the paragraphs in the published text of the editorial.

funding the last of three works for the Venice Biennale -- is dispatching an installation that will "build on" work that includes a toilet that brays like a donkey. Its creator is said to be a lone female artist who masquerades as an art collective.

The editorial's headline describes a process in which one thing ("art") is metaphorically being made into something else ("an ass"). The participants in this process (the agent(s) of the participle "making") are unstated and have to be inferred from the editorial's text. It is unclear here who, exactly, is responsible for "making an ass of art". Also, the word "art" appears in the headline in quotations, indicating a re-contextualisation of the term through an ironic association; that is, the word does not carry its conventional literal meaning. What is insinuated here is that the art produced by the particular artists is not what art ordinarily is or should be. In this case, so-called art has been transformed into something foolish, as in the "butt of a joke".

Just as the notion of "art" is reinscribed through a metaphorical and ironic association, so too is the artist. The renaming of the artist in paragraph 2 activates the journalistic violence of renaming that had occurred in previous media contexts. In this editorial, we see that the artists are not referred to by their name, et al., but are renamed, through their association, first of all, with the artwork that had been famously ridiculed (as the "creator" of "a toilet that brays like a donkey"), (as discussed in Chapter 5), and secondly, with a secret and disguised identity ("said to be a lone female artist who masquerades as an art collective").

As Bell (1991, p. 188) explains, the content and verb forms used in headlines can be ideologically revealing. The headline's absence of agency and use of the ambiguous participle ("making") leaves interpretations of agency open. The lead paragraph's positive characterisation of Deborah Coddington as courageous for proclaiming et al.'s *rapture* (2004) as "crap" (paragraph 2) could suggest that she is the one who is "making an ass of art" by having drawn attention to what she claims is the artwork's stupidity. However, the agentless participle could also just as easily, and likely does, refer to any of the other key actors identified in the editorial that follows, including et al., who produced the artwork that initiated the controversy, Labour Party members Associate Arts Minister Judith Tizard or Prime Minister Helen Clark, and CNZ, the arts organisation which the Labour government, according to the editorial, props up with

taxpayer money. Here, the editorial constructs a “logic of equivalence” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 130), drawing together a number of different agents from the political and visual arts fields, who, as it will argue, are linked by their antagonism towards the values and good sense of ordinary New Zealanders.

The newspaper’s conservative political sympathies are clearly indicated in the lead paragraph’s strongly evaluative use of the word “courage” to describe both Coddington and the opposition party with which she is affiliated (“courage of ACT list MP”). Coddington is clearly the hero of the piece. She is represented in paragraph 1 and in the next as outspoken, irreverent and fearless in confronting (“bearding”) those who are identified as the “establishment”, elitists who only pretend to know something about art. The pejorative word “philistine” identifies the way cultural elitists might be likely to refer to those who are uncultured or ignorant about art. However, the editorial notes that Coddington is unconcerned about being characterised as a “philistine” as evidenced by her straightforward assessment of the artwork as “crap and most New Zealanders know it”. With this statement, Coddington allies herself with a mainstream, common-sense view of art that, it is presumed, “most New Zealanders” recognise intuitively.

The “establishment”, presented in opposition to Coddington, are not only the cultural elite, but also those political actors who support them. For instance, while Coddington is positively identified as courageous, self-assured and honest, the Labour Party’s Associate Arts Minister Judith Tizard is represented in paragraph 3 as unreliable and inconsistent:

- 3) Suddenly sensitive to another glorious show of taxpayer largesse to an absurd cause, Associate Arts Minister Judith Tizard wants answers. "I think," she says, "that Creative NZ has to answer the charge that this is arrogant and elitist." Where was her outrage last year when CNZ financed an equally bizarre concept for the biennale?

Tizard’s “suddenly sensitive” display of indignation is depicted here as a politically motivated response to the now publicly visible art controversy. Furthermore, the fact that she did not show her displeasure in response to the “equally bizarre” artists selected for the previous Venice Biennales is evidence of her self-interested opportunism as well as her lack of fortitude and discernment.

A few paragraphs later, Prime Minister Helen Clark is similarly targeted for what appears to be an inconsistency in word and deed. The editorial first cites Clark, “someone who knows what she doesn’t like”, expressing her displeasure regarding the way Te Papa, the national museum, displays its art collection: “Paintings or Maori art are displayed as though (they) have the same value as a used refrigerator.” The editorial next describes how Clark, in her role as Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage, was instrumental in substantially increasing public funding of arts organisations, and makes the point that “taxpayers boosted CNZ coffers”. The juxtaposition of these two paragraphs calls into question Clark’s judgment and effectiveness by implying that Clark, like her Associate Minister, is not only inconsistent but also hypocritical for implementing cultural policies that use taxpayer money to fund art projects that even she does not fully support.

While the editorial concedes that appreciation of art is personal (i.e., subjective), it posits that those who claim to understand “edgy art”, such as Tracy Emin’s controversial work *My Bed* (1998), seem to be “merely poseurs”, only pretending to understand. In contrast, “most people”, also described as the “uninitiated”, intuitively recognise what is good and do not need to resort to pretense, as suggested by the following observation: “Most people empathise more with the old line, ‘I don’t know much about art but I know what I like’”.

This simple statement engages a number of rhetorical strategies to reinforce and elicit the reader’s support. First of all, as Clayman (2002) explains, journalists often align themselves with the public as a legitimizing device, activating a fourth estate ideal and securing their position as “tribune-of-the-people” (p. 202). This journalistic alignment with the general public is evident in the dichotomy that establishes as preferential the genuine, understanding of what is good that “most people” (the “uninitiated”) apparently possess in contrast to those who only pretend to know (the “poseurs”). Also, the well-known adage (“I don’t know much about art...”) conveys an informal and approachable “folksy” quality that suggests a familiarity with and an appreciation of common-sense wisdom. This identification with the general public is further supported by the editorial’s use of the pronoun “I” in the quote and suggests that the editorial voice is positioned from a standpoint of an imagined public comprising “most people”.

Besides constructing a connection with the populist sentiments of the general reader,

this assertion also provides insight into other ideological positionings of the journalistic institution. This statement, echoing Coddington, makes the point that basic common sense, something “most people” have, is all that is needed to recognise good art. Moreover, this claim suggests that a consensus (“most people”) shares a common-sense view of what constitutes ‘good’ art. In other words, despite the fact that individuals may have different ideas about art, an essential and objective truth concerning ‘good’ art exists as a ‘given’, and the majority of New Zealanders, including the news organisation, understand and agree upon this truth.

The democratic, ‘majority rules’, principle expressed here seems to stem from a modernist framework based on a kind of “metaphysical dogmatism” (Melzer, Weinberger, & Zinman, 1999, p. 10) established by an assumed consensus on what is natural and obvious. Vattimo (1999) contends that “many of modern democracy’s hard problems can be traced back to the ... connection between democracy and metaphysics” (p. 149). He goes on to argue that when natural law is used to justify a democratic position, aspects of that natural law are often defined in ways that constrain the freedoms of some members of the social group (Vattimo, 1999, p. 149). This kind of limitation can be seen in the editorial’s rhetoric, which constructs an antagonistic frontier (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) between “most people” and those “poseurs” who claim to understand “edgy”, “bizarre” or “controversial” art.

It is not until the end of the editorial (paragraph 8) that the primary political concern, which is the government’s lack of accountability and irresponsible spending on the arts, is explicitly identified. This last paragraph, the editorial’s “pragmatic conclusion”, suggests what should be done to address the problem:

- 8) If the Government is to support the arts -- and there is a case for its doing so, at least in part -- ministers have a duty to ensure the money is well used. CNZ has now decided it won't send a heehawing portalo to Italy after all, but is vague about what it will send. Chief executive Peter Biggs needs to convince a hitherto admiring minister that when he contemplated dispatching, on the Government's behalf, a toilet that brayed to the Venice Biennale, the artist as well as his panel of "visual art" specialists were not making asses of him, Ms Tizard, Miss Clark and those who pay the bills.

The paragraph opens with a conditional statement asserting the dependence of one proposition (the protasis, “if” clause, concerning Government’s support of the arts) on the truth of another proposition (the apodosis, usually signalled by the word “then”, which calls for ministers to oversee the responsible spending of the money). Dunmire (2008) explains that conditionals function as speculations about circumstances that are contingent upon the outcome of some other unrealized condition. Based on this, the conditional statement in this editorial’s conclusion identifies government support of the arts as a hypothetical proposition that is contingent on ministers ensuring the money is spent responsibly.

The strategically inserted clause (“and there is a case for its doing so”), an apparent concession (van Dijk, 1998, p. 39) allowing that some public and open-minded support of the arts is justified, implies that the editorial’s position is balanced and fair. The proposition presented here reproduces the common sense and populist values that resonate throughout the editorial: some arts funding is reasonable as long as the money is spent on arts that “most New Zealanders” would find acceptable. However, no suggestions are made concerning what arts would receive support or how those choices would be determined. Presumably, arts funding could be governed by the same common sense that applies to determining what constitutes good art.

The editorial’s final paragraph also draws attention, once again, to the failings of Government and the arts organisation it had “hitherto” supported. The inaccurate information reported a few days earlier on the *Holmes* show, suggesting that et al.’s *rapture* (2004) would be the work sent to Venice (as discussed in Chapter 5), is reiterated here. The arts organisation, along with its chief executive Peter Biggs, is represented as backpedaling having “now decided it won't send a heehawing portalo to Italy after all”. Like Tizard and Clark, CNZ and those associated with the organisation appear erratic and unreliable. Finally, the editorial, once again invoking the public, ends by calling for Biggs to be accountable to the ministers and the taxpayers “who pay the bills”.

Shared values of common sense, consistency, reliability and good taste link the editorial (and by association its news organisation), Coddington and the ACT Party, the “people”, “taxpayers” and “most New Zealanders” as a discursively constructed antagonistic frontier positioned in opposition to what is outside that framework: the

Labour Government, its insupportable cultural policies and the causes that those policies sustain, including et al. and the country's participation in the Venice Biennale. This discourse presents an apparent distrust of elitism in contrast to populist values. In calling for a kind of populist empowerment of the people and for Government to be responsive and accountable to "taxpayers", the news organisation, through the voice of the editorial, appears selfless and disinterested, by engaging apparent fourth estate ideals of civic journalism. However, according to Matheson (2007a), New Zealand journalists generally struggle with what constitutes "the people", a category that is usually vague and poorly defined: "'the people' elides away easily into 'the market'" (p. 39).

7.3.2 Example 2: Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh⁷⁷

The *Dominion Post*'s second editorial about et al. and the Venice Biennale was published on 4 June 2005, approximately seven months after the first editorial and about a week before the exhibition's opening. Coverage of the event had subsided in November 2004 after et al. was awarded the Walter's Prize, but resumed in May 2005 with six articles published during the month prior to the editorial. Four of these were written by the newspaper's arts editor, Tom Cardy, three of which had appeared in the "National" news section. The first editorial ("Making an ass of 'art'") discusses the et al. controversy as symptomatic of a problem with Government's irresponsible arts funding and endeavours to anticipate readers' agreement with a claimed common-sense solution. In contrast, the second editorial ("Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh") appears to corroborate a pre-existing consensus, an already established common view, concerning the artist collective, the creative team and the value of contemporary art, but while repeating some of the first editorial's themes and critical positions, the discourse here is more emphatic in its construction of the art field as an antagonistic "other".

First of all, the editorial's headline, presenting the key idea of the text, succinctly proclaims et al.'s artwork to be rubbish ("tosh") and predicts it to be a short-lived success, even before the exhibition's opening. The tone of the piece is established in the lead paragraph's sarcastic use of the word "comfort" (paragraph 1) regarding New Zealand's position in the international contemporary art world purportedly having been

⁷⁷ The text presented for analysis in this section originates from the *Dominion Post* editorial "Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh" (2005). The numbering of the paragraphs presented here corresponds to the order of the paragraphs in the published text of the editorial.

secured by Merylyn Tweedie (in another assertion of naming, the pseudonym has been set aside here) whose work is equivalent to that of the controversial British artists, Damien Hirst and Tracy Emin.

FLASH-IN-THE-PAN ARTISTIC TOSH

- 1) It is a comfort to know that New Zealand is at the cutting edge of the art world. Britain has Damien Hirst and Tracey Emin who make art out of pickled animals, soiled underwear and prophylactics. New Zealand has Merylyn Tweedie, the queen of the portaloos.

Emin had been invoked in a more general way in the first editorial as the *enfant terrible* of the contemporary art world. Here, the editorial discourse links Emin, along with another notorious Young British Artist, Damien Hirst, to Tweedie within a logic of equivalence that appears to argue reductively that any contemporary art that incorporates ready made, mundane detritus as part of its visual material is, basically, the same.

The next section of the editorial presents a factual overview of events including details describing aspects of the work to be presented in Venice. In this context, the editorial reports information that had been provided by experts in the art field, including the observations made by gallery owner Jonathan Smart that the work's five large structures looked like "toilets" and by Peter Biggs who said they resembled "sheds".⁷⁸ These remarks apparently support the claims published in other news reports that the new artwork created for Venice would "build on" previous work that had included the portaloos, even if it was not actually *rapture* (2004). These cited observations of authoritative members of the artfield serve as a rhetorical counterbalance for those of Greg Burke that appear in the next paragraphs, which present a focal point for this editorial's argument.

The next section of the editorial centres on a discussion of et al.'s new work provided

⁷⁸ Interestingly, this editorial's citation of Smart and Biggs draws on interview material that will be reported for the first time in articles to be published in the *Dominion Post* several days later: first, in a mostly negative preview of the exhibit, written by arts editor Tom Cardy (2005) and printed in the paper's National News section; and then, a day later, in a more positive feature which uses the "toilets" and "sheds" reference without attribution, written by Michelle Quirke (2005) and printed in the Higher Education section. The so-called "wall of separation" (Kahn & Kenney, 2002, p. 381) between editorial and news writing is evidently not operating in this case.

by Greg Burke, a key member of the creative team. The editorial's paragraphs 4 and 5 summarise Burke's description of some of the artwork's visual features, and then present his rationale for being reluctant to provide a comprehensive explanation of the work:

- 4) The exhibition's commissioner Greg Burke has revealed the work also contains bits of furniture, computers and what he eloquently terms "projections of wires". But not even his eloquence is up to explaining the piece to the general public.
- 5) "To try and describe what the work is about is a very difficult thing to do because it works on so many different levels. There's so much content. What we can say is that there are so many references to world events and other things through text."

Paragraph 4 presents a sarcastic reference to Burke's "eloquence", first mocking the work through his mundane description of what appears to be a haphazard collection of materials and then characterising his reluctance to interpret the work as an indication of a failure on his part. The idea that Burke's eloquence is not "up to explaining the work to the general public" suggests that he is unable, or unwilling, to engage with ordinary people, those who are not part of the visual art field. This lack of engagement indicates a presumed difference in values and thinking between those who occupy and represent the visual art world and everyone else. Moreover, another implication of the reluctance that the editorial ascribes to Burke is that he might appear to think it likely that ordinary people would be unable to understand the work or his explanation – an elitist point of view. This representation of the visual art field's elitism in conflict with the norms of the general New Zealand public appears again in the editorial's next section, which focuses on the distinctions between the two groups.

In the next two paragraphs, the differences between the two groups are represented in an "us vs. them" framework that arranges the social world into two separate categories. A successfully persuasive editorial requires the reader to identify with and adopt the position of the writer. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals not only rely on themselves, or their social in-group, as the frame of reference by which they acquire a sense of identity through their differentiation from

others. Their desire for positive self-esteem motivates them to describe their in-group's characteristics positively and to identify positive traits as norms for the group, but also to attribute stereotypically negative characteristics to the out-group and to identify these as typical for that group (Teo, 2000). In effect, the ideological representations that social groups construct of themselves and others are expressed in language in a way that discursively reproduces the polarizing framework in which, generally, "we" are represented positively and "they" are represented negatively (Van Dijk, 1998).

This polarizing "us vs. them" framework is clearly evident in the discourse of the next two paragraphs of the editorial.

- 6) To us this sounds suspiciously like the excuses students have offered since time immemorial when challenged to justify sloppy, inadequate work. Sadly such bilge didn't use to wash. Readers may wonder whether Mr Burke has any idea what he is talking about.

Analysis of paragraph 6 demonstrates how the discourse promotes an ideology that encourages the reader's identification with the editorial's frame of reference. The paragraph begins with the phrase "to us" to refer to the editorial writer's viewpoint. According to Fowler (1991) the pronoun "we" (and its objective form "us"), often used in editorial discourse, typically signals the writer's assumed role as spokesperson for the media organisation, but may also suggest a conjunction, an "implied consensus", of the newspaper and its readership (p. 189). In this case, the pronoun "us", appears to function in an "addressee-exclusive" sense (Petersoo, 2007) to refer to the newspaper's suspicion and doubt in response to Burke's statements. Besides failing to communicate, Burke's efforts to justify his reluctance to explain et al.'s artwork due to its complexity is characterised in paragraph 6 as a "dodge", a strategy of evasion or pretense that might typically be used, for instance, by a student to conceal something that is actually of poor quality. The writer's disdain towards Burke's explanation is typical, according to MacGregor (2009), of journalists' anti-intellectual hostility to "highbrow", elitist culture and "dislike of abstraction" (p. 240), an implied cultural policy expressed through journalistic practice in the UK that is likely consistent among similar free-market liberal democracies, including New Zealand. In contrast, he claims, journalists maintain a "doctrine of simplicity" characterised by short sentences, concrete language and "demotic" vocabulary (p. 241).

Comparing Burke's language to that of a student belittles his knowledge and authority. However, this analogy also references a common experience, a "public idiom", that, according to Hall (1978) serves as the "newspaper's own version of...the rhetoric, imagery and underlying common stock of knowledge which it assumes its audiences shares and which thus forms the basis of the reciprocity of producer/reader" (p. 61). The commonplace scenario of a student's experience, likely familiar to most readers, as well as the colourful colloquial expression characterising Burke's explanation as "bilge", suggests that the writer and reader share and participate in the same world, a sharp distinction to that suggested by Burke's apparent inability to relate to ordinary people. This shared experience contributes to establishing an "ideology of consensus" (Fowler, 1991, p. 49) in which the reader identifies with the writer's values and, therefore, with the ideological stance of the institution the discourse represents. This consensus is articulated overtly in the paragraph's last sentence referring to "readers" as an all-inclusive and homogeneous group and suggesting, through the modal verb "may", that readers would also possibly share similar doubts concerning Burke's explanation and expertise.

The reader's identification with the in-group position is reinforced through the negative characterisation of the out-group, members of the visual art field, in the editorial's next paragraph:

- 7) But, if so-called artists want to travel the world congratulating each other on coming up with increasingly bizarre uses of everyday objects and passing them off as art, that is their business. And if they can convince those with more money than taste that their creations constitute art, good on them. They are even entitled to sniff at those who hold stubbornly to the view that artists should exhibit an element of technical virtuosity.

Of note here, first of all, are the lexical choices used to characterise the values and attitudes of the category of the artists under scrutiny. Fowler (1991) has referred to vocabulary as "a representation of the world...as perceived according to the ideological needs of a culture" (p. 82). The negative language in paragraph 7, operating within the polarizing framework of "us vs. them", reinforces readers' social identification with the values and ideology of the in-group ("us") as it simultaneously constructs a representation of the contemporary artist out-group ("them").

One characteristic generally attributed to this group of artists is their practice of misleading others, an idea that recurs throughout most of the paragraph. For instance, the phrase “so-called” suggests that this group is falsely, and inappropriately, identified as artists; the phrase, “passing [everyday objects] off as art” suggests that these artists deceive their audience by misrepresenting their “bizarre” creations as art; and the next sentence describes the artists duping wealthy, but gullible, collectors into buying these works.⁷⁹ This over-lexicalization identifies a particular idea of concern, in this case the trait of deceit or, perhaps pretentiousness, attributed generally to this category of artists and in contrast to the values of the group generating the discourse (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 212). Finally, in addition to this characteristic, the paragraph’s last sentence calls attention to the apparent elitism, alluded to in paragraph 5, of these artists, evident by their disdain (as depicted by the figure of speech “to sniff at”) for those who maintain the opposing view that technical skill is a necessary artistic attribute.

More insight into the editorial’s ideological stance is provided by analysis of the semantic relations within and between the sentences in paragraph 7. Van Dijk (1998) explains that “strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation” (p. 39) may also occur within and between sentences through the expression of contrasting propositions. These contrasting structures are particularly evident in the paragraph’s first two sentences. While these appear to be conditional sentences identified by the “if” clause, the subsequent apodosis, usually the proposition upon which the “if” clause relies, are disclaimers rather than conditions.

Disclaimers, according to Overstreet and Yule (2001), are often formulaic, recognisable phrases that discourse participants can easily process. The use of these familiar stock phrases serves to validate and affirm the social relationship between reader and writer. In their analysis of cultural scripts, Goddard and Wierzbicka (2007) explain that, like other cultural scripts, commonly-used disclaimer formulas, such as *It’s up to you*, *You don’t have to*, and *Only if you want*, are linked to core cultural values and communicate

⁷⁹ This representation of contemporary artists as fraudsters would likely be familiar to a non-specialist readership. Mattick (2003), for instance, discussing Bourdieu’s concept of taste as a constituent of habitus and art as “social classifiers” (p. 177), cites as an example of the “working class relationship to fine art” the reactions of students from a working-class and lower-middle-class orientation visiting New York’s MOMA, many for the first time. These students describe those who seem to understand and enjoy the works on display “as either fools or fakers” (p. 178). While this hostile response suggests an alternative taste, it can also be seen as a defensive reaction, a recognition of something incomprehensible, and, as Bourdieu (1984, p. 386) argues, “implies a form of acceptance of domination.”

broad cultural themes (p. 112). Typically used by speakers as a safeguard when what they say could be assessed negatively, these phrases indicate that speakers are aware of the threatened social rules and are distancing themselves from the problem (Overstreet & Yule, 2001). As such, disclaimers function strategically as a means of impression management (van Dijk, 1998, p. 41).

Accordingly, the cultural scripts in the second half of the first two sentences in paragraph 7, “that is their business” and “good on them”, function antagonistically to distance the editorial from the behaviours of the out-group described in the “if” clause, but they also provide a contrasting social connection with the reader. The informality of these familiar colloquial expressions, derived from the “public idiom”, produces an appealing intimate discourse that is both effortless and reassuring, indicates a common ground between reader and writer and encourages readers’ identification with the editorial position.

In addition, these familiar phrases highlight a key editorial value – that of individual and market freedom. While these disclaimers distance the editorial position from the reprehensible behaviours ascribed to the contemporary artist out-group, they also indicate that the group should be free to engage in these behaviours and sell their works to anyone who might be gullible enough to buy them. This laissez-faire standpoint is consistent with the neoliberal ideals of a free market economy that dominate the structural organisation of the New Zealand journalistic field (see discussion in Chapter 3). Moreover, the values expressed in this editorial are consistent with those of the previous one (“Making an ass of ‘art’”). In that earlier editorial, the newspaper’s explicit praise for Coddington’s outspoken complaint against the selection of et al. suggests a philosophical, if not necessarily party political, identification with the ACT party member. Key among the principles outlined by the ACT party and identified prior to the 2005 election are individual freedom and personal responsibility: “Individuals are the rightful owners of their own lives and therefore have inherent freedoms and responsibilities” (Haas, 2005).⁸⁰ The editorial’s stance articulated in paragraph 7 that

⁸⁰ The ACT party identify as upholding classical liberal principles of a free market society with limited government control (ACT Party Website, 2010). The key party principles outlined in 2005 were the following:

- Individuals are the rightful owners of their own lives and therefore have inherent freedoms and responsibilities.
- The proper purpose of government is to protect such freedoms and not to assume such responsibilities. (Haas, 2005)

artists should be free to conduct themselves as they wish, produce whatever they like no matter what others may think, and sell their work to unwitting collectors (“those with more money than taste”), if they can get away with it, corresponds to a free market ideology concerning the private control of production. Furthermore, the word “entitled” in paragraph 7’s last sentence suggests that such freedoms should be considered a social norm. However, as the editorial will ultimately show, an individual’s freedom to exploit the marketplace that is advocated here apparently does not extend to artists’ expressive freedoms when taxpayers’ money is involved.

