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**DISCIPLINING IDENTITIES:
GENDER, GEOGRAPHY AND
THE CULTURE OF FIELDTRIPS**

A Thesis

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a

Doctorate of Philosophy in Geography

at the University of Waikato

by

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ABSTRACT

This is an examination of geography disciplinary identities and practices as they are (re)produced during seven residential geography fieldtrips. The thesis is structured around four key arguments. First, is an analysis of particular disciplinary practices of residential fieldtrips, namely geographers' preoccupation with Difference within and between places, and with 'seeing the real world'. It is argued that geographers' fascination with Difference for its own sake, risks Difference as a new form of essentialism if the structure of Difference is not critically examined. Following this is a deconstruction and decentering of the taken-for-granted ways in which geography fieldtrip knowledge has been (re)produced via scopic regimes that depend on a self-evident 'reality'.

Second, I argue that the residential geography fieldtrip is one context in which students learn what it means to be a 'geography student'/'geographer'. Students and staff live/breathe/eat geography. I call this embodied fieldwork. The notion of embodied fieldwork is taken further into a consideration of the 're-creation' (in both senses of the word) of the geography student/geographer. Fieldwork was constructed as fun and in a parallel fashion, I questioned whether so-called fun and jokes might be better understood as achieving a particular kind of work. I examine how individual bodies are disciplined in particular ways, and how this disciplining is accommodated and/or resisted.

Third, is an analysis of the contradictions of an assumed community of geography students and geographers. Some fieldtrip participants felt the pressure to join this corporate body even though it did not represent a group they would (usually) choose to be part of. A corporate body of geography students and staff together depends on unspecified notions of sameness. These notions, on closer analysis, turn out to have quite specific hierarchical meanings in terms of 'race', gender, class, sexuality, physical ability and age.

Finally, are some suggestions for interventions in the social and epistemological practices of geographic fieldtrip education.

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DEDICATION

*For Margaret Nairn,
Mac McDonald &
Chloe & Amelia McDonald-Nairn*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research is primarily concerned with the processes of social construction and reproduction of geographers' identities during the residential geography fieldtrips¹ of two high schools and two universities located in Aotearoa/New Zealand.² My key research question is: how are the embodied disciplinary identities of 'geography student'/'geographer' socially constructed and reproduced through the culture³ of residential fieldtrips in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1990s? In the process of answering this question, I consider how these social processes are intertwined and significant to the social construction and reproduction of geography as a subject/discipline in Aotearoa/New Zealand at the end of the century.

¹ Fieldtrips are defined as trips away from an educational site and may be one hour or one day long. Residential fieldtrips involve students staying away at least one night.

² Aotearoa is the Māori name for New Zealand. As Longhurst (1996a: 8, fn 13) points out, the name Aotearoa has been used increasingly and "government ministries and departments now have Māori names which are used, in conjunction with their English names, on all documents". But the process of naming places is always contested (Berg and Kearns, 1996) and this is reflected in the use of both names - Aotearoa/New Zealand. I use 'Aotearoa' as a mark of respect for the indigenous people - Māori - to name their place, as well as 'New Zealand' because it is a name used by later migrants to name their place.

³ I develop a definition of fieldtrip culture as an embodied disciplinary culture, a definition that takes account of both the bodily (see Bordo, 1989) and the disciplinary (see Lee, 1996) dimensions of residential geography fieldtrips.

John Hammond's (1992: 296) wide ranging historical assessment of the institutionalisation of geography concluded that "field trips have always had a central place in New Zealand university geography". This centrality was reaffirmed recently in a representative statement from the Ninth Inter-University Conference of Teachers of Geography (1995: 4) submitted to the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee:

Geography is a field subject and the Conference once again reaffirms that fieldwork (broadly defined as work off campus) is an essential component of undergraduate and graduate teaching and it is essential in human as well as physical geography. A strength of geography is its ability to interpret 'real world' problems, so that fieldwork is for us the best means of relating theory and practical matters.

Fieldwork and fieldtrips are a taken-for-granted and largely unexamined way of teaching geography (see Gold et al., 1991). This research is a critical inquiry into one strand of fieldwork - the residential fieldtrip - a forum in which the practice of fieldwork is intensively taught. At the time - 1994 and early 1995 - that I was developing my doctoral proposal, my choice of topic was also shaped by the relative absence of research about geography disciplinary identities and the absence of a sustained critique of geography residential fieldtrip education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In this thesis, I am primarily concerned with the fieldtrip/fieldwork traditions that already exist in four different institutions. But it is important that the research move beyond critical inquiry to a reconsideration of what could be different if geography fieldtrips were not so central to the geography discipline and/or were conducted in unconventional ways. The final chapter is concerned with such reconsiderations.

2 'LOCATING' THE RESEARCH CONTEXTS

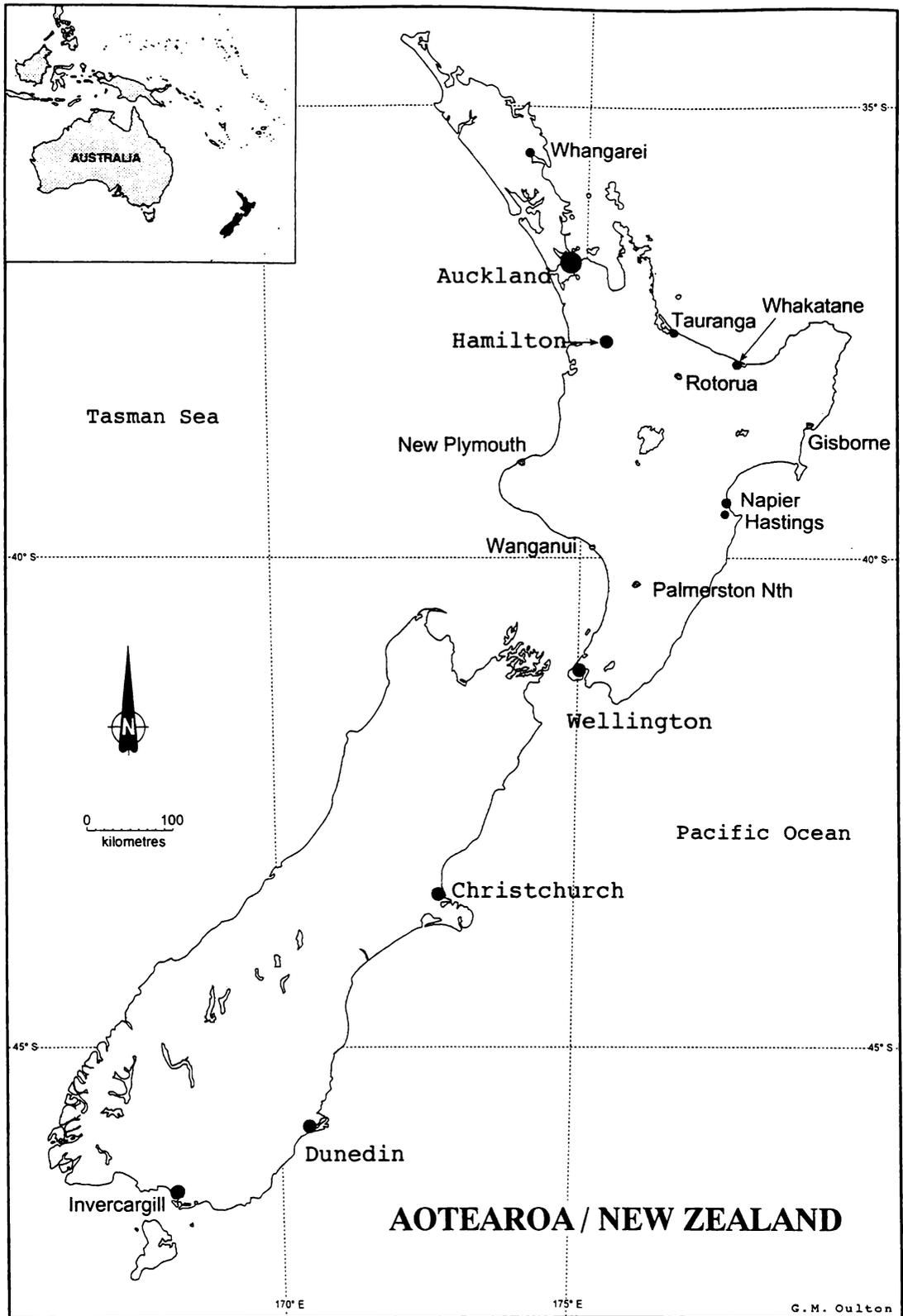
The sole focus of residential geography fieldtrips is ostensibly geography for two or more consecutive days and therefore provides a unique site in which to explore the social relations of teaching and learning the subject/discipline of geography. More specifically, the residential fieldtrip is a unique site in which to consider the particular constructions of physical and human geography respectively. The research is as much about the identities of the discipline geography as it is about the disciplinary identities of 'geography students'/'geographers'.

I selected four institutional contexts from two geographical locations in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Both human and physical⁴ geography fieldtrips were included in this research. I designed the research to include a high school and a university from one city in the South Island and one city in the North Island, Aotearoa/New Zealand (see Figure 1 on the following page for a location map).⁵ Place is one of the central concerns of the geography discipline (see for

⁴ In the case of secondary school geography, human geography topics are referred to as cultural processes and physical geography topics are referred to as natural processes.

⁵ My inclusion of universities meant that the associated geographical locations were necessarily urban ones as all but one university are located in towns and cities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. (Even this one exception is located near a city and is part of a small town). I promised confidentiality for the participants and therefore will not name the institutions that were involved in the research. This also means that I will not name the respective cities because it would establish the university involved. Until more recently, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, there was a pattern (with one exception) of one university located in each of the six larger cities and towns. Therefore knowing the name of any of these cities/towns meant that it was possible to infer the name of the associated university. This pattern is now changing as universities locate 'satellite' campuses in cities/towns other than their place of origin. I therefore refer to the institutions from one city location as High School A and University A and from the other city location as High School B and University B.

Figure 1 Location Map



Source: Max Oulton, Cartographer, Department of Geography, University of Waikato

example Johnston, 1991a; Longhurst and Johnston, 1998; Pile and Thrift, 1995; G. Rose, 1993) and therefore is a critical dimension to consider in relation to the construction of disciplinary identities. Geography students are often asked (in exams and essay questions) 'to compare and contrast' places and I wanted to take this up as well as take this apart. Places are not only significant in relation to the geographical location of the respective educational institutions but also in terms of the places selected for the residential fieldtrip. I wanted, therefore, to consider the institutional formations of embodied disciplinary identities in *at least* two places. The geographical logistics of travel, my residential base in the South Island and my desire to keep the research manageable meant that only two places were geographically feasible.

I selected a North Island location for two reasons. The first was based on the assumption that the student populations of educational institutions in the North Island might be more diverse ethnically because the populations of many North Island cities are more ethnically diverse than the populations of South Island cities (see Statistics New Zealand, 1997a; 1997b; 1997c).⁶ One of my goals was to take account of gender and 'race' in the construction of embodied disciplinary identities, therefore it was important to include educational institutions in a North Island location where the likelihood of ethnic diversity was greater although not guaranteed. The second reason was based on a desire to work both inside and outside the institutional and geographical locations that I was most familiar with as a geography student and secondary geography teacher. A North Island context offered me the opportunity to move outside the 'localised' disciplinary culture that I was most

⁶ "Overall, three quarters of New Zealand's population lives in the North Island, but some groups are more likely to live there than others. More than 90 percent of Samoans, Cook Island Māori, Tongans, Niueans, Fijians, Tokelauans, Cambodians and Indians live in the North Island. New Zealand Europeans and Japanese have the lowest proportions in the North Island at 69 percent each" (Statistics New Zealand, 1997b: 17). In 1996, 87 percent of the total Māori population lived in the North Island (Statistics New Zealand, 1997c).

familiar with and therefore to question some of my own taken-for-granted assumptions about who counts as a geographer and what counts as geography.

My selection of two different institutional contexts - the high school and the university - in each of the respective geographical locations was shaped by the politics of the field and by my research goals. At the time I developed my first research proposal, it seemed doubtful that I would gain access to that particular university's residential fieldtrips. Yet at the same time, I had received positive interest from a high school who had invited me on one of their residential fieldtrips. My secondary teaching background meant that my presence on high school residential fieldtrips was potentially less threatening and I was a useful addition to staff numbers.⁷ It seemed pragmatic, therefore, to include two types of educational institutions rather than rely on one.

Underlying these pragmatic concerns were my ambitious visions of longitudinal research where I might follow students from their last year of high school geography into their first year of university geography. Residential fieldtrips, however, tended to be part of second year and third year university geography courses and this longitudinal potential could not be realised within the time-frame of my doctorate. Nevertheless, longitudinal themes were sustained in other ways. I followed the same educational institutions - high schools and universities - for two consecutive years which meant that in some instances (but not all) I went to the same fieldtrip locations, with the same teaching staff where the same (or similar) field exercises were carried out as the previous year. In some cases, it was possible to interview the same students

⁷ Although my presence could also be perceived as more threatening because I was a researcher among my former peer group of geography teachers.

two consecutive years in the case of one university⁸ and one high school context.⁹

I maintained these longitudinal aspects of the research because I was interested in the nature of repetition of particular geographies and particular embodied disciplinary identities over time. Although most of the student bodies were different from year to year, I was interested in the repetitive disciplinary practices that inscribed the student bodies as *geography* students and the repetitive performances of similar kinds of geography fieldwork. As Robyn Longhurst (1996a: 13, ftn 19) suggests "one does not just do or carry out geography, rather, we perform geography - we play, we act, we think and we construct both geography and our bodies/identities in the process". By continuing the research with the same educational institutions, it made it possible to investigate what performances geography teachers and lecturers from particular educational institutions offered their students and whether these represented one-off performances or a set of similar performances over time. In turn, I asked teachers and lecturers about their experiences of geography fieldtrips - as students and as staff members - so I could ponder how these might shape their performances as staff members, and their expectations of how geography students should act and think on fieldtrips.

I in turn selected from the respective institutional contexts by choosing the last year of high school geography education - namely the seventh form¹⁰ - and the undergraduate years of university geography education. Students in

⁸ I interviewed 14 stage 1 university students about their expectations of university geography residential fieldtrips, and re-interviewed six of these students who participated in the Stage II geography residential fieldtrip the following year.

⁹ One high school student repeated the seventh form geography course and therefore the associated residential fieldtrips.

¹⁰ In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the seventh form is also called Year 13 and adolescent students tend to be aged 17-18 years (although increasingly adult students enrol in high school courses so this age is only an approximate guide).

the last year of high school and the first two or three years of university may not be much different in age - they are young adults¹¹ - yet the requirements of school and the nature of responsibilities of teachers in *loco parentis* make the high school residential fieldtrip quite different to the university one where *loco parentis* is not expected from university staff.¹² This makes for interesting contrasts in terms of the social dimensions of the high school and university contexts. 'Social' activities such as the consumption of alcohol and cigarette smoking are not allowed on high school fieldtrips but are 'allowed' on university fieldtrips. I consider how these different social dimensions of high school and university fieldtrips shape the embodied disciplinary cultures of the respective institutional fieldtrips.

Having 'located' the research contexts - geographically and institutionally - and my positions inside and outside each of these respective contexts, I now outline the theoretical parameters of the thesis and define the key terms.

3 EMBODIED DISCIPLINARY IDENTITIES

In this research I argue first, that the residential geography fieldtrip is a key context in which geography students learn how to act and think like geography

¹¹ Although this is not exclusively the case as increasing numbers of mature students return to both high school and university geography education. Nevertheless, I argue elsewhere in the thesis that the disciplinary culture of geography fieldtrips does rely on 'being young' and 'being able-bodied' (among other attributes), and perhaps this culture could be an obstacle to attracting even more mature age students to the discipline.

¹² *Loco parentis* means that high school teachers act in the role or 'in the place of the parent' while on a school trip and therefore are expected to make rules/decisions about student behaviour and their latitude of geographical movement (especially at night) accordingly. Acting 'in the place of the parent' is a grey area with regard to the responsibility of university staff. The university, however, is responsible for the safety of students on fieldtrips especially their transport to and from the field site(s).

students/geographers. This learning to act like, and think like, a 'geography student'/'geographer' is what I refer to as the construction and reproduction of embodied disciplinary identities. Second, I argue that these embodied disciplinary identities shape and are shaped by the disciplinary culture of the subject/discipline geography. I argue that particular performances of the embodied disciplinary identities - 'geography student'/'geographer' - and particular practices of the discipline of geography are hegemonic.

I develop and deploy the term *embodied disciplinary identities* as a means of making it clear that the identities - 'geography student'/'geographer' - are not only disciplined by the disciplinary culture of geography residential fieldtrips but are also embodied. My use of the term embodied is a conscious strategy to counter the disembodied geographer that has pervaded so many geographers' accounts of their research and their worlds (for discussions of 'disembodied geographies' see Johnson, 1990a; Longhurst, 1997; G. Rose, 1993). Longhurst (1996a: 6) is concerned with how disembodied accounts of geographical knowledge marginalise "women in the production of geographical knowledge". I therefore deploy the signifiers *embodied* as well as *disciplinary* to signal the body as well as the role of a particular subject/discipline (such as geography) as key dimensions of the identities to be discussed. These signifiers have theoretical as well as descriptive significance, and I take up the theoretical implications in Chapter 2.

I suggest that the embodied disciplinary identities 'geography student'/'geographer' are akin to other disciplinary/professional identities such as lawyers, teachers and engineers, and that these identities are shaped by the disciplinary culture of the relevant subject as well as the wider disciplinary culture of school and university. The residential geography fieldtrip represents a particularly intensive time and space in which the disciplinary identities 'geography student'/'geographer' can be learnt, a time and space in which participants are subjected not to only learning but living the geography

discipline. The residential geography fieldtrip is a time and space in which domestic and disciplinary discourses come together as fieldtrip participants negotiate the demands of geographical work as well as their own personal, everyday routines in a more public realm.

4 DISCIPLINARY RITUALS

Gillian Rose (1992: 9) claims that "undergraduate fieldtrips are the initiation ritual of the discipline. Fieldtrips instil the ethos of geographical knowledge into its student, and it is an ethos of science triumphant". I take up Rose's notion of the fieldtrip as the initiation ritual of the discipline and (re)consider what might constitute this ritual and the ethos of geographical knowledge in specific institutional contexts in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The key metaphor of enlightenment, discovery, is pushed aside. Instead there is 'reconsideration', and 're' is the key syllable. 'Reconsider' is what you do when you have made a mistake, or when you aren't sure any more: 'please reconsider, before it is too late, before you go any further'. Reconsideration is the antithesis of discovery, indeed it has long been the rival metaphor (Myerson and Rydin, 1996: 218-219).

Reconsideration (rather than discovery) is the metaphor for this thesis, one that might have more potential than metaphors of discovery and exploration for geography (fieldtrip) education.

I argue that the residential geography fieldtrip is significant in the process of students joining, even temporarily and tenuously, the corporate body of geography students/geographers, in order to meet the assessment requirements of geography courses and/or the demands of their peer culture.

I will argue that a desire to belong to a community,¹³ to a 'body corporate',¹⁴ is an important motivator and that these desires and motivations may be capitalised on in particular ways during a residential geography fieldtrip. The residential fieldtrip as initiation ritual may only 'succeed' for the period of the fieldtrip, or it may have longer term effects. It is also possible that the residential fieldtrip may not 'succeed' as initiation ritual, rather it may have the opposite effect of shaping students' resistance to the disciplinary culture of geography at the time of the fieldtrip and ultimately contribute to the loss of geography students/geographers from the discipline in the long-term.

The residential geography fieldtrip is not the only disciplinary ritual of concern in this thesis, the doctoral process itself is a key disciplinary ritual (see Deegan and Hill, 1991). So there is another conceptual layer to the notion of disciplinary rituals. In the process of investigating whether residential fieldtrips are the initiation ritual of the discipline (Rose, 1992), I engage in the ritual process of research and writing in order that I *might* be accepted as "a particular type of professional writer" (Deegan and Hill, 1991: 323). It is beyond the bounds of this thesis to investigate the ritual process of a doctorate. Nevertheless, there have been key points where my (proposed) research of residential fieldtrips and the doctoral process have coincided, even collided. I write about the points at which the disciplinary rituals of myself as doctoral student have (in)formed my research about the rituals of residential fieldtrips and call this the politics of the field and of the self (see Chapter 4).

¹³ Benedict Anderson (1983) writes about nations as imagined communities but his concept has relevance to other kinds of imagined communities, for example, a community of geography students and geographers. Anderson (1983: 16, emphasis in original) explains why the nation or other communities are "imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation [community] is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship".

¹⁴ This term describes the "discursive construction of a collective student [and staff] body" (Kamler et al., 1994: 121).

5 CHAPTER OUTLINE

In Chapter 1, I have outlined the research questions that have shaped my critical inquiry, 'located' the institutional contexts of the research, and introduced three key concepts - embodied disciplinary culture, embodied disciplinary identities and (disciplinary) ritual. There are two main arguments in this research. The first is that the residential geography fieldtrip is a significant milieu in which the embodied disciplinary identities of 'geography student'/'geographer' are socially constructed and reproduced. These identities - both individually and collectively - might be accommodated and/or resisted by students and staff. These identities might even be meaningless for some fieldtrip participants. Second, the social construction/reproduction of the embodied disciplinary identities - 'geography student'/'geographer' - is intertwined with the social construction/reproduction of the geography discipline. I argue that particular performances of the embodied disciplinary identities - 'geography student'/'geographer' - and particular practices of the subject/discipline of geography are hegemonic. These hegemonic performances are gendered, sexualised, 'racialised', as well as coded in other ways to do with socio-economic class, age, and physical abilities.

In Chapter 2, I develop and theorise disciplinary identities in two ways. First, disciplinary identities refer to the particular identities of geography students and staff - both individually and collectively - who participate in geography residential fieldtrips. Second, disciplinary identities also refer to the particular identities of the subject/discipline geography. Both embodied disciplinary identities and the identity of the subject/discipline of geography are interconnected and must be considered together.

I present and discuss the research design in Chapter 3. I explain the rationale and the methods for collecting data about the before, during and after phases of the 'fieldtrip ritual'. The data was gathered via participant-

observation, in-depth interviewing, drawings and evaluation forms. I critically reflect on the research methodology at key points during the 'research ritual'.

I complete the contextual work of the opening chapters with a fourth chapter about the politics of the field and of the self and the associated issues of representing others. In other words, I (re)present myself then discuss how this shapes my (re)presentation of others in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5 is the first of four analytical chapters and is concerned with 'what a difference a place makes'. In particular, I analyse geography students'/geographers' fascination with Difference, with the Other (with capital letters to emphasise their perceived meta-theoretical status), and how the pedagogy of two migration fieldtrips depended on Difference between places and people. The (un)intended/(un)anticipated effects of geographers' preoccupation with geographies of Difference (which rely on implicit sameness, with a lower-case s) is discussed in relation to class, 'race' and gender.

Chapter 6 is a critical analysis of why '*seeing* for yourself, going out in the *real* world' holds such power for geographers and geography. It is about how we as geographers and geography students construct our knowledge, and is about the basis on which those knowledge claims are founded. Following this is a deconstruction and decentering of the taken-for-granted ways in which geography fieldtrip knowledge is (re)produced via scopic regimes that depend on self-evident 'reality'.

Having set the geography fieldtrip seen/scene - the 'real' world and the place of the residential fieldtrip within it - I turn in Chapter 7 to what it means for students and staff to live and work together. I call this embodied fieldwork. In this chapter I am particularly concerned with how social, domestic and geographical education discourses intersect and/or conflict. The significance of

displays of physical prowess to the ethos of geography fieldtrips is examined. The chapter is about how individual bodies are disciplined in particular ways, and how this disciplining is accommodated and/or resisted.

In Chapter 8, I take the notion of embodied fieldwork further into a consideration of the 're-creation' (in both senses of the word) of the geography student/geographer. I introduce the notion of fun, and how some fieldtrip participants refer to fieldtrips as fun. There seems to be a formulation of work as fun (and perhaps fun as work) that is tied up in the expression - 'work hard/play hard' - that some students and staff used to describe their experiences of residential fieldtrips. I also consider the role of alcohol consumption and humour on university fieldtrips, and how this contributes (or not) to the formation of a corporate body. The chapter is about how collective bodies are disciplined in particular ways.

I conclude the thesis in Chapter 9, and return to my initial arguments set up in Chapters 1 and 2. I re-visit these arguments in the light of my analytical chapters. I then (re)consider what other kinds of geographers and geographies could be recognised/possible, if fieldtrips were not so central to the geography discipline and/or were conducted in unconventional ways. I suggest interventions in the social and epistemological practices of geographic fieldtrip education.

CHAPTER 2

EMBODIED DISCIPLINARY IDENTITIES

I INTRODUCTION

Geography students and staff shape what counts as geography and in turn, what counts as geography shapes the disciplinary identities of students and staff. This interdependent process is fraught with uneven power relations. The relative power of students and staff individually and collectively, and of the respective institutional settings (university and secondary school), to shape the identity of the geography discipline is contested and uneven. In the theorisation of embodied disciplinary identities, I encompass both the notions of subjectivity and agency, and contend that the identities geography student/geographer are not determined solely by discourse. Instead, I argue that the discursive is unsettled by agency (in terms of compliance and resistance) and the specificity of individual bodies.

The following section is concerned with a theoretical examination of the question: what is identity? In section 3, I consider how particular identities are disciplinary identities, how identities may be disciplined as well as disciplining. In the remaining two sections (4 and 5), I consider what constitutes the embodied disciplinary identities of geography student/geographer and the identity of the subject/discipline of geography, and the interconnections between the two.

2 WHAT IS IDENTITY?

"[A]n utterly passive subject" shaped by culture (social determinism) or nature (biological determinism) not only disregards "the unsettling effects of the psyche" (Fuss, 1989: 6) but also of the body.¹⁵ I require theories that enable me to explain the apparent agency of a female student determined to climb a steep hill but unable to complete this task because of an asthma attack. Or, the apparent agency of a male academic who is no longer physically fit but extends the (in)capabilities of his body with a four-wheel drive vehicle to maintain the psychic/physical imperative of geographic mobility in rugged terrain. Diana Fuss (1989: 6) points out that:

biological determinism and social determinism are simply two sides of the same coin . . . It may well be that at this particular historical moment it has become imperative to retrieve the subject from a total subordination to social determination.

Such a theoretically complex project is in line with a trend identified by Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (1995: 23):

There is now a general swing back in the social sciences and humanities from extreme forms of poststructuralist thought, in which the subject is only an effect of discourses, to a consideration of forms of subjectivity which, although limited and contingent, can still exert a degree of agency.

Pile and Thrift name two reasons for this general swing. The first is political and they cite Nancy Hartsock's (1990: 163) famous question: "why is it that just at the moment when so many of us who have been silenced begin to demand the right to name ourselves, to act as subjects rather than as objects of history, that just then the concept of subjecthood becomes problematic?" Pile and Thrift (1995: 23) go on to name the second reason as theoretical because "[l]imited,

¹⁵ My resistance to deterministic theories parallels earlier humanistic geographies that also centred on "a rejection of the 'geometric determinism' in which men and women were made to respond automatically to the dictates of universal spatial structures and abstract spatial logics" (Johnston et al., 1994: 264).

contingent but still potent forms of subjectivity are clearly difficult to grasp and theorise, but the task is not impossible".

Bronwyn Davies (1990a; 1990b; 1991; 1997) has attempted the task of explicitly theorising subjectivity and agency in educational contexts in Australia. The theoretical perspectives of Davies (1991; 1997) and Davies and Harré (1990) have more intuitive¹⁶ appeal for a self - myself - who wants to believe that I am not merely a "discursive product" (Jones, 1997), rather that my agency lies "in the constitutive force of discourse" (Davies, 1997). After all, in the process of writing a thesis with a stated purpose to challenge (at least) and therefore to potentially change the disciplinary culture of geography (the ideal), I want/need to conceive of myself as an agent. This desire in turn shapes the 'apparent' agency of my selection of particular theories/theorists and how I utilise them in order to make my argument. Specifically I draw on the work of feminist theorists such as Sandra Bartky, Susan Bordo, Judith Butler, Bronwyn Davies, Alison Lee, and Jana Sawicki who combine feminist and Foucauldian understandings of the body and of power.

Davies (1997: 272; also see 1991: 46) makes a compelling argument for theorising a subject that is also an agent, for reconsidering

how it is that we can think we have, and act as if we have, (and can be required by law to have) a sense of agency, and recognise at the same time that it is in the constitutive force of discourse that agency lies.

¹⁶ I have chosen the word intuitive to indicate both language and feeling. I render my intuition in language but I also want to acknowledge the feeling, the hunch that accompanies these words. Irrational hunches *and* rational reasons have influenced my selection of theories/theorists.

Davies (1997: 272, emphasis in original) redefines agency as

lying in the inscription of some forms of the humanist self (if you are constituted as a powerful agent you may well be able to act powerfully), *and* more significantly, agency as lying in the reflexive awareness of the constitutive power of language that becomes possible through poststructural theory.

In other words, Davies' (1997; 1991) theorising makes it possible to move beyond the theoretical bind of the "utterly passive subject" who is either socially or biologically determined (Fuss, 1989: 6) to a conception of a subject who is both agent/subject of and subject to discourse. A subject in both senses of the word 'subject' - a subject who determines and is determined, rather than in the sense more frequently deployed "through the verb to subject" which illustrates "the predominant meaning contained within poststructuralist ideas of subjectivity" (Davies, 1991: 47) as subjection/subordination (Butler, 1997).

Chris Weedon (1997: 32, emphasis in original) claims that the "terms *subject* and *subjectivity* are central to poststructuralist theory and they mark a crucial break with humanist conceptions of the individual". Alison Jones (1997: 263) explains that "humanist discourses presuppose an already existing individual who is socialised, who becomes 'a girl'" whereas "poststructuralism proposes a subjectivity which is precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak" (Weedon, 1997: 32). Weedon includes some actions - think or speak - but not others to demonstrate her concept of subjectivity. Weedon's version of subjectivity may imply agency in "we think or speak" but any implicit agency is a "reconstituted" one, one attributable solely to discourse. In Weedon's conceptualisation, agency can be (re)constituted in discourse *only*.

Weedon (1997) and Jones (1997) are perhaps representative of one end of a 'poststructuralist continuum' where poststructuralist theorists posit a subjectivity determined solely in discourse. Indeed, Jones (1997: 261) argues

that some students in her university classes (re)constitute poststructuralist theories to include themselves as agents which (she explains) demonstrates these students' inability to understand and/or to use poststructuralist theory 'properly'. In Jones' (1997) formulation, poststructuralist theorising is only available to those steeped in knowledge of structuralism as well as poststructuralism, and the bending of theoretical rules is not allowed. This contradicts the anti-foundationalist project that I understand (feminist) poststructuralism to be. The appeal that feminist poststructuralism holds for me is the possibility to follow theoretical tensions rather than theoretical 'rules' (to occupy the other end of the 'poststructuralist continuum'). Theoretical tensions may be difficult but they may be productive for new theorising and/or for new theoretical hybrids. Kathy Davis (1997: 15) believes that "feminist theory needs to be less concerned with achieving theoretical closure and more interested in exploring the tensions which the body evokes". Gilles Deleuze argues that "theories are not 'objects' but living territories of contemplation, constantly on the move" (Pile and Thrift, 1995: 24).

I want to conceptualise an agency that is (re)constituted in discourse but is also unsettled by the "effects of the psyche" (Fuss, 1989: 6) and/or of the body, effects that are usually invisible, unspeakable and unwrite-able.¹⁷ In Weedon's quote, the body of the thinker or speaker is implicit rather than explicit. 'To act' and actions such as walking, writing, eating, implicate an embodied subject/agent more clearly than a subject who thinks and speaks; "contrary to the usual privileging of consciousness, bodies - the human body included - are sites of action, influencing each other in movement" (Pile and Thrift, 1995: 19). Thinking and speaking a reconstituted discourse privileges the

¹⁷ I am aware of an underlying irony here. I want to theoretically 'allow' identities that are more than "discursive products" (Jones, 1997: 265). I also want to consider what has previously been invisible, unspeakable and unwrite-able about the identities of geography students/geographers and the culture of residential fieldtrips. The irony is that these theoretical attempts are rendered in written discourse.

(un)consciousness/the mind and language, rather than bodies and actions. I want to foreground the body *and* language/discourse in a theorisation of embodied disciplinary identities. "Embodied theory . . . needs to explicitly tackle the relationship between the symbolic and the material, between representations of the body and embodiment as experience or social practice in concrete social, cultural, [geographical] and historical contexts" (Davis, 1997: 15). I seek theories of identity that embody both subjectivity and agency, and I mark this goal at this point in the text so that the subsequent discussion can be understood in terms of the actions of myself as writer as well as in terms of the argument that I am constructing.

I have chosen the concept of identity rather than subjectivity because it opens up the possibility to conceive of subjectivity *and* agency (see Gibson-Graham, 1996: 73).¹⁸ The concepts of subject and subjectivity, however, do not automatically preclude agency. Definitions of subjectivity may even imply a sense of agency, the familiar phrases 'taking up'/'taking on' a subject position in a particular discourse implies action and agency. What is significant to the argument, however, is that agency is often implied - even named - but is the under-theorised, often invisible counterpart of a much theorised, very visible subjectivity. For example, Julie Kathy Gibson-Graham (1996) do not explicitly theorise agency, although they named it as a salient feature of identity. They

¹⁸ My use of the term identity is inclusive of the ideas of subject and subjectivity. The etymology of 'identity' is also relevant. The 'Id' of identity has an early meaning in biological theories of heredity. The German biologist, Weismann (1893) used the term 'Id' to refer to the personality of ancestral members of a species, or an antecedent species (see *The Compact Edition of the Oxford Dictionary*, 1971: 1367). I am concerned with the 'identities' of disciplines and their practitioners, and heredity and ancestral members are relevant. "[T]he use of the species notion in intellectual history is purely a heuristic device, decorative rather than intrinsic, but suggestive all the while" (Livingstone, 1990: 369). Although my thesis is concerned with contemporary (geography) disciplinary identities and practices, this is not to discount the importance of historical perspectives for understanding disciplinary identities and practices (for example see Driver, 1992; 1994; 1995; Jones III, 1995; Livingstone, 1990; Stoddart, 1986 for historical accounts).

do, however, offer examples of women as agents (Gibson-Graham, 1996: 87). Gibson-Graham (1996: 133) also make the explicit connection between language and agency in their discussion of the "hegemonic representation" of the power of multinational corporations, "how the conditions of existence of that power are constituted in language as much as in action, and even more importantly, in a complex interaction between the two". Gibson-Graham's (1996) argument is significant for my own project, which is concerned with the "hegemonic representation" of particular identities, particular versions of what it means to be a geography student/geographer. I (re)consider why some representations hold more power than others and how that power is constituted in a complex interaction between language and action (Gibson-Graham, 1996).

I have argued that language is central to poststructural theories and this tends to render action (and therefore the body) as less important, even invisible. Longhurst (1997) argues that the body is the devalued, feminised term of the body/mind binary, a binary that she demonstrates as underpinning the geography discipline. To counteract the devaluing of the body (in the geography discipline and in some poststructural theories), I argue that agency and actions imply a body more clearly than subjectivity and discourse. In other words, I align agency and action with the body and by implication subjectivity and discourse with the mind. This alignment is not intended to shore up the body/mind binary nor to represent an either/or approach to agency and subjectivity. Instead I deploy this alignment to make a stronger case for a conception of identity that includes both subjectivity *and* agency, both body *and* mind, in the spirit of Irigaray's typical double gesture of *both at once* (Fuss, 1989: 63, 68, my emphasis; also see Lather, 1991). To utilise the poststructuralist concept of subjectivity *only*, tends to render the body implicit rather than explicit (Weedon, 1997), and agency impossible (Jones, 1997). I want to foreground both agency and subjectivity at once, and therefore body and mind, action and language. This is theoretical juggling.

Judith Butler (1997: 14) has written about similar theoretical quandaries - "whether the subject is the condition or the impasse of agency". These quandaries have "led many to consider the issues of the subject as an inevitable stumbling block in social theory" (Butler, 1997: 14).¹⁹ Butler (1997: 14-15, emphasis in original) elaborates these theoretical quandaries further and offers a strategy:

the subject is itself a site of this ambivalence in which the subject emerges both as the *effect* of a prior power and as the *condition of possibility* for a radically conditioned form of agency. A theory of the subject should take into account the full ambivalence of the conditions of its operation.

Looking for, taking account of, and writing in the ambivalences of subject and identity formation is one of the theoretical goals of this thesis. In my theorisation of embodied disciplinary identities, geography students and staff emerge both as the effect of institutional power relations and as the condition of possibility for forms of resistance to these institutional power relations (also see Foucault, 1978).

