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OCCUPATIONAL CONTROL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VETERINARY PROFESSION:

A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF PROFESSIONS

*A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of M.A.(Soc.Sc.) in Sociology
at Massey University*

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1979

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the development of the veterinary profession from the theoretical perspective of the sociology of professions. In the initial chapter the three major analytic approaches in this field are discussed: trait, professionalisation and occupational control. It is argued that these approaches successively provide greater insight into the nature of professions and professionalism; and the following chapters proceed to a socio-historical analysis of the veterinary profession in order to make an assessment of this argument. In chapter two the most influential of the processual approaches: Wilensky's model of professionalisation, is applied in a limited comparative framework to the emergence of the veterinary profession. Since it offers only a partial causal explanation of occupational change it is seen to represent a half-way stage between trait and occupational control perspectives. In the next two chapters the third theoretical approach is taken up using Johnson's typology of occupational power to consider occupational change specifically in the development of the New Zealand veterinary profession. Chapter three covers the first two phases up to the 1930's and makes use of the idea of government patronage. Chapter four continues this analysis by tracing the development of the veterinary club system from the late 1930's. The concepts of state mediation and professional heteronomy are used to analyse changes in the veterinary profession during this period. The final chapter recapitulates the course of the argument. There is a major degree of support for the occupational control approach which treats professionalism as only one of several possible institutionalised variations in the distribution of occupational power. In the case of the veterinary profession, this is by far the most productive theoretical approach in accounting for differences within the profession in a variety of geographical settings and historical periods. It is then suggested that Johnson's typology might be extended in the light of the present study, by adding a fourth type to the three main forms of occupational control Johnson has already proposed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study breaks new ground in applying the formative concepts of recent sociologists to an investigation of the veterinary profession. There are many contributors to such an undertaking, and it is appropriate to make some recognition of them here. Two major theorists in the sociology of professions, Eliot Freidson: *Professional Dominance* (1970) and Terence Johnson: *Professions and Power* (1972), have provided the major intellectual stimulus for the present study, as indeed they have for much recent sociological research in this field. By their ability to comprehend professions within an integrated theoretical framework, Freidson and Johnson make the task of analysis exciting and encourage further use of their ideas. My thanks are due to the many veterinarians who have generously given their time, either by correspondence or in person, to discuss issues of mutual interest. In addition to conversations with members of the Departments of Sociology at both Massey and Victoria Universities, a number of library staffs here and overseas have also provided valuable assistance. I would like to thank Professor Graeme Fraser for overseeing the research, including a survey of the contemporary profession not dealt with here, despite the problems of supervising at an inter-city distance. Dr Leslie Benson performed a significant service in re-shaping the study around my early concern with the question of veterinary development. Special thanks are due to my wife Yvonne, a long-suffering fellow social scientist, who at times wondered if her support would bring this thesis to fruition. My original interest in the veterinary profession was aroused by my good friend Hans J. Andersen, B.V.Sc., and without implying his necessary concurrence with my conclusions, I would like to dedicate this essay to him.

E.A.M.B.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Abstract</i> | ii |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | iii |
| <i>Tables and Figures</i> | v |
| 1. Theoretical Issues in the Sociology of Professions | 1 |
| 2. The Process of Veterinary Professionalisation: the Wilensky Model | 14 |
| 3. The Johnson Model: Patronage in the Development of the New Zealand Veterinarian Profession to the 1930's | 35 |
| 4. The Johnson Model: Mediation and Heteronomy in the New Zealand Veterinary Club System | 72 |
| 5. Conclusion | 118 |
| <i>Appendices</i> | 124 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 133 |

TABLES AND FIGURES

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| Table 2.1 | Wilensky's Table of Professionalisation | 18 |
| Table 2.2 | The Process of Veterinary Professionalisation | 20 |
| Table 3.1 | Number and Distribution of Veterinary Surgeons and Farriers' in New Zealand, 1874-1886 | 42 |
| Table 3.2 | Changes in Census Definitions of Veterinary-Type Practitioners in New Zealand, 1874-1936 | 44 |
| Figure 3.1 | Increase in the Number of Qualified Veterinarians in New Zealand, 1900-1970 | 46 |
| Table 3.3 | Employment of Qualified and Unqualified Veterinary Surgeons in New Zealand, 1891-1911 | 48 |
| Table 3.4 | The Veterinary Division in the 'Gilruth Era' | 51 |
| Table 3.5 | Estimated Veterinary Numbers in New Zealand and Strength of Government Veterinary Division, 1891-1927 | 52 |
| Table 3.6 | Early Examples of Club-Type Veterinary Groups | 64 |
| Table 4.1 | Numbers of Students Trained as VSC Bursars and at Massey University, 1948-1977 | 89 |
| Table 4.2 | Gains and Losses of Veterinarians to the Club System, 1948-1977 | 90 |
| Table 4.3 | Main Items of VSC Expenditure, 1948-1977(\$) | 94a |
| Appendix 2 | Income and Expenditure of the Veterinary Services Council, 1948-1977(\$) | 132 |

1. THEORETICAL ISSUES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF PROFESSIONS

Up until the 1940's the number of contributions to the sociology of the professions was fairly small. An important feature of these early writings was, however, that they gave emphasis to the professions in macro-sociological terms in their relation to the other main structures and processes in society.¹ Durkheim, for instance, claimed that professions were a prerequisite for consensus in industrialised societies, and that the fragmentation of industrial society could be reversed by establishing 'moral communities' based on occupational groups, which would articulate this moral cohesion at an intermediate level between family and state. Other sociologists similarly viewed professions within the wider social order: for Marx the professions raised basic questions about social differentiation and class structure; what captured Weber's attention was the role of the professions as agents of rationalisation in capitalist society.

A number of quite different features have characterised the post-war development of the sociology of professions as a specialty within sociology.² In the first place a large number of empirical studies have been made in these decades of different aspects of professions. Oswald Hall's 1946 study of the informal organisation of medical practitioners was an early example, and numerous studies have been done since.³ The quest for empirical data has often meant the relation of the individual profession to general social processes has been

1. See for example, discussions in Everett C. Hughes, 'The Professions in Society,' *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 1960, 26:54-61; Elliot A. Krause, *The Sociology of Occupations*. Little Brown, Boston, 1971; Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power*, Macmillan, 1972.
2. Even giving rise to a secondary literature. See Edwin O. Smigel, 'Trends in Occupational Sociology in the United States. A Survey of Post-war Research', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1954, 19:398-404, and 'Occupational Sociology A Re-examination', *Sociology and Social Research*, 1963, 47:472-477.
3. Oswald Hall, 'The Informal Organisation of the Medical Profession', *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 1946, 22, 11: 30-44, based on the author's PhD dissertation.

forgotten. Secondly, there has been a correlation between the particular professions studied and their general social importance and prestige. Law and especially medicine have thus provided a major focus for sociological researchers. Only as the field has continued to expand have other professions received greater attention. Dentistry, for example, is the subject of a number of recent studies.⁴ Thirdly, sociological investigation of professions has at times been lacking in discernment, simply accepting the criteria the profession uses to define the situation. In part this is because it is difficult to question professionals such as doctors without seeming to question the beneficial purpose of promoting the cause of health; another element has been organised sociology's own push towards professional status. In addition the widespread acceptance of the functionalist paradigm for sociological theory also shaped the kinds of problems studied and the sociological premises from which research has been conducted. Only in the last few years has this mass of literature in the sociology of professions matured sufficiently to regain the macro-sociological heritage of the earlier sociologists.

There are many possible ways of analysing professions, but for the present purpose it is sufficient to gather the various theories under three headings: trait theories, developmental or professionalisation theories, and theories of professionalism as a form of occupational control. A brief review of the available literature on the veterinary profession is contained in Appendix 1. This chapter is not an attempt at refining the concepts of profession or professionalism. Nor is the common enough device of introducing a new distinction between types of profession being tried.⁵ The intention is to ground the later discussion of the veterinary profession firmly within the sociology of professions,

4. See, for example, Robert M. O'Shea and Lois K. Cohen (eds) 'Towards a Sociology of Dentistry', *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 1971, 49, part II; or Basil J. Sherlock and Richard T. Morris, *Becoming a Dentist*. C.C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1972.
5. As, for instance, Halmos' distinction between personal and impersonal professions discussed in the present Appendix 1. Nicholas J. Demerath, 'Foreign Aid and the Instrumental Professions', In Paul Halmos (ed) *Professionalisation and Social Change*. The Sociological Review Monograph 20, 1973:319-326, dichotomised professions into instrumental and non-instrumental. These examples could be multiplied.

and to organise the diverse theoretical material so that productive lines of inquiry into veterinary development might be opened up.

Trait Models of Professions

The earliest and most widely used method of tackling the problem of 'what is a profession' has been to draw up a list of traits with greater or fewer characteristics included in the model, that, taken as a whole, define what the author had in mind by 'profession'.

Flexner identified six traits: a profession, he said, is (1) intellectual - based on intelligence, (2) learned - based on scientific knowledge, (3) practical in object, (4) has a technique able to be inculcated by education, (5) has a tendency towards strong internal organisation, and (6) altruism is the primary orientation towards the community rather than self interest.⁶ Another classic exposition of trait theory is Greenwood's statement of five major professional attributes: (1) systematic theory, (2) professional authority, (3) formal and informal community sanction of the profession and its power and privileges, (4) a regulative code of ethics, and (5) a professional culture.⁷

Flexner wrote in 1915, Greenwood in 1957. Pavalko's eight trait model published in 1971 is a recent example.⁸ R.H. Hall notes of the attribute approach in general,

'The model is designed to allow assessment of the degree to which an occupation possesses the characteristics of the model, and this serves the function of an ideal-type formulation.

6. Abraham Flexner, 'Is Social Work a Profession?', *School and Society*, 1915, 26 January, 1:901-911.
7. Ernest Greenwood, 'Attributes of a Profession', *Social Work*, 1957, 2:45-55.
8. Ronald L. Pavalko, *Sociology of Occupations and Professions*. F.E. Peacock, Itasca, Illinois, 1971. Other examples could be cited. The eight traits Pavalko lists are: (1) theory or intellectual technique, (2) relevance to the basic social values, (3) the training period, (4) motivation - the service orientation, (5) autonomy, (6) sense of commitment, (7) sense of community, and (8) code of ethics.

It is generally assumed that if an occupation contains the characteristics of the professional model, it can be considered a profession.'

Different sociologists have altered the number of traits in their models, ostensibly on theoretical grounds, but often other considerations seem at least as important. Political preference, professional affiliation, or the particular occupation being studied can each have a marked effect on an author's analysis.¹⁰ Millerson provides an important and useful summary of more than a dozen traits for a score of theorists.¹¹ This secondary analysis reflects the continuing and unresolved definitional debate within the trait approach over what is a profession.

Beyond simply adding or subtracting from categorisations of traits, various sociologists have advanced refinements. A number of writers, for instance, have distinguished between structural and attitudinal traits. Goode has made a distinction between core traits and derived traits. The core traits which generate the others he sees as (1) a basic body of abstract knowledge, and (2) the ideal of service.¹² These refinements address important issues for the delivery of professional services, but they do not break the static quality that the trait description generates. Such distinctions thus remain firmly within the framework of the trait model.

The trait approach has considerable intuitive validity, and this is undoubtedly a major factor in its continued currency. It has, however, some fundamental weaknesses as a theoretical model of professions. These stem, ironically, from its atheoretical character. It is basically a list, not a definition or theory at all. Because of no

9. Richard H. Hall, *Occupations and the Social Structure*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969.
10. For examples of these three influences see the following: Roy Lewis & Angus Maude, *Professional People*. Phoenix House Ltd, London, 1952; Edward Meigh, 'Business Management', reprinted in Howard M. Vollmer & Donald L. Mills (eds), *Professionalisation*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966:163-168; William J. Goode, 'Encroachment, Charlatanism and the Emerging Professions: Psychology, Sociology and Medicine', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1960, 25:902-14
11. Geoffrey Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalisation*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964:5. See also Archie Kleingartner, *Professionalism and the Salaried Worker Organisation*. Industrial Relations Research Institute, University of Wisconsin, 1967.
12. William J. Goode, 'The Theoretical Limits of Professionalisation'.

prior theoretical commitment, it is quite possible to add or change traits in the model at will. The consequence of this in practice is more than amply illustrated in the sociological literature already referred to; thus serious analysis of the profession is impeded for no substantial reason. The approach does not specify how the traits interact with one another, or which can be said to cause or be derived from some other attribute. Does professional authority, for instance, come from expert knowledge or from autonomy in the direction of professional work? Or how does the condition of autonomy affect the interaction between knowledge base and the attribute of colleagues as a reference group? The individual traits are not mutually exclusive, and this, as well as making it almost impossible to clearly detail how they variously interact, also means that discussions based on this kind of reasoning are invariably not fully persuasive, even if the author seems unaware of this.¹³ It is always possible to enter a caveat or think of an example that runs counter to the discussion.

The attempt to articulate a theory of professions from the list of traits results in a prescriptive bias intruding as 'noise' in the analytic process. It is possible for this prescription to become a 'Who's Who' of professions; those occupations with the appropriate characteristics are 'true' professions and others are excluded. Compact formulations are able to include more occupations within the meaning of 'professions'. As Johnson drily remarks, 'Concern for the fate of social work has led to greater abstraction and parsimony in the checklists'.¹⁴ A specific variation of the problem of normative bias is the tendency for trait theorists to assimilate the professional's own definition of the situation into the analysis. This gives a false congruence between what the professional sees and would like to be the case, and the sociologist's description. There is a place both for sociological commitment to the solution of the professionally

In Amatai Etzioni, *The Semi-Professions and Their Organisation*. Free Press, New York, 1969:266-313.

13. In both Richard Hall's and Ronald Pavalko's Books, *op. cit*, this feature is noticeable to the reader familiar with some of the material from Terence Johnson or Eliot Freidson.

14. Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power*. Macmillan, 1972:25.

defined problem, and also for a more detached position which considers the professional definition of the situation as datum of professional organisation, and thus as an object of interest in its own right.

Professions and Professionalisation

Partly to account for the various interpretations of trait theorists, but also because of the deficiencies of the trait approach, some sociologists have turned to the concept of professionalisation. It is argued that from this perspective variations among professions are more naturally explicable. Different historical experiences in the process of becoming a profession influence the present organisation of any given profession.

The idea of professionalisation in analysing professions has several slightly different referents. But in general terms it brings an emphasis on the time factor, so that the analysis of a profession can describe the course of change within the occupation over time. We might ask, for instance, why is the organisation of veterinary services today so markedly different from what it was fifty years ago?, and the answer is to be found in terms of a process of rapid professionalisation during that period. Occupations professionalise at different rates in different situations in the social structure of society, and some seem only to be able to ever partly professionalise.¹⁵

The most readable accounts of professional change and development are undoubtedly by those writers giving a fairly straight historical narrative of professional history. Usually this literature is less explicitly attempting to delineate a model of professions, but instead allows the idea of what a profession is to simply emerge from the discussion. Reader describes the development of the professions in nineteenth century England, including the struggle for power within the

15. Occupations such as teachers, social workers and librarians have been termed semi-professions. See the discussions in Amitai Etzioni (ed), *The Semi-Professions and Their Organisation*. Free Press, New York, 1969, especially the chapter by William J. Goode, *op. cit.*, Nina Toren, *Social Work: The Case of A Semi-Profession*. Sage, Beverley Hills, California, 1972; Norman Denzin & C.G. Mettlin, 'Incomplete Professionalisation: The Case of Pharmacy', *Social Forces*, 1968, 46:375-382.

professions and the rise of the professional's status.¹⁶ Carr-Saunders and Wilson give each of the professional groups they discuss a section to itself as well as a more theoretical consideration using the notions of profession and professionalisation.¹⁷ Elliot quite rightly observes 'Much of the interest in this type of approach is the different histories of various occupations'.¹⁸ There are in fact a number of books and articles which treat individual professions in this manner.¹⁹

A second kind of processual approach is that of Bucher and Strauss, who developed the idea of 'professions in process' as a counter to the idea espoused by Goode that professions were closed communities sharing similar values and aspirations.²⁰ On the contrary, said Bucher and Strauss, there is ample evidence of stress and conflict between different specialisms within professions. Since the unitary term 'profession' tends to be perceived monolithically, this willingness to see competition and change is an important contribution.

The third most common usage for the idea of process in analysing professions is to contrast professionalisation with trait approaches. In their important book of readings, Vollmer and Mills, following Hughes, state that they feel

'It is much more fruitful to ask 'how professionalised', or more specifically 'how professionalised in certain identifiable respects' a given occupation may be at some point in time. We suggest, therefore, that the concept of profession be applied only to an abstract model of occupational organisation, and that the concept of professionalisation may be used to refer to the dynamic process whereby many occupations can be observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the

16. W.J. Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professions in Nineteenth -Century England*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1966.

17. *op. cit.*

18. Philip Elliott, *The Sociology of the Professions*. Macmillan, London, 1972.

19. For example, N. Stacey, *English Accountancy 1800-1954*. London, 1954; J.F. Smithcors, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art*. Veterinary medical Publishing Co, Kansas City, 1957.

20. M. Rue Bucher & Anselm Strauss, 'Professions in Process', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1962, 66:325-334; William J. Goode, 'Community Within a Community: The Professions', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1957, 22:194-200.

direction of a profession, even though some of these may not move far in this direction. It follows that crucial characteristics constitute specifiable criteria of professionalisation.²¹

Despite contrasting phrases like 'abstract model' and 'dynamic process', Vollmer and Mills fail to make any real theoretical distinction between the trait conception of professions and the notion of professionalisation which they themselves put forward. Simply adding a time dimension does not alter the logic of the model, although this is obscured when the change aspect is stressed. Pavalko's use of trait and professionalisation models conjointly shows, in fact, how they quite readily combine.²² In starting with the change from occupation to profession Vollmer and Mills have ignored for the moment the criteria by which such change is measured. It turns out that these are essentially the same as those employed in the trait model. This means that while the important time element has been added many of the criticisms applicable to the earlier approach are also relevant here.

Wilensky employs a somewhat different technique than Vollmer and Mills. He outlines five key steps in the sequence of change from occupation to profession: the development of a practitioner corps, a training school set up, a professional association formed, licensure to practice, and adoption of a code of ethics.²³ Other sociologists have suggested a different order in this sequence.²⁴ Bearing in mind the comments already made about this approach, chapter two in this report allows some evaluation of Wilensky's formulations to be made in the context of veterinary professionalisation.

An uncritical use of the professionalisation theory leads to a 'natural history' approach which fails to appreciate the historical and geographical specificity of professional development. Important

21. Howard M. Vollmer & Donald L. Mills (eds), *Professionalisation*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966:163-168. See Editor's introduction. Everett C. Hughes' well-known remark is quoted here: '...in my own studies I passed from the false question "Is this occupation a profession?" to the more fundamental one, "What are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession, and themselves into professional people?"'

22. *op. cit.*, especially chapter two:15-43.

23. Howard Wilensky, 'The Professionalisation of Everyone?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1964,70,2:137-158.

24. For example, Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work*. University of

differences between the United Kingdom and the United States²⁵ and between the United Kingdom and the former British colonies²⁶ are, for example, obscured if a unilineal conception of professionalisation is adopted. Deprofessionalisation is a first refinement that needs to be considered.²⁷ More importantly explicit recognition of the structural limits to the professionalisation process needs to be made, as the presence of the so-called semi-professions demonstrates. Such limits vary according to the particular national and historical context, and this leads us to the question of occupational power to control work.

Profession as Occupational Control

It is possible to identify a third perspective among workers in the sociology of professions. Instead of viewing professions primarily as those occupations possessing to a high degree a number of distinctive traits in the organisation of their work, or on the other hand, as those occupations who have gone through a particular historical sequence of steps in coming to a position of high prestige and income correlated with professional status, this approach takes as its fundamental premise that professionalism is a distinctive mode of occupational control over work. It is the possession of organised autonomy to direct and plan work activities that contrasts the professions and other occupations. Most workers perform their duties at the behest of seniors in the hierarchy. Others who work alone have an autonomy by default. But the professional has an organised position of autonomy, legitimated through his expert knowledge and institutionalised as professional authority and sanctioned by legislative licence.

Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954.

25. See Elliott Krause, *op. cit.*, 20-33 and Terence Johnson, *op. cit.*²⁸-30.
26. See Terence J. Johnson, 'Imperialism and the Professions: Notes on the Development of Professional Occupations in Britain's colonies and the New States', *In* Paul Halmos (ed), *Professionalisation and Social Change*. The Sociological Review Monograph 20, 1973:281-309.
27. See Nina Toren, 'Deprofessionalisation and its Sources: A Preliminary Analysis', *Sociology of Work and Occupations*, 1975, 2, 4:323-327, or Marie P. Haug, 'Deprofessionalisation: An Alternative Hypothesis for the Future', *In* Paul Halmos (ed) *op. cit.* 195-214.

Against the claim that this approach simply makes one trait more basic than the others, writers such as Friedson see the question of autonomy as making sense out of the interrelation of the different traits of professions.²⁸ Not so much in an individual sense but especially in their corporate aspect, it is the right to regulate their own work free from supervision or lay interference that gives the professions their considerable power and status. Freidson argues that because of the definitional hassles, important elements such as the institutional characteristics in the organisation of professional practice, and the occupational division of labour have been overlooked. These features are critical because they are independent of individual motivation or intention and may in fact minimise or run counter to the personal characteristics of intelligence, ethicality or trained skill.

'The key to such institutional elements lies, I believe, in the commonly invoked word 'autonomy'. Autonomy means the quality or state of being independent, free, and self-directing. In the case of the professions autonomy apparently refers most of all to control over the content and terms of work. That is, the professional is self-directing in his work. From the single condition of self-direction or autonomy I believe we can deduce or derive virtually all other institutional elements that are included in most definitions of professions.'²⁹

Freidson then shows how, for example, licensure, the production and application of knowledge and skill, and the code of ethics can each be quite simply understood within such a perspective as the one he outlines.

Another writer who understands professions as a specific kind of occupational control is Johnson. In his influential essay he sets out a model for describing professional power and control.³⁰ Johnson uses a somewhat different presentation than Friedson which hinges around the professional-client relationship. In terms of the distribution of power and the ability to influence the outcome of professional -

28. Eliot Freidson, *Professional Dominance*. Atherton, New York, 1970.

29. *ibid*:134

30. Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power*. Macmillan, London, 1972. He observes that 'Among social scientists, the economists have most consistently questioned the benefits of professionalism, pointing instead to the harmful monopolistic practices of professional associations' (p15). He refers to D.S. Lees, *The Economic Consequences of the Professions*. Research Monograph no.2, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1966.

client interaction, it is possible to conceive three main alternatives: power largely in the hands of the profession - this Johnson calls professionalism proper. Conversely, a controlling say may be exercised by the lay consumer clientele - this he calls patronage. A third possibility is that some other party such as the state intervenes in the balance of power - this he terms mediation. For each of these forms of control there are recognisable variations that have existed historically, and Johnson discusses these in elaboration of his thesis. Chapters three and four of the present study provide a good opportunity to gauge the effectiveness of his formulation in being able to succinctly describe veterinary professionalisation in this country.

This third perspective of professions as occupational control is surprisingly powerful in elucidating features of professional organisation and performance that otherwise remain merely curious or static insofar as they contribute to the operation of a profession. A good example of the approach is Berlant's study of the medical profession. By his sensitivity to the historical data which he unites with Weber's theory of monopolisation, he provides a stimulating account of the development of British and American medicine, essentially through the extension of medical monopoly by the adoption of techniques such as codes of ethics, and the control of medical licensing.³¹ It is, however, at this point that a potential weakness lies. Sociologists with a radical viewpoint have eagerly made use of the model, since it is able to document a number of things about the professions which they have felt intuitively, but were not able to formulate within a trait or functionalist framework.³² However, a sense of radical mission in disclosing the 'real' state of a profession can easily overdetermine the thesis so that it is not for practical purposes refutable, by the simple expedient of re-interpreting as a more subtle form of occupational control any features put forward in rebuttal. By making it too general, the practical descriptive and analytic use of the idea of occupational control can be undermined. In order to allow it to stand

31. Jeffrey L. Berlant, *Profession and Monopoly: A Study of Medicine in the United States and Great Britain*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1975.

32. Two well-known writers in this tradition are Ivan Illich, 'The Professions as a Form of Imperialism', *New Society*, 1973, Sept 13, or *Medical Nemesis* Marion Boyars, London, 1975; and Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*. Grove Press, New York, 1965.

as a genuine empirical criterion of professional organisation, the theory must allow the possibility of being empirically counter-instanced.

With this description of the main theoretical perspectives in the sociology of professions we are now in a position to consider in greater detail the applicability of the last two of these approaches to a specific profession. Trait theory will be put on one side, and in the next three chapters, first Wilensky's professionalisation model and then Johnson's typology of occupational power will be used to analyse the development of the veterinary profession.

2. THE PROCESS OF VETERINARY PROFESSIONALISATION: THE WILENSKY MODEL

Writers such as Vollmer and Mills have made professionalisation the central organising concept in their work. They claim in their introduction to their reader 'to have selected and interpreted their readings 'in a manner that stresses the dynamics of occupational change', focussing attention 'upon the characteristics, antecedents and social consequences of the process of professionalisation as it affects a wide variety of occupations in modern society.'¹ On this understanding professionalisation is a basic process of social change along with bureaucratisation and industrialisation.

Other analyses give emphasis to the historical change in occupations. Reader has documented the evolution of the British professional class in the nineteenth century.² Elliott also explores generally the development of the British professions, a little more directly with a sociological purpose in mind.³ Krause gives a North American perspective on the historical development of the professions.⁴ While these books stress less heavily the process of professionalisation in their analyses, writers such as Pavalko on the other hand try to give greater exactness to the idea of professionalisation. Pavalko uses as his central model the notion of an occupation-profession continuum. For him the professionalisation process is not central in quite the same way as it is for Vollmer and Mills, but is one part of his description of the occupation-profession continuum. He mentions the widespread use of terms such as 'emergent professions', 'professions in transition', and 'professions in process', and says that 'these expressions represent different ways of referring to and identifying the process of professionalisation', which he defines as 'the process whereby work groups attempt

1. Howard M. Vollmer & Donald L. Mills (eds), *Professionalisation*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966. This is the standard reference text on the subject of professionalisation.
2. W.J. Reader, *Professional Men - The Rise of the Professions in Nineteenth Century England*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1966.
3. Philip Elliott, *The Sociology of the Professions*. Macmillan, London, 1972.
4. Elliot A Krause, *The Sociology of Occupations*. Little, Brown, Boston, 1971.

to change and actually change their position on one or more dimensions of the occupation-profession continuum, moving towards the professional pole'.⁵

Without doubt, Wilensky's article 'The Professionalisation of Everyone?' is the most renowned contribution to the discussion of professionalisation.⁶ He has made the most systematic attempt to determine whether there is a natural history of professionalisation, or a consistent developmental pattern. Pavalko summarises his findings:

'Wilensky examined the historical development of eighteen occupations exhibiting varying degrees of professionalisation. Their development led a good degree of support to his formulations of the professionalisation process. His findings based on the degree to which these occupations have undergone the professionalisation sequence, suggest a four-fold classification including established professions, professions in process or marginal, new professions, and doubtful professions.'

The eighteen occupations Wilensky looked at were as follows: in the established category were accountancy, architecture, civil engineering, dentistry, law and medicine. Professions in process included librarianship, nursing, optometry, pharmacy, school teaching, social work and veterinary medicine. The new professions included city management, city planning, and hospital administration. Finally, the doubtful category included advertising and funeral direction.

Wilensky's theory advances a sequence of five stages in the professionalisation process. 'While the sequence is by no means invariant', he said, 'the table shows that only 32 out of 126 dates for crucial events in the push towards professionalisation deviate from the following order' -

- (1) A substantial body of people begin doing full-time, some activity that needs doing.
- (2) A training school is established.
- (3) A professional association is formed.
- (4) The association engages in public agitation to win the support of

5. Ronald M. Pavalko. *Sociology of Occupations and Professions*. Peacock, Itasca, Illinois, 1971.

6. Harold L. Wilensky, 'The Professionalisation of Everyone?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1964, 70, 2:137-158.

7. *op. cit* 29.

the law for the protection of the group.

(5) A code of professional ethics is developed.

These steps, which will be elaborated here with reference to veterinary development, Wilensky saw as characteristic of the process of professionalisation. Notwithstanding his cogent statement of the professionalisation model, basing his discussion on these professions in the United States, Wilensky also recognised the fluidity of contemporary changing structural forms in society that need to be kept in mind while using the theoretical concept of professionalisation.

Bearing in mind, then, that the process of professionalisation may be modified by the changing historical or geographical context in which the newer professions emerge, and the varying geo-political contexts of professional development, it becomes a major analytical tool for comprehending professions and professionalism. Naturally, the opportunity to make Wilensky's idea work in various ways commends itself as providing systematic information in the case of the veterinary profession. Surprisingly enough, however, despite the eminence accorded Wilensky's thesis, and the numerous citations his article continues to receive in the sociology of professions literature, some of the more obvious extensions of his basic idea have not been attempted for any profession so far as the present writer is aware.