The logic of “disinterest” represented in the editorial’s articulation of *laissez-faire* discourse conceals an underlying self-interest that may be operating here. According to Swartz (1997, p. 90), “symbolic practices deflect attention from the interested character of practices and thereby contribute to their enactment as disinterested pursuits”.

Detached from underlying material interests or motivations, self-interest is misrecognised, and the journalistic institution may potentially gain prestige or legitimacy (symbolic capital). Swartz (1997, p. 93), citing Bourdieu, explains that legitimation is necessary for the effective exercise of material and political power. As pointed out earlier (see discussion in Chap 4), MacGregor argues that the “façade of self-legitimation that pretends to neutrality” (2009, p. 243) operates via certain anti-intellectual principles, such as simplicity, accuracy and clarity that are fundamental to mass market journalistic practice, to suppress criticism and promote a cultural agenda based ostensibly on populist norms. The pervasive influence of media’s symbolic capital beyond the journalistic field, a manifestation of meta-capital (Couldry, 2003a), can be identified through the media’s encroachment into other fields and the extent to which it influences conditions by which people in other fields acquire symbolic capital. Paragraphs 7 through 9 present a clear demonstration of the journalistic field’s arrogation of the symbolic power of the visual art field.

What underlies the logic of paragraph 7 is a common-sense aesthetic viewpoint about contemporary artists’ practice and what constitutes art. The behaviours ascribed to the contemporary artist out-group are unethical only if the type of art the editorial associates with the group is, indeed, not art as the editorial claims. As noted above, selling such so-called artworks to “those with more money than taste” is acceptable. However, in later paragraphs, this group is contrasted with the less gullible New Zealand taxpayer, who knows better than to be deceived by this fraud, and whose money should not be used to

pay for such art.

Also in paragraph 7, the phrase “increasingly bizarre uses of everyday objects” dismisses any art practice that uses ready-made materials that are typically mass-produced or already have a non-art function. Originated by Marcel Duchamp in the early 20th century, the use of ready-mades has become a well-established idiom associated with numerous 20th- and 21st-century artists, including Picasso, Rauschenberg, Beuys, Cornell and many others, as well as Damien Hirst, Tracy Emin and Merylyn Tweedie, the latter three singled out as oddities in the editorial. However, the editorial discourse contrasts this art approach with one that privileges “technical virtuosity” as a norm, an aesthetic view that the in-group would “stubbornly” maintain in contrast to the out-group’s apparently “bizarre”, or deviant, idea of art.

In the next two paragraphs (8 and 9) the editorial takes on the guise of art criticism in its assessment of contemporary art’s failure in demonstrating a mastery of painting:

- 8) As defenders of Tweedie, sorry et al, constantly remind us, the works of the French impressionists, Picasso, McCahon and Wollaston [*sic*] were all derided when they first appeared.
- 9) But the difference between their work and the stuff being passed off as art today is that they all exhibited unusual facility with a paintbrush. Where is the skill in sticking a donkey figure on top of a portaloos, shining a projector on to it and playing braying noises through a loudspeaker system. [*sic*]

The writer approaches this aesthetic discussion by first addressing the defence a number of et al.’s supporters had made in previously published op-ed articles (for instance, see Biggs, 2004; McLeod, 2004). Their point, the editorial explains, was that many well-known artists, initially vilified by the artistic community and general public, were later revered.⁸¹ In short, the defenders claim that history has often proved critics wrong.

⁸¹ Actually, the technical skills of all of the artists listed here, as well as many of the French Impressionists, were criticized. The term “Impressionism”, allegedly originated in the critic Louis Leroy’s hostile review of the 1874 exhibition of the “Société Anonyme Coopérative des Artistes” to denigrate the artists’ lack of technical execution (White, 1978). In his review of Monet’s *Impression, Sunrise*, Leroy complained that “wallpaper in its embryonic state is more finished than that seascape” (White, 1978, p. 5). Examples abound of contemporary critics’ denunciation of the techniques of the Impressionist painters. (For more on this, see Canaday, 1969; Janson & Janson, 2001; Reutersvard, 1978; Roos, 1996.)

The New Zealand context also offers numerous examples of the public’s and art community’s negative

While the editorial does not dispute this historical fact, it does claim that a key distinction between the cited historical examples and contemporary art rests on the fact that, unlike “the stuff being passed off as art today”, those earlier artists “all exhibited unusual facility with a paintbrush”. To drive home the point, the editorial ends paragraph 9 with a rhetorical question concerning the skill of contemporary artists who do not paint. The perspective suggested here is that the editorial’s aesthetic paradigm rests solely on the idea that painting is a necessary feature of visual art, and a demonstrable mastery of painting is a criterion of “good” art.

Assessing the technical properties of an artwork is appropriate in aesthetic evaluation. However, focusing on only one criterion may not be sufficient to evaluate a work of art, and may actually exclude factors that could be useful in effectively judging a work. Barrett (2008) points out that those who apply a single criterion or a narrow set of criteria to works of art without careful reflection may simply be uninformed about art, but even professional critics may take an essentialist critical position to defend a particular agenda.⁸² Examining critics’ aesthetic assessments can reveal the normative values that inform their positions. In this case, the editorial’s focus on the traditional medium of painting as the sole criterion of an artwork’s aesthetic value indicates, from an art history perspective, a conservative position.

Within the framework of art history, the editorial’s commitment to painting points to an ideological stance aligned with Modernist grand narratives of objectivity, universal truths, the power of rational thought, originality and the uniqueness of the individual (Mattick, 2003; Barrett, 2008). Many postmodern artists, who create works that challenge and resist Modernist beliefs, generally reject these aesthetic values.⁸³ What is

assessment of the skills of those who would become the country’s most significant painters, including Woollaston and McCahon who were criticised for their “incompetence in handling technique” (Barr & Barr, 1987, p. 21). These and other cases are well-documented in Jim and Mary Barr’s exhibition catalogue, *When Art Hits the Headlines* (1987).

⁸² Clement Greenberg and Roger Kimball are well-known examples of professional critics who have applied single criteria generally to art. For instance, Greenberg’s criticism and aesthetic evaluation focused exclusively on Formalism, emphasising the work’s visual features rather than content or context (Greenberg, 1984/1961), and Kimball opposes any art discussion that is informed by politics such as feminism, cultural studies, postcolonial studies (Kimball, 2004).

⁸³ Crimp (1981), for instance, situates the death of painting in the 1960s when painters began to abandon the medium in favor of other expressive materials. Associating political implications with artists’ material allegiances, Crimp describes those who continue to produce paintings, despite the change in the nature of art, as reactionary, politically conservative supporters of the institutions of a dominant bourgeois culture (Carrier, 1998).

operating here is more than just a conflict between Modernist and Postmodernist aesthetic values. The editorial writer's rejection of anything that may challenge well-established, and perhaps entrenched, ideas of art suggests an intolerance of difference, an attitude that is contrary to the so-called democratic and pluralistic ideals of the journalistic field.

One final point of interest in paragraphs 8 and 9 is the nature of the imagined relationship with the reader. Editorial authority is demonstrated through the display of apparent knowledge, at least to some extent, of art and of art history. The artists and art style referred to are well-known, as are the iconic paintings they produced. These are strategically juxtaposed with the crudely described, and by now, notorious, work of et al., *rapture* (2004). The dialogic, and consensus-building, aspect of the editorial's discourse is heightened by the description of the artwork presented in the form of a rhetorical question regarding the artists' skill ("Where is the skill...?"). The answer to this question is, presumably, self-evident, especially when presented in contrast to the acknowledged skill of the more familiar artists that were cited.

Here, we see an example of what Fowler (1991, p. 211) identified as a "latent contradiction" in the editorial writer's constructed relationship with the reader. That is, on one hand, the writer establishes solidarity with the reader by invoking consensus. For instance, the writer's use of the "addressee-inclusive" (Petersoo, 2007) pronoun "us" (in the phrase "as defenders of Tweedie...constantly remind us") serves a consensus-building role to indicate a shared experience with the reader. At the same time, however, the editorial also claims the authority to present an argument and persuade the reader of its correctness. By acknowledging the art historical argument of the out-group, the editorial demonstrates some command of art history and the authority to express a view on the subject, thereby insulating the news organisation from the charge of indifference to the particular concerns of the visual arts field. However, the symbolic violence of this argument is evident in its misdirection (a fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*, or irrelevant conclusion) when the writer criticises et al., as well as other contemporary artists, for not demonstrating technical mastery of painting, a visual medium that does not pertain to the artwork or to the artists' expressive practice.

Symbolic violence of the representation of the artworld is also demonstrated in the last three paragraphs of the editorial:

- 10) This is a joke and the joke is on the New Zealand taxpayer who has stumped up to fly a load of junk, plus assorted hangers-on to Venice where they will spend the next six months congratulating each other on their cleverness.
- 11) No doubt *The Fundamental Practice* will be hailed as a seminal work, depicting the barrenness of artistic life in New Zealand or some such tosh. But those who are paying for it know what it really is -- a jape at their expense.
- 12) Ordinary Kiwis might not know much about art, but they know enough to know this isn't it.

The antagonism of the journalistic stance regarding the visual arts field resurfaces here in the contrast between the presumed values of the visual art field (out-group) and the represented norms of the general New Zealand public (in-group). The artwork is dismissed as “a joke”, “a load of junk” and, colloquially, as “a jape”, which will likely be praised, nonetheless, by art critics as “a seminal work”. The parodic representation of the discourse of the visual art critic suggests that this kind of elitist point of view should be considered meaningless (“tosh”) as well.

As in paragraph 7, the artists and their supporters (“hangers-on”) are described here as “congratulating each other” for being able to deceive “the New Zealand taxpayer”. However, unlike “those with more money than taste” who are easily duped by the artists, “the New Zealand taxpayer”...“those who are paying for it know what it really is”. The editorial’s rhetorical alignment with the general public is evident in its ingratiating praise for the intelligence and common sense of New Zealanders and, therefore, the majority of imagined readers who are able to recognise a joke when they see one. The low regard for abstract or intellectual engagement is clear here, especially in relation to the editorial’s final paragraph.

The editorial ends with a variation of the well-known expression (“I don’t know much about art but I know what I like”) that appeared in the previous editorial. Here, the phrase “ordinary Kiwis” assigns a nationalistic, or even patriotic, designation to those who have little cultural knowledge, but are credited with having enough to recognise when something is not art (as the was demonstrated in paragraphs 8 and 9). As Williams

(1983, p 225-226) explains, the word *ordinary* can convey the idea of *limitation* by connoting *uneducated* or *uninstructed* (as opposed to *intellectual*), but it can also refer to what is *sensible* or *normal*, in the sense of what is commonly shared (as opposed to the *extraordinary* or *abnormal*). The artworld's support for et al.'s work, therefore, appears irrational and strange, in contrast to the inherent common-sense viewpoint of "ordinary Kiwis" who, the editorial claims, are not easily deceived.

7.4 Mark Amery's commentaries: Arts journalism's intervention from the margins of the journalistic field

As previously discussed (see Chapter 6), negative reporting of the event dominated the pages of the *Dominion Post* in the weeks following each of the editorials. A noteworthy intervention came in the form of two opinion pieces written by the newspaper's visual arts critic Mark Amery. Each of Amery's commentaries examined here appeared in the Arts & Entertainment pages of the *Dominion Post* approximately one week after the publication of each of the newspaper's critical editorials.

Amery has been the *Dominion Post*'s visual arts columnist since 2002 and is well regarded in that role.⁸⁴ Besides being an arts journalist, he is also the Director of New Zealand's national playwrights' organisation, Playmarket, and has served on the curatorial team at the contemporary art gallery City Gallery Wellington and as a member of the Wellington City Council Public Art Panel (Amery, 2010).

By defending et al. in response to the media's negative coverage, Amery's commentaries can be viewed as an effort to contest the symbolic power of the *Dominion Post* and assert the autonomy of the visual arts field. Both articles were substantial journalistic texts, almost twice the length of the editorials, and coming from a respected member of the arts community and an arts journalist with a weekly column and presence in other media, one might expect that Amery's efforts would have provided an opening for a wider discussion. However, very few supportive letters and no references

⁸⁴ Amery's *Dominion Post* column is regularly reproduced on The Big Idea website, an online environment for members of New Zealand's cultural field. He has also appeared on the National Radio current affairs programmes, Saturday Morning with Kim Hill and Arts on Sunday with Lynne Freeman, to discuss the state of the arts and of art criticism in New Zealand. In October, 2008 when the *Dominion Post* discontinued Amery's weekly visual arts column due to economic constraints (Amery, 2008), critical reaction from readers and from other media outlets (e.g. *Saturday Morning*, 2008; Meyer, 2008) led to the paper's reinstating the critic and his visual arts column in a bi-weekly format three months later (Culture Check, 2009).

to Amery's articles appeared in the *Dominion Post* or in any other news outlet, bearing out Amery's assertion concerning the "low level of public debate" (Amery, 2004) and demonstrating the marginalised position of the specialized subfield of arts journalism within the internal hierarchy of the journalistic field. In contrast, the negative coverage, itself, was considered newsworthy and received attention in the reporting of the event and in published letters from the public.

The media's symbolic power can be observed in its management of symbolic forms. For instance, controlling the frequency, content and placement of news stories can reduce their impact. The location of Amery's commentaries in the Arts & Entertainment section likely would have limited their potential readership, and so reduce their social impact, as compared to the numbers and range of readers who would have encountered the editorial texts within the more prominent and frequented space of the editorial pages. Also, readers' trust in the institutional authority of the organisation is augmented by the fact that its editorials, easily found in a particular place in the newspaper each day, offer readers a "predictable pattern" (Couldry, 2000, p. 50). The reliability of this daily communication of a viewpoint on topical issues "normalizes" the symbolic power and authority of the newspaper and the editorial voice.

In contrast, Amery's visual arts column appeared only on Fridays, which constrained the writer's opportunity to present a timely response. The organisation's denunciation of et al. could dominate the news and influence how the events and the actors in the story were represented. The symbolic power of the news organisation is clearly evident in its ability to control the presentation of a news story, its content, frequency and location. As Couldry (2003b) points out, the effects of this form of power can be pervasive in that,

the concentration of society's symbolic resources affects not just what we do, but our ability to *describe* the social itself; it affects the perception of the inequalities in the social world, including the unequal distribution of those very symbolic resources themselves. (p. 39)

The *Dominion Post*'s editorials, along with the volume of negative reports (as pointed out in Chapter 6), demonstrate the "unequal distribution" of the media's symbolic power wielded in this case. Amery's texts functioned as a dialectical counterpoint to the

editorials and a challenge to the symbolic power of the institution (Couldry, 2000). As a “strategic ritual” of objectivity (Tuchman, 1972), the newspaper’s publication of an opposing perspective from the visual arts field provided a democratic display of public service and journalistic pluralism, enhancing the credibility of the organisation and deflecting potential criticism by following professional routines of objective and balanced reporting (Bennett, 2007). However, the organisation’s assertion of symbolic power ensured that the impact of Amery’s intervention was limited. For instance, as noted earlier, the texts’ location within the marginalised domain of the newspaper’s Arts & Entertainment pages may have restricted their potential audience. Also, aspects of Amery’s challenge may have been restrained, to some extent, by the fact that the subject of his criticism was also his employer.

Analysis of Amery’s defence of et al. and response to mainstream media’s criticism can provide insight into aspects of the dispositional characteristics of an arts journalist who homologously resides in the dominated faction of both the arts field, as a culture producer within the restricted field of production, and the journalistic field, as a culture producer within the marginalised subfield of arts journalism. Analysis of Amery’s discourse will demonstrate how, from this liminal position, he attempted to assert the autonomy of the visual arts field and the specialized arts journalism subfield to oppose the heteronomous influence and symbolic power of the journalistic field.

According to Laclau and Mouffe (2001), identity is constructed through its antagonistic relation to an outside “other”– something that it is not. Rather than blocking the full development of identity, this antagonistic relation to the “other” is essential to constituting identity. As was shown in the previous section’s analysis, the editorials’ antagonistic (us vs them) discourse presents a journalistic stance championing populist sensibility and common sense and cynical suspicion of apparent elitism and intellectualism. Analysis of Amery’s commentaries will also reveal an oppositional construction, but aligned to a visual arts field perspective.

7.4.1 Amery’s Commentary I: All we are saying...⁸⁵

Amery’s visual arts column of July 23, 2004 roughly divides into four sections: the first

⁸⁵ The text presented for analysis in this section of the chapter originates from the Amery’s *Dominion* Post visual arts commentary “All we are saying is give piece a chance” (Amery, 2004). The numbering of the paragraphs presented here corresponds to the order of the paragraphs in the published text.

seven paragraphs discuss the reaction of the media and of the mediated public to et al.; the next eight paragraphs focus on the media's failure to respond effectively; the next two paragraphs criticise Creative New Zealand's commercial and self-promotional emphasis; and the last seven paragraphs defend the choice of et al. for the event.

The article begins with a simple and straightforward plea:

ALL WE ARE SAYING IS GIVE PIECE A CHANCE

- 1) Media coverage of et al's selection for the Venice Biennale has made the past week or so a distressing time for many who see contemporary art as having a progressive role in our culture. A role as agent of change as much as illustrator. A form valued for its ability to challenge and provoke thought as much as it beautifies our surroundings, touching nerves on a number of powerful levels.
- 2) At least the Venice decision has done that. Like much great art, the work of et al provokes strong and divergent responses.

As discussed earlier, the newspaper headline serves an important function in attracting readers' attention and motivating them to read the article that follows, providing a "catchy" and easily remembered phrase, and activating knowledge and references to help readers process the information in the text (van Dijk, 1991b). In its role as "the most important part of the text" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 228), the headline of Amery's article displays all these journalistic conventions. Most obvious is the headline's wordplay, achieved by substituting the word "piece" for its homophone "peace" in its reference to "Give Peace a Chance", a well-known anti-war anthem written by John Lennon and Yoko Ono (Norman, 2008, p. 608). The pun "give piece a chance" alludes to artwork that was unfairly criticised and presents a plea for tolerance. In light of the recent sensationalised media focus on et al., the reader would easily have guessed what "piece" of art the headline was referencing. In its earnest plea for open-mindedness, fairness and a balanced response, all archetypal journalistic values, the headline neatly encapsulates the tone and theme of the article that follows.

An oppositional "us vs. them" dynamic is present in this headline as well. As discussed earlier in relation to the critical editorials, an in-group/out-group framework can provide

insight into the ideological perspective of the writer. In this headline, the writer's position is associated with the group identified by the pronoun "we". The out-group, the ones to whom the headline's appeal is being made, is addressed directly as the understood subject ("you") of the headline's imperative sentence, but the identity of this group is not clear here. These identities are made more clear in the opening lines of the text that follows.

The reader learns in the lead paragraph that the "we" group consists of those who believe that contemporary art fulfils a vital social and cultural role. In contrast, the media, whose recent coverage of et al., Amery claims, has been "distressing" for this group of contemporary art supporters, are those to whom the plea for fairness and tolerance is directed. However, the specific agency of those responsible for the distress is obscured by the use of the generic category of "media" which also, to some extent, maintains the disinterest of the writer in relation to the organisation (his employer) chiefly responsible. The contrasting views concerning the value of contemporary art and the strong viewer reactions that such art can elicit appear to be the basis for much of the conflict between the two groups. According to Amery, the value of contemporary art lies in its ability to provoke a range of "strong and divergent" reactions, and et al.'s work, "like much great art", does exactly that.

Over the next five paragraphs of the article, Amery enumerates the range of positive and negative responses that et al.'s art has evoked in some members of the public. For instance, some express feelings of anger and frustration in response to the enigmatic features of et al.'s "wilfully obscure" art. Others, Amery notes, find "this move away from fixed meaning" to be liberating and empowering. On the other hand, there are those who find et al.'s work to be unique among New Zealand art in its ability to create "charged atmospheres", while others "simply find it ugly". "And why shouldn't they?" asks Amery, who then confesses that he too finds "a great deal of art not to [his] taste". Amery's admission demonstrates that not liking some art is a normal and universally shared experience, but also that individual taste is a valid measure for accepting or rejecting art.

The first *Dominion Post* editorial, "Making an ass of 'art'" conveys a similar point. For instance, the editorial's claim that "[a]rt appreciation is personal" suggests that individuals may have distinctive ideas about art. However, in contrast, Amery does not

judge those with whom he disagrees, that is, those who may object to or may not understand et al.'s artwork. Instead, he asserts that "a range of responses...is natural" and welcomes both positive and negative reactions without criticism. This broader approach is consistent with a postmodernist perspective that embraces multiple responses and "validates pluralism in judgement" (Kammen, 2006, p. xxi) and, some have argued, articulates democratic values of freedom and inclusion (see Dallmayr, 1986; Mouffe, 1989; Vattimo, 1999).

Although the idea of "individual freedom" is central to the *Dominion Post* editorial stance as well, the distinction between the two articulated positions is that the editorial writer also insists that there is an essential truth that can be accessed either through clear explanation or through a particular expressive medium and technique. On the other hand, Amery recognises that art may be multivalent and accepts the resultant instability of meaning. As a rejection of the "overwhelming certainty" (Cantor, 1999, p. 177) of transcendent objective truth or meaning, this position maintains that "[n]o aesthetic principles are simply true or universal; all are time-bound and culturally limited" (Cantor, 1999, p. 174).

Moreover, Amery's confession that he too is put off by some art attempts to establish a common ground with those readers who may have had a similar response and also validates their negative reactions. His identification with this group of art viewers is represented, in paragraph 5, by his use of the pronoun "we" and the acknowledgment that the enigmatic qualities of such art can be unsettling:

- 5) ... Others, however, find that et al creates...[m]ysterious, magical spaces in which, creepily, even the air itself can feel like it has been deadened. Spaces in which domestic objects are reanimated in strange laboratories for industrial or scientific use. We feel threatened by the very fact that we can't work out what exactly those functions are, and the sinister projections aren't suggesting any pretty pictures.

In contrast to this menacing description, Amery points out in the next paragraph (6) that et al.'s art elicits laughter as well, especially in response to their "stupid pseudonyms" and to the dreary, sameness of the everyday objects in their art. However, he surmises, "you just know the artist is seeing how far they can take it". In other words, et al., in

“doing all a great artist does”, is intentionally pushing the limits of their art and of the public as well.

Amery’s next section (paragraphs 7-14) moves away from a discussion of normal viewer responses to et al.’s art to address what has truly “been disturbing” him and that is “the low level of public debate” conducted by New Zealand’s media. The media’s treatment of the art news, according to Amery, is not the norm internationally:

- 8) The lack of intelligent discussion compared with what you'd get in Europe or America demonstrates that the parochialism we associate with art hitting the headlines in New Zealand (from the outrage over Frances Hodgkins to that over Colin McCahon) is alive and well.

Amery suggests here that, in the case of “art hitting the headlines”,⁸⁶ the narrow-minded and limited response to the visual arts by many of this country’s journalists is unusual within an international context,⁸⁷ but is consistent historically with New Zealand’s journalistic practice, based on similar negative coverage of this country’s other controversial, but now highly-regarded artists.⁸⁸ Despite this “lack of intelligent discussion”, Amery expresses his astonishment in the next paragraph at the “number of people who feel qualified to offer an opinion on something they know next to nothing”. To explain the problem, Amery presents an analogy, comparing this situation to someone like himself “with an interest in but limited knowledge of either the players or the rules of rugby, commenting on the All Blacks selection”.

Besides providing literary and entertainment value (Fowler, 1991, p. 45), this analogy also serves a rhetorical function as a persuasive appeal to a general readership. Through his comparison of the fields of visual arts and sport, Amery explains his position to his readers, including those who may be unfamiliar with or threatened by contemporary

⁸⁶ This phrase likely alludes to the 1987 exhibition curated by Jim and Mary Barr, *When Art Hits the Headlines*, that presented a history extending from 1891 to 1987 of New Zealand’s art controversies, much of it documented by the news media (Barr & Barr, 1987).

⁸⁷ Amery’s characterisation of the “parochialism” of New Zealand’s arts reporting as unique within an international context is somewhat overstated. As discussed previously (see Chapter 1), there are numerous examples of conservative and sensationalist news coverage of exhibitions and controversial artworks in the United States and in Europe. For discussion of these, see, for example, Julius, 2002 and Kammen, 2006.