Butler (1997) refers to another key concept - *power* - that is significant to an understanding of the agency of the subject which is tied up in the ambivalences described above.

As the agency of the subject, power assumes its present temporal dimension. Power acts on the subject in at least two ways: first, as what makes the subject possible, the condition of its possibility and its formative occasion, and second, as what is taken up and reiterated in the subject's 'own' acting (Butler, 1997: 14).

¹⁹ Anthony Giddens (see for example, 1984) worried about this same theoretical dilemma over a decade ago and developed structuration theory as a "middle ground between structure and agency" (Cloke et al., 1991: 93). Paul Cloke, Chris Philo and David Sadler (1991) refer to Giddens's work as an ongoing reminder for human geographers to be critical of attachments to overly-deterministic and overly-voluntaristic accounts of social life. The relationship between agency and structure is identified as one of the most important theoretical dilemmas for feminism (Acker, 1987: 432) and for "critical social theory in the 1990s" (Valverde, 1991: 181).

Butler points out that the "power to act" - "the agency of the subject" is located in time and I would add that it is also located in space and place. In this thesis, I am concerned with the agency of the subject - the subject's power to act - during the time of a residential fieldtrip in the spaces and places where the fieldtrip occurs. Butler also points out that for power to act, there *must* be a subject, but that necessity does not make the subject into the origin of power. The subject's power to act refers to both the subject's power to incorporate as well as to resist the norms of the respective residential fieldtrips. Valerie Walkerdine (1990: 3) cautions, however, that "we cannot read every resistance as having revolutionary effects; sometimes resistances have 'reactionary' effects".

"I want to enable a use of self [identity] which neither guarantees itself as an authentic ground nor necessarily rejects the possibility of a ground" (Probyn, 1993: 30). The definition or fixing of the identity/idea of the 'geography student'/'geographer' may have meaning (or not) during the time of a residential fieldtrip, a time when participants are immersed for two or more consecutive days in living and learning the geography discipline. The naming/fixing of these identities around one component, that of the subject/discipline of geography, risks reifying the categories - 'geography student'/'geographer' - at the expense of other identities. It suggests that such disciplinary identities might be more important than they actually are. Consequently, I maintain an interrogation of the intersections between the disciplinary identities - geography student/geographer - and other dimensions of identity such as 'race', gender, class, sexuality, age and physical ability throughout subsequent chapters. I examine the interests and questions of power as they are played out at the intersections of these identities. I go on to complicate this notion of individual identities with a notion of a collective identity which I call "the corporate body" (Kamler et al., 1994), later in this chapter.

A head of a geography department at a university in Aotearoa/ New Zealand explained to me that he considered the purpose of the university residential fieldtrip, is to teach the students to *think* (he did not mention 'act') like geographers. This head of department implicitly valorised the mind and a particular way of thinking, that he calls 'thinking like a geographer'. Hadow (writing in 1927) also argued that "the main objective in good geographical teaching is to develop . . . an attitude of mind and mode of thought characteristic of the subject" (cited in Goodson, 1983: 90).

I challenge the valorisation of the mind alone by foregrounding both body and mind, action and language, in my conceptualisation of embodied disciplinary identities and in the written analysis of what might constitute the particular identities and practices of geography students and geographers. My thesis is concerned with what might constitute "an attitude of mind and mode of thought" (Hadow, 1927, cited in Goodson, 1983: 90) and an attitude of body 'characteristic' of geography students/geographers. Each chapter revolves around significant themes to do with thinking and acting like a geography student/geographer and this appellation applies to myself as well as to the fieldtrip participants.

Embedded within the complexities and uncertainties of working with these notions of agency and subjectivity, of compliance and resistance, are two entry points for potential change. One point of intervention is in the conditions of a subject's existence, and the other in the reiteration of a subject's action (Butler, 1997). Or, reworded for the specific context of the residential fieldtrip, the two entry points for potential change include: (1) the social and physical conditions in which students and staff are expected to exist, and (2) the reiteration of staff and student actions, during a residential fieldtrip. Throughout subsequent chapters the conditions of student/staff existence and the reiteration of their actions, on seven residential fieldtrips, are examined for points of compliance and resistance. Such an examination is undertaken to

expose the instabilities inherent in the social construction and (re)production of the particular disciplinary identities: 'geography student'/'geographer'. In turn, the "social practices [of (future) residential fieldtrips] must lean on these instabilities if they are to represent any kind of transformative possibility" (Waldby, 1995: 274). "[A] bringing-effects-to-light, must happen before the full spectrum of the [residential fieldtrip's] influence can even be debated" (Connell, 1989: 300). This thesis is one contribution to the political project of bringing the effects of the disciplinary culture of geography to the attention of geography (and possibly other) disciplinary communities.

3 DISCIPLINING IDENTITIES

I now consider how identities may be both disciplined and disciplining, how the identities - geography student/geographer - might be shaped/disciplined in the residential fieldtrip context but also how such identities might shape/discipline fieldtrip culture. The disciplining of individuals to act like geographers, perhaps think like geographers, write like geographers (in order to pass the fieldtrip assignment) at least during the time of the residential fieldtrip, is about how 'effectively' students incorporate the norms of what constitutes acting/thinking/writing like a geographer. Disciplining is about how 'effectively' participants incorporate forms of regulatory power or norms.

If forms of regulatory power are sustained in part through the formation of a subject, and if that formation takes place according to the requirements of power, specifically, as the incorporation of norms, then a theory of the subject formation [of geography student/geographer] must give an account of this process of incorporation (Butler, 1997: 19).

The process of incorporation of norms related to being a geography student/geographer during a residential fieldtrip is the focus of this research. I address two questions. First, how are individual student bodies, and a collective student body shaped/disciplined by the culture of the residential fieldtrip, a culture that in turn is shaped/disciplined by the nature of the

subject/discipline of geography? Second, how is this process resisted, contested and/or accommodated?

The book *Shaping Up Nicely. The Formation of Schoolgirls and Schoolboys in the First Month of School* by Barbara Kamler, Rod Maclean, Jo-Anne Reid and Alyson Simpson (1994) was instrumental in my thinking about how identities are shaped/disciplined in educational contexts such as schools, universities and residential fieldtrips. Michel Foucault (1995) in his book *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* developed the notion of the institutionally regulated docile body to explain how discourses of power are enacted on and through bodies. Pile and Thrift (1995: 4) also employ Foucault's ideas on how

[i]nstitutional practices such as the madhouse, prisons, schools and universities, rather than containing particular subjects, actually and actively create them: thus prisons create prisoners, universities create students. Prisoners and students are inconceivable outside of the institutions that give them meaning.

Pile and Thrift (1995) employ useful examples to illustrate Foucault's ideas, examples that are pertinent to my study. However, the way in which Pile and Thrift itemise the respective contexts and how each creates its institutional subjects, renders invisible the interconnection of various institutional contexts. The institution of the university is not solely responsible for creating the student because students have usually arrived in the university context well-schooled; it could be argued that the most well-schooled subjects are the ones who 'choose' to go on to university.

The institutional disciplining/schooling in the classroom and lecture theatres that has preceded the disciplining that is under investigation - the disciplining of students' bodies and minds on the geography residential fieldtrip - must be taken into account. The culture of schooling facilitated the research process. For example, high school and university students sitting at rows of desks or in rows on buses readily produced drawings at my request of what they imagined geography students would do on fieldtrip. Another

context, such as the high school common-room, individual's homes, or the university cafeteria, might not have been so conducive for the completion of school-like research tasks such as drawing and completing fieldtrip evaluation forms. Recurring motifs of the culture of school, even the culture of boarding school (see Okely, 1996),²⁰ were evident on the residential fieldtrips as students lined up in single-file for food, worked on geography assignments late at night instead of watching a cricket match on television, and complied with the regulation of when and what they could eat. Alison Lee and Elizabeth Taylor (1996: 66) call it "the dilemma of obedience" in which an emphasis on action (in this instance walking/climbing/working during a fieldtrip) is "apparently juxtaposed against this notion of passivity", of compliance with expectations that would not usually be so readily tolerated in students' 'private' lives.²¹

Jana Sawicki (1991) in her book *Disciplining Foucault. Feminism, Power and the Body* 'tests' Foucault's ideas from a feminist perspective. Sawicki (1991: 67, emphasis in original) summarises Foucault's contention that "[d]isciplinary practices represent the body as a machine. They aim to render the individual both more powerful, productive, useful *and* docile". The 'work hard, play hard' motif that some fieldtrip participants referred to, renders even 'the play' (usually anticipated as respite from 'the work') a disciplining activity. These disciplinary practices are located within institutions "but also at the micro-level of society in the everyday activities and habits of individuals" (Sawicki, 1991: 67). The latter point is significant in the residential fieldtrip context where students live and work together. This geography brings together institutional and domestic discourses, something that does not usually happen. Rather, institutional and domestic discourses tend to be kept separate, relegated to their respective public and private spheres. This separation may explain how

²⁰ In particular, see Chapter 8 'Privileged, schooled and finished. Boarding education for girls' (Okely, 1996: 147-174).

²¹ Lee and Taylor's (1996; forthcoming) work on engineering disciplinary identities is readily transferable to my consideration of geography disciplinary identities.

students' domestic lives and arrangements are not readily provided for in the context of a residential fieldtrip. It is assumed that students have no dependants, no complex daily arrangements, and that they are 'free' to commit themselves to being solely a geography student for two or more consecutive days.

I detail what I mean by specific embodied disciplinary identities - both individually and collectively - in the next section. What is significant in this section is that disciplining is achieved through the creation of desires - desires to belong, desires to pass the geography course, desires to survive and maybe even enjoy the fieldtrip experience. Students and staff discipline themselves. Sawicki (1991: 68) employs Foucault's ideas to explain how disciplinary practices

secure their hold not through the threat of violence or force, but rather by creating desires, attaching individuals to specific identities, and establishing norms against which individuals and their behaviours and bodies are judged and against which they police themselves.

Allan Luke (1992: 111) describes this as "self-surveillance, wherein the subject internalises the disciplinary and cultural gaze as her or his own". But this disciplining is never one way or fully achieved, rather "both the regulating and resisting occurs through bodily practices" (Kamler et al., 1994: 128). Bodies are not only disciplined, they are disciplining.

The bodies and minds of fieldtrip participants - individually and collectively - are disciplining in peer and staff/student interactions. In other words, participants are not only disciplined but are also agents of discipline in their interactions with other participants on a fieldtrip. Institutional practices of geography fieldtrips actually and actively create (some) students and (some) staff as more powerful. Such people act as agents of discipline. Their agency is shaped by their gendered, 'racialised', sexualised (as well as other) identities. The forms of disciplining are "processes fundamental to the construction of

peer discourse" and include students' "labelling of each other; groupings of [students] as 'us' and 'them'; statements of rules and displays of knowledge and authority; and the use of these resources to define situations, control the actions of other [students], and accumulate prestige" (Kamler et al., 1994: 204). These forms of peer disciplining are crucial to the formation of embodied disciplinary identities but these forms are not specific to the culture of the subject/discipline of geography, rather they draw on wider "social discourses and patterns of peer interaction" (Kamler et al., 1994: 3-4) which are gendered/'racialised'/sexualised and so on. Nevertheless, the social discourse and associated patterns of peer and staff/student interactions on geography residential fieldtrips tend to constitute a particular hegemonic identity. I examine the particular constitution of this hegemonic identity in detail in chapters five, six, seven and eight.

Lee and Taylor's (1996: 63) description of the disciplining practices of the engineering discipline has significant similarities with the geography discipline; engineering, like geography, "is a form of physical as well as intellectual training and discipline". Like engineering, geographical fieldwork is about doing, about action. Many forms of geographical knowledge are "physically encoded" (Lee and Taylor, 1996: 63). This physically encoded hegemonic identity becomes the disciplining as well as the disciplined identity of the "social discourses and patterns of peer interaction" (Kamler et al., 1994: 3-4) on a residential fieldtrip.

4 WHAT MIGHT THE EMBODIED DISCIPLINARY IDENTITIES GEOGRAPHY STUDENT/GEOGRAPHER MEAN?

Alison Lee, in her book *Gender, Literacy, Curriculum. Re-writing School Geography*, analyses and theorises the 'schooling' (or in Foucault's words the

disciplining) of subjectivities²² within one secondary geography classroom in Western Australia.

[W]hile the purported purpose of schooling is to provide training in subject/disciplinary knowledges, the *effect* of this process is the formation of particular forms of student subjectivity which are necessarily tied up with major identity formations such as gender and hence connected to broader social power dynamics (Lee, 1996: 1-2, emphasis in original).

The geography residential fieldtrip is one context in which training in geography disciplinary knowledges occurs and one *effect* of this process is the formation of particular hegemonic versions of embodied disciplinary identities. Lee (1996: 18, emphasis in original) makes it clear that she is not concerned with "a further retheorising of discourse and the subject" but with outlining the "*processes* of subject formation through textual practice". Lee is concerned primarily with the linguistic text whereas I am concerned with "reading the embodied text as well as the linguistic text" (Kamler et al., 1994: 128).

My focus on a particular set of disciplinary identities - namely those of geography students and geographers - is akin to the task of examining the complexities of how individuals and groups such as engineers, lawyers, teachers, doctors take on professional identities (for example see Lee and Taylor, 1996; forthcoming on engineers; Middleton, 1993 on teachers). It is also akin to the broad education research area concerned with how students learn to be students (for example see Kamler et al., 1994). Lee's (1996) exploration of student subject formation through the textual practices of the 'subject of geography' is a unique contribution to these fields of research. The discipline or subject of geography has seldom been singled out as a site for investigation of how individuals might or might not take up the embodied disciplinary identities of geography student or geographer. At a more general level, geographic education research is peripheral to the main concerns of the

²² Lee utilises the term subjectivity whereas I tend to utilise the term identity. I have explained my rationale in section (2).

geography discipline.²³ Geographic education research is more likely to be carried out under the umbrella of an education department (though not exclusively) than in a 'mainstream' geography department.²⁴

There are at least two reasons for this absence of attention to the processes of geographic education; the first is related to the geography disciplinary sphere and to what counts as legitimate topics for geographers to study. I chose fieldtrip (geographic) education for my doctoral research topic and it was not considered to be a legitimate topic by some staff at one geography department in Aotearoa/New Zealand. At the time that I presented my doctoral proposal it was suggested that it was more appropriate to carry out such research in an education rather than a geography department (I take this issue up more fully in Chapter 4). The second reason for this absence is related to the sphere of educational research in which there is a general preoccupation with the so-called mainstream subject areas such as mathematics,²⁵ science,²⁶ English language²⁷ and related topics such as reading.²⁸

²³ The peripheral nature of geographic education to the main concerns of the geography discipline was graphically illustrated by the spatial arrangements at the International Geographical Union Conference held in The Hague, The Netherlands in August, 1996. All of the geographic education presentations were held at another venue at the Institute of Social Studies some distance (via a 'complicated' - for non-Dutch speakers - tram ride) from the main venue at the Netherlands Congress Centre (my emphasis).

²⁴ For example, a significant body of geographic education research comes out of the Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom (see Kent, Lambert, Naish and Slater, 1996).

²⁵ See for example Young-Loveridge (1992), Walden and Walkerdine (1982), Walkerdine (1989).

²⁶ See for example Bell (1988), Kelly (1987), Wolffensperger (1993).

²⁷ See for example Martino (1995).

²⁸ See for example The Gen (1996).

In turn, the respective preoccupations of researchers in the geography and education spheres of research are further complicated by notions of who does the research and who is the object of research. I take this theme up in Chapter 4, but it is relevant to suggest here that an important element of university disciplinary identities is that university staff see themselves as the agents rather than the objects of research which in turn makes any research on the construction of particular university disciplinary identities and practices potentially threatening. Perhaps university staff who are concerned with knowledge production perceive themselves as beyond criticism of how that knowledge (re)production is achieved. Roland Barthes (1977: 201, emphasis in original) reminds us that to "*criticise means to call into crisis*". To name, describe and critique the formation of geography disciplinary identities and the identity of the geography discipline calls these identities into crisis.

In the previous section, I outlined how identities could be disciplined and disciplining. I now wish to focus on individual and collective embodied disciplinary identities, on how an individual who takes on a particular embodied disciplinary identity simultaneously takes on a position in a collective identity of geography students/geographers. The individual and collective embodied disciplinary identities could be the same and mutually reinforcing, or they could be different and mutually subversive. "[T]he relationship between the social and the individual" is one of "conflict and ambiguity" (Sawicki, 1991: 64).

Kamler et al. (1994: 121) discuss the individual bodies of each school child but also recognise the development of a corporate body which they explain as "a discursive construction of a collective student body". Kamler et al. (1994) explain that children who are new to the culture of schooling are shaped, in their first month of schooling, by each other and by other children who have been 'schooled' for a longer time. They are also shaped by teachers and broader social discourses. My study is concerned with how students who

are new to the culture of residential fieldtrips, as well as those who have had previous experiences of fieldtrips, are shaped by this particular educational context. Kamler et al. (1994: 3) make three key observations. I quote one observation with the relevant referents in square brackets, to make clearer the connection between their work and my own.

The process of learning to be a schoolchild [geography student] is a process of disciplining the body and mind into pre-dispositions for behaviour as part of a larger group, or corporate body. This means that the child [geography student] must develop a group consciousness, and an awareness of individual subjectivity, as produced by and producing the group as a whole (Kamler et al., 1994: 3, bold type in original).

Kamler et al.'s observation highlights the importance of considering not only individual but also collective identities. Indeed, some geography teachers and university lecturers have pointed out how the residential fieldtrip becomes a significant (sometimes the only) institutional site where a sense of 'group belonging' might be established.

Kamler et al. (1994: 4, emphasis in original) explain how their concept of the corporate body or the

'student body' of the school and classroom [and fieldtrip] *is* a collective one, with individual parts of it acting as parts of a larger whole. Learning to position oneself as a student 'subject' means becoming more like everyone else, minimising difference, and 'rounding off the edges' of the other - less desirable - subjectivities one may take up in different contexts, in order to fit in.

For an individual student body to become part of the corporate body of geography students/geographers on a residential fieldtrip, it means acting like a geography student/geographer. Kamler et al. (1994: 4) describe it as "becoming more like everyone else" but it is much more specific than this. It is a particular hegemonic embodied disciplinary identity that is set up for every body to emulate although this emulation is contested and therefore never complete (see Foucault, 1982). In spite of the incompleteness of these embodied

disciplinary identities - individual and corporate - it is still possible, indeed strategic, to theorise and understand such identities.

Butler (1997: 12-18) writes about "subjection/subordination" and offers one feasible explanation for the formation of a corporate body. "Where social categories [such as geography student/geographer] guarantee a recognisable and enduring social existence, the embrace of such categories, even as they work in the service of subjection, is often preferred to no social existence at all" (Butler, 1997: 20). I do not want to assume that the social category geography student/geographer is meaningful for all (or any) of the participants in a residential fieldtrip. The social category geography student/geographer might only be meaningful at the time of the residential fieldtrip where the intense conditions of social existence - living and working together for two or more days - make it imperative to take on such a category temporarily in order to have a recognisable social existence. Butler (1997: 20) points out that social categories (in this case geography student/geographer) are not of the subject's own making, yet "the subject seeks the sign of its own existence outside itself, in a discourse that is at once dominant and indifferent". Butler (1997: 21) calls this "the desire for existence". I would also call it the desire of an individual to belong to a group. In the case of the residential fieldtrip, it is about the desire to belong, however temporarily and tenuously, to the group of people who are there. It is also possible that individuals may actively desire not to belong to this group or to join other individuals who do not wish to belong, to counteract the evolving body corporate.

[F]or many students, it is often difficult to see the point of participating in, and constructing themselves as subjects of particular forms of knowledge and of textual practice. Indeed, some may see a point in *not* doing so. For many, it may be simply too stressful, in terms of the work involved in accommodating subject positions which are in considerable conflict with other significantly internalised notions of self (Lee, 1996: 222, emphasis in original).

But what might it mean to be on a residential fieldtrip, where students work and live together for two or more days, and choose not to take up a subject

position of geography student/geographer and not to belong to the body corporate? What might it mean to belong?

Butler (1997: 20-21) points out that "within subjection the price of existence [of belonging] is subordination" and goes on to explain that "[s]ubjection exploits the desire for existence [belonging], where existence is always conferred from elsewhere; it marks a primary vulnerability to the Other in order to be". These arguments are important for understanding individuals' participation in the body corporate of geography students/geographers during a residential fieldtrip, and how this participation may be predicated on a vulnerability to Other (geography) students/staff in order to be, to exist during the time of the residential fieldtrip. Butler's theorising suggests an important theoretical opening. Hegemonic identities are not only predicated on their power to discipline, to make others the same, but also on their "vulnerability to the Other in order to be" (Butler, 1997: 21). I now consider the subject/discipline identity of geography.

5 SUBJECT/DISCIPLINE IDENTITY: WHAT COUNTS AS GEOGRAPHY?

Ivor Goodson (1983) writes about the history of the establishment of a geography discipline in the British context and the stages by which this was achieved.²⁹ Goodson cites MacKinder's four point strategy for establishing the discipline. The first point of this strategy is worth quoting because it echoes the head of department and Hadow (quoted earlier) who talked about teaching students to 'think like geographers'. "Firstly, we should encourage University Schools of Geography, where *Geographers can be made* " (MacKinder, 1903, cited

²⁹ Goodson does not make this British context clear until the third page of his article - page 91 - therefore the opening pages - 89 and 90 - read as an historical account of a universal, 'world-wide' geography discipline.

in Goodson, 1983: 89, my emphasis; note that MacKinder refers to "Geographers" with a capital 'G'). MacKinder's notion that "Geographers can be made" echoes my contention (in section 3) that students are disciplined/shaped as geography students/geographers. Implicit in MacKinder's words is the notion that the university is the place where geographers are made rather than secondary school. Yet Goodson (1983) claims the school as the base from which the promotion of the university geography discipline in England stemmed. Peter Holland and Barry Johnston (1987: 7) noted a similar pattern in Aotearoa/New Zealand: "Geography had flourished as a school subject from early colonial times, but the post World War II baby boom led to an increased demand for university graduates in geography". In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the impetus for the establishment of the geography discipline came from a school base initially but the university quickly became the source of geography teachers in schools. "The 1940s, '50s and '60s were the heyday for young geographers interested in careers in education" (Holland and Johnston, 1987: 7).

At various stages in the process of becoming a discipline, since its beginnings in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century, geography has struggled for respectability. At different historical points it has been accused of having no substantive conceptual framework and no exclusive territory of its own. The argument has been that, because geography *studies* territory, it is difficult to see what might set the limits on what can and cannot be geography (Lee, 1996: 186, emphasis in original).

This might explain some geographers' preoccupations with defining and policing what counts as geography and what does not. "Once geography was established as a separate subject in its own right in the early years of the twentieth century, geographers began to obsessively patrol their subject borders" (Goodson, 1983: 91-92). The policing of subject borders is not peculiar to geography. "A discipline [however] which recruits its students from the sciences and the humanities alike has continually to keep its synthesis under review" (Honeybone, 1954: 91). Goodson (1983: 91) calls this a "continuing identity crisis at the heart of geography [which] is accentuated by the relationship between university geography and 'school geography', and most

of all by the relationship between geography and other subjects". I focused on this identity crisis from another angle in 1994, claiming that geography

is not clearly identifiable as a subject more likely to be chosen by female or male students. In fact, its identity on the basis of student choice, is fluid and dependent on location, time, level of education and many other factors. For example, in the seventh form at one secondary school it may be a subject that mainly female students choose because geography is timetabled against physics or chemistry, while at another school it may be chosen by more male students because it is timetabled against art history and biology (Nairn, 1994: 4).

Goodson (1983) and I (Nairn, 1994), independently, took up the notion of the identity of the subject of geography in relation to other subjects. The identity of the subject of geography is defined by what it is not. In a similar way to the 'A and not-A', 'man and not-man' formation of identity, the subject of geography is formulated around what is geography and what is not-geography - what is G and not-G - "this is a field of knowledge divided between two related terms" (Longhurst, 1996a: 26). I argue that the fieldtrip is central to defining what is G and not-G - that the fieldtrip is a key definitional moment in the process of determining what counts as geography and not-geography. I argue that fieldtrips and fieldwork are foundational to official (and unofficial) definitions of what counts as geography.³⁰ As the Ninth Inter-university Conference of Teachers of Geography (1995: 4) stated "fieldwork is of central importance in teaching geography (rather than a 'luxury' or an adjunct to it)". Would geography be geography *if* there were no fieldwork, no fieldtrips?

The identity of the subject geography is further confounded by an internal identity crisis - an internal dichotomy between human and physical geography. This dichotomy places physical geography at the defining centre. All other geography is defined by the 'fact' it is not physical geography. This dichotomous valuing is evident in "the temporal ordering as well as the spatial

³⁰ This does not discount the significance of fieldtrips and fieldwork to other subjects/disciplines.

prioritising of the physical component . . . and the concomitant de-emphasising of human geography" (Lee, 1996: 48) in university and school course structures and fieldtrip programmes. If geography programmes begin with physical geography topics, if the first fieldtrip of the year is concerned with physical geography topics, there is an implicit message that first consideration must be given to physical geography, and "that human geographies are not only secondary but also predicated on the physical" (Lee, 1996: 48). Fieldtrips/fieldwork often become part of this defining moment. Human geography fieldtrips/fieldwork may be conducted in different ways to physical geography fieldtrips/fieldwork, and these ways are often seen as less legitimate. Or, human geography fieldtrips may not be conducted at all.

The legitimacy and primacy of physical geography is further bolstered by literal and metaphorical alliances with the physical sciences, while human geography is allied with the social sciences. Longhurst (1994: 15) explains how

geography is situated in the border lands between Science and Social Science, it straddles the boundary between the 'harder' (read: more scientific, objective and legitimate) core sciences such as Earth Science [note capital letters] . . . and 'softer' (read: unscientific, subjective and illegitimate) disciplines such as philosophy [note lower-case letters].

Fieldtrips/fieldwork are perceived as proof of geography's - or more specifically physical geography's - status as a science. Rose (1992: 9) claims "[f]ieldtrips instil the ethos of geographical knowledge into its student, and it is an ethos of science triumphant". Fieldtrips/fieldwork become the basis on which geography's - specifically physical geography's - claims for recognition as a science are established. Fieldtrips/fieldwork also are the basis on which

university geography departments gain more government funding as a science subject than they would as a social science/humanities subject.³¹

I have combined the terms fieldtrip/fieldwork in this sub-section and have argued that both represent a key definitional moment in what counts as geography. Fieldtrips provide one context in which the practice of fieldwork is introduced, taught and ideally 'learnt'. Lawrence Berg (1994) explains that for many geographers fieldwork is synonymous with 'empirical investigation'. James Duncan (1993: 42, emphasis in original) points out how this activity came to be called "*fieldwork* . . . in order to professionalise it and thereby elevate its products above the representations of amateurs such as colonial administrators and travellers". But there is far more at stake in the idea and practice of *fieldwork*:

Field-work - be it archival study, interviews, or participant observation - tends to be undertaken *outside* the university office or library, whilst theorising may be (but is not always) carried out in these two institutional settings. As conventional logic would have it, we can theorise anywhere, but we must go to specific locations (that is *the field*) to undertake field-work, accordingly, the two activities appear to have a somewhat different ontological status (Berg, 1994: 246, emphasis in original).³²

In the context of the subject/discipline of geography it is fieldwork rather than theorising that is conceived of as the hard and 'real' work (Berg, 1994). Certainly fieldwork rather than theorising is more appropriate work for geographers in Aotearoa/New Zealand (the majority of whom are male) who are concerned with carving "a niche for themselves in the intellectual division

³¹ "[S]ubjects classified as typical Social Sciences [are] funded as Category A EFTS (Effective Full Time Students). Institutions are paid 75 percent of estimated course costs and earned \$4753 per EFTS in 1997. In contrast, Geography is classified as Science, Category B, earning institutions \$7200 per EFTS in 1997" (Ministry of Education, 1997: 64).

³² Berg's (1994: 246, emphasis in original) claim that fieldwork takes place *outside* the university is reiterated by the Ninth Inter-University Conference of Teachers of Geography (1995: 4) definition of fieldwork "as work off campus".

of labour as well as the wider male culture in which they work" (Berg, 1994: 252). Fieldwork and fieldtrips 'allow' male geographers to negotiate the contradictions of the academic/urban world (read as 'not real') and of the rural world (read as 'real') in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Fieldtrips and fieldwork 'allow' (some male) geographers to be men in the 'real' world and not "clean-fingered theorists" in "an ivory tower" (*The Christchurch Press*, 22/2/94).

To summarise, I have argued that the subject identity of geography relies on comparisons with other science and social science subjects - in order to establish what is geography and what is not geography. Any outward appearance of a coherent subject identity is, however, confounded by an internal human/physical geography dichotomy which often privileges physical geography over human geography. I argue that fieldtrips/fieldwork underpin geography's claim to legitimacy as a science and therefore to its claims for funding as a science, on the basis of the privileged term of geography's identity, namely, physical geography. A geography fieldtrip, therefore, is a key site for the investigation of the reproduction of a particular kind of scientific geographic knowledge.

But the reproduction of geographic knowledges is not as simple as this. My claims for the reproduction of particular kinds of scientific geographic knowledges in a fieldtrip context are only part of the narrative that I weave, a narrative that is concerned with what fits as well as with what does not, a reading of theories and datum that is both 'with and against the grain'. The nature of meaning is many-sided; "for every interpretation, there is always a reading 'against the grain'" (Bordo, 1993: 193). But rather than end this section in some kind of conclusive way after a somewhat linear narrative that led unerringly in the direction of a conclusion, I am compelled to say 'but' and to employ Lee's words to challenge the geography subject identity presented thus far.

Contemporary geography as a discipline is, however, remarkable for its theoretical and epistemological diversity. Indeed, it presents an exemplary instance of disciplinarity as a multiplicity of different discursive orientations and practices meeting and competing for dominance in particular institutional sites (Lee, 1996: 28).

The reproduction of geographic knowledges is never assured, complete, uncontested, and human geographers do not acquiesce to being second-class citizens of the geography discipline. In the language of subjectivity and agency, human geographers act as agents rather than (passive) subjects. In the "multiplicity of different discursive orientations and practices meeting and competing for dominance in particular institutional sites" (Lee, 1996: 28) lie the very possibilities for the transformation of the dominant discourses of geographic knowledge. The residential fieldtrip can be envisaged as not only the institutional site where scientific, empirical discourses reign uncontested but also as a site where other geographical discourses such as feminist, postcolonial, ecological and cultural can be presented.

Thus I have set a provisional theoretical scene, a scene yet to be grounded in subsequent chapters "in the specificities of local sites" (Lee, 1996: 216) in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the mid-1990s. I have made a case for understanding the participants in residential fieldtrips, as being both subjects and agents with bodies and minds, who take up and/or resist (momentarily or in a more long-term fashion) the embodied disciplinary identities of 'geography student'/'geographer'.

CHAPTER 3

THE RITUAL OF RESEARCH

I 'SITUATING' THE THESIS IN 'THE FIELD' OF FEMINIST (GEOGRAPHIC) RESEARCH

[I]f we collect [data] under the hypothesis that a different reality is possible, we will focus on the changeable, marginal, deviant aspects - anything not integrated which might suggest fermentation, resistance, protest, alternatives - all the 'facts' unfit to fit (Gebhardt, 1978: 405).

From the outset of this project, I wanted to "focus on the changeable, marginal, deviant aspects" of the culture of residential geography fieldtrips, "anything not integrated which might suggest fermentation, resistance, protest, alternatives", and I required methodologies that would facilitate this. Feminist methodologies are distinguished by their "challenge to research orthodoxy" (Madge et al., 1997: 90). Feminist and qualitative methodologies seemed to offer the most potential for a project concerned with "all the 'facts' unfit to fit". The research process and product were interconnected - I was conducting fieldwork about fieldwork. I was also interested, therefore, in how my "fieldwork [could] be a form of resistance to dominant ways of acquiring and codifying knowledge" (Nagar, 1997: 203; also see Nast, 1994).

In this introductory section, I first 'locate' my research methodology in the broader context of "feminist research practice" (Madge et al., 1997: 87) and second, in the context of feminist *geographic* research practice. Feminist research practice incorporates all aspects of the research process - "the questioning of what is knowledge, the methodology involved and the actual techniques used to create that knowledge" (Madge et al., 1997: 87; Kelly et al., 1994). Feminist research practice has received considerable attention in recent geographic

literature (Hanson, 1997). There have been collections of articles about feminist methodologies and methods in *The Canadian Geographer* (1993) on the theme of 'Feminism as method', in *The Professional Geographer* (1994) on 'Women in the field: critical feminist methodologies and theoretical perspectives', and again in *The Professional Geographer* (1995) on 'Should women count? The role of quantitative methodology in feminist geographic research'. More recently, two feminist geography texts - *Thresholds in Feminist Geography* (1997) and *Feminist Geographies. Explorations in Difference and Diversity* (1997) both contain significant sections on methodology.

In both of the 1997 feminist geography texts, the different authors describe "a common thread" (Madge et al., 1997: 89) "at the core" (Hanson, 1997: 122) of feminist research practice. This common theme is "the open acknowledgement that the knowledge born of the research process is a joint, yet always unequal, creation of both the researcher and research subjects" (Hanson, 1997: 122), or in the words of Madge et al. (1997: 89): "an effort to be critically aware of the social contexts and consequences in which research takes place". This reflexive approach to the conduct of research and therefore to the creation of knowledge is a significant feature of feminist research but is not unique to it. Similar concerns were part of other challenges to the so-called objectivity and rationality of positivist research approaches (see for example Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Foucault, 1980; Freire, 1985; Keith, 1992). Feminist research is further distinguished by "gender as a central (but contested) analytical category" (Madge et al., 1997: 100) and a determination "to disrupt masculinist, ethnocentric and homophobic notions of knowledge" (Madge et al., 1997: 105-6).

Any attempt to construct a list of distinctive features of feminist methodologies and methods is fraught with difficulties and raises more questions than it answers. Any attempt to 'fix' or define the nature of feminist research practice in one written space such as a thesis is simultaneously

undermined, added to or superseded by 'new' understandings and approaches. For example, earlier conceptions that feminist research was research done by women, about women, for women (see McDowell, 1988) have been superseded by conceptions that feminist research "can explore masculinities and femininities and the ways in which they are produced simultaneously with other attributes of social identity, such as age, physical ability and location" (Madge et al., 1997: 99; also see Armstrong, 1993; Kelly et al., 1994). I am concerned with the embodied disciplinary identities of both female and male students and staff; the differences within as well as between the gender groupings. I am also concerned with how gender intersects with "other attributes of social identity, such as age, physical ability and location" during geography residential fieldtrips. Feminist research is no longer necessarily about women *only*.

Similarly, men as well as women employ feminist methodologies in their research. But the question of whether men can conduct feminist research is a contested one. For example, Clare Madge, Parvati Raghuram, Tracey Skelton, Katie Willis and Jenny Williams (1997: 99), who 'collectively' wrote the chapter on methods and methodologies in *Feminist Geographies. Explorations in Difference and Diversity* "could not agree on this issue". It is relevant to note that this text did not include any male authors whereas *Thresholds in Feminist Geography* included one male editor and one male author. The question of whether feminist research can be carried out by men, will continue to be debated.

The goal of feminist research is still often stated as one concerned with "improving women's lives" (Hanson, 1997: 124) and this goal is usually qualified by the reminder "that women do not form one single constituency, so research that empowers one category of women may challenge the power base of other women" (Madge et al., 1997: 99). This goal is less often qualified by the reminder that "emancipatory intent is no guarantee of an emancipatory

outcome" (Acker et al., 1983: 431). Other statements of what constitutes the goal of feminist research, such as the disruption of "masculinist, ethnocentric and homophobic notions of knowledge" (Madge et al., 1997: 105-6), suggest benefits for (some) women as well as for (some) men. As Kathleen Weiler (1988) points out feminist goals need not be conceived as being exclusively for girls and women. During her interviews with feminist teachers, Weiler (1988: 113) found that their feminist goals became human goals; the word 'human' was "often used interchangeably with 'humane', implying care and concern for their students as human beings". I hope that my research might disrupt "masculinist, ethnocentric and homophobic notions of [geographic] knowledge" (Madge et al., 1997: 105-6) and thereby achieve benefits for (some) women and (some) men who participate in future geography residential fieldtrips. But such intentions do not guarantee the outcomes.

[J]ust because we gear our field research to effect social change does not mean that we personally (or our work) will be able singularly or immediately to produce these changes; such expectations ignore our personal and political limits, and as Katz points out, they ignore local initiatives or subjectivities (Nast, 1994: 59; also see Kelly et al., 1994).