Table One of Wilensky's article provides a summary of the data on which he bases his overall argument. It is entitled 'The Process of Professionalisation'. Across the top of the table, heading the seven columns are events or stages in the development of a profession. Down the left hand side of the table the professions are grouped according to their present degree of professionalisation. The main grid of the table contains the years when a given occupation achieved a certain stage in its development. From this, the pattern of overall development can be deduced (see Table 2.1). Using the rationale behind this table it becomes clear that a number of tables constructed along similar lines would make useful research instruments. These would provide systematic information about either (1) professional development in other countries than the United States, or alternatively (2) focus attention on one particular profession in a variety of countries to determine the degree of intra-occupational consistency in the pattern of professionalisation, or whether there are systematic

TABLE 2.1: Wilensky's Table of Professionalisation

TABLE 1
THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONALIZATION*

| | Became Full-Time Occupation | First Training School | First University School | First Local Professional Association | First National Professional Association | First State License Law | Formal Code of Ethics | No. of Errors | No. of Ties | Per Cent Error, by Groups† |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| Established: | | | | | | | | | | |
| Accounting (CPA)..... | 19th cent. | 1881‡ | 1881‡ | 1882 | 1887 | 1896 | 1917 | 0 | 1 | |
| Architecture..... | 18th cent. | 1865 | 1868 | 1815 | 1857 | 1897 | 1909 | 2 | 0 | |
| Civil engineering..... | 18th cent. | 1819 | 1847 | 1848 | 1852 | 1908 | ca. 1910 | 0 | 0 | |
| Dentistry..... | 18th cent. | 1840§ | 1867 | 1844 | 1840§ | 1868 | 1866 | 3 | 1 | |
| Law..... | 17th cent. | 1784 | 1817 | 1802 | 1878 | 1732 | 1908 | 2 | 0 | |
| Medicine..... | ca. 1700 | 1765 | 1779 | 1735 | 1847 | Before 1780 | 1912 | 2 | 0 | 21 |
| Others in process, some marginal: | | | | | | | | | | |
| Librarianship..... | 1732 | 1887 | 1897 | 1885 | 1876 | Before 1917 | 1938 | 2 | 0 | |
| Nursing..... | 17th cent. | 1861 | 1909 | 1885 | 1896 | 1903 | 1950 | 1 | 0 | |
| Optometry..... | | 1892 | 1910 | 1896 | 1897 | 1901 | ca. 1935 | 1 | 0 | |
| Pharmacy..... | 1646 | 1821§ | 1868 | 1821§ | 1852 | 1874 | ca. 1850 | 2 | 1 | |
| School teaching..... | 17th cent. | 1823 | 1879 | 1794 | 1857 | 1781 | 1929 | 3 | 0 | |
| Social work..... | 1898(?) | 1898 | 1904 | 1918 | 1874 | 1940 | 1948 | 1 | 0 | |
| Veterinary medicine..... | 1803 | 1852 | 1879 | 1854 | 1863 | 1886 | 1866 | 3 | 0 | 27 |
| New: | | | | | | | | | | |
| City management..... | 1912 | 1921 | 1948 | After 1914 | 1914 | None | 1924 | 2 | 0 | |
| City planning..... | 19th cent. | 1909‡ | 1909‡ | 1947 | 1917 | 1963 | 1948 | 2 | 1 | |
| Hospital administration .. | 19th cent. | 1926‡ | 1926‡ | | 1933 | 1957 | 1939 | 2 | 1 | 29 |
| Doubtful: | | | | | | | | | | |
| Advertising..... | 1841 | 1900(?)# | 1909(?)# | 1894 | 1917 | None | 1924 | 1 | 0 | |
| Funeral direction..... | 19th cent. | ca. 1870 | 1914 | 1864 | 1882 | 1894 | 1884 | 3 | 0 | 29 |
| | | | | | | | Total errors.. | 32 | | 25 |

* Dates concern only events in the United States. Among the sources: *Occupational Licensing in the States* (Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1952); *Encyclopaedia of Associations* (3d ed.; Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1961); L. E. Blau (ed.), *Education for the Professions* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955); *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and other encyclopedias; J. W. Kane, *Famous First Facts* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1950); professional association journals, newsletters, and yearbooks; and specialized histories, official or not. In cases of disagreement, precedence was given to a competent history—e.g., R. W. Habenstein and W. M. Lamers, *The History of American Funeral Direction* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bulfinch Printers, 1955)—or to a date supplied by a professional association cross-checked by one other independent source. I am grateful to Anne Mooney, Ted Cooper, and the headquarters of the dominant professional associations for assistance.

† The total number of dates out of order in group divided by total possible entries in group. The errors for the whole table are 25 per cent of possible entries.

‡ Dates in italics in the same row designate the same event.

§ Two dates in the same row marked with a section mark (§) designate associated events.

|| Only three or four physicians are known to have resided in the Colonies prior to 1700. From 1607 to 1730 Colonial medical practice was relatively primitive (R. H. Shyrock, *Medicine and Society in America: 1660-1860* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962], pp. 7, 18).

"(?)" designates best inference from available information.

variations according to recognisable criteria.

It is the latter variation on the 'Wilensky Profile' that has been developed here to examine the process of veterinary professionalisation. Although the basic idea is relatively straightforward, the actual gathering of the data to complete the table requires an extended period of time to allow the necessary correspondence with individuals, professional associations and libraries in a variety of countries to be conducted. Table 2.2 presents the result of this process of data collection for the veterinary profession in a limited number of countries, in essence, those associated with the Anglo-saxon western nations. The row of information for the United States has been taken from Wilensky's table, although three dates have been changed, as indicated in the notes to Table 2.2 where this seemed appropriate. The other general comment to be made here is that the last three columns of Wilensky's table have been omitted in the present table since the four-fold categorisation of established, in process, new, or doubtful professions is not primarily applicable to one profession considered by itself.

Elliott offers a useful expansion of the basic stages of professional development, and some of the specific developments in veterinary professionalisation will be detailed as they conform to or diverge from the sequence in the elaboration he provides of Wilensky's steps. First, says Elliott,

'an occupational group must emerge, engaged in full-time work on a particular set of problems. This may be the result of a switch from amateurism to professionalism, or it may follow from the specialisation of knowledge within an existing occupation made possible by institutional change. In all cases a new occupational group is likely to have to demarcate its own position and fage competition from overlapping occupations and professions.'

For the veterinary occupation as for other occupations that have undergone a process of professionalisation, it is almost impossible to give an exact date when a new occupation could be said to exist where one did not exist previously. There seems to be invariably a period

8. *op. cit*:113-115.

TABLE 2.2: The Process of Veterinary Professionalisation

| Country | Became Full-time Occupation | First Training School | First University School | First Local Professional Association | First National Professional Association | First State Licence Law | Formal Code of Ethics Adopted |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| GREAT BRITAIN ¹ | 18th Cent | 1791* | 1791* | 1858 ² | 1844 1882 | 1881 | ? |
| UNITED STATES ³ | Early-Mid 19th Cent. | 1852 | 1875 ⁴ | 1854 | 1861 ⁵ | 1886 | 1866 |
| CANADA ⁶ | Mid-19th Cent. | 1862* ⁷ | 1862* ⁷ | 1874 | 1948* | 1890 | 1948* |
| AUSTRALIA ⁸ | Mid-late 19th Cent | 1888 | 1908 | 1912 | 1921 | 1923 | 1956 |
| SOUTH AFRICA ⁹ | Late 19th Cent | 1920* | 1920* | 1903 | 1920 | 1933* | 1933* |
| NEW ZEALAND | Late 19th Cent | 1964* | 1964* | 1923* | 1923* | 1926 | 1956 ¹⁰ |

NOTE: Same dates in any row marked by asterisks (*) indicate the same event.

- SOURCE: 1 *Veterinary Record* 1945, 57, 51:599-677, and personal correspondence with Miss. B. Horder, Librarian, Wellcome Library.
- 2 J.W. Barber-Lomax, 'The Yorkshire Veterinary Society', *Veterinary Record* 1953, 75:1029-1032
- 3 Harold Wilensky, 'The Professionalisation of Everyone?' *American Journal of Sociology*, 1964, 70, 2:137-158
- 4 *The Veterinary Record*, 1945, 57, 51:624 records that Alexander Liautard, an alumnus from Toulouse, founded the first viable veterinary college
- 5 Ibid, p945, 57, 51:624 gives June 1861 as foundation date of USVMA, which was renamed in 1895. However, the first meeting was held in New York, 9 June 1863.
- 6 Personal Correspondence with C.A.V. Barker, University of Guelph, Ontario
- 7 However, Thomas W.M. Cameron 'Veterinary Education in Canada', *British Veterinary Journal*, 1953, 109:221-222, gives both these dates as 1864.
- 8 W.L. Hindmarsh 'The Formation of the Australian Veterinary Association and its Progress to incorporation under the New South Wales Company's Act in 1932', *Australian Veterinary Journal*, 1962, 38:508-515. Also personal correspondence with J.C. Beardwood, Australian Veterinary Association Archivist.
- 9 A.M. Diesel, 'Veterinary Services in South Africa', *Veterinär-Medizinische Nachrichten*, 1963, 2-3:241-254
- 10 Inferred from A.D.M.G. Laing, 'An Historical Summary' in *Fiftieth Jubilee Handbook*, New Zealand Veterinary Association Conference 7-11 February, 1974:15-17

of emergence of full-time workers which is not precisely definable. In the light of this it is curious that Wilensky felt confident enough to name 1803 as the year when veterinary medicine became a full-time occupation in America. A more general designation for the start of the American veterinary profession, comparable to the other entries in the first column of his table, is simply 'early nineteenth century', or 'circa 1800'. On what piece of information Wilensky based his support for this date is not certain, although it may have been because in that year the first American graduate from the London Veterinary School set up practice in North America.⁹

Veterinary medicine developed as one of the modern professions between one and two centuries ago, at approximately the same time as the other professions were emerging in the newly industrialised and urbanising society. The historical development of the present-day veterinary profession in fact goes back to the last half of the eighteenth century. Before this time a quite different kind of social organisation of animal treatment was practised.

Guilds of men trained by apprenticeship in the art appeared in Germany and England in the fourteenth century.¹⁰ At that time the term marshall came to be used for a doctor to horses and the term marshallcy for his occupation. The marshalls were organised as a guild from 1356 but by 1700 appear to have ceased to exist. Later, in the seventeenth century, the company of farriers received a charter and they were the only formally organised body of persons whose job was to care for animals. As with most guilds, status was a concern to members, and hence other occupational groups emerged to cater for the poorer and more rural populations.¹¹

9. J.F. Smithcors, 'The Development of Veterinary Medical Science: Some Historical Aspects and Prospects', *Advances in Veterinary Science*, 1964, 9:1-34, says that in 1803 John Haslam, the first American graduate from the London Veterinary School, returned to the United States and began practice in Baltimore.
10. See Alexander Carr-Saunders & Peter Wilson, *The Professions*. Oxford University Press, 1933 (reprinted Frank Cass, 1964):125-132.
11. Terence Johnson in *Professions and Power*. Macmillan, London, 1972: 69-70 remarks that 'the existence of an elite monopolising occupational service in a traditional context does not, of course, eliminate the needs of other social groups, which tend to be catered

By the end of the eighteenth century most of the veterinary practice was performed by two general classes of men, the farrier and the cow-leech. In the same way that the important differences in the medical sphere between physicians and surgeons was rooted in the social status of these practitioners, so the differences between farrier and cow-leech reflected the social standing of the practitioners as well as the difference in the objects of their attention. The difference was no less marked, although all animal practitioners had a much lower social status than either the physician or surgeon. By and large the farriers had little education and variable amounts of skill although they considered themselves definitely above cow-leeches and cattle doctors, in that they treated the more important animal, the horse. A farrier usually served an apprenticeship with his father; leeches were often self-taught. Carr-Saunders and Wilson note that if veterinary professionalisation had followed the more typical course, the farrier might have absorbed the new knowledge, built up standards of training, and so founded a profession, but in fact the process went another route. While sick and injured animals have always been attended to, it remained for technical, social and organisational developments to create veterinary medicine as a modern occupation.¹²

The change from farriery to veterinary medicine marked an important change in the degree to which animal treatment was considered a subject amenable to scientific observation and reflection rather than a simple means of livelihood. At first the actual difference was small, but the decisive shift in underlying approach had the consequence of elevating the ability of the veterinarian. The term 'Veterinary' had itself only just been revived from the Latin in the eighteenth century to help establish such a demarcation. He acted as a consultant and medical expert, and conformed to some degree to the role of non-manual occupation, but the greater association with animal and earthier contexts was, however, a barrier to recognition and acceptance as a professional person. Large animal work has in the past (though much less so now with the advent of drugs and sophisticated medicines)

for by subordinate occupations or even in terms of divergent systems of knowledge.

12. J.F. Smithcors, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art: A Narrative Account to 1850*. Veterinary Medicine Publishing Co, Kansas City, 1957:247.

required considerable physical exertion which had a negative effect on the veterinarian's move toward professional status. However, the contemporary emphasis on small animal veterinary care for companion animals on one side, and the scientific research aspects of veterinary medicine on the other, give a more 'proto-typically' professional image to the veterinary profession in this respect.¹³

The veterinary profession has a fundamental affinity with human medicine in its basic technology and use of scientific information. This similarity is perhaps even closer at the level of occupational knowledge base than dentistry with which veterinary medicine shares structural similarities vis-a-vis the occupational division of labour in the field of human medicine. However, it is precisely because veterinary medicine as an occupation (along with dentistry) did not emerge in connection with human medicine that it has been able to professionalise to the extent it has.¹⁴ It might be argued that it would have achieved a professional status much earlier on in association with medicine but it is highly probable that if such a course had occurred, the veterinarian would have forgone the possibility of full professional development.

The social standing of early 'veterinary surgeons' was less elevated than their medical or clerical counterparts. Recruits to the profession were less educated, had fewer social connections and more often than not came from the less urbanised sections of society. There was a considerable range, however, and as the average quality of successive generations of practitioners increased, the contrast with other professional groups tended to diminish. Although the status of veterinary practitioners only subsequently began to rise, all strata in society including the social elite, had horses that required attention. Solely agricultural species, however, because of their rural and farming associations tended to confer a more humble status on their veterinary attendants. This fact had a considerable part in the almost exclusive

13. For changes in the social and legal status of animals, see J. Passmore, 'The Treatment of Animals', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1975, 26, 2:195-218.

14. See Eliot Freidson, *Profession of Medicine*. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1970:52.

preference for equine medicine for many decades.¹⁵

Inevitably, the emergence of a definable corps of veterinary practitioners is difficult to pinpoint in detail. For the countries under consideration, it would seem that as we move down Table 2:2 there is a succession through time that this development took place. Thus, even at this stage in our analysis, the distinctions between 'old' and 'new' professions begin to blur as soon as we introduce an international perspective. It is evident, too, that the rise of the veterinary profession in any one country was not an isolated occurrence, but was part of a much wider series of changes in science, industry and agriculture. Furthermore, where for various reasons the development of the profession was delayed in one nation, the changes and developments that had happened earlier elsewhere were not simply re-enacted, but a process of transference or diffusion shaped the rise of the practitioner force in the newer setting.¹⁶ This process of 'cultural feedback' occurs in each phase of veterinary professionalisation.

The second stage in professional development is the establishment of training and selection procedures marked by the setting up of appropriate training schools. Although in Table 2:2 Britain is the earliest in establishing a veterinary school (1791), among the group of English speaking nations, it was by no means the first country in which such an institution was set up. The bitter experience with animal plagues during the eighteenth century, which caused repeated decimations of cattle populations, had led the states of western Europe to take vigorous measures against the further infiltration of disease from the Baltic and Russian areas. An elaborate system of isolation backed up by government inspectors had been set up, and where necessary armed force, to prevent the importation of infected animals.¹⁷

15. Although, see J.F. Smithcor's discussion of Edward Coleman, the second principal of the London Veterinary College, 1957, *op. cit.*

Even today, equine practice is perhaps the most socially prestigious branch of veterinary practice, and has developed the most sophisticated surgical and medical techniques.

16. In New Zealand, for instance, farriers sometimes consciously adopted the title 'veterinary surgeon' because of what it connoted in Britain.

17. See the account in *Veterinary Record*, 1945, 57, 51:610-612.

It was in the latter part of the eighteenth century that the veterinary schools were set up as part of this concern with animal health, and they acted as the first major landmarks in the emergence of the contemporary veterinary profession. The first was opened at Lyons, France, in 1762. A second followed at Alfort in 1776. Twenty were in operation by the turn of the century, and by the time the third French veterinary school was commenced in Toulouse in 1825, it was the thirtieth such institution to be set up in twelve different countries. This founding of teaching centres is parallel, either earlier or later, for all contemporary professions. And it was in these veterinary schools that the term 'Veterinary' was introduced from the classical literature to indicate a different kind of practitioner that the schools would produce. The several dozen institutions thus established opened the way for the developing stream of scientific and technical information to be directed towards the field of animal health. The three older professions of law, medicine and the clergy, began to alter in this period from what Ellidtt calls 'status professions' to what he terms 'occupational professions'.¹⁸ That is, whereas these pursuits had been branches of learning based on the classical literature and catering for the sons of the social elite, they began to include a wider range of persons and to be shaped by the new empirical ideas which were beginning to influence other fields of knowledge as well, giving rise to professions such as engineering, architecture and veterinary medicine.

There were two veterinary schools established in Britain prior to New Zealand's annexation. The London Veterinary College was founded in 1791 under a Frenchman, Vial de Bel, with the backing of agriculturalists, in particular the Odiham Agricultural Society.¹⁹ It was originally intended to educate intelligent young men of some standing in the treatment of all species of animal. However, Edward Coleman, who was the principal for forty-six years from 1793 to 1839, limited instruction to the horse and shortened the course to only a few months. Because of

18. *Op.cit*:14.

19. Leslie P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine 1785-1975* Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1962. Also Smithcors, 1957, *op. cit.* Especially chapter 8.

the number of graduates produced and the influence of Coleman, the London School had a formative influence on Anglo-Saxon veterinary development at this time. The other British veterinary institution was the Edinburgh Veterinary School, established in 1823 by William Dick, one of the small number of progressive and very able farriers. Instruction was both practical and theoretical and included teaching about all the main species; students were examined by the Highland Agricultural Society. Dick's teaching had repercussions for the development of the veterinary profession in both Canada and the United States because of the important part played by Edinburgh graduates.²⁰

When in 1844 the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons received its Charter there were about one thousand graduates from the two schools, although the big majority were from the London school. The Royal College had sole power for examining and certifying qualified veterinarians in Britain. This restriction of entry into the profession became known as the 'uni-portal system' and it continued until 1948, when gaining a university degree entitled a person to be registered. Other teaching institutions were in time also founded. The Glasgow Veterinary School was established in 1860 by James McCall, and was affiliated to the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in 1862. In 1873 the New Veterinary College was founded in Edinburgh but in 1904 it became the School of Veterinary Science at Liverpool University.²¹

The other five countries shown in Table 2.2 were influenced by their ties to the older English-speaking country. The United States' independence of Britain and her similar pattern of burgeoning industrialisation, means that American veterinary profile is closer in time to Britain than any of the other countries.²² On the other hand, the United States and Canada may be grouped as having certain features in common, as also may South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

20. O.C. Bradley, *History of the Edinburgh Veterinary College*. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1923.

21. See *The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Veterinary Profession*. Chairman, Sir Michael Swann. HMSO, London, 1975, vol. 1:161.

22. D.M. Campbell, 'Development of Veterinary Medicine in North America', *Veterinary Medicine*, 1934, cited in J.F. Smithcors, 1957, *op. cit.*: 312.

Veterinary education in the North American continent developed largely under the influence of the Edinburgh graduates.²³ In the case of the Ontario Veterinary College in Canada, for instance, Andrew Smith from Edinburgh was the first principal. Another historical account refers to the start of the United States Veterinary Medical Association and says: 'But our veterinary service did not begin to take form until the coming of Professors John Gamgee and James Law from Scotland in 1868.'²⁴ Other examples might be added. A number of attempts to establish veterinary schools in the United States in the 1850's proved abortive.²⁵

Canada is in some respects an intermediate example of the variation in the veterinary development that our table reveals. In its North American contrast to Britain and the influence of Scottish veterinarians, and in the timing of its developmental process, it is next to the United States. On the other hand, it is also a member of the imperial network to which the three antipodean countries belong. The general effect of this 'centre-periphery' relationship between Britain and the colonies seems to have been a major retarding factor in most phases of veterinary development, although not always in exactly the same way. In Australia, for instance, the setting up of the first veterinary teaching institutions preceded the formation of a national professional association by quite a period, whereas in South Africa, these events occurred quite closely together; and in New Zealand it was a half-century *after* the founding of a professional association that the first veterinary school was established.

It has been suggested that one of the differences between earlier and late professionalising occupations is that the later ones attempt to link their teaching institutions to universities at an earlier stage in their developmental cycle. This contention is borne out in the case of veterinary professionalisation. The first British and Canadian schools were not at their inception affiliated to universities, although

23. See F. Eugene Gattinger, *A Century of Challenge: A History of the Ontario Veterinary College*. University of Toronto Press, 1962.

24. See the *Veterinary Record*, *op.cit.*:624.

25. There were several short-lived faculties set up in the 1860's: New York in 1864, Chicago in 1865, and Cornell in 1868.

they have all subsequently been made faculties or colleges within recognised university institutions. Only South Africa and New Zealand, the countries in which the veterinary profession has been the most recent to develop, have had their veterinary schools established as university veterinary faculties at their commencement (Transvaal University College, now University of Pretoria, and Massey Agricultural College, now Massey University, respectively).

The setting up of schools to provide training and selection procedures, along with the other stages, can be seen as attempts by the occupation to secure and stabilise its position in relation to the wider society, says Elliott. Furthermore, he contends that education

'together with the third stage, the formation of a professional association, is part of the continuing process in establishing and defining the occupational function both to set standards and norms within the occupation and to manage its relations with other competing groups. These provide the basis for the fourth stage, in which the occupation agitates for public recognition and legal support for its control over entry and modes of practice. Legal support generally takes the form of restrictions on the use of the professional name, though in a few cases direct and indirect restrictions have been placed on the performance of the professional function. Finally, Wilensky suggests the occupation will elaborate a formal code of ethics.'²⁶

That veterinary professionalisation was part of a much wider phenomenon occurring in British society can be seen by briefly documenting the proliferation of professional bodies. Prior to 1800 these were mainly informal groups. According to Reader, 'the first of the new professional associations was the Royal College of Surgeons chartered in 1800. The Apothecaries got their Act with its formidable disciplinary powers in 1815. In 1818 the Institute of Civil Engineers was set up; in 1828 it was chartered. The Institute of British Architecture, founded in 1835 was chartered in 1837, and entered on a long period of quarrelling with the other architectural foundations, which delayed the granting of statutory privileges in 1931. The Law Society founded in 1825 was chartered in 1831, but the charter was surrendered for a new one later on. In 1844 the Pharmaceutical Society was chartered, and in 1844 also the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons was chartered.'²⁷ Thus, as Millerson notes, the veterinary

26. *op. cit.*:114.

27. Reader, *op. cit.*:163-164.

profession was one of the later occupations in this wave of professional organisation to establish a professional society.²⁸ At intervals throughout the rest of the century other professional institutions were set up. One of these later bodies was the National Veterinary Medical Association (since changed to British Veterinary Association) in 1881. Millerson's definition places the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in the category of 'qualifying association' and the British Veterinary Association as an 'occupational association' (in contrast to his two other categories of professional grouping: the prestige association and the study association).

For Millerson, qualifying associations occupy a strategic place in the professionalisation process. And certainly in Britain, the uniportal system as it was called, by which the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons was the sole arbiter of entry into the profession for many years, was of prime importance in professional development. The comparative perspective opened up by Table 2:2, however, shows that in the case of the veterinary profession the occupational association, not the qualifying association has been the more commonly important organisation. The federated nature of the United States, Canada and Australia, and the lack of population acted against the early development of qualifying bodies. What is characteristic is the establishment of state or national licensing boards under veterinary surgeons act to determine who is adequately qualified to be registered as eligible to practise as a veterinarian within the meaning of the specific act.

The Royal Charter of 1844 declared that the practice of veterinary medicine and science was a profession, and that members of the College were to be distinguished by the name or title of veterinary surgeon.²⁹ Provision was made for the election of a Council and officers. The single most important section was that dealing with the examination of all students of the existing schools that might be set up in the

28. Geoffrey Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalisation*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964.

29. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *op.cit.*, observed that this was one of the few examples of an attempt to legislatively define an occupation as a profession.

future, for the purpose of admission as members of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. It soon became apparent to these qualified veterinarians that an act of parliament was required to provide them with a more secure position. After considerable wrangles within the profession, the 1881 Veterinary Surgeons Act set up a Statutory Register, and prohibited unqualified practitioners from using any title, addition or description stating that they were specially qualified in the medical and surgical treatment of animals. The Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons continued to be the controlling body of entry into the profession. Even after the passage of the British Act in 1881 many persons not formally veterinarians continued to practise.

The mid-nineteenth century problem of widespread epizootic disease stirred various governments to action, just as similar epidemics had led to the establishment of veterinary schools in the first place a century earlier. In Britain the government veterinary service was set up in 1865-66.³⁰ In America this was the impetus that led to the first meeting of the newly formed United States Veterinary Medical Association in June 1863, which was concerned also with veterinary education, obtaining veterinary personnel and the status of military veterinarians. The new association advocated the founding of the Bureau of Animal Industry which was set up in 1844. In 1898 the association was renamed the American Veterinary Medical Association and extended to include the Dominion of Canada.³¹ Although Canada had early in its history local professional groups meeting, it still had to wait until 1948 when a government Act constituted the Canadian Veterinary Medical Association. Prior to this a national association was not possible because of the British North America Act of 1867, which gave each of the provinces autonomy in certain areas, one being education and a second being the right of professional groups to have their own governing associations. Many attempts were made to have a national association and one was actually formed in 1923 but failed at

30. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (UK), *Animal Health 1865-1965: A Century of Endeavour to Control Diseases of Animals*. HMSO, London, 1965.

31. *Veterinary Record*, *op. cit.*

the end of two years of action.³² A government veterinary department was established in 1884. Almost certainly this Canadian feature of veterinary development would have consequences for the sequence of professionalisation in other professional groups. In Australia an early feature was the establishment of a veterinary school in 1888 under the guidance of William Kendall. Before this, in 1880 an Australasian Veterinary Medical Association had been formed with about a score of members but lasted only about two years.³³ A national association was nearly formed just prior to the 1914-18 war, but was delayed to 1921, although there had been veterinary congresses since 1907.

It is interesting to note that South Africa, Australia and New Zealand all established professional associations in a space of three years in the early 1920's.³⁴ In all three countries before 1900 there were only a handful of qualified veterinarians, who had come from Britain; farming populations were also relatively sparse. Each of these countries had a strong economic dependence on Britain. It was not until government veterinary departments were set up in these countries that veterinary professional expansion and development really began.³⁵ Indeed, in all of the nations included in this comparative analysis this role of the government as a direct consumer of veterinary services was of major importance for veterinary development; and it can well be argued that such influence was of at least equal organisational and developmental significance for veterinary professionalisation as the formation of the professional associations themselves.

32. Personal correspondence with Dr C.A.V. Barker, University of Guelph, Ontario.

33. W.L. Hindmarsh, 'The Formation of the Australian Veterinary Association', *Australian Veterinary Journal*, 1962:508-515. Also in elaboration on these points in personal correspondence with J.C. Beardwood, Archivist to the Australian Veterinary Association.

34. For Australia, see Hindmarsh, *op. cit.* For South Africa, see A.M. Diesel, 'Veterinary Services in South Africa', *Veterinär-Medizinische Nachrichten*, 1963, 2-3:241-254. For New Zealand, see A.D.M.G. Laing, 'An Historical Summary', *In Fiftieth Jubilee Handbook*, New Zealand Veterinary Association Conference, February 7-11, 1974:15-17.

35. Individual veterinarians with considerable administrative ability played major roles in this development: men like Gilruth in New Zealand, Kendall in Australia, McEachran in Canada and Theiler in South Africa.

Johnson makes a valuable caution against the uncritical use of the notion of profession that can arise from lack of exposure to comparative settings. From his examination of professional development in a range of Commonwealth countries he concludes that there are some basic differences in the pattern of their occupational emergence in contrast to the developmental process that professions have followed in Britain.³⁶ Chief among these differences is the imperial, political and economic network of which Britain was the centre and the colonies the periphery. Largely because of this there is a considerable time period elapsed before the establishment of professional associations in these countries. Later establishment in turn meant a modified professional structure in these countries because of other social changes such as continuing industrial development, emergence of white-collar classes, and the widespread presence of large bureaucratic organisations.

Wilensky's formulation of professionalisation has been widely used as a succinct and suggestive statement of professional development. Many writers use his scheme as a point of departure and expound on their own interpretation of this aspect of the sociology of professions. There are, nevertheless, some basic limitations that in the course of such wide usage have come to the surface concerning its theoretical adequacy: how well it stands up to the empirical data, and the comparative applicability of the model. In the present chapter it is the comparative aspect that has been used to provide some insight into the empirical and theoretical issues.

The chief criticism in the present context is that Wilensky's model lacks compelling relevance outside the country where it was developed, namely the United States. We have referred to Millerson's research showing the presence of several types of professional organisation, exerting differential influence on the historical formation of the British professions. In our present study we can see that the veterinary profession in that country also participated in this pattern of Royal Charter (establishing the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons

36. Terence Johnson, *op. cit.*, and also 'Imperialism and the Professions: Notes on the Development of Professional Occupations in Britain's Colonies and the New States', In Paul Halmos (ed), *Professionalisation*

in 1844) followed by a professional association (1881). The two dates in one cell in Table 2:2 indicates that such a pattern does not fit readily into the Wilensky scheme.