⁸⁸ Amery examines this idea at length in his next column (“Stand by for more cultural cringing”, 2005) where he argues that the media’s scepticism and negative coverage of artists derives from the culturally inscribed tendency referred to as “cultural cringe”.

visual art. Reference to the country's national sport and most popular rugby team accesses a common experience (a "public idiom") for most New Zealanders. While some readers may not relate to issues concerning the visual arts field, they would likely be able to appreciate Amery's argument that those commenting on a specialized subject, like sport, should at least have some familiarity with the subject. In addition, Amery's acknowledged cultural capital in the visual arts field, acquired through training and experience (*habitus*) and displayed in part through his role as a visual arts columnist (ironically, a role validated by the same media organisation whose editorial opinion he opposes), confirms his authority to censure those demonstrating what Bourdieu (1993a) refers to as the "uninitiated perception" (p. 219) of non-specialist critics.

Amery's astonished reaction in paragraph 9 to the problem of outside commentators also highlights the relatively low position of the arts journalism subfield within the internal hierarchy of the news organisation. As noted earlier in this chapter, generalist or more prestigious specialist reporters often replace specialist reporters on important news stories (Marchetti, 2005). Operating within the logic of each field are those who dominate and are dominated through the exchange and acquisition of capital valued within a particular field. A field's loss of autonomy and increasing heteronomy, as Bourdieu (1998a) has explained, results from the encroachment of "heteronomous individuals" – people from the outside who have little authority from the viewpoint of the values specific to the field" (p. 62), who give their opinion on matters within the field "and [are] listened to" (p. 57). In this case, the journalistic field's intrusion, via its symbolic violence, threatens the autonomy of both the visual arts field and arts journalism subfield. Furthermore, this demonstration of the journalistic field's power supports Bourdieu's (2005) claim that "the journalistic field, which is increasingly heteronomous...subject to the constraints of the economy and of politics, is...imposing its constraints on all other fields, particularly the fields of cultural production..." (p. 41).

Amery follows his sport analogy, an appeal to those who may not be contemporary art devotees, with another analogy in paragraph 10. In this case, he observes that et al.'s "donkey in the portaloos is quickly becoming the contemporary antipodean equivalent of Marcel Duchamp's porcelain urinal". This comparison of et al.'s *rapture* (2004) with Duchamp's *Fountain* (1917) alludes to historical and critical parallels that would be familiar to readers with some knowledge of art history (in-group members). In addition, the analogy demonstrates Amery's own expertise as well as the kind of knowledge that

one might need to appreciate et al.'s work within a historical context.⁸⁹ He then draws a sharp distinction between those who have some understanding of and appreciation for contemporary art and those (out-group members) who do not. Drawing attention once more to journalists' narrow-mindedness, he claims that "every commentator with a grudge against the contemporary art world has had a sling". In other words, from Amery's perspective, the media hostility towards et al.'s work is rooted in prejudice towards contemporary art in general, and et al.'s work has served as a convenient target.

This aversion to contemporary art seems consistent with what MacGregor (2009) has identified as a general tendency of journalists to distrust obscurity and abstraction. Indeed, conceptual art, and its correlated theories, is considered relatively inaccessible to non-specialist viewers (Mattick, 2003); in other words, deciphering this art requires a mastery of the complex cultural code used in its production (Bourdieu, 1993a). As Mattick (2003) points out, a previous art style, such as Impressionist art, employing more naturalistic conventions seems more immediately accessible even to those who are aesthetically unsophisticated since this style draws on now familiar representational conventions, such as photography (p. 129). However, full understanding of even many Impressionist works is only possible for those who are able to access the more subtle or complex elements of these works. While art, according to Bourdieu can be considered, in some cases, a "collective act of magic", it also functions as "collective misrecognition" in that it serves as a means of social distinction (cited in Grenfell, 2004, p. 100). The symbolic violence of Amery's discourse lies in his characterisation of those, especially in the media, critical of et al. as more generally having a "grudge against the contemporary art world".

Over the next several paragraphs (11-14) Amery presents an example of the media's biased reporting of the art story. In this context, he cites the *Holmes* broadcast and notes

⁸⁹ Amery's analogy is apt if one considers aspects of Duchamp's artistic practice and the aesthetic conflicts raised by his 1917 artwork and similar details pertaining to et al.'s work and reception. For instance, Duchamp's readymade artwork, a porcelain urinal entitled *Fountain* (1917) and signed with the pseudonym "R. Mutt", was submitted anonymously by the artist to the first exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists (Camfield, 1990). Although never displayed at the show, Duchamp's work precipitated debates in the press and in the artworld concerning the nature of art and the limitations of "retinal art", Duchamp's term referring to art that emphasises painterly and formal elements rather than ideas (Humble, 2002, p. 244). Duchamp's introduction of the readymade, according to Kosuth (1991, p. 18), changed the focus of art from "'appearance' to 'conception'". Another obvious similarity between the two artworks is their scatological references, a similarity that Amery foregrounds by referring to the artworks as "portaloo" and "urinal". A 2004 survey of 500 artists, curators, dealers and critics chose Duchamp's *Fountain* as the most influential artwork of the 20th century (Higgins, 2004).

that the New Zealand artist Ralph Hotere was identified on the programme, and by commentators elsewhere, as the preferred choice for Venice. Amery complains that although “people talk indignantly of et al. being unwilling to speak to the media” to answer questions concerning their artwork, journalists have neglected to mention that Hotere and other artists, including Bill Hammond and a previous Biennale artist, Jacqueline Fraser, have refused to speak to the media as well. Such interviews, according to Amery, would merely “get in the way of their art doing the talking”. Whether the media’s neglect to report this information is due to some journalists’ lack of knowledge about the visual art field or a deliberate distortion of the facts, the media’s sensationalised reporting of et al.’s reluctance to participate in media interviews portrays the artists’ behaviour as anomalous and deviant, which also increases the story’s newsworthiness (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 225). MacGregor (2009) explains that such omissions of facts not only distort the news but also create “destructive mythologies” (p. 237), despite the media’s claims of clarity, accuracy and objectivity.

Amery also reproaches other institutions besides the media. In paragraphs 15 and 16, he faults CNZ for justifying participation in the event by presenting it as an opportunity to promote the country and refers to the organisation’s emphasis on economic and political accountability (in field theory terms, an apparent influence of the field of power) as “unfortunate”. In other words, rather than considering the Biennale “a flag-waving World Expo”, focus should be on how an artist’s work compares to others within the international contemporary art scene. Employing the sport metaphor again, Amery argues that, instead, “the best promotion should be putting your best player forward and succeeding on the terms of the game”.

This analogy, perhaps drawing on the discourse of the Venice Biennale as the “Olympics of the art world”, fails to some extent in this application, since sporting events that take place on the world stage usually evoke a sense of nationalistic pride and fervour associated with the national team’s participation and success. Amery’s comparison aestheticizes sports competitions, misrecognising the economic and political interests that operate within the sport field, especially in international competitions, and demonstrating a critical position that is more consistent with an autonomous “art for art’s sake” stance that would be opposed to a heteronomous, marketplace orientation. Despite his criticism of the organisation, however, Amery ends

his article by defending CNZ: he finds it “disturbing that the Government and others have found it so difficult to give CNZ’s decision the backing it so clearly deserves”.

In the next six paragraphs of the article Amery, articulating an objective stance, provides a balanced assessment of et al. and their work and addresses many of the objections that had been raised. First, Amery briefly describes some of the formal and thematic features of the collective’s work. He then draws attention to the visual art field’s consecration of the artists by emphasising the fact that “six diverse authorities on our art” and “three different curators” had chosen the artist to exhibit in the country’s major national and international public collections, many of which he lists. The artist’s work does elicit some criticism, however, as Amery expresses disappointment in “the portaloo work” and regrets that a different piece exhibited earlier in 2004 had not been the focus of media attention. Next, Amery addresses the critics who argued that Hotere was the better choice noting that Hotere, although still a strong artist, had perhaps already “peaked for this kind of forum”, while et al. have “continually pushed their practice forward into new ground”. He then dismisses the issue that the media had problematized concerning the artist’s identity by simply identifying the artist by name, Merylyn Tweedie, which he points out is “no more secret than any entertainment figure’s aliases”, a reference to popular culture that would appeal to general readers. Finally, to sum up his assessment, he assures the reader that the artist collective is “as conservative and safe a bet for Venice as those unfamiliar to contemporary art see it as radical”.

The last paragraph provides a “pragmatic conclusion”, to recall van Dijk’s three-part editorial structure discussed above, which presents the writer’s warning or recommendation concerning what should be done:

- 23) It is crucial at this time in our culture that we give ourselves a chance to grow. That means not leaping to judgments before gaining experience, putting our trust in the strong art institutions we have developed, and having the confidence, maturity and open-mindedness to learn from what our artists might be able, in time, to show us.

The pronoun “we” in this paragraph is different from its earlier usage in that here it appears to extend beyond the specialized in-group of visual art aficionados, like himself,

to include a general readership. This is revealed particularly in his use of the phrase “our culture”. The possessive pronoun conveys a nationalistic tenor, and the complex word “culture” may refer to both ‘high’ art (“Culture”) and to the nation’s way of life (Williams, 1983, p. 90). He ends by urging his readers to adopt “mature” and responsive attitudes (“trust”, “confidence”, “open-mindedness”) towards the country’s artists, in contrast to those “disturbing” attitudes, especially prejudice and narrow-mindedness, exhibited by the media and Government. In other words, Amery argues that being receptive to contemporary art, that is, being open to new ideas, is essential to national progress and growth, but understanding art takes time. Amery will take up this idea again in a later column that again critiques the media coverage of et al. and of the Venice Biennale.

7.4.2 Amery’s Commentary II: Stand by for more cultural cringing⁹⁰

Amery’s visual arts column of June 10, 2005 was published six days after the editorial “Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh” and two days before the biennale exhibition opened to the public. The article serves, in part, as a preview of the exhibition, praising both et al. and the promotional efforts of the New Zealand delegation, but primarily it attacks the media for its treatment of the visual arts. In the course of his criticism of the media, two themes emerge, both of which were briefly alluded to at the end of his earlier article. One of the themes concerns the importance of allowing time for the proper assessment of art. The other key theme, signalled in the title, is the anticipation of “cultural cringe”, a concept that is developed in the article’s second half.

The article starts off like a typical on-the-scene report, depicting the sights, sounds and flavours of Venice, but the writer’s presence in Venice turns out to be merely a fantasy. Despite his role as the *Dominion Post*’s visual arts reviewer, he is “not...one of the 10,000 press-accredited individuals at Venice” and must rely, “like most New Zealand art lovers”, on the reports and viewer reactions that Creative New Zealand provides, a circumstance he ascribes to the “tyranny of distance” (paragraphs 7-8).⁹¹ The tyranny of New Zealand’s isolation may, in this instance, allude to the resulting economic

⁹⁰ The text presented for analysis in this section of the chapter originates from Amery’s *Dominion Post* commentary “Stand by for more cultural cringing” (Amery, 2005). The numbering of the paragraphs presented here corresponds to the order of the paragraphs in the published text.

⁹¹ Amery once again references popular culture, as a strategic appeal to his general New Zealand readers, borrowing this phrase from the song “Six Months in a Leaky Boat” by Tim Finn, recorded in 1982 by the New Zealand pop band Split Enz.

constraints that discourage New Zealand's news organisations from sending their reporters overseas. According to Phelan and Owen (2010), the lack of a journalistic infrastructure for reporting overseas news stories is indicative of the heteronomous, or market-driven, nature of New Zealand's journalistic field. Moreover, Amery, a freelance arts journalist and member of a subfield that enjoys little cultural capital within the internal hierarchy of the news organisation, would be unlikely to receive economic support for first-hand reporting, even in the case of this persistent national visual art story. While the fantasy scenario with which Amery begins his column imparts an imaginative playfulness and suggests some journalistic freedom, his tone also conveys a certain amount of frustration regarding his marginal position not only as a New Zealand arts journalist within the international art scene but also as an arts journalist within the New Zealand journalistic field.

In the meantime, Amery advises readers to be patient and presents a measured and realistic overview of what they can expect once the exhibition opens. Noting what are, in effect, the consecration practices that are distinctive to the artworld, he cautions his readers from expecting any immediate evaluations of the calibre of et al.'s work "from some kind of international art jury" (paragraph 9). Again employing the sport analogy of his earlier commentary, Amery points out in paragraph 11, "Unlike sport, there's no scorecard to print". Instead, success is gauged by the event's outcomes, such as reviews and invitations to exhibit artworks, outcomes that are not immediate. In addition, Amery explains the importance and challenge of "attracting the right sort of attention", which is key to the success of any artist at such a large exhibition, and weighs the advantages and disadvantages the New Zealand delegation maintains to accomplish this task (paragraphs 12-15).

While the first half of the article centres on fostering patience in the face of challenging obstacles, the second half cautions against making hasty judgments or developing a self-defeating negativity, which Amery primarily attributes to the press. In fact, Amery predicts "further headlines of a negative kind, ensuring our cultural cringe is kept well in place" (paragraph 16).⁹² According to Ell (1994), a rising national confidence among

⁹² This term was originally coined by A.A. Phillips in the 1950s to describe a self-deprecating cultural attitude among Australians (Hume, 1993), also characteristic of New Zealanders (Bell, 2002), and attributed to the two countries' deferential colonial relationship to Britain. In both cases, the term refers to the assumption that intellectual activities, cultural products and manufactured goods produced overseas in the well-established cultural centres of Europe and the United States are more respectable and superior.

New Zealanders had contributed to a decreasing cultural cringe in the 1990s as compared to earlier decades. However, Amery claims here that the press's anti-intellectual and defeatist attitude has maintained, and even perpetuated, this misplaced sense of cultural inferiority.

To demonstrate his point, Amery describes the domestic media's treatment of the Colin McCahon retrospective *A Question of Faith* at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam in 2002. In covering the critical reception of the exhibit, Amery notes that the New Zealand press cited a Dutch journalist's negative review, "in the absence of anything else to report" (paragraph 18), but ignored influential art historian and art critic Thomas Crow's praise of McCahon's work, which appeared a year later in the internationally published contemporary art magazine *Artforum*.⁹³

Amery's focus on journalists' citation of a timely review that was unfavourable and disregard for a later positive review highlights the criterion of time, linked to the news cycle, that is considered a significant factor for news selection (Bell, 1991). According to Schudson (1986), journalists seek not only recent news but also "coincident and convenient news, as close to the *deadline* as possible" (p. 81). As discussed previously (see Chapter 3), the heteronomous, or commercial, nature of journalism is characterised by a short production cycle and by anticipation of the marketplace and consumers' expectations. According to Schudson (1986) "the race for news...affords a cheap, convenient, democratic measure of journalistic 'quality'" (p. 82). For agents of the journalistic field, what is most newsworthy and commercially successful is what is most immediate. As a result, reporting is characterised by what Bourdieu (1998a) describes as a "lack of interest in subtle, nuanced changes, or in processes that...remain unperceived and imperceptible in the moment, revealing their effects only in the long term" (p. 7). However, as Amery points out, "Ripples don't make headlines" (paragraph 21).

The sense of immediacy in the journalistic news cycle constrains the way news is selected and reported. As a result of the journalistic field's need for speed and

⁹³ Amery's critique of the domestic coverage of the McCahon exhibit is somewhat overstated. His account of the event suggests that the media's treatment was entirely negative when, in fact, only a few articles (as it happens, all printed in *The Dominion Post*) reported the Dutch journalist's negative review. Also, an article in *The Nelson Mail* (Shaw, 2004) did cite Crow's positive assessment of McCahon. Amery, too, can be criticised for the same fault of partial reporting that he associates with the domestic press.

“obsession with ‘scoops’” (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 6), complex and subtle information is often presented in a simplified and fragmentary form. This simplification of complex information, though, also makes it more accessible to a general readership. Bourdieu (1998a) observes that journalists are able to get away with this type of reporting because they are “protected...by the rapidity with which the journalistic report is forgotten amid the rapid turnover of events” (p. 6). The symbolic violence of these incomplete accounts lies in their misrecognition, their acceptance, as apparently complete and authoritative representations of the social world.

The idea of “time” emerges as a key difference between the journalistic and the visual arts fields in Amery’s discussion. In contrast to the journalistic focus on immediacy, both in terms of a news story’s reporting and its accessibility, Amery makes the following observation about art:

- 21) [...] Great art takes time for its impact to be felt. It can disturb initially, challenging and asking questions of us, but great art leaves a strong afterglow that sees us still making discoveries at the heart of its mystery long after.

As with his earlier commentary in which he had described et al.’s art, like that of any great artist, as provocative, obscure, mysterious and challenging, Amery in his second article, again stresses these qualities as characteristics of great art and makes the point that understanding such art is an unfolding process.

In fact, rushing this process can result in a poor or incomplete understanding of art. To illustrate his point, Amery quotes Robert Storr, the Walters Prize judge, describing what et al.’s work, in effect, says to the viewer: “‘Come to me, but I will not reward you immediately with what you’re looking for. Come to me, I will engage you in a process of figuring out what I am, and who you are’” (paragraph 23). Storr observed that et al.’s art was an “intelligent orchestration” of the difficulties viewers experience when confronting a new or unfamiliar artwork (paragraph 22).

Amery’s discourse describing art’s effects and elusive qualities suggests that engaging with art can be akin to a spiritual experience. Indeed, Bourdieu has described “art as a religion”, a “collective act of magic” (cited in Grenfell, 2004, p. 100), through which

believers may access a “realm of the ineffable, the unknowable, and quasi-spiritual sensitivities” (Grenfell, 2004, p. 100). However, art is also a form of “collective misrecognition” by which social groups are distinguished. The cognoscenti, those who are in the know or who are committed to the game (*illusio*) played out in the visual arts field, may be identified as elitist by their engagement with and tolerance for the ambiguities of contemporary art (Grenfell, 2004, p. 104; Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 67). Those who lack this background, or habitus, may find new and unfamiliar art to be particularly challenging to decode.

Characteristic of et al.’s art in particular, and of much contemporary art in general, is its resistance to viewers’ interpretation. Understanding and appreciating such art is particularly challenging, according to Amery, since it “can be so of-its-time that it can be easily written off... its extraction of the complexities of our contemporary experiences only later appreciated with distance” (paragraph 24). Unlike journalism, which follows the market-driven logic of a short production cycle, other more autonomous cultural practices, especially in the creation of contemporary artworks, are characterised by a long production cycle and the acceptance of high-risk, “future-oriented” cultural investments associated with the “laws of the art trade” (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 97).

The temporal factors that distinguish these two forms of cultural production are linked not only to the logic of the economic field but also to differences in taste. Bourdieu (1993a) describes cultural fields as sites of struggle where agents compete for legitimacy. As new artists acquire status, they supersede previously consecrated artists and relegate them and their devotees to an outmoded past. Those who were at one time considered avant-garde become passé or canonized as a part of history. Conflict may occur between those who support continuity, identity and repetition and those who seek discontinuity, difference and disruption. According to Bourdieu (1993a), the basis of this conflict is that “agents and institutions who clash...through competition and conflict, are separated in time and in terms of time” (p. 107). In other words, the conflict between agents may be characterised as a clash between tastes, or preference, for the traditional or the avant-garde.

We can see this distinction in the temporal orientation that characterises, to some extent, the antagonism between Amery’s and the *Dominion Post* editorial writer’s rhetorical

engagement with art history. In paragraph 25, Amery references the recent *Dominion Post* editorial, “Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh”, and cites the editorial’s argument that, unlike et al., Picasso, McCahon and Woollaston were more skilled. Amery counters this argument by reiterating the point that, like et al., these artists’ abilities were dismissed and ridiculed in editorials published in their day.

In contrast to the editorial discourse connecting these painters in a chain of equivalence opposed to et al., Amery constructs a chain of equivalence that links et al. to these well-known, consecrated avant-garde artists. In this way, et al. is aligned with a historical lineage of the avant-garde, and through this association, Amery suggests that et al.’s art, like that of these famous artists, will also at some point gain public acceptance. However, this is a waiting game. The slow acceptance of contemporary artists seems typical, as Bourdieu (1993a) observes, for those who are “situated at the vanguard have no contemporaries with whom they share recognition (apart from other avant-garde producers), and therefore no audience, except in the future” (p. 107).

This idea of contemporary art’s eventual acceptance is the focus of Amery’s next three paragraphs. Once again citing Colin McCahon as an example, Amery points out that twenty years after the New Zealand media attacked the artist when the government presented one of his paintings to Australia, his work is only now starting to be appreciated. In light of this shifting opinion, Amery ends his article by wondering, “as we truly start to treasure McCahon, can we say our general behaviour towards our contemporary artists in the international sphere is any different? Let’s watch and see.” (paragraphs 28 and 29).

This extract is interesting in part due to shifting meanings of the pronoun “we”. Up to this point in the article, the pronoun “we” occurred only once and as an inclusive form (Petersoo, 2007) referring to the nation’s presence at the biennale (“We are but one of 70 countries exhibiting...”). This inclusive national identity applies to the pronoun’s first appearance in the extract above (“as we truly start to treasure”) as well but the pronoun’s reference seems to shift in the second half of the sentence (“can we say our general behaviour towards our contemporary artists...”). Here, the pronoun becomes more ambiguous; it could still retain its function as a referent for the nation, but considering Amery’s earlier criticism of journalists’ behaviours, the pronoun’s meaning in this context has likely narrowed to refer specifically to journalists, including Amery

himself. Finally, the pronoun's reference changes again in the closing statement ("Let's watch and see"), which directly addresses the reader. Here, Amery distances himself from the active reporting role of a journalist and identifies with the passive role of a bystander. Along with his readers, he will wait for events to unfold.

7.5 Summary

This chapter examined selected examples of the opinion-based discourse published by the *Dominion Post* during its coverage of et al. from 2004 to 2005. The discourse analysis showed that the two editorials were primarily focused on common-sense appeals aligned to the populist sensibilities of a mainstream readership. For instance, both editorials drew on a formulaic journalistic narrative centring on calls for Government accountability in its expenditure of taxpayers' money. Also, issues concerning the controversy were highlighted that activated anti-intellectual and anti-elitist views, a position that is typical within journalistic practice.

Analysis of the visual arts journalist's commentaries defending et al. demonstrates the precarious, liminal position that the subfield maintains in relation to the dominant journalistic field. First of all, the visual arts journalist's rhetorical approach also engaged in the journalistic convention of a common-sense appeal to mainstream values. The arts journalist's use of sport analogies, his reassurances concerning individualistic interpretive freedom, and his rational plea for readers not to rush to judgment concerning et al. and their art are all appeals to populist values of fairness and democratically engaged freedom of expression. However, he must also demonstrate his visual arts specialism (his cultural capital) for his specialist readers and engage in the standard art historical discourse of the art critic (Elkins & Newman, 2008), reactivating an elitist stance that could potentially undermine his populist appeals. Amery's discursive struggle to balance journalistic populism and visual arts field specialism highlights the marginality of Amery's discourse in relation to the wider media discourse. But these discursive struggles also suggest that the heteronomous influence of journalism's symbolic power is embedded in journalistic doxa and reproduced through journalistic practice, an idea that will be discussed more in the next chapter.

Amery's challenging position is explained to some extent through Bourdieu's discussion of the way the appeals to the popular registers differently in different fields.

Bourdieu (1990a) explains that, while “being or feeling authorized to speak about the “people” or of speaking *for* (in both senses of the word) the “people” may constitute, in itself, a force in the struggles within different fields” (p. 150), the significance that the “people” hold varies within different fields. More autonomous fields depend less on adopting a stance that appeals to the “people” or the “popular” and the more highly heteronomous fields, conversely, depend more on those appeals.

The next chapter develops these ideas further in analysing the field antagonisms that are enacted in relation to journalistic constructions of the public.

Chapter 8

The journalistic interview: Field antagonisms in performance

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analysed selected newspaper editorials and commentaries as contrasting examples of discourse reflecting the broadly institutional perspective of the journalistic field and the marginalised position of an arts journalist. This chapter will focus on what is arguably one of the more significant texts in the case: the *Dominion Post* interview with et al. This text, in many ways, represents the culmination of the ongoing efforts of journalists in the country's mainstream media, led by the *Dominion Post*, to engage the artist collective directly.