I have attempted to describe the characteristics of feminist research practice and how my research has been influenced by more recent trends in this approach to research. At the same time I claim such a description as provisional, open to debate and to change.

I now turn to what might constitute feminist *geographical* research practice. As Hanson (1997: 122) points out, the focus in the journal collections of *The Canadian Geographer* and *The Professional Geographer*, was on how feminists approach the research process, and "there was little guidance as to how geography informs feminist methodology". Hanson's (1997: 121) "central point" is that "new methodological horizons in feminist geography are to be found where our expertise as geographers explicitly informs our feminist approaches to understanding the world" (also see Bondi and Domosh, 1992).

Hanson (1997: 121, emphasis in original) calls this "feminist *geographic* methodology". Madge et al. (1997: 100, my emphasis) also name "feminist *geography* methodologies" and they go on to describe four characteristics of these methodologies - ways of knowing, ways of asking, ways of interpreting and ways of writing. However (and perhaps not unexpectedly) these characteristics describe feminist research practice just as readily as feminist *geographic* research practice. There was no delineation of how feminist geography might inform feminist research practice. Indeed, Gibson-Graham (1996: 72) suggest geographers might be displaced in contemporary social theory where there are

proliferating references to space in contemporary social theory. And . . . the profusion of spatial metaphors is remarkable (as well as frequently remarked) . . . If space is currently where it's at, perhaps it is not surprising that professional geographers occasionally feel displaced. It seems we are all geographers now.

If "we are all geographers now", it might seem that feminist geographers might not have anything unique to offer current feminist research practice. I would argue, however, that the current preoccupation with literal as well as metaphorical space, 'places' (feminist) geographers in a useful position to contribute to feminist research practice (and to contemporary social theory).

Hanson (1997) and Nagar (1997) also argue that geographers have particular contributions to make to feminist research practice. "The geographer's sensitivity to location (space-time context), to scale, and to connections in place and across places can strengthen feminist methodologies in useful ways" (Hanson, 1997: 124). Geographers' attention to space and place means that the social dimensions of space and place, and the spatial dimensions of the social can be taken into account (see Massey, 1992; McDowell, 1992b; Nagar, 1997). I pay attention to how geographers pay attention to space and place on seven residential geography fieldtrips, as well as to the socio-spatial contexts of this knowledge construction/reproduction. Taking account of the socio-spatial context of knowledge construction/

reproduction and of feminist research practice enriches that practice. "[T]he construction of committed, passionate, positioned, partial but critical knowledge - is one which is eminently geographical in its recognition of the locatedness of knowledge" (McDowell, 1992b: 413). The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the political and intellectual implications of feminist (geographic) research practice for my construction of a "partial but critical knowledge" of seven residential geography fieldtrips.

2 NEGOTIATION OF ENTRY

There were three points of contact in the negotiation of entry to the two high schools and two universities involved in the research. I first approached the head of the geography department of each institution; although in one case, negotiation was primarily carried out via the staff member who was the organiser of the fieldtrip that year. In many cases the head of department was also a staff member on the fieldtrip. The next step was to meet any other teaching staff who would be going on the fieldtrip. In some cases, I met with teaching staff prior to meeting their classes in order to explain the research and answer their questions. The final step was to meet with students (if possible)³³ in the classroom or lecture theatre prior to the fieldtrip, to introduce myself, to explain the research and to answer any questions.

At this point, I also provided students with a written explanation of the research (see Appendix 1) or in the cases where I did not meet students before the fieldtrip, I gave this out at the beginning of the fieldtrip. This information sheet was primarily for each student's own reference (although in the case of high school students it could also be taken home to parents/caregivers). The

³³ This was not always possible due to timetable constraints - these constraints were sometimes institutional and at other times personal.

sheet included the contact details of the relevant head of department/fieldtrip organiser and/or myself if there were any concerns about the proposed research. Each student participant in the forthcoming fieldtrip was not individually asked for their permission to take part in the research, rather they were informed about the research and about the means for finding out more and/or for refusing to take part. The students who were later invited to be interviewed gave their permission by accepting and completing a consent form (see Appendix 2); refusal was accepted without any pressure. The identities of all the students, teachers/lecturers and institutions involved in the research are protected by the use of code names.

Negotiation of entry to one of the seven fieldtrips was necessarily partial because I found out about this fieldtrip three days before it commenced. I gained permission from the organiser of the fieldtrip and the head of department to participate in this fieldtrip. Unfortunately the fieldtrip was timetabled to immediately follow the Easter recess, therefore it was not possible to introduce myself and the research to the students before the fieldtrip. Introductions and explanations took place as I joined one of the two mini-vans full of students en-route, and again as I joined the remainder of the group at the first stopping point. Information sheets were also handed out. My decision to take up this research opportunity rather than say no to it on the basis that I had not met the students previously, represents "the significant role played by confusion and chance as well as design and planning" (Gibson-Graham, 1994: 221, edn 6) in the research process. I went on this fieldtrip by chance and in some ways it was not an ideal scenario. One female student challenged me because I had not gained permission from the students before the fieldtrip. I heard of no other complaints about my participation in any of the seven fieldtrips.³⁴

³⁴ Although I acknowledge that students may have felt unable to complain to me directly and I may not have heard about other indirect complaints.

An important methodological issue should be spelt out at this point. If one student objected to my presence as a researcher on a fieldtrip, should I abandon participation in a fieldtrip? My planned strategy was to negotiate continued participation with a clear commitment to not write observation notes about the student who had objected. If a student decided after the fieldtrip event that they no longer wanted to participate in the research they could request that observation notes written about them and interview transcripts (if they had been interviewed) not be used in the thesis and other related publications. This was made clear in the information letter handed out to all students and in the consent form completed by interviewees. This planned strategy ultimately was not needed on any of the seven fieldtrips. In the next section, I locate in time and place each of the seven residential fieldtrips that constitute this research.

3 THE GEOGRAPHY FIELDTRIPS

Table 1 presents the key characteristics of each of the seven residential fieldtrips - when the fieldtrip occurred, how long it lasted, the gendered composition of staff and students, the type of residential accommodation, the place at which the fieldtrip was based, and the purpose of the fieldtrip. To summarise, I went on two fieldtrips with High School A, two with High School B, two with University A and one with University B. Four of the seven fieldtrips were physical geography trips - two fieldtrips with High School B, one fieldtrip with High School A (all to coastal locations) and one fieldtrip with University B (to an inland location). The remaining three fieldtrips were human geography trips - two fieldtrips with University A (to a large city) and one with High School A (to a village).

Table 1. The Seven Fieldtrips

1995	High School A	High School B	University A
when?	July - 2 days	March - 3 days	April - 3 days
who?	41 students (28 female/ 13 male) 3 staff (2 males/ 1 female)	30 students(14 females/ 16 males) 2 staff (1 female/ 1 male)	20 students(10 females/ 10males) 4 staff (3 females/ 1 male)
where?	marae, village	fieldstation, town	motorcamp, city
why?	tourism processes	coastal processes	migration processes

1996	High School A	High School B	University A	University B
when?	March - 2 days	March - 3 days	April - 3 days	May - 7 days
who?	51 students(31 females/ 20 males) 3 staff (2 females/ 1 male)	28 students(14 females/ 14 males) 2 staff (1 female/ 1 male)	15 students (10 females/ 5 males) 2 staff (1 female/ 1 male)	34 students(13 females/ 21 males) 9 staff (all male)
where?	surf club, town	fieldstation, town	motorcamp, city	camp, rural
why?	coastal processes	coastal processes	migration processes	physical processes

In order to maintain the anonymity of these institutions and therefore of the research participants, I do not offer further details about each of the four institutional contexts. Ironically, I risk an 'homogenisation' of these four institutional cultures which is at odds with heterogeneous 'reality'. Ethical considerations necessarily compromise a more specific acknowledgement of differences and similarities within and between the four institutions. In the ensuing thesis, there is a greater emphasis on the three residential fieldtrips of the two universities for four reasons. First, the longer duration and/or smaller student numbers of the university residential fieldtrips enabled more in-depth data collection and analysis. Second, university staff are seldom the objects of research and/or (peer) scrutiny (as high school teachers are in order to become registered teachers), and this research contributes to this gap. Third, the university is a key site of knowledge (re)production via teaching and research, and therefore the university residential fieldtrip is a relevant site/sight to investigate the (re)production of geographical knowledge. Finally, disciplinary specialism is encouraged more in the university than in the high school context and therefore an investigation of disciplinary identities is more appropriate to the university.

4 THE METHODS

Student [and staff] experience is the fundamental medium of culture, agency, and identity formation and must be given pre-eminence in emancipatory curriculum. It is therefore imperative that critical educators learn how to understand, affirm, and analyse such experience (Giroux and McLaren, 1992: 24).

The key rationale for the methodology is encapsulated in the above quote. The theoretical and methodological goals were congruent. My theoretical concerns with "culture, agency, and identity formation" required a methodology that would facilitate understanding, affirmation, and analysis of student and staff experiences of geography residential fieldtrips (Giroux and McLaren, 1992: 24).

This section is concerned with the techniques and reasons for the techniques chosen for data collection about student and staff experiences; these will be considered in relation to each of the respective ritual phases. There were four components to the methodological process; the pre-fieldtrip exercise (which included a drawing task) about students' expectations of the forthcoming fieldtrip (the 'before' phase), participant observation on the fieldtrip (the 'during' phase), the written evaluation of the fieldtrip soon after the event, and the in-depth interview with fieldtrip participants as many months after the fieldtrip as possible within the same academic year (both these methods related to the 'after' phase). "Every method has its shortcomings" (Gilbert, 1994: 95), therefore I used multiple qualitative methods of data collection to compensate for the shortcomings of the respective methods (Denzin, 1978; Gilbert, 1994; D. Rose, 1993).

The research design started from a point where I collected a small amount of data about everyone (the pre-fieldtrip exercise), then I moved on to collect more data about (potentially) everyone during the participant observation and post-fieldtrip evaluation phases. In the interview phase I collected a lot of data about a selected number of students and staff. I planned to gradually increase the data requested from students as I spent more time with them in 'the field'. At the point that I introduced myself to the forthcoming fieldtrip participants, I collected introductory data. I collected more data about the participants (and they about me), when we lived and worked together for the duration of the fieldtrip (the participant observation phase). The beginnings of trust and empathy from that phase facilitated the interview phase, when I expected to collect even more data from selected participants.

The method of data collection was chosen for its appropriateness to the respective phases of the research process, in particular to the level of empathy that could realistically be expected at key points, as well as to the material

conditions (classroom, lecture theatre or fieldtrip location) of each stage of the research. I explain the rationale for each method in the following sections.

4.1 'Drawing Out' Pre-Fieldtrip Expectations

The geography discipline "depends on visual imagery to articulate its views of the world, in photographs, maps, diagrams, graphs and tables" but the (geographical) literature "contains very few discussions of the methodologies used on which students might draw" (Rose, 1996: 282). The idea of using drawings as data evolved from my Masters research (Nairn, 1994), during which I asked high school students to draw what they imagined geographers would look like.³⁵ Lynda Johnston and Gill Valentine (1995) utilised drawings of lesbians and home spaces in their discussion of lesbian identities in domestic environments. But the drawing of mental maps as a method of data collection is one more frequently deployed by (geography) researchers (see for example, Armstrong, 1997; Boardman, 1990; Longhurst, 1996a; Matthews, 1986). If a broader range of literature (from anthropology, cultural and film studies) was considered, the kinds of visual images most frequently considered as data have been photographs (see for example Ball and Smith, 1992), film (see for example Monaco, 1981) and artwork (see for example, Pollock, 1996).

The purpose of the pre-fieldtrip exercise (see Appendix 3) was to find out about each student's preconceptions/expectations of the forthcoming fieldtrip. This was done in two ways; first, I asked students to *write* down words and images that sprang to mind when they saw the word 'fieldtrip' and second, I asked students to *draw* what they expected geography students to do on a fieldtrip. Both these approaches were intended to get at the students' first

³⁵ This idea came from hearing about research where students had been asked to draw scientists (for example see Chambers, 1983, and more recently, Matthews, 1996).

thoughts/responses to the concept of fieldtrips. I am interested in "key words, concepts and images, as well as apparently disjunctive free associations" (Okely, 1996: 40). Both writing and drawing media were chosen to provide students with more than one way in which to express themselves. Writing and drawing were also two key media that geography students were asked to utilise in their geography work on fieldtrips, therefore it seemed appropriate to reflect this process in the data collection process.³⁶

The final component in the pre-fieldtrip exercise was to find out if any students had already been on a geography fieldtrip. This would provide a point of reference from which to evaluate each student's preconceptions/expectations conveyed in writing and drawing. In other words, were their preconceptions/expectations based on previous experiences of fieldtrips or not? For most (75 percent) students, they were drawing on prior experience, that is, they had already been on one or more geography fieldtrips. For other (25 percent) students, they had no prior experience of fieldtrips to draw on.

4. 2 Participant Observation

Mel Evans (1988: 199) argued that participant observation is a method that "delve[s] beneath the surfaces of observed phenomena in order to seek the meanings and intentions which produce it". By participating in social phenomena we observe, we are more likely to learn the underlying meanings which produce that phenomena (Evans, 1988). Participant observation was therefore an appropriate method for my investigation of the social phenomena of residential fieldtrips. I wanted to do more than observe for three reasons.

³⁶ Note-taking in the field during the day and writing these notes up more fully at night were key writing activities on all seven residential fieldtrips. Drawing, or more specifically sketching precis maps, landuse maps, and geographical landforms were key drawing activities on residential fieldtrips, particularly the ones concerned with physical/ natural geography topics.

First, I was already critical of geographers' over-reliance on observation and appearances as a measure of reality and/or truth (Cloke et al., 1991, see chapter 5; Evans, 1988; Rose, 1992) and therefore I required a method that involved more than just observing. Second, the appearance of social phenomenon does not in and of itself provide an explanation of that phenomenon. Participation offers another point of access to the meaning of that particular phenomenon (although it does not guarantee access and/or understanding). Third, "the fact of participation, of being part of a collective contract" not only "creates the data" (Evans, 1988: 209) but is an appropriate method for investigating the nature of the collective contract, and this is what I refer to as the corporate body of geographers.

I now describe key points of the participant observation process. "During the first few days of participant observation, for example, the researcher often remains somewhat detached, waiting to be looked over and hopefully accepted. As relationships develop, he or she participates more" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992: 88). I was aware of allowing a time to "be looked over", to be talked with, and "hopefully accepted". I chose not to be too detached at the beginning of a fieldtrip, however, because this process had to be condensed into a relatively short time frame (the fieldtrips varied between two and seven days; four of the seven fieldtrips lasted three days). It was necessary to work at establishing a rapport as quickly as possible while at the same time trying not to rush (or appearing not to rush) this part of the process.

I wrote the following as part of the information provided to a university geography department describing what participant observation would mean in the university context:

Participant observation means that I go on the fieldtrip as though I was another student, therefore I take part in the fieldwork, the kitchen roster, and other relevant activities. I will make notes from time to time under the broad headings of 'social' and 'educational.' It is difficult to anticipate what I might specifically take notes about because the methodology and the emerging theories are 'grounded' (see Glaser, 1978) in each fieldtrip event. Participant observation does not mean the judgement of individual staff or student performance.

Being a participant "as though I was another student" was more difficult to achieve on high school fieldtrips than it was on university fieldtrips because of my age (I was 35 years old when I began this research which was carried out over two consecutive years). On high school fieldtrips, I occupied a more ambiguous position between staff and student, one high school student referred to me as a "semi-geography teacher" (fieldnotes, 30/3/95) which reflects his perception of me as a teacher (but not a proper teacher) rather than as a semi-student. The high schools involved in the research utilised my presence on the fieldtrip to meet the requirements of staff/student ratios. I was pleased to be of use to the institutions where I was carrying out my research because it made the researcher/researched relationship more reciprocal. My role as a staff member was a more comprehensible every-day role than my role as researcher so this was a useful starting point in establishing connections with students. My ex-teacher status, my age, and the placement of me in the role of additional staff member, however, put me more clearly on the staff side of the staff/student divide. It was therefore more difficult to approach some high school students because I felt that I was perceived as a teacher checking up on them rather than a researcher who was interested in their opinions about and experiences of the fieldtrip.

It was easier to be a participant "as though I was another student" on the university fieldtrips. My age did not represent the same kind of barrier as it did on high school fieldtrips. In the case of two out of the three university fieldtrips that I participated in, I was not the oldest participant on the fieldtrip which meant that it was possible for me to 'blend in' more easily. My status as a university student, albeit a doctoral student, was useful in terms of aligning

myself in the student role with other students but potentially counterproductive if undergraduate students perceived me as having more status in the university hierarchy of qualifications. The interplay of my age and status as a doctoral student as well as the other aspects of my positionality such as being a woman and Pākehā³⁷ are difficult to disentangle and to delineate along one particular axis of difference. Yet all the dimensions of my positionality would have had some influence during each of the research encounters. These influences shifted over time. The longer the fieldtrip, the more frequently I was able to talk with and get to know individual participants and they were able to get to know me.

I was interested in the talk, the actions and the interactions on geography fieldtrips during the official and unofficial³⁸ programmes because they represented a potential source of information about what it means to be a geographer, and about the available discourses for geography students during fieldtrips. I was also interested in who defined the topics of conversation, humour, songs, jokes, and I therefore tried to refrain from defining these topics, although I would choose whether or not to contribute to these conversations/songs/jokes depending on the context and how my participation might be interpreted by other members of the group. My own personal priorities/standards also shaped my contributions. For example,

³⁷ Pākehā is the Māori term for white New Zealanders although this is contested (see Mohanram, 1998). Like Alton-Lee and Nuthall with Patrick (1993), however, I use the term as a mark of respect for the right of the indigenous people to name those who came after them.

³⁸ The official programme being the time allocated to fieldwork tasks such as landuse surveys, climate measurements, observations of a field site, writing up of fieldnotes, and so on. The unofficial programme being the remainder of the time that was not specifically allocated to these tasks.

I would choose not to laugh at jokes that I found offensive³⁹ although I would listen to and note down the content of these jokes. I did not want to overtly identify myself as a potential censor of particular kinds of jokes/songs and therefore preclude further performances of these jokes/songs because the frequency and the content represented data. In the process of prioritising my research goals, I was complicit with 'the vocal group' and their put-downs. This kind of situation was one in which the tensions and compromises of research practice were keenly felt (also see Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Gilbert, 1994; Nagar, 1997).

My role as listener was significant throughout the participant observation as well as the interview phases and was a component of the research process that I consciously developed. It is worth making explicit how I set myself up to be a listener during fieldtrips and interviews so that the claims that I make about methods of data collection are contextualised. In the context of participant observation, I would join groups, sometimes asking whether it was 'okay' to join a group that was talking, eating lunch, carrying out a fieldwork task, and at other times relying on clues from peoples' body language as to whether I may be intruding or not. Then I would partake as an active listener, showing by my body language and direct eye contact that I was interested in what was being said. I would reassure members of the group that I was not concerned with whether their conversations were about geography or not, rather I was interested in whatever they considered it important to converse about.

This may present a false illusion of myself as a listener only and raise questions about how this component of the research process may have been

³⁹ I found jokes that were sexist/racist/heterosexist offensive. Gilbert (1994) and Nagar (1997) both write about the dilemmas of listening to racist comments from their research participants and both worried about how they might effectively challenge this while continuing with the research process.

experienced as one-way, as a kind of eaves-dropping with no feedback to the fieldtrip participants of my positionality in all of this. I attempted to counter this in two ways. First, I offered to help with fieldwork and/or domestic tasks so that I was useful to the group I was joining. Second, if it seemed relevant, I offered information about myself as a geography student or teacher, parent away from my daughters in order to be on the fieldtrip, and so on. During many of these conversations, I would be asked about my role, about the research and what I was trying to find out. I encouraged these questions and saw them as a means of providing information that was asked for rather than my deciding what information might be required (other than introductions and the information sheet given out before the fieldtrip began).

At times, I felt like the research version of an Amway⁴⁰ distributor, where everything including personal information/events were 'research opportunities'. My allusion to being an Amway researcher is based on my feeling of ambivalence about being a researcher who lived and worked with the subjects of my research and therefore had access to the private dimensions of (some) fieldtrip participants' lives. Where would I or should I draw the boundary between the information that they consciously told me as a researcher and the information that they might (inadvertently) provide during a casual conversation in a social/informal context? Could I (or should I) stop being a researcher in some contexts? At times, it was hard to go to bed during fieldtrips, knowing that I could miss out on research opportunities. I was interested in the socialising aspects of geography residential fieldtrips, yet it seemed at odds to be working (researching) during the social activities of fieldtrips. I developed the art of making a can of beer last a long time so that I would have an appropriate prop in a social situation on a university fieldtrip, and continued my work. It was at these times that I felt most like an Amway

⁴⁰ Amway is a form of pyramid selling that involves people utilising a vast array of networks and social occasions as opportunities to recruit new sellers to the pyramid.

researcher, I felt like I was exploiting social situations for work purposes. Sometimes, the opposite happened and the research would encroach unexpectedly on my own personal space. People would want to talk about their fieldtrip experiences even in the most unlikely contexts.

I felt invasive as a participant observer and I continually sought ways to minimise the effects of this. I made cursory fieldnotes as unobtrusively as possible about my observations and conversations because I did not want participants to think that I was taking notes about their every word or move. My desire to record unobtrusively implies a duplicitous aspect to participant observation, "the very act of recording is an act of betrayal" (Keith, 1992: 555). This duplicitous act, this 'betrayal' was both immediate and potential; immediate because I recorded material about fieldtrip participants that they would never get to see and negotiate because of the logistics of what and how I recorded. I recorded information for me the researcher, that I determined as significant and/or relevant to my research questions, information that may or may not be experienced positively by the individual the information was about (if it was about an individual. Often I recorded information about events, tasks, things). I also recorded information sequentially and a page of data included information relating to a number of different individuals. I generally chose not to use code names during participant observation because I was interacting with relatively large numbers of students (ranging from 15 in the smallest group to 51 in the largest group) on fieldtrips.⁴¹ It was unrealistic to cut up information line by line to make it available to relevant individuals for negotiation, and I did not attempt such a process for my participant observation notes (although I did make available all interview transcripts to the respective interviewees for review and negotiation).

⁴¹ I was already concentrating on learning each participant's real name as part of establishing rapport and it would have been unnecessarily complicated to incorporate code names at the same time.

There was potential betrayal if my fieldnotes were accidentally read by a research participant. That reader would then have access to information about other research participants. As time progressed on a fieldtrip, and more fieldnotes had been written, I became increasingly anxious about my fieldnotes being accidentally read by anyone else and was extremely careful to keep them secure which meant that I always 'wore' them, either in a pocket or a pouch. My notebook was an object of curiosity and humour and on one fieldtrip, as students handed in their own field books, there was a call for me to hand in mine also. At other times during participant observation, it was appropriate to ask, and I did ask, for permission to write down a summary of a particular conversation. If everyone else was taking notes as part of a fieldwork task, I blended in and was able to record fuller notes at the time of observation. Otherwise my cursory notes would be enlarged, elaborated whenever I had a chance. I would try to do this in the field at the time that students were also writing up the day's fieldwork task (I was doing the same thing) but at times this was not possible and I would write up my cursory fieldnotes after I had returned home from the fieldtrip (see Bogdan and Biklen, 1992: 90-92).

My selection of potential interviewees was based on what I had noticed about individual participants during the participant observation phase. I asked to interview students who appeared to be excluded from and/or alienated by the fieldtrip culture. For example, students who complained about aspects of the fieldtrip, who said they did not want to be there, who may have had a physical disability and/or complained about the physical demands of particular activities (such as climbing, walking through rivers) were noted as potential interviewees during and/or at the end of each fieldtrip. But I was also interested in those students who might not experience fieldtrip culture as exclusive and/or alienating. So I asked to interview students who seemed to particularly enjoy fieldtrips. For example, students who said they were having fun, who volunteered for more domestic and/or fieldtrip activities, who seemed to define social activities, were also noted as potential interviewees.

I had planned to interview more students who seemed to be excluded by fieldtrip culture than those who appeared to be included. The rationale for this decision was based on the literature that I had read in the early stages of the research. Currently, the "literature on fieldwork⁴² in geography . . . is largely about assumed benefits, descriptions of particular field courses and specific field techniques" (Gold et al., 1991: 27). In this literature, there was an emphasis on the majority of students who had positively evaluated fieldtrips, rather than on the minority who had (or might have) negatively evaluated fieldtrips (see for example Codrington, 1987; Gabb and Maister, 1982; Orion and Hofstein, 1994; Panton and Dilsaver, 1989; Powell and Cracknell, 1987; Wheeler, 1985; but see Madge, 1994). In much of this literature, fieldtrips were uncritically re-presented as positive learning experiences.

Pat Hughes' (1987) newspaper article was an exception to this trend. Hughes briefly discusses the dangers of fieldwork for female students in a report more generally about geography. In particular she cites the case of a female student who was raped while carrying out fieldwork at a beach. I wanted to find out more about the experiences of students who had felt excluded (even endangered) during residential geography fieldtrips. Research in this area could potentially contribute to a literature which previously had not been concerned very much with this group of students and their experiences.

Students who seemed to feel particularly excluded (larger numbers selected for this group) and students who seemed very positive (fewer numbers selected for this group) were listed as potential interviewees. These

⁴² It is not possible to ascertain whether authors are also referring to fieldtrips when they use the word fieldwork. Nevertheless, I consider fieldtrips to be one of many forms of fieldwork. Fieldtrips are often an early introduction to fieldwork for geography students.

lists were then analysed in terms of gender, 'race'/ethnicity, age and physical ability characteristics. My goal was to include women and men,⁴³ diverse ethnic backgrounds, and a range of ages and physical abilities. Interviewees were then selected on the basis of these criteria. For example, I selected one interviewee because he was the eldest participant on a fieldtrip and was male (and therefore contributed to a gender balance among the interviewees selected from this fieldtrip). I selected another interviewee of Asian ethnicity because she appeared to enjoy the fieldtrip in spite of racist put-downs from another student. The selection of potential interviewees was based on subtle, subjective criteria and there were inevitable gaps. I was more likely to select potential interviewees who may have been subjected to overt (rather than covert) practices of exclusion (such as the example of the Asian woman above) because covert practices were more difficult to observe or detect. Observation during the fieldtrip events was not an epistemological guarantee. For example, students who had been unable to take part in fieldtrip activities because of observable physical limitations were more likely to be noticed and asked to be interviewed than those students whose physical limitations were unobservable (and students intended these limitations to remain so for a whole host of reasons such as privacy and pride).

I utilised a post-fieldtrip evaluation form as a means of gaining the perspectives of all students soon after a fieldtrip had taken place and I discuss this in the following section. This evaluation form sometimes indicated students who had been alienated in unobservable ways and they were added to the list of interviewees. The post-fieldtrip interview was the method by which I gained the perspectives of selected participants some months after the fieldtrip event and I discuss this method fully in section 4.4.

⁴³ I conducted post-fieldtrip interviews with 84 individuals (students and staff): 51 females (60 percent of the total number of interviewees) and 33 males (40 percent).

4.3 Post-Fieldtrip Evaluations

The post-fieldtrip evaluation forms (see Appendix 4) were handed out at the end of fieldtrips (for example on the bus journey 'home') or back at the educational institution when the class met for the first time after the fieldtrip had taken place. The questions paralleled the kinds of questions that I planned to ask the interviewees and also included an open-ended question, inviting any kind of comments students might have about their experience of the fieldtrip so that the students could include material that might not have 'fitted' the other questions. The institutional settings of the classroom or lecture theatre facilitated the success of this research task as in the case of the pre-fieldtrip exercise. The disciplinary culture of school or university meant that students expected to write, to fill in forms, and to comply with requests and this same culture worked towards the completion of research tasks. The bus context was not as ideal but the seating arrangement in rows and the continuation of school/university culture on the bus still facilitated research task completion although writing was more difficult.

This post-fieldtrip evaluation served four functions; first, it meant that *all* the students (I did not ask staff to fill in these evaluations) had the opportunity to provide feedback about their fieldtrip experiences. I knew that I would not be able to interview all fieldtrip participants and this provided an alternative forum in which all students could at least be 'heard' anonymously (if they chose), although some students decided not to fill in these forms or provided minimal responses. Second, students' responses to the evaluation form could signal potential interviewees not considered via the participant observation process. I was particularly interested in students who felt alienated by their fieldtrip experience and the evaluation form was another means by which such students could indicate their alienation. Third, the evaluation responses provided a more comprehensive 'snapshot' of students' experiences of the fieldtrip closer to the time of the actual event while the experience was

still 'fresh' in their memories. Fourth, when I conducted interviews with selected participants, I was able to compare what these participants had written about the fieldtrip straight after the event with what they were saying about the event approximately three to seven months later.

This provided me with an opportunity to explore the points of contradiction as well as the implications of short and long-term memories of events like fieldtrips, and to ask for clarification of responses on the evaluation form.⁴⁴ I was asked by one of the fieldtrip organisers if it was possible to share the feedback from the evaluation forms. I provided a summary of the responses - both positive and negative - taking care to protect anonymous identities further by highlighting general rather than specific feedback.

At this point in the research process, I took a 'break' from the relatively intensive data collection before, during and after each fieldtrip. I next made contact with students close to the end of their respective academic years. Timing was important and I tried to set up interviews with high school students before their exams, and with university students either before or after their exams (depending on each student's preference). Timing of interviews with teachers/lecturers was not so critical because I did not plan to focus on one particular fieldtrip event, rather I was interested in all the fieldtrips they had experienced over the years. So I arranged interview times with staff at a suitable time after the fieldtrip. In the next section, I describe the interviewing phase of the research.

⁴⁴ For example, one male student wrote on his evaluation form that he had not learnt much but during the interview he revised this and went on to describe what he had learnt.

4.4 Interviews

"[T]he interview is used to gather descriptive data in the subject's own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992: 96). I wished to develop insights into how students and staff interpreted the world of residential fieldtrips. I was concerned with exploring what *seemed* real to each of the students and staff members that I interviewed, rather than with proving what *was* real (if indeed it was possible to do so).

The stories people tell . . . do not tell us simply and unambiguously what the situation is [or was]. These stories are part of the situation. There is no a priori reason to 'believe' a story because anyone tells it, as there is no a priori reason to disbelieve a story, because anyone tells it (Laing, 1971: 30, cited in Middleton, 1985: 161).

I have assumed that the interview participants were telling the 'truth' about their experiences "insofar as they understood and remembered the events. There was no reason for them to lie, although for various reasons, certain information may have been deliberately left out" (Middleton, 1985: 162). "When [students] are acknowledged as experts on their own learning, they articulate very well the connections between life experiences [and] practice . . . conversation uncovers knowledge which may not be evident within other paradigms or structural frames" (Collay, 1989: 19). I had met all of the interviewees before the interview took place because this phase proceeded from the participant observation phase, so many of the interviews felt more like conversations than formal interviews (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

The power relations between myself and the interviewee(s) influenced the degree of formality of the interview. The research encompassed the range of power dynamics between researcher and researched. In the case of interviewing, I interacted with those more powerful than myself such as university heads of departments and lecturers, those who held 'similar'

positions of power as myself such as high school teachers, and those with less power than myself such as high school and university students. It could be argued that a researcher often has less power because the interviewee has information the researcher wants and the right to withhold and/or to request it back. Feminist researchers have argued that the researcher often holds more power than the research subject because of their education (see Gilbert, 1994; Nagar, 1997). In this research I was working with (secondary and tertiary) educated research participants; some were more educated than myself although others were not. More recently, feminist researchers have written about the power dynamics of women interviewing men (see Armstrong, 1993; Kelly et al., 1994; Lee, 1997; Newton and Stacey, 1995) and/or interviewing people with varying degrees of 'institutional power' (see Kelly et al., 1994; McDowell, 1992d; Newton and Stacey, 1995; Schoenberger, 1991).

Two types of interviews were conducted as part of the study. The first type were post-fieldtrip interviews in which I interviewed participants from the seven fieldtrips some months after the fieldtrips had taken place: 56 interviews were of this type. The second type were interviews with key informants, people who were not directly connected with the seven fieldtrips, because I also wanted to work at the peripheries of the research topic, to talk "to people no longer actively involved [in fieldtrips], to dissidents and renegades and eccentrics" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 34). I also asked particular individuals for an interview "because they connect[ed] with politically sensitive issues anticipated in the analysis" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 28). For example, I interviewed individuals about issues such as the significance of fieldtrips for funding geography as a science in the university context, performances of 'alternative' masculinities and femininities, and controversial decisions related to fieldtrip organisation. As Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman (1994: 34) point out, "[t]here are rewards for peripheral sampling . . . you will obtain contrasting and comparative information that

may help you understand the phenomenon at hand by 'de-centering' you from a particular way of viewing your other cases".

There was a positive response to my invitations to interview students and staff about fieldtrips.⁴⁵ The invitations were usually negotiated via phone conversations and sometimes by letter. I offered interviewees a choice of location for the interview that usually (but not always) included somewhere at the relevant site of education, the participant's home or my home (the latter depended on the geographical site of the respective educational institutions). Most participants chose somewhere at their educational site and this worked as a space in which neither the interviewee nor the researcher had personal investments. But nevertheless such institutional space was imbued with the disciplining qualities that were so much a part of this thesis, and these invisible, often unnamed dimensions would have shaped what was and was not talked about during the interview. The more personal spaces of participants' (or my) homes were also shaped by invisible, usually unnamed dimensions such as familiarity (and therefore comfort for those whose space it was), safety (the implications of my interviewing a male participant in his home, see Armstrong, 1993) and potential voyeurism (on my part if I was going to a participant's home or on a participant's part if they were coming to my home).

⁴⁵ I invited 102 individuals to be interviewed about their fieldtrip experiences and there were only three refusals. It would be naive of me to assume that these three explicit refusals were the only refusals. There were other strategies that research participants used that could be interpreted as 'refusals' of a kind. For example, a male high school student said that he was prepared to be interviewed but the proposed timing was unsuitable. He said that he would contact me when the time was suitable. I never heard from him and this could be interpreted as 'refusal' or as genuine forgetfulness. It seemed important to me to respect the terms of our agreement, namely that he would contact me when he was ready, rather than put him on the spot by ringing about the proposed interview again.

I also offered many research participants the opportunity to be interviewed one-to-one, in pairs, or in small groups of three, four or five. I had chosen the small group (a form of focus group) approach to interviewing because I was interested in the group (the 'corporate body') dynamics of the residential fieldtrip. Spontaneous discussion (focus) groups were very much a part of fieldtrips, as part of the official programme, for example students often had to complete fieldwork tasks as a group, and as part of the unofficial 'programme', for example students formed groups for social activities such as drinking, playing games, singing, telling jokes and so on. I wanted to reflect these group dynamics in the interview process. I was concerned with the interactions between participants as well as with what was said because

people's knowledge and attitudes are not entirely encapsulated in reasoned responses to direct questions. Everyday forms of communication such as anecdotes, jokes or loose word association may tell us *as much*, if not *more*, about what people 'know'. In this sense focus groups 'reach parts that other methods cannot reach' - revealing dimensions of understanding that often remained untapped by the more one-to-one interview or questionnaire (Kitzinger, 1994: 109; emphasis in original).

The dynamics of small group interviews were insightful, as participants bounced memories, jokes and anecdotes around, agreeing and disagreeing with each other. The interview is an arena of performance - overt and covert - the small group interviews emphasised these aspects of the interview as individual participants performed for/entertained their peer group. At times, it seemed that these interviews were not being taken as seriously as the one-to-one or pair interviews were, although (I reasoned) the joking culture of the small group interviews was recognisable as the joking culture of the fieldtrips, recorded in my fieldnotes. In other words, the forms of communication of the small group interview did mirror the forms of communication that I had witnessed on fieldtrips. But, ironically, I favoured more 'rational' rather than 'irrational' forms of data such as laughter and joking; the analysis of rational data was more familiar. Indeed, the academic ritual of research depends on rational rather than irrational data (see Kobayashi and Peake, 1994).

As the research process continued into its second year, the difficulties of transcribing interviews in which there were more than two interviewees (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992) meant that I increasingly favoured interviews with one or two participants (see Longhurst, 1996b). In the interviews with two participants, it was still possible to consider "forms of communication such as anecdotes, jokes or loose word association" (Kitzinger, 1994: 109), as well as points of agreement and disagreement. I discovered, however, that interviewing pairs was not always successful. For example, I suggested a pair interview to two female university students who agreed and the interview went ahead. One of the students left for another commitment just before the interview ended. The other student remained on for what turned out to be another quite different interview during which she said things that she would not have said in front of any other student. Similarly, a male student whom I interviewed one-to-one, also acknowledged that he would not have talked about his friendships with male students if he had been interviewed with one of those friends (if that friend/participant had turned up as planned). In other words, pair interviews offered the potential to explore the interactions between participants but could also be constraining in terms of what participants felt able to say in front of me the researcher and in front of another member of their class (who may or may not be a friend). I therefore utilised both approaches (one-to-one and pair) to interviewing, knowing that there were different advantages to be gained from both methods.