Johnson also lists a number of contrasts between the American and British professionalisation sequences to show the limitation of the model, including for instance, the role of the universities in education for the professions and the functions of professional associations. 'It is clear', he says, 'that the sequence outlined here by Wilensky (and this is true of Caplow also) is historically specific and culture bound.'³⁷ Most of Johnson's work involved a comparative analysis of the process of professionalisation in Britain and the former British colonies. Differences of a similar nature are however to be found between both Britain and the United States and former colonial nations and underdeveloped countries. He notes that in former British colonies 'protective legislation was not always, or even generally, the result of professional agitation, but the result of government initiative'.³⁸ Certainly, in the case of government veterinary departments there was variation. In the United States the Veterinary Medical Association was among the groups that promoted the establishment of the United States Bureau of Animal Health; but in New Zealand, by contrast, no professional association existed for thirty years after the Veterinary Division was formed.

From the present survey of veterinary professionalisation in a limited number of countries we have been able to make some observations on the suitability of the Wilensky model to explain this process. Overall, while there is some measure of support for the model, there is also a number of shortcomings. The implication that the professionalisation sequence is well defined is not borne out when the model is applied to other countries than the United States, where fewer or extra steps are of equal importance for the development of the profession in

and Social Change. The Sociological Review Monograph 20, 1973:281-309.

37. *op. cit*, 1972:28-29. Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954.

38. *ibid.*, 1972:29.

the country concerned. Only Australia showed a veterinary professionalisation pattern in full agreement with Wilensky's ordering and whether these are the only significant events in the profession's history in Australia, anyway, is open to serious doubt. By providing a chronological ordering in important steps in occupational development Wilensky has made a considerable advance over the trait approach in introducing a notion of causality in the change from occupation to profession. Quite apart from the comparative limitations of the model, however, even in the United States' case the number of deviations from the proposed order - on Wilensky's own count 36 out of 126 dates - means that his idea of causation can be no stronger than a predisposition towards an event or process of change occurring. By itself the idea of professionalisation remains a half-way stage between the trait approach and a more satisfactory explanation of professional development.

Thus, while Wilensky's idea provides a suggestive outline of occupational professionalisation, the inadequacy of the model as a complete theoretical explanation of professions comes to light in the case of veterinary professionalisation. It is at best descriptive rather than analytic. To see how an analytic approach to professionalisation might be used we now turn to the example of veterinary development in New Zealand, using the writing of Terence Johnson.

3. THE JOHNSON MODEL: PATRONAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE NEW ZEALAND VETERINARY PROFESSION TO
THE 1930's

Veterinary professionalisation has largely been left unexamined by sociologists. With the exception of Carr-Saunders and Wilson's early discussion of the veterinary profession in their study of professional development in Britain, and smaller references such as Wilensky's 1964 inclusion of veterinarians in his model of the professionalisation sequence in the United States, it has been left to veterinary historians to document the main facts of the profession's development.¹ In this chapter and the next, in order to give as adequate a description as possible of the process of veterinary development in New Zealand, use will be made of the model advanced by Terence Johnson in his book *Professions and Power*.² In this he sets out what he sees are the essential features in describing professional organisation and change. This will provide a theoretical basis for interpreting the historical process sociologically. It is particularly important in the present context to be able to analyse sociologically the elements of veterinary development because, more than a lot of occupations, the veterinary profession has had a slow rise to its contemporary status, so that the temptation is strong to overlook the *contingent* nature of the professionalisation sequence. It is not an inevitable process, as the presence of the so-called semi-professions demonstrates, but depends on the interaction of a number of factors connected with occupational and social change. Johnson's model offers the conceptual freedom necessary to consider professional change in a dynamic manner.

Johnson's essay is a cogent treatment of the different types of occupational control which might commonly be subsumed under the rubric of 'profession'. He prefers to avoid the definitional agonising over what is or is not a profession, with its attendant problems of which

1. Alexander M. Carr-Saunders & Peter Wilson, *The Professions*. Oxford University Press, 1933, reprinted Frank Cass, London, 1964. Harold L. Wilensky, 'The Professionalisation of Everyone?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1964, 70, 2: 137-158. J.F. Smithcors, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art: A Narrative Account to 1850*. Veterinary Medicine Publishing Co, Kansas City, 1957. B.W. Bierer, *A Short History of Veterinary Medicine in America*. Michigan State University Press, 1955.
2. Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power*. Macmillan, 1972.

traits are properly to be considered characteristic of professions. To speak of professionalism is rather to speak of a particular kind of occupational control, in which the profession exercises the main determining influence on the structuring of the producer-consumer (professional-client) relationship. Despite the fact that an occupation may wear the label 'profession', unless we look further we hide a multitude of structural variations between different occupations similarly labelled professions, or between the amounts of power and prestige enjoyed by a profession at different time in its history. Eliot Freidson points out that it is the inter-occupational dominance of medicine in relation to other health groups such as nursing and physiotherapy, that make it a 'super-profession', and hence different from other occupations also called professions.³ Some answer to the question of how occupational power or control is distributed in the production and utilisation of professional services is thus vital to the process of sociological analysis.

According to Johnson, then, the chief ways in which occupational power may be distributed between profession (the producer of professional services) and clientele (the consumers of professional services) are as follows:

(a) The producer defines the needs of the consumer and how these needs are to be catered for. This type is described as *collegiate control*, of which the basic sub-type we are concerned with here is *professionalism*.

(a) Alternatively, the consumer may define his own needs and the manner in which they are to be met. This is basically *patronage*, and the most common form of this today is by large bureaucratic patrons, that is, *corporate patronage*.

(c) Or, a third party may mediate the relation between producer and consumer. Examples include (1) *capitalism* where the entrepreneur intervenes in the direct relationship between the producer and consumer, or (2) *state mediation* where the centralised state mediates the producer-consumer relationship, such as in the welfare state or in Britain's nationalised health service.

3. Eliot Freidson, *Professional Dominance*. Atherton Press, New York, 1970.

Professionalism unqualified as in (a) Johnson suggests was best illustrated by the legal profession in Britain last century. There are in reality variations in these patterns as other social elements impinge upon professional organisation.⁴ For each of these major types Johnson discusses the nature of the consumer, the producer-consumer relationship, the conditions of recruitment to the profession, knowledge and ideology.

In employing Johnson's typology, Marsden points out the importance of three major resources available to an occupational group, whether it is able to establish a professional solution to the problem of occupational power and authority.⁵

- (1) The esoteric character of the knowledge used by the specialist is a power resource, because it produces variations in the degree of uncertainty in the consumer-producer relationship and the potential for the autonomy of the practitioner.
- (2) The amount of social power which the occupational group membership has outside the occupation, such as also being members of a dominant class in society.
- (3) Characteristics of the consumer - the 'social composition and character of the source of demand'; specifically, the larger more heterogeneous and fragmented the group of consumers, the more easily the producers impose their definition of the situation upon the consumer.

We can now apply this conceptual framework to the New Zealand veterinary profession. It is possible to identify three major periods in the development of the veterinary profession in New Zealand to the present day, and these can be understood sociologically in that they indicate decisive shifts in the pattern of which occupational power is distributed. Over time, in each period, the consequences of these structural shifts have worked themselves out, and in due course another

4. Chapter 3:39-47 in Johnson, *op. cit.*, gives the basic outline of the model. Subsequent chapters expand the discussion of each type of occupational control.
5. Lorna R. Marsden is one of a number of recent sociological writers making use of Johnson's model. See, 'Power Within a Profession: Medicine in Ontario', *Sociology of Work and Occupations*, 1977,4,1: 3-26.

shift has occurred as veterinarians and other groups such as farmers or the state have acted in accordance with the practical contingencies of their contemporary situation.

The three stages or periods that will be discussed here are as follows:

- Phase 1: 1840-1890's.....professional emergence
- Phase 2: 1890's-1930's.....state patronage
- Phase 3: 1930's-1960's.....state mediation and
professional heteronomy

The names given to these phases describe the salient features of these periods in terms of professional organisation, professional knowledge and the status of veterinary practitioners. The distinguishing feature in each period, apart from the changes in numerical strength of the profession, is the different pattern of veterinary employment which predominates from one period to the next. This pattern can be linked to basic changes in agriculture, science and society, and hence tied to changes in the mode of occupational control over veterinary work.

The 19th Century: Professional Emergence

For the New Zealand veterinary profession, the nineteenth century up to the formation of the government veterinary service can best be described as a period of professional emergence. In this period veterinary care changed from a state of pre-professional development in which there was no organised or defined veterinary occupation, to a situation of professional emergence.⁶ The incipient profession was tangentially involved in one brief attempt at professional organisation; a steady trickle of qualified men were beginning to practice in the colony, and the standing of such practitioners began to gain acceptance by the public as that of professional men.

6. Basil J. Sherlock & Richard T. Morris used the term 'pre-professional stage' in describing the change of dentistry from craft to profession: although a scientific kind of dentistry had begun in the late 18th century, the great majority of early practitioners lacked any formal instruction but, rather, were inducted through an apprenticeship or were self-taught. This is quite similar to veterinary development. See, *Becoming a Dentist*. C.C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1972:14.

Several important social and economic changes provided the context of veterinary development in this country. The industrial revolution changed Britain from an essentially rural and agricultural nation to an industrialising and urbanising society. The agricultural revolution brought about profound changes in traditional systems of land and animal husbandry. The role of the horse became more rather than less central as this development progressed, and subsequently other species received greater attention. The period up to the time of New Zealand's colonial settlement had seen the proliferation of a system of veterinary schools throughout Europe, two of which had been established in London (1791) and Edinburgh (1823). These changes occurring in European society and agriculture were modified by the transition to the colonial setting. At the beginning of colonisation there was a very small population of both settlers and livestock, and even as numbers grew the population still tended to be grouped in isolated pockets of settlement.

The organisation of veterinary care in New Zealand was slow in comparison to Britain or the United States. The basic fact of low population numbers was mediated through several features peculiar to New Zealand's colonial situation. In the first place there was the absence of any serious diseases. This was due to New Zealand's distance from the sources of infection. A second element contrasting veterinary work in New Zealand was the lack of a developed social infrastructure in rural areas, such as existed in Britain and on the Continent. The denser social matrix there had produced a variety of occupational and social roles such as cow and cattle leeches, farriers, and other individual purveyors of animal treatment. These dealt mainly with horses and cattle, but also to some extent with sheep and dogs. At the middle of the nineteenth century there were in Britain about three thousand known practitioners of this type - about three times the number of trained veterinarians. Despite Wakefield's intentions to reproduce in New Zealand a cross-section of English society this sort of social organisation was not transferred. A third aspect that made the New Zealand setting different was the ease with which animals could be kept. There was much less need for intensive indoor protection from adverse climatic conditions, and the fact that animals could be readily bred and replaced meant that the monetary value of any particular one

was relatively small.⁷

The interaction of these factors changed as the agricultural situation in the colony altered. From an emphasis on pastoral farming in the first decades of European settlement, in which the number of practitioners remained fairly static (see Table 3.1), the introduction of refrigeration in 1882 was a key event in re-directing New Zealand's farming economy.⁸ In the last decade of the nineteenth century dairying began to expand in importance very rapidly; the need for veterinary attention also grew. The operation of a number of converging factors, then, delayed the development of an organised veterinary profession. There was, nevertheless, some need for veterinary advice and treatment and the partial contribution of a number of occupational groups in fulfilling the veterinary function was a reasonable adaptation to the situation: (a) the farming community: in the colonial situation the settler's treatment of his own stock was largely a necessity through the absence of other sources of assistance. In some cases a farmer with above average ability in treating ailments would become known around his district and be called upon by neighbours to render assistance and give advice, often for no charge but as a service to the community;⁹ (b) medical practitioners scattered throughout the settlements of the colony were sometimes called upon to attend a sick animal;¹⁰ (c) chemists and druggists were also dispersed through the colony and supplied medicinal remedies for both human and animal needs. In many instances such people took a considerable interest in the

7. There are similarities between New Zealand and other 'frontier' countries such as Australia and North America. See, for example, E.W. Haytor, 'Livestock Doctors, 1850-1890. The Development of Veterinary Surgery in the United States', Parts I and II, *Veterinarian*, Oxford, 1963, 1:145-152 and 1964, 2:65-74. J.F. Smithcors, 'The Development of Veterinary Medical Science: Some Historical Aspects and Prospects', *Advances in Veterinary Science*, 1964, 9:1-34.

8. See G.T. Alley & D.O.W. Hall, *The Farmer in New Zealand*. Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1941.

9. The role of amateur midwives in New Zealand colonial life is a parallel example of functional substitution for professional services.

10. J.F. Smithcors, 1964, *op. cit.*, comments of colonial America, 'To a much greater extent than in Europe, much of the care of animals was in the hands of medical men, but many of these were poorly equipped for their primary function'.

TABLE 3.1: Number and Distribution of 'Veterinary Surgeons and Farriers' in New Zealand. 1874-1886

| Year | Auckland | Taranaki | Wellington | Hawkes Bay | Marlborough | Nelson | Westland | Canterbury | Otago | Total |
|-------------------|----------|----------|------------|------------|-------------|--------|----------|------------|-------|-------------------|
| 1874 ¹ | 19 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 17 | 23 | 89 |
| 1878 ² | 8 | - | 10 | 5 | 2 | 4 | - | 20 | 22 | 71 ⁽³⁾ |
| 1881 | 12 | 2 | 17 | 5 | - | 1 | 3 | 22 | 23 | 83 |
| 1886 | 12 | 3 | 9 | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | 15 | 15 | 58 |

NOTES:

- 1 The following rural-urban breakdown is available from the 1874 Census Report: Of the total of 89, 51 were in cities or towns of more than 500 people and 38 were outside the cities and towns; 7 of the latter were on the goldfields.
- 2 In boroughs 42, outside boroughs 29; on the goldfields 4.
- 3 The total of 71 excludes one 'assisting veterinary surgeon'.

SOURCE: New Zealand Census Reports, 1874-1886

process of treatment and advised the client on how and what to administer;¹¹ (d) farriers and smiths also did a considerable amount of veterinary work, particularly in relation to horses. Smiths were far more numerous although the farrier was more explicitly involved in the treatment of animals;¹² (e) stock inspectors constituted a rather different type of occupational group involved in animal health. They were appointed under various Acts to control diseases such as scab in sheep and pneumonia in cattle. Little effective control of slaughter and hygiene conditions was made until 1900;¹³ (f) veterinarians themselves were of a variety of social and technical levels.¹⁴ Towards the end of the nineteenth century whether a person was qualified or not came to have greater importance. Although without the knowledge and expertise which was to develop in the twentieth century, the differences between trained and untrained practitioners began to affect the social structure of veterinary care. These changes are reflected in the evolution of the census definition used at this time as Table 3.2 shows. The multiplicity of veterinary roles attests to the lack of functional specialisation compared with the present day.

In this initial phase in New Zealand's veterinary history the relation between producers and consumers of veterinary services was necessarily diffuse. This situation was the natural result of a small and widely dispersed consumer population which for a number of reasons did not generate much demand for veterinary attention. As a consequence a number of occupational groups overlapped in acting to some extent in a veterinary capacity, but in time this diffuseness of pre-veterinary

11. Miss P.H. Dawson, 'Veterinary Practitioner' within the definition of the 1926 Veterinary Surgeons Act, recalls that she learnt about horses from her father who had a chemist business and who did a lot of horse treatment.
12. The numerical strength of the two groups is worth noting: Blacksmith in 1874 numbered nearly 1500 compared with less than 100 farriers. Thus the smith was more commonly available to offer whatever veterinary advice was to be had.
13. In many ways this group was prototypical of the official inspection functions of the veterinary profession today.
14. See A.D.M.G. Laing, 'The History and Development of the Veterinary Profession in New Zealand', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1954, 2, 3:61-67. 'Some Historical Notes on the Veterinary Profession In New Zealand: Part I', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1964, 12, 4:67-71, and 1964, 12: 67-71, 123.

TABLE 3.2: Changes in Census Definitions of
Veterinary-Type Practitioners in
New Zealand, 1874-1936

| Census Definition | Year | Total |
|---|-------------------|-----------------|
| Veterinary Surgeons, Farriers | 1874 | 89 |
| Veterinary Surgeons, Farriers (not horseshoer) | 1878 | 71 |
| " | 1881 | 83 |
| " | 1896 | 58 |
| Veterinary Surgeons | 1891 ¹ | 55 ² |
| " | 1896 | 65 ³ |
| " | 1901 | 73 ³ |
| " | 1906 | 76 |
| " | 1911 | 91 |
| " | 1916 | 90 |
| " | 1921 | 79 ³ |
| " | 1926 | 84 |
| " | 1936 | 83 |

NOTES:

- 1 The 1891 Census Report lists 51 farriers, in a separate category
- 2 Includes one 'veterinary student' and one 'veterinary assistant'
- 3 Figure includes one woman.

SOURCE: New Zealand Census Reports, 1874-1936

organisation began to crystallise around the work role of the veterinarian. The presence of a cadre of qualified veterinarians, claiming greater expertise and public acceptance of their specialist contribution to animal health became of key importance in the shift that occurred at the start of the second phase of the profession's development.

1890's to the 1930's: State Patronage

The second main phase of veterinary professional development in New Zealand covers the time from the late nineteenth century up until the Second World War. It includes such major steps in professional development as the statutory registration of veterinarians and the formation of a professional association. The most readily observable change was simply the large increase in the number of veterinarians in the country as can be seen from Figure 3.1. The single most important factor in bringing about the consolidation of the veterinary profession was the pattern of patronage by which the government modified the relation between the actual or potential consumers and producers of veterinary services.

The pattern of state patronage that developed at this time represents a decisive change from the preceeding period in the allocation of occupational power between veterinarians and non-veterinarians. Expressed in general terms, this period saw the creation of power resources that had hitherto lain dormant and undeveloped. It is in this period in New Zealand that general credence was accorded the proposition that the qualified veterinarian had a special fund of knowledge and skill of a quite different order than other practitioners in the field, and that the services of such veterinarians was therefore a much more valuable commodity. The upsurge in farming generally and the dairy and meat industries especially, meant the emergence of a massive potential demand for veterinary services. However, other factors (including those operating in the earlier period) still acted to a considerable degree against the effective emergence of a widespread farming consumer base for veterinary services, although there was a gradual movement in this direction (as we shall see later) as farming continued to expand.

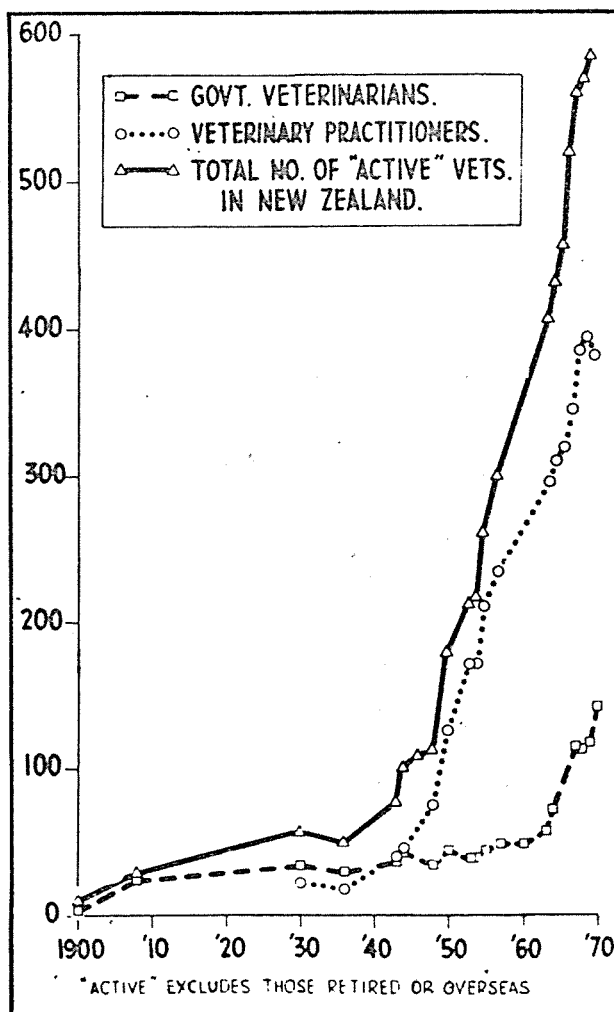


FIGURE 3.1: Increase in the Number of Qualified Veterinarians
in New Zealand, 1900-1970

SOURCE:

R.E.W. Elliott & J. Lohr, 'Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine in New Zealand', Parts I, II, and III, *Tierärztliche Umschau*, 1973, 28: 138-142, 192-194, 246-248, 304-308 (Gm)

In the nineteenth century veterinary work had been distinctively entrepreneurial and practitioners operated on their own or in a number of instances employed another person. In the 1891 census return, for example, of the 55 practitioners listed about three quarters were either in business on their own account or employed other people. The influence of government patronage can be seen in Table 3.3 in the shift in occupational deployment towards salaried practitioners even as the absolute number of all veterinarians increased.

Government patronage of veterinarians was fundamental to this stage of veterinary development and continued in fact to have an important effect on subsequent professional development. In the second phase the main role of government influence was through the Veterinary Division acting as a patron for veterinary services both in generating demand and in providing veterinary personnel to meet this demand.

In 1892 the Department of Agriculture was formed by combining the agricultural section of the Land Department with the older Stock Department. Prior to this only one veterinarian had been employed by the government in preparing a series of reports on the incidence of stock diseases in districts throughout the country.¹⁵ In the new department two veterinarians, Charles Reakes and John Gilruth, were initially brought out from Britain under contract to the government. The administrative drive and up to date expertise of J.A. Gilruth rapidly established veterinary advice, technical assistance and educative functions for the Department; it was under him that the Veterinary Division was formed within the Department of Agriculture in 1895 on the occasion of an anthrax outbreak in cattle. Such was Gilruth's influence in promoting veterinary services that the period to his departure in 1908 might be termed the 'Gilruth Era'.¹⁶ These men had the assistance of one or two other veterinarians. In 1899 five more veterinarians arrived from Britain, in 1900 another ten were selected in

15. John F. McClean, MRCVS, was government veterinarian for several years before the Department of Agriculture was formed. His wide investigations of animal health around New Zealand were published in a series of eight reports in the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1892, H-11.

16. See 'Gilruth's Work in New Zealand 1893-1908', in 'The Gilruth Memorial Issue', *Australian Veterinary Journal*, 1937, 13, 3:104-107.

TABLE 3.3: Employment of Qualified and Unqualified
Veterinary Surgeons in New Zealand,
1891-1911

| Year | Employer | In Business on own account | Wage or Salary Earner | Wage or Salary Earner (Unemployed) | Other ¹ | Total |
|------|----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--------------------|-------|
| 1891 | 5 | 34 | 10 | - | 6 | 55 |
| 1896 | 4 | 49 ² | 10 | 1 | 1 | 65 |
| 1901 | 2 | 35 ² | 34 | 2 | - | 73 |
| 1906 | 4 | 47 | 24 | 1 | - | 76 |
| 1911 | 6 | 55 | 27 | 1 | 2 | 91 |

NOTES:

1. Includes 'Others undescribed' and 'Relatives assisting but not receiving wages'.

2. Figure includes one woman.

SOURCE: New Zealand Census Reports, 1891-1911

London, and in 1901 a further fifteen came out to the fast expanding veterinary organisation.¹⁷ This last group of veterinarians were appointed specifically to man the new 1900 Slaughtering and Inspection Act and they were mainly located in freezing works. The rate of expansion eased after this but veterinary numbers continued to increase steadily as more veterinarians were recruited in response to the significant developments in the growth of farming, particularly dairying.¹⁸

The bureaucratic organisation of the Veterinary Division served to structure the functional role of the profession in two main ways. On the one hand, with more intensive dairy and sheep production there was a need for the problems of animal health care affecting levels of output at a herd level to receive investigation and correction. In the early decades of this period, pneumonia, black leg, anthrax, tuberculosis and mastitis all received systematic investigation by officers of the Division for the first time. Other problems such as high mortality rates in pregnant ewes and calf loss rates were investigated as well as many specific enquiries such as 'Winton's disease' in horses. Later studies into trace element deficiencies in the soils of different districts were also able to greatly improve productivity.¹⁹ Some of the demand for this sort of veterinary service came from the farmers themselves, but in the main it was the State's definition of its own economic and political interests in maximising productivity that determined the pattern of demand for clinical veterinary treatment, since it was not an economic possibility for most farmers to pay for such veterinary attention (irrespective of whether it was curative or preventative in nature).

The second major thrust of the Division was to inspect and certify slaughterhouse standards of hygiene, and to ensure carcasses were free of serious disease. The Veterinary Division under Gilruth's

17. See Annual Reports of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture, 1899:xi; 1900:xxx; 1901:xx.

18. See, for example, Harry A. Reid, 'Veterinary Services in the Dominions and Colonies', *Veterinary Record*, 1944,56,40:362.

19. See the Annual Reports of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture from 1894 on.

leadership had itself lobbied for this protective legislation for the consuming public (both domestic and overseas) and subsequently took on the job of implementing the Acts' requirements. The demand for veterinary inspection and higher standards of hygiene came from the public's greater awareness of the processes involved in the meat and food preparation. (For instance, Upton Sinclair's book, *The Asphalt Jungle*, was widely read at this time). Demand also arose from the State's interest in remaining competitive in its export markets for its primary produce. The inspection function at this time involved a greater proportion of veterinarians than did field work; Table 3.4 gives some idea of the overall deployment of personnel within the Division. However, both investigative and inspection aspects were equally important in helping consolidate the veterinary profession's position in this period. A further part of this expansion of the Veterinary Division involved the formation and rapid expansion of several subordinate strata of meat and dairy inspectors and assistant inspectors. These sub-veterinary occupational groups undertook routinised tasks in inspection and investigation and greatly increased the effective leverage the Veterinary Division was able to bring to bear on the producing, processing and consuming phases of the meat and dairy industries.

The significance of the Veterinary Division's role as patron of veterinary services can be seen in the proportion of veterinary practitioners which the Division employed. Table 3.5 shows estimated numbers of veterinary personnel from the Report of the Department of Agriculture and the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons' Register. From none in government veterinary service before this period, the Division was employing about forty-five per cent of all qualified veterinarians in New Zealand by 1901. This proportion declined evenly but only slowly; in 1910 thirty per cent of the country's veterinarians found employment within the government service. If qualified veterinarians only are counted, this proportion may be as high as two-thirds or three quarters. It remained above fifty per cent after the passing of the 1926 Veterinary Surgeons Act, to the end of this second period of professional development. Also as part of government patronage, a veterinary research section was established at Gilruth's institution at Wallaceville in 1905. At first it was numerically small but

TABLE 3.4: The Veterinary Division of The 'Gilruth Era' ¹

| Year | Number of Veterinarians in Division | Veterinarians Lost | Veterinarians Gained | How Employed | | | Meat and Dairy Inspectors | Assistant Meat and Dairy Inspectors |
|------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------|------------|------------------------------------|--|
| | | | | Head Office | Field | Inspection | | |
| 1898 | 4 | | | | | | | |
| 1899 | 10 | | 6 | | | | | |
| 1900 | 13 | 1 | 4 | | 2 | | | |
| 1901 | | 1 | 21 | | | | | |
| 1902 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| 1903 | 28 | 4 | 2 | 2 | | | 3 | 20 |
| 1904 | 26 | 1 | 1 | | | | 5 | 23 |
| 1905 | 27 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 9 | 18 |
| 1906 | 25 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 19 | 10 | 19 |
| 1907 | 25 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 17 | 14 | |
| 1908 | 25 | | 3 | 2 | 5 | 18 | 19 | 22 |
| 1909 | 26 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 19 | 27 | 21 |
| 1910 | | | 1 | | | | | |
| 1911 | 26 | 3 | | 2 | 5 | 19 | {29 27} | {11 23} 2 |

NOTES:

1 Not all figures available to complete the table

2 29 and 11 Stock and Assistant Stock Inspectors; 27 and 23 Meat and Assistant Meat Inspectors, respectively.

SOURCE: Annual Reports of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture, 1898-1911

TABLE 3.5: Estimated Veterinary Numbers in New Zealand and
Strength of Government Veterinary Division
1891 - 1927

| Year | Government Veterinary Numbers ¹ | Veterinarians On RCVS Register ² | Veterinarians on RCV Register with Listed Departmental Affiliation |
|--------|--|---|---|
| 1891-3 | 1 | 5 | - ³ |
| 1894 | 2 | 7 | 2 |
| 1895 | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| 1896 | 3 | 9 | 1 |
| 1897 | 4 | 8 | 1 |
| 1898 | 4 | 9 | 2 |
| 1899 | 10 | 11 | 3 |
| 1900 | 13 | 16 | 8 |
| 1901 | 34 | 16 | 9 |
| 1902 | - | 26 | 20 |
| 1903 | 28 | 34 | 28 |
| 1904 | 26 | - | - |
| 1905 | 27 | 33 | 24-5 |
| 1906 | 26 | 32 | 23-4 |
| 1907 | 25 | 32 | 22-3 |
| 1908 | 25 | 41 | 26-7 |
| 1909 | 26 | 40 | 25 |
| 1910 | - | 40 | 26 |
| 1911 | 26 | 45 | 28-9 |
| 1912 | - | 48 | - |
| 1913 | - | 51 | - |
| 1914 | - | 49 | 23-4 |
| 1915 | - | 50 | 24 |
| 1916 | - | 50 | 25 |
| 1917 | - | 49 | 30 |
| 1918 | - | - | - |
| 1919 | - | - | - |
| 1920 | - | 47 | 32 |
| 1921 | - | 45 | 26 |
| 1922 | - | 46 | 26 |
| 1923 | - | 46 | 26 |
| 1924 | - | 46 | 27 |
| 1925 | - | 57 | 26 |
| 1926 | - | 51 | 25 |
| 1927 | - | 51 | 26 |

NOTES:

- 1 Estimated from Annual Reports of Department of Agriculture
- 2 As listed geographically for New Zealand
- 3 Gaps in table indicate data not available from these sources.