The chapter begins by examining the interview as “performative discourse” (Broersma, 2010a, p. 18) and considering its significance to journalistic practice and the formation of the field. This section also briefly considers Bourdieu's theory in relation to Judith Butler's notion of the “performative” as it may apply to avant-garde visual art and to et al.'s expressive practice.

The next two sections of the chapter present a discourse analysis of the exchange between the interlocutors in the e-mail interview: the reporter Robyn McLean and the “spokespeople” for the artist collective. Starting from the idea of the interview as a “*course of interaction* to which participants contribute” by turns (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 13), this analysis will draw on aspects of conversation analysis (Clayman, 2002; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Heritage, 1985) to examine the journalist's provocative rhetoric and the artists' strategies of resistance. The content of the participants' contributions will be considered, of course, but emphasis will be placed on the rhetorical strategies that the interlocutors employ generated through their distinctive fields of practice as they participate in the “interactional game” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 15) of the interview. The asynchronous e-mail interview will not present the kind of generative process that unfolds in the course of a typical face-to-face exchange. However, examination of the interview participants' discourse suggests that the antagonisms embedded in their performative practices derive from the institutionally and field-specific doxa of the agents' respective fields.

The final section of the chapter looks at the public reactions to the interview. This analysis considers how the reporting and interpretation of public polls constitute public opinion and the conception of the “public”. A starting point for this discussion is Bourdieu’s (1979) contention that “public opinion does not exist”, but an important function of its representation by journalists is to create the illusion that it does. The argument in this final section is that public opinion and the identity of the “public” are constituted by journalism’s reporting and interpretation of public opinion.

8.2 The role of the interview as performative discourse in the fields

The linguistic and textual emphasis of discourse analysis should not divert from analysis of other contextual features, notably the performative aspects of the communicative practices of the key actors and their enacted field dispositions in the case study. Victor Turner (1986), for instance, resists valorizing language or studying modes of performed meaning in isolation from their complex interactions and identifies such performative genres as “orchestrations of media, not expressions in a single medium” (p. 23). In other words, communicative practices should be studied as cultural performances within the context of the broader fields of practice in which they were generated. Bourdieu (1991) also emphasized the importance of taking into account the social conditions of language use beyond its linguistic features: “Linguistic utterances... are always produced in particular contexts or markets, and the properties of these markets endow linguistic products with a certain ‘value’” (p. 18).

More than just technical skill, linguistic competency and authority extends to those who are able to display qualities that are favoured within the social context in which the communication occurs. Bourdieu, emphasizing the importance of taking into account the social conditions of language use beyond its linguistic features, differentiated himself, for instance, from J. L. Austin (2007), who located the authority of performatives in the illocutionary force of the words themselves. Bourdieu (1991) explains their differing perspectives as follows:

He [Austin] thinks that he has found in discourse itself—in the specifically linguistic substance of speech, as it were—the key to the efficacy of speech. ... one forgets that authority comes to language from outside. [...] Language at most *represents* this authority, manifests and symbolizes it. (p. 109)

In other words, “acceptability is found not in the situation but in the relation between a market and a habitus” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 81).

Within the journalistic field, journalists’ symbolic power and authority derive from routine strategies of representation, established through the habitus of journalistic practice, which maintain and promote journalists’ claim to truth and objectivity (Schultz, 2007; Tuchman, 1972). According to Bourdieu (1991), these “stylistic features which characterise the language of...generally, all institutions, like routinization, stereotyping and neutralization, all stem from the position occupied...by these persons entrusted with delegated authority” (p. 109). Some scholars (Bourdiana, 2011; Broersma, 2010a) have described these ritualistic and representational approaches to the construction of meaning as performative.

Broersma (2008, 2010a) locates journalism’s performativity particularly in the field’s representational strategies and styles. Drawing on Austin’s speech-act theory, Broersma (2010a) notes that the success of language lies in its representational power to simultaneously “describe and produce phenomena” (p. 18), but its appeal and meaning are realised through “strategic interpretations” of events (p. 30). Journalists convey truth, he argues, by convincingly “(re-)staging” the events that occur in the “real” world. In contrast to the analytical “reflective style” of opinion-based journalism, the fact-based “news style” (Broersma, 2007) presents events through either an informative discursive approach or an appealing story-telling approach (Broersma (2007; 2010a). It is this factuality, staged for an “overhearing audience” (Heritage, 1985) that gives journalism’s “news style” its “performative power” (Broersma (2010a, p. 25).

With the fact-based news style’s emphasis on the timeliness and recency of information, the interview, an efficient news gathering practice, has played a key role in the reporting routines of journalists. Studies by Gans (1979) and Hess (1981) have shown that reporters rely chiefly on the interview to obtain most of their story material. The value of the interview, however, extends beyond its function within the journalistic routine as a means of gathering fast and reliable information. Presenting an interviewee’s experience of an event can also enhance the apparent credibility of a news story. Incorporating first-hand accounts from eyewitnesses, quotes from sources with different views and revelations from public figures that give insight into their thinking follow from a norm of objectivity (Broersma, 2010b). Furthermore, the interview’s structure

according to the “turn-taking conventions” of a conversation imitates a form that is reminiscent of social experience. Through this mimetic representation of reality, the interview, an “interpretation of a conversation” (Broersma, 2010b, p. 28), implies that social reality is a source of truth.

Besides its value to the journalistic routine, the interview has been strategically valuable to actors within the field as a means of acquiring capital. In their struggle to obtain autonomy within the journalistic field, agents strive for recognition by demonstrating their mastery of the “institutionalized” rules and practices that organise the logic of the field (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 12). Interviewing inaccessible sources, like high-powered politicians or personalities of public interest, has been one way journalists can distinguish themselves from others and, by acquiring cultural and economic capital, improve their position within the field (Broersma 2010a, p. 31). The journalists’ cultural capital would also extend to the news organisations that benefit from the popular appeal of interviews. Journalists’ conversations with personalities, such as entertainment figures or politicians, or the exclusive presentation of gripping eyewitness accounts of dramatic events typically generate audience interest and increased economic capital for the news organisation.

Historically, the adoption and development of the news interview as a journalistic practice was essential to journalism’s formation as a distinctive field (Broersma, 2008; 2010a). More than just a newsgathering technique to collect quotes, the interview has also become a significant journalistic form that has contributed to journalists’ prestige and autonomy in relation to their news sources. For instance, some journalists may assert control in a dialogue by selecting the topics and the questions to be addressed or by redirecting and taking the lead in the conversation (Broersma, 2010a). Schudson (1995) explains that this power relation between the journalist and the source is a significant feature of the interview. The tension between “talk as a form of solidarity” and “talk as an assertion of power” is played out in the balance between the journalist’s dependence on the interviewee’s willing participation and the interviewee’s need for or resistance to public exposure which the journalist controls (Schudson, 1995, p. 75). Moreover, the journalistic interview has acquired importance in other fields as well, most notably the political field, serving as both an information conduit to the public and a means to display a particular persona for one, or both, of the interlocutors. Those from other fields who participate in the interview are, by way of that performative

participation, ensnared in the journalistic game, driven to some extent by the market forces and the struggles for symbolic capital that operate within the journalistic field. As the interdependence of the fields increases, so does the heteronomy of the journalistic field (Bourdieu, 2005).

The authority of the journalistic field appears to be located in the representational power of language. Facts, when presented in compelling discursive and narrative displays and presented in conjunction with other journalistic conventions, are, for the most part, accepted as objective and true. What is implied, according to this logic, is that truth is located in social reality and that language can recreate (mirror) this reality. However, as previously discussed, many scholars have disputed this instrumentalist notion, identifying media's representation of reality as a construction (see Broersma, 2010b; Couldry, 2000; Fowler, 1991) and characterising journalists' objectivity as a discursive style (Broersma, 2010a, 2010b), a "strategic ritual" (Tuchman, 1972), a work routine (Altheide, 1984) or a set of conventions (Sigal, 1986; Schultz, 2007). Like these scholars, Bourdieu considers objectivity to be based in practice. In his discussion of the scientific field, for instance, Bourdieu (2000b) identifies "objective reality" to be what "those engaged in the field at a given moment agree to consider as such" (p. 113). In any field, clashes occur over

competing social constructions, representations (with all that this word implies of theatrical presentation 'staging'), but *realistic representations*, which claim to be grounded in 'reality' endowed with all the means of imposing its verdict through the arsenal of methods, instruments, and experimental techniques collectively accumulated and implemented, under the constraint of the disciplines and censorship of the field and also through the invisible force of the orchestration of habitus. (p. 113)

Thus, representations of reality, according to Bourdieu, are driven by the forces that operate within the field and are reproduced through its agents' habitus and dispositions, enacted through a "performative efficacy of discourse...which allows the consensus concerning the meaning of the world" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 106). The habitus is the means by which the social order is embodied and reproduced by actors in a field.

Feminist critic Judith Butler's theory of performativity (1993) incorporates elements of

Austin's concept of the performative, which "enacts or produces that which it names" (p. 13) as well as Bourdieu's notion of the habitus, which emphasizes the importance of the body as the site for the rituals of performativity (Butler, 1999). However, she argues that gender identity, like all forms of identity, is not based on a fixed, pre-existing, essential category, but is realised through a process of embodiment, "a set of strategies...an 'act,' as it were, which is both intentional and performative, where 'performative' itself carries the double meaning of 'dramatic' and 'non-referential'" (2007, p. 189). That is, specific identity categories are not inherent or biologically determined but constituted through the repetition and recitation of socially determined cultural norms. Butler (1999) privileges the discursive effects that language has on producing subjects and contends that performativity is the "discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed" (p. 112). This is an important insight that opens the possibilities for alternative performative approaches and ways of being by enacting a discourse of resistance.

Within the visual arts field, performativity has been a significant aspect of the creative process of many visual artists since the 1960s. This "performative turn", according to Fisher-Lichte (2008), has been marked by the "dissolution of boundaries in the arts" with artists producing "events which involve not just themselves but also the observers, listeners, and spectators" (p. 22). These performative events question and destabilize conventions such as those concerning the role of the artist and the audience, the institutional function and definition of the "gallery", the nature of art, the valorisation of the qualities of originality and authenticity, the cultural and social constructions of identities, the illusion of shared discourse, as well as the extent to which "ritual" and "spectacle" can be transformed into an artistic performance (Fisher-Lichte, 2008). In contrast to more conventional art defined by its optical qualities, conceptual art is characterised not only by what Crow identifies as a "withdrawal of visibility" (1996, p. 215), but also by "an increasing emphasis on art as a process of collaborative interaction" that "extends over time" (Kester, 2004, p. 53). The creative facilitation of dialogue and exchange is central to much of postmodern art, Kester (2004) contends, in that conversation is reframed as an interactive component of the work. However, in conjunction with this tendency, Kester also identifies a consensus in the postmodern avant-garde that "art must question and undermine shared discursive conventions" (p. 88).

One convention is the social classification of identity. The act of “legitimate naming”, according to Bourdieu (1991), is a form of symbolic violence by which an agent, who has acquired personal or state authorised symbolic power, imposes a classificatory order, a “vision of the divisions of the social world”, that categorizes other social agents “and contributes to the determination of the relative positions between agents and groups” within a field (p. 239-240) (see Chapters 5 and 7). Moreover, through the socially instituted proper name, or “rigid designator”, an agent’s social identity can potentially become a fixed and durable constant in all fields in which the agent appears (Bourdieu, 2000a). Similarly, Butler (1999) sees subject-identity, and the “embodied, participatory habitus” as constituted discursively through ritualized social performatives (as in, for instance, being “girled”) (p. 120). Butler (1999) contends here that the norms that reproduce identity are more dynamic than Bourdieu’s concept of habitus would suggest, and can be transformed through opposition and dissent. However, the rigidity that Butler ascribes to Bourdieu’s conceptualization of habitus is not supported by subsequent writings dealing with his theory and practice of politics. For instance, Wacquant (2004) explains that Bourdieu’s theories suggest that significant political change must be accompanied by an agreement of social and mental structures effected through a “politics of habitus” (p. 10).

This artistic doxa of resistance to discursive and social norms through performative embodiment is particularly pertinent to the artistic practice of et al. Vicente (2005), for instance, ascribes a “performative aspect” to “the role-playing of et al.’s multiple identities” in the spirit of conceptual and feminist artists such as Adrian Piper (p. 78). The idea that identity, particularly gendered identity, is culturally constructed is played out in the narratives of many of the collective’s personae for whom identity and gender are ambiguous or fluid formations, such as lillian budd, who is described as having switched genders when working as budd shoop and then adopting a genderless role as the commercial entity buddholdings (et al., 2003, p. 114). A genderless identity is represented most aptly by the persona of p. mule, with the mule, an “end of the line species”, being the infertile result of a cross between a horse and a donkey (2003, p. 115). Genderlessness is an especially appealing condition, the artists point out, “because gender can create definitions and constrictions” (et al., 2003, p. 115).

Another form of resistance that features in et al.’s art is subverting and obstructing the discursive conventions of interpretation as presented through narrative representations.

According to Pihlainen (2002), conforming to conventional, realistic modes of representation reproduces existing ideological perceptions and enforces shared ways of reading the world. One way of opposing these conventions is through confusion, which may be achieved by obstructing an audience's straightforward engagement with a text or an artwork through the disruption of their reliance on familiar patterns for interpretation. For instance, et al. incorporates texts that have words or sections that are partially erased, scratched through and rewritten. Also, the artists' use of found objects can be seen as another way of subverting representation. These materials retain the meanings and associations that derive from their previous non-art contexts, but acquire additional signification when re-contextualized as part of a work of art (Pihlainen, 2002). However, both the non-art and art significations operate simultaneously in the work, which "greatly extends the range of meanings that can be attributed" (Pihlainen, 2004, p. 186), but also results in ambiguity and uncertainty.

The point here is that the artists' resistance to and obstruction of socially constructed conventions as an aspect of their artistic practice is, to some extent, grounded in an artistic doxa. An examination of the artists' discourse will show that the strategies of resistance they enact within the context of the performative discourse of the reporter's e-mail interview are, to a great extent, consistent with that artistic practice. First, however, what follows is a discourse analysis of the journalistic conventions that McLean employs in her interview questions.

8.3 The reporter's questions: Strategies of provocation

Amery's presentiment (as noted in Chapter 7) regarding New Zealand's mainstream media's negative treatment of the Venice exhibition after its opening appeared accurate, especially in the case of the *Dominion Post*. There were exceptions, of course. Besides Amery's column, several of the paper's published reports were supportive; these included Quirke's (2005) interview of Emily Cormack, exhibition and programmes officer at Adam Art Gallery and venue attendant for the exhibition; a review by freelance arts writer and *Frontseat* reporter Josie McNaught (2005) in which she expressed an appreciation of the exhibition tinged by incredulity ("it's actually okay"); and a first-hand report by CNZ chairman Peter Biggs (2005) describing the days leading up to and including the Vernissage, or preview. However, as the content analysis in Chapter 6 shows, the majority of the Biennale-related items, including seven letters to

the editor, one editorial and twelve articles located in the paper's National News pages, that were published by the *Dominion Post* during this short period from the exhibition's opening to the end of the month (from June 8 to June 30, 2005) were negative. Of the twelve articles, six published between June 18 and June 25 focused on et al.'s elusiveness and refusal to accept the media's requests for personal interviews, despite the Prime Minister's assurance, finally culminating in the publication of an e-mail interview with the artists.

In reporting the artists' resistance, these seven articles reiterate many of the issues that highlight the antagonisms between the journalism and visual arts fields. These articles, with headlines such as "Biennale artist refuses to front up" (2005) and "Art of the unspeakable" (2005a), represented the artists' and CNZ's lack of cooperation with the domestic press as arrogant and elitist. Another article, "Media denied 'right' to interview et al" (McLean, 2005c) reports that the domestic press did not figure prominently in the creative team's communication plan.⁹⁴ According to CNZ's chief executive Elizabeth Kerr, "The New Zealand media had never been CNZ's target audience for publicity. The target audience... is the international arts scene" (McLean, 2005c). In the same article, ACT MP Deborah Coddington expressed the contrasting view that the "New Zealand media should be a priority for interviews with the collective". In snubbing the domestic press, the artist collective and CNZ are perceived as also slighting the Prime Minister who, as all of the articles point out, had given her assurance that the artists had agreed to participate in interviews. While earlier editorials criticised the Prime Minister's weakness regarding cultural policy, in this context, the journalistic and political fields are linked in a chain of equivalence antagonistically opposed to a common adversary (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; also see Chapter 5), which is enacted through the newspaper's representation of the recalcitrant artists' resistance to both media and governmental authority.

This chain of equivalence also extends to include the general public. The public's adversarial relation to the visual arts field is highlighted in the representation of the artists' refusal to respond to the media's questions as an affront to "the people". In fact,

⁹⁴ The communication with domestic media was identified as a significant problem during the 2005 event according to the report *Evaluating New Zealand's participation in the Venice Art Biennale* (2006). The report also noted that the domestic media resisted interviewing the creative team's designated spokespeople, Commissioner Greg Burke and curator Natasha Conland, instead focusing attention on the artists, and did not respond well to the artists' unconventional approach to conducting interviews (2006, p. 48).

at times, the media's identity is merged with that of the public as exemplified by the following quote from the article "Art of the unspeakable" (2005): "The taxpayer paid for it [the artwork], but the taxpayer isn't allowed to ask about it". Here, the agency of the media is completely absent and subordinate to "the taxpayer" who has a leading interest in seeking information. In effect, the alignment between the media and the public is such that in not granting the media interviews, et al. is actually denying "the taxpayer" the right to ask questions. The use of the word "taxpayer" in this context constructs the public as hard-working, responsible and civic-minded, a group that deserves answers about how its money is being used.

Although it seems generally accepted that journalists have the right to question public figures and that these individuals should make themselves available for interviews, this has not always been the case. In his examination of the history of the news interview in the United States, Schudson (1995) explains that controversy has persistently followed this journalistic practice due to its invasive and confrontational nature. Contemporary interviewers are often attacked by media critics, the public and interview subjects for aggressive and predatory behaviour (Schudson, 1995). Clayman (2002) argues that one way the media maintain their right to conduct interviews and guard against potential accusations of overly aggressive reporting is by aligning themselves with the public.

The *Dominion Post's* strategic alignment with the public is clearly evident in its reporting strategies and those of its reporter, Robyn McLean. The daily publication of articles centring on et al.'s refusal to respond to interview requests suggests that the newspaper is acting on behalf of the public as a so-called "tribune of the people" (Clayman, 2002). Besides possibly functioning as a campaign to pressure the artists to comply with the newspaper's interview request, these articles portray the organisation and its journalists as persistently and tirelessly working to uncover what the public wants to know.

The representation of the dedicated journalist working on behalf of the public is also suggested by McLean's account, in the article "Dodge Tactics", of her failed initial attempt to interview the artists by e-mail (2005b). In her presentation of this failure as a newsworthy event, McLean's account highlights the antagonism of the journalistic and visual arts fields. McLean associates her failure with the conditions set out by Creative New Zealand and the creative team controlling journalists' access to the artists. The

reporter describes how she had e-mailed questions to et al., specifically to Merylyn Tweedie, but was told by CNZ to send them instead through Greg Burke, the commissioner of the country's Biennale pavilion. Furthermore, she was directed to address them to the collective rather than to one person. According to CNZ's acting communications manager Janice Rodenburg, "The et al collective is more than one person, and therefore if you want a response your questions should be addressed to et al, not to any one individual" (McLean, 2005b). In addition, Burke explained that the collective would only respond to questions that "relate directly to the work *the fundamental practice* and its intellectual context" (McLean, 2005b).

From a field theory perspective, these constraints can be interpreted as an intervention performed by CNZ and the artist as a way of asserting control over the media, in effect, a countervailing form of symbolic violence articulating the autonomy of the visual arts field by limiting media power. McLean's report, however, describes what appear to be eccentric and unreasonable obstacles (that is, the so-called "dodge tactics" referred to in the article's headline) constructed by the artist collective, members of the Biennale creative team and the arts organisation to prevent her from obtaining information on behalf of those she identifies as "ratepayers".

The rhetoric of the journalist's interview questions that had been submitted to the artist "but remain unanswered" (McLean, 2005b) reveals how agency operates in the journalist's rhetoric. Many of McLean's interview questions (see questions 1, 3, 4, 6 and 8 below) are formulated without reference to, or citation of any third party, suggesting that the journalist is apparently asking the question on her own initiative.⁹⁵ Also, some of the questions, for instance, question 1 ("Do you feel you are fulfilling your commitments..."); question 2 ("There is frustration that you are so elusive."); and question 9 ("Because taxpayers' money has been used..."), lack agency altogether. According to Fowler (1991, p. 79), nominalization through "mystification" or "concealment" of agency can create ambiguity and encourage an unquestioning acceptance of a social situation as a given. Finally, the journalist's alignment with the public is also clearly evident in several of the interview questions. Almost half

⁹⁵ Although such questions may appear to originate with the apparently autonomous journalist, her discourse and the journalistic practice of the news interview are grounded in journalistic doxa, "field specific sets of beliefs that inform the shared *habitus* of those operating within the field" (Deer, 2008, p. 125). The concept of doxa in relation to journalism is discussed in Chapter 2; for more on this see Schultz, 2007.

(questions 2, 5, 7 and 9) “invoke the public” (Clayman, 2002, p. 200), by referring specifically to the “public”, to “taxpayers”, to the “people”, or to public interest as motivating the question.

- 1) Do you feel you are fulfilling your commitments by only agreeing to do interviews via e-mail?
- 2) There is frustration that you are so elusive. Why do you not want to talk about the work of et al? Do you not think it would help the public to understand the principles surrounding it?
- 3) Has the biennale [sic] been a worthwhile experience for et al so far?
- 4) What is the future direction of et al?
- 5) For the benefit of those who want to understand more about your work, could you please explain it?
- 6) Has the backlash over the work of et al affected the collective in any way?
- 7) Do you have a message for the critics and members of the public who have been negative about the decision to send et al to Venice?
- 8) How many interviews have you given about the work at the biennale? Have you done any face-to-face interviews with media at all? If not, please explain why not.
- 9) Because taxpayers' money has been used [to] help this work come to fruition, do you not feel et al should be more open to media questioning? Do you understand the level of frustration that exists from people wanting to know what their money is being spent on?

The journalist’s strategy of invoking the “public” can be seen as a kind of defensive practice. Clayman (2002) points out that journalists routinely frame their questions on the public’s behalf when they engage in adversarial questioning of public figures. This approach is used particularly when the journalist’s hostility focuses on aspects of the

interviewee's personal character and professional behaviour (Clayman, 2002). Besides evoking the rhetoric of public service, journalists' alignment with the public also provides a tenable stance they may draw on to justify their aggressive conduct. Clayman (2002, p. 201) suggests that attributing questions to the "public" not only allows journalists to appear neutral in relation to the views being expressed, but also provides a rationale that legitimizes the line of inquiry.⁹⁶ In addition, questions that invoke the public are more difficult for uncooperative interviewees to avoid answering since not doing so might offend the public the journalist claims to represent (Clayman, 2002).

Aspects of McLean's interview questions, however, undermine the putative objectivity she derives from invoking the public. This effect is especially evident in the negative interrogative question designs of questions 2 and 9. Clayman and Heritage (2002) explain that the negative interrogative construction (e.g., "wouldn't you", "aren't you"), an extreme form of question design used sparingly in the news interview, tends to be argumentative or challenging and usually involves critical evaluation of the conduct of the interviewee. In fact, their analyses of responses in numerous interview examples show that interviewees routinely treat these interrogative forms as assertions of the interviewer's opinion (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). In addition, aspects of negative interrogatives, such as syntax and word choice, may encourage interviewees to provide preferred responses. For instance, the negative interrogative, "among the most directive – and coercive – forms of question design that an interviewer can deploy" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 220), is often strongly formulated to elicit a 'yes' response from the interviewee.