Many research participants shared their personal feelings and experiences of fieldtrips with apparent honesty and depth. Often the most personal details were shared with me after the tape recorder was switched off

at the end of an interview.⁴⁶ "The lives, loves, and tragedies that fieldwork informants share with a researcher are ultimately data, grist for the ethnographic mill, a mill that has a truly grinding power" (Stacey, 1988: 23). Judith Stacey's words imply that whatever informants share of their "lives, loves, and tragedies" will ultimately be ground down (into words) and into a research product. Stacey (1988), however, negates what may have also been positive experiences for participants in interviews/ conversations.

Participants may have felt more able to talk with someone who was outside the class/course *and* the staff groupings of the institution of which they were a part, to talk with someone who guaranteed confidentiality and negotiation over interview transcripts. My stated interest in students' experiences of fieldtrips meant that I acted as someone to whom students could talk about their experiences of the fieldtrip as well as someone to whom they could complain. The opportunity to debrief and/or to talk about the process of the fieldtrip was not necessarily provided for in the structure of the fieldtrips that I participated in. Yet students appeared to enjoy/utilise the opportunity to debrief.

⁴⁶ Some researchers have argued that the tape recorder ought not to be turned off until after the participant has departed. Conversely, the act of turning the tape off could facilitate the conditions for disclosure of intimate details. These conditions were also built up during the course of the interview, through the process of my listening unconditionally and actively to the participant's words and ideas for an extended period of time (interview times ranged from 30 minutes to three hours).

Bronwyn:⁴⁷ Perhaps there could have been more people like you on [the fieldtrip] . . . to sort of actually sit back and see who were the vulnerable people in the group and who can I help get these concepts over to a bit more or help feel more safe doing it because there was such a obvious distinction between the group of guys and the rest (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95).

It may have been more advantageous that research participants did not see me often after the fieldtrip. In this way I may have represented a safer, more distant repository for the information they provided me with during conversations and interviews. Ironically, this process of distancing, even disengagement, has been critiqued and attributed to positivist research practice. Yet it may also be characteristic of feminist research practice; this may even be necessary and/or advantageous (also see Acker et al., 1983; Gilbert, 1994).

Whenever research participants share their "lives, loves, and tragedies" (Stacey, 1988: 23) with a researcher, it is risky *and* it can also be positive. Stacey (1988) focuses on the (potential) danger of ethnographic research encounters for research participants and elides the (potential) danger for the insider (myself the geographer) conducting research about other geographers, a community that many research participants are freer to leave than I am, if I want a job in academic geography. Sharing such information with a researcher does not necessarily mean it will end up in the research product; indeed the ethics *and* the pragmatics of selection mean that so many data do not end up in

⁴⁷ Some participants wanted their real names used and others did not. In order to protect against any unforeseen risks to named individuals and to be consistent, I used code names for all participants. In my choice of code names, I attempted to mirror the cultural markers of each participant's real name. For example, if a (Māori) student had a Māori name, I chose a Māori code name, and if a Māori student had an anglicised name, I chose an anglicised code name. In spite of these efforts, the politics of naming and norming remain (see Berg and Kearns, 1996).

the final research product (see Middleton, 1993; 1998). The pragmatics of data reduction, analysis and selection are outlined in the next section.

5 ANALYSING THE DATA

Data analysis in this thesis has been "*theory-driven . . . progressively, as in grounded theory mode*" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 27, emphasis in original; also see Glaser, 1978).

Choices of informants, episodes, and interactions [were] being driven by a conceptual question, not by a concern for 'representativeness'. To get to the construct, we need to see different instances of it, at different moments, in different places, with different people. The prime concern is with the *conditions* under which the construct or theory operates, not with the generalisation of the findings to other settings (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 29, emphasis in original).

My theoretical construct of embodied disciplinary identities evolved during (was grounded in) the analysis. The culture of residential fieldtrips represented the conditions in which the construction of embodied disciplinary identities operated. In order to theorise embodied disciplinary identities, I went on seven residential fieldtrips "to see different instances of it, at different moments, in different places, with different people" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 29). In this section, I outline my analytical methods. I begin with how I have combined quantitative and qualitative analyses, then go on to discuss qualitative analyses in more detail. I examine "three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10).

5.1 Drawing Together Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analyses

Toby Jayaratne (1983: 140) advocates "the use of qualitative data, in conjunction with quantitative data, to develop, support and explicate theory". In my

analyses of the diverse data collected during this research, I primarily utilised qualitative methods but employed quantitative methods to summarise, support and/or test the findings that I arrived at via qualitative approaches. Quantitative methods, in the most simple form of counting instances of a particular pattern as well as the number of exceptions to that pattern, were a useful starting point for the first round of analysis of a numerically large set of data. I utilised this approach of counting to establish broad patterns (and exceptions) followed by other qualitative methods in my analyses of the drawings, the post-fieldtrip evaluations, and to a lesser extent, with the post-fieldtrip interviews. I now describe my analysis of the drawings as an exemplar of this approach.

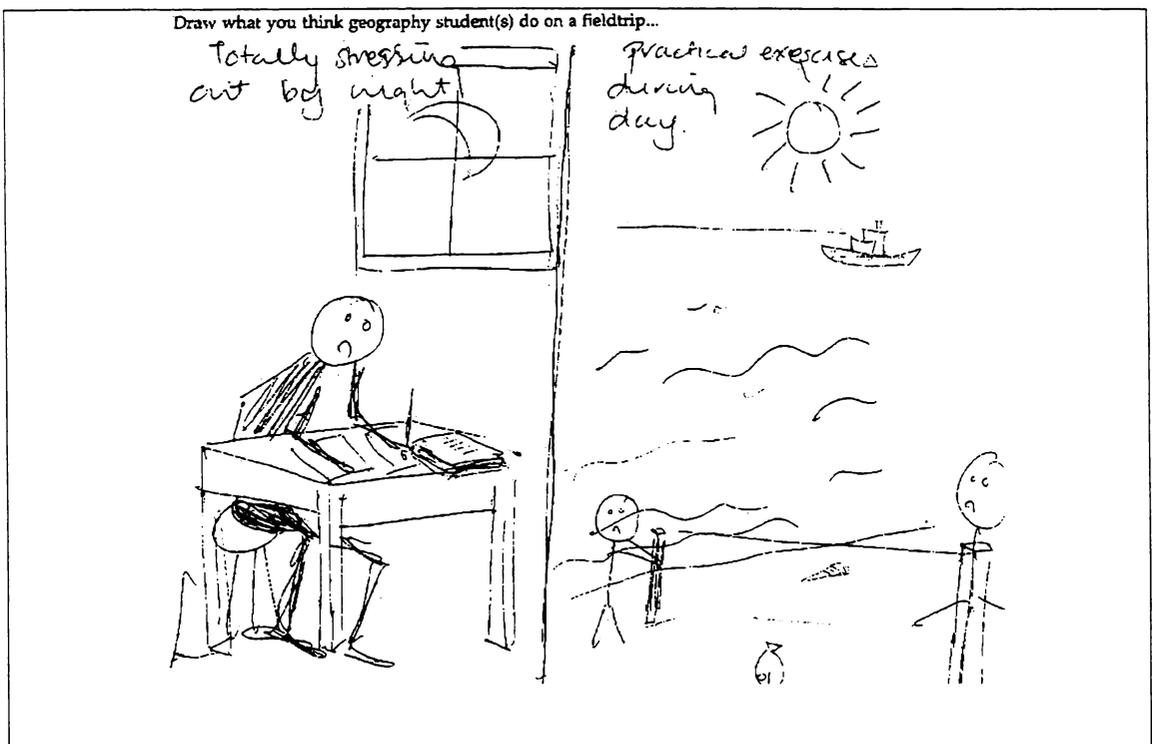
I collected 192 drawings of what geography students, a geography teacher, and geography teacher trainees⁴⁸ expected geography students to do on a fieldtrip. One of these drawings was done by a high school geography teacher, 133 drawings were done by high school geography students in their last year of high school, 33 drawings were done by university under-graduate geography students, and 25 drawings were done by geography teacher trainees (who had all been university geography students in the past). Literature on how to analyse drawings tends to be limited to art therapy approaches which emphasise psychoanalysis (see for example, Case and Dalley, 1990; Schaverien, 1995). I felt that it would be invasive of the research participants to analyse their drawings in a psychoanalytic way, to somehow discover what the drawings might reveal about the inner workings of their individual psyches. Instead, I employed a collection of analytical approaches, namely a quantitative analysis (for example, counting activities and environments that occur in the drawings), a poststructural analysis of the implicit binaries evident in the drawings, and a sociological reading of the drawings as representing "an

⁴⁸ Geography teacher trainees were included during the first year of the research process and I have kept their drawings as part of this data set about fieldtrip expectations.

embodied social world in which actors are relationally constructed and events and objects imbued with symbolic significance" (Du Plessis and Fougere, 1995: 132).

In the case of a quantitative analysis, I counted activities and environments then tried different classification systems such as formal, informal (or both) for activities, and indoors, outdoors (or both) for environments. I used these and other classification systems (such as rural/urban) to test general ideas about students' expectations of particular environments and activities on a forthcoming fieldtrip. In the case of a poststructural analysis, the implicit binaries represented in the drawings such as outdoors/indoors, night/day, student/staff, and work/fun were examined. I then analysed particular drawings where such binaries were implicit and explicit, to find out if such 'readings' supported emerging themes or not, and selected exemplary drawings. In the case of one drawing this binary was explicit; the page was divided clearly between night-time and day-time activities (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Janet's drawing of what she expects to do on a fieldtrip



I paid particular attention to the points of contradiction. "Searching deliberately for *confirming and disconfirming cases, extreme or deviant cases, and typical cases* serves to increase confidence in conclusions" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 28, emphasis in original).

The other mode of analysis was to consider the drawings as representing "an embodied social world" (Du Plessis and Fougere, 1995: 132), or in my words, an embodied disciplinary culture, complicated by uneven institutionalised relations of power between students and staff (also see Rose, 1996). Drawings in particular relied on the use of "objects imbued with symbolic significance" (Du Plessis and Fougere, 1995: 132) such as 'the mortar board' to indicate status, 'the tree' to indicate the outdoors, 'the beer can' to indicate social activities, to 'tell' a larger story (a picture is worth a thousand words!) I had asked students to draw pictures (as a means of mirroring a geographical fieldwork task), to undermine the privileging of words in the academic arena (see Monk, 1997). It was therefore ironic that I re-present these drawings in the words of analysis (perhaps I should have been drawing conclusionary pictures?) This dilemma was a constant tension during the writing process. I counter the re-presentation of drawings in words by including many drawings throughout the thesis for the reader to 'add' their analysis to mine.⁴⁹

The following section is concerned with the other qualitative analytical methods that I employed. I focus on the concurrent nature of "data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10) in the use of 'overlapping' subheadings. The 'overlap' between two

⁴⁹ But this goal has been confounded by the 'quality' of drawings, for example, particular exemplary drawings were too faintly drawn to be effectively scanned and included. Some research participants had the ability to say and/or draw their fieldtrip expectations/experiences eloquently and succinctly, that is, what was quotable, readable and scan-able shaped what was finally included in this thesis.

activities (for example, data reduction and data display), rather than all three, is attempted in each subsection.

5.2 Data Reduction and Display

"[I]n the early stages of a study, most of it looks promising" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 55) or could be promising at a later stage. For example, during the first residential fieldtrip which was also my first experience of taking participant observation notes, I wrote about (what seemed like) anything and everything in order to feel secure that I would have 'enough' data. My concerns about having 'enough' data were also predicated on a theoretical goal of remaining open to unexpected as well as expected themes. I reasoned that taking notes about what seemed irrelevant at the time could prove to be relevant to emerging and/or unexpected themes in later fieldtrips. Similarly, during the first round of interviews with fieldtrip participants, I interviewed more (rather than less) individuals. This over-compensation was in part due to the politics of the field. I found it much easier to gain entry to high school fieldtrips and later to interviews with high school students, than I did to university fieldtrips and interviews with university students. During the early phases of my research, therefore, I collected more data from and about high school fieldtrips than I ultimately would need. This in turn has contributed to a somewhat large (and at times unwieldy) data set.

During participant-observation, I made cursory notes, often key words, about something that I had observed, in a small notebook. I then converted these raw fieldnotes into a legible write-up (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 66) and as I produced this write-up, I would write theoretical, methodological and analytical memos (see Glaser, 1978), delineating them as such by placing them in square brackets []. "A memo can be a sentence, a paragraph or a few pages. It does not matter as long as it exhausts the analyst's momentary ideation

based on data with perhaps a little conceptual elaboration" (Glaser, 1978: 84).

The audience for my memos was myself and

they tie[d] together different pieces of data into a recognisable cluster, often to show that those data [were] instances of a general concept. Memos can also go well beyond codes and their relationships to any aspect of the study - personal, methodological, and substantive. They are one of the most useful and powerful sense-making tools at hand (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 72).

My theoretical memos included comments about emerging themes, contradictions, and notes on a "a new hypothesis that might explain some puzzling observations" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 66). My methodological memos included notes about changing methods of data collection and why, "doubts about the quality of some of the data", and "ethical dilemmas" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 66). Analytical memos included preliminary summaries of data, even preliminary conclusions that acted as place-holding analyses requiring further data, as well as "cross-allusions to material in another part of the data set", and "elaboration or clarification of a prior incident or event that seem[ed] of possible significance" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 66).

In the second year of data collection, I engaged more consistently in data reduction on the basis of concerns about how much data I had collected the previous year. I went on fieldtrips with the same set of institutions as the previous year and was able to include a fieldtrip with a university from City B so the symmetry of a high school and university from each of the two cities had been achieved. At the same time, I chose not to include another university on the basis that it was not located in Cities A or B. Data reduction, therefore, was based on some clearly defined parameters: the location of the education institution in either Cities A or B, the requirement that the fieldtrip was

residential,⁵⁰ and in the second year that the fieldtrips be with the same institutions as the previous year (although University B was a 'new' addition). Having had one year's experience of data collection and analysis, I now had a better sense of the emerging themes that I wanted to follow more closely. I was now more focused in my participant observation notes and more selective of which fieldtrip participants I would invite to interview.

In contrast to the large amount of data collected during the participant observation process, I gathered data in a more focused way during the interview phase. I employed four different women to carry out the task of transcribing all the interviews in full, although a greater proportion of this transcribing work was done by one woman. The transcripts were directly transcribed into a Macintosh database software package called Filemaker Pro. This software enabled separate fields to be created for the interviewees' responses to each of the interview questions (see Appendix 5). This organisational process allowed me to view the entire transcript chronologically, to view all interviewees' responses to question one consecutively, to do keyword searches, to write memos, and to easily export selected aspects of the transcript to Macintosh text software Microsoft Word.

A year after I had established this data processing approach, I seriously considered the potential advantages of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) such as NUD.IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data. Indexing, Searching and Theorising) for working with such a large data set. I decided not to proceed for two reasons. First, although I had the "power supply" I did not have the "appropriate hardware" (see Peace, 1997). Second,

⁵⁰ I had also been on day-long fieldtrips during the research but I was most interested in the implications of living and working together so residential fieldtrips were the key research site and I did not include data from the day-long fieldtrips in the data set. Participation in day-long fieldtrips confirmed my choice of residential fieldtrips as the most appropriate research site in which to investigate the research questions.

computer *assisted* qualitative data analysis is exactly that, "[t]here is no task that the computer performs that the human researcher can not" (Peace, 1997: 2). To change data entry, retrieval and analysis systems mid-way through a research project can be costly in terms of hardware and time so I decided to continue with the systems that I had already set up.

After the initial transcriptions had been completed, I listened to the tapes as I read the transcript on my computer screen and made corrections. During this process, I also made a separate file for each of the transcripts and cut and pasted into this file sections of text - words, sentences, paragraphs - that suggested and/or supported emerging themes. I labelled and/or paraphrased these sections of text with bold headings and often went on to write theoretical, methodological and/or analytical memos (see Glaser, 1978), defining them as such by placing them in square brackets as I had done in my participant observation notes. As I continued with this process and emerging themes were supported, I used the same labels (for example, labels that often evolved from students' words - 'seeing for yourself', 'going out in the real world') in subsequent files so that I was able to use keyword searches to find all the text relevant to that theme at a later stage.

I also located the same section of text under other relevant themes (a form of cross-referencing). I continued to create 'new' labels and include sections of text that also seemed outside these themes (for example, references to senses other than seeing), or material that seemed significant to return to. Thus at the end of the listening/reading process, I had a transcript ready to post to the interviewees (as promised) for comment and/or negotiation⁵¹ and a significantly reduced second 'transcript' that had been analysed/summarised

⁵¹ See Appendix 6 for a sample of the letter sent with completed transcripts. Some participants responded to this letter and asked me not to use particular sections of their transcript in my thesis and/or subsequent publications. These sections were often comments made about other participants on the fieldtrip.

in a preliminary way. I continued this data reduction and display process one step further, a step more clearly associated with reaching and verifying conclusions.

5.3 Data Display and Conclusion Verification

During data collection and analysis, four recurring themes emerged: 1) the difference between the place(s) visited on geography fieldtrips and the place(s) where geography students live and attend their place of education, 2) the significance of the fieldtrip as an opportunity for going out in the 'real' world and seeing for yourself, 3) the experiences of living and working together on a residential fieldtrip, and 4) the 're-creation' of geographers during fieldtrips. This last theme plays on the literal and metaphorical meanings of 're-creation'; literally the recreation activities of geographers on fieldtrips and metaphorically how (many) students 're-create' themselves as geographers.

In the next step of analysis, I created separate files around each of these four themes (which were also planned as the four analytical chapters). I will explain how I did this in relation to the second theme - the significance of the fieldtrip as an opportunity for going out in the 'real' world and seeing for yourself (chapter 6) as an exemplar of my approach for the analytical chapters. I did a keyword search of all the summarised transcripts for words such as 'real' and 'see', and placed all of the relevant sections of text with associated details such as name of student and fieldtrip, into separate files for each of the four institutions. I then read all four files, highlighting key quotes, writing marginal notes, cross-referencing and continuing the process of writing memos. Marginal notes were an important way of recording "new interpretations, leads, connections with other parts of the data, and they usually pointed towards questions and issues to look into . . . and to ways of elaborating these ideas" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 67). At the end of this

process, I began drawing conclusions and planning the material that I would write about in Chapter 6.

"Conclusions are also *verified* as the analyst proceeds. Verification may be as brief as a fleeting second thought crossing the analyst's mind during writing, with a short excursion back to the field notes" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 11, emphasis in original) or it may be more thorough via methods such as triangulation. Data triangulation means that I have obtained information from "as many different data sources as possible which bear upon the events under analysis" (Denzin, 1978). Students', teachers/lecturers', and researcher's perspectives, are compared. Data triangulation is one strategy for improving the validity of research findings by exploring what independent data sources 'say' about a particular social phenomenon, in this case about the residential geography fieldtrip. There are three possible outcomes of triangulation: *convergence*, *inconsistency* and *contradiction* (Mathison, 1988). *Convergence* of data sources was satisfying because it showed where one or more students, one or more teachers/lecturers, and the researcher independently shared a similar perception of a particular social phenomenon. This improved the validity of the research findings. Nevertheless, the *inconsistencies* and *contradictions* between the data sources were just as important because they directed my attention to what had gone unnoticed or had been perceived differently by students, staff, and the researcher.

Inconsistencies and *contradictions* between the data sources were also important because they prompted me to re-interrogate the quantitative and qualitative data, to take account of the research context, and to utilise understandings of the larger social world (Mathison, 1988), to suggest possible explanations for particular social phenomenon for which there was contradictory evidence. The *inconsistencies* and *contradictions* between data sources can push researchers to reformulate previously taken-for-granted understandings and potentially extend explanation of social phenomenon.

For each theme, I searched for inconsistencies and contradictions in four ways. First, I purposefully re-read the files generated around each theme for inconsistencies and contradictions. Second, I did further keyword searches for contradictory words. For example, I searched for words indicating senses other than seeing (hearing, tasting, touching, smelling), in particular for the words - 'hands-on' - in the case of the Chapter 6 themes. Third, I searched for metaphor and analogy (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992) which often revealed inconsistencies and contradictions in the privileging of particular terms in geographical discourses. For example, I searched specifically for instances where the word seeing was deployed metaphorically but did not make sense literally. Fourth, I identified and analysed binaries because contradictions and inconsistencies were often inherent in particular binaries. In the case of the Chapter 6 themes, I returned to the sections of text under the headings of 'real world/textbook' and 'theory/practice' in the summarised transcripts because these binaries were evident in much of the participants' talk about going out to see the 'real' world. I even engaged in extended discussions about these binaries (without naming them as such) with some interviewees, in response to their claims about the effectiveness of fieldtrip learning compared to classroom or lecture theatre learning. Evans (1988: 214) also describes how he tried out emerging theories and hypotheses during conversations within the research situation. I then analysed these extended discussions closely for congruences, inconsistencies and contradictions.

Triangulation of data sources was further reinforced by triangulation of the four case studies (the four institutional sites). Miles and Huberman (1994: 29, emphasis in original) refer to triangulation of case studies as multiple-case sampling which

adds *confidence* to findings. By looking at a range of similar and contrasting cases, we can understand a single-case finding, grounding it by specifying *how* and *where* and, if possible, *why* it carries on as it does. We can strengthen the precision, the validity, and the stability of the findings [also see Katz, 1994: 68].

The final act of analysis was the process of reporting itself.

The analytic induction of categories, themes and relationships; the explication of meaning; and the understanding of action may all proceed via the writing itself . . . The 'writing up' of the qualitative study is not merely a major and lengthy task; it is *intrinsic* to the 'analysis', the 'theory' and the 'findings' (Atkinson, 1991: 164, emphasis in original).

The writing process is not only an act of analysis but also an act of representation. The next chapter is concerned with issues of representation. I re-present myself and the politics of the field so that my re-presentation of others in the subsequent analytical chapters can be contextualised.

CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICS OF THE FIELD AND OF REPRESENTATION

I THE POLITICS OF THE FIELD AND OF THE SELF

My decision to research the community that I am part of has established me on a risky⁵² and fruitful⁵³ doctoral journey. I am a geographer who has chosen other geographers - geography students and geography teachers/lecturers - as the subject/object of my research. The research process and product are interconnected - "the politics of doing fieldwork [has and] will inevitably come up against the politics of the field" (Kobayashi, 1994: 79) - and this has proven to be a productive 'site' for research. As a geographer I am a product of the processes that my doctoral research seeks to understand, as well as the researcher who drives the research process and writes the research product. During the process of turning my 'critical' gaze upon geography communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I have come face-to-face with my positionality, my geo-biography, my visual metaphors. My choice of research topic about how geography students learn to be geographers and to do geography requires scrutiny of my own geo-biography. "The readings I produce here are an evocation as much of the specificity of my institutional and theoretical history

⁵² I saw myself as a risk-taker because I chose to proceed with doctoral research about the culture of geography fieldtrips despite warnings about the difficulties I would face. These difficulties were implied rather than made explicit; one example was the potential refusal of access to geography residential fieldtrips to conduct the research.

⁵³ I use the word 'fruitful' to describe the potential of my chosen doctoral topic to stimulate debate, a continuous source of data and anecdotes, to cross the boundaries between physical and human geography, as well as to combine my two passions - geography and education.

and consequent reading position as of the classroom [or fieldtrip] itself as a social site" (Lee, 1996: 22).

The purpose of this chapter is to (re)present my geo-biography - "the specificity of my institutional and theoretical history" - and how this was intertwined with the politics of 'the field' ('the field' being 'the geography discipline' in this context). This chapter is strategically placed to complete my introduction to the theoretical, methodological, political and personal components of 'the field'. The politics of the field and of the self have shaped my (re)presentation of the research subject - the residential geography fieldtrip - and of the research subjects - geography students/teachers/lecturers. These politics must be elaborated in order to provide readers with access to the broader dimensions of 'the field' in which the seven residential fieldtrips should be contextualised.

As a geography undergraduate student and as a high school geography teacher, I had participated in and organised fieldtrips, and therefore I already had some knowledge of the culture of geography fieldtrips. These roles clearly established me as an 'insider' of the relevant geography communities. The process of carrying out research for a doctorate is the rite of passage to membership in the geography academic community. A doctorate is taken-for-granted as the qualification needed to gain employment in most universities. So my enrolment in a doctoral programme placed me 'inside' the academic geography community. Although my choice of 'the fieldtrip' as research topic and of feminist theories and methodologies to examine this topic, simultaneously placed me 'outside' some sections of the academic geography community. As a researcher I was also an 'outsider' to each group of students and teachers/lecturers on a fieldtrip because I was not a full-time member of the relevant class/course. Indeed, Gilbert (1994: 95, edn 2) argues that "the very act of conducting research places an 'insider' in an 'outsider' position". I occupy the paradoxical space of the inside and the outside, the centre and the margin,

simultaneously (G. Rose, 1993). Like Rose (1991: 157), "I feel neither central nor marginal; I'm included in the discourse, in the institutions, but not on the terms I'm easy with". In other words, I am a member of the academic geography community but the terms of my membership are tenuous and risky at times.

The university system relies on the social construction of hierarchies - hierarchies of qualifications, hierarchies of staff positions, hierarchies within and between universities and other educational levels such as early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary education. My membership of positions (student, ex-high school teacher) lower down these hierarchies, combined with my positions as a woman and a feminist, meant that I was probably perceived as someone without the authority to ask questions and carry out research about the teaching practices of academics who occupy the highest rungs of the education hierarchy.⁵⁴ The culture of universities is one where academics are the researchers, not the researched, and the disciplinary culture of geography is one where geographers are used to observing other places and people, not themselves and their education practices.

There are some significant parallels between the anthropology and geography disciplines. Anthropologists such as Judith Okely (1996: 33, emphasis in original) have claimed that fieldwork is the "*rite de passage*" of the anthropology discipline just as Rose (1992) suggests that fieldtrips fulfil a similar function for the geography discipline. Both anthropology and geography rely on fieldwork and fieldtrips away from the educational site which often means away from urban sites/sights. "Until recently, anthropology has privileged that which the metropolis has defined as remote"

⁵⁴ These academics are mainly men in university geography departments; see Garcia-Ramon, Castener and Centelles (1988) concerning the Spanish context; Johnson (1994) concerning the Australian context; Longhurst and Peace (1993) concerning the New Zealand context; McDowell and Peake (1990) concerning the British context; Rose et al. (1996) concerning the Canadian context; and Lee (1990) concerning the United States context.

(Okely, 1996: 2; also see Ardener, 1987). "[D]istance lends enhancement, if not enchantment, to the anthropological vision" (Ardener, 1987: 38).

Okely (1996) writes about what counts as legitimate research topics/fieldwork sites in the discipline of anthropology and her insights are pertinent to what counts as legitimate research topics/fieldwork sites for geographers. Okely (1996: 3) argues that "[i]t is no accident that the geographic space which has been obliterated or defined as the ethnographic periphery for orthodox anthropology is the very same which is occupied by a centre of academic power". I argue that it was no accident that fieldtrips/fieldwork, the "heart" of what (academic) geographers do (Head of Geography Department, fieldnotes, 19/10/1994), were not conceived as a legitimate doctoral topic at one university in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The geographic 'space' of fieldtrip education is the same space occupied by geography academics. To scrutinise this space is to scrutinise the "heart" of academic power. It was not surprising, therefore, that my proposal to examine fieldtrip education posed something of a threat and that this proposal was discounted as not being about geography. For example, one academic geographer who responded to the initial doctoral proposal asked "is it geography? - why geography? why not education? . . . certainly not the sort of research usually done in geography" (fieldnotes, 23/11/94; also see Kobayashi and Peake, 1994: 239; McDowell, 1992b).

Okely (1996: 1; also see Rose, 1991) elaborates on the implications of an outward focus for anthropology, implications that are relevant to geography:

While orthodox anthropologists studying geographically distant cultures are prepared to acknowledge variety and differences within places far from their own biographical past, and while an academic industry is made of intra-regional comparisons, anthropologists may be indifferent to the heterogeneity of their own cultural spaces.

My work is very much about geographers' own cultural spaces⁵⁵ and the heterogeneity as well as the homogeneity of the cultural spaces of the residential geography fieldtrip in particular. The process of submitting my doctoral proposal at one university showed me that some academic geographers were suspicious or defensive about, even hostile, to the potential research of their own cultural spaces. This was more than the indifference Okely suggested above. The strength of response from some geography academics to my proposal indicated that fieldtrips were a cultural space in which there were important investments. The cultural space of fieldtrips was assumed to be beyond scrutiny or question (also see Gold et al., 1991; Jenkins, 1994). This implied a sacrosanct cultural space rather than an indifferent, mundane cultural space, which would be fiercely defended only if there were large 'investments'.

Suspicion, defensiveness, resistance to my initial doctoral proposal intensified my commitment to the research topic. These responses became a rich source of data about the cultural space of geographers. I took notes in a journal about the responses to my doctoral proposal during and after meetings with geographers from the academic committee. Note-taking during such meetings served a dual function, first, verbal information was taken down in note form for subsequent consideration and interpretation (see Holly and McLoughlin, 1989). Second, the act of note-taking provided a self-protective barrier, a diversion from facing (literally)⁵⁶ the full force of what I experienced as blocking tactics rather than constructive academic criticism.

⁵⁵ Refer back to Chapter 1, footnote 3, for my definition of embodied disciplinary culture. Cultural spaces are the physical and social spaces of the residential fieldtrip where an embodied disciplinary culture is enacted. Physical spaces influence what happens in social spaces, and social spaces influence what happens in the physical spaces of a fieldtrip: "space is constituted through social relations and material social practices . . . [and] the social is spatially constructed" (Massey, 1992: 70).

⁵⁶ By looking down as I took notes, I was more able to retain my composure in what were sometimes quite intimidating meetings.

Despite attempts to revise the proposal document in line with the verbal comments that I had heard and taken notes about, it became clear that my position as a doctoral student in this particular geography department was untenable. A potential supervisor's refusal to work with me meant that even *if* the academic committee was satisfied with the proposal, there was no longer anyone with the relevant expertise to supervise me in that particular geography department (fieldnotes, 26/10/94; 28/11/94).⁵⁷ I suspect that I was perceived as "irritatingly unabsorbable" (Miller, 1990: 8) "because of my lack of deference and my persistent failure to accept my "proper place" as a subordinate female in a patriarchal, competitive and hierarchical system" (Ramazanoglu, 1987: 62). Like Ramazanoglu, I refused to accept my 'proper place' or to do a 'proper topic', I would not comply on matters of principle. McDowell (1992c: 59) points out the dilemma - "[i]t is difficult to simultaneously be seeking validation from and critiquing the academy".

At this point, my choices were to change my topic and continue in the same geography department, transfer my doctorate to the education department at the same university, or to explore the possibilities of continuing with the same topic but in a geography department at another university. My disciplinary identity as a geographer (although fraught with difficulties) shaped my decision to seek out another geography department.⁵⁸ My experience of a research topic that had already generated such strong responses from geographers reinforced my decision to continue with the same topic in another geography department. One outcome of this decision was that

⁵⁷ At the time this potential supervisor refused to supervise me, he was concerned about the trouble my chosen topic might cause him. He also found me difficult to work with (fieldnotes, 26/10/94; also see McDowell, 1992c; Miller, 1990; Ramazanoglu, 1987 for their discussions about the difficulties of being a woman in the academy).

⁵⁸ I call myself a geographer but I also know that the kind of geographies that I am most interested in - feminist and educational geographies - are marginalised within the broader disciplinary boundaries of geography as well as within many geography departments in terms of staffing and/or support for such geographies.

my residential and institutional locations were different. The geographic ambiguity of my locations (home and institution) was also interconnected with the insider/outsider ambiguities that I have already set up.

I am a geographer researching and writing about "our own [geography fieldtrip] traditions" (Torgovnick, 1990: 247) "within which [we] academics are embedded" (Okely, 1996: 5). I use the words - 'our', 'we', 'us' - "strategically, to prevent myself and my reader from backing away, too easily, from the systems of us/them thinking that structure all discourse" (Torgovnick, 1990: 4).

The 'we' is necessary to expose a shared illusion . . . It is necessary to reveal the 'us' as fragmented along lines of gender, national origin, class, political sympathies, race, and dozens of other categories and preferences that will determine individual readers' resistance to being part of the cultural 'we' (Torgovnick, 1990: 4).

The system of us/them would be an easy retreat for me. It was tempting to create a narrative of myself, the lone feminist geographer, against the male hierarchy (them), and certainly this was part of the story but there were other parts. These other parts included academic women and men (members of the male hierarchy) who actively encouraged me to pursue the topic. In another contradictory move, I claim I am a geographer (one of them) while simultaneously questioning the meaning, even the existence of such a category. I vacillate between us and them as I theorise embodied (geography) disciplinary identities. I argue that the fieldtrip is a key site for the social construction of the 'body corporate', of the shared illusion that geographers could or should exist as a cultural 'we', and this argument is taken up more fully in Chapter 8.

This account of the politics of the self and of the field during the proposal stage of the doctoral process is rendered as a rational, analytical account, an account enabled as such by its retrospective nature (see Gibson-Graham, 1994: 221, edn 6). The time and space in the intervening years have

allowed a distance between the self of the proposal stage and the self of the (re)writing stage of the doctoral process. This distance between the selves of the respective stages of the research process is further accentuated by the intended rationality of the account (see Rose, 1997). Ironically, the rendering of the personal and the political in 'academic-speak' seems more effective and appropriate if it is rational and reasonable (but see Bernstein, 1992 who explores the (ir)rationality of "confessing feminism"; Keith, 1992 who examines the (ir)rationality of "angry writing"). If I wrote irrationally and unreasonably, it would reinforce the notion that feminist scholarship is "unrigorous or politically biased" (McDowell, 1992b: 401).

Just as I had ended up favouring the more 'rational' material of one-to-one and pair interviews, I have also favoured a rational account of the politics of the self and of the field. As academics, "we have been acculturated" to "rationalist tendencies" (Kobayashi and Peake, 1994: 237). But using rational tactics to explain what seemed irrational at times, has the potential to undermine the irrational/rational binary. More importantly, such tactics act as an important self-protective mechanism for a researcher "who is vulnerable and open to exploitation" in situations "where the inequalities of power and prestige favour the research subjects" (McDowell, 1992b: 408); the research subjects in this case being academics (also see Newton and Stacey, 1995). McDowell (1992b: 408) points out that "most feminist inspired discussions of research methodology seem to ignore" such circumstances. Indeed, risks to the researcher are ignored or not given much weight in ethical debates about fieldwork (for example, Gilbert, 1994; Katz, 1994; Keith, 1992; Nast, 1994; Stacey, 1988, but see Benton, 1997; McDowell, 1992b; Newton and Stacey,

1995). In this research project, some research subjects - students in particular - were far freer to leave the field (see Stacey, 1988) than I was.⁵⁹

The politics of the field are also the politics of power; paradoxically I was both powerful and powerless as I negotiated the various stages of the research process. The theoretical tensions between structure and agency that I have already outlined in Chapter 2 were an integral part of my research journey. These tensions were particularly intense during the proposal stage. I was the researcher subject to the disciplinary obstacles of academic committees, as well as the researcher who decided to risk going ahead with a topic that promised trouble as well as reward. In other words, my experience of the proposal stage of the research was an example of the 'both/and' (rather than the 'either/or') of the structure/agency dualism. I was both constrained by disciplinary structures and an agent who sought ways to work within and around these disciplinary structures. I was an example of "forms of subjectivity which, although limited and contingent, can still exert a degree of agency" (Pile and Thrift, 1995: 23). If I did not have, or did not think I had, agency (Davies, 1997), I would not have pursued this research topic. In choosing to do so, I was both the agent/subject of, and subject to, the disciplinary discourse of geography.

I have presented a retrospective snapshot of the politics of the field and of the self at one point in time - the beginning of the research process. The politics of the field were sparked by my stated (and inferred) feminist theoretical and methodological concerns, and in turn the field shaped theoretical and methodological directions. Theory and practice, knowledge and

⁵⁹ High school students were likely to leave 'the field' (high school geography education) at the end of the year in which they were involved in the research. University students could also leave 'the field' (university geography education) at the end of the year in which they were involved in the research but in many cases students were staying on to complete undergraduate degrees and possibly postgraduate degrees in the geography discipline.

politics were interconnected because "knowledge and its production [is] *always already* [a] political process" (Gibson-Graham, 1994: 214, emphasis in original).