SOURCES: Annual Reports, New Zealand Department of Agriculture
and Register of Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons.

provided an essential back-up diagnostic and laboratory service to the Veterinary Division. After 1920, in two decades of expansion, veterinary and non-veterinary staff increased from five to sixty, and laid the research foundations for the subsequent development of clinical veterinary services in almost every part of the country.

The influence of government patronage can be seen in the attempt to set up a training school for veterinarians in New Zealand.²⁰ After several years of discussion definite proposals were made in 1904 to establish a veterinary school at Otago University. The Prime Minister (R. Seddon) agreed to the idea, offering on behalf of the government the necessary finance. An important part of the government's support arose from the need to train stock inspectors and other officers of the Department of Agriculture. Gilruth and H.C. Wilkie, FRCVS, in conjunction with a University Council committee, prepared a report on the cost of setting up and maintaining a veterinary school: £800 was estimated for the initial cost and £1500 for the yearly running expenses. Special staff would include two professors and an assistant; a hospital surgeon and his assistant. The proposal hung fire until 1906 when it was taken up again. Under Gilruth's guidance a programme for establishing a four year course leading to a B.V.Sc. degree was drawn up. The proposal allowed the addition of the full complement of staff in successive years as the initial class of students advanced. Although the course was intended to cater for the needs of the government Veterinary Division as well as being open to students generally, it soon became apparent that a four year course 'was too severe for the class of men who, it was expected, would form the bulk of the students'. The government did not therefore make the course a requirement of service as an inspector within the Veterinary Division, and when the degree was first offered in 1907 there were no enrolments. A reduced two year certificate course subsequently arranged also lapsed. This complete lack of interest in veterinary training indicates the almost total dependence on state patronage to stimulate veterinary development at this time.

20. G.E. Thompson, chapter 32, 'The Proposed Veterinary School', *In History of the Otago University, 1869-1919*, Wilkie, Dunedin, 192?

The role of the state as a patron of veterinary services is closely connected with New Zealand's colonial relationship to Britain. Johnson's original research was, in fact, based on analysis of the historical development of professions in the Commonwealth. The influence of this centre-periphery imperial link can be seen in a number of developments in this second period, including several features of the Veterinary Division. The recruitment of veterinary personnel is typically from the imperial mother country, and this pattern is most clearly displayed with the establishment of the Division when veterinarians began arriving in comparatively large numbers from Britain. Later, in the first decade of the operation of the Veterinary Surgeons Board's Register (1928-1938) this pattern continued: only about a dozen of the eighty veterinarians entered in the Register were not trained in Britain. The pattern of developing a veterinary service within the state's administrative apparatus was similar to that developed in Britain in 1865-1866, Canada and America in 1884, and in other Commonwealth countries. Johnson comments, 'the most important source of demand for professional services in Britain's empire from the last decades of the nineteenth century was the colonial administration.'²¹ The function of veterinary (or other) services was directly related to the needs of the colonisers and settlers. The recruitment policies and regulations covering professional practice in the colony are essentially the status quo operating in Britain. Few exceptions were made to veterinarians with other qualifications than MRCVS to enter the Veterinary Division.²²

The organisation of a corporate entity to provide self-regulation, and influence professional education and the conduct of practice, is a hall-mark of all recognised professions and many occupations aspiring to this position. The organisation of a veterinary association in New Zealand also followed this pattern. But at the same time the influence

21. Terence J. Johnson, 'Imperialism in the Professions: Notes on the Development of Professional Occupations in Britain's Colonies and the New States'. In Paul Halmos (ed), *Professionalisation and Social Change*. The Sociological Review Monograph, 20, 1973:281-309.
22. Harry L. Marsack and H.S.S. Kyle, graduates of Ontario (1891) and Melbourne (1895) veterinary schools respectively, were taken into government service in 1901.

of the state on the profession, served to modify the functions that the association performed for its members individually and the profession as a whole.

There was one brief attempt at veterinary organisation in the nineteenth century in New Zealand, although the New Zealand profession was only indirectly involved.²³ The Australasian Veterinary Medical Association was in existence for two years from 1880 to 1882 based on Melbourne. It aimed to foster contact between qualified veterinarians and to bring veterinary opinion to bear on matters such as public health. The Association had about 20 members, qualified veterinarians, and had a journal for the latter year of its existence. Members represented most of the colonies in Australia and there was a Secretary, C.A. Calvert, MRCVS, for New Zealand. Around the turn of the century the Veterinary Division provided considerable contact between veterinarians within the Division as well as a certain amount of contact with privately practicing veterinarians. In 1902 Gilruth as Chief Veterinarian in the government service organised a conference of veterinarians.²⁴ Little is known of the exact outcome of this conference, but it appears there were no further occasions such as this until a meeting of veterinarians on 16 January 1923, in Wellington. The 1923 meeting took place following a meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held in New Zealand in January that year, in which a number of New Zealand and Australian veterinarians took part. Twenty-six veterinarians were present including Professor H.A. Woodruff, President of the Australian Veterinary Association, who chaired the meeting. It was unanimously decided to form the New Zealand Veterinary Association, subscription to be one guinea. Dr C.J. Reakes was elected President, A.M. Brodie Vice-president, and W.T. Collins Secretary and Treasurer.²⁵ Membership

23. See, W.L. Hindmarsh, 'The Formation of the Australian Veterinary Association', *Australian Veterinary Journal*, 1962, 38:508-515. Information has also been obtained from J.C. Beardwood, Australian Veterinary Association archivist.

24. See, for example, Annual Report of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture, 1903:197. Also R.G. Steel, 'Presidential Address: Change', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1974, 22:205-209.

25. Lord Bledisloe, opening address at 1934 Annual Conference. See, *Australian Veterinary Journal*, 1934, 10:122-128. M.B. Buddle, 'Presidential Address', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1964, 12, 3:43-8

was open to all qualified veterinarians but was not statutory in the way that membership of the New Zealand Law Society, for instance, is required to be able to practice as a solicitor. The first Annual General Meeting held on 4 November 1924 in Palmerston North was attended by fourteen members.²⁶

There were several converging factors that influenced the formation of the New Zealand Veterinary Association at this time. Undoubtedly the simple numerical increase in veterinarians in the country meant more contact between such men and also the chance to develop some ideas of the need to jointly express their common interests. In the 1923 meeting, having approved the formation of the New Zealand Veterinary Association the meeting went on to discuss the Veterinary Surgeons Bill that was then before Parliament. The coming together of a considerable number of veterinarians at one time for the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science Conference, and the stimulus of Woodruff's presence as President of the Australian Veterinary Association also influenced the immediate context in which the decision to form an association was made.

In a situation of state patronage, observes Johnson, 'the functions of the professional association are much more related to individual career advancement than to occupational advancement. It is usual for posts of honorary secretary to be filled by ambitious young recruits to a profession who have time to spare and who recognise that the work will bring them into close proximity with established men in their fields. Presidential posts, on the other hand, provide politically influential positions for established figures.'²⁷

This description is quite closely applicable to the commencement of the New Zealand Veterinary Association. C.S.M. Hopkirk was elected Secretary at the 1926 A.G.M. and fits Johnson's description of an energetic young man. He occupied that position until 1938 and subsequently became President for three terms.²⁸ The first president of the Association held

26. See, A.D.M.G. Laing, 'An Historical Summary', *In Fiftieth Jubilee Handbook*, New Zealand Veterinary Association Conference, February 7-11, 1974:15-17.

27. Johnson, 1973, *op. cit.*

28. C. S. M. Hopkirk. President in 1941, 1942 and 1948.

that position from 1923 to 1934 and was, in fact, C.J. Reakes who succeeded Gilruth as head of the government veterinary service, and who had been Director-General of the whole Department of Agriculture since 1921. Although Reakes acted as President of the New Zealand Veterinary Association it was undoubtedly his political influence as Director-General that was of prime significance in getting the 1926 Veterinary Surgeons Act passed. In this early stage of the New Zealand Veterinary Association's existence it was affiliated to the British Veterinary Association. Again, this is in keeping with Johnson's contention that 'although national social infrastructures vary, there is a common relation to the metropolitan power.'²⁹ In this way the ideal of professionalism as a form of occupational control was kept alive through the activity of the metropolitan professional association supporting its newly formed overseas affiliate. Under patronage as the predominant form of occupational control, the professional association thus functioned more in maintaining the ideals of professionalism and colleague identification, and rather less as an effective wielder of political power.

The 1926 Veterinary Surgeons Act for the first time made provision for the registration of all veterinarians in New Zealand. The Act outlined the composition of the Veterinary Surgeons Board to be established to administer the Act and hold the official Register of Veterinarians. The Act also outlined the provisions covering applicants eligible for registration, the conditions of appeal should an applicant for registration be declined by the Board, and what constituted an offence within the meaning of the Act.

The movement in New Zealand for the establishment of a Register of Veterinarians, and for a clear line of demarcation between qualified and unqualified persons took about three decades to bring to fruition the 1926 legislation. It was begun by J.A. Gilruth soon after coming to New Zealand in 1893, and a number of his Annual Reports as Chief Veterinarian in the Department of Agriculture contain sections urging the desirability of registration for veterinarians. In his Report of 1899 he stated, 'I desire to draw your attention to the absence of legal

29. Johnson, 1973, *op. cit.*

status for veterinary surgeons. On careful examination it must appear anomalous that, in a colony which does so much for the agriculturalist and stock-owner there are no requirements regarding the qualifications of those who may care to assume the responsibility of treating the lower animals in ill-health, and no means of preventing the deception of the stock-owning public.'³⁰ As he further expanded his argument Gilruth's diplomatic skill in making as good a case as possible for the profession is very much in evidence. Recognising that such closure of the profession could only be brought about with the approval of the state, the acquiescence at least of the farming community, and without the organised opposition of unqualified practitioners, he then went on to urge the advantages that would benefit each of the groups concerned:

'Turning, however, to the stock-owners' more immediate interests ...it is imperative that the Government should protect its own name...No-one recognises more than I do, the unquestionable value of many of the local practitioners...Registration would be preferred even by the unqualified practitioners themselves, who would thus have a definite legal status.'

Gilruth acknowledged that 'the question from the point of view of the qualified veterinary surgeon is obvious, but I have not entered into that for the reason that if registration cannot be shown to be good for the general public, there can be little in its favour, especially in a country that offers no means of qualification.'

Gilruth's attempt to negotiate between the different interest groups to limit the right to practice as a veterinarian were talked of in Parliament, and he repeated his proposals in a number of subsequent reports, but nothing was done. His successor as Chief Veterinarian, C.J. Reakes, repeated his call in 1910:

'I would earnestly recommend that the submission to Parliament of a Bill for the registration of veterinary surgeons be favourably considered. It is not desired that good and capable unqualified men at present in practice should be debarred from continuing their work. Provision should be made for adequate safeguarding of their interests.'³¹

However, it was clear that such legislation would in fact adversely affect the veterinary occupational group as it was then constituted, and it was undoubtedly their hostility that occasioned the placatory tone of Gilruth's and Reake's remarks. Essentially the lack of consumer demand

30. Annual Report of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture, 1899.

31. *ibid*, 1910.

made such a proposal unrealistic since the level of demand for veterinary services was not sufficient at this time to overcome the opposition to limiting veterinary work solely to academically trained practitioners. The farming community was not particularly in favour of such registration either. The basic need for assistance with parturition and castration could be fairly satisfactorily met by local veterinarians. This situation had a major influence on the demise of attempts to set up a veterinary school in the early 1900's. The government had little way of enforcing such restriction of veterinary work, even if it wished to, since the lack of qualified veterinarians would result in an unmet demand that would inevitably be filled by less qualified persons. The process of change can be seen, however, in the government's use of qualified veterinarians in charge of the inspection of slaughterhouses and hygiene, but its unwillingness to become involved in delimiting clinical veterinary work in recognition of the current situation. It was thus not until 1926 that an Act to register veterinarians was in fact passed by parliament.

Under the terms of the 1926 Act registration for all veterinarians became obligatory and evidence was required of adequate formal veterinary training. Provision was also made for some unqualified persons who regularly did veterinary work to be able to continue, while at the same time, once the supplementary register of such practitioners had been closed off no further persons could be added. In this way, the aim of securing protection for the stock-owning public, and for the professional interests of duly qualified veterinarians was made. At the same time, as little injury as possible was done to the immediate interests of unqualified practitioners, although this latter class of worker would in due time cease to exist. It is worth citing the paragraph concerning the status of unqualified practitioners directly from the Act.

'14(2) Any person who has practised as a veterinary surgeon for not less than ten years immediately prior to the commencement of this Act, may notwithstanding that he may not be qualified to be registered under this Act, continue in practice, and may use in connection with his business the designation of 'veterinary practitioner' if he lodges his name with the Minister of Agriculture not later than twelve months after the commencement of this Act, and satisfies him that he has been practising as aforesaid and that he is of good character and repute.'

There were forty-eight such 'veterinary practitioners' registered under clause 14(2) of the 1926 Act. Their names and addresses are given on a typewritten sheet in front of the Veterinary Surgeon's Board Register. In the two decades up to the 1926 Act the Census Report variously gave the number of persons practising as veterinarians in New Zealand at between eighty and ninety. The question naturally arises, what percentage of this number were qualified veterinarians? We have already made some answer to this previously. The first gazetted notice of registration under the 1926 Act of duly qualified veterinarians appeared in 1928. It listed fifty-two veterinarians, mostly MRCVS. Subsequent arrivals in the country were registered by the Veterinary Surgeon's Board, but the total number of registrations did not reach one hundred until 1940. It is less easy to assess how many unqualified practitioners there were. The forty-eight of the most competent which were added to the supplementary list as 'veterinary practitioners', plus the fifty-two qualified veterinarians, more than account for the census figures. But it appears that there was a quite large number of other persons who were not considered good enough to be placed on the supplementary list, or who did not try to get listed. There may have been several dozen such persons, many of whom were only part-time veterinary workers. In fact, the provision of veterinary care was not too far removed from the situation in the nineteenth century. Farmers with veterinary ability, rural doctors, farriers and blacksmiths and chemists continued to supply a considerable proportion of the total demand for rural veterinary services.³²

From 1926 onwards it was one of the tasks of the Veterinary Surgeon's Board to monitor breaches of the Act, such as people advertising themselves as veterinarians or veterinary surgeons when they were in fact unqualified. The minutes of the Board disclose a considerable number of instances where such people were instructed by the Board to correct their advertisements either to 'veterinary practitioner' if they were one of the supplementary forty-eight, or else simply not to use any such title if they were not registered at all.

32. For example, W.A. Anderson, a doctor who practised near Queenstown in the 1920's and 1930's says, 'There was no veterinary surgeon in the district so that I was often called upon to advise and help with sick or injured domestic animals', *Doctor in the Mountains*. Reed, Wellington, 1964:149. See also H.G. Pearce, 'Each locality had its

In the first few years of the Board's operation some fifty unqualified people were instructed not to describe themselves by names or titles they were not eligible to use. By 1948 the number of 'veterinary practitoners' had halved to twenty-four and by 1968 there were only four remaining.

The Veterinary Surgeon's Board consisted of four members: the Registrar and Chairman selected from the veterinarians in employment in the Department of Agriculture. C.J. Reakes was appointed as Chairman, and of the three other Board members one was appointed on the recommendation of the Minister of Agriculture and two on the recommendation of the newly formed New Zealand Veterinary Association. All four were qualified veterinarians. H.S.S. Kyle was in fact a Member of Parliament at this time and had been involved in promoting the passage of the 1926 Act. A.M. Brodie and W.C. Barry were the other members. The effect of government patronage in this period was reflected in the membership of the Board: Reakes, as noted earlier, was Director-General of the Department of Agriculture, and the other members were either government veterinarians or members of the New Zealand Veterinary Association under Reake's leadership of that organisation. Thus without the provision of employment through the state's agency these other professional structures could not have been set up at this time.

The principal mechanism by which the Act affected closure of the profession was contained in clause 14(1) by which it was made an offence if anyone other than a registered veterinarian

'takes, uses or adopts the name, title or description of veterinary surgeon, veterinarian, or veterinary practitioner, or uses or causes to be used in connection with his business, trade, calling or profession any written words, titles, initials or abbreviations of words, titles or initials intended to cause, or which may reasonably cause any person to believe that he is a registered veterinary surgeon.'

By thus basing the exclusionary principle simply on the use of 'veterinarian and associated terms to demarcate between veterinarians and non-veterinarians', the profession in New Zealand avoided the legal arguments that occurred in Britain over what was actually veterinary work and consequently who could be engaged in it. The New Zealand

own 'cow doctor', 'Development of the Club Practice in New Zealand and some thoughts on its future', *Canadian Veterinary Journal*, 1964, 5:128-134.

legislation decisively closed veterinary practice as a full-time, remunerative activity to anyone but qualified veterinarians. The legal closure of the profession, however, did not immediately lead to a monopoly in practice. Unqualified and part-time practitioners continued in many farming districts for up to two decades and more after this date, and it was not until the sudden influx to New Zealand of trained veterinarians in the 1940's that the occupational hegemony of academically qualified veterinarians was finally secured. The Stock Remedies Act of 1934 marked a further step in consolidating the legitimacy of the qualified profession. Under this Act proprietary remedies had to be licensed before they could be sold, which entailed obtaining approval of the Stock Remedies Board composed of veterinarians and one pharmacist. By the Act, the Board was given power to restrict or suppress exaggerated claims in advertising animal remedies.

It was characteristic of this second period of New Zealand's veterinary history that, generally speaking, a stable producer - consumer relationship for veterinary service could not be established and sustained. The demand for veterinarians was at best intermittent: it ceased to exist when prices for farm produce dropped, and even when things went well demand was very strongly seasonal. Although farmers might agree in ^{the} abstract that it was in their interests to have veterinary attention available, the practical economics of agriculture meant that except in a few more intensively farmed districts or horse-breeding areas veterinary practitioners could not sustain a viable income. A unique feature of this situation that has not been documented in any detail was the number of attempts by farmer groups to overcome the financial obstacles in order to employ veterinarians. From our contemporary perspective these early efforts can be seen as antecedents to the development of the veterinary club system.

These different groups were not uniform in their organisation or degree of success, and like the later club system, existing organised groups in the agricultural community provided natural foci for arranging some kind of veterinary service. Both the Farmers' Union and the Agricultural and Pastoral Associations served as forums for rural opinion and both were active in farming affairs generally. Also significant in the early decades of the century were local dairy factories which like the farmer organisations were able to mobilise resources

in some cases to employ a veterinarian. In the growth of the club system later on, the dairy companies exerted the greatest influence of any group upon the movement. Often there are only general references to the existence of such groups, such as the following: 'In one or two instances groups of farmers had established clubs for the purpose of ensuring^a service in their district',³³ or, 'For many years before 1946 some farmer groups (usually the suppliers of a dairy factory) had retained salaried veterinarians'.³⁴ The first minimises the number of such groups while the second plays up the role of factories in this period. The following discussion mentions nine of these club-type groups. Probably half were promoted by suppliers of dairy companies, although only two were specifically organised through the local dairy company. Table 3.6 gives a summary of the early club-type veterinary groups known to this writer, although others were probably also in existence.

One of the first things that the not long formed Southland Farmers' Union did was to employ A.M. Paterson, MRCVS, who had come to New Zealand with fourteen others in 1901 to join the expanding Veterinary Division. In January 1903 he left government service to be veterinarian to the Southland Farmers' Union at a salary £150 higher than what he had been receiving; low government salaries caused the loss of a number of veterinarians to other countries from the Veterinary Division. It also appears that several other Farmers' Unions were operating on the same pattern in this period.³⁵ Paterson continued with the Southland Farmers' Union for about two or three years, acting as organiser, secretary and canvasser for the Union and not simply as veterinarian, although this was not altogether to his liking. Whether they gained another person, perhaps unqualified, or let the position lapse is not known.

When Paterson left the government service the Chief Veterinarian, J.A. Gilruth, had this to say;

33. C.V. Dayus, 'Development of Veterinary Services in New Zealand', *British Veterinary Journal*, 1953, 104:219-220.

34. David W. Caldwell, 'Animal Disease and Veterinary Services, In A.H. McLintock (ed), *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 1966, vol.1:42-49.

35. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1903, 127:569.

TABLE 3.6: Early Examples of Club-Type Veterinary Groups

| Group or Club | Year formed |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Southland Farmers' Union | 1903 |
| 2. Clutha Veterinary Association | 1907 |
| 3. Kaipara Veterinary Association | 1916 * |
| 4. Farmers' Union Veterinary Club, Ngatea | 1922 |
| 5. Farmers' Union Veterinary Club, Turua | 1922 * |
| 6. Taneatua Veterinary Club | 1922 * |
| 7. Rangataiki Plains Dairy Company, Veterinary Department | 1923 |
| 8. Veterinary Club, Central Taranaki | 1931 |
| 9. Rata Veterinary Club | 1934 |

NOTE :

- * Indicates club or group known to have been active at this date, since information on actual commencement not known to this writer.

'The loss of Mr Paterson to the Department is distinctly to be deplored, even though there is some satisfaction in the knowledge that his skill is still available for a section of the agricultural community, and that he has expressed himself as desirous of aiding the Department in its work as far as possible. Yet it should be remembered that now the first duty of Mr Paterson, and those holding similar appointments, is not to the general public, but to that section of which he is a special advisor, and circumstances might arise which compel his ability and skill being directed in the interests of the few even to the detriment of the many. That Farmers' Associations should have their own officers, so far as possible, seems wise, and a policy to be commended. But it is equally certain that a better scheme for the colony than the one adopted would be for the Department to detach an officer for the special duty of attending to the members of such associations who cared to pay a stipulated annual sum, the general control of that officer, particularly in matters relating to contagious disease, remaining with the Department. As it is not every individual who is fitted to undertake these duties, better remuneration would require to be offered than at present given by the State.'³⁶

Gilruth's comments throw considerable light on contemporary thinking about possible arrangements whereby a veterinarian might be employed by a group of stock-owners.

Attempts by groups of farmers to obtain the services were not always successful. The Milton Branch of the Farmers' Union was set up in 1901. Having in 1903 formed the Otago Farmers' Union Mutual Fire Investigation Association, 'the next important step was to secure the services of a veterinary surgeon for the district. The initiative in this movement came from the Farmers' Clubs in the surrounding districts. These attempts were abortive until 1907 when the Clutha Veterinary Association extended its district to include Tokomairiro.'³⁷

What did eventuate at Balclutha can probably lay claim to being the first veterinary club in New Zealand. On 15 January 1907 the formation of the Clutha Veterinary Association was announced with a committee of thirteen and all interested farmers were invited to apply for membership. Subscriptions were to be one shilling in the £100 capital value of a member's property.³⁸ It was planned to bring a veterinarian out from

36. Annual Report, New Zealand Department of Agriculture, 1903:193.

37. D.J. Sumpter & J.J. Lewis, *Faith and Toil: The Story of Tokomairiro*. Otago Centennial Publications, 1949:27-28.

38. Notes on the Clutha Veterinary Association are largely based on a script prepared for the club's sixtieth anniversary, sent to the

Scotland. In April 1907 the Milton Farmers' Union applied to the government to provide a veterinarian for their area, but this application was refused. However, at the request of the Minister of Agriculture and the Clutha Veterinary Association, Gilruth selected J. Danskin, MRCVS, when he was in Scotland (1905-1907) to work for the Association; Danskin left for New Zealand in November 1907.³⁹ Very little is known about the Association. It appears that Danskin was involved in training others in veterinary work: Allen Seymour, one of the two remaining 'veterinary practioners', registered under the 1926 Act, recalls that he gained his early training from Danskin.⁴⁰ In 1915 Danskin took over the affairs of the Association himself; what service was available thereafter is not clear. The R.C.V.S. Register shows that Danskin joined the Department of Agriculture at Dunedin. The Association was revived in 1929. On 10 June a meeting of all farmers was called at which it was decided to reform the club; arrangements were made to bring a veterinarian from Wales. A committee of seven was formed and the club was incorporated. Soon 134 members had joined although there was no reply from several districts; by August membership was 200. The salary of the veterinarian, T.J. Lewis, MRCVS, was set at £650 p.a. The scale of fees to be charged was as follows: members - 15/- a visit and 7/6 for a re-visit and no mileage charge; non-members' visit fee was £2, the re-visit fee was £1, and a mileage charge was payable. At the A.G.M. held on 26 July 1930 only twelve members attended although the total membership was 250. Since Lewis' arrival in mid-January, turn-over to 30 June was £250 for subscriptions and £42 for visits. Lewis continued until his death in 1937. He was replaced by George McDonald who was appointed to start 14 September 1937. In 1938 the membership of the club had grown to 508.

At the other end of New Zealand there were also early attempts to pioneer veterinary services. The Northern Wairoa Dairy Company commenced in 1909 and there was considerable competition in the area between the several factories. One historian speaks of veterinary work:

writer by C.J. Mathieson, the present Senior Veterinarian.

39. Annual Report, New Zealand Department of Agriculture, 1908:177.

40. This information gained in conversation with A.O. Seymour at his home in Marton, 12 October 1976.

'There were veterinary services around 1916 when the Kaipara Veterinary Association was formed, and it appears that a private company was operating. However, the Company was improved with the service and approaches were made in 1920 for a government subsidy which did not meet with success. The matter was again considered in 1936, but it was not until 1944 that the Northern Wairoa Veterinary Club was formed under the Company Committee.⁴¹

In this early period it was not always possible to get qualified veterinarians to service a group. In 1922 the Farmers' Veterinary Club was formed in Ngatea with a membership of seventy-four stock-owners. James Costello, one of the 'veterinary practitioners' subsequently registered under the 1926 Act, left his practice in Pukekohe to take up land in the area and continue in veterinary work for the club. Because of the difficulty in travelling, the club was incorporated in September 1923 with a committee of seven, to purchase a home for Costello's use. A horse and trap were also purchased to convey Costello on his calls and in 1925 this was replaced by the Clubs' first car (£115). Costello continued as the club's veterinarian until 1929, and was followed by T. Aris from 1930-39.⁴²

At about the same time as the Ngatea club was getting under way, other groups were also involved in arranging veterinary service for their districts. For example, the Turua Farmers' Union was also active in 1922. A Dr Jensen acted as chief veterinary surgeon and a captain Simpson also provided veterinary assistance to farmers in the Turua district.⁴³ The Rangitaiki Plains Dairy Company (RPDC) was also early in providing a veterinary service for its suppliers. However, it appears that it was preceded in the same area by the Taneatua Veterinary Club which was in existence in July 1922 but about which very little information is available. A veterinarian was employed but it was not known if he was a qualified practitioner or not and it appears that the club must have wound up in 1923 as a Mr Hardy of Taneatua is recorded as having offered the drugs held by the club to the RPDC when their veterin-

41. E.K. Bradley, *The Great Northern Wairoa*. Dargaville, 1972:137.

42. K. Jones, 'Veterinary Services in the Plains', *In* R.E. Tye, *Hauraki Plains Story*. Thames Valley News Ltd, 1974:169.

43. *ibid*.

arian was engaged How much earlier the Taneatua club was operating is not known.

In late 1920 several RPDC suppliers had dairy orders in force, payable to the Taneatua Veterinary Club.⁴⁴ It was probably the difficulty in obtaining services from Taneatua owing to poor communications that prompted RPDC to engage their own veterinarian for their suppliers.

In April 1923 an advertisement for a veterinarian at a salary of £600 p.a. plus travel expenses brought twenty-eight applications and from these Stanley Fletcher was appointed to start from 1 July. The veterinarian's salary contrasted to the £450 of the Manager and £350 of the Company secretary. Drugs were sold to give the Veterinary Department a 25% profit and visit charges were 2/6 per visit. Initially the service was for supplying shareholders of RPDC and Tarawera Dairy Companies, and if non-shareholders wished to use the services of the veterinarian they were required to take out twenty shares in the Company. However, this was later modified to cater for non-shareholders in the scale of fees. Spaying a cow cost 2/6 plus an extra 2/6 for non-shareholders. For castrating colts the fee was again 2/6, plus either 2/- for shareholders or 10/- for non-shareholders. It seems that the major activities of the veterinarian were spaying cattle and mastitis vaccinations. H.C. Taylor followed Fletcher as veterinarian from 1925 to 1930; and after him J.A. Barker until 1932, and T. McGrath until 1933, established the operation of the RPDC's Veterinary Department on a permanent basis.

Comments by J.A. Gilruth in 1903 have already been cited; C.J. Reakes was Director-General of the Department of Agriculture in 1930 when he made the following comments about veterinary organisation in New Zealand. His earlier Annual Report of 1919 had drawn attention to the desirability of subsidising veterinary practice in rural areas. His suggestions give us some idea of how, as the potential for employing veterinarians changed, the club idea gained greater currency some years before the movement became widespread under Leslie and others' influence. Reakes said that in the context of the continuing development

44. Notes on the Taneatua Veterinary Club and the Rangitaiki Plains Dairy Company Veterinary Department are based on a letter from D.C. Anderson, the present senior veterinarian.

of the dairy industry, the need for and shortage of veterinary services was becoming more serious. Government veterinarians were comparatively few and dispersed and could help the situation very little.