McLean's adversarial position is clear in the design of questions 2 and 9. Question 2 begins with a prefatory statement ("There is frustration that you are so elusive."), an assertion that establishes a "contextualizing proposition" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 203) for the questions that follow. The frustrated subject is not specified here and might refer to journalists as well as members of the public. The subsequent "wh-question" building from this prefatory statement ("Why do you not want to talk about the work of et al?") embodies the presupposition, or preconception, that the artists' not wanting to

⁹⁶ Attributing an aggressive question to an external source can rhetorically convey the journalistic ideal of objectivity. In the now classic *Interviews that work: A practical guide for journalists*, Biagi (1992) recommends that, when asking a difficult question, interviewers should distance themselves from the interviewee's critics by citing them in the question: "Quoting the opposition... puts you on the side of truth rather than on the side of the opposition" (p. 88).

speak about their art has caused and legitimised the frustration. Building on this, the follow-up question (“Do you not think it would help the public to understand...”), a negative interrogative designed to elicit agreement from the interviewee, embodies the presupposition that the artists, by refusing to explain their art, are detached from or uninterested in reducing the public’s frustration.

McLean’s final interview question (9) also centres on the artists’ refusal to explain their work. Here, the prefatory statement, in conjunction with the negative interrogative that follows (“Because taxpayers’ money has been used [to] help this work come to fruition, do you not feel et al should be more open to media questioning?”), asserts that et al. should feel obligated to respond to the media since taxpayers subsidized the artists’ work. Embedded in this question is the presupposition that the taxpaying public and the media are linked and et al. is, therefore, accountable to both. The negative interrogative construction of this question, especially in relation to the prefatory statement, strongly conveys a preference for a ‘yes’ answer. The next interrogative (“Do you understand the level of frustration that exists from people...”), building on the previous question, returns to the idea of “frustration” that was introduced in question 2. However, in this question, the taxpayers (“people wanting to know what their money is being spent on”) are identified as the ones who are frustrated by the artists’ lack of cooperation with the media. How to respond to this closed question presents a potential dilemma for the interviewee: answering with either a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ would suggest that et al. is either unaware of or indifferent to the needs of the taxpaying members of the public.

We see a similar dilemma generated by the presuppositions built into question 1 and formulated around the exclusive particle *only*. Beaver (2004), in his discussion of the word *only*, argues that this “focus sensitive” expression carries presuppositions that are not attached to the particle itself but conveyed through the implications of the surrounding text (p. 51, n. 10). The first half of question 1 (“Do you feel you are fulfilling your commitments”) implies that et al.’s participation in interviews is a given and assumes that they recognise their obligation. In the second half of the question, the exclusive particle “only”, which modifies and limits the word “agreeing” (“by only agreeing to do interviews via e-mail”), semantically means that et al. has refused to participate in any interviews that are not conducted by e-mail. However, the embedded presupposition here is that there are other interview approaches to which et al. could have agreed that would have been more suitable and suggests that the e-mail format is

inadequate.

The closed-question structure of this interrogative directing the interviewee to reply with either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ imposes a dilemma. Answering ‘yes’ would indicate agreement with both presuppositions. In this case, et al. would be acknowledging their interview obligations but also maintaining that the inadequate e-mail interview approach is actually appropriate and sufficient. A ‘no’ response would also imply the artists accept their interview obligations but are simply disregarding them. Either response would raise questions about et al.’s character and professionalism.

Discourse analysis of the interview questions indicates that the journalist’s rhetorical strategies function as vehicles of domination and symbolic violence, reproducing the antagonistic stance of the newspaper and highlighting the doxa of the journalistic field. For instance, the fact that the *Dominion Post* considers the failed attempts to interview et al. as newsworthy suggests that journalists believe their right to interview the artist is mandated by their role as representatives of the public. In fact, as will be shown in the last section of this chapter, the media’s assumed role as the people’s champion is accepted and reproduced in the discourse of members of the public who misrecognise the media’s interest as an expression of professional disinterest. However, the presence of embedded presuppositions and interrogative constructions, typically formulated to elicit preferred responses, call into question the journalist’s impartiality. As discussed above, rather than being primarily an expression of professional neutrality or public service, McLean’s alignment with the public at strategic points in the interview can be viewed as a way to mitigate and justify her aggressive line of questioning and to pressure her uncooperative interviewee.

The article’s final invocation of the public occurs in the last paragraph where readers are invited to voice their reactions to the interview in e-mails sent to the newspaper. Several questions are posed, many of which are leading questions, directing readers to comment on the quality of the artists’ replies. For instance, one question asks readers to judge the aesthetic value of the biennale work (“Is it art?”), an assessment that is not possible from just reading the interview. Another asks whether the artists are “still being fundamentally ambiguous”. The adverb “still” suggests that et al. had been unclear in their discussion of the artwork prior to the present interview, which is not likely since the artists, up to this point, had not participated in any interviews with domestic

mainstream media regarding the biennale. This question prompts readers to focus on a particular aspect of the collective's answers, that is, whether or not the artists' answers are ambiguous or unclear, rather than simply allowing readers to respond freely.

All news interviews contain presuppositions, but these are often accepted and generally overlooked (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). Clayman and Heritage (2002, p. 208) argue that the hostility of the presuppositional content of a journalist's interview questions is most evident when the interviewee responds with a rejection. Following from this contention, the next section examines et al.'s responses to McLean's questions to identify the extent of the journalist's antagonism and the artists' strategies of resistance to the journalistic field's symbolic power.

8.4 The artists' responses: Strategies of resistance

Two days after the publication of McLean's article describing her failed attempts to conduct an e-mail interview, the *Dominion Post* printed et al.'s response, which had been received in the intervening period. A brief article published on the front page of the paper by McLean (2005f), with the tantalizing title "PM may become et al target", presented background details and introduced the interview. Functioning as a kind of teaser, this article included some excerpts of the artists' edited responses, which the reporter characterised as "vague", and pointed readers to the interview printed on page A9 in the same National News section.

The published interview itself, entitled "More bull from donkey dunny artists?" (McLean, 2005e), was presented in a conventional turn-taking format, alternating Robyn McLean's (RM) questions with replies from two participants, the first identified as fp and the second being the collective's usual spokesperson, p.mule. Readers were not given an explanation for the identity of these respondents or their relationship to the art collective until the end of the interview. There, McLean explained that p.mule "specializes in 'conceptual issues'" for the art collective, and the responses of fp, whose initials refer to *the fundamental practice*, derive from the artwork's textual material. In effect, the work, acting in the role of an interviewee, speaks for itself.

One way et al. tried to subvert the journalist's symbolic power was by establishing guidelines for the format of the interview. First of all, as discussed previously, the

artists' insistence on conducting media interviews through e-mail rather than face-to-face can be understood as a means by which the artists, to some extent, could control the interview exchange and assert autonomy. Confirming this idea is research (Kennedy, 2000; Meho, 2006) that indicates that e-mail interviewing can empower participants since it allows them to manage the communication flow and respond when convenient and in any manner they prefer. Additionally, the asynchronous nature of this communication form gives respondents time to reflect on and edit their reply (Bampton & Cowton, 2002; McAuliffe, 2003; Meho, 2006) and may offer some assurance that their answers will be reproduced accurately.

By restricting the media's contact with the collective and the content of their questions, et al., in effect, insisted that journalists "play the game" according to the logic of the visual arts field, exemplifying Bourdieu's contention that external influences may be mediated and restructured through the logic of a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 105). Within the visual arts field framework, the autonomy and cultural capital of an artist may be characterised by a disinterested "art for art's sake" ideal as demonstrated, for instance, by those who maintain the integrity of their artistic practice, despite "the temptation of heteronomy" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 184). Imposing limitations on the media's access to et al., for instance, seemed to be particularly restrictive for the journalist. These constraints were also likely frustrating given the interview's perceived importance to both the journalist and the news organisation for the acquisition of economic and social capital.

As discussed previously, visual art takes time—time to produce, to view, to consider and to understand—and the collective did, in time, respond to the submitted questions. Kalman and Rafaeli's (2011) findings show that online silence and long pauses in e-mail communication unsettle senders. From the journalist's standpoint, any "displacement" of time (Bampton & Cowton, 2002), resulting from the asynchronicity of the e-mail exchange, would disrupt the news story's "sense of immediacy", considered a key trait of news reporting (Deuze, 2005, p. 449). Tyler and Tang's (2003) study of rhythms of communication in e-mail exchanges identifies a phenomenon they refer to as the "breakdown perception", the point when an extended pause is perceived as silence and "the sender believes that something has gone wrong, and will take further action" (p. 253). A significant influence on "breakdown perception" is the sender's perceived urgency of the e-mail topic (Tyler & Tang, 2003). Based on this theory, the

Dominion Post's numerous articles focusing on the artists' lack of cooperation can be interpreted not only as an effort to discredit the artists, but also as a journalistic reaction to the "breakdown perception", resulting from the disruptive effect of et al.'s silence, and an effort to provoke a response from et al.

Besides requiring journalists' adherence to communication guidelines, the artist collective also attempted to assert control through their replies to the interview questions. Analysis of the artists' responses to the negative interrogative examples discussed earlier will highlight some of their strategies. As demonstrated in the example below, fp's somewhat oblique answers are framed in the discourse of art theory while those of p.mule tend to respond more directly to the interview questions. Also, in each case, fp's reply appears first. Q2 below demonstrates the tone and approach employed throughout the interview:

Q2) RM: There is frustration that you are so elusive. Why do you not want to talk about the work of et al? Do you not think it would help the public to understand the principles surrounding it?

fp: Until recently one of the major illusions of contemporary art, and one of its most valuable supporting myths, was the notion that laws existed in some form for the creation of art. One of the characteristics of myths is that they seem to promise rules of order but never deliver them. Undoubtedly conscious knowledge of the rules of art would dispel the illusion of art at once, since these deal with unconscious mechanisms concerning the use of objects, materials, and concepts in mediating reality, namely, in defining the artist's relationships to nature and culture. These relationships, as we shall learn, are only tangentially concerned with physical properties of the art object, that is, its formal content. As proved in the last few decades, art may assume almost any form or be made in any way. The factoring process is not central to the creation of art.

p.mule: We don't think we are elusive! The et al membership in general feel that talking about the work is invariably limiting and confining. We

are happy that there are many art interpreters who are both able and willing to talk about the work.

The interviewer's claim in the prefatory statement of Q2 that et al. is "so elusive" is emphatically denied by p.mule. The strength of this rejection of McLean's assertion, unmistakably identified in the interviewee's written text by the use of an exclamation mark, underscores the hostility of the interviewer's presupposition (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 208). The artist collective's refusal to speak about their art is based on the idea that understanding art is a personal experience in which, as p.mule explains in response to question 5, "the process of viewing art provides the explanation, and it is invariably particular to the viewer. The artist is exactly the wrong person to explain their work, and rarely tries."

The artists' reluctance to explain their work is based on a particular idea about the artists' role, which, as p.mule describes it, is purely creative. The task of explaining works of art belongs to cultural intermediaries ("art interpreters"), who, according to Negus (2002, p. 502), provide a necessary "point of connection or articulation" between artists and consumers and serve an essential role in the cultural economy of the visual arts field. Negus (2002) argues that the symbolic production that is fundamental to the work of these cultural intermediaries, including art critics, curators, art collectors, and art journalists, plays an important role in communicating and shaping people's ideas concerning the value of cultural works. Therefore, one can argue that these intermediaries are engaged, to varying degrees, in the heteronomous, or commercial, aspects of the cultural field. Bourdieu (1996/1992, p 168), who focuses primarily on the intermediary and translation role of publishers and art dealers, argues that they serve as "a screen" allowing artists to maintain their autonomy by avoiding direct contact with the marketplace.

Although p.mule does not address McLean's point in Q2 concerning the public's need to understand the artwork's principles, fp does respond to one assumption in this question. For instance, referring to the "laws...for the creation of art" as one of contemporary art's "most valuable supporting myths", fp dismisses McLean's assertion that there are "principles surrounding" art. Moreover, fp contends that attempting to consciously understand what is an unconscious process would effectively destroy the ineffable "illusion of art". In other words, only describing art's physical and formal

features will not explain a work of art. Not only is this descriptive reporting approach the one that most art journalists apparently prefer (as noted in Chapter 4), but these physical and formal features are the very qualities that journalists had disparaged in much of the reporting.

The focus of fp's response diverges from addressing the public's need to understand the artwork, which is clearly the goal of the reporter's question, to presenting a philosophical discussion of the creative process and the nature of art, issues that may be of more interest to specialists in the visual art field. Despite the somewhat dense and abstract philosophical style couched in the discourse of visual art theory, fp's response provides insight into et al.'s views concerning the creative process and the problem inherent in attempting to explain that process. While some effort is needed to understand the ideas presented by fp (a persona that is a manifestation of a conceptual artwork), the insight is worthwhile.

The artists' responses presented above illustrate several strategies of resistance. The first type is demonstrated by p.mule's answer, which neglects to address the issue of the public's need to understand the artwork. Clayman and Heritage (2002, p. 251) identify incomplete responses of this sort that deal with part of a complex question while leaving other parts unanswered as a "form of negative resistance" because they fail to provide complete information. The response of fp exemplifies a second "positive" form of resistance (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p. 253), characterised by a departure from the focus of the question and the presentation of more information than was required by the interview question. According to Clayman and Heritage (2002), this type of answer, deviating from the line of questioning, can be seen as a respondent's attempt to assert control over the interview, thereby undermining the interviewer's agenda-setting role.

Other forms of resistance are also demonstrated by fp's answers. As previously noted, fp's discourse is often philosophical, occasionally nonsensical, but always challenging. Bourdieu (1977b) explains that the legitimacy of discourse, its acceptance as credible and effective communication, depends to a great extent on its appropriate selection and use within an appropriate setting. Individuals' linguistic legitimacy within a specific field is determined by their "linguistic habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977b, 1991), or language performance, in relation to the particular features of language valued within the field. Bourdieu (1977b) notes that linguistic conflicts occur when those whose linguistic

competence is not valued within a particular field resist the dominant discourse by refusing to recognise it. From this we can analyse fp's use of theoretically dense language as a means of reasserting the artists' autonomy and resisting the journalistic field's symbolic power and heteronomous influence.

In addition, the physical positioning of fp's answers functions as another strategy of resistance. As discussed earlier, the artists' use of texts that are obscure and obstructed/obstructive is a feature of the artists' expressive practice that subverts representational conventions. Situating fp's responses between the interviewer's questions and p.mule's comparatively more direct and accessible replies functions as a communicative barrier, or "noise", interrupting what would ordinarily be a simple exchange of information. Besides creating physical distance between the journalist and the interviewee whose responses connect more directly with the journalist's questions, the interposition of fp's answers also disrupts the sedimented journalistic field practice of the conventional news interview question-answer exchange. In effect, as Todd May (1994) explains, the conventions of representation can be subverted by increasing complexity beyond rational comprehension "by means of a multiplication rather than a diminution of representing entities...that drives the representational system to its own point of explosion" (pp. 83-84).

The antagonism between journalist and artist is also apparent in p.mule's response to Q9 which sidesteps the yes/no dilemma posed by the closed-question structure and, instead, corrects two of the journalist's presuppositions:

Q9) RM: Because taxpayers' money has been used [to] help this work come to fruition, do you not feel et al should be more open to media questioning? Do you understand the level of frustration that exists from people wanting to know what their money is being spent on?

[...]

p.mule: We have responded to media questions, but this has been a busy time, and our speed of response often has not met that required by the media. The et al collective has contributed substantially to the exhibition by supporting the fundraising process (with a limited

edition art work), which raised about \$200,000. "Taxpayers' money" has been used largely to fund the wider strategic goals of Creative New Zealand.

One of the presuppositions in the first part of Q9 pertains to the journalist's claim that taxpayer's money played a part in realizing or completing the biennale artwork ("help the work come to fruition"). What is suggested here is that taxpayers played a role in the creative process. However, p.mule insists taxpayers' money was allocated to "wider strategic goals" and not to the artwork, which was supported primarily through additional fundraising to which the collective itself had made a substantial contribution. The artists' correction reclaims the artwork and diminishes the taxpayers' influence, distancing them from participation in the artistic process and linking them to more mundane organisational concerns. In redefining the taxpayers' role, p.mule denies them significant cultural capital, at least from the perspective of those in the visual art field, and reasserts the autonomy of the artists within the field. The artists' dismissal of the significance of the taxpayers' role also undermines the symbolic authority that the "public", or at least the figure of the taxpaying public, generally assumes in journalistic discourse (Conboy, 2004).

The second correction pertains to the presupposition embedded in the second half of the question. This presupposition, implied by the phrase "should be more open", suggests that et al. had not cooperated with the media's requests for interviews. In reply, p.mule declares that the collective had answered questions, although more slowly than "that required by the media", and explains, in a somewhat wry understatement and in the manner of an apology, that the collective was preoccupied with other concerns ("this has been a busy time").

The differing expectations identified here concerning the appropriate speed of et al.'s response to the media highlight the antagonism concerning the role of time within the logic of the journalistic and visual art fields. Time is significant to both fields. As discussed in earlier chapters, time is considered an important factor in the production and critical reception of art. Also, in the journalistic field, time constraints play a significant role in news-gathering and reporting practice (cf., Bell, 1991; Deuze, 2005; Meyer, 2002; Shapiro, 2010; Tuchman, 1973), and the pressures of the economic field on news production has made time even more significant. As Bourdieu (2005) observes,

“journalism is immediacy” (p. 45).

The artists’ strategic use of time is evident in their choice to limit media access by restricting interviews to asynchronous e-mail communication and in their delayed response to journalists. In his discussion of the logic of social practice, Bourdieu (1977a; 1990) argues that time, an essential feature of practice, may both limit and facilitate relationships. Moreover, practice is “intrinsically defined by its tempo” (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 8) as evident, for example, in the length of time a recipient of a gift or service may take to reciprocate (Bourdieu, 1977a; 1990). A delayed response can create a state of uncertainty for someone anticipating a reply. However, delaying a response can also be a strategic means of obtaining “deferential conduct” from one’s “opponent-partner” in a relationship (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 106).⁹⁷

The news interview has become a well-established journalistic practice in which participants, generally, assume and maintain expected roles in the turn-taking, question/answer format (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). Underlying the news interview’s obvious features is the journalistic doxa: tacit beliefs or values particular to journalism that are accepted as self-evident, natural and indisputable norms (Bourdieu, 2005; Schultz, 2007). As discussed previously, the news interview, like other journalistic practices, reproduces the tacit view that there is an objective truth and the media, as its interpreter, has privileged access to it and a privileged role in establishing its bases (Couldry, 2003b). As a routine procedure, or ritual, the interview functions strategically to display, among other things, the journalist’s objectivity and information-gathering skills in the pursuit of “truth” and to deflect potential criticism (Tuchman, 1972). Besides being a “device for seeking the truth”, questioning is also a “vehicle for demonstrating authority” (Goody, 1978, p. 42).

Time constraints and market pressures characterised by the need to “get the story” and meet deadlines are misrecognised as another journalistic norm: the journalist as watchdog intent on serving the public interest. Couldry (2001) argues that media’s symbolic authority lies in “the fact that we take it for granted that the media have the power to speak ‘for us all’...to define the social ‘reality’ that we share” (p. 157). The basis for the media’s power is its substantial control of symbolic resources.

Furthermore, the journalistic field’s significant role in representing and, in so doing,

⁹⁷ However, the journalist certainly did not respond in that way in this case.

constituting other fields consecrates media's symbolic power and naturalizes it so that the field's arbitrary authority is generally misrecognised and accepted.

Analysis shows that et al.'s efforts to assert their autonomy and, by the same token, that of the visual arts field are evident in their strategies of resistance. That these efforts were deliberate is suggested by fp's reply to McLean's first interview question. Here, fp describes the effects of the arbitrary and problematic nature of journalists' power:

Q1) RM: Do you feel you are fulfilling your commitments by only agreeing to do interviews via e-mail?

fp: There is a great force that creates the movement of thought in the people, and that is the press. The part played by the press is to keep pointing out requirements supposed to be indispensable, to give voice to the complaints of the people, to express and to create discontent. It is in the press that the triumph of freedom of speech finds its incarnation. But humanity have not known how to make use of this force; and it has fallen into (other) hands. Through the press (you) have gained the power to influence.

The reply begins with fp's observation that the press influences the way the public thinks ("creates the movement of thought in the people"), and then goes on to describe how this influence is enacted. The social role of the press includes "pointing out requirements supposed to be indispensable", in other words, describing what are supposedly essential social responsibilities; and serving public interest as a vehicle for free speech to air complaints and dissatisfaction, presumably concerning the status quo. However, this power, fp claims, has been poorly managed and has, instead "fallen into (other) hands".

The significance of the parentheticals in the last two sentences of fp's reply is worth noting. The adjective "other" is parenthetically inserted here, but rather than introducing an afterthought, the parentheses, a symbolic intrusion, draws attention to the qualifier and adds to its meaning. The referent associated with the metonym, "hands", is not specified, but the word "other" antagonistically positions this unnamed agent in opposition to "humanity" and draws attention to the disruption that this "other" creates.

In the last sentence, fp notes that the press has used its power to influence in implicitly harmful ways. In other words, instead of serving the interests and needs of the people, the press initiates ideas and shapes the way people think. Here, fp introduces another parenthetical (“you”), that could be directly addressing the “other”, the press or the interviewer, McLean, and because of the pronoun’s ambiguity, all three agents are linked through a logic of equivalence that is in part, perhaps, an ironic commentary on the prefabricated form of interrogation articulated by McLean.

From a field theory perspective, McLean’s journalistic habitus and symbolic power derive from her mastery of journalistic practice and her effective embodiment of the journalistic doxa (see Crossley, 2004; Schultz, 2007) The delegation of “illocutionary power”, Bourdieu (1991) has noted, “lies in the social conditions of the *institution*... which constitutes the legitimate representative as an agent capable of acting on the social world through words” (p. 75). This means that symbolic power, the power to make people believe, is not located in the words or language themselves, the “symbolic systems”, but interrelationally between those who exert power and those who submit to it (Bourdieu, 1991). The perpetuation or legitimation of this power requires an acceptance of the symbolic violence that is expressed through the relationship. Thus, a necessary condition for the exercise of symbolic power is that it is recognised, or rather misrecognised, as arbitrary (Bourdieu, 1991).

As the previous section has shown, the artists attempted to reassert the authority of the visual arts field by enacting rhetorical and performative strategies to resist and even undermine the symbolic power and violence of the interviewer’s questions. The next section, an analysis of the mediated public response to the interview, will consider the journalistic field’s construction of a “public”.

8.5 Constructing the “public” response to the interview

As described earlier in this chapter, the article “More bull from donkey dunny artists?” ends with a call to readers soliciting their e-mail reactions to the interview. (“WHAT DO YOU THINK? Once you’ve read it for yourself, tell us your views. Have et al explained themselves? Has it all been a waste of our money? Is it art?”) This call for the public’s reactions and the provision of space in the newspaper for their display fulfils what Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001, p. 12) have identified as one of journalism’s duties,

which is to “provide a forum for public criticism and compromise.” The media’s assumed relationship to democracy is demonstrated by journalism’s “forum-creating capacity” (p. 135), which appears to provide the members of the public an outlet for political intervention through the expression of public opinion. However, scholars argue that public opinion, as well as the “public”, is socially constructed, or constituted, to a large extent by journalistic reporting and the interpretation of public polls in the mass media (Herbst, 1998, Lewis, 2001; Bishop, 2005).

This idea is borne out by the type of questions the *Dominion Post* poses. These mostly leading questions are framed to elicit certain answers and, therefore, to provoke responses from a particular sector of the public. For example, the pronoun “it” in the question “Has it all been a waste of money?” is ambiguous and could refer to any one of a number of ideas, including the artwork, the exhibition, participation in the Biennale, or all of these. Such an open-ended range of referents is more likely to provoke a negative response from some quarter. In addition, these questions are prefaced by a recap of some of the standard narrative details of the news story (as discussed in Chapter 6). However, as reminders of the facts, these details, such as the exhibition’s \$500,000 cost (a figure that was not specified in the interview) being “partly funded by taxpayers”, and the artists’ “reluctance to front personally to the media”, which would obstruct the media’s efforts to address the information needs of the public, also activate populist concerns and, like the leading questions, invite extreme reactions. Two days after the interview, the *Dominion Post* published a selection of these reactions in another article by McLean (2005g) entitled “Feeling fundamentally ripped off”.