2 TEXTUAL AUTHORITY: REPRESENTING OTHERS

It is not a simple matter, however, of declaring my positionality - my geobiography - (a declaration that is necessarily partial) "before proceeding as usual" (Larner, 1995: 185). Wendy Larner (1995: 186) points out that in many accounts of positionality, there was "positioning in a theoretical and ideological place" (see Chapter 2) but positioning "in a geographical location . . . and, by implication, the politics of that place" was missing. The ethics of research practice mean that I have not named places but the politics of the field are the politics of (un-named) places located in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1990s. In the process of representing others, I represent the politics of the places where they were located. I take up the theme of what a difference a place makes and the associated issues of representing places in Chapter 5.

My focus in this section is on how the politics and geographies of the field and of the self have shaped my (re)presentation of other people; "the difficult questions of *how* we include our own social location into the interpretation of our work. In what ways should we take it into account both in the conduct of the research and in the ways in which we write up our results?" (McDowell, 1992b: 405, emphasis in original). I have already taken some aspects of my social location, in particular my age and student/teacher status into account in my discussion of methodology in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I am more concerned with the ways in which my social location inside and outside the disciplinary culture of geography in Aotearoa/New Zealand, shape the ways in which I have represented others as I have written up my results.

The politics of (mis)representation is of critical concern in feminist work. The questions of who speaks for whom, and how, pervade the feminist literature (see DeVault, 1994; England, 1994; Kobayashi, 1994; Larner, 1995; Longhurst, 1996a; McDowell, 1992b; Monk, 1997; Nast, 1994; Pulsipher, 1997). "One response to the heightened awareness of the power exercised through our writing has been to mute researchers' own interpretive voices" and to let research subjects "tell their own stories" (DeVault, 1994: 1, 3). Marjorie DeVault ponders feminists' apparent reluctance to take up "textual authority"; she asks whether it "represents an unwitting collusion with ideological constructions of 'woman' as especially caring, or perhaps, a learned discomfort with authority that many women feel?" (DeVault, 1991: 10). Rather DeVault urges feminists to take up "textual authority", to exercise "interpretive power" rather than avoid it.

The delusion I am concerned with is the idea that feminists can, through some technique of fieldwork or writing, avoid exercising interpretive power. Too often, I think, we imagine that we can avoid speaking about others, can simply let them speak for themselves. I would like to look, instead, for new ways to think about textual authority. In addition to avoiding the problems of defining and distorting the experiences of others, we should also be concerned with finding ways to write with strength, and clearly, about our encounters with others (DeVault, 1991: 13; also see Marcus, 1992: 490).

I have adopted three strategies in response to DeVault's challenge to find new ways of thinking about textual authority.

The first strategy is honesty. I exercise interpretive power in order to achieve the final written product that is this thesis. Such interpretive power is not one-way, rather it is shaped by what I read and by what supervisors and others have said/written as they have read my work. It is a negotiated, sometimes reciprocal, interpretive power. My interpretations "*can only be* constructions, made up from the language, meanings and ideas historically available to us, the 'I', in this country at this point in time (Jones, 1992: 18, emphasis in original).

Second, "the problems of defining and distorting the experiences of others" can be minimised⁶⁰ but cannot be avoided entirely. In many cases (apart from participatory research, see Mies, 1983; Small, 1989), the theoretical and methodological goals of research projects may not be congruent with the goals of some (or all) of the research participants. Indeed, if I had allowed the experiences and expectations of some geography academics to shape the theoretical and methodological goals of this research project, the project would not have gone ahead or would have been a very different project. The interpretations that I bring to the experiences of others will not necessarily be the interpretations that they themselves would bring (see Borland, 1991). "Although I followed specific steps in order to analyse the data, it is likely that somebody else, or perhaps myself at some other time in some other place, would tell a different story than the one I have told in this thesis" (Longhurst, 1996a: 107).

The third strategy relates to the differential relations of power that were imbricated in the research. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, I was representing research subjects who held more power as well as those who 'held' similar or less power than myself. I aim to "not make public information or strategies that may compromise the less powerful" (McDowell, 1992b: 408; also see England, 1994; Katz, 1994) but I do not apply this same criteria to those in positions of power. This point requires further qualification. I do not name those in power but information about the practices and strategies of those who exercise disciplinary power are included in the written product because the purpose of my research was to explicate the disciplinary culture of geography fieldtrips, a culture shaped by those with the power to do so. But

individual [geographers] I interviewed [were] not, as individuals, the focus of interest; rather, I am concerned with illuminating the organising contexts that shape their activity - the positions constructed for them as professionals [and

⁶⁰ See my discussion in the previous chapter of how interviewees were provided with an opportunity to negotiate transcripts.

disciplinary subjects] and the opportunities and constraints those positions provide (DeVault, 1995: 614).

In other words, I was more interested in "how people's activities [were] reflexively/recursively knitted together into particular forms of social organisation" (Smith, 1990: 636), into particular forms of what I term the embodied disciplinary culture of geography fieldtrips.

Issues of textual authority not only include *who* and *what* I write about as well as *how* I write but also *who* I write *for*. Heidi Nast (1994: 62) develops a triangular diagram to illustrate "the textual relations between researcher, researched and audience" and argues that audience should be conceived in broader terms than just the academy. In the case of this research, the potential audiences include the academy but also the secondary education sector. While the material is focused on the disciplinary culture of geography, the concept of embodied disciplinary identities may have wider application to other disciplines as well as to the organisational cultures of workplaces and other institutions.

The written product is a linguistic act. I have made careful decisions about not only the words and drawings I use throughout the thesis but also decisions about the amount of textual space that I devote to respective themes and issues.

Linguistic acts are fundamentally spatial and mixed media events. In all cases, we carefully choose and give meaning to our 'spaces', our materials, our actions, our words and our contexts - researcher and researched alike. Thus, 'space' and representation are parts of every speech act, and every act of representation is a spatial form of speech (Nast, 1994: 61).

My decision to devote a separate chapter to the politics of the field and of representation highlights the significance of these to the overall research project. By locating the politics of the field, the self, and representation in the textual space of one chapter, the "distinction commonly placed between 'the

politics of fieldwork' and 'the politics of representation'" (Nast, 1994: 60) can be disrupted. Nast (1994: 61) goes on to argue that:

We need to develop ways of working with and legitimating nonliterary forms of everyday representation. By confounding the two notions of 'text' [space-as-text and the written word] the necessity of political/bodily engagements in fieldwork . . . is foregrounded, allowing many different kinds of speech acts, and thereby spatial and social relationships, to be recognised.

One of the many challenges in this research is how to represent actions, bodies, the many different kinds of speech acts, the 'invisible' dimensions - the smells and the sounds - that constitute the embodied disciplinary culture of fieldtrips. The other challenge is how to represent differences. In particular, how do I represent women and men? And how do I represent the diversity of research participants' 'racial' and ethnic backgrounds? I consider each of the latter two questions in turn.

2.1 Gender

I have named gender as a significant category in the title of my doctorate but I do not understand it to be the *only* category of significance. As I (re)present the embodied disciplinary identities of geography students/geographers I incorporate dimensions of 'race', sexuality, class, physical ability and age (and even this list does not exhaust all significant categories that could be taken into account) as well as gender. One of the current theoretical challenges for feminist geographers is how to take account of differences. Sophia Bowlby (1992: 356) suggests that "feminists are struggling to develop approaches in which the significance of power based on class position, race, age, and sexuality as well as gender can all be incorporated" (also see Bondi, 1993; Kobayashi and Peake, 1994; G. Rose, 1993). Geography students and teachers/lecturers:

cannot be understood simply as located within one social position, and as more or less powerful, fixed by our gender/'race'/class. While these social relations (and their real physical conditions) must certainly determine the parameters of our [geography students'/teachers'/lecturers'] experiences, within those boundaries our power - and our sense of ourselves - is fragmented and variable (Jones, 1991: 91).

Even if gender is singled out (if it is possible to do so), individual experiences within the "boundaries" of this social position will be "fragmented and variable" (Jones, 1991: 91). The boundaries of social position are more than the often cited trilogy 'race/gender/class' "which is pervasive in the literature in English" (Monk, 1997: 250). For example, Nagar (1997: 205) includes race, religion, caste/sect, region of origin, class, gender and language in her research.

In spite of (or because of) this acknowledgement of the complex intersecting axes of difference, of which gender is only one dimension, I have chosen to focus on gender for personal, political and pragmatic reasons that still have theoretical efficacy. The personal and political reasons derive from my positions and experiences as a woman and a feminist in geographical and educational communities. I outlined some of the implications of these positions and experiences earlier in this chapter. The pragmatic reasons derive from my need and desire to make the research manageable and achievable, both in terms of its conduct and the written product. Pragmatism is also acknowledged by Davies (1990b: 502) who pointed out that "classification, or labelling, also provides a way of understanding diversity and complexity" which can be a useful tool as long as its limitations are understood. I claim theoretical efficacy for the significance of gender in educational contexts from many sources.⁶¹ As Kamler et al. (1994: 21) put it:

⁶¹ For example, see Alton-Lee and Densem (1992); Alton-Lee and Nuthall with Patrick (1993); Grima and Smith (1993); Kelly (1988); Mahony (1985); Sadker, Sadker and Klein (1991).

Some students will take up positions of power in relation to others not because they have more or less 'knowledge and experience', but because there are gendered positions available for them. We are suggesting, in fact, that the institutional discourses that structure school knowledge and experience position girl pupils within it differently from boy pupils.

These authors acknowledge "the active and agentic role of the child in producing and situating herself in gendered positions within and against these discourses" (Kamler et al., 1994: 22). My doctoral research is about how female and male students produce and situate themselves in gendered (as well as 'racialised' and sexualised) positions within and against the gendered/'racialised'/sexualised discourses of the geography residential fieldtrip (Kamler et al., 1994).

Despite the prevalence of the category gender (and the associated terms of reference such as gendered positions) as a theoretical and methodological tool, the limitations of this form of classification and representation must be presented. Gender is often taken for granted as a self-evident, unitary axis of difference between women and men, girls and boys.⁶² In educational research, the differences that existed *within* the gender categories were less frequently explored and incorporated (but see Alton-Lee and Nuthall with Patrick, 1993; Grima and Smith, 1993; Nairn, 1997). Feminist geographical research initially focused on women and girls to redress identified imbalances (see McDowell, 1988). Later this approach was critiqued because it 'added' women to existing paradigms (see Johnson, 1990a; McDowell, 1992a). Nicola Armstrong (1993: 11) describes how her understanding of feminist research has changed which is illustrative of a more recent shift in feminist research to include men:

⁶² An axis of difference predicated on the existence of two genders/sexes is problematised by researchers concerned with transgendered identities/subjectivities (see for example Cream, 1995; Lindemann, 1997; Phibbs, 1995; Roen, 1998) and bisexual identities/subjectivities (see for example Hemmings, 1995).

my earlier position, which conceptualised feminist research as 'by', 'for' and 'on' women, was superseded by my awareness that to understand women's experience was critically to also understand the impact of the men around them, and to contrast their experience to that of [men] [also see Newton and Stacey, 1995].

This understanding needs to be extended beyond contrasting women with men, to contrasting women with women and men with men. This is necessary to conceptually 'allow' that some women may have more in common with some men than they do with other women. In other words, theorising about the significance of gender must not only problematise the category gender but also how we theorise gender so that it is possible to account for sameness between women and men as well as difference amongst women and men respectively.

The current theoretical emphasis on how to account for difference has replaced previous theoretical assumptions of unified categories such as Woman which had been based on an assumed sameness of oppression for all women. This was rightly critiqued as not accounting for the differences amongst women (see for example hooks, 1990; Larner, 1995; Riley, 1988). In particular it rendered invisible women of colour, working-class women, disabled women, women 'other' to the predominantly middle-class white women who were writing these theories. To focus on difference to the exclusion of sameness, however, reinvents an exclusionary strategy, one that reifies difference as the only theoretically significant means of understanding gendered and other social relations. For example, McDowell (1992b: 407) discusses the issues of writing about those who are different from ourselves but not the issues of writing about those who are similar. I am an academic/teacher/student researching other academics/teachers/students. Sameness, which has essentialist overtones has been theoretically devalued as a descriptive and analytical tool. Indeed, difference might constitute a new form of universalism if not critically examined (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994). If difference is understood as essential rather than socially constructed, then

gender, 'race' and other social relations might be (mis)understood (again) as immutable.

2.2 'Race'⁶³ and Ethnicity⁶⁴

Whereas many studies take the social construction of categories like 'race' and gender as an end point, we need now to treat the idea as a starting point and to consider what difference it makes to our analysis. If our categories are socially constructed, how have those constructions varied over space and time? (Jackson, 1991: 193).

I have already intimated at a number of points that particular hegemonic versions of 'the geographer-in-the-field' might be 'racialised'/gendered/sexualised in specific ways in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. I have yet to present what these specific ways might be and how they are constituted as hegemonic in the analytical chapters. In this chapter, however, it is imperative that I confront what it means for a 'racialised' me to represent 'racialised' others. I need to reflect upon a representation of myself as an unspoken norm, a Pākehā, which in turn constructs only those who are not Pākehā as 'racialised' (see Matahaere, 1995). Like Ruth

⁶³ 'Race' is written in scare quotes to "indicate its arbitrary connection to anatomical features and its primary political meaning", and therefore to give this term (and related terms 'racial' and 'racialised') "an unnatural quality" (Kobayashi and Peake, 1994: 231).

⁶⁴ "I rely on a view of race-ethnicity that sees both as socially constructed, though materially consequential, categories of social differentiation" (DeVault, 1995: 628, edn. 1). I use the term 'race' more than ethnicity, however, for two reasons. First, 'race' has significant implications in Aotearoa/New Zealand where 'race' relations are often reduced to bicultural indeed biracial, that is, Māori/Pākehā relations (see Lerner, 1995; Mohanram, 1998). Second, "geographers were major players in the development of scientific racism during the nineteenth century" and despite recent attempts "to overcome this past", "naturalistic assumptions - if not overtly racist prejudices - are still common within the discipline" (Kobayashi and Peake, 1994: 226). I want to continue the work of challenging this disciplinary legacy and it seems effective to do this by problematising the term 'race' rather than ethnicity, making 'race' "unnatural" (Kobayashi and Peake, 1994: 238).

Frankenberg (1993: 12), writing about the United States context, my premise is "that white [Pākehā] people, as much as people of colour, are racialised".

If race shapes white women's [and men's] lives, the cumulative name that [Frankenberg has] given to that shape is 'whiteness' . . . First, whiteness is a location of structural advantage, of race privilege. Second, it is a 'standpoint', a place from which white people look at ourselves[/themselves], at others, and at society. Third, 'whiteness' refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed (Frankenberg, 1993: 1).

I take my 'race' "as a starting point" and begin "to consider what difference it makes to [my] analysis" in subsequent chapters (Jackson, 1991: 193).

Larner (1995: 177), writing about Aotearoa/New Zealand, argued that 'difference' in this context was/is most often understood in bipolar terms "as involving a distinction between the experiences of Māori women [and men], who are the descendants of indigenous tribal groups, and Pākehā women [and men], who are the descendants of colonising settlers" (also see Mohanram, 1998). Similarly, my political consciousness was shaped in the 1980s by the argument that Pākehā should work at gaining bicultural understanding before multicultural understanding could be possible; biculturalism before multiculturalism (see Sharp, 1995; Tahi, 1995 but see Mohanram, 1998 for a recent critique of biculturalism).⁶⁵ In other words, understanding of 'difference' was to be achieved in two distinct phases: by learning about Māori experiences *before* attempting to understand the experiences of other 'racial'/ethnic groups. Within this frame of reference, the notion of whiteness - Pākehā-ness - 'passed' as the norm and went uncritiqued (although Project Waitangi - an anti-racist project - did begin with the question of what it meant to be white/

⁶⁵ "Although the discourse of biculturalism seems to recognise first people status, it also skews the primacy of Māori claims. Bicultural discourse might suggest that Māori and Pākehā coexist as subjects with equivalent properties, but one group is more equal than the other" (Mohanram, 1998: 26).

Pākehā/European as a necessary starting point for education about anti-racist practices). More recently, Radhika Mohanram (1998: 27) argues that:

It is precisely within this notion of biculturalism that the non-white, non-indigenous New Zealander is disavowed . . . the black immigrant disturbs the biracial Māori-Pākehā body by revealing the hierarchy of bodies. In this hierarchy, Pākehā come first, Māori second, and the black immigrant a distant third.

Such theoretical reading in the 1990s contradicted my political understandings of the 1980s. Larner (1995: 185) also identified this contradiction between particular theories and politics, between "a recognition of the political imperative that motivates local forms of [politics], and an understanding of their strategic importance", at the same time as our respective work leads "to alternative theoretical understandings". Recent theorising renders any notion of identity unfixed, multiple, fluid and/or fragmented, a theorising that undermines any claims (such as Māori land claims) which are made on the basis of an apparently fixed identity (such as Māori) (also see Larner, 1995). How do I reconcile my political understandings (of the 1980s) based on essentialist notions of identity with my theoretical understandings (of the 1990s) based on non-essentialist notions of identity? "[I]t may be that out of such engagements [or tensions] will come alternative theorisations, generated not out of abstract discussions about theoretical correctness, but rather out of the efforts of academics who are engaged with, and speak to, specific political struggles" (Larner, 1995: 188). The political struggle implicated in this thesis revolves around the (re)production of geographical knowledge: who is this knowledge created by, who is it about and who is it for?

A related political question confronted me as I engaged in research in the 1990s: was it appropriate for me - a Pākehā researcher - to carry out research about Māori? Was it appropriate for me to carry out research about others from 'racial'/ethnic backgrounds different from my own? Would I add to the burden of research already experienced by Māori and other

'racial'/ethnic groups? Just as DeVault (1995: 616) points out that African Americans (in the United States context) "are called on to do far more than their fair share of 'explaining' to others" so too is the case in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the words of Merata Mita (1989: 30), Māori "have a history of people putting the Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define and describe" (also see Tuhiwai Smith, 1992).⁶⁶ Kathie Irwin (1992: 7) has already answered my question: "Work for Māori women must be promoted and undertaken by Māori women". I could comply by not including Māori perspectives about geographic education. After all, it would be easier, less risky, to research other Pākehā only. Or I could take the politically risky option, and proceed carefully, finding ways to include Māori perspectives appropriately and sensitively (see Clothier, 1993; Irwin, 1992; Tuhiwai Smith, 1992). The riskiness, the continual concern about whether I am working appropriately with others (including Māori, Pacific Island, Asian, German research participants), has kept me reflexive about my research and representational practices. This reflexivity does not guarantee that I have got it right (see Rose, 1997), rather it sustains a necessary vigilance about the politics of representation (also see Alton-Lee and Densem, 1992; Lather, 1991). In other words, I *continue to work* with worries that my research may exclude or erase, worries about the effects of my research (Rose, 1997).

3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Many feminist geographers defend reflexivity and at the same time "acknowledge the difficulty of actually doing it" (Rose, 1997: 306). I have attempted the "double reflexive gaze" (Rose, 1997: 309; Moss, 1995: 445), that is,

⁶⁶ Steven Fischer (quoted in a *Listener* article by Marshall, 1998: 27) points out that "the right words simply aren't there to describe other cultures' realities. With our Western reality . . . we invalidate that which we observe as soon as we put a term to it".

I have looked 'inward' to aspects of my identity as researcher, and 'outward' to my relation to this research and to the associated institutional 'world' (Moss, 1995; Rose, 1997). "This emphasis on the conscious analysis of situatedness suggests that [my researcher] self is understood as transparently visible to analysis, since apparently nothing need remain hidden" (Rose, 1997: 309). Again the rational, analytical, conscious, researcher-self is privileged, and the unsettling effects of the psyche (the subconscious/unconscious) are denied (Butler, 1997; Fuss, 1989). The humanist subject, "the transparently knowable agent whose motivations can be fully known" (Rose, 1997: 309) re-emerges in a reflexive guise. Making the (researcher) self visible is equated with (self) knowledge and the visual is anticipated as an epistemological guarantee. Instead, I acknowledge that:

The negotiations that are part of a research process are not fully knowable; the effects of an interview, a publication, a presentation, are impossible to predict. This impossibility does not absolve researchers from the obligation to work in an ethical manner . . . It does suggest, however, that the researcher is not the only authority on academic knowledge and its effects (Rose, 1997: 317).

Reflexivity does not guarantee (self) knowledge just as emancipatory intent does not guarantee an emancipatory outcome (Acker et al., 1983). Rather the reflexive self is a construction (Rose, 1997), a self-construction that is necessarily partial, situated, and complicated by the unknowable, the unspeakable. It is a self-construction that challenges as well as complies with the conventions of (feminist) academic writing.

[R]eflexive confessing is primarily a questioning mode, one that imposes self-vigilance on the process of subject positioning both in language and discourse and at a specific historical moment or a particular cultural space. Not a unilateral critique of power, reflexive confession instead registers its complicity with the institutions that structure its representation (Bernstein, 1992: 140; also see McDowell, 1992b).

The research process is risky and it requires a reflexivity "which can acknowledge that it may not be adequate since the risks of research [to the 'researched' as well as to the 'researcher'] are impossible to know" (Rose, 1997: 317).

CHAPTER 5

WHAT A DIFFERENCE A PLACE MAKES

I INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I argue that geographers are preoccupied with difference rather than sameness between and within places: "I think geography is learning about different places, possibly geography is walking around and watching how people interact in places and what goes on there" (Bronwyn, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95). But a fascination with difference, for the sake of difference, risks difference as a form of universalism.

When solely adoring the Difference or Differences, but not realising that one should investigate the structure of it - who differs from whom, who has defined the difference, what is the subjectivity of the different, a different subjectivity - one only reinforces the muteness and subordination of the Other. Besides, the mere listing of differences may mean implicit universalism. We assume we will attain universal knowledge as soon as all the differences have been located and acknowledged (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994: 130).

Difference and place are essentialised, and "we should be interrogating not only the place of essentialism but the essentialism of place" (Fuss, 1989: 29). In particular, the differences between places and within places are essentialised and utilised consciously and unconsciously by geography educators as a strategy for teaching geography on fieldtrips. These discursive markers register and affirm "difference but in doing so [there is a failure] to address how they are related within broader networks of domination and exploitation" (Giroux and McLaren, 1992: 8). The selection of distant, different places as sites/sights for residential fieldtrips is not accidental, instead it reflects geographers'

fascination with 'other' places, and 'other' people.⁶⁷ For example, Ron Johnston (1991a: 131, my emphasis) argues that a central geographical question is: "Why do places *differ*?". At no point during the article does he re-frame this question to encompass the possibilities of similarity, to suggest that the question 'why are places similar?' is eminently geographical as well (see Johnston, 1991a).⁶⁸

Duncan (1993: 39) speaks of comparative tropes in which difference is "recuperated" by appropriating it into a categorical framework that is familiar and useful within the site from which the representation emanates". Geography students bring their categorical frameworks with them from their high school and university contexts. Difference, rather than sameness, tends to be prioritised in these frameworks. Categorical differences, however, depend on implicit sameness in order to be understood. This process means that difference is understood from staff/student perspectives rather than from the perspectives of the people who live in the place to be studied. Duncan (1993) makes clear the connection between the place/site to be represented, and the theoretical site/viewpoint from which that representation emanates. Although the theoretical site may be rendered invisible and/or devalued on fieldtrips constituted around a theory/empiricism binary (see Berg, 1994), this does not mean that these fieldtrips are a-theoretical enterprises. In spite of an absence of stated theories, theory does inform fieldtrips and fieldwork, even if it is implicitly. I add a third site/sight to Duncan's formulation: the places where

⁶⁷ I argue elsewhere in the thesis that many geography students expected to be the only people in the land and coastal scapes they depicted in their drawings. In other words, the trope of geographers discovering 'uninhabited' places still pervades. Lee (1996) and Pratt (1985) describe the effects of this trope. This trope is necessarily replaced by the trope of 'other'/exotic people on the two fieldtrips explicitly concerned with migrants.

⁶⁸ There are further contradictions to this difference/sameness binary. Geographers generalise about other places (for example, the 'Third World') and thereby conflate differences into a general category of 'sameness'. The arguments of this thesis pertain to the difference/sameness binary and residential fieldtrip education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This binary, however, is much more complicated and unstable if other examples are considered as well.

geography students and staff (the viewers of the fieldtrip sites/sights) have lived and attended school and/or university. All three sites/sights come together to shape the comparative tropes of geography fieldtrips.

This imperative to compare and contrast that is evident in geography fieldtrips is also apparent in the rationale of geography syllabi and examination questions. For example, one of the seven focusing questions for the Prescribed Common Topic: Population listed in the fifth form geography syllabus is: "Are there differences in living conditions within New Zealand? Why?" (Ministry of Education, 1990: 27). Again, there is no question about similarities. This focusing question was the national examination question in 1989. In the chief examiner's report it was noted that:

Prejudice and sometimes racism surfaced in some answers to this question. It was also clear that some North and South Island candidates have generalised and jaundiced views of one another's living conditions. Students need to be directed to the evidence of the differences they perceive and to be culturally and economically sensitive as to why they exist (School Certificate 1989 Examination Chief Examiner's Report, 1990: 5).

I argue, instead, that it is the structure of difference and sameness, rather than the evidence of difference that must be examined. Cultural and economic sensitivity cannot be prescribed.

Although the significance of a geography fieldtrip for students and staff is predicated on different rather than similar places, an implicit notion of sameness is necessary for a notion of difference to 'work'. Sameness is the very condition of possibility for difference, and difference is the very condition of possibility for sameness (also see hooks, 1992; Mohanram, 1998). Sameness and difference, therefore, are not discrete categories. Sameness exists within difference and difference within sameness. John Lechte (1994:107) summarises Derrida's notion of difference as "the proto-type of what remains outside the scope of Western metaphysical thought because it is the latter's very condition of possibility." To solely adore Difference (with a capital D) depends on an

unspoken sameness (with a lower-case s). The sameness and Difference that I refer to could also be conceived in the terms same/Other utilised by G. Rose (1993). In this chapter, the structure of sameness *and* Difference are examined together around the theme of people and place.

Difference operates on at least three levels: first, the 'apparent' differences *between* the place where the education institution is located and the place(s) where the fieldtrip is located. Second, the differences *within* the place(s) where the fieldtrip is located that may be deployed as pedagogical tools. Third, the teaching and learning conditions of a residential fieldtrip are different to those of the school/university because students are required to live as well as work together. In order to show difference to students, geography educators often select fieldtrip sites/sights some distance from the location of the education institution. Indeed, one high school geography teacher preferred to travel further to a 'different' environment although it was possible to conduct a coastal fieldtrip at local beaches:

'Cause I think everything we need to do can be found at the [local] beaches, right? But it's also really neat to go away with your kids and to be with them in a different environment, and for them to see you and for you to see them as humans and people . . . so I am committed to fieldtrips (Kelly, Interview with High School B staff member, 25/3/96).

Kelly indicates that the purpose of a coastal fieldtrip is broader than studying beaches, it includes teachers and students learning about each other and she implies that this is more likely to happen in a "different environment" rather than in the same environment (the classroom and/or the local beaches). Or, as a university lecturer put it: students and staff "conduct their dialogue in a *different* set of circumstances outside the classroom" (Bruce, Interview with University B staff member, 13/6/96, my emphasis). Kelly implicitly prioritises residential fieldtrips over day-long fieldtrips to local beaches. The difference of the fieldtrip environment is constituted and accentuated by the 'different place'

the fieldtrip is located in and by the 'different schooling conditions'. Both kinds of difference are inextricably linked and mutually reinforce the sense that the fieldtrip is taking place in a different environment. Places are constituted by social practices and in turn constitute those social practices (Pred, 1984). I examine how the institutional practices of geography residential fieldtrips rely on particular conceptions of place as different, distant, and 'other' to the place where the education institution is located.

The places selected for each of the seven residential fieldtrips were some distance from the two cities where the four education institutions were located.⁶⁹ Five of the fieldtrips were located in rural or small urban locations surrounded by rural areas, and the remaining two fieldtrips were located in another larger city. For all seven residential fieldtrips, the selected sites/sights were 'apparently' different to what was available in the cities where each education institution was located. Five of the seven fieldtrip sites/sights were also located within a relatively well-defined area which would enable easier management of students and fieldwork tasks. For example on the physical geography fieldtrips (three coastal and one physical geography), students were expected to carry out their fieldwork in a carefully defined physical environment, an environment that was perceived as more rugged and/or exemplary of relief and/or coastal features than was available locally. On the human geography fieldtrips, the tourism fieldtrip was again carried out in an easily delimited spatial context where tourism occurred on a numerically significant scale. The two migration fieldtrips were conducted in a much larger city, which was not delimited spatially, but again the phenomenon to be studied occurred on a much larger numerical scale than was available locally. Rosemary, organiser of the migration fieldtrips, explained that she did not

⁶⁹ I examine these institutional practices in un-named places in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1990s. Ironically, the protection of institutional identities prevents me from discussing the difference named places make to social/disciplinary practices.

select the city where the university was located because it was "not a place where there's a great concentration of migrants and I think it is important for students to get the contrasting groups" (Interview with University A staff member, 3/5/95). Rosemary's selection was based on numerical scale and contrast. Implicit here is the idea that the greater the numbers and the difference, the more worthwhile the process, the place, and the people, are for geographical study.

The selection of the most exemplary cases of particular geographical phenomenon such as coastal processes, tourism, physical geography and migration processes appears to be a useful pedagogical strategy. But the selection of the most exemplary, the largest scale (whether it be physically or numerically), or the most obvious examples of these processes, can be somewhat misleading. The best, biggest, most different exemplars of geographical phenomenon reinforce a fascination with difference for the sake of difference, so that other geographies might go unnoticed and/or unvalued. Ironically, an exemplary style of pedagogy is not necessarily efficient. If exemplars are located at a distance from high schools and universities then time (and money) are necessary for student 'access' to these exemplars:

Dean: The fieldtrip's been . . . very difficult, I think, in senior secondary schools in the last while, because you are competing for student time and they have also got expensive, and a lot of thinly veiled criticism about, you know, taking kids out just for a bit of fun, so I've tried very hard for some time now to make sure that kids get value for money when they go, and also that we get value for time (Interview with High School A staff member, 31/7/95).

Dean, a high school fieldtrip organiser, highlights some of the competing discourses that operate around school trips more generally. One discourse is about field/school trips as fun. (School)work and fun are often considered to be mutually exclusive (I examine the themes of work, play and fun in Chapter

8). Implicit in this discourse is that fieldtrips are a waste of time and/or money. The other discourse evident in Dean's words is educational accountability to students and to staff, in terms of cost and time. Often the benefits of residential fieldtrips were 'marketed' to students and staff: "I under[stood] the benefit was the extended classtime, quote unquote, that a residential fieldtrip would give me" (Mark, Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95). Difference was a significant theme for selection of a fieldtrip site/sight and in the formation of a teaching and learning environment. For all seven fieldtrips, the price of difference was distance, and time and cost were factors.

But even at a distance, the place where the fieldtrip was located could 'identify' the education institution. This suggests the importance of place (both the local and the national) to institutional as well as to disciplinary geography identities. A staff member from another country noticed that the significance of place had particular qualities in Aotearoa/New Zealand :

Lynley: I find a real parochial approach to . . . fieldwork in the sense that it's almost like different institutions own different bits of the country [referring to Aotearoa/New Zealand as a whole] and different bits of the intellectual activity . . . it's this kind of ownership territoriality, it's like universities going round peeing on the corners of their intellectual and physical territory. You know, this is ours, you shan't have it (Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97).

These informal 'ownership' patterns, identified by Lynley, were unwritten and could be explained by geographical efficacy; the costs of fieldwork and fieldtrips are cheaper if carried out closer to the institutional base. But if geographic efficacy and cost reduction were primary goals, then fieldwork and fieldtrips could be conducted in or near the city where the high school or university is located. In the next section, I examine what might constitute

geographers' and geography's fascination with difference, distance,⁷⁰ and 'the other', with particular attention to the theoretical insights of the travel/tourism and feminist/cultural (geography) literatures.

2 THE OTHERNESS OF PLACE AND THE PLACE OF OTHERNESS IN GEOGRAPHY

Place "as a portion of geographical space occupied by a person or thing" (Johnston et al., 1994: 442) has been variously claimed as "one of geography's most fundamental concepts" (G. Rose, 1993: 41), a "key concept" and "cornerstone" in the sub-disciplines of human geography (Johnston et al., 1994: 442). Elsewhere Johnston (1991a: 144) nominates place "as a core perspective which geography can contribute to the social sciences". I examine the meaning of place via two sets of literature, specifically the literature about travel and how 'other', exotic places are constituted, and the literature about how places are feminised, sexualised, classed and racialised.

2.1 'Have Place Will Travel': Geography Fieldtrips as Travel Experiences to Different Places

Difference between places is utilised and exploited in many contexts other than geography fieldtrips. There is no singular connection between the discipline of geography and the difference that place makes. The tourism/travel industries also rely on constructing places and people as different/other/exotic and this process occurs on a large-scale (see Goss, 1993; Te Awekotuku, 1980; Trask, 1993). There is also a popular discourse that New Zealanders are

⁷⁰ Rose (1997: 312) discusses the nature of the researcher-researched relationship and suggests that "difference is still understood as distance". Although Rose refers to people, her insight is applicable to places.

travellers/explorers.⁷¹ To qualify requires 'Overseas Experience'⁷² rather than travel within Aotearoa/New Zealand. In other words, to qualify as a traveller⁷³ requires experience of difference rather than sameness. Local travellers might also seek 'difference'. I argue that some students unexpectedly found more difference 'at home' in Aotearoa/New Zealand than they did between Aotearoa/New Zealand and England or the United States (for example). Discourses of places as other/different/exotic can be found in popular culture, tourism/travel, and the geography discipline. These (and other) discourses are mutually constitutive.

In the context of the geography discipline, there is a tradition of exploration for and discovery of difference, the exotic, the 'other' (Stoddart, 1986). David Stoddart (1986; 143, my emphasis) argues that "fieldwork, exploration and discovery within geography . . . *must remain central* to our discipline". Similarly in 1995, the Ninth Inter-University Conference of Teachers of Geography in Aotearoa/New Zealand, (re)asserted the centrality of fieldwork, and then (in brackets) emphasised this centrality through the denial of fieldwork as luxury or adjunct to teaching geography. Travel or tourism might be a luxury item but fieldwork is not. Fieldwork is necessarily distinguished from and elevated above the representations of non-professionals such as travellers and tourists (see Duncan, 1993). While demarcation between fieldwork and travel might be desired by some geographers, perhaps there are more similarities than differences.

⁷¹ But which New Zealanders? Who is able to afford overseas travel?

⁷² This is often abbreviated to O.E. O.E. mimics the practice of reducing qualifications to initials, and therefore, renders O.E. as a 'qualification'.

⁷³ Farrell (1982: xvii, cited in Goss, 1993: 667) argues that in the context of Hawai'ian tourism, the word 'tourist' has negative connotations, and words such as 'visitor' and 'traveller' have been substituted in advertisements and official governmental publications.

Travelling for the sake of travelling is acceptable, at least to the traveller/tourist, and the advertising industry goes to great lengths to convince readers of 'the places' that might secure "potential membership in socially desirable categories, while presenting the commodity - ['the place'] - as the necessary qualification . . . 'you are where you have been'" (Goss, 1993: 669-70). But for Mark (a university lecturer) - 'have place will travel' - is not sufficient justification for a geography fieldtrip.

Mark: I would be very wary about you know 'have place will travel', you know, going into a place and saying okay, I'm going to study this here, rather than going into a literature . . . nobody went into the library and linked up what was going on in [names a place] with any kind of broader scholarly literature. That's not geography, that's not scholarship, you know, that's *travel writing* (Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95, my emphasis).

Mark suggests that geography students' descriptive writing about place(s) on a fieldtrip is a form of travel writing if it does not link back into the relevant research literature. Although other academics might claim that a fieldtrip to a place provides a context for students' understanding of that place, Mark indicates that there is a risk of decontextualised knowledge if students do not consult the broader scholarly literature. Places are not insular, and knowledge about places is never a-theoretical and self-contained in the time and space of a fieldtrip. The descriptive 'travel' writing of the geography students referred to by Mark "textually produces the Other without an explicit anchoring . . . in an observing self" (Pratt, 1985). Or, without an explicit anchoring in a particular theoretical perspective (Duncan, 1993). Fieldtrips are one form of travel. There are other forms of travel, such as theoretical travels into relevant literature, which also provide contextualised understandings of place(s) (also see Veijola and Jokinen, 1994: 146, who suggest other forms of 'travel'). But the tropes of "mimesis which persuasively claim to represent accurately and objectively the nature of a place" and of "physical presence and expertise [which] are used to

achieve this" (Duncan, 1993: 40) ensure the primacy of the fieldtrip as the ultimate means to gain geographical knowledge about places.