'What is needed', he said, 'is an organised veterinary service under which skilled qualified men would be engaged to give their whole time to practice among dairy farmers in a definite area and at the same time act as advisors generally upon all questions bearing upon the health and productivity of dairy stock. The experience of veterinary surgeons who have attempted independent private practice in dairy districts has been that the earnings they are able to collect do not provide a reasonably sufficient income, hence some other system has to be adopted, but it is considered that a properly organised service on a self-supporting basis could be established and maintained through the medium of dairy factories.'⁴⁵

Reakes then went on to outline possible ways of organising such a system:

"Thus, in the case of a large factory whose suppliers own 8,000 cows or upwards, if the whole of the suppliers would combine in forming a veterinary association and each provide a small sum - say at the rate of 2/6 per cow - the amount derived from 8,000 cows would be sufficient to pay the salary and travelling expenses of a good veterinarian, whose whole-time services would be available without extra charge. Or, alternatively, the payment could be made on a per pound of butterfat basis. Arrangements could also be made for medicine to be supplied on the veterinarian's prescription at cost price, plus expenses of preparation, handling, etc. A scheme such as this, properly organised and managed would be a great benefit to dairy farmers and of great economic value to the Dominion. The government could well assist in bringing about the establishment of a scheme by selecting veterinary surgeons of the right type, and in other ways which would be helpful in placing it upon working lines.'⁴⁶

The organisational options outlined here were very close to what actually did develop. It became evident, however, that veterinary services could not be successfully established until a certain level of intensiveness in farming had been achieved in a given locality, and that in fact the dairying districts which had local farmers already grouped around a dairy factory reached this level first.

In early 1932 members of the Farmers' Union in Central Taranaki formed a veterinary club after a general meeting addressed by W.C. Ring,

45. Annual Report, New Zealand Department of Agriculture, 1930.

46. *ibid.*

V.M.D. (Pennsylvania).⁴⁷ The annual subscription was fixed at £1, of which 16/- was to go to Ring and the remainder to the club. In return, Ring was to provide the club members with the services of his organisation which was based on Stratford and remedies were to be made available at a 20% discount. For attendance a mileage charge of 3d per mile with a minimum of 2/6 was set. Initially club membership was fifty, and by the end of the first financial year had increased to eighty-four. In 1932 the club commenced its year with 102 members, and on the executive's recommendation became incorporated. Ring was not resident in the district but undertook to act in an advisory capacity; during the first year he visited the district four times, treating eighty cows on the last trip. How the club progressed thereafter is not clear, although it appears Ring was in Australia from about 1933 or 1934.

In 1934 the Rata Dairy Company arranged a veterinary service for its suppliers and engaged its first veterinarian, W.C. Maitland, MRCVS, on a similar basis to that which the Rangitaiki Plains Dairy Company had done a decade earlier. Maitland continued in this position until 1937 when he left for England. He was succeeded by J. Hill-Motion who subsequently entered private practice in Palmerston North in 1939 while Dr G.F. Finlay became the company veterinarian.⁴⁸

The diffusion of pre-veterinary organisation in the nineteenth century resulted in a multiplicity of overlapping veterinary roles because of the lack of functional specialisation. In the second period of veterinary development this diffuseness crystallised around the work role of trained veterinarians, and the profession was effectively closed to other than academically qualified men in 1926. State patronage has been used here as an analytic description of veterinary development at this time.⁴⁹ As the major employer of veterinarians, the state through the Veterinary Division was in a position to define its own needs and how these were to be met. The fact of the state's patronage was influential

47. 'Veterinary Club's Success in Central Taranaki', article in *The Taranaki Farmer*, 1932, September 1, 1:6.

48. K.M. Little, *The Rata Co-operative Dairy Company Limited*. Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 1902-1952, Dudley Rabone & Co. Ltd, Palmerston North, 1952.

49. In his 1973 article, Johnson, *op. cit.*, also refers to this government role as 'corporate patronage'.

in the formation and early development of the New Zealand Veterinary Association. It was the absence of a developed clientele for veterinary attention that made the patronage of the state the dominant form of occupational influence in this period. The potential importance of the consumer role of the farming community can be seen in the number of attempts made to establish clinical practices in rural areas. It was not, however, until an expansion in scientific knowledge (increasing the ability of the profession to produce effective veterinary service) and changes in the economic situation (increasing the demand for such service), that the situation became sufficiently different for a shift in the institutionalised pattern of veterinary employment to give rise to a new pattern of occupational control. It is this new pattern that forms the subject of the next chapter.

4. THE JOHNSON MODEL: MEDIATION AND HETERONOMY IN
THE NEW ZEALAND VETERINARY CLUB
SYSTEM

In this chapter Johnson's typology of occupational power continues to guide the discussion of the development of the New Zealand veterinary profession. The third main phase of veterinary occupational change in this country covers the time from the late 1930's towards the present day. It includes such steps in professional development as the establishment of a veterinary school, the publication of a professional journal and a greater disciplinary powers being given to the profession. As at the beginning of the previous phase, the most obvious overall change was simply the large increase in the number of veterinarians in the country. In the course of a few years around 1940 a decisive shift in the predominant pattern of veterinary employment occurred, however, and a markedly different and more complex allocation of occupational power in the delivery of veterinary services was established.

In the last chapter Johnson's term 'patronage' was used to synthesise the essential features of occupational change within the New Zealand veterinary profession from the 1890's to the 1930's. While this pattern of state patronage of the veterinary profession continued, it is the contention in the present chapter that in the period from the late 1930's onwards the concepts of state mediation and professional heteronomy together provide the best description of the shift in occupational power that is represented by the development of the veterinary club system. The idea of state mediation has already been presented in chapter three, but the respective occupational roles of the farming community on the one hand and the veterinary profession on the other has necessitated the introduction of the second analytic term to adequately encompass the empirical situation of the New Zealand veterinary profession at that time. The idea of professional heteronomy is congenial with Johnson's formulations, and its inclusion in the discussion allows a more accurate picture of veterinary development to be obtained. The idea of state mediation has been outlined at the beginning of the last chapter as an intermediate form of occupational control between patronage and professionalism in which the state intervenes in the relationship between producer and consumer. A description of

professional heteronomy is given below before proceeding to an analysis of the main events in the third phase of New Zealand's veterinary development.

Weber used the idea of heteronomy last century in describing corporate groups, and two recent sociologists have employed the concept in analysing the relationship of professionals to organisations.

W.R. Scott studied the work role, performance and satisfaction of social workers in social work agencies. In discussing their organisational setting he said that in professional organisations - in contrast to other types of organisations - it is the professionals themselves who occupy the central role in achieving the aims of the organisation concerned. This is an appropriate description of veterinary clubs. According to Scott, such organisational contexts where professionals are employed can be classified as being one of two kinds: they are either autonomous or heteronomous. A professional organisation can be regarded as

'autonomous if the administrative sector delegates the organisation and control of most professional activities within the organisation to the staff of professionals, and as heteronomous if the administration retains control over most professional activities.'¹

There may be empirical variations in the degree of autonomy or heteronomy in a given situation. A subsequent writer, Toren, makes reference to Scott's work; heteronomy for her means that

'members of the profession are guided and controlled not only from 'within', that is, by internalised professional norms, expert knowledge and the professional community - but also by administrative rules and by superiors in the organisational hierarchy.'²

This latter definition, however, tends to re-introduce the functionalist assumptions of the trait approach about internalised values and professional homogeneity, and in this respect it goes beyond the framework being used here. On the other hand it does broaden Scott's definition more in line with the present usage. Professional heteronomy stands in

1. W. Richard Scott, 'Reaction to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organisation', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1965, 20:65-81. Because of the large-scale organisational context in Johnson's terms the situation of social workers in a state department would be described as state or corporate patronage.
2. Nina Toren, *Social Work: The Case of a Semi-Profession*. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, California, 1972.

contrast to the situation of professional autonomy in which a profession is substantially self-directing in its work through gaining an independence from the market-place. This is achieved through such techniques as restriction of licence to practice and being granted the prerogative to define the needs of the clientele and how these are to be provided for. Professional heteronomy occurs when for one reason or another this professional authority is counter-balanced by the influence of some other group such as another occupation. The respective resources of the two groups are such that they are obliged to share their occupational power with each other. The producers of professional services are not able to fully impose their definition on the relationship as in professionalism proper, nor are the consumers able to impose their definition on the relationship as in the case in patronage. In heteronomy it is the direct relationship between the producers and consumers that is of primary importance, and in this respect it is similar to patronage and professionalism and stands in contrast to mediation. Because, however, both heteronomy and mediation are forms of occupational control intermediate between the polar types of patronage and professionalism it can be expected that despite their structural differences they also share a number of characteristics in common.

The development and consolidation of the veterinary club system reflected both an heteronomous or shared distribution of occupational control between the organised farming community and the veterinary profession, and at the same time it reflected a mediative pattern of influence by the state through the establishment and financial support of the Veterinary Services Council.

In chapter three a number of examples were discussed of farmers co-operating in the early decades of this century to employ a veterinarian for their district. In the light of subsequent development within the profession these groups can now be viewed as antecedents to the veterinary club system. Although many of these early groups were not economically viable, at least four of them were still operating in the late 1930's, and at this time changes in trade, agriculture and science quite quickly altered the potential for such groups to be self-sustaining. In the last half of the 1930's following the Depression, rising prices for farm products coupled with a need to increase productivity per farm, stimulated the demand for veterinary services, especially

among dairy farmers who became more conscious of the potential of such professional attention. The Second World War continued to keep prices high and further stimulated the demand for improved productivity. Animal health was a prime area where such improvement could be effected. Over this same period there was a dramatic increase in the veterinary profession's ability to effectively treat disease by the successive discovery of the sulphonamide and penicillin drugs which ushered in the era of modern pharmaceuticals in veterinary medicine. Veterinary research into such areas as trace element deficiencies, and other advances in technology such as the widespread use of the motor car and the availability of the radio-telephone also greatly enhanced the benefits of employing veterinarians in rural practice.

In the development of the veterinary club system two men, Alan Leslie and Andrew Linton, are notable for the formative influence they exercised. It was the veterinarian, Leslie, who was a key figure in establishing the practical utility of farmers' veterinary groups (or 'clubs' as they were frequently termed).³ Leslie had arrived in New Zealand in 1928 to teach at Lincoln College. In addition to lecturing he was involved in a clinical practice in the surrounding district, a variety of research projects with sheep, and veterinary extension meetings around the South Island. Contact with Leslie at Lincoln caused several students to change courses to do veterinary degrees. He left to spend 1936 on a veterinary course at Sydney University and then returned to New Zealand as veterinarian to a newly formed farmers' veterinary group in Taranaki. For twenty years Leslie was closely associated with farmers in the promotion of veterinary clubs, in the latter half of this time serving as Chief Veterinary Executive Officer to the Veterinary Services Council. According to one source, - which incidentally also reflects the importance of the farmer producer boards in veterinary affairs, it was

'largely through his persuasive powers that the Meat, Wool and Dairy Boards were convinced of their necessary interest in veterinary service. This was a much greater achievement than appears in

3. See note by A.A. Blakely, *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1958, 6:56-57; obituary in *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1962, 10:147-148; *Veterinary Services Council*, Conference Proceedings, 1963:24-25. (N.B. In the footnotes to this chapter the following abbreviations are used: Veterinary Services Council (VSC), Annual Report (AR), and Annual Conference Proceedings (AC). These constitute the

retrospect, as many of the leading farmers were far from veterinary minded.⁴

Andrew Linton was a farmer and like Leslie closely involved with farmers' veterinary clubs from the beginning of the club 'movement'. As a consequence he was one of the two farmer representatives of the Dairy Board on the Veterinary Services Committee set up by the Minister of Agriculture in 1943, and he played a leading role in formulating the Committee's eventual report. He was also the Meat and Dairy Board's representative on the Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services. In 1947 when the Veterinary Services Council was formed, Linton was elected chairman and he occupied that position until his resignation in 1957 when he took up the chairmanship of the Dairy Board. As chairman of the Veterinary Services Council he epitomised the formative period of the club system, articulating the farmer position of farmer controlled veterinary groups but by his personality and experience able to lead both farmer and veterinary occupations forward in the joint venture. One close observer remarked at the end of his period as chairman,

'Mr Linton can be very largely regarded as being the Council...We have passed through difficult times in the relationships between veterinarians and farmers, and there has never been anybody on the Council, or outside it, who can adjust these matters as well as Mr Linton.'

At the beginning of the period under review, in the late 1930's, about two-thirds of the veterinary profession in New Zealand was employed by the government. As awareness spread of the potential gains to be made from veterinary treatment, the common pattern was for farmers in a district to establish an organisation to provide veterinary services, often in response to hearing Leslie address a meeting on the subject. A committee would be formed to arrange membership fees and other administrative details and to procure the services of a veterinarian. It was a feature of such committees that they were composed solely of farmers elected by the farmer members or appointed by the local co-operative dairy company. In a decade and a half from 1937 nearly seventy major source of information for the following discussion).

4. A.A. Blakely, 'A Review of Veterinary Practice in New Zealand', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1968, 16, 4:43-49.
5. W.C. Barry was a government appointee on the VSC from its inception until 1960. He held the 'top position' for veterinarians in the

of these farmer veterinary clubs were set up giving a reasonably comprehensive coverage of the whole of New Zealand. In that period the number of veterinarians in club employment had grown from virtually nothing to 111, and at 58% of the total veterinary workforce, had outstripped the combined total of veterinarians in private practice, government service or teaching positions. Over the next decade and a half from 1952, while the number of clubs remained about the same, the increased depth of coverage enlarged the volume of work and required the employment of more veterinarians, so that the number of veterinarians in clubs continued to rise until it plateaued in the late 1960's at about 230. From the time the club movement became firmly established in the 1940's the growth of the total number of veterinarians in New Zealand was almost exponential, as Figure 3:1 shows. This growth was predominantly a result of recruitment into the club system, which itself represented a major proportion of the expansion, and from which veterinarians moved into other forms of practice. After forty years the contemporary veterinary work force of about 800 veterinarians active in this country can be divided into three parts of approximately equal numerical proportions according to the type of employment context: private practice, club practice and government service.⁶

In 1937 the Federation of Taranaki Dairy Companies arranged for five factories to jointly establish a co-operative veterinary service. Leslie was appointed veterinarian and he worked from Eltham using the New Zealand Rennet Company's laboratory as his clinic and office. The veterinary group operated on the basis of salary and overheads being met by a butterfat levy on all suppliers, with a visit charge to each user of the service to cover transport and other costs. The Eltham group proved extremely successful in speedily reducing stock losses through disease and injury. Leslie's ability to 'sell' the idea of

country as Divisional Director of Veterinary Services in the Department of Agriculture. VSC, AC, 1957.

6. See the New Zealand Veterinary Surgeon's Board Register as at 30 June 1976. The following figures give the Register's listed totals followed by a physical count in brackets: clinical practice (club and private, undifferentiated) 496 (494), University 42 (50), Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF), Animal Health Division 96 (97), MAF Meat Division 77 (78), MAF Research Division 18 (18), Retired 37 (35), overseas (182), other 47 (28), not categorised (3).

co-operative veterinary clubs to farmers in Taranaki and subsequently wider afield showed that the economic and scientific changes that were occurring meant that the club movement was an 'idea whose time had come'⁷. The dairying areas were the first to establish veterinary clubs, on the basis of butterfat levies on suppliers organised through local dairy factories. In 1939 a club at Morrinsville was commenced based on voluntary subscriptions, and in 1944 the first club in a mainly sheep farming area began at Gisborne. By 1942 sixteen veterinarians were employed by farmers' veterinary clubs - more than the number in private practice, and this figure continued to rise steeply to 29 the following year. As new clubs were set up there was a continued and increasing shortfall in the number of veterinarians obtainable to fill the vacancies occurring through the expansion of the club system. The pressure for getting veterinarians had become more urgent at ward meetings and other conferences in the dairy and sheep industries so that in 1943 the Dairy and Meat Boards set up a Joint Veterinary Committee to arrange bursaries to train veterinarians for club service. It was decided that bursaries were to have a value of \$400 per year for four years; half this amount would be repayable at \$200 per year after graduation. At the same time as these statutory producer boards were acting to increase the supply of veterinarians, the extreme shortage of staff was causing strong rivalry among farmer clubs:

'It was soon found that the competition from the various veterinary services for the limited number of qualified men available was likely to lead to disorganisation through officers being enticed from established services to those which were being newly formed and were offering higher remuneration'.

Thus in 1943 a Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services was formed to co-ordinate the interests and actions of the various groups, the initiative for this coming from the clubs themselves in setting up the organisation which included representatives of both farmers and veterinarians. In July 1944 when the Federation applied to be incorporated there were seven farmer-run employing organisations

7. Notes on the Eltham club written by L.V. Lloyd who was for many years secretary to the Eltham Co-operative Dairy Company and club, and supplied to the writer by Mr and Mrs H. De Jong, the present Senior Veterinarian and wife.

8. VSC, AR, 1948.

affiliated to it.⁹ The aims of the Federation were wide-ranging in applying veterinary knowledge to the needs of the farming community. The first of seventeen objects stated that the Federation aimed

'to consider all matters affecting the working and expansion of affiliated organised farmers' veterinary groups...with the ultimate object of creating a national Non-Government Veterinary Service which will collaborate with existing Government veterinary organisations in the maintenance and improvement of stock health and in the education of the farming community in animal health problems'.¹⁰

It tried to establish some degree of uniformity between clubs in the salaries they paid to staff to avoid the excessive mobility of veterinarians between clubs. More generally, the Federation tried to regularise the pattern on which new clubs were set up and how they operated, 'for their mutual protection and benefit'. A standard form of contract was drawn up governing the conditions of service of veterinarians in clubs and this was the basic regulatory instrument of the club system until the beginning of 1952 when a revised contract was issued by the Veterinary Services Council. The Federation also aimed to provide veterinarians for clubs 'without undue interference with existing services'.¹¹ The office of the Federation was situated at the Dairy Board's offices and a steady stream of inquiries about how to set up veterinary clubs in new areas was received, as well as requests for veterinary staff from already incorporated clubs. In conjunction with the Department of Agriculture veterinarians were brought in from overseas. In 1944-45 three young Canadian and six British veterinarians were imported with the co-operation of their respective governments. The Federation's rules allowed it to appoint veterinarians to member clubs or to employ them directly itself. Co-operation with the Department of Agriculture and other research organisations was an important part of the Federation's aims, along with public lectures, field days, etc, for farmers (by Leslie). In mid-1945 the Federation reported that the 'development of veterinary services had not been as rapid as expected owing to the scarcity of trained veterinarians in New Zealand

9. The seven were: Morrinsville District Veterinary Club (Inc), Putaruru Veterinary Club (Inc), Te Awamutu Veterinary Association (Inc), Farmers' Veterinary Club (Inc), Ngatea, Federation of Taranaki Co-operative Dairy Factories (Inc), Wairarapa Veterinary Association (Inc) and Rangitaiki Plains Dairy Company.

10. The closed file of the incorporated Federation is held at National Archives, Wellington. See also the Annual Reports of the New Zealand Dairy Board in the 1940's. 11. *ibid*, 1944.

and the difficulty in getting the release and transport of overseas veterinarians.¹² In the year to June 1945 eleven applications by clubs for membership were approved bringing the total to eighteen affiliated clubs employing twenty-five qualified veterinarians, and with nineteen applications in hand for veterinarians to start new clubs or enlarge existing ones. Each affiliated veterinary group was entitled to send delegates to general meetings of the Federation on the basis of two farmers and one veterinarian for every 'three veterinarians or part thereof' employed by the club. The Federation's executive committee consisted of seven members: three farmers elected by the farmer delegates to the Annual General Meeting and three veterinarians elected by the veterinary delegates. The Meat and Dairy Board's joint representative was entitled to be a committee member, or if unavailable, four farmer executive members were to be elected, not three. Most of the executive committee subsequently became members of the Veterinary Services Council. The Federation did not have a very large financial base, levying a few cents per club member up to a maximum of \$12 per veterinarian employed by clubs. From 1945 to 1947 members' subscriptions of \$201, \$276 and \$381 reflected the growth of the club system. In 1945 and 1946 the Meat and Dairy Boards both contributed \$200 each year to help with the Federation's expenses. With the formation of the Veterinary Services Council in 1947 such funds ceased. No further annual reports were produced as the Federation's functions were taken over by the Council and in February 1949 the Registrar of Incorporated Societies was formally requested to wind up the organisation by C.H. Courtney, the secretary of both the Federation and the new Council:

'The functions which the Federation was created to perform are now carried out by the Veterinary Services Council constituted under the Veterinary Services Act 1946. After the formation of the Council, the Federation had power to appoint two representatives to the Council but this right was taken away by the Veterinary Services Amendment Act 1948, the reason being that the Federation had ceased to function.'¹³

The organisation of the Federation was a move to counter the veterinary profession's favourable market situation by regulating to some extent the work conditions for veterinarians and thus reducing the advantages to be gained from club rivalry. This process of market regulation was

12. Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services, Annual Report, 1945.

13. Letter dated 7 February 1949 on the closed file of the Incorporated Federation, *op. cit.*

taken further with the Veterinary Services Committee and finally the Veterinary Services Council. In the mid-1940's, however, demand continued to outstrip supply and by April 1946 twenty-four clubs were affiliated to the Federation, employing 36 veterinarians and with vacancies for a further 30.¹⁴ The object of the Federation, 'to assist in maintaining direction and control of Dominion Veterinary Services by primary producers organisation' resulted in a balance of power on the basis of the veterinarian's market advantage and the farmers' greater administrative control.

In June 1943 at its twentieth Annual General Meeting, the New Zealand Veterinary Association discussed at length the issue of rural veterinary groups and veterinary education. From this meeting the Minister of Agriculture was urged to set up an official committee to make a comprehensive investigation of the whole subject.¹⁵ The immediate response in setting up the Veterinary Services Committee reflects the foment in farming and veterinary circles at that time about the massive demand for veterinarians and the new directions in which veterinary services seemed to be developing.¹⁶ The Committee was instructed to report on the following matters: the number of veterinarians needed for an efficient service in New Zealand; what annual replacements would be needed to maintain such a service; what activities were best controlled by veterinarians; the best method of organising veterinary services for New Zealand; and the best method of training veterinarians for New Zealand. There were two representatives on the Committee from each of the Department of Agriculture, the Dairy and Meat Boards and the New Zealand Veterinary Association, and one representative from each of the University of New Zealand, the Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services and the Education Section of the Rehabilitation Department, the last two being additional appointments to the original Committee. Although the Committee did not report until January 1945, immediately upon being set up, at its first meeting in August 1943, the members resolved 'that in the first instance the Committee devote its attention to the problem of providing veterinarians for the urgent

14. New Zealand Dairy Board Annual Report, 1946.

15. Article, 'Veterinary Services and Veterinary Education', *New Zealand Science Review*, Sept. 1943:7.

16. Report of the Veterinary Services Committee, 1943-1944.

vacancies that now exist and are likely to occur during the next five years.' This led to action along two different lines: the importation of veterinarians from Britain, and the granting of bursaries to veterinary students at Sydney University. Advertisements in British papers brought many applicants, and working through the New Zealand High Commission in London, seventeen were selected; of the eleven released at the time the committee reported, four had been appointed to the Department of Agriculture and seven to farmers' veterinary clubs, and requests for veterinarians were continuing to be received. After standardising the bursaries offered by the Department of Agriculture and the Meat and Wool Boards, a number of bursaries were granted to students to train as veterinarians at Sydney University (fourteen in 1944; a further sixteen in 1945), the costs to be shared, one-third each between government, Dairy and Meat Boards.

A decision of the Committee that was to have a major bearing on the long term course of the veterinary club system was the recommendation not to found a veterinary school 'until it is clearly established that New Zealand intends to employ permanently at least 250 veterinarians requiring an annual output of approximately nine graduates'. However, this was a contentious issue and there was sufficiently strong disagreement for a minority report to be brought down on this aspect. Linton was one of the signatories to this minority report which considered 400 a more reasonable projection of future veterinary requirements, and using the same estimated figure of a 3.5% annual replacement rate, reckoned on a yearly intake of 14 to 16 students - enough to justify a veterinary school. The principle recommendations of the Committee's report were that a national farmers' veterinary service should be organised under the control of a central Council 'predominantly composed of stock owners, with representatives of the Department of Agriculture, and practising veterinarians'. A central fund was to be established through the agency of the statutory producer boards and this would be matched from government funds. The formation of district veterinary groups on a contributory basis was to be fostered and such groups would be subsidised from the central fund. The 1946 Veterinary Services Act gave statutory expression to the Committee's recommendations. A Veterinary Services Council (VSC) was established as the controlling body. The ten members of the Council represented Government (3),

Dairy Board (2), farmers' veterinary groups (2),¹⁷ Meat and Wool Boards (1 each) and the New Zealand Veterinary Association (1). The Council was empowered to be involved in a wide range of activities having important consequences for the veterinary profession, on terms of the Council's own choosing. The Act stated that

'The functions of the Council shall be to promote and encourage the provision of efficient veterinary services for owners of livestock in New Zealand, with a view to the maintenance and improvement of the health and general condition of livestock and the quality of produce derived from any livestock and the increased production of such produce; and for these purposes to promote the training of a sufficient number of persons in veterinary science and their employment when qualified, as veterinary surgeons.'¹⁸

To carry out these functions a fund was established into which the three producer boards together paid one half of the total annual contribution. The Dairy Board provided two-thirds of the producer board's proportion and the Meat and Wool Boards the other third. The Wool Board's contribution was the least and amounted to only a few per cent. These proportions had been worked out by the Veterinary Services Committee on the basis of greatest use by dairy farmers, moderate use by grazers of fat lambs and only a small use by graziers. With the spread of veterinary clubs to non-dairying areas the relative advantage gained changed, and the 1955 Veterinary Services Amendment Act altered the respective amounts payable by the contributory boards. Under the revised arrangement the Dairy Board paid three-fifths (60% instead of 66.6%) and the Meat and Wool Boards increased their share to three-tenths and one-tenth each (40% instead of 30%) of the producer board contribution. The government continued its policy of matching the producer board's amount. The funding of the VSC was set up in such a way that the combined contributions of the producer boards and government were limited to a ceiling of \$200,000 in any one year.¹⁹

17. By the 1948 Veterinary Services Amendment Act these two positions were replaced by 2 representatives of the VSC Annual Conference.

18. Veterinary Services Act, 1946, clause 12(1).

19. The Wool Board's annual contribution came from a specified amount invested on its behalf for this purpose. This sum was specified in the 1946 Act, hence the need for legislative amendment to alter the relative proportions.

At first this amount was more than adequate for the Council's operations. In the first year income was \$140,390 and expenditure amounted to less than half of this. As the work of the Council increased with the expansion of the club system, financial demands also grew. In 1954 for the first time the full income was drawn but it was not until three years later that expenditure reached the \$200,000 level. In terms of funding the club movement through the Council there has been three broad phases: from 1947 to 1954 the amount appropriated uncreased until it reached ^{the} \$200,000 maximum. For the next decade until 1963 Council income remained at this level while outgoings continued to rise, thus necessitating cutbacks and redistribution of the available finance. From 1964 onwards the contributions were steadily decreased until in the mid-1970's they have reached a static level which because of inflation is effectively a decreasing sum.²⁰ These sequences of income and expenditure correspond to the major events and policies of the club movement as a whole and of the VSC in particluar. In keeping with the functions of the Council as defined in the 1946 Act the two main ways in which Council funds were spent ^{were} in support of the establishment and development of individual clubs, and the recruitment of veterinarians for club practice.

In the earlier period of government patronage which began under J.A. Gilruth, the attempt to establish training within New Zealand had failed, and recruitment of qualified veterinarians from Britain was the main source of input to the profession. The first moves in a new direction came when Leslie visited Wellington in the early 1930's and arranged for government bursaries for several agricultural students to train as veterinarians.²¹ Soon after Leslie began at Eltham these men also began to practise. Initially it was the district farmer committees that were most concerned with obtaining veterinarians, but in time the primary producer boards, particularly the Dairy Board moved to the forefront of action designed to meet the needs of their constituencies for veterinarians. The Meat and Dairy Borad's Joint Committee, the Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services, and the Veterinary Services

20. Appendix 2 shows the contributions to income and the overall expenditure of the VSC for the three decades 1947 to 1977.

21. For example: A.A. Blakely and J.M. Stewart, who qualified in 1937.

Committee were all involved in providing assistance for students to train as veterinarians. The standardised bursaries arranged through the Veterinary Services Committee covered travel, fees and allowances. Repayment was to be made over the first four years after graduation, and bursars were placed under bond to serve in New Zealand in an approved capacity for five years. In its first year of operation the VSC granted seven more bursaries, giving a total of seventy-six New Zealand students training at Sydney: twenty-nine under VSC control, thirty-four sponsored by the Rehabilitation Department, and thirteen paying their own way. To consolidate the position of the VSC in training and deploying veterinarians the twenty-two bursars sponsored by the Department of Agriculture and the Dairy and Meat Boards were transferred to the control of the Council.²² In 1952 only five of the forty-five New Zealand students at Sydney were not under VSC control. From 1947 to the mid-1960's the VSC acted as almost the sole recruiting agent into the veterinary profession, and in this period granted about 260 bursaries at a cost of over \$800,000 or \$3700 per veterinarian.²³ This constituted 25% of the Council's spending in that period. After an initial expenditure of 21% and 19% of all outgoings in 1948 and 1949, there was an overall rise from 10% in 1950 to over half (54%) of the Council's expenditure in 1964 at which time the New Zealand veterinary faculty began instruction.