The title presents an overview of the article’s negative focus. The colloquial expression, “ripped off”, refers to the idea of not getting what was paid for, or of being cheated. The standfirst, the brief summary of the article that follows the title, expands on the problem identified in the title: “Inaccessible and a waste of money – that’s the view of most Kiwis on et al’s Venice exhibition.” Presented without context, this statement presents what appears to be the summary result of a national survey. In reality, however, the article comprises an edited collection of comments from a self-selected sample of e-mail submissions from readers, the equivalent of “letters to the editor” or an informal “vox pop” survey (Daschmann, 2000). Self-selection bias is likely in this type of survey approach since those who are motivated to respond, for instance, those with strong opinions, are more likely to respond than those who are less motivated. Thus, an over-

representation of extreme perspectives results from this polarization of responses (Olsen, 2008), which would tend to exclude a range of other, more moderate, points of view. According to Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001, p. 136), “a debate focused only on the extremes of argument does not serve the public but leaves most citizens out.” The outcomes from such a survey can hardly be called representative of a broader public view. Yet, McLean’s representation of an over-generalized and monolithic public (by referring, for example, to “most Kiwis”, “*Dominion Post* readers”, “vast majority”) implies otherwise.

In his critique of opinion polling, Bourdieu (1979) argues that opinion polls primarily serve the interests of journalists and political elites. In fact, he points out that one of the most important functions of the opinion poll may be “to impose the illusion that a public opinion exists” (p. 125). Bourdieu (1979) identifies a number of assumptions that are implied by the process of opinion polling. First is the mistaken notion that all people have opinions as well as the competence to respond to the questions they are being asked. Another fallacy is the idea that “all opinions have the same value” and should be given equal weight. Finally, simply asking a set of questions implies that there is a consensus regarding the issues being addressed and that these are valid public concerns.

These assumptions underlie ritualistic media displays and invocations of public opinion as an apparent representation of the concerns and views of a broader “public”. However, while the use of vox pop and exemplars, opinions collected from ordinary members of the public, is a common journalistic strategy to present a range of opinions and arouse audience interest, these perspectives may not be representative of the opinions of the general public. The selection of exemplars is governed by journalists’ subjective viewpoints and by the underlying pressures of the field as they aim to bring attention to certain aspects of an issue. Studies of the media coverage of polls by Herbst (1992) and by Strömbäck (2009) show that public opinion in the press is merely a “projection of what political elites and journalists think about” (Herbst, 1992, p. 222). The disinterested stance conveyed by the presentation of percentages and of vox pop commentaries, therefore, may conceal underlying political dynamics and antagonisms.

By presenting what is ostensibly an open forum for members of the public to voice their opinions about the artists’ interview, the *Dominion Post* presents itself as objective and neutral. However, as Bourdieu (1979) has argued, and as this discussion will

demonstrate, a newspaper's disinterested stance conceals self-interests. This idea is supported by the research of Lefevere, Swert and Walgrave (2011) whose study of popular exemplars suggests that journalists' increasing use of these randomly selected, non-expert members of the public, is market-driven, "rooted in media's need to attract an audience" (p. 14). Likewise, Niven (2005), applying an economic model to explain journalistic practices, argues that journalists, motivated by the acquisition of cultural capital and by economic pressures, rely on tactics as part of their routine to maximise benefits, such as meeting deadlines and satisfying the demands of superiors, and minimize effort (p. 250). He describes how some journalists, for example, achieve an "apparent objectivity" (2005, p. 251), an illusion of objectivity and balance, by simply incorporating two or more contrasting news sources into a pre-written story, and others ensure publication and limit criticism by positioning their stories within mainstream thinking (p. 252).

Besides their performative value as a display of journalistic objectivity, vox pops and popular exemplars in news stories have a greater audience appeal and impact than other types of sources. Research (Daschmann, 2000; Lefevere et al., 2011; Zillmann, Gibson, Sundar, and Perkins, 1996) shows that, despite their lack of validity, exemplars in media coverage illustrating voter opinions have a stronger and more persistent influence on news consumers' formation of personal opinions and on their perceptions of collective opinions than do statistics or official information from experts or politicians. This influence may stem from attributes of credibility such as trustworthiness and similarity ascribed to exemplars (Lefevere et al., 2011). First of all, these statements are seen to be honest and sincere expressions from "ordinary" people who, unlike politicians, for instance, have no particular investment in persuading an audience. Also, the distinctiveness of these personal expressions, their vividness and realism, adds to their effectiveness. Finally, the audience's perceived similarity to the source enhances the credibility of the exemplars and the likelihood of audience identification with the ideas expressed (Lefevere et al., 2011).

Audience appeal is apparent in McLean's lexical choices. Her use of the word "Kiwis" (rather than "New Zealanders") draws on a colloquial, and therefore a populist, expression of national identity. The term functions not only to create a linguistic style that would be familiar and accessible for the general reader. It also constructs a clearly drawn antagonism between "most Kiwis" (in other words, most New Zealanders) and

the artist collective. In addition, a populism/elitism dichotomy is suggested by the use of the word “inaccessible”, which would refer to the incomprehensibility of the artwork and the artists and also describe the artists’ reluctance to be interviewed by mainstream media.

This populist identification is consistent with the newspaper’s editorial stance. The article begins with a familiar phrase: “Dominion Post readers may not know much about art but they know what they don’t like.” Versions of this statement appeared in the newspaper’s earlier editorials (see Chapter 7), but were slightly altered with each iteration. In the first editorial (“Making an ass of ‘art’”, July 15, 2004), the saying was associated with “most people” who, the editorial claimed, could “identify with the old line: I may not know much about art...” In its second incarnation (“Flash-in-the-pan artistic tosh”, June 4, 2005), the saying was slightly altered to a negative form and linked to “ordinary Kiwis” (“Ordinary Kiwis might not know much about art, but they know enough to know this isn’t it”). McLean’s version of the phrase is similar to that of the second editorial; however, “ordinary Kiwis” has been exchanged for “Dominion Post readers”.

The intertextual reference links this article discursively to previously published texts within the organisation and ideologically to the populist appeals and antagonistic stance of the news organisation expressed in the earlier editorials. Journalists routinely draw on other journalists’ work for ideas (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). While this journalistic routine ensures accuracy and consistency of “product” within the organisation, it promotes the “closed-system nature of much reporting” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 123). However, at a deeper level this is indicative of the interpellated subjectivity of the journalist as an embodiment of journalistic doxa (Schultz, 2007; see also Crossley, 2004).

The reporter’s antagonistic stance is evidenced by the information she includes in the introductory paragraphs as a summary of what follows. First of all, what she describes as a so-called range of reader’s comments (“from ‘gobbledygook’ to ‘total nonsense’ and ‘intellectual crap’”) does not actually encompass what could be described as the range of comments, since the examples are limited to only negative examples. Secondly, the introduction does not provide context or refer specifically to the previously published interview to explain what prompted the public responses presented

in this article, but simply refers to these as “comments on et al’s explanations”. Presumably, *Dominion Post* readers would be either aware of this background or able to derive it from the content of the submissions.

McLean’s introduction also cites examples of some readers’ comments, four of which were negative and one supportive, which do not reflect the overall three to one ratio of the total number of negative to positive submissions. Among these cited examples was one submission from a politician: MP Georgina te Heuheu, the National Party’s spokesperson for Arts, Culture and Heritage. Her submission proclaimed, “If I were a future minister of arts, (Creative New Zealand) would have to work hard to convince me it [using taxpayer money to send et al. to Venice] had been a good spend.” Besides criticising the artists’ selection and the Labour Government’s role in supporting this choice, this statement also functions as a campaign promise. Te Heuheu’s submission, as the only one presented from a formal political figure, is notable for at least two reasons: the only formal political views represented are those from the opposition party’s spokesperson for the arts portfolio held by the Prime Minister; no other political leader’s responses were sought to present a range of opinions to provide a semblance of balanced reporting.

Besides the five excerpts in the introduction, 28 other reader submissions are presented in the article’s main body, identified with the heading “Edited Responses from Dominion Post Readers”. This selection of 21 negative and 7 positive submissions appears in no apparent order and without commentary. The positive submissions scattered amongst the negative commentaries create a semblance of democratic engagement through a pluralistic display of diverse points of view. However, as MacGregor (2009) suggests, the notion “that diversities and conflicting viewpoints represent pluralism at work...has to be contested” (p. 231).

As discussed, McLean’s reproduction of the editorial stance of the newspaper suggests a subjectivity (and intersubjectivity) constituted through journalistic practice. Likewise, examples of the respondents’ reproduction of journalistic discourse suggest that the identity of the “public” has been similarly constituted. A large number of the negative reactions include details that respond to the questions posed at the end of the previous article. For instance, in response to the question, “Have et al explained themselves?”, negative respondents referred to the artists’ answers as “gibberish”, “pseudo-intellectual

ravings”, “not interested in telling the truth” and “claptrap”. Of the 25 negative respondents, five described the exhibit as a “waste of money” and six referred to “taxpayer” funds in this context.

A number of the negative respondents also refer to details that were not addressed in the interview but had been presented in previous news accounts. This fact suggests that some of the respondents had been following the trajectory of this story in the news. For instance, three used the word “crap”; two referred to the “donkey” or the portaloos; and six described the artists or the exhibit as a “con” or “scam” (a concept presented in the *Dominion Post*’s previously published editorials), with one of these suggesting that CNZ had been “hoodwinked” by the artists. In their description of the support that art aficionados and CNZ demonstrated for et al., three of the submissions alluded to the “Emperor’s New Clothes”, a cautionary fairy tale about pretentiousness and collective denial. This reference had appeared several weeks earlier in one of the newspaper’s “Letters to the Editor” columns. What is demonstrated here is that the journalistic construction of the public has been enacted in two ways. First of all, the reproduction of media discourse suggests that a faction of the public has been constituted to some extent through their embodiment of journalistic doxa. Secondly, the news organisation’s selection of the letters reproduces the journalistic discourse as public discourse and constructs a public consensus that appears in accord with the journalistic position.

Like the negative respondents, those who provided supportive submissions also engage with the journalist’s questions. Four of these endorse the artists’ right not to have to explain their artwork. Overall, however, most avoid directly evaluating the artists and their work, but instead defend them for having enhanced the social capital of the visual arts field. For instance, rather than simply assessing the artist as “good” or “bad”, two respondents argue that the public attention that et al. had stimulated demonstrates that the artist collective was a good choice. This idea is also apparent in responses that consider the question of whether “it” had been a waste of money. One respondent, for example, observes, “If it’s achieved such discussion and controversy then I’d say definitely not. Whether I or any other individual likes the work or not seems irrelevant. It’s pushing our boundaries -- traditionally the job of the arts.” These comments, positively describing the public outrage about the artists as a valuable stimulus to public debate on the visual arts, also validate, to some extent, the media’s role in fostering the controversy.

What is presented as an open forum for the expression of popular sentiment, an objective representation of the “voices of the people”, actually serves as a display and legitimation of the ideological position of the newspaper. The reporting of public opinion is presented as a medium of democracy, but this is, to borrow Butovsky’s (2007, p. 92) phrase, “a phony populism” that obscures the self-interests of the news organisation and the collective interests of the journalistic field through the use of a popular journalistic genre. MacGregor (2009, p. 152) described this as a journalistic practice by which “the mostly unregulated market-driven media set the framework in which cultural actions are taken, define the references of argument, and create a system for channelling public mentality from behind a facade of self-legitimation that pretends to neutrality.” We see this practice clearly operating in this case, as journalists’ symbolic power is asserted through their control of the elements that influence the formation of opinion, including the selection and content of news stories, the formulation of questions that may be intentionally or unintentionally misleading, the interpretation of the expression of public opinion and the use of journalistic forms within which these opinions are presented.

8.6 Summary

This chapter focused on a news interview with et al. conducted by the *Dominion Post* reporter, Robyn McLean. As et al.’s media shyness was one of the key complaints articulated in the *Dominion Post*’s reporting (as noted in Chapter 6), this exclusive interview was, in journalistic terms, a scoop, and, following field logic, was a means by which the organisation could accumulate symbolic and economic capital by distinguishing itself from its competitors and acquiring readership. Moreover, the journalist’s eager pursuit of the story is linked to the structural processes of the journalistic field’s competitive struggles.

More significantly to the interfield analysis that is the objective of this thesis, the interview served as a key interface between the two fields, a performative space in which the symbolic power of the two fields was displayed and contested within the journalistic field itself. In this interview, the journalist, Robyn McLean, articulated the institutional position and antagonistic disposition of the news organisation she represented. Analysis showed that McLean’s questions utilized journalistic routines designed to mask a hostile position while securing the institution’s symbolic power

through an alignment with, and construction of, the public. In contrast, the artists' response demonstrated an effort to negotiate the logic of both fields, a strategy that engaged the journalist, but also, through the performative artistic practice, subverted the journalistic routine and asserted the artists' autonomy. This analysis suggests that the discursive performances of both the artist and the journalist were guided by the doxa, the unconsciously accepted norms, of their respective fields.

The chapter also discussed the journalistic construction of the public through a display of vox pop exemplars as an apparent spontaneous representation of "public" opinion. While the public forum serves as a conspicuous demonstration of journalistic ideals of objectivity and public service, it is also a form of symbolic violence. What is ostensibly a democratic and freely available space for members of the public to express their views is actually a constructed space through which a selected public, constituted by and reflecting journalistic discourse, serves to validate the journalistic field.

Chapter 9:

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This thesis examined the interfield relationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields as demonstrated by the New Zealand mainstream media's reporting of et al. and the 51st Venice Biennale in 2005. Using Bourdieu's field theory as the primary analytical framework, the two guiding questions for this research considered how the media covered the story and how this coverage represented the visual arts and journalistic fields. The primary focus of this thesis has been the issue of journalistic power understood through its relation to the visual arts field. Bourdieu (2005) has noted that engaging in studies of the journalistic field is important because of the field's "increasingly powerful hold...on other fields" which derives from its symbolic dominance in the distribution of particular versions of the social world, its interdependency with other fields and its predominantly heteronomous, or commercially-driven, concerns. Neveu (2005) has explained that "investigating the 'hold' of journalism lends itself to examining the relations between fields" (p. 209).

The findings of this study have underlined the antagonisms between the journalistic and visual arts fields, especially evident in the journalistic field's assertion of power. In general, the results confirm Bourdieu's (2005) claim that journalism's commercial and political values influence other fields of practice. The interrelational field analysis undertaken for this study suggests that the heteronomous influence of the journalistic field was demonstrated in at least two ways: the first was in the way the field's constraints have shaped the professional habitus of agents in the subfield of arts journalism; and the other was through the symbolic violence of media representations of et al. and the visual arts field.

This study has shown how the commercial logic of the journalistic field has marginalised the habitus and professional practice of arts journalists in the arts journalism subfield. For instance, a majority of New Zealand arts journalists expressed some insecurity about the prestige and institutional status of their specialized journalistic practice compared to other areas of news reporting in the mainstream media; a majority also indicated they felt some institutional pressure to write positive reviews.

Other constraints of the economic field are demonstrated in editorial decisions governing what arts stories are covered; how they are framed; when, where and how frequently they are reported; and the way complex and abstract art-related concepts are communicated. As the discussion in Chapter 7 shows, the journalistic field's heteronomous influence is also evident in the visual arts columnist Mark Amery's discursive struggle to balance mainstream journalistic populism and visual arts field specialism, symbolic of the specialized visual arts journalist's homologous positioning in both the journalistic and visual arts fields and indicative of the porosity of field boundaries. Amery's situation illustrates Bourdieu's (1990a; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) notion of field boundaries as indistinct and continually contested sites of struggle constituted, to some extent, through language.

Analysis of the media coverage of et al. indicates that journalistic power was also imposed through symbolic violent representations of the artist collective. Findings show that the primarily negative media coverage of the art story, and the negative campaigning of the *Dominion Post* especially, drew on formulaic journalistic narratives activating values aligned with the populist sensibilities of an imagined mainstream public through common-sense appeals such as those concerning political accountability, the funding cost to taxpayers, the representation of a national identity and an anti-intellectualist/anti-elitist stance. These appeals, ostensibly arising from a concern for the public good, instead served a heteronomously self-interested purpose designed to engage and heighten mainstream public interest.

The naming of the artist collective in the media's reporting was another example of the journalistic field's symbolic violence and served as a significant site of antagonism between the journalistic and visual arts fields. As noted in Chapter 5, the "power of constitutive *naming*" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55) is a significant form of symbolic domination over the construction and representation of reality (Couldry, 2003a). The struggle over the naming of et al. that figures so prominently in this case is, in short, a struggle over the right to impose a "legitimate vision of the social world" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 36). However, as the discussion in Chapter 8 points out, the perpetuation of symbolic power lies in the acceptance of the symbolic violence that arises through that power. Hence, denying the journalistic field's symbolic authority is a means of resisting and even undermining media power. We see this exchange—the imposition and denial of symbolic violence—demonstrated in the antagonistic discursive dynamics that take

place in the interview of et al. by the *Dominion Post* reporter. The reporter, relying on the doxic conventions that govern the journalistic practice of the news interview, attempts to assert control through rhetorical strategies that operate as vehicles of domination and symbolic violence. But et al. resist the journalistic conventions of authority to reassert the authority of the visual arts field by enacting their own form of symbolic violence, realized through contravening rhetorical and performative strategies embedded in the doxa of artistic practice to undermine the symbolic power and violence of the journalistic field.

This concluding chapter begins with a summary of the structural dynamics characterising the interfield relations of the journalistic and visual arts fields that emerged in the course of this study. This is followed by a critical reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of the field theory approach as it was applied in this thesis and briefly considers alternative approaches that could have been deployed. The last section discusses further research opportunities suggested by this study.

9.2 Overview: Interfield homologies of the journalistic and visual arts fields

Following Bourdieu's three-stage approach as outlined in Chapter 2, this study's analyses identified structural homologies that characterise the journalistic and visual arts fields' interfield relations. Analysis in Chapter 7 of the visual arts journalism subfield, for instance, revealed the structural logic and heteronomous focus of the journalistic field in the relatively marginalised position of arts journalism as a subfield practice in relation to the journalistic field. Situated as it is within the journalistic field, the subfield of arts journalism is subject to the same commercial pressures that structure the larger field and so its structure is homologous to that of the larger field, and so too is its journalistic practice. This factor reflects Bourdieu's (1977a) view that habitus is the "unifying principle of practices in different domains...the real principle of the structural homologies or relations of transformation" (p. 83) underlying the correspondences between fields and subfields. However, as noted in Chapter 4, arts journalists also strongly identify with the arts fields they cover. The analysis in Chapter 7 highlights this struggle of affiliation, and perhaps of personal loyalties, in the way Amery's discursive practice negotiates the tropes of the journalistic field, through his common-sense appeals to the public, and of the visual arts field, through his specialist displays of art history.

Another interfield characteristic that emerged was an apparent structural homology, or isomorphism, of the two cultural fields in relation to the field of power. Chapter 3 described the governmental policies, such as the media deregulation and privatisation imposed throughout the 1980s and 1990s and the Labour Government's "third way" cultural policy, that gave rise to a social environment promoting a neoliberal commercial logic that has shaped the structural dynamics of the journalistic field and sectors of the visual arts field.

The influence of political and economic factors resulted in an increased heteronomy of the journalistic and visual arts fields, which also corresponded to a decreased autonomy of the fields' culture producers. This effect was particularly significant for those located closer to the heteronomous pole of their respective fields and therefore especially vulnerable to the political and economic interests of the field of power exemplified by the political prestige attached to art and the media's commercial goals (as discussed in Chapter 3). This self-interest was concealed (misrecognised) as an apparent disinterest through a displayed concern for the needs of the mainstream public demonstrated, for instance, in the journalistic field's proclaimed watchdog role and in the state funding of cultural materials that represent "all New Zealanders".

A number of instances figured in this case that illustrate the media's assumed disinterested stance: the proclaimed public service mandate of the TVNZ Charter (discussed in Chapters 3 and 5); the investigative journalist stance adopted by the *Frontseat* arts reporter and Holmes' theatricalized impersonation of this role (discussed in Chapter 5); the editorials' common-sense appeals for political accountability in the expenditure of taxpayers' money on art and the cynical and anti-intellectual dismissal of challenging ideas (discussed in Chapters 7 and 8); the interviewer's questions asked on behalf of the public (Chapter 8); and the selected letters to the editor and reactions from broadcast viewers presented as evidence of the media's service to democratic ideals (Chapters 5, 6 and 8). What appears to be a disinterested position, achieved through journalistic practices that conceal self-interest, is strategically valuable as a means of acquiring capital, and can be considered an "economically disinterested interest" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p 110). Since this stance is doxically embedded in practice and habitus, journalists, like other culture producers, may often misrecognise the extent to which "interests" (economic, symbolic or any other) may be driving their practices (Bourdieu, 1990a; see also Grenfell, 2008; Swartz, 1997).

This “interest in disinterestedness” is no less true for artists (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 110) as this study has demonstrated. The artists’ participation in the journalist’s interview (as discussed in Chapter 8) suggests an acceptance, to a certain extent, of the journalistic game, or *illusio*, and the heteronomous influence of the economic and political fields within the visual arts field. However, the artists also attempted to maintain their autonomy by not complying with the journalistic conventions of a news interview. In addition, the artists disregarded the journalistic field’s authority that emanated from its mediating role on behalf of the public: first, by denying the symbolic authority that the journalistic narrative granted the taxpaying public as entitled to control the creative decisions concerning the artists’ work; and second, by refusing to explain their work, which they claimed would interfere with the viewers’ interpretive process through engagement with the work. The artist collective’s critique of the journalistic field’s power constructed in response to its demagogic construction of the public also re-imagines a different public, capable of creating meaning independent of a journalistic filter.

This antagonistic opposition highlights another homology characteristic of the cultural field that underlies the logic of the relationship of the fields in this study: a homology of oppositions. According to Bourdieu (1993a), a homology exists between oppositions that structure the organisational logic of the field and the oppositions that structure the field of power and the field of class relations. The artists’ discursive strategies of resistance, as noted above (and discussed further in Chapter 8) demonstrate their ability to oppose the heteronomous influence of the journalistic field by asserting the symbolic authority of their own field. Further, an underlying field logic, or *doxa*, may be the basis of the artists’ resistance in that the mainstream public are perceived as having less economic and symbolic significance in the visual arts field. In other words, the mainstream public are less crucial to a relatively autonomous contemporary visual artist like et al. than to those within the heteronomous mainstream journalistic field. Bourdieu (1993a) has explained the nature of this resistance by noting that

cultural producers are able to use the power conferred on them, especially in periods of crisis, by their capacity to put forward a critical definition of the social world, to mobilize the potential strength of the dominated classes and subvert the order prevailing in the field of power. (p. 44)

In this case, “the potential strength of the dominated classes”, like the visual arts, lay in et al.’s engaging the doxa of disinterest as “an instrument of rupture intended to bring the materialist mode of questioning to bear on realms from which it was absent” (1990a, p. 106). In effect, the artists’ disinterest operates as an iconoclastic strategy in relation to the symbolic power of the journalistic field’s representations.

Bourdieu noted that culture producers’ relative field positions influence the types of antagonistic strategies that each employs in their competition for forms of economic or symbolic power. Agents in dominant positions tend to engage in “defensive strategies” that maintain the social principles that preserve their dominant field position (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 83). For instance, the content analysis in Chapter 6 and the discourse analyses in Chapters 5, 7 and 8 show that the media endeavoured to activate the interests of their imagined mainstream public by focusing on the usual populist-oriented taxpayer trope and typical journalistic news values of negativity and deviance to define social norms and position et al. as an outsider.

In contrast, dominated culture producers tend to engage in “subversive strategies”, which will successfully yield symbolic capital as long as the dominant hierarchy is discredited without entirely destroying the principles that govern the field (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 83). That is, artists may generally oppose the symbolic domination of journalists, but they also rely, to some degree, on an accumulation of symbolic capital through “media meta-capital” (Couldry, 2003a), even if that recognition is in the form of popular notoriety (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1995). Bourdieu (1993a) argued that, for the autonomous artist, “the only legitimate accumulation” of capital is “(mis)recognized” symbolic capital—a capital of prestige achieved by “making a name for oneself, a known recognized name” (p. 75). Bourdieu (1993a) argued that for those engaged in the (often disavowed) business of art, success in “economic” terms in the art field requires a “practical mastery of the laws of the functioning of the field in which cultural goods are produced and circulate.... only those who come to terms with the ‘economic’ constraints... can reap the ‘economic’ profits of their symbolic capital” (p. 76).