John Goss (1993: 669) draws on John Urry's work (1990: 23-24) to argue that "[i]n a 'positional economy', tourist travel is a means to demonstrate social difference". In the positional economy of geography, fieldwork and fieldtrips are a means to discover social difference. But, although Difference "is manifestly an exciting prospect, this also threatens culture shock" and the familiar, 'benign' presence of students, staff and 'the fieldtrip' provide a reassuring anchor (Goss, 1993: 675). The structure of a fieldtrip combines the familiar with the different. The familiarity of students and staff in school mode, combines with the differences of the fieldtrip destination to achieve "an exotic experience within the security of a familiar spatial, cultural, and temporal order" (Goss, 1993: 678). Sameness accompanies students on fieldtrips, in the form of institutional practices and in the form of shared social status as senior high school or university students. Sameness also acts as a reference point for a fieldtrip. The place(s) left behind and/or already experienced act as implicit norms against which the places visited on a fieldtrip are 'measured'.

There is a sense in which students leave the core, the known, the centred places of school or university and home, travel to places that are peripheral and different to this core and then return to the core. It does not matter that the places visited could be core places in their own right and/or centre to other configurations. What is important is the core, the norm exists as a reference point, and places selected as fieldtrip destinations are then constituted as peripheral in relation to the core. Charles Sugnet (1991: 77) discusses a particular style of imperialist writing in a travel magazine called *Granta* and he notes that:

the writer will not be able to show how the country [visited] looks to the people who live in it. He [sic] can only show us a spectacle - how events appear to an observer who always has a plane [or a bus] waiting, who always has, if only implicitly, a safe place to go back to at the 'civilised' centre.

I argue that the geographer/geography student can only learn about place(s) visited during a fieldtrip as they appear to themselves, the observers, rather than about how those place(s) look and feel to people who live there. Geography students' understanding of place(s), therefore, is necessarily shaped by their relative power, by their "easy mobility and power of judgement", and by the 'safe', 'civilised' places they can readily return to (Sugnet, 1991: 73).

2.2 Place as the 'Other'

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1980) and Haunani Trask (1993) each write about what it means to be one of the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Hawai'i respectively. They convey what it means to be an exotic 'other', living in an exotic 'other', for tourists:

Since the first 'visitors' arrived [in Aotearoa] five generations ago, it was the swaying grace of dusky, beautiful women, and the muscular display of bronzed warriors, that drew them to watch the dance. Times, and tastes, have hardly changed at all (Te Awekotuku, 1980: 161).

Mostly a state of mind, Hawai'i is the image of escape from the rawness and violence of daily American life . . . Above all, Hawai'i is "she," the Western image of the Native "female" in her magical allure. And if luck prevails, some of "her" will rub off on you, the visitor (Trask, 1993: 180).

Both Te Awekotuku and Trask describe the objectifying gaze of tourists/visitors. They describe how the place(s) where they live - Aotearoa/New Zealand and Hawai'i - are 'racialised', eroticised and feminised. Pratt (1985: 139) also notes that the tropes have not changed over time; travel writers in earlier centuries also wrote about indigenous (native) female and male bodies "as seen/scene". Te Awekotuku's and Trask's words indicate how place "is also the arena of embodiment" (G. Rose, 1993: 60), but it is not just any body, it is the specific conflation of the 'other' (in this case, Māori and Hawai'ian bodies - whether male or female) with their respective places. "Topophilia involves sensuality and physicality, not thought" (G. Rose, 1993:

60), although the feminised embodiment of place can serve to reinforce the rationality of the visitor/tourist/geography student. Te Awekotuku (1980) and Trask (1993) observe the observers, they articulate what it means for themselves as indigenous people who live there (in the 'other' place). Seeing a place, however, does not mean knowing a place. "There is a living in a place that refuses the objectifying gaze; and what cannot be seen cannot be spoken either" (Game, 1991: 183-4).

Fieldtrips (like tourism) are a particular way of seeing other places, a way in which places are seen and understood from the social position of the geographer/geography student. Denis Cosgrove (1985: 46) refers to landscape as "a way of seeing" which is patrician because it is seen and understood from the social position of the landowner and is "closely bound up with the practical appropriation of space". The educational status of university students and to a lesser extent of high school students confers expertise - the ability to describe, assess and/or make judgements - which has patrician effects. Although students may not be landowners in the places they visit on fieldtrips, their status as geography 'knowledge-owners' (that is, they are geographically 'knowledgeable'), has similar effects to those of social class.⁷⁴ "The attributes of the knowing subject and normative gazer become attached just as closely to class and race. Class position arises not from tradition or family, but from superior intelligence, knowledge, and rationality" (I. Young, 1990a: 126).

⁷⁴ It could be argued that enrolment for a university education confers middle or upper-class status, although I want to acknowledge the problematic process of 'assigning' class backgrounds to university students. During my discussions with some interviewees about salient characteristics such as their 'race', class and age, they pointed out the ambiguity of establishing their class status whether it is based on part-time occupations such as waitress and taxi driver, or on income earned from these part-time occupations, or on parental income/occupation when they no longer live at home. Nevertheless, enrolment in a university education does imply a level of privilege and access to resources (see I. Young, 1990a), and this becomes part of what university geography students bring to their experiences of places and people, on fieldtrips.

Knowledge and power are imbricated and take on increasingly powerful implications in what is dubbed the age of information technology (see Castells, 1989; Kofman, 1998; Myerson and Rydin, 1996; I. Young, 1990a).

To the extent that it strives to efface itself, the invisible eye/I strives to make those informational orders natural, to find them there uncommanded, rather than assert them as the products/producers of European [geographical] knowledges or disciplines. In turn those knowledges are the producers/products of a project they likewise presuppose and seldom bespeak (Pratt, 1985: 144).

Geographical knowledges presuppose a power that is seldom spoken. The invisible eye/I is a member of the educated (middle) classes.

The eye/I is also gendered; "the active look is masculine, and the passivity of being looked at is constituted as the feminine position" (Rose, 1992: 16). On geography fieldtrips, both female and male students are positioned as observers (the masculine position) of different places (the feminine position). In this formulation, place is feminised by the act of looking. Place is also feminised in other ways. G. Rose (1993: 56, also see chapter 3) analyses humanist geographers' accounts of place and argues that they idealise place as home, although the home/place they conceptualise "is not one that many feminists would recognise . . . it is conflict-free, caring, nurturing and almost mystically venerated". The 'home' venerated by these humanist geographers also depends on particular assumptions of home shaped by their 'race' and/or class. For example, it is taken-for-granted that home is an affordable commodity in a 'freely' chosen location occupied by a nuclear family (but see Johnson, 1992; 1990b; Smith, 1989). G. Rose (1993: 60, my emphasis) points out how humanist geographers' claims to knowledge depended on a rationality "constituted through a *contrast* with an Other". So-called (rational) knowledge about the home(s) of the Other depends on implicit and explicit denigration and/or misunderstanding. This contrast depends on Difference and sameness. Difference was remembered explicitly by geography students and staff many months after fieldtrips had taken place. It was named, spoken of with awe and

derision whereas sameness was an implicit undercurrent, seldom named but significant by its absence.

2.3 Remembering People and Places

This chapter is primarily concerned with what geography students and staff have said about their memories of two migration fieldtrips approximately three to four months later, that is, within the same academic year that the fieldtrip was held. It is also concerned with what was left unsaid. Derek Edwards and David Middleton (1988: 5) define memory and remembering as an "intrinsically social phenomena, embedded in cultural and communicative forms and in interpersonal relationships". Memory and the process of remembering are socially constructed (Edwards and Middleton, 1988; Nelson, 1993), and contribute to the processes of social construction. Katherine Nelson (1993: 12) points out that memories are valued

because they are shareable with others and thus serve a social solidarity function . . . although one with variable, culturally specific rules . . . this social function of memory underlies all of our storytelling, history-making narrative activities, and ultimately all of our accumulated knowledge systems.

Memories contribute to the construction of the corporate body of geography students/geographers and to the potential maintenance of collective identity after a fieldtrip has ended, although there were varying accounts about the success of this. "[T]he process of remembering, is [also] a significant element in representing the self" (Dowling, 1997: 1). I adapt Robyn Dowling's (1997: 1) arguments about memory and the city, to the residential fieldtrip context, and suggest that memory writes (and mythologises) the fieldtrip and "the subject's location in it". "[M]emories are *geographical* in the ways the past and present are linked: the places of these pasts and presents, and the representations of these places, are critical to what is remembered and its significance" (Dowling, 1997: 11, my emphasis). Both Johnston (1991b) and

Halbwachs (1980, cited in Teather, 1996: 4) argue that memory and place are inseparable.

Culturally specific 'rules' for remembering shape what counts as suitable for sharing during and after residential fieldtrips. There are also 'rules' for remembering in the interview context, and "the process of sharing memories with others through language becomes available as a means of reinstating memory" (Nelson, 1993: 12). Elizabeth Teather (1996: 5), drawing on the work of Halbwachs (1980: 140), argues that an important prompt for memory is the place where the experience 'took place' - "memory unfolds within a spatial framework". Similarly, Henri Lefebvre (1991: 44) raises the question: "What is an ideology without a space to which it refers?" Memory and ideology, and the space and place of the residential fieldtrip, are all interwoven. I attempt to portray ideologies about (different) places and people evident in the spoken memories of geography students and staff.

3 WHAT A DIFFERENCE A PLACE MAKES

The memory of difference is exemplified in Evan's (a Pākehā university student) response to my opening interview question: I asked him what he remembered of the migration fieldtrip he had participated in four months previously.

The main things I remember is meeting all the *different people, the different groups of cultures . . .* Just you know, experiencing a bit of their life and especially the restaurants we went to, that was amazing. I didn't know any of those were there. I mean I didn't know it was that much of . . . a big Asian society . . . And when you meet the Korean guy that we talked to, we interviewed, it was hard but it was really memorable 'cause you know, just talking to someone who doesn't know. I mean he had very little English, he's new in the country. *It's just completely different, you know . . . you got a completely different set of the alphabet with completely different characters . . .* The thing you know about the Korean

guy, when he said English words they used their mouth *differently* (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 15/9/95, my emphasis).

Evan's (rational) knowledge is contrasted with an Other who does not know (what Evan knows) (G. Rose, 1993). Evan's memories are defined by difference - different people, cultures, languages, alphabets, and food/restaurants. At the same time, he (implicitly) refers to a taken-for-granted sameness, based on unstated Pākehā, English-speaking, New Zealand citizenship norms. Evan does not name these norms from which difference is established, even measured. Although it is unsaid in this particular section of Evan's transcript, sameness runs through this excerpt as a kind of chorusline. Later in the interview, Evan points out "there is very few similarities between us. When I say that it sounds a bit bad, actually . . . but there's just so many differences that you really notice those rather than the similarities". Then, at my prompting, Evan makes explicit the unspoken norms by which he understood difference: "I was meaning between sort of, I don't know, white New Zealand culture and . . . basically it was mainly Asians that we were looking at there". Rose (1992), and Longhurst and Peace (1993) argue that (geographical) difference is implicitly measured against unspoken masculine, white, middle-class norms and I would argue that this difference is being utilised to facilitate the teaching and learning of geography in a way that remains unquestioned and unexamined. The difference within places and between places that becomes significant and therefore memorable in the teaching and learning of geography in Aotearoa/New Zealand is the difference from the places that middle-class, Pākehā, live in.

Evan has 'Overseas Experience' but what he saw on the migration fieldtrip was "completely different" to what he saw and experienced overseas: "I've been overseas before but never to a really different culture. I've been to England and America and things which are not really that different". Significantly, Evan found more difference 'at home' in Aotearoa/New Zealand

than he did overseas in England and America. Evan referred to "white New Zealand culture" as the 'norm' by which he measured difference. This norm, however, turns out to be rather complex. Paradoxically, Evan included Pacific Islanders in the norm that he uses as his point of comparison: "I mean, the Islanders I don't find that different because I'm from [names a central North Island town] which is . . . full of Islanders anyway, and it's sort of a bit more of a normal thing . . . we're used to that sort of thing". Evan's words could suggest that white New Zealand culture is potentially inclusive of Pacific Islanders and this could be indicative of how assimilation of Pacific Islanders has been taken for granted. Or, Evan's words could suggest that Pacific Islanders are outside white New Zealand culture, but on a continuum of difference Pacific Islanders are more like white New Zealanders than Asians are. The "really different culture" that he refers to are the cultures of Asian migrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Evan's case, there were more similarities between the places (he lived in) in Aotearoa/New Zealand and England and America, than there were between his 'home' places and the places of recent migrants elsewhere in his 'home country'.

The migration fieldtrip 'established' the presence of these different peoples/cultures, a presence that had previously been invisible to Evan and other students, and enabled/required students to meet migrants from different cultures. At this level, the fieldtrip could be said to 'work', in the ways that two university staff members describe, for students:

Rosemary: to have some contact with sort of three of the major groups that are important in New Zealand, the sort of new wave of Chinese migrants, or in this case there is a Korean component as well, the Pacific Island group and the refugee groups, it is not all inclusive but it gives a very marked contrast and you can go out and see the sort of land use differences in terms of where these people live, their sort of socio-economic environments, I think it fits in very, very closely indeed with the course (Interview with University A staff member, 22/7/95).

Robert: I really like the opportunity that students are given, or in fact the requirement of students, to talk with people from a different cultural background about their migration experiences . . . and given that New Zealand is, particularly the northern half of the North Island, is increasingly a multicultural society, it's one of my beliefs that it is of paramount importance that New Zealanders, Pākehā New Zealanders, Māori New Zealanders, and representatives of those other communities that have come in, have an opportunity to talk with others, otherwise we've got some really interesting problems emerging (Interview with University A staff member, 2/5/95).

Evan (and other students) echoed Robert's words, and many students attributed the achievement of these goals solely to the fieldtrip. "Seeing the multiculturalism . . . I've never really experienced that before" (Danny), "I'd never heard of the Refugee Reception Centre, barely knew what happened to refugees" (Bernadette) and "we went to that Buddhist temple . . . I've never ever seen anything like that. I didn't even know there were Buddhists in New Zealand" (James). The migration fieldtrip facilitated the possibility for students to see different cultures but also to see Aotearoa/New Zealand from a 'different' perspective. Many students claimed they would not have known about these differences if they had not participated in the fieldtrip. The explicit focus on difference by staff (quoted here and earlier in the chapter) has been taken up by students. I do not want to discount the importance of these goals and experiences to staff and students. Critical reflexivity, however, is important so that fieldtrip teaching strategies are constantly (re)evaluated "because whatever we believe to be the function of a particular strategy, its real impact on [students] in a particular context may be quite different from what we expect" (Alton-Lee and Densem, 1992: 219). Fieldtrip organisers "act in order to achieve certain hoped-for consequences . . . [but] action always entails the risk that one's judgement . . . will be wrong and that things will turn out in ways other than was expected" (Carr and Kemmis, 1986: 185).

So what might the unintended consequences of a preoccupation with difference (on fieldtrips) be?

Evan: When we were talking to the Korean guy, well trying to talk to him anyway, he couldn't really say anything 'cause he couldn't speak. I mean, he thought he could speak English quite well . . . he didn't have the grasp but when he wrote he could write quite well. And his . . . culture is just *so totally sort of alien and different*. And that really showed up with that interview . . . The way he thinks about things . . . And little things like . . . they're one year old when they're born . . . I thought wow! How amazing! (laugh) and you know, it's just a kind of culture shock thing (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 15/9/95, my emphasis).

The lines of connection between Evan's representation of difference and the sites from which these representations emanate is informative; he makes comparisons with England and America, with his home town, and implicitly, with the city where he attends university. None of these representations emanate from the migrants, the residents of the city, where the fieldtrip was conducted.

To claim simply that discourses of the Other 'distort' the nature of other places and peoples by representing them in ways that are alien to the residents of such places, while justified, misses the inescapability of discourses. Any discourse regardless of its claims, cannot create mimesis (reveal the naked truth); rather, through its ideological distortions, it operates in the service of power. By analysing these relations of power, we can more clearly see how interests play a constitutive role in vision and representation (Duncan, 1993: 39).

I examine the relations of power that are caught up in students' words as they re-present their memories of fieldtrips in the context of an interview, in order to suggest the diverse set of interests that are served. Students, such as Evan (and others on the migration fieldtrips), intimated their awareness of their power to judge/view the Other in comments such as "it sounds a bit bad" (Evan); "am I being completely rude and judgmental?" (Bernadette); and "I felt sort of uncomfortable" looking at people (Danny). These students were aware that their views might not be politically correct (Lambert, 1997). In spite of their

self-consciousness about judging the Other, however, fieldtrip students had their sameness, their culture(s), their 'normality', and their relative power, reinforced by the differences that they were introduced to in the course of the migration fieldtrips. To return to Evan's words (above); his culture was not the "alien" culture.

For some students, visiting a different city and "seeing the multiculturalism" of that city implicitly confirmed the 'normality' of the places where they already lived, a 'normality' also desired for where they might live in the future.

Danny: I've never really experienced that before, you know, I know the Polynesian content of the place and that, and the Asian input but to actually see it and sort of be in it for a couple of days was something I won't forget . . .

Paul: *yeah, just really how much I don't want to live in [the city where the fieldtrip took place] (Interview with University A fieldtrip participants, 31/7/95, my emphasis).*

For Paul, it confirmed his desire not to live amongst the multicultural - namely Polynesian and Asian - 'difference' that Danny refers to. His words convey his certainty that he has a choice of where to live, his 'right' to judge, and an assured means of departure from all this 'difference' (Sugnet, 1991). Paul's "sentence implies that [he] is possessed of standards for judging cities [and] sees enough cities so he is in a position to make comparative judgements" (Sugnet, 1991: 72-73). Paul and Danny may have already learnt the means to judge places via their class, 'race' and gender backgrounds and possibly via any other travel experiences they have already participated in. They are, however, also learning this comparative trope during the migration fieldtrip. The comparative trope enables students to get a "bit of the Other" (hooks, 1992: 22) and provides an implicit norm by which the Other is understood. For Paul, this information provides him with the information by which he rejects the

(multicultural) Other. Paul's sentence was uttered for the consumption of other geographers, that is, myself and Danny who was interviewed at the same time. Paul presumes that we would agree with his sentiments. Paul's presumptions rely on our shared educational/geographical backgrounds and less clearly on implicit shared class and 'race' backgrounds (all three of 'us' are Pākehā).

Paul goes on to explain that he was able to get 'a bit of the other' at no personal risk to himself or to his property. The means of transport for the fieldtrip was not individually owned, so there was freedom to explore parts of the city that Paul would have avoided if he had his own car to worry about. "I get paranoid . . . I don't like [the city where the fieldtrip was conducted] and I felt reasonably safe there [on the fieldtrip] . . . I've usually always got a car, I have always got to be paranoid about where I am parking the car . . . what I have got in the car" (Paul, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 31/7/95). Instead Paul could "step out of the van and I've got my bag . . . it's bit of a selfish attitude, but it was just that weight off the shoulder, you know, you could actually just get on with it". For Paul, the fieldtrip and the provision of transport enabled him to "just get to see things you'd never see". Paul achieved a form of detached mobility which was accentuated by his freedom from attachments/responsibilities to personal property such as a car. There is a sense of the easy mobility that Sugnet (1991) refers to, but it is a mobility with gendered implications.

Bronwyn (who was on the same fieldtrip as Paul) did not feel safe: "anything could have happened . . . on the trip to anybody because there were so many times where you were sent off by yourself" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95). Bronwyn was more concerned about what

might happen to 'any' (or her) *body* rather than to (her) property.⁷⁵ The easy mobility available to Paul was not available to Bronwyn (and Bernadette). Paul would have felt unsafe if he was on his own and not part of a fieldtrip. His assumption of safety was echoed by another male student: "you feel there's safety in numbers" on a fieldtrip (Josh, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 12/9/96). The group nature of the fieldtrip offered a form of perceived protection from the threat, the potential violence, of the Other. The sense of the student group as potential protector was available to particular students; it seemed to work more effectively for male than it did for female students. Bronwyn felt on her own and unsafe in spite of the group nature of the fieldtrip.

For Paul and Josh the structure of the fieldtrip enabled them to visit the places of the Other with greater ease and in the company of students with at least similar geography education backgrounds and implicitly similar class backgrounds (by virtue of their access to university education).⁷⁶ The residential fieldtrip parallels group tourism which enables the 'safe' consumption of the Other in the company of 'similar' companions. Urry (1990: 25) points out that:

part of [the] social experience involved in many tourist contexts is to be able to consume particular commodities in the company of others. Part of what people buy is in effect a particular social consumption of other consumers . . . and these people are deemed appropriate to the consumer in question.

⁷⁵ Hughes (1987) discusses the dangers of fieldwork for female students, in particular the rape of a female student conducting fieldwork at a beach. Although Bronwyn does not refer to the threat of rape explicitly, her words convey a sense of danger that was part of her experience of fieldwork in a city. Bernadette (on the same fieldtrip a year later) also perceived a threat of violence to her body and to her property (see page 135).

⁷⁶ Although this is debatable - see footnote 74.

The difference that class⁷⁷ makes (both in the sense of socio-economic class and in the sense of class-mates) to the experience of places and peoples is taken further in the next section.

3.1 The Difference That Class Makes

Josh: You do have like a constructed image of what it's going to be like. People on the dole, kind of thing, hiding behind each doorway kind of thing and it's not necessarily true in any way at all, but then that's the sort of image you have of it, but then when you go somewhere you can see what it's like and you can see how people live, the different sort of monetary level than the rest of the country, specially because we went to the very rich areas . . . and then we went to the poor areas . . . which are not exactly poverty stricken or anything but there is a noticeable difference between them. And there is a different feeling between, not necessarily that one is more hospitable than the other, but . . . you feel safer I suppose, 'cause you know that by the statistics there's more crime in this area than that. *Feel maybe even more at home* in a sort of, not necessarily most affluent but medium class I think. Otherwise you probably wouldn't be at varsity, so I think most people felt that way (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 12/9/96, my emphasis).

In the previous section, I examined how the comparative trope 'worked' to contrast places (and inter-urban difference). In this section, Josh describes how the comparative trope 'worked' to contrast difference within one city (intra-urban difference), and how these differences were constructed as opposite extremes - "the very rich" and the "poor". I have quoted Josh at length because his words convey the complexities of representations of class that constitute

⁷⁷ Class and 'race' are inextricably linked (hooks, 1992: 33) and it is somewhat artificial to treat the categories separately. Indeed, when I began the analysis of students' discourses on difference in section (3), 'race' and class were interwoven. But it is also politically strategic to examine students' more explicit references to class and 'race' in order to uncover some of the unintended/unanticipated consequences of an essentialisation of difference.

particular places/suburbs as poor and others as very rich. He intimates that the representations emanate from a site other than the place that the representations are about (from "reading about it, looking at photos and stuff . . . watching TV"), and that these constructions may not be accurate. But nevertheless, these representations, true or not, determine how safe a place feels for university students who Josh suggests would not be 'at home' in the poor areas. Josh's claim on behalf of "most people" ignores the potentiality and the reality that there were students on the same fieldtrip as Josh who came from the areas of the city in which Josh felt less safe and less 'at home'.

The university context of the fieldtrip implicitly renders "working-class identity [as] something of the past, not the present" (Dowling, 1997: 10) because university represents a rung above working-class identities. Josh echoed Dowling's point: "the lower the . . . economic class, social class, whatever you want to call it, the less chances of having a good education and *getting out of it* and going to varsity. That's a well known thing" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 12/9/96, my emphasis). Josh takes it for granted that leaving a lower socio-economic class is always desired and/or is readily achieved by virtue of university education. But Dowling (1997: 10) questions this notion of easy and voluntary departure from class origins: "my body, my voice, tell me that one does not 'leave' the working-class, . . . class is as much a cultural location as an economic one".⁷⁸ Just as Paul's words conveyed a sense of easy, voluntary departure from the *different* places of the fieldtrip, so do Josh's words convey a sense of assumed easy, voluntary departure from class (and implicitly place) origins. Josh assumes that other university students (rightly and wrongly) are 'class'-mates, are members of a similar educational

⁷⁸ It is ironic that the construction of this sentence indicates middle/upper-class language patterns, or maybe it is 'academic-speak'. I associate the use of: "one does not" with a British upper-class style of speaking/writing. I remember the class implications of an academic explaining to me that "one knows that one does not use a period at the end of a title". I was 'one' who did not have such knowledge.

class (at least). Josh's (and Paul's) presumption of the sameness of class backgrounds and of what kinds of places fieldtrip participants would feel most 'at home' in, suggests other unintended effects of a fieldtrip culture dependent on a fascination with Difference which, in turn, is dependent on an unnamed sameness. "[P]rivileged groups lose their particularity" (I. Young, 1990a: 127). Josh seems to forget the (class) differences amongst students on the fieldtrip. He also forgets what it might be like for students to have their 'home' places constructed as Other, unsafe, poor and inhospitable.

Danny also made explicit the class relations of the observers and the observed on the migration fieldtrip:

Danny: I felt sort of uncomfortable about, because, you know . . . people were out on their lawns [in a lower socio-economic suburb] . . . I felt sorry for them, us driving past looking at them, thinking oh we must be studying them, we must be poor or we must be rich or . . . *classing* them you know . . . I wasn't worried about us, I was sort of, I felt quite stink for them, sort of driving through looking at them, looking at these people but there's no other way you can do it really . . .

Paul: Yeah, you know the more car bodies and power wires going over and tarpaulins hanging off the side of the house the better wasn't it? And then you sort of move away from that, and next thing it's like, ah wow, Falconcrest . . . I must admit I felt a little guilty driving around some of those streets, I mean they have to be seen, that's what we are there for, we are not breaking the law, *we weren't judging people, we were just looking at housing estates* (Interview with University A fieldtrip participants, 31/7/95, my emphasis).

At the time of the fieldtrip, as we drove around the suburb that Danny refers to above, I commented in my fieldnotes: "I think urban gazing is worse than rural gazing" and followed this with an example: "we passed a house with a garage that was set up as a bedroom and it felt like we were gazing into someone's bedroom - gazing into private space (or so close to doing so)" (fieldnotes, 29/4/95). Danny, Paul and I couched our discomforts in provisos: Danny and

Paul ameliorate their uncertainty about the ethics of driving around looking at lower socio-economic suburbs by implying that this is necessary for geography fieldwork. And certainly many students on this fieldtrip claimed that they would never have visited/seen/known about such places and people if they had not been taken there as part of a geography fieldtrip. I ameliorate my uncertainty about gazing into the private space of garage/home/bedroom by suggesting that I have not quite looked in when I have. It did not just *feel like* I invaded someone's private space, I did. This discomfort about the object of the geographer's gaze "is therefore also part of the desires and fears which mediate their gaze and the image" (Rose, 1992: 17). The geography discipline relies on observation, on seeing as believing/knowing, as the basis for knowledge claims. The geography fieldtrip is a significant site/sight for geography students to learn the disciplinary practices of claims to knowledge based on observation. Danny and Paul learnt these practices so effectively that they did not question whether geographers should do this, or whether it was possible to do it differently.

3.2 The Difference That 'Race' Makes

'Race' is implicit in the class differences that students referred to in the previous section. In this section I examine the difference that 'race' makes in three ways. First, the political implications of particular constructions of Other 'races' are investigated further. Second, the experiences of students who became aware of their 'whiteness', and therefore their differences from the Other, during the fieldtrip, are analysed. Third, the assumption of sameness amongst class-mates is challenged.

Paul gave his opinions on issues to do with 'race' and ethnicity during the interview. Paul's beliefs were affected by his fieldtrip experiences. The

(un)anticipated/(un)intended consequences of an emphasis on difference and the scale of migration during the fieldtrip, are evident in Paul's words:

I've really had my eyes opened up about the influx of migrants into this country and since then I have sort of taken notice in the paper about sort of what's going on in Parliament about trying to control numbers and you know, just realising that New Zealand is going to be 4 million people really soon and you know, there's the potential I might even see 5 and a half or 6 million people here and knowing that you know the racial mix that I see on campus here, which I thought wasn't really representative of most of New Zealand actually is, you know, it's just, we're just multiracial right throughout now . . . we are no longer just Māori and Pākehā and then the Islanders in [names one city] it's spreading right through very rapidly, it's really opened my eyes a bit, you know the land grab is on, prices are inflating and you really wonder if you are ever going to own that bit of land, get that house, you know . . . things are really going through the roof (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 31/7/95, my emphasis).

For Paul, difference (in the form of large numbers of immigrants), represents a threat to his future aspirations for land and home ownership. He implicitly regards "the speed and intensity of settlement . . . as a threat to white affluence and as a challenge to that most precious of a nation's resources - its [sic] territory", its land (Smith, 1989: 118). Gone is the simplicity and 'sameness' of bipolar understandings of 'race' in Aotearoa/New Zealand (see Larner, 1995), of keeping particular groups such as "the Islanders" in 'one place'. Instead, Paul's words convey the overwhelming sense of difference which permeates his experiential worlds, including the university campus.

Paul's fears are similar to the racist fears represented in the popular press and capitalised on by parliamentarian Winston Peters (and others) in the 1996 general elections in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Shirley Joshi and Bob Carter (1984: 66) describe similar fears about the threat that black immigrants pose to the material advancement of whites (in the British context) which parallel the perceived threat that Asian immigrants pose (in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context). Politicians do little to refute the popular belief "that 'they' could take

'our' jobs and live in 'our' streets" (Joshi and Carter, 1984: 66). Paul's fears and/or perceptions were reinforced rather than challenged by his participation in the migration fieldtrip. Paul's refrain of "you know" represented a tacit assumption that we (myself and Danny, the other interviewee) shared his knowledge/perceptions, at least because we had participated in the same fieldtrip and the same sources of knowledge. Although staff members on the migration fieldtrip had "intended to increase the [students'] tolerance of cultural differences, the hidden curriculum of differential cultural valuing was more powerful" (Alton-Lee, Nuthall and Patrick, 1993: 80) in the lived peer culture than in the official agenda.

During the three day migration fieldtrip, a visit was organised to an outdoor market located in a suburb where a large proportion of the residents are of Māori and Pacific Island descent and from lower socio-economic backgrounds.⁷⁹ A female Pākehā university student describes her experience of being at this market.

Bernadette: I felt quite threatened in that environment because, we were one of the few white people there, and I admit I clung to my bag, because it was foreign to me and I didn't know what they were going to do and that sounds really rude as well, suspecting that everyone was going to dip into my bag, but I felt self-conscious and I actually dressed down for the day, my whole family told me, don't wear your jewellery, don't wear your coat and all that kind of thing, and, that sounds really rude, but that's exactly what I did do, and even then I still felt like I stuck out like a sore thumb. I suppose I could say that I thought that, if I

⁷⁹ The 1996 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwelling Statistics (taken from the *Supermap3*, 1997 database) for the Ward where this suburb is located show that 26 percent of the population living in this ward are of Māori ethnicity, 57 percent of Pacific Island ethnicity and 12 percent of European ethnicity. Socio-economic indicators for the same Ward show that 58 percent of the population (aged 15 years and older) earn less than NZ\$20,000 and 42 percent of the population receive income support. (A Ward is an area defined for electoral as well as statistical purposes within Territorial Authority Areas of 20,000 or more people (*Supermap3*, 1997)).

bumped into someone, they wouldn't look on me very favourably . . . I wanted to look, but I wasn't interested in buying anything . . . it's obviously really different from our [including me in the 'our'] way of life as well . . . that . . . market scene is such a far cry from my life . . . I remember that the four of us escaped and went to [word unclear] and had lunch, whereas I think we were supposed to have lunch at the markets, but I'm pretty fussy about what I eat and I didn't want, particularly like the hygiene levels probably (laugh) so I was a bit sceptical of eating there. It was all very different from what I'm used to . . . [A male lecturer] told us that he felt it was a real experience being the minority and that's true but I did feel threatened, which I suppose is how other people felt, but I felt like, you know, prim and proper little white girlie, stuck out (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96).

Bernadette changed her outward appearance especially for a spatial context that she expected to be shaped by different class and 'race' relations than those that shaped her usual spatial milieu. Yolanda and Bronwyn, who had been on the same fieldtrip the previous year, echoed Bernadette's sentiments:

Yolanda: It felt quite weird being just the only white female, well being a white female, blonde especially, walking around the markets . . .

Bronwyn: . . . something about that whole thing bothered me, about the . . . market, it just didn't fit in, we were okay while we were with the Chinese and all of that, but I don't know, going into the Pacific Island area [was] sort of . . . more uncomfortable

Yolanda: . . . I got a lot of stares and I don't like being . . . stared at by, you know, things like that, but I guess you have got to expect that when you go into areas that are [a] *different* culture (Interview with University A fieldtrip participants, 13/9/95, my emphasis).

Bernadette, Yolanda and Bronwyn all describe how they felt threatened. They felt Other to the majority 'racial' groupings of Māori, Pacific Island and Asian at this particular market. Although Bronwyn (unlike Evan quoted earlier) felt more comfortable with Asian than with Pacific Island people, all three students indicated that they were not used to being in a minority racial

group. They were used to being a member of the dominant 'racial' group - Pākehā - in settings where Pākehā were usually the majority 'racial' grouping and therefore "unmarked and unnamed" (Frankenberg, 1993: 1). These students may not have perceived their 'race', their whiteness, until they were in a context where their 'race' mattered; "the visibly different body is raced when it is out of its proper place" (Mohanram, 1998: 23). Bernadette's and Yolanda's self-consciousness as they imagined how others might see them is 'racialised' and implicitly sexualised. Bernadette "felt like, you know, prim and proper little white girlie" and Yolanda felt so obvious as "a white female, blonde especially" that she initially suggested she was the only white female at the market.

[I]f whiteness varies spatially and temporally, it is also a relational category, one that is co-constructed with a range of other racial and cultural categories, with class and with gender. The co-construction is, however, fundamentally asymmetrical, for the term "whiteness" signals the production and reproduction of dominance rather than subordination, normativity rather than marginality, and privilege rather than disadvantage (Frankenberg, 1993: 236-7).

My subsequent analysis may be read as undermining the fear and discomfort that these female students describe but the purpose of my analyses is to read both 'with the grain' of the words that the fieldtrip participants have provided as well as 'against the grain'. I attempt, therefore, to deconstruct particular (geographic) knowledges about the 'racialised' Other.

The space spoken of by the women quoted here is far from being the transparent space of geography, then, and has none of the grandeur of visions of spatial differentiation; it is a space which constitutes women as embodied objects to be looked at . . . Even as they speak its costs, however, these accounts also challenge the masculinist geographical imagination. This sense of space offered by these [women] dissolves the split between mind and body by thinking through the body, their bodies. This way of thinking also seems to disregard any distinction between metaphorical and real space; spaces are made meaningful through experience and interpretation, which makes . . . spaces resonate with an extraordinary richness of emotion and analysis. Spaces are *felt* as part of patriarchal [as well as 'racialised' and socio-economic] power (G. Rose, 1993: 146, my emphasis).

Even though all three students' words indicate their fear and/or discomfort, Bernadette goes on to remind me as I re-read yet again her words in the light of

Frankenburg's (1993) research, that she still occupies a social position of power represented by her easy mobility, her escape to eat lunch elsewhere with three other students (Sugnet, 1991). Bernadette included me in her use of 'our'; "our way of life" is understood implicitly as normativity and privilege when it is juxtaposed to what the unknown ("foreign") 'they' might do. The systems of us/them thinking (Torgovnick, 1990) are emphasised by a geography of essentialised difference. But there was also a sense of confinement in all three female students' words, of their bodies "feeling constrained by a particular gender, class and race position" (G. Rose, 1993: 145). In other words, there was evidence of these female students' subordination and marginality as well as of their normativity and privilege interwoven in their words and inscribed on their bodies; "the criss-crossing of power is always already written on the body" (Mohanram, 1998: 24).

Bernadette goes on to talk (at my prompting) about who 'they' are and what 'they' might do. This reveals more about what constitutes the otherness of 'they':

Bernadette: See I don't know if I'm being completely judgmental or whatever talking about them but I suppose you see the Polynesian and Māori teenage boys and the older ones being quite violent, yeah I suppose.

Karen: So you've seen them being violent or ...?

Bernadette: No, you just hear about it and that's why I say am I being completely rude and judgmental? Because I haven't seen it, but that's just the impression that you get, so I could be completely wrong, but yeah I felt threatened because of my perceptions, and we did stick out, we were a big group of white people, and especially being, a university thing, I mean most of the people there would have found that really foreign, so we were white, but we were also university students so that just made us all the more different (laugh) (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96).