The monetary value of bursaries was periodically reviewed. In 1951 it increased from \$420 to \$520. Again the following year there was an increase of \$100 for second, third and fourth year students. By 1959 further increases brought second, third and fifth year payments to \$890 and the fourth year payment to \$1030. Despite these adjustments to make the bursaries attractive and the good career prospects, during the 1950's the Council complained that it had 'the greatest difficulty in getting boys to go in for these bursaries'.²⁴ The reasons for

22. This was provided for in the 1948 Veterinary Services Amendment Act.

23. This excludes funding of the policy operating from 1949 to the early 1960's by which the VSC arranged for final year bursars and some Australian students to do their extramural work in New Zealand and to be available as assistants in clubs for the busy spring months.

24. Bursars were approved by a VSC interviewing sub-committee. Bursaries were opened to women in 1955; the first woman to apply in 1957, was accepted.

this are not fully clear, but the four year break overseas was probably a considerable barrier, and at this time the veterinary profession did not have a very high occupational profile by which to attract the attention of potential members. In 1953 a 16mm film 'Veterinary Surgeon' and a brochure were produced for the VSC and distributed to schools and universities to arouse interest in the veterinary profession as a career. Before the setting up of the VSC as many as twenty bursars per year had gone to Sydney, but with post-war crowding a quota of ten New Zealanders was imposed, although in 1951 this was raised to fifteen. For several years in the fifties, however, neither the Sydney or Brisbane quotas could be filled.²⁵

During the 1950's two partly independent but convergent developments occurred. The first was a steady increase in pressure on the Australian veterinary schools' facilities and higher subsidies were required by the schools. In 1955 VSC representatives visited Sydney and Brisbane to discuss the issue of New Zealand bursars. They were asked: 'Why doesn't an agriculturally dependent country like New Zealand have its own veterinary school?' It was arranged that the VSC pay Sydney an annual grant of \$A6,000 above teaching fees, to be reviewed at the end of 1957. Further complicated negotiations in the late 1950's including another visit to Australia got an extension of this agreement to 1962. The second development was the demand within New Zealand to establish its own national veterinary school. Despite the Veterinary Services Committee's majority recommendation, in the early 1950's there was renewed talk within the veterinary profession of the need for a veterinary school; and with the continuing shortage of club veterinarians, delegates to the VSC Annual Conferences saw the provision of a New Zealand school as a way of overcoming this bottleneck.²⁶ At every conference from 1952 onwards the subject of a veterinary school for New Zealand came up. The 1952 remit, for instance, was taken by the VSC to the government which asked the University of New Zealand to report, which it duly did in 1954, recommending that a school should be established. The tone of successive years' remits became increasingly urgent,

25. 1 or 2 bursaries to other veterinary schools were granted, for example, the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College, Edinburgh.

26. It is ironic that the eventual establishment of the Veterinary Faculty had a major effect on the VSC's central role in the affairs of

but what caused delay for a number of years was the fact that the primary producer boards were by no means united in their wish for a school, and until this was achieved the government deferred action. However, by 1960 the dissenting voices within the farming community had been silenced by the continuing high demand within New Zealand for veterinarians and clear indications from the Australian universities that in the near future all New Zealand students would be refused entry. Further delays meant that the Massey University Veterinary Faculty was not opened until 1964, and in spite of continued negotiations, Sydney would accept no bursars after 1962 and Brisbane only a handful in 1963 and 1964. From then on graduates from the Massey graduates were the main input to the New Zealand profession and they had no particular obligations to the club system or the VSC. Table 4:1 shows the number of students trained as VSC bursars and at Massey University in the three decades after 1948.

The other main strategy to recruit veterinarians was to advertise overseas offering financial assistance for veterinarians to travel to New Zealand. Although this required less finance than the provision of bursaries - it represented 5% of VSC expenditure between 1948 and 1975 - it was a crucial means of increasing the supply of veterinarians (see Table 4:2), and about 300 were brought to New Zealand in this period. However, the attrition rate from the club system to overseas was also high, and in excess of three quarters of this number left the club system during this time, although this figure includes New Zealanders going overseas for work and study as well as overseas veterinarians returning home. Originally overseas veterinarians were required to contract to serve in the club system to five years, but this was later reduced to three.

The two strategies of recruitment were used in conjunction. Because any change in the number of bursaries granted did not take effect for four years (short-term inelasticity of supply), the policy of obtaining overseas veterinarians tended to be used in a 'stop-go' fashion to adjust the inflow of the veterinarians to meet immediate needs, and as a consequence the amount spent fluctuates more from year to year than

the veterinary profession.

**TABLE 4.1: Numbers of Students Trained as VSC Bursars and
at Massey University, 1948-1977**

| Y.E.31 March | Year of Study | | | | | New Bursaries | Attending ¹ University | Cumulative Total | Graduates into Clubs |
|-------------------|---------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| | First | Second | Third | Fourth | Fifth | | | | |
| 1948 | ? | 17 | 21 | 17 | 16 | 7 | 76 | ? | 12 |
| 1949 | ? | ? | ? | ? | 11 | 10 | 68 | ? | 10 |
| 1950 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 10 | 60 | ? | 12 |
| 1951 | ? | 15 | 10 | 12 | 15 | 14 | 52 | ? | 13 |
| 1952 | ? | 12 | 11 | 14 | 8 | 7 | 45 | 47 | 9 |
| 1953 | ? | 15 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 12 | 42 | 59 | ? |
| 1954 | ? | 13 | 11 | 6 | 9 | 14 | 39 | 73 | ? |
| 1955 | ? | 22 | 14 | 14 | 6 | 20 | 56 | 93 | 8 |
| 1956 | ? | 24 | 16 | 14 | 16 | 22 | 70 | 109 | 6 |
| 1957 | ? | 21 | 17 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 66 | 124 | 16 |
| 1958 | ? | 23 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 23 | 65 | 148 | 13 |
| 1959 ² | ? | 23 | 28 | 20 | 14 | 25 | 85 | 171 | 14 |
| 1960 | ? | 26 | 24 | 24 | 17 | 22 | 79 | 193 | 15 |
| 1961 | ? | 24 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 84 | 213 | 16 |
| 1962 | ? | 29 | 20 | 21 | 19 | 25 | 89 | 238 | 23 |
| 1963 | ? | 22 | 24 | 20 | 19 | 14 | 85 | 252 | 18 |
| 1964 | ? | 5 | ? | ? | ? | 5 | 73 | ? | 16 |
| 1965 | ? | 4 | ? | ? | 20 | 4 | 48 | ? | 14 |
| 1966 | | 1 | ? | ? | 15 | 1 | 28 | ? | 18 |
| 1967 | | | | | 11 | - | ? | | ? |
| 1968 | | | | | 10 | - | ? | | 10 |
| 1969 | | | | | | - | ? | | 1 |
| 1964 | 84 | 32 | - | - | - | | | | |
| 1965 | 110 | 36 | 23 | - | - | | | | |
| 1966 | 168 | 40 | 28 | 21 | - | | | | |
| 1967 | 211 | 52 | 30 | 23 | 21 | | | | 11 ³ |
| 1968 | 237 | 50 | 49 | 24 | 22 | | 145 | | 15 |
| 1969 | 283 | 59 | 39 | 41 | 24 | | ? | | 19 |
| 1970 | 320 | 60 | 46 | 36 | 39 | | 181 | | ? |
| 1971 | 312 | 63 | 48 | 39 | 36 | | ? | | ? |
| 1972 | 340 | 55 | 53 | 38 | 39 | | 183 | | 27 |
| 1973 | ? | 61 | 50 | 51 | 37 | | 199 | | 22 |
| 1974 | ? | 67 | 56 | 47 | 47 | | 217 | | 21 |
| 1975 | ? | 74 | 63 | 54 | 46 | | 237 | | 23 |
| 1976 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | ? | | 16 |
| 1977 | ? | 55 | 64 | 62 | 56 | | 237 | | 18 |

- NOTES:**
1. Includes Rehabilitation bursars up to the early 1950s at Sydney: 1949:26, 1950:24, 1951:7
 2. In the late 1950s a number of bursars had to repeat one or more years with suspended bursaries
 3. For the years 1967, 1968 and 1969, 11, 15 and 19 graduates entered clubs out of a total of 21, 22 and 24 Massey graduates.

SOURCES: Veterinary Services Council, Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, 1948-1969 and T.W.H. Brooking, *A History of the Development of Massey Agricultural College to 1943*, Massey Alumni Association, 1977, Appendix.

(NB: There are some minor discrepancies in these sources)

TABLE 4.2: Gains and Losses of Veterinarians to the
Club System, 1948-1977

| Y.E. ³¹ March | Graduates | | Overseas | | Private Practice | | Government | | Commerce | | General | | Ceased Practice | | Total | | Total Number of Veterinarians |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------|----------|------|---------------------|------|------------|------|----------|------|---------|----------------|--------------------|------|-------|------|-------------------------------------|
| | Gain | Loss | Gain | Loss | Gain | Loss | Gain | Loss | Gain | Loss | Gain | Loss | Gain | Loss | Gain | Loss | |
| 1948 | 12 | - | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | ? | ? | ? | 54 |
| 1949 | 10 | - | ? | 2 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | ? | 8 | 4 | 58 |
| 1950 | 12 | - | 6 | 6 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 18 | 9 | 69 |
| 1951 | 13 | - | 6 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 5 ² | - | - | 20 | 7 | 82 |
| 1952 | 9 | - | 17 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | ? | - | - | - | 29 | 3 | 111 |
| 1953 | ? | - | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | ? | ? | ? | 124 |
| 1954 | ? | - | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | ? | ? | ? | 130 |
| 1955 | 8 | - | 18 | 3 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 24 | 6 | 150 |
| 1956 | 6 | - | 18 | 14 | 2 | 14 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 28 | 29 | 149 |
| 1957 | 16 | - | 10 | 12 | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 26 | 16 | 159 |
| 1958 | 13 | - | 5 | 7 | 1 | 7 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 20 | 16 | 170 |
| 1959 | 14 | - | 10 | 6 | - | 9 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 25 | 19 | 176 |
| 1960 | 15 | - | 5 | 13 | 1 | 11 | 2 | 4 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 23 | 29 | 162 |
| 1961 | 16 | - | 11 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 30 | 13 | 166 |
| 1962 | 23 | - | 11 | 5 | - | 4 | - | - | - | 2 | - | 1 ³ | - | - | 34 | 12 | 189 |
| 1963 | 18 | - | 8 | 4 | - | 4 | - | 6 | - | 2 | - | 3 ³ | - | - | 26 | 19 | 186 |
| 1964 | 16 | - | 6 | 10 | - | 9 | - | 6 | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 22 | 27 | 182 |
| 1965 | 14 | - | 13 | 9 | - | 6 | 1 | 5 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | 28 | 23 | 182 |
| 1966 | 18 | - | 23 | 6 | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | - | - | 3 | - | 2 | 41 | 19 | 204 |
| 1967 | 14 | - | 19 | 9 | - | 12 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 33 | 24 | 211 |
| 1968 | 21 | - | 14 | 6 | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | 1 | - | 3 | - | 1 | 36 | 14 | 233 |
| 1969 | 16 | - | 10 | 14 | - | 5 | - | 3 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 26 | 24 | 235 |
| 1970 | 19 | - | 15 | 18 | - | 7 | 1 | 12 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 35 | 39 | 231 |
| 1971 | 23 | - | 11 | 14 | 2 | 8 | - | 6 | - | 3 | - | 4 | - | - | 36 | 35 | 198+30 ⁴ |
| 1972 | 27 | - | 12 | 17 | - | 14 | - | 5 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | 39 | 38 | 190+36 |
| 1973 | 22 | - | 22 | 18 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 10 | - | - | - | 7 | - | - | 47 | 48 | 224 |
| 1974 | 21 | - | 25 | 18 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | - | - | - | 10 | - | - | 52 | 37 | 203+36 |
| 1975 | 23 | - | 9 | 13 | - | 7 | - | 3 | - | 1 | - | 4 | - | 2 | 32 | 30 | 198+43 |
| 1976 | 16 | - | 4 | 14 | 3 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | - | - | 23 | 25 | 199+31 |
| 1977 | 18 | - | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | ? | ? | ? | 177+40 |

NOTES: 1. From 1959 to 1966 these numbers are, in fact, as at 1st January.
2. Loss of 5 veterinarians within New Zealand.
3. Figures from about this date include losses to postgraduate study and university positions.
4. Separate figures mean club and contract totals available separately.

SOURCE: Veterinary Services Council, Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, 1948-1977. Some tallies do not fully match; this is probably due to incomplete or late returns by clubs.

does the allocation for bursaries. In 1948, mainly because of the large number of bursars at Sydney, the VSC could blithely remark '...it has been decided not to assist further veterinarians to New Zealand.'

However, with the net increase of only four in the following year, the VSC had to reverse its decision, although it did so only cautiously, recruiting four veterinarians through the Veterinary Advisor to the New Zealand High Commissioner in London.²⁷ In 1950 veterinary clubs employed 69 veterinarians but had immediate vacancies for a further 36:

'To meet this demand the Council has recently arranged for the appointment of experienced veterinarians from the United Kingdom and some possibly from Holland. With the graduates expected to be available at the end of this year the position should be considerably eased. From next year onwards it is anticipated that the New Zealand graduates will be sufficient for the replacements required from various causes.'²⁸

This optimistic hope of a full complement of veterinarians proved to be quite unfounded but nevertheless continued through the Annual Reports for a number of years after this date. With the difficulty in obtaining veterinarians from British sources, the VSC also began recruiting from European countries such as Holland and Denmark, where the output from the veterinary schools was high. By 1960 there was a growing world-wide demand for veterinarians and the New Zealand shortage was as marked as ever. Since salaries were a factor in the shortage the VSC approved a higher upper limit of \$5000 to which up to 5% of club practitioners could move from the main salary scale, and greater efforts were made at the same time to recruit overseas veterinarians. In 1961 and 1962 6% and 9% of the VSC's expenditure was made in recruiting staff from overseas compared with 3% in each of the previous three years. In 1964 the VSC changed its previous policy of centralised advertising through the VSC's official British channels, making clubs responsible for directly negotiating with prospective staff themselves, although the VSC retained sole authority for accepting any veterinarian if travel assistance was to be granted. The Council continued to keep listings of vacancies, enquiries and applicants. The apparent need to import veterinarians fluctuated during the 1960's and 70's but ceased from 1975. The reason for this 'stop-go' policy, then, was a simple failure to

27. C.S.M. Hopkirk, and in later years his successor, C.V. Dayus.

28. VSC, AR, 1950.

accurately estimate the likely growth in demand. At first this arose because of the expansion of the veterinary club system, but as time went on a further cause became apparent through a flow-on of veterinarians out of the club system into other forms of veterinary employment. Gains and losses of veterinarians to overseas and elsewhere can be seen in Table 4:2. If this flow-on had not occurred and the demand for veterinarians in urban practice, research and government service had been met from other sources, the VSC's task would have levelled off much sooner.²⁹

In addition to increasing the supply of veterinarians the VSC was also involved in fostering the establishment and development of individual veterinary clubs throughout the country by the provision of a number of grants and subsidies, some direct and some indirect. In some districts, though fewer as time went on, VSC subsidies made the essential difference in the financial viability of a club, especially during economic downturns in the farming sector. The main form of subsidy consisted of a per capita grant of \$800 per year for each veterinarian employed. In 1948 when this subsidy was first offered it covered nearly three-quarters of the salary of a newly graduated veterinarian. The rate of subsidy was never increased beyond \$800, despite expectations that it would be,³⁰ because of the growth in other financial demands upon the Council, including increased expenditure in obtaining veterinarians for club service and other forms of subsidy. As the numerical strength of the club system grew (fifty-four in 1948, to 124 in 1953, to 170 in 1958) this factor alone more than tripled the subsidy payout to clubs. Because the VSC's income continued to rise towards its limit up to 1957 the amount spent on subsidies remained fairly constant at just over half of all expenditure. In 1950 pharmacy grants of \$400 per veterinarian were made to clubs towards establishing surgical and clinical facilities. In the first year of the operation of this scheme some \$24,400 was spent by the VSC, and the following year a further 22 grants were made bringing the total spent up to \$32,200.³¹ From 1953

29. See Ira J. Cunningham, 'The Future Requirements and Availability of Veterinary Manpower for New Zealand', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1966, 14:40-47.

30. By both VSC members and individual club executives.

31. From 1952 to 1955 the number of grants were successively 7, 16, 19 and 13, but thereafter only a handful of grants were made.

microscope grants of \$100 were made. Forty-nine such grants were made within twelve months and a further thirty-one the following year. These two specialised grants met an immediate response from clubs, the bulk of the grants being made within two or three years and tapering off after that time.³²

Housing loans and superannuation were the major forms of indirect subsidy provided by the Council and these, too, increased the VSC's influence over both farmers and veterinarians. From April 1950 grants of \$1200 were made to clubs for each residence provided for a club veterinarian, in the form of an interest-free loan that was not repayable as long as the house was occupied by a club veterinarian or a VSC-approved tenant. In the first three years of the scheme's operation thirty, twenty-nine, and twenty-two loans were made totalling \$96,000 and representing over eighty houses. From 1953 onwards the housing fund was fully laid out and only about five to ten loans were made each year, depending on the volume of loan repayments and new income to the fund. A superannuation scheme was instituted by the VSC in 1949 through the National Provident Fund. In the first year forty-nine out of sixty-nine veterinarians and twenty-nine bursars became contributors, and the subsequent level of participation remained high. Veterinary staff paid their half to their employing clubs and the VSC deducted that amount from the general subsidy it paid to clubs as a way of simplifying administration. The other half of the superannuation payments was the responsibility of clubs, but was in fact paid on their behalf by the VSC which thus subsidised clubs by that amount. From 1951 to 1961 the superannuation payments by the VSC rose from 5% to 9% of all expenditure. In the next decade, as other demands ceased and VSC income declined, this proportion increased to nearly one-quarter (24% in 1971) but has since declined to 12%.

During the 1950's it became increasingly evident that the limited nature of the VSC's funds and the growing affluence of individual clubs would mean reductions in subsidies. In 1953 the VSC reduced the general subsidy for veterinarians in those clubs that had been in operation for

32. In the two decades to 1969, of the \$71,500 allocated for pharmacies, 46% was granted in the first two years. Of the \$10,060 granted towards microscopes between 1953 and 1967, 71% was granted in the first 2 years.

seven years of more than \$800 to \$500, because as Linton said, 'I think the subsidy was established for the benefit of new clubs.'³³

Although some approaches were made to government of more money, an option that individual club executives were in favour of, it was clear that no action would be taken unless the producer boards had a united opinion on the matter. In the 1950's, however, the financial commitments of these boards were growing and their representatives on the VSC itself were resistant to further increases in contributions. The 1959 Annual Report stated that

'Due to the fixed income of this Council and the fact that it has not been increased since the Council was established, difficulty has been experienced in meeting the increasing commitments with which it is faced. Bursary payments have increased to 40% of our income and each increase in staff adds to the subsidies payable to clubs, superannuation and Sickness and Disability Funds. For this reason a careful examination of the finances has been made and subsidy reductions decided upon. Although these are substantial they may not meet our needs'.³⁴

In 1959 the general club subsidy and superannuation payments were reduced by 25% and despite strong opposition from clubs, general subsidies were completely discontinued from June 1962. Since that time the VSC has subsidised, sometimes heavily, only a limited number of clubs in economically marginal areas such as Coromandel Peninsula or Westland. Superannuation payments after 1962 were payable on incomes only to the top of the automatic salary scale. In the case of contract practices no subsidies were paid although the VSC continued to act as notional employer for superannuation purposes for clubs having 'approved status'. Table 4:3 summarises the main expenses of the VSC from its formation in 1948.

In analysing the distribution of occupational control over veterinary services within the club system there seem to have been three broad periods when changes in specific arrangements relating to such things as bursaries and subsidies brought about changes in the allocation and balance of occupational power within the club system as a whole. The first period covered from 1937 to 1947 when a number of individuals and organisations were active in setting up clubs or recruiting veterinarians to serve in clubs. From 1947 to the mid-1960's the VSC itself

33. VSC, AC, 1958.

34. VSC, AR, 1959.

TABLE 4.3: Main Items of VSC Expenditure, 1948-1977 (\$)

| Y.E.31 March | Training Expenses | | | Vets. from Overseas ³ | General Subsidies | | | Total Expenditure ⁵ |
|-----------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Connected with Bursaries ¹ | Grants to Vet Schools ² | Postgrad. and Refresher Courses | | To Clubs ⁴ | For Vet Services to Non-Members | Super- annuation | |
| 1948 | 8414 | 6000 | - | 10250 | 35662 | 1038 | - | 68892 |
| 1949 | 7200 | 6000 | - | 2416 | 41384 | 4074 | - | 68910 |
| 1950 | 7448 | 4858 | 506 | 3316 | 72672 | 5444 | 19398 | 122600 |
| 1951 | 7288 | 4838 | 3248 | 2868 | 69142 | 4798 | 6020 | 110132 |
| 1952 | 10890 | 6452 | 3302 | 9926 | 78346 | 4650 | 7268 | 137468 |
| 1953 | 13064 | 7258 | 6574 | 14338 | 100918 | 5972 | 9696 | 176102 |
| 1954 | 14546 | 7258 | 2480 | 8842 | 109620 | 8656 | 11866 | 183082 |
| 1955 | 16994 | 7258 | 1154 | 11632 | 99802 | 2582 | 13256 | 173920 |
| 1956 | 29776 | 4838 | 2520 | 11444 | 99522 | 1668 | 14794 | 189620 |
| 1957 | 36932 | 4838 | 4286 | 15974 | 104220 | 1678 | 15946 | 211562 |
| 1958 | 32884 | 4838 | 410 | 5668 | 104964 | 1450 | 19088 | 196412 |
| 1959 | 42074 | - | - | 5178 | 104268 | 1332 | 18576 | 193664 |
| 1960 | 67044 | 4838 | 532 | 5692 | 67902 | 1064 | 15184 | 186636 |
| 1961 | 59986 | 4824 | 376 | 10136 | 60874 | 816 | 15562 | 180074 |
| 1962 | 61780 | 4824 | 344 | 17148 | 62466 | 692 | 17660 | 191038 |
| 1963 | 67078 | 10452 | 638 | 2718 | 29816 | 140 | 22424 | 184964 |
| 1964 | 73698 | 11264 | 1390 | 5060 | 10750 | - | 22900 | 158540 |
| 1965 | 55250 | 11658 | 3258 | 13194 | 9846 | - | 23818 | 146870 |
| 1966 | 47384 | 5628 | 3644 | 24988 | 9938 | - | 24784 | 142798 |
| 1967 | 31400 | - | 4300 | 28840 | 14788 | - | 24916 | 136662 |
| 1968 | 18998 | - | 1380 | 32042 | 12094 | - | 24380 | 125461 |
| 1969 | 9060 | - | 6047 | 17304 | 23601 | - | 25154 | 112889 |
| 1970 | 9445 | - | 3261 | 19211 | 14216 | - | 21594 | 106205 |
| 1971 | 12053 | - | 5577 | 15678 | 15324 | - | 22500 | 107954 |
| 1972 | 4760 | 1126 | 1111 | 22768 | 17353 | - | 19924 | 101839 |
| 1973 | 3707 | - | 3644 | 25983 | 18640 | - | 18558 | 123589 |
| 1974 | 4611 | - | 8569 | 23618 | 19845 | - | 17083 | 130611 |
| 1975 | 880 | - | 6775 | 15568 | 25330 | - | 18713 | 132656 |
| 1976 | 3966 | - | 4763 | - | 29953 | - | 18245 | 126898 |
| 1977 | - | - | 5959 | - | 13647 | - | 15152 | 125066 |

NOTES: 1. Includes bursary allowances and travel expenses
2. Includes both of the Australian veterinary schools at Sydney and Brisbane
3. Includes expenses in bringing final year students to clubs
4. Includes pharmacy grants and microscope grants
5. Veterinary Services, Sickness and Disability fund of \$1-3000p.a. not included, nor housing loans.
The only other significant item of expenditure not included is office staff salaries, but these did not exceed \$3,000 until 1967

SOURCE: Veterinary Services Council, Annual Report and Statement of Account, 1948-1977.

took the initiative, exerting a powerful influence on the club movement in further promoting the formation of clubs and recruiting veterinarians, and providing a more coherent organisational framework for the club system through its subsidy programme and administrative policies. From the mid-1960's onwards, the club system has been a less unified phenomenon as the control exerted by the VSC has diminished and contract practice and other variations in individual club structure have developed. These three periods can be divided off from each other by reference to the VSC: the end of the first period occurred with the establishment of the Council, and the end of the second period marked by the cessation of VSC-sponsored bursaries and the cessation or major reduction of VSC subsidies to clubs. At the present time the diffusion of control in the third period has corresponded to a growth in private practice, government service and teaching and research work.

It is now appropriate to focus more particularly on the way the events within the club system altered the relative distribution of occupational control over the delivery of veterinary services. First of all it is necessary to consider the position occupied by the VSC because its influence dominates the operation of the club system. Even though the Council was most powerful within the period from 1947 to the mid-1960's, it represented in many ways a natural extension of developments in the early decades from 1937 to 1947; and events subsequent to the mid-1960's can best be seen as a devolution of the VSC's role. The net effect of both methods of recruiting veterinarians, whether from overseas or through bursaries, was to build up the organisational strength of the club system by the addition of veterinary staff. The Council acquired power over the deployment and employment conditions of veterinarians through the bonding agreements attached to its recruitment policies and formalised in the standard service ^{Agreement} signed by the veterinarians at the commencement of their employment in clubs. The net effect of the system of subsidies was similar to the veterinary recruitment programme, although here the prime influence was generated over club executives instead of over veterinarians. The Council also gained a secondary influence over clubs because it controlled the supply of veterinarians, and over veterinarians because its subsidy programme enabled it to modify the conditions of employment.

That the consequences of recruitment and subsidy policies were intended to, and in fact achieved, a major degree of control over both veterinary and farming interests, was usually only obliquely acknowledged in the more common talk of the 'national good' and the necessary service orientation of the veterinary profession. The following quotations from different chairmen of the VSC, however, indicate the implicit power relationships generated by the VSC's actions. In 1964, as the period of VSC-sponsored bursars was coming to an end with the establishment of the New Zealand faculty, it became apparent to VSC members and club executives at the Annual Conference that a basic watershed in the club system's history had been reached. The chairman of the VSC, A.L. Friis, said that

'Because of the financial assistance given to vets training overseas and the subsequent bonding of their service to New Zealand, the Council has had a certain amount of control over the veterinary movement in New Zealand. This will cease in 1966. With the full flow of veterinarians from the faculty in New Zealand, the Council will not have this overall control. The New Zealand graduates³⁵ will be free to sell their services to the highest bidder...'

The immediate change so far as the supply of veterinarians for club service was concerned was not, however, as sudden as club members and the VSC had feared, and for several years the majority of Massey graduates found initial employment within the club system. In 1967 eleven out of twenty-one graduates entered clubs; in 1968 this figure was fifteen out of twenty-two and in 1969 it was nineteen out of twenty-four. But the fact remained that for both modes of recruitment, the quite new and distinct mediative role of the government in funding the Massey University faculty undermined the control of the VSC. In the case of overseas recruitment which continued into the 1970's, the VSC also had definite expectations about veterinarians' responsibilities. The chairman in 1972, K. Lee-Martin, described the overseas recruitment scheme in the following terms:

'As soon as a firm appointment has been affected, Council will be pleased to offer a form of agreement to the overseas veterinarian. All reasonable internal travel expenses, family fares to New Zealand, and an allowance of up to \$400 (personal effects and/or vehicle) are ordinarily payable in conditions of the veterinarian's formal undertaking to fulfill not less than three years in a veterinary capacity approved by the Council. There are clear options: fulfillment of three years or proportionate

35. VSC, AR, 1964.

repayment'.³⁶

The control the VSC wielded over the activities of clubs was very rarely explicitly stated, reflecting the allied interest of the farmer-controlled clubs and dominant farming voice on the Council. One of the very few instances where the VSC directly asserted its authority in the affairs of clubs occurred in 1955 during a major debate at the Annual Conference on the spreading practice of unauthorised payments by clubs to their veterinarians outside the limits defined by the VSC. A. Linton as chairman said on that occasion,

'Council...believes that while these practices are not widespread in the club movement, their existence has a disturbing effect on the many clubs which faithfully observe the approved conditions of employment. I am authorised to say also that the Council has decided to penalise in future all offending clubs. The penalty is to be the cessation of all financial payments from the Council (including its superannuation contributions) until the offending club conforms to the conditions of employment in existence.'³⁷

The administrative framework, too, that the Council set up was designed to channel power resources towards the VSC's desired ends;

'The Council has been conscious of its statutory obligations in making grants of financial assistance to clubs to see that the body is so constituted and organised as to provide an efficient veterinary service for its members and satisfactory working conditions for veterinary surgeons employed by it. The first obligation is the provision of efficient veterinary services for members and the Council has the duty to see that the essential contractual obligations to, as well as by, the clubs are preserved!'³⁸

In 1949 the VSC required clubs to adopt a uniform system for their Annual Accounts and Statistics. The Standard Service Agreement which detailed conditions of employment was a basic instrument of VSC administration, acting as the reference point in the Council's arbitration of disputes between clubs and veterinarians.³⁹ By the terms of the Agreement veterinarians were not allowed to practice in the district of a club they had served in for at least two years after they had ceased to work for the club.