Although Bourdieu, in the above quote, was primarily describing the habitus of those who are more heteronomously positioned within the art field, such as art dealers and publishers, any artist functioning in relation to the economic, political, discursive and social constraints imposed by the field of power, as et al. did in this case, would also

require the disposition to engage in the game even when subverting its rules. As noted in Chapter 1, artists can acquire symbolic capital by producing art or behaviours that may provoke journalists' responses. Thus, one could say that et al.'s strategies of resistance (described in Chapter 8) were also "subversive strategies", as defined by Bourdieu, that not only critiqued journalistic power but also exploited it. What is evident here is not only that the antagonistic interfield relationship of the heteronomous mainstream journalist and the more autonomous visual artist is characterised by a mutually constitutive interdependence, but also that habitus, as shaped by the logic of a field's doxa, is fundamental to the logic underlying the correspondences between journalistic and visual arts fields.

9.3 Critical reflections on the value of field theory as applied to this study

Bourdieu's field theory has provided an effective approach to examining journalism's power displayed in the media's coverage of the et al. news story. Bourdieu's conceptualization of fields as complex sites of struggle emphasises the notion of social relations organised through conflict and competition. In the case of the two cultural fields of journalism and visual arts discussed in this thesis, the antagonisms that structured their interrelational dynamics centred fundamentally on the extent to which the fields were connected to the field of power, the economic field in particular. In fact, as Hesmondhalgh (2006) has noted, one of the compelling aspects of Bourdieu's theory is that it presents a "systematic theory of interconnectedness" (p. 216), which has been especially useful to this study's focus on interfield relations.

Studying the journalistic field's power is important because of the media's dominance, to a great extent, in the production and dissemination of information and in the quotidian representations of the social world. As the discussion in the previous chapters has shown, the imposition of the journalistic field's power is embedded in its practice, the journalistic doxa, which governs the field's selection, control and presentation of information and is reproduced in the habitus of its agents. According to Neveu (2005) an assessment of media's power requires an empirical examination of journalistic practice in particular contexts and cases.

The appeal of Bourdieu's field theory to this research lies first of all in the explanatory power of its array of analytical concepts that can be applied to both micro- and macro-

levels of research (see Chapter 2). Micro-level analyses, for instance, were employed in this thesis to examine the relative autonomy and heteronomy of the visual arts and journalistic fields and the professional habitus of arts journalists, and a broader macro-level approach was used to examine the structural correspondence of the two fields. The value of field theory also resides in its adaptable framework that can be applied to a wide range of investigative approaches, as demonstrated by the research for this thesis, which drew on multiple empirical methods, including surveys, content analysis and various textual analytic approaches which were selected based on the materials to be analysed. Even so, time and resource limitations constrained the researcher's use of certain research methods, such as interviews with journalists and agents in the visual arts field, which could have provided additional nuanced and insightful perspectives on the fields and their interrelationship.⁹⁸

The structure of this thesis was related to the empirical materials selected for the research. Each empirical chapter was devoted to a particular analytical approach in relation to a particular type of information, such as surveys; content analysis; the discourse analysis of broadcasts; conversation analysis of a news interview. The order of the chapters roughly followed an organising logic of the general (the analysis of the journalistic and visual arts fields in relation to the broader political economy context) to the particular (the discourse analysis of the news interview with et al.). In other words, each group of texts or set of data was examined in turn. This material-ordered approach was a valuable way of managing the variety of information that was examined. However, a drawback of this approach is its tendency to partition the data into discrete formal categories, which may have resulted in field relational features being missed.

Alternative structuring approaches could have been used. For example, rather than treating the empirical material as a series of analytically distinct objects, this thesis could have been organised according to the recurring tropes or themes that framed the coverage. While these elements were discussed in the course of the study, a more detailed examination could have been undertaken of some of the narrative motifs identified in Chapter 6, or of other organising frames such as the journalistic and visual arts fields' conceptualization of the "public", the social roles of the journalist and artist,

⁹⁸ As noted in Chapter 4, interviews were conducted with et al. and with members of the Venice Biennale creative team but only figured minimally in this thesis.

the journalistic opposition of populism vs. elitism. However, a focus on selected thematic concepts would not be particularly advantageous to an analysis of field relations as such an approach would potentially emphasise media framing effects (Scheufele, 1999; Tankard, 2001) rather than a broader or more holistic consideration of journalistic practice.

Also, the focus of this thesis on heteronomous, commercially-driven mainstream journalism provided a somewhat asymmetrical picture of the interrelational dynamics of the journalistic and visual arts fields. A more comprehensive study would have included additional and more in-depth perspectives, likely through interviews, of those within the visual arts field. Finding out more, for instance, about the heteronomous aspects of the field and agents' perceptions of how economic and symbolic capitals are distributed would have provided a more detailed conception of New Zealand's visual arts field. However, the comprehensive research that would have been required for a balanced interfield analysis would have exceeded the limited time, space and resources of this researcher, and deflected from this study's primary focus on journalistic field dynamics and representations.

9.4 Extending the present study through further research

In examining the interrelational dynamics of New Zealand's mainstream journalism and visual arts fields, this thesis has endeavoured to understand the ways the journalistic field's symbolic power emerges from journalistic practice. A key aspect of this study was the distinction between the two fields in terms of their primarily heteronomous and autonomous positions within the wider cultural field. Mainstream journalism, located within the field of large-scale production, has a higher degree of heteronomy in contrast to the more autonomous visual arts located within the field of restricted production. This study's focus on the journalistic practices of the heteronomous mainstream media addresses the lack of attention to this "end of the spectrum" in journalistic field studies that some critics have identified (Dickinson, 2008, p. 1390). This thesis has made a significant contribution to field theory studies in other ways as well. It has provided a comprehensive application of field theory to an analysis of journalistic power in practice; it has been the first study to apply field theory in a comprehensive way to an interfield analysis of the interrelationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields; and it has presented the most comprehensive field theory analysis of interfield relations in a

New Zealand context. Further interfield studies could also potentially be undertaken to look at the nature of media power and its heteronomous influence on other relatively autonomous fields of practice that correspond to subfields at media outlets.

Bourdieu's own work suggests other avenues to explore. Besides focusing on the cultural field, Bourdieu (1988, 1998a, 2004) also analysed the field of power in relation to the structural dynamics of the intellectual fields represented by the university and by the field of science. The journalistic anti-intellectualist tendency is a recurring trope throughout this thesis and could serve as the focus of a research project that examines the media's representation of university scholars (see for instance Phelan, 2008). In addition, research could be undertaken to examine the constraints of the field of power on media science reporting in such areas as public health, medical research, and climate change (a topic that has become highly politicised, publicly divisive and a global concern). Aspects of the cultural politics of New Zealand identity, only touched on in this thesis, could be further examined through the interplay of field antagonisms to explore, for instance, the use of public funding for cultural materials or media representations of elitism and populism in the notions of "good" and "bad" art.

Emerging journalistic practices and the effects of digital and social media on the authority of the journalistic field offer another potential research area and an opportunity to extend Bourdieu's field theory to the study of new media. For instance, Russell's (2007) examination of the debate concerning the coverage of the unrest in France in 2005 following the deaths of two teenagers and the role the digital media played in that coverage positions the citizen journalist as a challenge to journalistic norms and the notion of a professional journalistic habitus. In the case of arts journalism, the impact of digital technology and new media journalism on the subfield is a promising area for potential research. A good starting point is an article by Keller (2010), who discusses how online media and so-called "backpack journalism" may affect communication about the arts and observes the threat that the Digital Revolution poses for traditional power centers "goes beyond economics, changing the role of authority" (p. 169-170). While this change may pose a problem for traditional art critics, she notes, it may benefit newcomers. A field analysis could be conducted that examines how new media journalism may be decentring the heteronomous power of the journalistic field and how the reshaping of the journalistic field may be affecting a subfield like arts journalism.

The analysis in Chapters 4 and 7 of the subfield of arts journalism in New Zealand suggested that a more in-depth study of its characteristics would provide a better understanding of the subfield but also a more comprehensive picture of the journalistic field as a varied field of practice. As Matheson (2010) has pointed out, no in-depth ethnographic studies of journalism practice in New Zealand have been conducted to date. The survey method used for this study provided some basic information concerning the arts journalists' professional habitus, but in-depth interviews could provide a more nuanced understanding of arts journalists' perceptions of this subfield and its relation to the dominant mainstream journalistic field. For instance, the present study could have benefited from more details concerning arts journalists' practice, such as the extent to which these journalists self-identify as "artist" or "journalist" and whether the distinctive habitus of these two fields of practice inform or hinder these roles.

An examination of the arts journalistic practices of different media could also provide a richer sense of the experiences and dispositions of the agents positioned within this New Zealand subfield. For instance, an understanding of an arts journalism habitus could be extended by comparing the arts reporting of the mainstream press with that of RadioNZ, which was identified as the preferred media outlet by many in the New Zealand visual arts community, or with the visual arts information provided by national and international specialist journals, another significant source of information about the visual arts indicated by both arts journalists and those within the visual arts field. As noted above, research could examine how alternative digital and social media sources that provide art news, criticism and networking opportunities, such as the arts community websites The Big Idea (<http://www.thebigidea.co.nz>) or Artbash (<http://new.artbash.co.nz>), have superseded conventional arts journalism.

How field boundaries are clearly defined as agents change fields or shift between fields was a recurring issue that this thesis could not adequately address and could provide a rich area for further study. The problem first emerged in relation to the shifting and multiple field identities of some of those who figure in this case, such as MP Deborah Coddington (see Chapter 1) who had at various times been associated with the publishing, journalism, visual arts and political fields. Although Bourdieu (1985) noted that agents may occupy more than one field simultaneously, what effect does changing fields have on an agent's habitus? To what extent is a field identity retained if one is no

longer specifically associated with a particular field, and at what point, if at all, does one's field identity diminish or end? How do the "transposable dispositions" of the habitus, according to Bourdieu's (1990b) definition, transfer from one field to another? This last question applies to the related issue of the shifting identities and somewhat disparate affiliations of arts journalists, suggested by the survey results in Chapter 4 and the discourse analysis focusing on Amery in Chapter 7 (see also Marchetti, 2005).

What is suggested here is that field boundaries may be rather permeable and somewhat ill defined delineations of fields of practice. A characteristic of a field, according to Bourdieu, is its residual transforming "effect" on "any object that traverses this space" and the "limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 100). In other words, the boundaries of a field extend in relation to its "effects", a notion that may be significant in analysing subfields and examining the identity and habitus of those who engage in multidisciplinary practices or who change from one social field to another.⁹⁹

This enquiry suggests issues concerning the geographic specificity of fields and how this might be expressed in New Zealand. In his comparison of French and American journalistic fields, Benson (2005) identified a journalistic field "ecology" that has emerged through the local cultural logic and generated a distinctive journalistic practice in both countries. Because of New Zealand's relatively small size and small population, the relational dynamics of the country can be close knit. This uniquely constrained context may affect, in general, the structure and dynamics of fields and the habitus and dispositions of their agents. For instance, individuals may be inclined to being positioned in more than one field simultaneously and therefore may have a relatively broad scope. In addition, these environmental constraints may also mean that agents may be operating in relation to pressure (perceived or not) to acquire and maintain social capital (alliances and networked affiliation) across different fields. Finally, the competition for economic capital (as suggested in Chapter 3) may be greater, simply because there are fewer economic resources available. These environmentally-specific

⁹⁹ For an example of an examination of "field effects", see Lipstadt, 2003. Another useful approach is an ethnographic study of Italian graffiti writers conducted by Brighenti (2007), who identifies an "interstitial practice" of writing displayed by the group as indicative of the porosity of boundaries and a strategy for negotiating norms. Lamont (2012) has identified an emerging sociological research focus on "boundary work", influenced by Bourdieu's theories and dealing with the permeability of group boundaries and the porosity of fields. (See also Lamont & Molnár, 2002; and Pachucki, Pendergrass, & Lamont, 2007.)

concerns raise a number of questions. Is the porosity of field boundaries more likely in the New Zealand context? How do factors such as geography and population size affect the characteristics of fields? And more generally one can ask, do these differences call into question how effectively fields, as Bourdieu originally conceived them operating in their French context, can be transposed to the New Zealand context?

9.5 Summary

This thesis has examined media power through its manifestation in the interfield relationship of the journalistic and visual arts fields. Drawing on Bourdieu's field theory as a conceptual framework and a variety of textual analytic approaches, this study examined a broad range of materials including surveys, interviews, newspaper articles and television broadcasts to present an empirical account of journalism's power in its coverage of et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale.

It was found that the antagonisms characterising the mainstream media's discourse were grounded in a journalistic doxa that reflects a heteronomous field orientation. Analysis in this thesis has supported Bourdieu's (2005) assertion that the economic and political constraints of the journalistic field are acting on other fields, especially those, like the arts journalism subfield and the visual arts field, which engage in presenting their own "vision of the social world" (p. 40). The ongoing challenge posed by the symbolic power of the journalistic field lies, to some extent, in the enduring power of media representations, a factor that has been borne out by subsequent media coverage of contemporary visual arts in New Zealand and the persistence of the "donkey in the dunny" as a signifying trope to refer to the 2005 Venice Biennale (Bernanke, 2012). The extent to which journalism's power may transform or diminish the autonomy of other cultural fields and how much the more autonomous fields can resist that power are questions that require ongoing study.

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Appendix 1: AJNZ and VAF Surveys: Invitation and information sheets

ARTS JOURNALISM in NEW ZEALAND SURVEY

You are invited to take part in a research project investigating the interrelations of the journalistic and visual arts fields. You have been asked to participate because you are an arts journalist associated with a New Zealand media organization, or have self-identified as an arts journalist. Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish before deciding whether or not to take part. Ask the researcher (details provided below) if there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information. Thank you for reading this.

Project Details

Judith Bernanke, a lecturer and PhD student in the Department of Communication and Journalism at Massey University at Wellington, is investigating the interrelations of the journalistic and visual arts fields. The purpose of this survey, submitted to New Zealand's arts journalists, is to find out about arts journalistic practice in New Zealand. The results of this survey will be analysed in relation to other data gathered as part of a research project(s) exploring the social role of the NZ journalistic field through its interaction with the visual art and political fields.

The survey will be carried out online. If you prefer to complete a hard copy version, please contact the researcher (details provided below) and one will be sent to you along with a self-addressed stamped envelope. The survey does not request specific information that might risk exposure of your identity. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential and the anonymity of all respondents will be preserved. The survey should take **between 10 to 15 minutes** to complete.

It is planned that the results of this study will be published, but any data collected through this survey will be presented only as a summary of *all* responses. The data gathered here may also contribute to the researcher's PhD study. All the information collected during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Any identifying details, such as email or addressing information will be discarded immediately and survey data will be discarded three years after the completion of the project(s). While this survey is by no means exhaustive or comprehensive, your participation will provide some insight into current arts journalistic practice in New Zealand. Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question. Completion of the questionnaire implies consent.

TO GO TO SURVEY CLICK HERE

Contact Details

If you wish more information about the research project, please contact:

the researcher:

Judith Bernanke, Lecturer/PhD student
Department of Communication and Journalism
Massey University at Wellington
Private Box 756, Wellington
Telephone: 04 801 5799, ext 6793
Email: j.bernanke@massey.ac.nz

or the project supervisor:

Dr. Sean Phelan, Lecturer
Department of Communication and
Journalism
Massey University at Wellington
Private Box 756, Wellington
Telephone: 04 801 5799, ext 6367

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone: 06 350 5249, email: humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

VISUAL ARTS JOURNALISM in NEW ZEALAND SURVEY

You are invited to participate in a research project investigating the interrelations of the journalistic and visual arts fields because you are a member of, or are closely associated with, New Zealand's visual arts community. Please take time to read the following information before deciding whether or not to take part. Ask the researcher (details provided below) if there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information.

Project Details

The purpose of this survey is to find out what members of New Zealand's visual arts community think about arts journalistic practice in New Zealand. The four sections of the survey will consider your role in the visual arts community; your experience with NZ's media; your views about arts journalism in NZ; and your opinions about NZ media's coverage of a visual art event.

While this in-depth survey is by no means exhaustive, your participation will provide some insight into current arts journalistic practice in New Zealand. The results will be analysed in relation to other data gathered as part of a research project(s) exploring the social role of the NZ journalistic field through its interaction with the visual art and political fields. The data gathered here will also contribute to the researcher's PhD study.

The survey does not request specific information that might risk exposure of your identity. If the results of this study are published, any survey data will be presented only as a summary of *all* responses. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential and the anonymity of all respondents will be preserved. Any identifying details, such as email or addressing information will be discarded immediately and data will be discarded three years after the completion of the project(s). Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question. Completion of the questionnaire implies consent.

The survey will be carried out online and should take **approximately 30 minutes** to complete.

TO GO TO SURVEY CLICK HERE

If you prefer to complete a hard copy version, please contact the researcher (details provided below) and one will be sent to you along with a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Contact Details

If you wish more information about the research project, please contact:

the researcher:

Judith Bernanke, Lecturer/PhD student
Department of Communication and Journalism
Massey University at Wellington
Private Box 756, Wellington
Telephone: 04 801 5799, ext 6793
Email: j.bernanke@massey.ac.nz

or the project supervisor:

Dr. Sean Phelan, Lecturer
Department of Communication and Journalism
Massey University at Wellington
Private Box 756, Wellington
Telephone: 04 801 5799, ext 6367

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone: 06 350 5249, email: humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 2: Survey email invitation and online announcement

Dear [Arts Journalist]:

I would like to invite you to participate in an on-line survey exploring the practice of arts journalism in New Zealand. This survey, the first of its kind to focus specifically on New Zealand's arts journalism, has been forwarded to you because you have played an important role in broadcast media's reporting on this country's arts and culture.

I am a lecturer and PhD student in the Department of Communication, Journalism & Marketing at Massey University, Wellington. The results of this survey will be analysed in relation to other data gathered as part of a larger research project examining the social role of New Zealand journalism and will also contribute to my PhD study, an analysis of the press coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale.

The online survey should take between 10 to 15 minutes to complete and is available at http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=uEffBc0kYlkyTZg1Dt6iAg_3d_3d

For your convenience, the survey will be available until 15 August.

If you prefer to complete a hard copy version, please contact the researcher and one will be sent to you along with a self-addressed stamped envelope. The survey does not request any specific personal or organisational information that might risk exposure of your identity. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential and the anonymity of all respondents will be preserved.

More details about the project, including your rights as a participant and the researchers' contact information, are found below. Please take time to read that information and discuss it with others if you wish before going on to the survey website. Ask the researchers if there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information.

If you have any colleagues in New Zealand's arts journalism field that you think may be interested in participating, please let them know about this survey opportunity.

Thank you for your consideration and I do hope you will choose to participate. Please do not hesitate to contact me should you have any questions regarding this project.

Yours sincerely

Judith Bernanke

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. Individual survey responses will not be identified and your completed survey is anonymous. After you have completed the survey it will not be possible to withdraw your individual survey response. The completion of the survey questionnaire implies consent to participate.

If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;

- provide information on the understanding that it will be treated anonymously and that no individual or institution will be identified by name;
- access information on the findings of the survey; a summary of findings will be available on the Massey University Department of Communication & Journalism website on completion of the project at the end of 2008.

For more details about this research project, please go to
http://comm.massey.ac.nz/survey.html?&no_cache=1

Thank you for reading this information, and I hope you will participate in this survey. Your responses are intended to provide information about the practice of arts journalism in New Zealand. If you have any questions about the project, or your participation in any aspect of this research, please do not hesitate to contact the researchers:

Judith Bernanke
Department of Communication & Journalism, Massey University,
Private Box 756, Wellington
Phone: 04 801 5799 x6793
Email: J.Bernanke@massey.ac.nz
Fax: 04 801 2693

Project Supervisor
Dr. Sean Phelan
Department of Communication & Journalism, Massey University,
Private Box 756, Wellington
Phone: 04 801 5799, x6367
Email: S.Phelan@massey.ac.nz

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone: 06 350 5249, email: humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Visual arts journalism online survey

23 June 2008

Are you a member of the visual arts community? Do you have an opinion about the way the media cover the arts in New Zealand? You have a chance to say what you think by participating in an online survey being conducted by Massey University PhD student and lecturer, Judith Bernanke.



This in-depth survey is the first to examine arts journalistic practice in New Zealand from the perspective of the visual arts community. The four sections of the online survey will consider participants' roles; their experiences with NZ's media; their views about arts journalism in NZ; and their opinions about NZ media's coverage of a visual art event.

The results of the survey will be available on the Massey University Department of Communication & Journalism website on completion of the project when results have been finalised.

The survey will be available online until the end of July. Surveys are anonymous and take around 30 minutes to complete.

To participate, go to [Visual Arts Journalism Survey](#)

For more information about this project, contact:

Judith Bernanke
Department of Communication, Journalism & Marketing,
Massey University at Wellington
J.Bernanke@massey.ac.nz

Submitted to <http://www.thebigidea.co.nz/node/30709> by [Judith Bernanke](#) on Mon, 23/06/2008.

Appendix 3: Arts Journalism in New Zealand Survey

Welcome! Here are some details to help you complete this survey.

You may skip any question that does not apply to you or that you do not wish to answer.

To return to a previous page to check or change your answers, click on "Prev".

You may click on "Exit this survey" and return to complete it later, but your answers are not recorded until you have clicked on "Done" at the end.

If you encounter problems with the survey, click on your browser's "REFRESH" button or click on "Exit this survey" and then open the survey again.

This section of the survey (up to 17 questions) relates to your experience and practice as an arts journalist.

1. What arts/culture/entertainment areas do you cover? Select all that apply.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Architecture | <input type="checkbox"/> Classical music |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Books | <input type="checkbox"/> Dance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Film | <input type="checkbox"/> Television |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Jazz | <input type="checkbox"/> Theatre |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Popular music | <input type="checkbox"/> Visual arts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

2. How many years total have you worked in journalism?

- Less than 2
- 2 - 7
- 8 - 15
- 16 - 20
- More than 20

3. How many years total have you been reporting on the arts?

- Less than 2
- 2 - 7
- 8 - 15
- 16 - 20
- More than 20

4. Which of the following best describes your role?

- Arts critic
- Arts reviewer
- Arts reporter/editor
- Feature writer
- Entertainment or lifestyle reporter (or equivalent)
- Staff writer who splits a part-time arts journalist position with another (non-arts or non-culture related) position
- Other (please specify)

5. What is your employment status as an arts journalist?

- Full-time member of media organisation staff
- Part-time member of media organisation staff
- Freelancer with a contract
- Freelancer without a contract

6. In the past year, how many evaluative pieces (e.g. reviews or other critical pieces) on the arts have you filed?

- 0 - 5
- 6 - 10
- 11 - 20
- More than 20

7. Over the past 12 months, in which type of media has your writing/reporting on New Zealand arts and culture appeared? Select all that apply.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Metropolitan newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> Nationally circulated arts-focused journal/magazine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Provincial newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> Academic arts journal |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Radio | <input type="checkbox"/> Internationally-based media |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Television | <input type="checkbox"/> Internet-only arts journal |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nationally circulated magazine | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

8. Thinking about the arts stories that you have filed in the past 12 months, about what proportion of the stories were assigned, and what proportion were your own ideas?

- Most were assigned
- About half and half
- Most were my ideas

9. Which one of the following sources do you tend to rely on the MOST in finding arts-related stories to write about?

- Press releases
- Other reviews and articles
- Word of mouth
- Attending arts-related events (e.g. exhibitions, concerts, plays, gallery shows)
- Other (please specify)

10. In your opinion, how acceptable is it for an arts journalist to engage in each of the following activities:

	Generally acceptable	Occasionally acceptable	Never acceptable
Sit on boards of arts organisations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Be an advocate for the government funding of artists	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in judging artists for prizes and competitions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fraternize with artists about whom they write	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. Which two New Zealand media organisations (such as specific newspaper, radio station, magazine, television station or programme, etc.) do the best job covering the arts generally?