Bernadette concedes that her claims to knowledge about 'them' were based on what she had 'heard', and were about perceptions rather than direct experience. Even though Bernadette's expectations and suspicions were not 'realised' during her visit to the market, Bernadette continued to base her knowledge about the Other on these perceptions (reiterated during the interview four and a half months after the fieldtrip had taken place). Perhaps Bernadette's prior perceptions were a more powerful construction of the 'reality' of the Other than what she saw on the day at the market. These prior perceptions may have been more powerful than 'seeing for herself' in shaping Bernadette's experience of the market as threatening on the day. Instead of dispelling Bernadette's prior conceptions, the visit to the market seemed to reinforce them. In spite of the best intentions of the fieldtrip organisers, some students continued to be intolerant of cultural difference.

Seeing the self as *different*, as Other, was shaped by Bernadette's 'race', class and gender - "so we were white, but we were also university students so that just made us all the more different". Seeing the self could involve seeing the self in different ways; and this goal was implied by the male lecturer who had told Bernadette and others "that he felt it was a real experience being the minority". This goal was probably achieved in the case of Bernadette, but was the outcome productive? For Bronwyn, she "didn't learn anything from [the market] . . . I think it was pointless, well possibly not but I didn't enjoy it at all, it was boring, crowded, I didn't know what I was learning there" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95). Prior perceptions about the 'racialised' Other were reinforced rather than challenged for all the students quoted thus far in this chapter. There are political implications of fieldwork practices that continue to reinforce and replicate us/them discourses along the well worn lines of 'race', class and gender, in spite of stated goals to the contrary.

Whether or not desire for contact with the Other, for connection rooted in the longing for pleasure, can act as a critical intervention challenging and subverting racist domination, inviting and enabling critical resistance, is an unrealised political possibility. Exploring how desire for the Other is expressed, manipulated, and transformed by encounters with difference and the different is critical terrain that can indicate whether these potentially revolutionary longings are ever fulfilled (hooks, 1992: 22).

The us/them discourses apply not only to the people, the migrants, that the students had come to find out about, the same discourses operated amongst the student group. As Lia, a Samoan student, puts it:

Like in the [van] we were . . . all us Pacific Island students with one Māori . . . it was like we were to go in this [van] and the Pākehā students in one [van] . . . If we had a Pākehā student, we would have a *different* view of the things we were going to, 'cause when we were driving . . . around there were always things to be discussed, so it was mainly between us . . . from Pacific Island students' point of view, all the migration things and stuff were *all the same*, so if we had a Pākehā student whom we would've asked what their feelings were and yeah, we would've got a *different* idea . . . let's just mix . . . 'Cause most of the things we were talking about was the *same* for all of us, from the Cook Islands, from Māori point of view and from my point of view as a Samoan, everything was the same, but, the Pākehā students see it from a *different* side. I could tell that when we had the seminars, that some people argued that Asian migration wasn't good, and from our point of view the Asians were good because they help contribute to New Zealand's economy, but to the Pākehā students it wasn't good because they were overcrowding the places, so that's what I meant by just mixing up and get a different idea for each (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 28/5/97, my emphasis).

Alistair (who identified himself as Māori and Pākehā on his participant profile) also noticed the 'racial' segregation of students in the two vans used for transport on this fieldtrip: "weird's not the right word. Stink. I don't know, I'm trying to find the word but I can't. But it seemed a bit sad that they all ended up in one van and we all ended up in another" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 24/10/96). I asked further about who were members of the categories 'we' and 'they', and Alistair replied: "they were sort of the Samoan culture and we were kind of the young New Zealand, brought up in

New Zealand kind of culture". Ironically, Alistair forgets about the other cultures also represented in the other van - Māori, Cook Islands, and Indian as well as Samoan. Alistair identified with the predominantly Pākehā group that he was travelling with in his use of 'us' and 'we' but "the whole van thing made me look at myself and go wow man, why aren't I in there with them? Why am I always in this van? Am I some kind of racist?" Significantly, it was the Māori/Pākehā member of the predominantly Pākehā van that questioned the us/them discourses; none of the Pākehā interviewees commented on the segregation.⁸⁰

Lia's comments are important on another level. She suggests that Pākehā students would offer a *different* perspective on migration, which challenges my earlier argument that unstated Pākehā, middle-class norms operated as a standard of sameness by which difference was understood by students on migration fieldtrips (in Aotearoa/New Zealand). Lia's words indicate that her norm, her reference point was inclusive of Māori, Cook Island and Samoan perspectives (which she referred to as the *same*) against which Pākehā was *different*. Lia made a further comment that challenges what counts as the same and different.

Although I was brown in colour, they [the people Lia met on the fieldtrip, for example, the speakers at the Refugee Centre, the migration consultant, the community development worker] didn't see me as just a person in brown. They saw me as a student who needed help and information, they gave it to me. They didn't think that oh, because you're brown you're not the same as us, we're not gonna help you, that sort of thing, and they didn't ask for my identity which to me was good, because some people when I tell them my identity, they think oh, you're from that group, not gonna help you (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 28/5/97).

⁸⁰ The segregation between vans was also gendered in the previous year and this was commented on by a number of female students and one male staff member during interviews.

Lia's words suggest that having a (university/fieldtrip) student identity transcended her 'racialised' identity, and she found this helpful. But it is more complex than this. Lia's words could be read as indicating that the identity of university student has more status than her Samoan identity which she implicitly devalues in her comment "didn't see me as just a person in brown". The hegemony of (white) university culture means that the only way Lia can gain access to knowledge/information is to be a university student and/or to be the same as the people she wants to get information from. Information that would not be so readily given if Lia claimed her Samoan identity first and foremost. In this reading, Lia is learning to construct a worldview that undermines her 'race' (Alton-Lee, Nuthall and Patrick, 1993). Or Lia's words could be read as an indication of how she was able to be "a person in brown" *and* a university student, seeking knowledge on the fieldtrip. But the theme of discrimination remains, and in this case Lia explains how discrimination works to exclude her from information/knowledge on the basis of her colour, her 'race'. For Lia there is no easy mobility, no ready escape from ('racial') difference, as there was for Paul, Bernadette, and other students. But Lia found a way of making her university student identity 'work' for her; she got 'a bit of the same' (or was it 'a bit of the other?') and used it to gain access to knowledge (although I suggest that there are risks involved).⁸¹

3.3 Difference 'At Home'

As a researcher, I took part in the migration fieldtrip over two consecutive years. On the first fieldtrip, I assumed (along with many students) that students were visiting places Other to their 'home' places. I made the mistake

⁸¹ Is my intimation of risk an indirect cautionary tale? Is it not possible for the Other to get a bit of the Same without facing risks? After all, many male and some female Pākehā students were able to get a bit of the Other and were relatively protected from risk by the group-based nature and transport arrangements of the fieldtrip.

of constituting their university place as their home place without taking account of their other 'homes'. During the second fieldtrip, I realised that some students were visiting their 'home' places and being taught to see these places from a geographical perspective. There was (and is) a 'danger' that in the process of teachers and lecturers setting up the exemplary contrasts for fieldtrip/geography education, that they set up an implicit framework by which the 'home' places of some students are denigrated by comparison with affluent places. The 'home' places of some students were rendered as the inferior Other to that city's economic and social elite (see Dowling, 1997). What are the effects of your 'home' place being the different, even the 'wrong', place on a fieldtrip?

Alistair (who identified as Māori and Pākehā) described how he had noticed familiar streets from a *different* perspective:

We went to about seven or eight different corners and I'd look down the street and go hey, my Mum used to live down there. It's 'cause she did. I know the area pretty well but it was just you know, *I'd never seen them in that light . . . on the fieldtrip . . . I got to see different suburbs and different, you know, just different things. Zones, or whatever they are . . . it's like a totally different side, and that's why I like doing social sciences and geography because you learn not to look at things just from one angle, you learn to look at them from lots of different angles and that's one mistake that I've made my whole life* (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/96, my emphasis).

Alistair has learnt the trope of (geographical) difference so effectively that he discounts his own knowledge. The discounting process is evident in three ways. First, although Alistair already knew the area, he did not 'know' it in a particular geographical "light", he had not noticed the "zones" for example. Second, in the process of being taught to see a *different* side, Alistair is also implicitly taught that the known, the *same*, familiar, aspects of home are not important, or are not as important as the *different* sides. Third, and most concerning, is the effect of an uncritical fascination with difference on Alistair.

His words convey a sense of how he feels wrong not just on the fieldtrip, but throughout his whole life. When Alistair identifies "one mistake that I've made my whole life" he places his 'wrongness' against what can be understood as the 'rightness' of the social sciences and geography that he has studied. Instead I would argue that difference for the sake of difference constitutes one angle, not the many angles that Alistair credits geography (fieldtrips) with. Ideally Alistair's local angle/knowledge should be valid and valued as well (perhaps instead of).

The outcomes for [students] include not only how much they are able to learn from the official curriculum, but also what they learn about their own identity, value and capability. The process of curriculum enactment itself is critical because [students] experience and learn culturally specific ways of participating that influence their learning and well-being (Alton-Lee, Nuthall and Patrick, 1993: 59-60).

For another student, the fieldtrip to her 'home' place and her desires to be both a student and a daughter, were a source of conflict. This conflict arose because fieldtrips depend on the spatial separation of home/family and work/education. When a student finds it hard to 'do home' on a fieldtrip, it re-emphasises the connection of particular ideologies with particular spaces and places. The ideology of home and of a daughter's duty to her mother, was 'foreign' in the context of a fieldtrip kitchen. Anjana identified herself as an "Indian Kiwi" on her participant profile and pointed out that the city where the fieldtrip was located "is my home",

I know . . . my way around . . . like my Mum was only about five minutes away from where we were staying, but then again it felt like she was so far away from us in the sense that I was here with a group and I had responsibilities as a group member, but then I also had a responsibility as my Mum's daughter, but that was a bit hard, you know . . . but then I couldn't do what I normally do with my Mum in this situation, you know, 'cause it was just not like home . . . I'm with a group and I have a certain persona maybe, to the group, but then again I have another one towards my Mum, and try and incorporate the both and it was a bit hard . . . And like I wanted to go somewhere else to talk to my Mum. Like you know, somewhere where we feel comfortable and that was in our van . . . whereas you know, it sounds a bit weird trying to (laugh) talk in the kitchen. And then you

have a whole lot of academics around and then there's just my Mum and I, which is a different relationship to all of them (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/96).

The accommodation for the migration fieldtrip approximated the layout of a home space. There was a kitchen combined with a living-room space and separate but adjacent bathroom and bedroom facilities which could potentially constitute a 'home-away-from-home'. But the space and the people - "a whole lot of academics" were antithetical to 'home'. Instead a more conducive 'home' space was available inside Anjana's mother's vehicle at the fieldtrip site. Again, I argue that Anjana's discomfort reflects a disjuncture between 'home' and fieldtrip places, a disjuncture that by its very nature creates a sense of distance. Although Anjana's mother lived five minutes away from the fieldtrip accommodation, Anjana felt like she "was so far away from us". Displacements between home, the known, the familiar, *and* the fieldtrip, the academic, are re-enacted to secure difference and render sameness literally and metaphorically at a distance.

4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, I have argued that difference makes the place memorable for students on geography fieldtrips. The greater the difference between the place(s) visited on geography fieldtrips and the place(s) where geography students live and attend their place of education, the more likely the fieldtrip will be remembered and the differences will be remembered. As long as these differences remain unquestioned and unexamined, geography fieldtrips will contribute to and reproduce a geographic tradition of fascination with difference yet at the same time a denial of difference (see hooks, 1992).

This fascination with difference yet denial of difference is also about denial of sameness. In the process of going to, and being in, different/other places, there is also an implicit reinforcement of sameness amongst the geography students themselves. Different places and people reinforce for geography students that they are not different. Rather they are the same as each other, all university or secondary geography students together. "Difference seems only to apply to others" (Rose, 1991: 157), and "to seek an encounter with the Other, does not require that one relinquish forever one's mainstream positionality" (hooks, 1992: 23).

Geography students' experiences of difference via geography fieldwork is also about their experiences of a form of assumed sameness amongst students on a fieldtrip. Valerie challenged this assumed sameness: "*everyone's different and they almost didn't account for that*" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96, my emphasis). Valerie wanted an acknowledgement of difference amongst students when sameness (with a particular hegemonic norm) was assumed. I want an acknowledgement of sameness when difference is assumed. To acknowledge that difference *depends* on sameness and sameness *depends* on difference is to question and "disturb the very structure of knowledges" (Grosz, 1989: 27; also see Bondi and Domosh, 1992). As geographers, we are trained so well to gaze upon the places and people around us, that to turn our gaze upon ourselves is risky yet necessary. It is necessary for the ongoing feminist and anti-racist project of 'knowing' geography as a discipline. Such 'knowing', in turn, provides the basis for strategies of transformation. The fieldtrip provides a critical site/sight for the (re)consideration of the (re)production of geographic knowledge.

A geography of 'difference' is also a geography of sameness; it is a case of *both* difference and sameness rather than a sole focus on 'difference'.⁸² "[T]he point of situating knowledges is precisely to forge critical, situated understandings by thinking through difference and similarity" (Rose, 1997: 313). A more explicit *reconsideration* of how differences also contain similarities might offer another conceptual mode for geography (fieldtrip) education (see Myerson and Rydin, 1996). This conceptual mode is demonstrated in the following interview with Evan. This conversation is as much with 'the self' as it is with me, the interviewer (see Lambert, 1997). It is relevant to point out that Evan's argument with himself lead me to have important arguments with myself. This section of Evan's transcript encapsulates one of the starting 'places' for this chapter and it seems appropriate to end the chapter here with an indication of what a reconsideration of difference and sameness might mean:

Their religion [referring to Buddhism] is just so different from the Christian type you know, religion . . . how they have this sort of formal thing where you're suppose to sit facing a certain way and that. But then the monk's got this big flashing light and he wanted to show it off to us and you know, it was sort of different. And they handed out glasses of coke or whatever and tea. You know, if you think of a Christian church and they've got all those other formal things, and you think they're not that formal. [pause] It's just the same. Yeah, this is more of a similarity rather than a difference. I think it's a completely different religion but it's got those same sort of things where half of it is really formal and you've got to do the right thing [pause] or you know you're doing it wrong. And the rest of it you know, the other part yeah, it's just totally informal . . . I'm starting to try and argue it with myself. *Is it different or is it similar? But it's both really.* (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 15/9/95, my emphasis).

⁸² Bondi (1992: 100) draws on Bacchi's work (1990) to argue "that this 'sameness/difference' antinomy is of relatively recent origin, that its form can vary, and that it should be understood in relation to the political constraints within which feminism operates".

CHAPTER 6

SEEING THE 'REAL' WORLD

I INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with two broad inter-related themes - 'seeing for yourself' and 'going out in the real world'. Many fieldtrip participants articulated these phrases as the purpose of geography fieldtrips. For example, Evan connects the two themes explicitly: "when you go on a fieldtrip you see it put into action . . . you gotta have fieldtrips because . . . theory is nothing by itself. You gotta have the real thing" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 15/9/95). G. Rose (1993: 63) argues that "most geographers continue to believe that the true nature of the world can, in principle, be explored and revealed by objective study", objective study that relies on visual regimes. The privileging of the visual is not unique or specific to the geography discipline, rather it is a broader discourse into which geography fits (see in particular the recent collection edited by David Clarke, 1997 *The Cinematic City*; also see Bartky, 1988; Bryson et al., 1994; Crary, 1990; Jay, 1993; Pollock, 1996). In this chapter, I critically examine how a visual regime and a conception of the 'real' world, "the true nature of the world", are expected and enacted in particular ways before, during and after residential geography fieldtrips.

Gibson-Graham (1996; 1998) deconstruct the monolithic status that the notion "Globalization" holds in discourses about contemporary capitalism. I adapt their deconstructive strategy and apply it to the phrases 'Seeing For Yourself' and 'Going Out In The Real World' (capitals are used consciously here to draw attention to the meta-narrative status that Seeing the Real World is accorded in geography). 'Seeing For Yourself' and 'Going Out In The Real

World' are "deconstructed (or given an identity crisis) so that they become not the obvious 'what is' of contemporary [geographic] life, but a discursive frame that locates the Eye/I" (Gibson-Graham, 1998: 4). I seek out, intuitively feel for, follow hunches about, think and re-think the material that could illustrate "different, decentred and disorderly forms" of 'Seeing For Yourself' and 'Going Out In The Real World', to argue that these discursive practices "can be represented as multiple and multiply determined" (Gibson-Graham, 1998: 4). My political goal is to destabilise the singularity of 'Seeing For Yourself' and 'Going Out In The Real World', to introduce unexpected ways of 'Seeing For Yourself' and 'Going Out In The Real World', and to attribute new meanings/understandings to these discursive practices.

If my stated goal is to critique the self-evidence of seeing, then "I/Eye" need to interrogate my own claims about the self-evidence of the words and drawings that I work with. Such a self-reflexive interrogation means that "I/Eye" read words and drawings both with and against 'the grain'. In other words, this self-reflexivity represents a recurrent chorus-line of why, what if, what else, to all of the claims that I make. Reading against the grain means asking questions about how the research participants' (as well as my) words and (un)intended meanings might be understood in a multitude of ways (although I do not intend to and will never achieve a definitive list of meanings). Reading with and against the grain is necessarily incomplete and partial.

The structure of the chapter reverses the usual geographic approach to the presentation of geographic knowledge. Usually the presentation of the 'natural' environment occurs first and is followed by the presentation of human interaction with that environment. As Lee (1996: 48) puts it: "there is a significant conjunction of the temporal ordering as well as the spatial prioritising of the physical component . . . and the concomitant de-emphasising of human geography". This process is often mirrored by a fieldtrip sequence

that means that fieldtrips concerned with the 'natural'/physical environment are carried out first followed by a fieldtrip concerned with cultural/human processes *if* it is deemed relevant and appropriate to have a cultural/human fieldtrip.⁸³ In this chapter, this temporal and spatial ordering is reversed, the human dimensions, the people, are re-presented first. The structure, however, is more than a mere reversal of this common binary (Lee, 1996; Nairn, 1994). In the sections that are concerned with the so-called 'natural' environment, I maintain a constant 'presence' of the human (even when drawing attention to the apparent absence of the human), and of the social construction of the very notion of a 'natural' environment.

In the first two sections, I introduce the key theoretical ideas that are deployed throughout the chapter. I then examine the privileging of the visual (section 3) and the privileging of the 'natural' as the 'real' world (section 4). I do this via three sets of data: the drawings which represent what students expected to do on geography fieldtrips, my participant observation notes written during fieldtrips, and the transcripts of in-depth interviews with students and staff several months after the fieldtrip had taken place. In sections 5 and 6 respectively, "I/Eye" argue that there are "different, decentred and disorderly forms" of 'Going Out In The Real World' and 'Seeing For Yourself'. These "different, decentred and disorderly forms" of seeing and of 'the real' can then be reconfigured as embodied knowing or embodied fieldwork (Chapter 7) which is theorised incrementally throughout the thesis and summarised in the final chapter.

⁸³ Three of the four institutions involved in this study, demonstrate this trend. University B conducts a physical geography fieldtrip at Stage II followed by a fieldtrip at Stage III that has a greater (not sole) emphasis on human geography. High School B conducts a natural processes fieldtrip at the beginning of the year but does not have a cultural processes fieldtrip. High School A conducts a natural processes fieldtrip followed by a cultural processes fieldtrip later in the same year. The structure of the geography department of University A means that there is greater emphasis on human geography and this is reflected in fieldtrips concerned with human as well as environmental processes.

2 SEEING THE 'REAL' AS KNOWING THE 'REAL'

The contemporary discipline of geography continues to (re)constitute itself through the trope of discovery as a search "[f]or foundationalism in one shape or another" (Livingstone, 1990: 367). This trope of discovery relies on both the subject of discovery, a self-sufficient subject who sees for her/himself, as well as an object of discovery, a 'real' world out there, waiting to be seen and known.

For the Naive Realist, or common-sense geographer, . . . [g]eographical facts of observed phenomena and changes within them can be objectively established and any questions of unseen entities, problematics, abstract forms or subjective impressions are irrelevant (Gibson, 1981: 152).

In other words, seeing is knowing (G. Rose, 1993) or as Joan Scott (1992: 24) puts it "[s]eeing is the origin of knowing". Both Scott (1992) and Lefebvre (1991) are deeply suspicious of an over-reliance on the visual as an epistemological guarantee. Lefebvre (1991) challenges the notion that seeing an object guarantees knowledge, and therefore the material existence, of that object. Scott (1992: 25) problematises both seeing and experiencing, and how the two are intertwined, even interchangeable:

When experience is taken as the origin of knowledge, the vision of the individual subject (the person who had the experience or the [researcher] who recounts it) becomes the bedrock of evidence upon which explanation is built. Questions about the constructed nature of experience, about how subjects are constituted as different in the first place, about how one's vision is structured - about language (or discourse) and history [and geography] - are left aside.

When the constructed nature of experience and of seeing is acknowledged and examined, it is then possible to ask (as well as attempt to answer) related questions about *how* students' experience and vision might be structured in particular ways during residential fieldtrips (for example).

A discourse has the power to create reality by naming and giving meaning to aspects of experience from a particular perspective. This power to create is always a 'distributive' politics; that is, what is deemed to be real and true determines what is included and excluded, so that what cannot be named may not even be noticed (Foucault, 1984, cited in Lee, 1996: 16; also see Berg and Kearns, 1996).

In the culture of geography fieldtrips, I argue that it is more than this; what cannot be *seen* "may not even be noticed" and be excluded from "what is deemed to be real and true". Material objects and material practices exist even though they may not be readily visible and therefore known and named.

Michael Brown's work (forthcoming) takes up Lefebvre's ideas and provides a specific example of how apparent invisibility does not necessarily mean non-existence. Brown argues that gay male sex-on-site venues exist in inner-city Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand, yet these venues are not readily visible and the owners of these venues want to keep it this way. The relevance of Brown's work to the argument that I set up in this chapter is that visibility is not an epistemological guarantee, and that much is excluded, invisible, unnamed in the cultures of geography fieldtrips that rely so heavily on "scopic regimes" (see Jay, 1993). There is, however, an underlying irony to my critique of "scopic regimes" because so much of the data that I utilise relied on those very regimes during data collection and analysis, that is, I have *looked* at fieldtrip participants' drawings, I *observed* (as well as participated) during each fieldtrip, and I *read* the words of each interview transcript (although the audio dimension is important here). Participation and hearing are additional sensory dimensions that I attempt to interweave into a text that will be subjected to scopic regimes. Seeing is inevitably conflated with knowing for those of us able to see, but I endeavour to take apart this conflation to examine two processes - the privileging of the visual and the privileging of the 'natural' as the 'real' world - that shape geography fieldtrip cultures.

3 THE PRIVILEGING OF THE VISUAL

Modernity's ocularity underwrote the canonical preconditions for science in that the objective optical order was the source of all the markers - determinacy, clarity, insight, and transparency - upon which the designation 'reality' depended. Accordingly, the eye came to symbolise the emotional detachment necessary for hoisting the disembodied (but mostly male) observer out of the reciprocal subject-object milieu and into the terrain of decidability and independence that privileged a universalist subjectivity in which the world was 'there' for all to see (Jones III, 1995: 74).

John Paul Jones III identifies two key ideas that are useful starting points for an examination of the privileging of the visual. First, he makes explicit the interdependence of the modernist and scientific 'projects'; both were founded upon forms of certainty and reality which depended upon the privileging of the visual. The notion that "modernity privileged ocularity over other forms of sensory apprehension" (Jones III, 1995: 74) is well documented (for example see Crary, 1990; Jay, 1993; I. Young, 1990a). Taking this as a given I now discuss the ways in which the privileging of the visual is played out in geography fieldtrip cultures in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1990s.

Second, Jones III argues that the privileging of the visual (re)produces the disciplinary practice of disembodied observation of a 'real' world that exists 'out there'. The metaphorical separation of eyes from bodies and of the 'real' world 'out there' from the inhabitants of that world, constitutes the visual and the real world as exteriorities (crudely put, eyes and the world are exterior to the body) which confines "the morphology [of the 'real' world] to the question of specular reflection" (Kirby, 1997: 126). But knowledge is not a finished product to be plucked from outside of us [an exteriority] and analysed and stored inside of us [an interiority] (Sayer, 1984: 19; also see Bourdieu, 1990; Scott, 1992). Instead, I want to think "through the surfaces within surfaces that couple exteriority within interiority" (Kirby, 1997: 126), to suggest the interplay of emotional, rational and physical through the surfaces and depths of the body and of the environment.

3.1 The Drawings of 'Body Parts'⁸⁴

In this section, I analyse some of the drawings of body parts, in particular the drawings most explicitly connected with the privileging of the visual. Students on the seven residential fieldtrips were asked to draw what they expected to do on the forthcoming fieldtrip. The drawings by students (and one teacher who offered to do a drawing) show bodies (albeit stick bodies in most drawings), body parts, embodied and disembodied activities, and bodily functions within the imagined social world of a forthcoming geography fieldtrip. The 192 drawings were divided into four groups for further analysis. The largest group of drawings were of stick bodies; 134 drawings (70 per cent) were in this category. No flesh was evident although sometimes the stick body was dressed in skirts to indicate female geographers and trousers to indicate male geographers.⁸⁵ In contrast, 22 (11 per cent) were of 'whole' bodies which means that a whole body or bodies were drawn. In other words, a fleshy body was evident although in one drawing only the top half of the body was visible. Nineteen drawings (10 per cent) were of body parts, that is, body parts such as a head, eyes, hands, legs and feet, were depicted separately. The drawings where no body was evident comprised the final group, 17 (9 per cent) were in this category.

The most commonly drawn body parts were heads (21) followed by eyes (8), feet/legs (5), hands (3), and mouth (3). These body parts were then shown

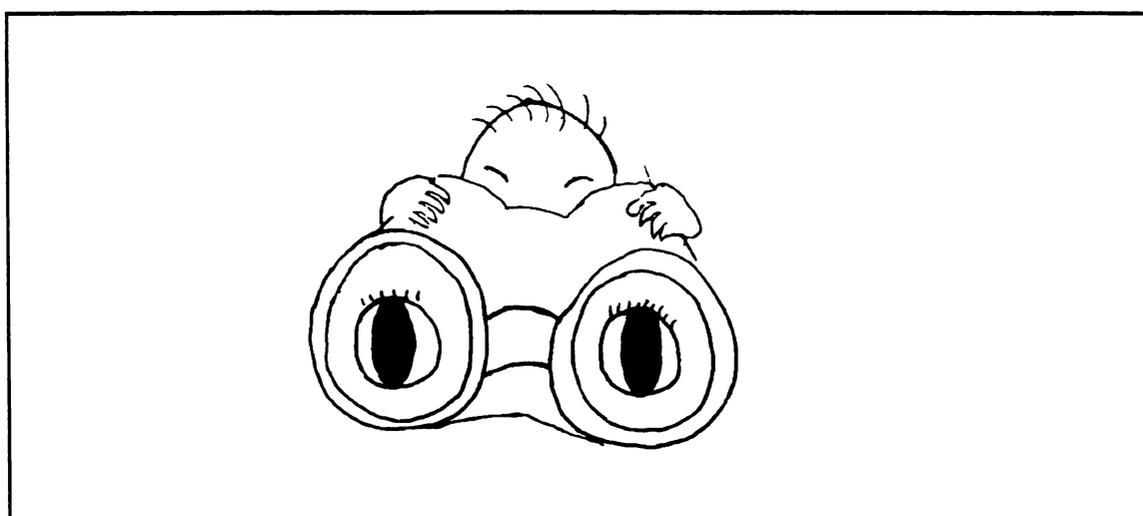
⁸⁴ An earlier version of this chapter was presented as a conference paper 'Geography Fieldtrip Bodies: Re-Presenting Students' Drawings' in the 1998 Proceedings from the Second Joint Institute of Australian Geographers and New Zealand Geographical Society Conference, Hobart, Australia, January, 1997.

⁸⁵ This leads me to wonder about the undressed stick bodies as to whether they are both female and male geographers OR male geographers unless shown as otherwise, that is, in skirts. For example, Bradshaw et al. (1995: 171) found that: "children assign gender to ['androgynous'] humanoid figures, and that male as norm prevails".

as part of a particular set of activities. The head was shown as thinking (this was symbolised by a light bulb and/or the symbol for thinking), talking/arguing/singing, observing/looking, listening, smiling (to show having fun), eating, and *not* sleeping. There was overlap between the activities associated with more general representations of the head and more specific representations of activities associated with parts of the head such as the eyes and the mouth. Hands were shown using a measuring tape, writing, and just as a hand. Feet/legs were shown as walking, standing, and injured (therefore in a plaster cast). This provides an overview of the drawings of body parts. I now consider particular drawings in more detail. Each drawing is re-presented in the text for the reader to look at and bring their own analysis to the task.

The privileging of the visual was most apparent in the drawing (see Figure 3) by Jill (a high school student) who had not been on a fieldtrip prior to the drawing exercise.

Figure 3 Jill's drawing of what she expects to do on a fieldtrip

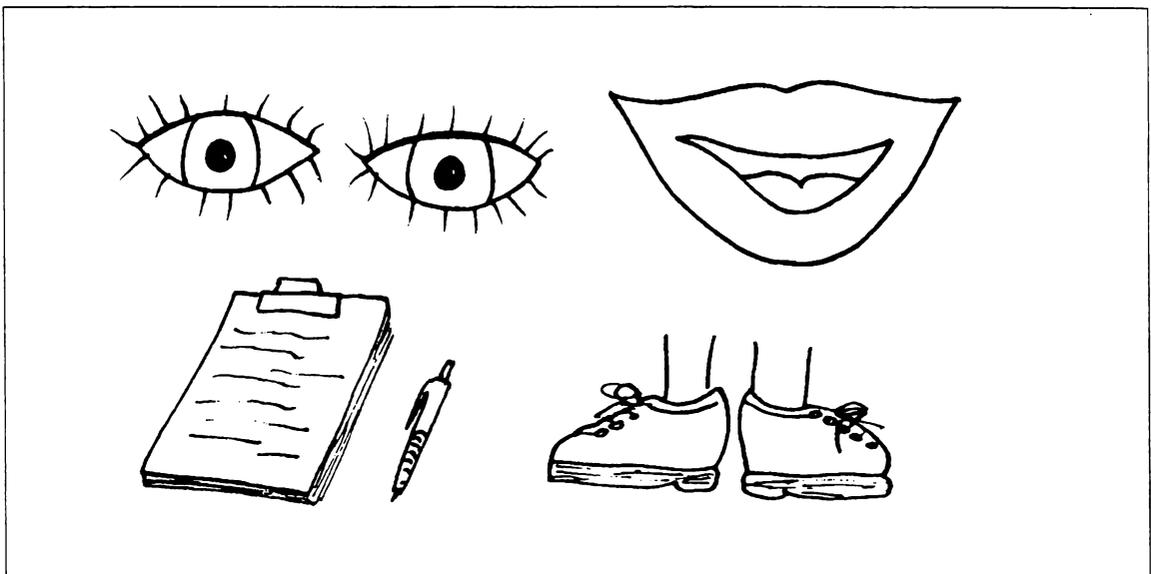


The eyes are emphasised and mediated by a piece of equipment that facilitates the possibility for the eyes to see further and to see more clearly than would otherwise be possible. The eyes are disembodied in two ways - there is no body to go with the head, and the eyes appear at the end of a pair of binoculars. Yet

the bodily function of seeing is magnified to emphasise visual activity on a fieldtrip. The visual is further emphasised because it is the only activity that Jill has chosen to draw on the page. Jill's drawing exemplifies G. Rose's (1993) claim that "fieldwork is all about looking".

Other drawings emphasised seeing as well as other senses; two drawings exemplify this trend. One drawing (see Figure 4) was done by Anita (a high school student) who had already been on two previous geography fieldtrips at the time of the drawing exercise.

Figure 4 Anita's drawing of what she expects to do on a fieldtrip

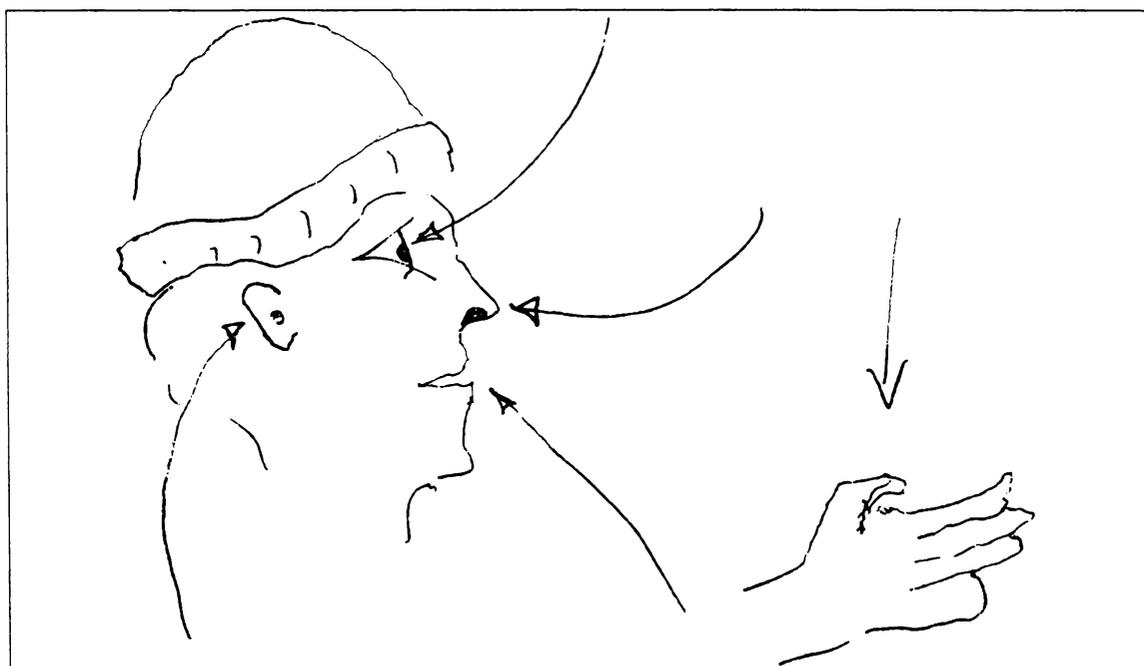


The drawing represents what Anita expects to do on a geography fieldtrip (based on prior experience) and is arranged in a compartmentalised fashion. This drawing could be interpreted as showing that geography students look, smile?/taste?/talk?, write and walk on fieldtrips. The eyes and mouth are not contextualised in a head, rather they are emphasised by the lack of context. Again the drawing of the eyes emphasises the visual but this is in turn de-emphasised by the drawings of other body parts. It could be argued that all four body parts and associated bodily activities are equally emphasised because the spatial dimensions that each part takes up are proportional.

However, in the left to right manner of reading, the eyes appear first so that the visual is privileged in the ordering of the drawing sequence. If you assume that a drawing cannot automatically be 'read' in the same way as written text and could be read from top to bottom, the eyes still appear first (see Monaco, 1981: chapter 3).⁸⁶ The visual is prioritised in the drawing sequence but other senses/functions are also significant.

The other exemplar (see Figure 5) of this trend was a picture drawn by Andrew (a university student) who had not been on a geography fieldtrip before.