The control the VSC was able to exercise was by no means absolute and there was an undercurrent within the club system that surfaced

36. VSC, AC, 1972.

37. VSC, AC, 1955.

38. VSC, AR, 1950.

39. A full copy of the original Standard Service Agreement is contained in the Appendix to VSC, AR 1952.

periodically, of individual clubs trying to achieve a competitive advantage at the expense of other clubs. Sometimes this was done at the initiative of club executives and sometimes the veterinarian. It is impossible to get precise information of the extent of these under the table payments, but it appears that over time they became increasingly widespread - enough to evoke Linton's strong statement in 1955, previously quoted. In effect, such payments were adjustments to the market situation of supply and demand for veterinarians which was most keenly felt at club level, and which tended to move the occupational advantage back towards the veterinary profession. As time went on the expansion of drug trading made clubs increasingly profitable and allowed them the potential for more competitive behaviour than previously. The VSC, however, had a number of financial demands on its resources and did not wish to continue paying subsidies to clubs which were quite adequately profitable in any case. Among the several ways in which clubs were making unauthorised payments were the following: payments of unauthorised salaries, car mileage rates in excess of that approved by the Council, paying large sums for the taking of telephone messages, providing houses at free or low rental, and making special unauthorised district allowances. This competition had been evident in the 1930's and 1940's when veterinarians were induced to shift from already existing clubs to new clubs by the offer of higher salaries. During the two decades under the VSC's control this market characteristic was dampened, although it never ceased to operate despite the efforts of the VSC. As the subsidy programme began to be dismantled in the late 1950's it became evident that the power relationships were also going to change. The Council could see that 'there is a desire for a more flexible extension of the club system. This is not necessarily a bad thing, but if there is any change, the Council wants to retain some measure of control.'⁴⁰ But clubs saw the matter rather differently, as one farmer delegate to the 1959 Conference put it:

'If the clubs are going to have to accept more responsibility, they will want greater autonomy in their own clubs. I do not want to see the Council weakened in any way but the less the Council does for clubs, the less say they are going to have in the clubs activities if the latter have to accept these reductions (in subsidies)⁴¹!

40. VSC, AC, 1959.

41. *ibid.*

In 1960 the chairman, L.A.P. Sherriff, said in the context of the continuing issue of clubs circumventing conditions laid down by the VSC, 'so far as the Council is concerned, if clubs receive a subsidy, they must abide by the rules.'⁴² Yet with subsidies coming to an end, so did this form of sanction, to be followed a short while later with the cessation of VSC bursaries and the attendant control these gave the VSC.

Given the central position occupied by the VSC in shaping the delivery of veterinary services throughout the club system, the distribution of occupational power conforms to a considerable degree to a mediative pattern of control by the intervention of the VSC in the relationship between the farming community as the consumers of veterinary services and the veterinary profession as the producer of such services. As can be seen from the various activities in which the VSC was involved, the consequence of these actions was to generate power resources through which the VSC strongly influenced the actions of both farmer executives of clubs and club veterinarians. Thus the VSC involvement led directly to the subtraction of occupational power from these two parties and a corresponding accretion of influence to the Council. Johnson has described how mediation may develop in some situations with 'the minimum of encroachment upon^{an} existing state of professionalism' as, for example, legal aid. On the other hand, mediation may occur through the state attempting to 'ensure a desired distribution of occupational services through the medium of a state agency which is the effective employer of all practitioners who have a statutory obligation to provide a given service', for example schools.⁴³ It is this latter form of mediation that the VSC exemplifies. Especially in the early stages of its development the VSC was the effective employer of virtually all clinical veterinarians, although over time this situation was steadily modified. All veterinarians within the club system had an obligation through the Standard Service Agreement to provide the given professional service and advice and not engage in private practice, Insofar as the conditions of bonding covered Council bursars and veterinarians imported from overseas these practitioners were additionally

42. VSC, AC, 1960.

43. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 1972:77.

obligated in the provision of their professional services..

There are several characteristics of mediation that can be observed on the functioning of the VSC. According to Johnson 'the major significance of this form of control lies...in the creation of a guaranteed clientele', and this is the main distinction between mediation and other forms of occupational control.⁴⁴ The intervention of the VSC in guaranteeing a clientele for the veterinary profession was brought about substantially through the Council's funding programmes, particularly in the provision of subsidies to clubs. By this means the financial threshold required to establish a veterinary service was lowered through the injection of outside assistance. For most veterinary groups the reduced cost of veterinary service enabled them to expand faster than would otherwise have been the case. In some districts with relatively sparse livestock populations the VSC subsidies enabled a veterinary group to get established and employ a veterinarian, the salary and expenses of whom would otherwise have been beyond the fee paying abilities of the members of the club. When the VSC was set up there was considerable uncertainty about the long-term viability of veterinary groups. The problem that the VSC funding did most to overcome in guaranteeing the profession's clientele was to overcome the farmer tendency to dispense with veterinary services in times of economic downturn, by ensuring the club's stability and in many cases enabling them to build up assets and reserves.

'State mediation', says Johnson, 'will also tend to undermine the existing social bases of recruitment. The control of recruitment to an occupation is an important means open to the State of ensuring that a universal service is provided, and it can achieve this end by expanding academic channels into the occupation.'⁴⁵ The major new departure in the recruitment of veterinarians was the provision of bursaries tenable at the Australian veterinary schools. For the first time New Zealanders in considerable numbers had the opportunity to become veterinarians. While under the earlier system of patronage the majority of qualified veterinarians had been recruited from Britain, within the club system this pattern was quite changed by the sheer number of overseas veterinarians recruited and the amount of money expended on travel

44. *ibid*:78.

45. *ibid*:79.

assistance and placing recruits in clubs. Such innovation in recruitment is consistent with the idea of 'ensuring that a universal service is provided.' Another characteristic of mediation is that 'the State may also act to ensure a flow of services which are recognised as 'in the public good'', and since agricultural produce was the basis of the country's exports, any increase in agricultural productivity was of benefit to New Zealand as a whole.⁴⁶

Another characteristic is applicable to the VSC as an example of state mediation: 'Under this form of institutionalised control the functions of the occupational association in maintaining colleague identification...are less likely to be important than its specifically 'trade union' functions in pressing for improvements in pay and conditions.'⁴⁷ This is an apt description of the role of the New Zealand Veterinary Association (NZVA) in this period, and stands in marked contrast to the period up to the late 1930's, with the NZVA being continually involved in consultations with the VSC over salaries and conditions of employment in clubs. The Standard Service Agreement between clubs and veterinarians setting out the conditions of employment and the responsibilities of each party was the subject of substantial negotiations over the years.⁴⁸ When the VSC was set up in 1947 one of its initial tasks was to revise the contract used by the Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services, and after consultation with the NZVA, copies of a new Standard Service Agreement were circulated to clubs. The NZVA, however, withdrew its earlier concurrence and the two bodies had a series of discussions over a period of five years before agreement was finally reached. The 1951 VSC Annual Report stated that

'Headway was made during the year in discussions between the Council and the NZVA on matters relating to certain clauses in the standard form of contract...Relating to this subject the Council recommended that clubs increase salaries by 15%...The basic car allowance of 6d per mile was also recommended to be increased to 7d...'⁴⁹

46. *ibid*:78.

47. *ibid*:81-82.

48. There were several terms used to refer to this contract; Standard Service Agreement is used here for consistency.

49. VSC,AR,1951.

It was not until 1952 that agreement was reached, and at the same time arising out of the negotiations, the salary scale for club veterinarians was revised. The NZVA was in fact able to get its new role institutionalised: the final clause of the Standard Services Agreement read as follows:

'In the event of the Council and the New Zealand Veterinary Association (Inc) at any time agreeing upon amendments to the standard form of service contract, the parties hereto agree that such amendments shall be deemed to be included in this contract⁵⁰ and shall be binding on the parties from the date of adoption.'

Clause 6 of the Standard Service Agreement allowed extra payments to be made to veterinarians in certain instances for additional work. In subsequent years the task of defining the conditions for such extra payments proved almost impossible and created a good deal of controversy within the club system.⁵¹ The issue basically represented the interface between entrepreneurial and salaried modes of professional practice, and the outcome indicated a net balance of occupational control nearer the professionalism end of the scale than the patronage end. Unauthorised payments amounted to one solution to the dilemma of extra payment for extra work but in time such payments became more related to clubs' profitability. It was a situation where VSC regulatory activity was unable to fully achieve the desired outcome: unstandardised salaries allowed the more intensively farmed and better-off areas to outbid clubs in other regions. Set salaries, on the other hand, meant that veterinarians chose, since there were more places than veterinarians, areas where the work load was not too heavy, or the 'clause 6' payments were better. In 1962 changes to enable contract practices to operate were included in the Standard Service Agreement with the approval of the NZVA. The continuing nature of VSC-NZVA negotiations can be seen in further discussions over the Standard Service Agreement from 1966 to 1969 which resulted in a basically salaried system of remuneration replacing the salary plus bonus pattern that had developed; and in 1976-1977 another round of negotiations again updated the Agreement. The NZVA was not always successful in its negotiations but as the profession expanded it became a more articulate voice of veterinary interests,

50. VSC, AR, 1952; Appendix, clause 28.

51. For example, disputes over clubs advertising 'very good clause 6 payments'.

sometimes acting through its representative on the VSC and at other times through joint committees. Looking back at that era some veterinarians today say that NZVA was politically very weak and lacking in power. This perspective is congruent with the existence of an intermediate form of occupational control that limited the development of professionalism proper. The 1954 Annual Conference seemed to epitomise this period: veterinarians had planned to collectively reject the proposal that the subsidy to non-club members through private practitioners should be eliminated, but at the actual conference, despite a major confrontation this sort of united action did not eventuate.

The clearest indication of the mediative role of the VSC is the presence of government funding which enabled the VSC to expand its activities in recruiting veterinarians and establishing farmers' veterinary groups. In setting up the Council through the Veterinary Services Act 1946 the state gave legislative definition to the way it understood the needs of the situation and how it could contribute to the provision of veterinary services. However, although the position of the VSC within the club system appears to indicate a mediative pattern of control, there is other evidence which suggests the matter is not as simple as that. A number of the characteristics that Johnson sees as typical of state mediation are only partially present or not to be found in the club system. The following feature of mediation is described by Johnson: 'There is...a central dilemma which is a conflict between the demands of service and administrative needs. The attempt to guarantee services gives rise to an administrative framework, the efficient operation of which creates demands which are in conflict with the provision of these services for which they were created.'⁵² This feature of mediation, however, was not applicable to the veterinary club system which was notable for its *absence* of any administrative structure. No more than a single full-time veterinary/administrative officer was employed by the VSC at any one time (plus one or two clerical staff). Despite the Council's rules about the Standard Service Agreement (covering salaries and conditions of employment) or the form of Annual Accounts and Statistics, there was no inspectorate of any kind set up, the VSC preferring to act simply as arbitrator in disputes between club executives

52. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 1972:85.

and veterinarians. The emergent bureaucratic elements that are typical of mediation are missing in the operation of the VSC within the club system and this^{also} suggests a pattern of occupational control intermediate between state mediation and professionalism. Johnson also says that in mediation the state seeks to define needs, and the manner such needs are catered for.⁵³ While it is true that the Veterinary Services Act of 1946 represented legislative delimitation of what the needs were and how they were to be met, it can be argued that most of this definition was provided by the farmers themselves, modelled on the Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services and the Joint Veterinary Committee of the Meat and Dairy Boards. Farmers were able to gain the ear of government in the first place because they were a unified major political lobby and secondly because their sectoral advantage would be paralleled by the advantage to the government in increasing agricultural productivity as the major component in the country's exports.

Several of the attributes of a mediative mode of occupational control are only partly applicable to the VSC or the club system. 'The effect of mediation,' says Johnson, 'has been to extend services to consumers who are defined on the basis of 'citizenship' rather than social origin or ability to pay fees'.⁵⁴ An important consequence to the club system was the rapid expansion of veterinary services throughout the country and this widened the availability of such services greatly. In the context of the club system, however, 'citizenship' implied consumers in the agricultural sector, not all citizens in the country. Another characteristic of mediation described by Johnson is the 'diffusion of the consumer role itself. At times it becomes less apparent who the consumer is, and the clear-cut ethical prescriptions of professionalism which specify 'client' and colleague relationships are no longer entirely applicable.'⁵⁵ This is only partly true of the club system. The veterinarian was responsible equally and generally to all members in the clubs, but it was because the control of clubs resided in club executives that some blurring of the 'clear-cut ethical prescriptions of professionalism' specifying client-colleague relationships occurred. There were

53. *ibid*:46.

54. *ibid*:77-78.

55. *ibid*:78-79.

some instances of farmers at monthly meetings of the club executive demanding full technical justification why a certain medication was used. It can thus be argued that with the greater consumer influence of a specific occupation the consumer role in the club system was sharpened not diffused. Another feature limiting the applicability of the idea of mediation to the club system concerns the research orientation of veterinarians.⁵⁶ Johnson's contention that mediation encourages basic research in contrast to the situation under patronage where the pressure is towards the needs of the consumer and hence applied research, does not appear to be substantiated in the club system. On the contrary, the survey and investigational work done by club practitioners in such matters as ewe and lamb infertility in sheep, pregnancy toxaemia and bearing trouble in ewes, dairy herd infertility, morbidity and mortality in pigs, was of direct applied relevance to farmers. Finally, it must be said that the simple fact of government funding of the VSC did not automatically produce a mediative pattern of control, since it is equally true that half the VSC's funds came from non-government sources, namely the farmer controlled primary producer boards which had four representatives on the Council to the government's three. Thus even in monetary terms it was not solely the mediative influence of the state that determined the distribution of occupational power.⁵⁷

Of at least equal importance as the mediative role of the VSC in the veterinary club system was the direct opposition of occupational interests of the farming community and the veterinary profession. This did not necessarily involve personal antagonism, although there were some instances of this, but was fundamentally the interaction of two organised occupational groups each trying to establish its own interests in the provision and utilisation of veterinary services. The heteronomous balance in the relationship between the veterinary profession and farming community arose because the specific occupational resources each was able to ^{bring to} bear on their interaction was insufficient to constrain the definition of the situation wholly in either direction. The farming community had three main overlapping sources of occupational strength - political, organisational and attitudinal. (1) Political leverage was available to farmers in a number of forms. Many members of Parliament were farmers. At both the level of individual farmers in local districts,

56. *ibid*:81-82.

57. It would be possible to cite other

and especially through the primary producer boards and other organisations such as Federated Farmers, pressure could be brought to bear on the political machinery of the state. (2) Distinct from the ability to influence the external political sphere, the primary producer boards represented highly effective organisations *within* the farming community, able to directly act to gain the ends of farmers. The Joint Committee of the Meat and Dairy Boards set up in 1943 shows this process in operation. (3) Attitudinally the farming community had a strong commitment to a stance of farmer independence and self-direction in the conduct of work not unlike the position taken by many professions regarding professional authority and autonomy in decision making. This attitude grew out of the necessary self-reliance of an earlier colonial period and it was institutionalised in the organisation of the dairy co-operative movement through which farmers as producers of agricultural groups controlled the marketing of their products.⁵⁸ This idea of farmer control was then applied to the veterinary sphere, although here the farmer was the consumer not the producer of the desired services. Although this idea was deep-seated it was not necessarily convincing to veterinarians, as one ex-club veterinarian pointed out in a plea for a better balance of power:

'The farmers say that if the farmer pays he should have control. That is a funny philosophy. The housewife buys the butter, therefore she should have control of the farmers of the country. However, the farmers do the work and they like to control their butter. The veterinarians⁵⁹ do most of the work (in clubs) and they like to have a fair say.'

Thus the farming attitude was important because it motivated farmers to actively pursue their interests, and it constituted a substantial definition of the situation that any alternative view had to counter. Taken together, these three resources enabled the farming community to act collectively to achieve veterinary attention for their livestock, in contrast to the characteristic situation under professionalism where

examples, for instance, the active role of club practitioners in the professional association. See Johnson, *op. cit.*, 1972:82.

58. See, for example, Arthur H. Ward, *A Command of Co-Operatives: The Development of Leadership, Marketing and Price Control in the Co-Operative Dairy Industry in New Zealand*. New Zealand Dairy Board, Wellington, 1975.

59. Peter Malone, VSC, AC, 1957.

consumers act individually and without co-ordination of their interests.

The veterinary profession also possessed three main resources - expertise, market demand and a professional ideology. (1) Veterinarians' professional skills and knowledge constituted a highly valued commodity. Leslie established at Eltham, and other veterinarians elsewhere repeatedly confirmed, that stock losses through disease and injury could be drastically reduced. (And it was only later that penicillin became available.) The continuous expansion of veterinary knowledge and pharmaceutical and technical capabilities meant that the advantage to farmers of veterinary service grew year by year. Furthermore, as individual animal values rose, the attention of a veterinarian to specific health problems became worth-while. (2) From our contemporary point of view it is relatively easy to observe that from the beginning of the club movement there was a continuous high and unsatisfied demand for veterinarians for almost four decades. This conferred the advantage of a seller's market on the veterinary profession, since the scarcity of the commodity created competition between buyers. (3) Just as the farming community had a well-developed occupational ideology, the veterinary profession had an ideological position as well: the ideals of professionalism had been sustained in New Zealand by the NZVA under a predominant pattern of patronage up to the 1930's by contact with overseas veterinarians, particularly in Britain through the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons and the British Veterinary Association. From the 1940's the influx of bursars into the club system brought with them attitudes about professional expectations and behaviour shaped by the Australian Schools.⁶⁰ Given these resources of an expanding expertise, a massive and sustained demand for veterinarians throughout this period and the presence of a coherent professional ideology, it might be thought that a pattern of professionalism would quickly develop as had been the case in Britain or the United States where three-quarters of all veterinarians are to be found in private practice. However, in New Zealand the organisation of the farming clientele and their control of local veterinary clubs undermined the emergence of professionalism as the dominant form of occupational practice.

60. See Robert K. Merton, et al., *The Student Physician*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1957, and Howard S. Becker, *Boys in White*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962.

It is important to see that there were two aspects to the heteronomous balance of occupational power between veterinarians and farmers. In the first place the conflict of interests occurred directly between the profession and farming community at the level of individual clubs and individual veterinarians, and in the second place it occurred within the apparently mediative structure of the VSC. The significance of the veterinarian-farmer interaction at club level has so far been only partially discussed. In spite of the undoubted influence of the VSC within the club system, local clubs were essentially autonomous. The majority of clubs were either incorporated societies or established as departments of dairy factories. They had no structural link with the VSC and compliance with the VSC could, if so desired, be unilaterally broken. The club veterinarian occupied the central position in achieving the aims of the organisation, but the active role of the farmer executive limited the autonomy of his actions. In advising the executive the veterinarian's opinion was to a greater or lesser extent listened to, but all important administrative matters were directly within the control of the farmer executive. For example, decisions to buy veterinary equipment or to build/extend a club's surgery or premises were made by the executive, as were decisions to employ full or part-time office staff or additional veterinarians. Distinct from, though related to this heteronomous organisational position of veterinarians within clubs, was the heteronomous balance in the definition of the producer-consumer relationship brought about by the clash in the respective occupational ideologies which were described earlier. This was partly a personal factor in that many farmer executives were unused to dealing with professional men and in some cases showed little respect for their acquired knowledge and training. The farmer complaint that they had similar arrangements with share-milkers which worked well, 'so why shouldn't the same apply with our veterinarian?', neatly overlooked the accepted subordination of the sharemilker to the farm owner which was the very point at issue in the club context. The amount of veterinarian's salaries was part of this wider conflict over definitions which produced the farmer question: 'why should I pay my farm worker \$x and you (i.e. the veterinarian) any more?'⁶¹ In a

61. From the writer's notes of interviews with veterinarians.

more general sense many veterinarians held to a goal of independent private practice, or preferred the less ambiguous professional role to be found in government service. In the former situation the long work hours were more directly to the veterinarian's own financial advantage, and in the latter situation hours of work were much more regular than in club practice. The steady loss of veterinarians to private practice, government service and also overseas reflected both the organisational and attitudinal aspects of the heteronomous balance within veterinary clubs. Heteronomy was, furthermore, historically prior to the VSC which developed out of this situation, and which retained in the process some similarity in its distribution of power. Farmers and veterinarians were the only parties involved in the early years of the club system so there can be no question of state mediation. This early period is therefore analytically less complicated than under the VSC.

The direct farmer-veterinarian relationship was critical not only within each of the local veterinary clubs, but also, when we look more closely, within the VSC itself. The balance of numerical strength between farmers and veterinarians on the Council was always seen as of crucial importance by the parties themselves. That is, although the VSC had gained considerable influence in the consumer-producer relationship this power continued to be wielded by the two occupational groups through the Council. That a Council member was representing government was in fact far less important than whether he was a farmer or veterinarian. In 1947 when the VSC was formed there was some potential for flexibility in the ratio of veterinarians to farmers on the Council, but this was a matter always carefully watched, and a consistent pattern of four veterinarians to six farmers was maintained. The chairman and deputy chairman were consistently farmers, the former always being chosen from one of the primary producer boards.⁶² The importance of the farmer to veterinarian voting strength on the VSC can be illustrated by Linton's suggestion in 1957 to reconstitute the VSC to give a better representation to clubs. In putting forward this idea he said, among other things, 'There are two principles that we should adopt, the first that the man who paid should have control; but not sufficient to bully the other side. The movement has only gone forward with a lot

62. Except since the 1970's under a substantially modified VSC.

of give and take on both sides. I think that if we had a Council of eleven members, six representing the farmers and five the veterinarians, we would have a better Council than at present.'⁶³

However, Linton's ideas were by no means readily acceptable within the Council. He acknowledged that

'Two objections have been made by Council to my ideas, the first the increased membership of the Council and the second the alteration of balance between the veterinary representation and the farmer representation. I think the balance of power should remain in the hands of the farmer.'⁶⁴

In fact Linton's suggestions implied only a slight change in the balance of voting strength but it revealed the sensitiveness of the issue which dominated the ensuing debate about club representation. Another example of the basic importance of the farmer-veterinarian interface can be seen in the Annual Conferences sponsored by the VSC beginning in 1949. Although the remits passed by these Conferences were recommendations only and not binding on the VSC, they were the major source of feedback from the individual clubs as farmers and club veterinarians discussed the current issues within the club system. Occasionally the NZVA used the Conferences as a forum for its point of view. The opportunity for the clientele of a profession to regularly air their concerns is a rare instance in the history of the modern professions. The Annual Conference was entitled to elect two representatives onto the VSC up until 1960 and five after this date. One veterinarian in the earlier situation and two in the latter were elected each year. Voting at conferences for the VSC representatives and on remits generally showed the familiar pattern. The number of delegates allowed to attend and vote was initially two farmers and one veterinarian for every 'three veterinarians or part thereof' in club employment, a formula adopted from the former Dominion Federation of Farmers' Veterinary Services. In 1950 this was changed to two farmer votes and one veterinary vote for each veterinarian employed. In the sometimes heated debates that occurred at Conferences, these proportions were at times the only factor causing the decision to fall one way rather than the other.

63. VSC, AC, 1957.

64. *ibid.*

The *Proceedings* of the Annual Conferences provide useful documentation of the direct heteronomous relationship between farmers and veterinarians. The controversy which came to a head at the 1954 Conference developed over the payment of subsidies for veterinary attention to 'livestock' of farmers who were not able to get veterinary attention through a club but who did have access to a private practitioner.⁶⁵ The VSC's original policy statement in 1948 had provided for subsidies to veterinary clubs and also subsidies for treating farm animals outside club areas. This latter subsidy served a double purpose. It was defined as a benefit to farmers who could not get service towards which they were paying through their producer board contributions. There was, however, a sense in which it was a concession to the veterinary profession as well:

'The Council's system is designed to give protection to private veterinarians who were in practice at the time of the passing of the Act, and to give non-club 'stock-owners' their just share of the funds of the Council to which they contribute through one or more of the contributory boards. It is the intention of Council not to allow its policy to prove detrimental to the expansion of the club movement throughout the Dominion.'⁶⁶

In theory, payment of the subsidy could be made to either the farmer or the veterinarian, but the practice was for the private veterinarian to charge seventy-five cents less per visit and be re-imbursed by the VSC.⁶⁷ According to the policy statement, payment might be made to private practitioners under three sets of conditions: (1) outside club areas, (2) within club areas but practising before the VSC was set up, and (3) in any area if actively practising before the formation of a club in that area. In half a dozen years the amount the VSC spent showed little tendency to rise, but in 1953 and 1954 expenditure increased sharply as veterinarians, on fulfilling their bonds and working under great pressure in undermanned clubs, began moving into private practice in new areas.⁶⁸ The not-too-clearly defined 'payments in respect of services to 'livestock owners', came to be seen by farmer club members

65. 'Livestock' were statutorily defined to be restricted to farm animals only.

66. VSC, AR, 1948.

67. This made it easier for the subsidy to be perceived as a subsidy to the private practitioner.

68. Table 4:3 shows the yearly amount of this subsidy.

as a 'subsidy in respect of private practice' outside of farmer control. The VSC had circulated clubs before the 1954 Conference that it would 'cut out the seventy-five cents subsidy to private practitioners' although the NZVA representative on the VSC wanted the matter reopened, and the VSC received a letter of protest from the NZVA. Linton in his chairman's address gave the reason the subsidy must cease: 'It has grown to such an extent', he said, 'that it appears to me that we are in fact encouraging private practice to become established in this country. And I think it is possible we are doing that in some instances at the expense of the club movement.' At the Conference feeling ran high. Club executive members were hostile to the subsidy continuing because of their opposition to an alternative form of practice not under farmer control, and they had been recently rebuffed in their own attempts to increase the general subsidy to clubs. The veterinarians were strongly aroused because the removal of the subsidy was an attack on a form of practice which lends itself to professionalism as a mode of occupational control and it undermined those veterinarians who were quickly getting established in private rural practice. To re-establish the subsidy's credentials in the eyes of the farming delegates the veterinarians stressed that 'it is not a matter of a subsidy to the private practitioner at all. It is a subsidy to the farmer whom the veterinarian serves'. Farmers felt the subsidy undermined their club system; veterinarians felt it showed support for initiative in serving new districts. Farmers said it promoted private practice; veterinarians said it gave the non-club farmer his fair share. Farmers and veterinarians took turns in applauding their respective spokesmen. The underlying unacknowledged issue was the balance of occupational control between the two groups. Both sides were partly correct in what they said. It seems clear that both sides gained from the subsidy, although veterinarians more because in the new practice situation professional control of the situation was greater. The intensity of the debate resulted in a final decision being deferred to a joint VSC-NZVA committee, which reported the following year that 'the necessity to reduce the expense of the VSC is appreciated, and unless extra funds become available it is agreed that the subsidy on private practice service be restricted' to fifty cents per visit for practitioners set up before the 1946 Act and other areas where the VSC deemed it necessary. Thus the veterinary profession lost the battle though it was winning the war: at the following

Conference in 1955 the major issue of contention was the unauthorised payments by club executives to their veterinarians that called for Linton's threat of penalty that has already been quoted.⁶⁹ The loss of the subsidy had no real effect on the flow of veterinarians from the club system. The only way clubs could hope to retain staff was to give them a more free rein and pay them more, and this they increasingly did outside the limits of the VSC.

The dichotomy of farmer-veterinarian interests within individual clubs can be seen in the issue of additional remuneration for club veterinarians. It posed a particular dilemma for clubs in maintaining control yet meeting the demands of the market, which meant trying to stay within the ambit of the VSC but also having to circumvent its regulations at certain points. Under the table payments by club executives reflected the essential market advantage of veterinarians. Clause 6 of the Standard Service Agreement had originally provided for extra payment to veterinarians for extra work (such as occurred if one of the club veterinarians suddenly left). In many clubs these 'clause 6' payments became a 'cut' of the club's earnings, and in some instances represented a fifty per cent increase in a veterinarian's income. Clubs that paid only the salary scale could not always get or retain staff. If, in addition, hours were long or a club executive undiplomatic in its relations with staff or unwilling to negotiate the terms of employment, they were guaranteed to have a stream of vacancies. The idea of clubs on a profit-sharing basis gradually evolved, some clubs frankly paying their staff a proportion of each year's profits, even though the VSC said this was not to be done. In 1960 the VSC began accepting schemes for consideration in which clubs set out a formula for paying their staff a substantial bonus on a earnings-related basis. This evolution was by no means easily achieved and there was considerable confusion on the VSC and amongst clubs about the future implications it entailed. The 'clause 6 sub-committee' of the VSC, for instance, accepted the principle of such schemes but continued to claim that they should (1) be farmer-controlled, (2) have the consent of the VSC, and (3) receive no subsidy. However, the modification of point (1) was the very reason for the schemes, as one long-time conference delegate recognised, although

69. See page 97.

he felt strongly that control should still rest with the farmers, not veterinarians or the government:

'The only knowledge I have of partnerships is where there is equal control between the farmer and veterinarian, and the VSC is to be the referee. I do not like that. We should not go to Wellington to get a referee. Is (clause 6 sub-committee chairman) satisfied with equal representation without farmer control? When veterinary service was first discussed, Mr Linton and I coined the phrase 'farmer financed and farmer controlled'. Our aim was to keep it away from government. We did not mind veterinarians coming in as far as administration goes, but the balance of control must be kept by the farmers.'⁷⁰

The control of veterinary services may have been largely kept away from the government but the balance of control between the farming community and the veterinary profession remained problematic and was in fact changing. In the early 1960's several clause 6 schemes were approved by the VSC, and in 1964 four full Contract Practices were formed from existing clubs and within the Council's 'approved status' category.⁷¹ It appeared at that time that a substantial proportion of the club system might go over to this form of practice, which is structurally an intermediate form of occupational control between private practice and club practice, but this did not happen. As late as 1977 only fourteen contract practices had been formed employing forty veterinarians compared with fifty club practices employing 177 veterinarians.⁷² Continuing improvements in salary and work conditions and greater acceptance of the veterinarian's role as that of a professional, were part of a general stabilising in the relative balance of influence between the two occupations.