>>

>>

12. In your writing, how much emphasis do you place on the following aspects of arts reviewing/criticism:

	A great deal of emphasis	Some emphasis	Not much emphasis	No emphasis at all
Providing historical and other background information.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Providing an accurate descriptive account.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Rendering a personal judgment or opinion.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Analysing the meaning and implications of the artwork(s) or event.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educating your audience about the importance of the artwork(s) or event.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Motivating artists to produce better work.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Informing your audience about worthwhile current arts events.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Creating an entertaining piece of writing/reporting with literary value.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. Besides being an arts journalist, are you also an artist (e.g. visual artist, composer, musician, author, playwright, director, actor, etc.)?

- Yes
 No

14. Have you ever exhibited, performed or published in your capacity as artist?

- Yes
 No

15. Have you exhibited, performed or published in your capacity as artist in the last 5 years?

- Yes
 No

16. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
The arts round (beat) is as respected within my (main) media organisation as other rounds.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I left my job, my (main) media organisation would make filling my arts journalist job a priority.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that my education and experience have prepared me for the work I do.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My stories receive informed and useful editing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I sometimes feel pressure to write positive reviews to please advertisers, sponsors or people with connections to my (main) media organisation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When visual art becomes topical as a general news story, the general media does a good job reporting the story.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. As an arts journalist, do you cover the visual arts?

- Yes
- No

This section of the survey (15 questions) relates to your experience and practice as a visual arts journalist.

18. Approximately how many visual arts stories (including reviews, profiles, reportage, etc.) in total do you file each month?

- 1 or fewer
- 2 - 4
- 5 - 9
- 10 or more

19. Of these visual arts stories, approximately what percentage of these are evaluative reviews of visual art?

- 0-25%
- 26-50%
- 51-75%
- 76-100%

20. The visual arts round is as respected within my (main) media organisation as other arts/culture/entertainment rounds.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

21. Which two New Zealand media organisations do you think do the best job covering visual art generally?

>>

>>

22. Have you ever worked in any of the following arts areas? Select all that apply or select "Never..." .

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial art gallery | <input type="checkbox"/> Art support services: framing, crating, shipping |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art museum | <input type="checkbox"/> Public relations firm with arts clients |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Auction house | <input type="checkbox"/> Artist's studio assistant |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary- or tertiary-level educator in the arts field | <input type="checkbox"/> Government arts organization |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Curatorial work | <input type="checkbox"/> Never worked in any of the above arts areas |

23. Are you currently working in any of these capacities?

- Yes
 No

24. In your opinion, how acceptable is it for a visual art journalist to engage in each of the following activities:

	Generally acceptable	Occasionally acceptable	Never acceptable
Accept payment for writing in catalogues published by museums or galleries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Write about artists whose works are owned or collected by the journalist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Accept gifts of works from artists, art dealers or private collectors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Advise artists on what sort of art they should make	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Exhibit his/her own works in galleries or museums	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Act as a consultant to museums/public collections or private galleries on decisions about acquisitions/purchases, programming and sales	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Serve as a curator for museums/public collections	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Serve as a curator for private galleries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make money as an art dealer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25. Which of the following BEST characterizes your media audience for the visual arts?

- general
 specialist
 a mixture of general and specialist

26. Describe the visual arts knowledge of the majority of your audience. Select all that apply.

The majority of my audience:

- is quite knowledgeable about visual art and art history in general.
- has basic knowledge about visual art and art history in general.
- has very little knowledge about visual art and art history in general.
- is quite knowledgeable about New Zealand's visual art and art history.
- has basic knowledge about New Zealand's visual art and art history.
- has very little knowledge about New Zealand's visual art and art history.
- Other (please specify)

27. Describe the visual arts interests of the majority of your audience. Select all that apply.

The majority of my audience:

- is only casually interested in visual art.
- is interested generally in visual art.
- is interested in learning (or learning more) about visual art.
- is interested generally in its community's current cultural events.
- Other (please specify)

28. Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about your relationship with various constituencies in your community:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
I feel it is my job to educate the public about visual art and why it matters.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My audience thinks visual art reviewing/criticism is important.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The GENERAL media consumer is interested in being informed about the visual arts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When creating an artwork, artists take into consideration what I will say about their work.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When organizing an exhibition, museum directors, curators and art galleries take into consideration what I will say about what they present.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When making a decision to support an artist or exhibition, government and private funders take into consideration what I will say about their decisions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arts journalists have had an impact on visual art in New Zealand.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

29. The visual arts area(s) I MOST enjoy writing about are: (Select up to four)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Painting | <input type="checkbox"/> Performance Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sculpture | <input type="checkbox"/> Conceptual Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drawing | <input type="checkbox"/> Crafts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Installations | <input type="checkbox"/> Political Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Photography | <input type="checkbox"/> Art indebted to theory |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Video | <input type="checkbox"/> Representational art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Maori art | <input type="checkbox"/> Art exploring identity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Art | <input type="checkbox"/> Artist collaborations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Online Art | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

30. The visual arts area(s) I LEAST enjoy writing about are: (Select up to four)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Painting | <input type="checkbox"/> Performance Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sculpture | <input type="checkbox"/> Conceptual Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drawing | <input type="checkbox"/> Crafts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Installations | <input type="checkbox"/> Political Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Photography | <input type="checkbox"/> Art indebted to theory |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Video | <input type="checkbox"/> Representational art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Maori art | <input type="checkbox"/> Art exploring identity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Art | <input type="checkbox"/> Artist collaborations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Online Art | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

31. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Generally speaking, we can be proud of the new visual art created in this country over the past 25 years.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Postmodernist theory has too much influence on the visual art being made in New Zealand today.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visual arts reviewing tends to concentrate on high-profile artists and exhibitions at the expense of other deserving artists and issues.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand's visual artists are breaking genuinely new ground these days.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Biculturalism has too much influence in New Zealand's art world.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Multiculturalism has not enough influence in New Zealand's art world.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Generally speaking, art galleries and museums do a good job of identifying and promoting the New Zealand artists who will be seen as important in the future.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand's arts journalism offers reliable guidance and evaluation for working artists, curators and galleries.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand's visual art world is overly dependent on the support of government institutions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

32. Please identify the art critics, writers and/or theorists that have been most influential on your thinking as a visual art journalist. (Identify up to three.)

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It's rare for an arts event to receive extensive or extended national press coverage. However, stories related to the 2005 Venice Biennale were in the news from July 2004 to May 2006. The following questions focus on the press coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale.

33. Do you remember the press coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale and the selection of et al. as New Zealand's representative at the event?

- Yes
- No

34. What news media's reporting on et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale did you follow?

Select all that apply.

- National newspapers
- Provincial newspapers
- Nationally circulated magazines
- Radio reports
- Television reports
- Specialist visual arts magazine published in New Zealand
- Specialist visual arts magazine published overseas
- Overseas newspapers
- Alternative or independent arts magazine
- Internet-only arts magazine or blog
- Press releases from Creative New Zealand
- Other (please specify)

35. Which two organisations (such as specific newspaper, radio station, magazine, television station or programme, etc) did the best job covering the Venice Biennale?

You may include overseas media.

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36. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements concerning the reporting on the 2005 Venice Biennale:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't remember
Overall, the reporting of the 2005 Venice Biennale was balanced, thorough and accurate.	<input type="radio"/>				
Journalists reported effectively and fairly how government funds would be spent to support New Zealand's participation in the Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>				
Journalists reported effectively and fairly et al.'s philosophy concerning the artists' identity.	<input type="radio"/>				
The attention given by journalists to et al.'s previous work (especially "Rapture 2004") was appropriate.	<input type="radio"/>				
The philosophical disposition of et al. had a strong influence on the journalistic representation of the story.	<input type="radio"/>				

37. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
The artist collective et al. was a good choice for the Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important that New Zealand continue to participate in the Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Artists selected to represent New Zealand at future Venice Biennales should make themselves available for media interviews.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The artwork(s) of artists selected for the Venice Biennale should represent New Zealand's national identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Government funding should be spent on sending New Zealand artists to a greater variety of international biennales/festivals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The money spent on promoting individual artists overseas should be spent instead on supporting artists working in New Zealand.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

38. Please add any remarks in connection with this survey.

Appendix 4: Visual Arts Field Survey: Visual arts journalism in New Zealand

Welcome! Here are some details about this survey.

THIS SURVEY HAS 4 SECTIONS:

- *Section 1 : the visual arts community and you
- *Section 2 : your experience with NZ's media;
- *Section 3 : your opinions about arts journalism in NZ;
- *Section 4 : your opinions about the media's coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale.

SKIP any question that DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU or that YOU DO NOT WISH TO ANSWER.

To return to a previous page to check or change your answers, click on "PREV". To go forward, click on "NEXT".

You may click on "Exit this survey" and return to complete it later, but your answers are not recorded until you have clicked on the "Completed" button at the end.

If you encounter problems with the survey, click on your browser's "REFRESH" button or click on "Exit this survey" and then open the survey again.

Section 1: The Visual Arts Community and You

1. Identify the visual arts field area(s) in which you are currently active. Select any of the following that apply:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Visual artist | <input type="checkbox"/> Artist's studio assistant |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school educator in the arts | <input type="checkbox"/> Art museum |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tertiary school educator in the arts | <input type="checkbox"/> Auction house |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community arts educator | <input type="checkbox"/> Art support services: framing, crating, shipping |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gallery owner/director | <input type="checkbox"/> Public relations firm with arts clients |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Curator | <input type="checkbox"/> Government arts organisation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art collector | |

Other (please specify):

2. How many years total have you worked in the visual arts field?

- Less than 2
- 2 - 7
- 8 - 15
- 16 - 20
- More than 20

3. If you are a visual artist, which of the following best describes your employment arrangements OVER THE PAST YEAR?

- Not applicable to me
- Full-time artist
- Part-time artist
- Self-employed, independent
- Self-employed, working on a project or short-term contract
- Recipient of arts funding from a national or local government organisation(s)
- Receiving salary/wages from a company/organisation/marae/client
- On long-term contract or retainer by a company/organisation/marae/client
- Provided unpaid (volunteer) work as a visual artist
- Represented by an agent, gallery, etc.
- Part of a co-operative or partnership with other artists
- Other (please specify)

4. Please identify the education/training you've received generally and in the visual arts. Select all that apply.

- No formal visual arts education/training
- Some art classes in secondary school
- Some private art education/training
- Some tertiary-level classes in fine arts
- Some tertiary-level classes in art history
- Undergraduate degree in fine arts
- Undergraduate degree (not arts-related)
- Certificate or diploma
- MFA
- MA
- PhD

Other (please specify)

5. Describe below what the phrase "New Zealand visual arts community" means to you:

6. To what extent do you identify yourself as being part of a "New Zealand visual arts community"?

- Strongly Somewhat strongly Not very strongly Not at all

7. How important are each of the following to being considered a "successful" visual artist in New Zealand:

	Very important	Important	Somewhat important	Not important
Being represented by any NZ gallery/dealer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being represented by a particular NZ gallery/dealer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being represented by an overseas NZ gallery/dealer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Having an exhibition/show in a NZ museum/public collection	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Having an exhibition/show in an overseas museum/public collection	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Receiving a national award/arts prize	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Receiving an international award/arts prize	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being covered by mainstream/popular NZ media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being covered by scholarly (visual art specialist) media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Producing art that pleases a general audience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Producing art that pleases an elite audience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being able to earn income from one's own art	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please identify any other important "criteria of success" for a visual artist in NZ:

8. What media sources do you rely on for your NZ visual arts news? Select all that apply.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> National (metropolitan) newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Specialist visual arts magazine published in New Zealand |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Provincial newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Specialist visual arts magazine published overseas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nationally circulated magazines (not arts specialist) | <input type="checkbox"/> Overseas newspapers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Radio | <input type="checkbox"/> Alternative or independent arts magazine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Television | <input type="checkbox"/> Internet-only arts magazine or blog |

Other (please specify)

9. Please identify the art critics, writers and/or theorists that have most influenced your thinking and your work in the visual arts field. (Identify up to three.)

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Section 2: Your Experience with NZ's Media

10. Have you ever been interviewed about the visual arts by a journalist from one of New Zealand's popular/mainstream media organisations (such as a newspaper, magazine, radio or television station)?

- Yes
 No

11. Consider your interview experience(s) in general. Which of the following visual arts topics were covered? Select all that apply:

- Your own visual art
 The work of other New Zealand visual artist(s)
 The work of an international visual artist(s)
 The history of New Zealand visual arts
 Contemporary New Zealand visual arts
 Contemporary international visual arts
 Other (please specify)

12. Please comment on ONE visual arts-focused interview experience you've had with a journalist from NZ's popular/mainstream media.

	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Don't know
Overall, this interview experience was positive.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The journalist seemed well-prepared.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The journalist seemed knowledgeable about visual art.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The journalist seemed knowledgeable about the topic (e.g. the artwork, the artist).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The journalist seemed interested in understanding the artwork/the artist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The purpose of the interview was clear.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The questions were thorough.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The questions were thought-provoking.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The outcome (the news article or report) represented my responses/opinions fairly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Provide additional comments below about this or other interview experiences, if you wish:

13. How important are the popular/mainstream media in shaping the public's response to the visual arts?

- Very important Important Somewhat important Not important

14. How important are the popular/mainstream media in promoting and marketing artists' work?

- Very important Important Somewhat important Not important

15. Do you take an active role in promoting and marketing your artwork, or the artwork of any (other) New Zealand artists?

- Yes
 No

16. What methods or strategies do YOU USE THE MOST to promote your own art, or the work of other artists, in New Zealand? (Select up to FOUR)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> This does not apply to me. | <input type="checkbox"/> Representation through a dealer/gallery |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Word of mouth | <input type="checkbox"/> Exhibitions |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Self-published promotional postcard, leaflet, brochure, etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> Displays in retail spaces |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements in popular media (newspapers, magazines, TV, radio) | <input type="checkbox"/> Having workshop/studio open to the public |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Listing in tourist publication (map, leaflet, guide book) | <input type="checkbox"/> Actively seeking media coverage |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements in arts specialist journals | <input type="checkbox"/> Writing and sending out press releases |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements online at arts-focused websites | <input type="checkbox"/> Personal website |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Appearances at festivals, competitions, events, etc. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other promotional methods I use: | |

17. What are the MOST EFFECTIVE methods or strategies to promote visual art/artists in New Zealand? (Select up to FOUR)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reviews (or other coverage in the press) | <input type="checkbox"/> Appearances at festivals, competitions, events, etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Catalogs of exhibitions | <input type="checkbox"/> Representation through a dealer/gallery |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Word of mouth | <input type="checkbox"/> Exhibitions |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Self-published promotional postcard, leaflet, brochure, etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> Displays in retail spaces |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements in popular media (newspapers, magazines, TV, radio) | <input type="checkbox"/> Having workshop/studio open to the public |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Listing in tourist publication (map, leaflet, guide book) | <input type="checkbox"/> Actively seeking media coverage |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements in arts specialist journals | <input type="checkbox"/> Writing and sending out press releases |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements online at arts-focused websites | <input type="checkbox"/> Personal website |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other EFFECTIVE promotional methods: | |

Section 3: Arts Journalism in NZ

18. Are you currently, or have you ever been, a visual arts journalist (writer, reviewer and/or critic, reporter, publisher, producer, or editor) for New Zealand media?

- Yes
 No

19. Have you already completed the online survey: "Arts Journalism in New Zealand" conducted in 2007?

- Yes
 No

20. How many years total have you worked as a visual arts journalist?

- Less than 2
 2 - 7
 8 - 15
 16 - 20
 More than 20

21. As a writer about New Zealand visual arts, in which type of media has your reviewing/reporting/criticism appeared? Select all that apply.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Metropolitan newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> Television |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Provincial newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> Academic arts journal |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Radio | <input type="checkbox"/> Exhibition catalogue |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nationally circulated magazine | <input type="checkbox"/> Internet-only arts journal |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nationally circulated arts-focused journal/magazine | <input type="checkbox"/> Internationally-based media (popular/mainstream type) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |
| <input type="text"/> | |

22. In your opinion, how acceptable is it for a New Zealand visual arts journalist (a writer, reviewer and/or critic publishing or reporting for a NZ media organisation) to engage in any of the following activities:

	Generally acceptable	Occasionally acceptable	Never acceptable	No opinion
Sit on boards of arts organisations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Be an advocate for the government funding of artists	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in judging artists for prizes and competitions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fraternize with artists about whom they write	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Accept payment for writing in catalogues published by museums or galleries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Write about artists whose works are owned or collected by the journalist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Accept gifts of works from artists, art dealers or private collectors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Advise artists on what sort of art they should make	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Exhibit his/her own works in galleries or museums	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Act as a consultant to museums/public collections or private galleries about acquisitions/purchases, programming and sales	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Serve as a curator for museums/public collections	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Serve as a curator for private galleries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make money as an art dealer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

23. In visual arts reviews and criticism that appear in popular NZ media, how much emphasis SHOULD journalists place on the following:

	A great deal of emphasis	Some emphasis	Not much emphasis	No emphasis at all
Providing historical and other background information.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Providing an accurate descriptive account of the artwork(s) or event.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressing a personal judgment or opinion.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Analysing and interpreting the meaning of an artwork(s) or event.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educating the audience about the importance of the artwork(s) or event.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Motivating artists to produce better work.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Informing the audience about worthwhile current arts events.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Creating an entertaining piece of writing/reporting with literary value.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being an advocate for visual arts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maintaining an impartial and unbiased position.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Championing a particular artist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

24. Which two popular/mainstream media organisations in New Zealand (such as specific newspaper, magazine, radio or television station or programme, etc.) do the BEST job covering New Zealand's visual arts:

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25. Which two popular/mainstream media organisations in New Zealand (such as specific newspaper, magazine, radio or television station or programme, etc.) are LEAST EFFECTIVE at covering New Zealand's visual arts:

>>

>>

26. Which two SPECIALIST visual arts media organisations (including nationally- or internationally-based academic arts journals, arts-focused websites, etc) do the BEST job covering New Zealand's visual arts:

>>

>>

27. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about arts journalism in NZ's popular/mainstream media:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
When visual art becomes topical as a general news story, the general media does a good job reporting the story.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reporting on the visual arts is as respected as the reporting on any other arts/culture areas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reporting on arts/culture is as respected as the reporting on any other news areas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arts journalists have had an impact on visual arts in New Zealand.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visual arts reviewing tends to concentrate on high-profile artists and exhibitions at the expense of other deserving artists and issues.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand's arts journalists do a good job of identifying the New Zealand artists who will be seen as important in the future.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand's arts journalism offers valuable guidance and evaluation for working artists, curators and galleries.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is the visual arts journalists' job to educate the public about the visual arts and why they are important.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

28. Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about the NZ public's response to visual arts journalism in NZ's popular/mainstream media:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The majority of GENERAL media consumers thinks visual art reviewing/criticism is important.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The ARTS media consumer thinks visual art reviewing/criticism is important.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The majority of GENERAL media consumers is interested in being informed about the visual arts.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When creating an artwork, artists take into consideration what visual arts journalists will say about their artwork.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When organizing an exhibition, museum directors, curators and art galleries take into consideration what visual arts journalists will say about what is presented.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When making a decision to support an artist or exhibition, government and private funders take into consideration what visual arts journalists will say about their decisions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

29. The visual arts area(s) covered MOST SUCCESSFULLY by New Zealand popular media are: (Select up to four)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Painting | <input type="checkbox"/> Performance Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sculpture | <input type="checkbox"/> Conceptual Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drawing | <input type="checkbox"/> Crafts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Installations | <input type="checkbox"/> Political Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Photography | <input type="checkbox"/> Art indebted to theory |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Video | <input type="checkbox"/> Representational art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Maori art | <input type="checkbox"/> Art exploring identity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Art | <input type="checkbox"/> Artist collaborations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Online Art | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |
| <input type="text"/> | |

30. The visual arts area(s) covered LEAST SUCCESSFULLY by New Zealand popular media are: (Select up to four)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Painting | <input type="checkbox"/> Performance Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sculpture | <input type="checkbox"/> Conceptual Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drawing | <input type="checkbox"/> Crafts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Installations | <input type="checkbox"/> Political Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Photography | <input type="checkbox"/> Art indebted to theory |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Video | <input type="checkbox"/> Representational art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Maori art | <input type="checkbox"/> Art exploring identity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public Art | <input type="checkbox"/> Artist collaborations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Online Art | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |
| <input type="text"/> | |

Section 4: NZ Media's Coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale

It's rare for an arts event to receive extensive or extended national press coverage. However, stories related to the 2005 Venice Biennale were in the news from July 2004 to May 2006. The following questions focus on the press coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale.

31. Do you remember the press coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale and the selection of et al. as New Zealand's representative at the event?

- Yes
 No

32. What news media's reporting on et al. and the 2005 Venice Biennale did you follow?

Select all that apply.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> National newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Specialist visual arts magazine published overseas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Provincial newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Overseas newspapers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nationally circulated magazines | <input type="checkbox"/> Alternative or independent arts magazine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Radio reports | <input type="checkbox"/> Internet-only arts magazine or blog |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Television reports | <input type="checkbox"/> Press releases from Creative New Zealand |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Specialist visual arts magazine published in New Zealand | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

33. Which media outlets (such as specific newspaper, radio station, magazine, television station or programme, etc) did a GOOD or a POOR job covering the 2005 Venice Biennale? You may include overseas media.

>> GOOD job covering the event:

>> POOR job covering the event:

34. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements concerning New Zealand media's coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't remember/Don't know
Overall, journalists' reporting of the 2005 Venice Biennale was balanced, thorough and accurate.	<input type="radio"/>				
Journalists reported effectively and fairly how government funds would be spent to support New Zealand's participation in the Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>				
Journalists reported effectively and fairly et al.'s philosophy concerning the artists' identity.	<input type="radio"/>				
The attention given by journalists to et al.'s previous work (especially "Rapture 2004") was appropriate.	<input type="radio"/>				
The philosophical disposition of et al. had a strong influence on the journalistic representation of the story.	<input type="radio"/>				
The selection of artists to represent New Zealand at future Venice Biennales will be strongly influenced by their potential for positive reception by the media.	<input type="radio"/>				
Negative media coverage contributed to a lack of public support for the 2005 Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>				
Negative media coverage of the 2005 Venice Biennale was a key reason for the decision to not participate officially in the 2007 event.	<input type="radio"/>				

35. This question seeks your views on NZ's participation in future Venice Biennales. These results will not be used in any decisions concerning actual funding or participation. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It is important that New Zealand continue to participate in the Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand artists should be exhibiting at other international biennales/festivals in addition to the Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Artists selected to represent New Zealand at future Venice Biennales should make themselves available for media interviews.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The content of artwork(s) of artists selected for the Venice Biennale should represent New Zealand's national identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Government funding should be spent on sending New Zealand artists to international biennales/festivals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Government funding should be spent on sending New Zealand artists to other international biennales/festivals instead of the Venice Biennale.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The government money spent on promoting individual artists overseas should be spent instead on supporting artists working in New Zealand.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

36. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
We can be proud of the visual art created in this country over the past 25 years.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The debate about contemporary New Zealand visual art is overly politicized.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand's visual artists are breaking genuinely new ground these days.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Biculturalism has been underrepresented in the journalism coverage of New Zealand visual art.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Multiculturalism has been underrepresented in the journalism coverage of New Zealand visual art.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Art galleries and museums do a good job of identifying and promoting the New Zealand artists who will be seen as important in the future.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
New Zealand's visual art world is overly dependent on the support of government institutions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

37. Please add any remarks in connection with this survey.

Appendix 5: Content analysis coding schedule

Newspaper:	Date:
Headline:	
Reporter: (name or n/a)	
Location: (Section, pg#, etc.)	Genre:

Recurring Narrative Elements

(Indicate any references, including frequency, of the following by √s (1 mention=1 √):

Taxpayer(s)		Cost/funding of event; \$500,000	
et al., artists, art collective		Meryllyn Tweedie	
et al.'s identity issues; anonymity		et al.'s media shyness, resistance, reluctance	
Donkey, portaloos, dunny, braying, toilets, etc			
Curator: Greg Burke		Curator: Natasha Conland	
CreativeNZ (CNZ)		Peter Biggs Elizabeth Kerr	
PM Helen Clark, Prime Minister		MP Judith Tizard	
MP Deborah Coddington		Ref to "crap"	
Ref to media coverage		Paul Holmes or others (specify)	

TONE: (Indicate with √ the tone regarding any of following if presented)

	Overall	et al.	CNZ	Venice Biennale	Clark	Coddington	Media reporting
Neutral							
Positive							
Negative							
Balanced (both +/-)							