In the course of time a re-distribution in the balance of power between the two occupational groups occurred towards the advantage of the veterinary profession. Some of the main changes in this balance have already emerged in the discussion: extra payments to club veterinarians, the development of contract practices and more effective negotiations by the NZVA. The less tangible, but equally fundamental,

70. W.E. Scott, VSC, AC, 1961.

71. 'Approved' meant that the VSC still acted as national employer, and that the club personnel could still attend the VSC, AC and Refresher courses.

72. There are still undercurrents within the club system about this issue.

definition of the producer-consumer relationship also altered in the same direction. The 1958 dispute over the VSC-sponsored refresher course which coincided with the VSC Annual Conference, reflected this shift.⁷³ The new Veterinary Executive Officer of the VSC was left to arrange the refresher course and in doing so farmers were excluded, a situation that aroused the hostility of farmer delegates at the Conference.⁷⁴ The emphasis on farmer involvement and education in animal health had been an essential ingredient of the club movement, and previously farmers had been able to attend the refresher courses as well. The Veterinary Executive Officer had arranged an additional field-day for both farmers and veterinarians, but in the face of farmer accusations had to disclaim having collaborated with the NZVA. What the controversy illustrated was the shifting occupational definition of the relationship, from being more in the clientele's favour to a new definition construed more nearly in terms of professionalism. The chairman, D.A. Finlayson, tried to dampen the issue down by assuring the Conference:

'It is not necessary to make a motion of this. The Council will accept responsibility for this matter and will see that it does not happen again. Farmers will not be excluded from these courses.'⁷⁵

But the veterinary view was different, as one senior member of the profession and a government representative on the VSC said:

'The Council had nothing to do with these changes but I support the Executive Officer in what he has done. The course is called a 'refresher course for veterinarians', and at such a course we may talk in technical terms that farmers do not understand. There is no veterinary school for New Zealand and therefore no chance for veterinarians to go to refresher courses unless these are arranged for them. Courses can be arranged for farmers if so desired. But I believe there is a place for these refresher courses where we can discuss things on a professional level.'⁷⁶

73. The VSC sponsored two Refresher Courses for veterinarians, one in conjunction with the New Zealand Veterinary Association Annual Conference and the other in conjunction with the VSC, AC.

74. In 1958 there^{were three} newly filled positions of key importance on the Council: Chairman, Secretary, and Veterinary Executive Officer.

75. VSC, AC, 1958

76. *ibid.* At this AC representatives of the New Zealand Veterinary Association also launched an attack on compulsory club membership such as operated in dairying areas, and which gave clubs as opposed to private practices a considerable competitive advantage.

As the work of the veterinary clubs became routinised the 'movement' aspect of the club system became less apparent, tending to diffuse the the farmer definition of control. The flow of veterinarians into private practice at the same time reinforced the ideology of professionalism within the profession. While both farmers and veterinarians continued to be actively involved in the delivery of veterinary service⁷⁷ over the main period of the club system, the farmer-veterinarian balance changed from the definition in the long title of the 1946 Act: 'An Act to make provision for the establishment and maintenance of a veterinary service for farmers...', to a more evenly balanced situation as the club system was scaled down in the mid-1960's. Thus in 1964 the Chairman had the following to say:

'The strength of the Council in the future will be in its ability to consolidate veterinary services, not only through clubs, but also through private practitioners. The good will of both must be retained. The Council has had consultations with the veterinarians' professional body on that point. The Council has done this for two reasons. In the veterinary movement in New Zealand the interests of the farmer and the veterinarian are of equal importance and the Council has been looking with the Veterinary Association at the problems confronting us... There are many aspects to be solved, and they must be looked at from both points of view.'⁷⁸

It was in the decades following 1937 that the contemporary organisation of the veterinary profession took shape and it is this period that has formed the subject of analysis in the present chapter. The complexity of the club system has necessitated an extended discussion to delineate the distribution of occupational influence about the profession. Johnson's idea of state mediation is able to explain some of the main features of the club system and is especially relevant to the operation of the VSC. Mediation, however, does not fully account for the institutionalised pattern of occupational control that underpins the veterinary^{club} system. The unique social characteristics of the farming clientele need, in addition, the idea of professional heteronomy to adequately describe those features that lie outside the

77. A recent example of this: Diane Keenan, 'Critics Question Vet Clubs' Value', *Dominion*, Friday 25 November 1977:10.

78. VSC, AC, 1964.

explanation provided by mediation. It is now appropriate to suggest more formally a framework to link together the concepts of state mediation and professional heteronomy, and which will also enable us to draw out the main theoretical implications from the analysis of the veterinary profession.

5. CONCLUSION

Within the sociology of professions the veterinary profession is one occupation that has received remarkably little attention despite the proliferation of studies in this field in recent decades. The present study has addressed itself to this omission within the framework advanced by those sociologists who have concentrated their analyses on the idea of occupational control. The fundamental assumption made by these writers is that the distribution of occupational power provides the key to understanding changes within a profession, or variations between professions, in the way they are organised.

The model of professionalisation put forward by Wilensky can be taken as representative of both the trait and professionalisation perspectives, given their theoretical similarities. In documenting the major steps in the development of the veterinary profession the analytic weakness of such an approach becomes evident, however, in the superficial explanation it offers of differences in occupational employment and practice within the profession. Although Wilensky's model is able to chronicle a substantial body of empirical information about veterinary development it provides no clear idea of causation to account for periods of either change or stability in the emergence of the contemporary profession. The discussion of Wilensky's proposals, however, does help direct attention to the presence of variations in the institutional pattern of occupational control within the veterinary profession even if it cannot adequately account for these variations. From this early indication in chapter two, that other elements besides the supposed professionalisation steps are at least as significant in the process of veterinary development, the chapters that followed have made use of Johnson's typology in analysing the emergence of the New Zealand veterinary profession. It soon becomes apparent that the veterinary profession cannot be viewed simply as an homogeneous occupation evolving towards a fixed end state, but that professionalisation 'must take its place as one type of occupational control within a framework which allows for a more realistic comparative approach'.¹

1. Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power*. Macmillan, 1972:61.

In terms of the present investigation of the veterinary profession two main theoretical conclusions can be made about the 'more realistic comparative approach' put forward by Johnson. In the first place, this study has allowed us to test the applicability of Johnson's ideas on a profession outside the group of occupations which he examined in the original formulation of his theory.² As a typology of occupational control the model has shown itself to be capable of accounting for the distinctive aspects of veterinary organisation at each period in the occupation's development in this country. Substantial support has thus been provided for Johnson's model in that it clearly makes recognition of variations in occupational control in the provision of veterinary services and the consequences of such patterns of control for the profession itself. This emphasis in turn brings into much greater prominence the relationship of the veterinary profession to the power resources available to other groups in the wider society. How such resources are used by these groups, insofar as the provision and utilisation of veterinary services affects their interests, varies over time and appears to differ from one country to the next. The suitability of Johnson's typology for the analysis of the veterinary profession suggests its further use to investigate the development of other professions within this country. A first choice might be an examination of the role of dental nurses and the school dental service as an institutionalised variation in the professional development of dentistry in New Zealand. Other examples of the potential fruitfulness of this approach can be found. What structural reasons, for instance, account for the fusion of the roles of barrister and solicitor in the legal profession in New Zealand? The documentation of professional development in this country and the possibility of certain institutional commonalities between various occupations could contribute to a more precise understanding of New Zealand society.

A second conclusion to be drawn from the present inquiry is the possibility of refining Johnson's typology by the inclusion of a fourth analytic type of occupational control, namely professional heteronomy. This suggestion does not challenge the underlying concept of the distribution of occupational power, since it similarly focusses upon the

client-professional relationship. The present proposal is thus essentially an extension of Johnson's model based on the analysis of the veterinary club system, which can, however, be evaluated independently of this context. To recapitulate: Johnson posited three analytic types of occupational control depending on the distribution of power in the client-professional (consumer-producer) relationship: professionalism proper, patronage and mediation.³ The suggestion being made here is that Johnson's basic model be extended to include the idea of professional heteronomy, to give four analytic types, as follows:

(1) *Professionalism proper* occurs when the producer of professional services defines the needs of the consumer and in what ways these needs will be catered for.

(2) *Patronage* refers to the situation in which it is the consumer who defines his own needs and the manner in which these are to be met.

(3) *Mediation* arises when a third party acts as an intermediary in the relationship between the producer and consumer, defining both the needs and the way in which these needs will be met.

(4) *Heteronomy* occurs when the producer and consumer of professional services are both substantially involved in the definition of needs and the manner in which such needs will be catered for.

In this fourth type of control neither producer or consumer has most of the 'say' in defining the relationship, as is the case under professionalism or patronage, but they jointly share in the definition of the situation. Furthermore, heteronomy consists of a direct interaction between the producer and consumer. That is, there is no need to postulate the presence of a third party intervening in the relationship; in this sense it might be argued that heteronomy logically comes before mediation (the introduction of a third party), in the typology. Mediation and heteronomy are both intermediate forms of occupational control and as such they contain structural features in common. The chief of these is the formation of a guaranteed clientele. The close

3. This is, in fact, a slight simplification of Johnson's typology, *op. cit.*, 1972:45-47, but represents the three generic types he outlines.

involvement of consumers under heteronomy, or of the state on behalf of the consumers in the case of mediation, gives a similar guarantee of consumers to the profession. The 'trade union' function of the professional association is common to both heteronomy and mediation in the negotiation of higher salaries and better working conditions for its members. Another similar feature is that both forms of control are likely to undermine existing bases of recruitment by expanding academic channels into the profession. There are also, however, significant differences between mediative and heteronomous forms of occupational control, the principle one being that heteronomy does not have the central dilemma of administrative versus consumer needs because it does not possess the emergent bureaucratic elements that characterise mediative structures. Nor does heteronomy give evidence of such a pronounced diffusion of the client role that accompanies mediation. Mediation's emphasis on the 'abstract' or 'pure' research gives place to a greater emphasis on applied research under a predominant pattern of heteronomy, in order to meet the more directly expressed interests of the clientele. Under heteronomy the broad social consequences of professional service are less significant than the consequences for the specific consumer group involved, although the former may still constitute part of the rationale for the particular arrangement of professional services. Because of the more direct form of the client-professional relationship, heteronomy shows more clearly than mediation aspects of both the polar types of occupational control, patronage and professionalism. On the side of patronage, heteronomy reflects the more active role of the consumers in determining the provision of professional services, and in such features as its applied research orientation. In common with professionalism on the other hand, there is little diffusion of the consumer role or of the norms governing the client-professional relationship under heteronomy, and the dilemma between administrative and consumer needs is unlikely to emerge.

In the empirical situation of the veterinary club situation the observed complexity in the distribution of occupational influence is not entirely unexpected on theoretical grounds: since both mediation and heteronomy are intermediate forms of occupational power in which the resources available to the different parties are reasonably evenly dist-

ributed, the structural conditions that allow the rise of one form may in some circumstances permit the emergence of the other. The main condition for this to occur is connected to the social characteristics of the consumers, who, in the case of the club system, were well organised and able to sustain their own definition of their needs and how these needs should be met, in counterbalance to the definition of the veterinary profession. Thus, by focussing upon the client-professional relationship, the typology used in this study has been able to examine not only change in the potential for autonomy of the veterinary profession, but also variations in the social characteristics of the consumers as a fundamental condition giving rise to variations in the institutionalised patterns of control over the provision of veterinary services.

There is ample room to consolidate and extend the approach to the study of professions used here. Further investigation of the veterinary profession in New Zealand might focus on a number of specific topics such as veterinary personnel in the nineteenth century, the work of Gilruth in New Zealand, 1893 to 1908, the development of the government Veterinary Division, farmer veterinary groups before the 1930's; the veterinary club system would repay more intensive study of its different aspects. Such research might suggest modifications to the interpretations of the present essay. Given the three-way division of the contemporary profession, further research could consider changes in the very recent history of the profession in the light of Johnson's typology. At the same time New Zealand's median position between the highly industrialised countries and the developing nations may provide a comparative base for generating insights about general processes of social and occupational change. Several possible studies of other New Zealand professions have been mentioned. It may be that an examination of New Zealand's colonial status and economic dependence would reveal typical institutionalised variations of professional development in this country. Finally, empirical or historical research of the veterinary profession in other countries would help overcome the present lack of analysis of this occupation as well as contributing to our understanding of professional organisation and development as a whole.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Review of Literature on the Veterinary Profession

There has been virtually no writing on the veterinary profession within the sociology of professions up to the present time. This is an omission of some significance in light of the fact that the professions have been the focus at both theoretical and empirical levels of a considerable body of studies.¹ This may in part be due to the low public profile of the veterinarian, but it is by no means fully accounted for by this suggestion. Except for one or two studies there is only a handful of references in the sociological literature to the existence of the veterinary profession.²

Probably the most important of these passing references occurs in Freidson's discussion of the rise of the medical profession where he says

'By the twentieth century the medical profession was at last able to establish a secure mandate to provide the central health service...Control over the focal tasks of diagnosis and prescription was thereby secured, though some specialties that evolved separately, such as dentistry and veterinary medicine, were able by virtue of their easily segregated functions and their capacity to practice as entrepreneurs to maintain themselves separately.'³

The marginal inclusion of the veterinary profession in discussions of the professions can be illustrated from Halmos' distinction between professions which provide personal services and those which do not. Professions whose principal function is to bring about changes in the body or personality of the client are the personal service professions,

1. See Edwin O. Smigel's two articles on this point: 'Trends in Occupational Sociology in the United States: A Survey of Post-war Research', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1954, 19:398-404 and, 'Occupational Sociology: A Re-examination', *Sociology and Social Research*, 1963, 47:472-477.
2. For example, W.J. Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professions in Nineteenth Century England*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1966: 68, 155, 164; Howard M. Vollmer & Donald L. Mills, *Professionalisation*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966, include two references but these are embedded in extracts from Carr-Saunders and Wilson; Wilbert E. Moore & G.W. Rosenblum, *The Professions: Roles and Rules*. Sage, New York, 1970:95.
3. Eliot Freidson, *Profession of Medicine*. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1970.

while all other professions who do not have these kinds of responsibilities are the impersonal service professions.⁴ The personal service professions are: clergy, physicians-dentists, nurses, teachers and social workers. The impersonal service professions he lists are: engineers-scientists, accountants, the legal professions, architects-surveyors and veterinarians. Apart from the information contained in Halmos' Table three, cataloguing the growth of the professions in England and Wales 1901-1961, there is little direct help for an analysis of the veterinary profession. This lack of sociological treatment persists into the periodical literature; for example, Jesser's analysis of the social participation of professionals in rural areas deals with doctors, teachers, lawyers and the clergy, but no reference is made to veterinarians.⁵ The growing field of public health is one of considerable sociological interest that has important connections with veterinary as well as human medicine, but only incidental reference has been made of veterinarians.⁶

There are two major exceptions to the lack of sociological investigation of the veterinary profession. In 1933 Carr-Saunders and Wilson published their influential work on the professions.⁷ They traced the historical development of a wide range of professions including law, medicine, dentistry, nursing, veterinary medicine, engineering, pharmacy, architecture, accountancy and teaching. They devoted seven pages specifically to discussing the development of the veterinary profession in addition to other references to the profession in their general analysis of professional development and organisation. Despite inclusion in this seminal contribution to the sociology of professions little further interest has been shown in the veterinary profession. The only significant empirical investigation of the

4. Paul Halmos, *The Personal Service Society*. Schocken, New York, 1970.

5. C.J. Jesser, 'Social Participation of Professionals in Rural Areas', *Sociological Quarterly*, 1968, 2:248-260. Note that W.H. Feigh (foot-note 13) was a sociologist.

6. As, for example, E.A. Suchman, *Sociology and the Field of Public Health*. Sage, New York, 1963.

7. Alexander M. Carr-Saunders & Peter A. Wilson, *The Professions*. Oxford University Press. A second impression has been published by Frank Cass and Co., London, 1964.

profession is the doctoral study done by R.W. Holdeman in 1965.⁸ 127 Although disappointing in its lack of any theoretical grounding, this study has produced a useful body of factual data based principally on the results of a questionnaire survey of 449 veterinarians in the American state of Indiana. A number of other studies make some contribution to a sociological perspective on the veterinary profession. These have looked at such topics as the public perception and status of veterinarians,⁹ social and demographic characteristics of veterinarians,¹⁰ opinion leadership among veterinarians,¹¹ aspects of pet ownership,¹² and changes within the veterinary profession.¹³ There is also a series of economic surveys of veterinary practice in the United States.¹⁴ Most of these studies, however, are not concerned to articulate their useful findings within a specifically sociological framework.

Historical accounts of the emergence of the veterinary profession constitute an important source of information. Possibly even more than other professions it has been left to veterinarians with an historical turn of interest to themselves set out the major personalities and stages in the history of their profession. Smithcors' *Evolution of the Veterinary Art* probably offers the widest treatment in a readable

8. Richard Wendell Holdeman II, *The Evolution of Veterinary Medicine and the Character of Appropriate Recruitment, Education and Employment*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Purdue University, 1965. A copy of this thesis is available on microfilm at Massey University library.
9. Craig W. Thomas, 'The Public's View of Veterinarians: A Study in a Suburban Area in Illinois', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1974, 164, 4: 381-386.
10. Paul R. Schnurrenberger, Russell J. Martin & James F. Walker, 'Characteristics of Veterinarians in Illinois', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1972, 160, 11: 1512-1521.
11. Leon G. Schwartz, 'A Demographic Profile of Veterinarians in Grand Rapids, Michigan', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1968, 153, 16: 1280-1282.
12. C.E. Franti & J.F. Kraus, 'Aspects of Pet Ownership in Yale County, California', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1974, 164, 2: 166-171.
13. Everett M. Rogers & William H. Feigh, 'How Veterinarians Look at their Changing Profession', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1960, 136, 12: 600-602.
14. 'The 1955-1956 Survey of Veterinary Practitioners', Parts I, II & III, *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1957, 131: 156-157, 199-201, 303-304; R.D. Morrison, '1960 Economic Survey of Veterinary Practitioners', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1962, 140: 366-368; two articles by M.M.

manner.¹⁵ The book deals with ancient veterinary care in a number of¹²⁸ civilisations and traces the development of modern veterinary medicine from the 1770's to the middle of the nineteenth century. The author makes extensive use of Smith's several volume history of early veterinary history.¹⁶ Two other general accounts by Smithcors and Bierer give greater emphasis to the United States veterinary profession.¹⁷ Bierer's account to the early twentieth century gives a useful emphasis on the social context of the rise of the veterinary profession. L.P. Pugh's book and the centenary issue of the *Veterinary Record* give in greater detail the development of the profession in Great Britain from the late seventeenth century, covering the establishment of the London Veterinary college, the granting of the Royal Charter in 1844, and related events; and providing a different emphasis on the role played by the medical profession in veterinary development than Smithcors' rather more negative account.¹⁸ There is a number of other more limited histories of veterinary colleges,¹⁹ military participation of the profession,²⁰ profess-

Snodgrass & J.W. Judy, 'The 1965 Economic Survey of Veterinarians in Private Practice' and 'The 1965 Economic Survey of Salaried Veterinarians', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1967,150:1465-1479,1480-1486. See also J.W. Judy & M.M. Snodgrass, 'An Economic Analysis of Sixty Veterinary Practices in Indiana', *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 1966,149:1501-1504.

15. J.F. Smithcors, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art: A Narrative Account to 1850*. Veterinary Publishing Co, Kansas City, 1957.
16. F. Smith, *The Early History of Veterinary Literature*. London, 1924. Four volumes.
17. J.F. Smithcors, *The American Veterinary Profession*. Iowa State University Press; B.W. Bierer, *A Short History of Veterinary Medicine in America*, Michigan State University Press, 1955. See also J.F. Smithcors, 'The Development of Veterinary Medical Science: Some Historical Aspects and Prospects', *Advances in Veterinary Science*, 1964,9:1-34.
18. Leslie P. Pugh, *From Farriery to Veterinary Medicine 1785-1795*. Heffer & Sons Ltd, Cambridge, 1962. The Centenary Issue of the *Veterinary Record* celebrated the 100 years since the granting of the Royal Charter establishing the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. *Veterinary Record*, 1945,57,51:599-677. See also Leslie P. Pugh, 'The Evolution of the Veterinary Profession in Great Britain', *British Veterinary Journal*, 1967:123,423,430.
19. For example, O.C. Bradley, *History of the Edinburgh Veterinary College*. Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1923; F. Eugene Gattinger, *A Century of Challenge: A History of the Ontario Veterinary College*. University of Toronto Press, 1962; A.L. Wilson et al, *Glasgow Veterinary School 1862-1962*. Glasgow Alumnus Committee, 1962. Printed by Jackson Nelson Ltd, Glasgow, 1962.
20. For example, F. Smith, *A History of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps*,

ional associations,²¹ and government veterinary services.²² In New Zealand there is no written history of the veterinary profession although the task would be less complex than for a larger country. A.D.M.G. Laing, a former president of the New Zealand Veterinary Association has written several articles on the profession's development in this country.²³

The psychological literature offers little assistance to sociological inquiry. There are several references from the immediate post-war period in the United States, but these relate to the development of psychological tests of student aptitude for veterinary studies, particularly the use of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank to assess the veterinary interest score in relation to academic success of students.²⁴

There is a considerable volume of information produced within the profession itself that is of assistance to the sociologist. In addition to the veterinary journals there have been a number of

1796-1919. London, 1927; Max Henry, 'Notes of a Veterinary Officer with the A.T.F. (1914-1919)', *Australian Veterinary Journal*, 1931,7: 43-57; 1932,8:20-24,82,85.

21. For example, A.M. Evans & C.A.V. Barker, *Century One: A History of the Ontario Veterinary Association*. Capra Books, Guelph, Ontario, 1976.
22. For example, *Animal Health: A Centenary 1865-1965*, HMSO, London, 1965. This is an account of veterinary work in the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food in the United Kingdom.
23. A.D.M.G. Laing, 'The History and Development of the Veterinary Profession in New Zealand', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1954, 2,3:61-67, 'The History and Progress of the Town Milk Supply Tuberculin Testing Scheme', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1955,3: 138-143, 'Some Historical Notes on the Veterinary Profession in New Zealand', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1964,12,4:67-71, 'The History of Meat Hygiene and Inspection in New Zealand up to the Formation of the Meat Division in 1963', *New Zealand Veterinary Journal*, 1970,18:241-243.
24. Including the following, W.A. Owens, 'Development of a Test of Aptitude for Veterinary Medicine', *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science*, 1950,57:417-423 and 'An Aptitude Test for Veterinary Medicine', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1950,34: 295-299. R.C. Klussendorf, 'Education in Veterinary Medicine', *Higher Education*, 1949,5:181-185. T.E. Hannum, 'Response of Veterinarians to the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Men', *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science*, 1950,57:381-384. T.E. Hannum & J.P. Thrall, 'Use of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Prediction in Veterinary Medicine', *Journal of Applied*

commissions set up from time to time to consider the state of development of the profession and determine the needs for veterinary education, veterinary employment, and so forth.²⁵ The reports of these commissions offer quite detailed information about the contemporary profession.²⁶ The most recent and wide-ranging is the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Veterinary Profession (often called the Swann Report, after its chairman), which looks at the organisation of the veterinary profession in general rather than simply veterinary education. It raises many of the basic issues in veterinary medicine today.²⁷

It might have been expected that writers subsequent to Carr-Saunders and Wilson would have investigated the veterinary profession as they have other professional groups, but this has not occurred.²⁸ It is reasonable to predict, however, that with the increasing number of sociologists working in the sociology of professions, and the extending scope of their enquiries, that in the near future a number

Psychology, 1955, 39:249-252

25. The production of these reports parallel the situation in other professions. Basil J. Sherlock and Richard T. Morris observe: 'From time to time every profession finds it necessary to conduct, or commission outsiders to conduct a searching evaluation of various phases of its educational and professional performance'. *Becoming a Dentist*. Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1972:6.
26. In Britain, for example:
Commission on Veterinary Education in Great Britain. Chairman, T.F. Maloney, HMSO, London, 1944.
Commission on Veterinary Education in Great Britain. Chairman, T. Loveday, HMSO, London, 1944.
Commission on Veterinary Practice by Unregistered Persons. HMSO, London, 1945.
Commission on Licences Under Section 7 of the Veterinary Surgeons Act 1948. Chairman, A.J. Champion, HMSO, London, 1952.
Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Recruitment for the Veterinary Profession. Chairman, His Grace the Duke of Northumberland. HMSO, London, July, 1964.
27. *Committee of Inquiry Into the Veterinary Profession*. Chairman, M. Swann. HMSO, London, July, 1975.
28. There is a modest literature available to the sociologist in the form of a number of veterinary biographies and personal accounts. These are able to give something of the ethos of the profession and the changes in veterinary techniques and professional status over time. Probably the best known of this expanding genre is the series of books written under the pseudonym James Herriott which have also been televised and made into films. *If Only They Could Talk*, 1970; *It Shouldn't Happen to a Vet*, 1972; *Let Sleeping Vets Lie*, 1973; *Vets Might Fly*, 1976. Michael Joseph, London.

of studies on the veterinary profession might begin to build up. The recent development of such a corpus of writing on dentistry is of some interest in this connection in light of Freidson's suggestion about the structural similarities in the positions the two professions occupy in the occupational division of labour in the health field. For the present the sociologist must in the main establish his own data sources on the veterinary profession and relate this material to the main theoretical perspectives within the sociology of professions.

APPENDIX 2: Income and Expenditure of the Veterinary Services
Council, 1948-1977 (\$)

| Y.E.31 March | Producer Board Contributions | | | Total Producer Board Contri- butions | Govern- ment Subsidy | Other Income* | Total Income | Total Expendi- ture |
|-----------------|------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--|----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | Dairy Board | Meat Board | Wool Board | | | | | |
| 1948 | 46736 | 20036 | 3332 | 70104 | 70104 | 182 | 140390 | 68892 |
| 1949 | 40980 | 17160 | 3332 | 61472 | 61470 | 5204 | 128146 | 68910 |
| 1950 | 42124 | 17730 | 3332 | 63186 | 63186 | 7378 | 133750 | 122600 |
| 1951 | 56106 | 24722 | 3332 | 84160 | 84160 | 10584 | 178904 | 110132 |
| 1952 | 52186 | 22760 | 3332 | 78278 | 78278 | 5820 | 162376 | 137468 |
| 1953 | 58128 | 25732 | 3332 | 87192 | 87192 | 4480 | 178864 | 176102 |
| 1954 | 66666 | 30002 | 3332 | 100000 | 100000 | 4928 | 204928 | 183082 |
| 1955 | 66666 | 30000 | 3332 | 99998 | 100000 | 3042 | 203040 | 173920 |
| 1956 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 4132 | 204132 | 189620 |
| 1967 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 2950 | 202950 | 211562 |
| 1958 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 2974 | 202974 | 196412 |
| 1959 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 9848 | 209848 | 193664 |
| 1960 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 4714 | 204714 | 186636 |
| 1961 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 4116 | 204116 | 180074 |
| 1962 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 3896 | 203896 | 191038 |
| 1963 | 60000 | 30000 | 10000 | 100000 | 100000 | 3806 | 203806 | 184964 |
| 1964 | 50100 | 25050 | 8350 | 83500 | 83500 | 772 | 167772 | 158540 |
| 1965 | 38700 | 19350 | 6450 | 64500 | 64500 | 9884 | 138884 | 146870 |
| 1966 | 36600 | 18300 | 6100 | 61000 | 61000 | 8336 | 130336 | 142798 |
| 1967 | 37800 | 18900 | 6300 | 63000 | 63000 | 3364 | 129364 | 136662 |
| 1968 | 24000 | 12000 | 4000 | 40000 | 40000 | 3510 | 83510 | 125461 |
| 1969 | 29400 | 14700 | 4900 | 49000 | 49000 | 3925 | 101925 | 112889 |
| 1970 | 29700 | 14850 | 4950 | 49500 | 49500 | 7205 | 102175 | 106205 |
| 1971 | 28800 | 14400 | 4800 | 48000 | 48000 | 8600 | 104600 | 107954 |
| 1972 | 25800 | 12900 | 4300 | 43000 | 43000 | 7579 | 93579 | 101839 |
| 1973 | 26400 | 13200 | 4400 | 44000 | 44000 | 8795 | 96795 | 123589 |
| 1974 | 34200 | 17100 | 5700 | 57000 | 57000 | 5834 | 119834 | 130611 |
| 1975 | 36000 | 18000 | 6000 | 60000 | 60000 | 4816 | 124816 | 132656 |
| 1976 | 36000 | 18000 | 6000 | 60000 | 60000 | 5702 | 125702 | 126898 |
| 1977 | 36000 | 18000 | 6000 | 60000 | 60000 | 6563 | 126563 | 125066 |

* Includes bank interest and revenue from house properties. The recovery of bursaries previously written off is also included up until 1967.

Source: *Veterinary Services Council, Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, 1948-1977.*

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