Figure 5 Andrew's drawing of what he expects to do on a fieldtrip



During my interview with Andrew, conducted six months after the fieldtrip, I asked him to talk about his drawing:

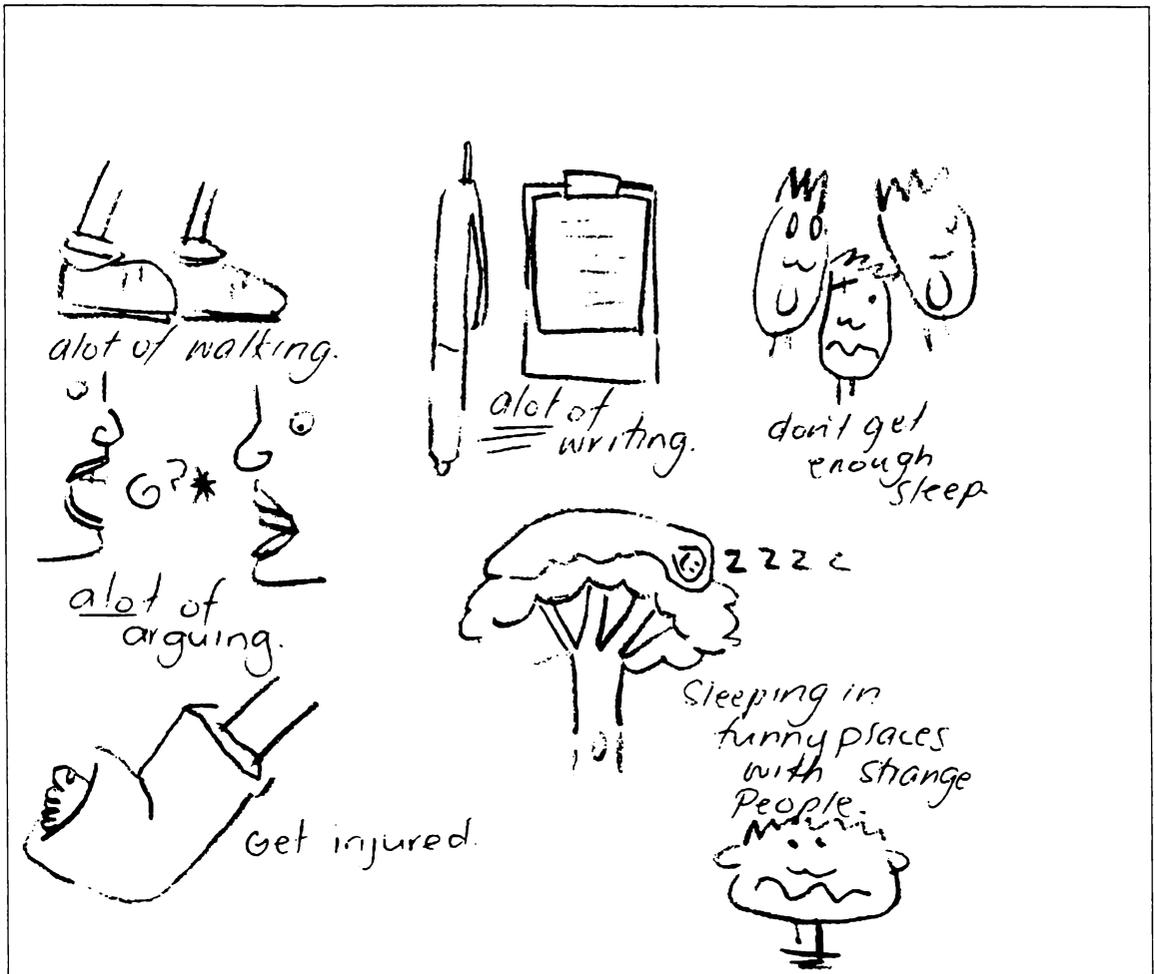
⁸⁶ But these are taken-for granted cultural assumptions about the ways that English language texts (and possibly visual images) are read, that is, left to right, top to bottom and this does not apply to other languages and other visual texts.

The sketch of a head and a hand, the head is wearing a beanie to sort of represent . . . what I expected I'd have to be wearing to keep warm on the fieldtrip. The arrows pointing to all the various senses that I thought I would need to use on the fieldtrip, I'd be seeing a lot of things, I'd be listening to a lot of noises, different smells and with the mouth, I think I was also, that's a communication thing, I was going to be doing interaction with other students on the trip. The hand represents the practical side and the hands-on aspects to the fieldtrip and actually getting out and doing something practical. Sort of all those things . . . not only apply to the field days but also sort of the social interaction, and even things like meal preparation and so on in the mornings and in the evenings (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 4/11/96).

Andrew's drawing and words are interesting in a number of ways. First, he takes account of all five bodily senses - taste, touch, smell, hearing, eyesight. Andrew presents us with a sensuous geography/geographer, a geographer who does more than privilege the visual senses (see Rodaway, 1994; G. Rose, 1993). Andrew's words and drawing undermine Rose's (1993) claim that "fieldwork is all about looking". Andrew includes all five senses, but there are different levels of 'control' available to Andrew via each sense. For example, "ears hear whatever is available for them to hear; eyes choose what to see" (Monaco, 1981: 125). Similarly, taste and touch is more a matter of 'choice' than smell. The visual can be directed, whether that be self or teacher/lecturer directed. Taste and touch can also be (self) directed. Often eyes and hands were metaphorically connected; seeing for yourself was often 'equated' with hands-on (see Duncan, 1993). Andrew's drawing and words also indicate the significance of seeing (he refers to this sense first) and hands-on. Second, Andrew's words demonstrate that the person in the drawing is himself. Rather than drawing an embodied other, he drew himself, or at least parts of himself. In spite of Andrew's attention to those dimensions that demonstrate embodiment, he has also rendered a form of disembodiment in his drawing, his head does not have a body, his hand is not attached to a body.

The next drawing (see Figure 6) that I consider in detail was drawn by Kathryn (a high school student) who had been on one previous geography fieldtrip at the time she was asked to do the drawing.

Figure 6 Kathryn's drawing of what she expects to do on a fieldtrip



Kathryn's drawing is a collection of body parts - heads and feet/legs. Again this collection of drawings is about both embodied (bodily functions such as walking/talking/sleeping are portrayed) *and* disembodied geography students (they have no bodies between heads and toes). But the visual was not privileged in this drawing. Instead, a number of other discourses are emphasised in this drawing; namely, an able-bodied discourse ("a lot of walking") which is undercut by injury (the attendant risks of able-bodied discourses?), an academic discourse ("a lot of writing"/"a lot of arguing"), and domestic/bodily discourses ("sleeping in funny places with strange

people"/"don't get enough sleep"). In particular, bodily functions to do with (lack of) sleep were emphasised in this drawing (two of the six pictures in Figure 6 are specifically related to sleep). While Kathryn emphasises both embodied and disembodied dimensions of residential fieldtrips, there was no privileging of the visual. Rather other senses and discourses were anticipated by this student.

These four students (as well as 15 others) drew 'body parts'; this might indicate that they did not have the time and/or the inclination to draw 'whole bodies'. Yet I suggest another interpretive layer: these students' decisions (conscious and unconscious) to draw 'body parts' could be symbolic of fieldtrip culture in two ways. First, the drawings of 'body parts' emphasise the visual in many but not in all cases (see Kathryn's drawing). The singular privileging of the visual (as in the case of Jill's drawing) was undermined in drawings where other senses were included (as in the case of Anita's and Andrew's drawings), or rendered absent (as in the case of Kathryn's drawing). Observation was anticipated as a significant activity on a geography fieldtrip, but writing was anticipated more frequently than observation when activities represented in the total set of drawings are considered. I counted 111 instances of students note-taking, 78 instances of observing, 51 instances of collecting/measuring and 47 instances of walking, in the set of 192 drawings.⁸⁷ Indeed, the prioritising of note-taking can be discerned in the order of Joan's (written) expectations of a forthcoming fieldtrip: "Writing Walking Working Geography fieldtrips are lots and lots of work" (underlined in original); observation went

⁸⁷ But this data must be read with two key provisos in mind. First, it was easier to count instances of note-taking than observing. A drawing of a student with their eyes open could be interpreted as observation and/or as an indication that they were awake. A student holding pen and/or paper was less ambiguous to interpret. Second, there is overlap between the categories of observation and collection/measurement because these latter tasks often rely on the visual. Similarly, there is overlap between note-taking and collection/measurement because these latter tasks rely on the recording of information.

un-noted.⁸⁸ The pre-fieldtrip exercise indicated that many students anticipated an academic discourse concerned with the realm of the rational, thinking subject who writes down what is observed, as well as a discourse concerned with able-bodiedness and being physically fit. These discourses could be summarised as - writing, watching and walking (the three w's were inspired by Joan's words above). Writing is a key task in the classroom and on the fieldtrip; the culture of the fieldtrip may not be so different from the classroom although some students and staff members anticipated otherwise. Perhaps there are more similarities than differences between fieldtrip and classroom cultures?

The second interpretation of students' decisions to draw particular 'body parts' is exemplified by the compartmentalised style of Anita's drawing (see Figure 4). Compartmentalisation of the body is symbolic of a fieldtrip culture that also emphasises selected parts of the environment, selected places and parts of places, and selected ways of 'knowing'/learning about these parts (fieldnotes, 6/5/96). This trend was particularly noticeable during one physical geography fieldtrip. Each day was concerned with an 'environmental part' (re)named with factitious geographical terminology (see Lee, 1996) - 'the river'/hydrology, 'the land'/geomorphology, 'the climate'/climatology, 'the vegetation'/biogeography - which parallels the compartmentalisation of 'the body' in western thinking (fieldnotes, 6/5/96). The compartmentalisation of 'the environmental body' ties in with the compartmentalisation of 'the body of geography knowledge' into human and physical geographies, and then into further sub-disciplines (see Gibson-Graham, 1998). This is not necessarily a one-way, self-contained process within the geography discipline. Rather it is a mutually constitutive process that relies on wider social discourses that also compartmentalise women's bodies into 'body parts' - thighs, breasts, lips -

⁸⁸ Joan subverted my request for a drawing of her expectations of a forthcoming fieldtrip and instead she wrote words in the space made available for drawing.

which are sometimes a whole but depersonalised 'body' (for example, Elle McPherson was known as 'the body'; also see Jones, 1991; Wolf, 1991).

Body parts have been chosen by these students to represent the activities that they expected geography students to do while on a residential fieldtrip. The drawings were about body parts and by implication were embodied in terms of the body part represented, and disembodied in terms of the body parts that were left out. It could be argued that particular body parts were left out because students did not expect the activities/functions these body parts might represent to occur on fieldtrips and/or did not perceive these embodied activities/functions as important and/or acceptable to draw. These drawings were instructive both in terms of what was drawn, what was made visible, what was emphasised, and in terms of what was not drawn, what remained invisible, unemphasised. For example, there were no drawings of asthmatic students unable to climb a hill, there were no drawings about how you might find a place to go to the toilet while out on bare hills for the day measuring windspeed, air temperature and wind direction, there were no drawings of how female students might cope with menstruation as well as a lack of privacy and/or toilet facilities on a residential fieldtrip.

The analysis thus far has concentrated on students' expectations about what they might do on a residential fieldtrip, and these expectations both reinforce as well as undermine the privileging of the visual. In the next section, I examine how these expectations of the visual were enacted during and after fieldtrips. Although I identify the inherent contradictions of participants' claims to seeing as knowing, I leave the deconstructive work, the work of giving 'Seeing For Yourself' an identity crisis, for a separate section in this chapter.

3.2 'Seeing for Yourself' on a Fieldtrip

Students, teachers and lecturers talked during and after fieldtrips (in the post-fieldtrip interviews) about the significance and the importance of the fieldtrip as an opportunity to see the real world for yourself. At times the notion of seeing for yourself was conflated with the notion of hands-on. The theme of 'seeing for yourself' seemed to also mean 'doing it for yourself', eyes and hands were metaphorically connected (Andrew's drawing is one example of this, refer back to figure 5). The self-evidence of claims to seeing were often imbued, therefore, with far more complex meaning, meanings that included other senses.

Many student and staff responses to my questions about what they remembered about the fieldtrip, what they had learnt on the fieldtrip, whether fieldtrips were an effective way to learn geography, and so on (see Appendix 5 for the post-fieldtrip questions) were exemplified by the following dialogue with two female high school students who went on a coastal fieldtrip:

Evelyn: I remember the cross section, especially because that was the first thing we did. And it's also like when I go to draw those cross sections I can actually see the beach, which is quite helpful, 'cause we've been doing cross sections recently. And the trip round the peninsula as well, we actually walked round it, but other than that.

Carmen: And when you're walking round the peninsula you can like see the things that are there, like they say things like sea walls in the class and that, and then when you get there you actually know what they are, and the marina and stuff like that.

Evelyn: No, it's just like when you're there and you're learning about it you can actually see how it all happens, if you can see like the beach and that. It's just helpful (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participants, 7/11/97).

These claims were reiterated by many students and I have selected Evelyn's and Carmen's dialogue because it demonstrates the privileging of the visual as well as the interconnection of seeing/doing it (walking there) for yourself. This was accentuated by the students' use of the terms "practically" and "physically" to qualify the quality of their seeing, a quality that has stayed with these two students as they remember back to a fieldtrip that took place seven months previously. "Actually seeing it physically" implies both seeing the physical world and a physical body that enables/walks the eyes to see. Seeing and doing it for yourself was extended to also thinking for yourself:

Evelyn: If we were to do it in a textbook I don't think I would ever, you know I just wouldn't quite understand the workings of it.

Carmen: You'd be repeating what the textbook said, not what you could think for yourself (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participants, 7/11/97).

These self-evident claims to seeing "how it *all* happens" (my emphasis) and to seeing, doing and thinking for yourself would be easy to accept on the basis of surface appearances. Indeed, the words of these two female students imply that seeing, doing and thinking for themselves on geography fieldtrips is a helpful, even empowering, form of learning. But I want to interrogate these claims in terms of what might go unseen, unnoticed and therefore remain outside of what students understand as geographic knowledge. I do not want to suggest that these two students were not being truthful in their claims. Rather I want to challenge these claims in order to explicate what it is about the culture of the geography discipline and of geography fieldtrips in particular that leads students to expect to see it *all*, to experience seeing as an epistemological guarantee, and to assume that such seeing and knowing is achieved entirely on their own behalf. 'Seeing is believing' misses the function of critical thinking. I do not want to stop students seeing; it is *how* they see that is at issue here.

The interrogation of seeing as an epistemological guarantee is taken up more fully during an interview with a female university student. Carol was comparing theory with practice, practice which includes seeing as well as doing (such as measuring):

Carol: I was a bit more sceptical about the theory, to be quite honest, because a measurement you've seen, like you know pretty much that this is accurate to say plus or minus twenty percent, and you've seen it happen, you've seen the measurement, okay, and you've had the hands-on and the observation of what goes on. And that is to everyone, I think, infinitely more believable than something that you read out of the textbook or something that you're presented with and said okay, here's the theory. You know?

Karen: Do you think it's possible that what you see might be wrong?

Carol: How can what you see be wrong though, really?

Karen: But what you see with your eye and what you might be able to measure in, or collect data in other ways might actually be different . . .

Carol: ... you can't see where you're getting inaccuracy in the theory, and you can't see where the methodology is falling down. But you can see in the practical. You can see and accept and make allowances for the various things that you know that you're not measuring exactly precisely (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96).

Carol reiterates the theory/practice binary (Berg, 1994) which was often represented during the interviews (this interview was one of many examples) as the textbook/'real' world binary. Carol remains adamant that what she saw was epistemologically more valid than the theory she read in textbooks and/or was presented with in lectures. Carol has learnt to be "sceptical about the theory" but not about seeing. Such scepticism about theory and about textbooks was reinforced during fieldtrips; "anti-theory discourse enjoys hegemonic status among the many discursive constructs at work in New Zealand geography" (Berg, 1994: 253). This reinforcement was not surprising given that one goal for the physical fieldtrip that Carol participated in, was "a lot of emphasis given to this thing which is shorthanded for the students as

being *the confrontation* that occurs in the field between what is learned from the textbook and what is actually evident on the ground" (Bruce, Interview with University B staff member, 1/7/96, my emphasis). The theory/practice, textbook/'real' world binaries are evident in this lecturer's words, and the discursive relations of the respective terms are confrontational and implicitly weighted in favour of actual evidence on the ground. Geography students were expected and were taught to be sceptical of what they had learned from the textbook on the basis of what they saw on the ground (a practice that is also referred to as ground truthing, a symbolic metaphor for the geography discipline?). But it was not expected (and therefore was not taught) that this same scepticism be applied to the process of seeing "what is actually evident on the ground". Carol goes on to say:

I really believe it once I've seen it and I like know that that's true, instead of just being told . . . 'cause people don't look and don't see, a lot of people, without it being pointed out to them. . . so I think that for a lot of people it is an essential thing to like go and say, have a look at this, and teach people how to observe and how to translate what they see, as such, and to teach them different skills from what you can teach them in a lecture (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96).

Carol has learnt to place more credibility on what she sees than on what she hears. As Rose (1996: 281) points out "knowing the world, it seems, is also very often about seeing the world", and Carol's words illustrate Rose's point. A further qualification is necessary, however, believing the world depends on seeing the world. Scott (1992: 23) critiques the privileging of the visual, the taken-for-granted notion that "[k]nowledge is gained through vision; vision is a direct, unmediated apprehension of a world of transparent objects". Carol's words indicate her awareness that vision is mediated by those (lecturers/teachers) who point out what to observe and how to translate what is seen. But Carol is more suspicious of what she hears from lecturers/teachers

(which is also mediated). How have Carol and many other geography students learnt to place so much trust in what they see?

One male geography lecturer spelt out in detail what was involved in "teach[ing] people how to observe and how to translate what they see" (to use Carol's words).

Bruce: How do we know that that thing we've observed has been produced . . . by that explanation that we've offered? . . . How is it that we can make those interpretations? How can you know? And a lot of the time what we're effectively doing, I think, is saying to students, this is how you can extract information and this is how you can build some level of confidence that this is the correct information about that phenomenon. Because again, *science is not so much about what we think*, it's about what we can empirically verify, so there's this endless emphasis on empirical verification which takes you straight back into measurement and observation, the tools of the trade and all that sort of stuff (Interview with University B staff member, 13/6/96, my emphasis).

Bruce makes two claims that are significant to the argument here. First, he describes how he (and others) teach students to see and how this seeing is in turn verified by further seeing. In other words, the students are being taught to see and to check/evaluate their seeing with more seeing ("measurement and observation"). In this model of scientific empiricism, seeing and therefore knowing are epistemologically guaranteed by the very same mode on which the initial claims were made. The possibility of evaluation or critique of the method of seeing/observation is negated by this self-referencing, self-proving cycle of we see because we see because we see because we see . . . which is a reassertion of its own authority (Bondi and Domosh, 1992; Livingstone, 1990). There is a dependence "on a referential notion of evidence which denies that it is anything but a reflection of the real" (Scott, 1992: 24; also see Cloke et al., 1991: chapter 5 on realism).

Second, Bruce claims that "science is not so much about what we think", but about what we are able to see and to verify. He names this particular way of seeing as:

this business of empirical science. How can you know in a verifiable way about something that's out there? It's the most important thing I think. So perhaps to put it in the kind of terms that I understand you might be more particularly interested in, you're talking about acculturating them to science, right? Yeah. It's *a* way of looking at the world. Not the only way but it's *a* way. And this is their first shot at it (Interview with University B fieldtrip staff member, 13/6/96, original emphasis).

In the "business of empirical science", Bruce is constructing observation and measurement as independent of thinking (also see previous quote). He implies that observation and measurement are not shaped by thinking, prior knowledge, or prior assumptions.

Each measure is neutral and exists independent of our thinking, so far as Naive Realists are concerned. Thus, according to this logic, conveying the world requires nothing more than a description of its facts and most assuredly it does not require assumptions of 'hidden' entities (Gibson, 1981: 153).

Bruce appears to have no conception of knowledge as an "active process which produces its own objects of investigation, including empirical facts" (Fuss, 1989: 118) because "[f]acts are never *given*; they are always produced" (Hindess and Hirst, 1975: 2-3, emphasis in original). Empirical facts, the 'real' world are not just 'out there' waiting to be discovered, seen, believed, known. Rather students are told where to go, what to see (often with a pointing finger), and how to see in terms of what they are told to map and take notes about. Seeing on geography fieldtrips is structured in particular ways. Although Bruce acknowledges that scientific empiricism is only one way of seeing, he did not describe other ways of seeing and how they might be taught, during my two interviews with him. Instead, the "business of empirical science" took centre stage on this particular seven-day fieldtrip and it was students' "first shot at it".

The temporal and spatial prioritising of this mode of teaching could convey the message to students that this was an important (and perhaps only way) of seeing and doing geography fieldwork.

The structuring of vision in particular ways - the process of telling and/or pointing out to students what to see and how to see - was exemplified by Carol's and Bruce's words. But is this particular form of (geographic) seeing, seeing for yourself? Martin and Joan, two high school students, were already familiar with the coastal environment where the fieldtrip was taking place because their respective families had been on holidays there. In other words, they had already 'seen' the coastal environment where the fieldtrip was taking place. But both students explained that they would not have noticed particular geographic aspects of that environment unless they were pointed out.

Martin: Yeah, 'cause I just looked at it as, it was a good place to go [on holiday] but I never looked at what was around me. I just walked along the road, went around to the seal colony, looked at the seals. Didn't actually look at what was there, just the seals. Didn't take any notice of anything else.

Joan: Yeah, and I'd been there [on holiday] and I'd looked at the beach and everything, but you don't see it because it's not pointed out, I guess. You know, when we were travelling along the beach [the teacher] would catch up with us and say, you know, look at this and this and this and you'd notice (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participants, 6/11/95).

Similarly, another female high school student explained that if she had not learnt geography she would not have noticed the 'blow out' in the dunes of the beach they were studying. "And things like a 'blow out', you know . . . there's a cut in the dune, where we walked, I mean you can learn that, but if you'd gone there without learning geography you wouldn't even notice it, it's just where you walk down the dune to get on the beach" (Jasmine, Interview with High School A fieldtrip participant, 2/11/95). To re-phrase the earlier quote from

Foucault (1984, cited in Lee, 1996: 15) in the light of Jasmine's words, geographic discourse has the power to create the reality of a blow out, 'a cut in the dune', by naming and giving meaning to particular features of the beach from a geographic perspective.

Geographic discourse is not the only discourse about the beach; there were other discourses, one of which is encapsulated in this male high school student's words:

Stephen: Well, take the beach for example. You see that, remember the little stream coming out?

Karen: Yeah.

Stephen: You got to think oh, fluvial transportation. Ahh, geography, you know, you've learnt one thing already, and you've just got to look round and actually think and be on to it in that sort of sense . . .

Karen: . . . like if you were there at the beach and not on a fieldtrip?

Stephen: Then you'd have to use self-imagery. What you do at Christmas, you see, or you've done during an experience, and you sort of don't notice those things, you notice the beach ball, the swimming with friends, the lying down and relaxing and stuff in the sun, barbecues, sort of not the real geography. Whereas if you go out on fieldtrips and you've only got that, you don't have the barbecue, you don't get time to sit down then you have to find these new ways of learning about your, in geography ways, so that's why a sort of fieldtrip is good, compared to staying back at school (Interview with High School A fieldtrip participant, 24/10/96).

Stephen utilises a range of visual metaphors to explain that what was noticed and named about a beach could be very different depending on which discourse you might be operating in. Implicit in Stephen's words is a kind of mutual exclusivity between geographic and Christmas-at-the beach discourses, that what counts as geography is the factitious naming of 'the little stream' as 'fluvial transportation' (see Lee, 1996). Fluvial transportation was no accidental fact or object of investigation, rather the geographic discourse of fieldtrips

produces fluvial transportation and the beach, as facts, as objects of study. Whereas "swimming with friends, the lying down and relaxing and stuff in the sun, barbecues, sort of not the real geography" is excluded from the re-production of geographic knowledge in spite of the potential geographic learning about currents, water and air temperatures, and so on that might be gained from these other activities, activities that were more than just seeing.

The desire to put one's feet or body in the sand, to be in the water, can be understood as meaning embodied - feel, touch, fluid - and possibly not speakable. If visual images invoke such a desire they are not enough. Perhaps they work precisely by demanding more: a desire related to senses other than sight (Game, 1991: 177).

The privileging of the visual is constantly undercut by embodied fieldwork (see next chapter). The embodied beach discourses that Stephen refers to, might be excluded from the official programme of the coastal fieldtrip but students still found ways and means to play (as well as work, or in some cases, instead of work) in the water and the sand during the coastal fieldtrips (fieldnotes, 7/3/96).

The structuring of vision by staff and students, both in terms of what is included and excluded as geographic knowledge, is exemplified in the quotes above. But what happens if students do not see what they are supposed to see?

Joan: I wish they'd told us about the human modification and about Lyell Creek being dredged. You know? Beforehand, and maybe said this is what it [is], and look out for it, 'cause I never saw it, well I think I saw it, I'm not sure.

Karen: . . . when you're on fieldtrips do you in some ways only see what you're told to look out for?

Martin: . . . I mean you've got not a lot of time to really do it, then you're not going to look around at other things. You're just going to do what you've got to do in time, try and get it over with (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participants, 6/11/95).

I selected the above quote because it relates to two issues; first, these two students claim that they only saw what they were told to see, and in the apparent absence of such instructions, these two students missed relevant geographic information (in this case examples of human modification). Even if their teacher had talked about or pointed out examples of human modification, these two students did not see (perhaps they were at the back of the group and their view was obscured) or hear about them (above the noise of the sea and other outdoor noises). Geographic information that was part of the syllabus, and was therefore examinable, went unseen/unheard/unnoticed by these two students (although Joan is not certain about whether she saw human modification/Lyell Creek).

Second, examples of human modification were barely mentioned on this coastal fieldtrip which could explain why these two students did not have the time to see/hear about them. This is not surprising given that human modifications are somewhat de-emphasised in the Prescription and Unit Standard documents. In the case of the Prescription (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 1993: 625), natural processes are headlined and described in detail. "[T]he extent and nature of modification of [natural processes] by human activity" is the last item in the list of topics to be covered. In the case of the relevant Unit Standard (No. 5095, New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 1995: 3), again human modifications are listed as the fourth and final element to be assessed. The human modifications forgotten on the fieldtrip were introduced retrospectively by a facsimile - "it's funny because we got back to school and we were sent a fax about the human modifications" (Joan, interview with High School B fieldtrip participants, 6/11/95). Perhaps the chief examiner's report for the 1994 national University Bursary examination had arrived in schools to remind teachers that "[o]nly a small number [of candidates] could explain how the specific actions of people had led to the changes in natural processes over time. The need to focus on the prescription has been mentioned in previous reports" (University Entrance and

Bursaries 1994 Examination Chief Examiner's Report, 1994: 2). Although human modifications were not significant in terms of the time allocated during this fieldtrip, Joan and Martin indicated later in the interview that these human modifications were part of classroom discussion, the practice exams and the end of year exam.

In this section, I have problematised seeing as an epistemological guarantee and exposed some of the inherent contradictions of geographers' and geography students' reliance on *seeing* and *seeing for yourself*. Fieldtrip knowledge was usually presented by teachers and academic staff who, like the students, were 'outsiders' to the fieldtrip site, yet their institutional role as expert conveyers of geographic knowledge renders the fieldtrip ethos of students *seeing for themselves* illusory. Rather, students see vicariously, usually through the eyes of their teachers and lecturers. Students were taught what to see and how to see but not to question seeing as a primary mode of acquiring geographical knowledge. "I really believe it once I've seen it" (Carol's words) "what is actually evident on the ground" (Bruce's words). This "[b]elief in the truth of Experience [of 'Seeing For Yourself'] is as much an ideological production as belief in the experience of [Seeing] Truth" (Fuss, 1989: 114). In the next section, I examine what students expected to see on geography fieldtrips, what counted as the 'real' world that they went *out* to see.

4 THE PRIVILEGING OF THE NATURAL AS THE 'REAL' WORLD

Jones III (1995: 71) argues that objectivity is a complex notion buttressed by a particular construction of (scientific) reality which is distinguished by:

the rejection of metaphysics in favour of direct experience with reality; a belief that reality is independent of the observer; the assumption that facts exist pretheoretically and are prior to the researcher's values; a conviction that the truth value of knowledge claims may only be judged vis-a-vis these facts; an acceptance of the division between factual and fictional representation; and, finally, the certainty that scientific progress is guaranteed by the continual reassessment of earlier knowledge claims.

This list provides a useful summary of the previous section as well as a starting point from which to discuss geography students' construction of 'natural' environments as the 'real' world, a world more real (for some students and staff) than the built environments of schools, universities, towns and cities. In such a conception of the 'real': "[s]cientific representation is mere mimesis, that is, presentation without representation" (Jones III, 1995: 82; also see Duncan, 1993).

Duncan (1993) examines European representations of Africa last century to show that what appeared to be mimetic then, now seem like gross distortions of reality from our late twentieth century perspectives. "Only when we seriously explore these representations which we find self-evidently false can we begin to question the representations that we find self-evidently true. Only then will our own sites of representation become visible to us" (Duncan, 1993: 54). The 'real' world "is at once always already an interpretation *and* in need of interpretation" (Scott, 1992: 37, emphasis in original).

4.1 The Drawings of 'Environmental Parts'

In this section, students' representations/interpretations - their drawings - of what counts as the most likely fieldtrip context are re-presented and re-interpreted, and "thus the text expands while being interpreted which precludes the possibility of the text ever being exhausted in interpretation" (Bauman, 1992: 131, summarising Derrida). The drawings of 'body parts' were paralleled by the drawings of selected parts of the 'natural' environment.⁸⁹ The

⁸⁹ I use the term environment because it has the potential to include both land and coastal environments, as well as urban and cultivated environments. Other terms such as land, landscape and nature are less inclusive of this range of environments but are still relevant terms.

four most commonly drawn 'environmental parts' were mountains/hills/cliffs (81) followed by sea/waves (50), trees/vegetation (40), and sun/moon/clouds/rain (31). The drawings of 'environmental parts' portrayed what the research participants perceived to be the most likely environmental context for a residential geography fieldtrip. The research participants expected the fieldtrip context to be mountainous, hilly or coastal, as most likely to be sunny, daytime and vegetated with trees (for example see Figures 7 and 8 over).

Figure 7 Katy's drawing of what she expects to do on a fieldtrip

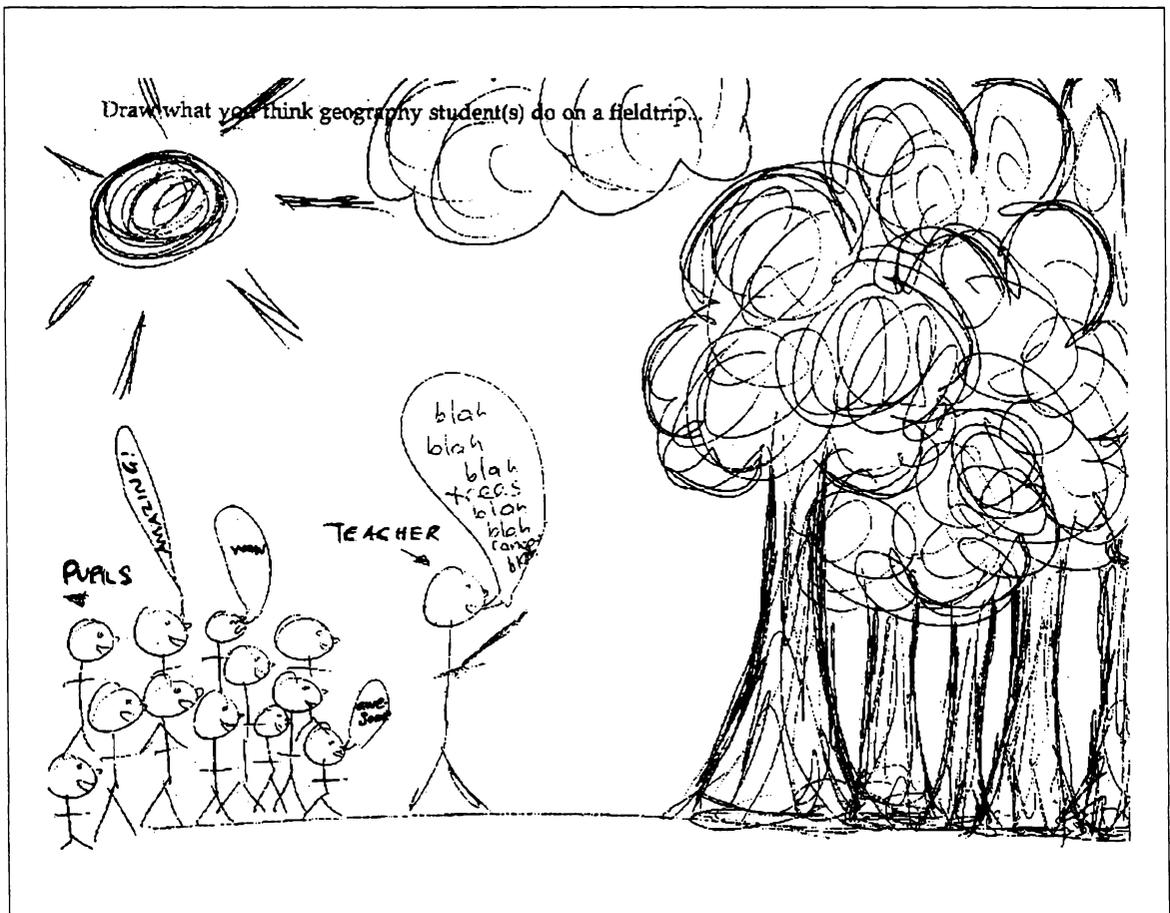
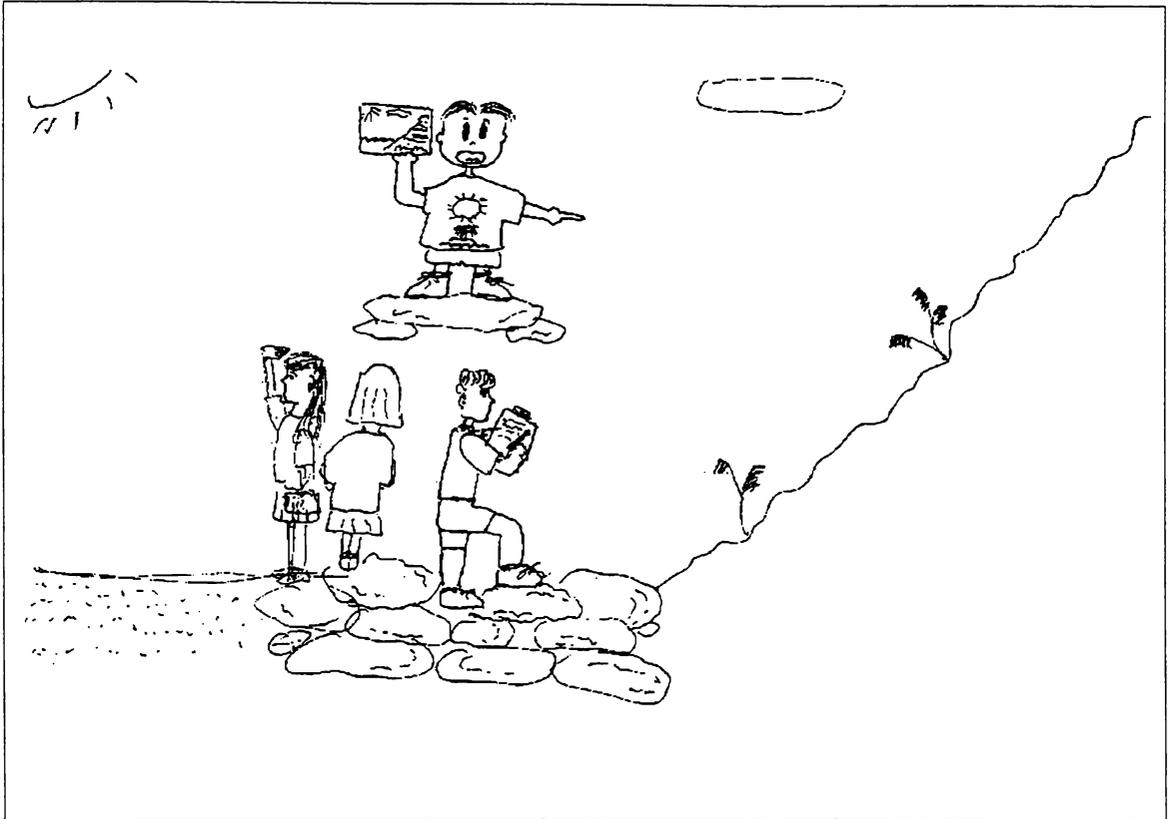


Figure 8 Sandra's drawing of what she expects to do on a fieldtrip



These drawings show that these research participants' expectations of 'natural' landscapes as fieldtrip environments in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1990s were congruent with Lee's (1996: 29) claim that "[t]he dominant tradition in Britain (and its former colonies) has been to ground the discipline within its 'origins' in the 'so-called natural landscape'" (also see Gale, 1985: 57).

The representation of the landscape is taken as a given, as standing for the landscape itself. Central here is the notion of a pure nature, always already untouched, unwritten. It is this purity which Derrida (1976) situates as 'logocentrism': the assumption of the unmediated presence of the truth of nature (Lee, 1996: 56-7).

The "truth of nature" portrayed in the drawings was more likely to be mountainous/hilly rather than flat relief, sunny/day-time rather than rainy and/or night-time, vegetated rather than built or farmed landscapes. This "truth of nature" was also somewhat exaggerated in some of the drawings and I take this issue up later in this chapter and again in Chapter 7.

Lee (1996: 29, emphasis in original) claims that "[g]eography's most influential paradigm this century has been what is termed *environmentalism* " (also see Gilbert, 1988; J. Young, 1990). The central concern of the environmentalism paradigm "has traditionally been (and persists in being) termed the 'man/land' relation" (Lee, 1996: 29; also see Longhurst and Peace, 1993). The 'man/land' dualism is often re-worded in the Australian context as 'human/land' and in the New Zealand context as 'people/environment'.⁹⁰ Lee (1996) carried out extensive research in one high school geography classroom in Western Australia and identified the man/land dualism operating in two major textbooks and other printed material handed out in class. This dualism is evident in some New Zealand geography textbooks in the layout, where the environment is introduced and explained first, followed by information about people's/human interactions with this environment. More textual space is devoted to the sections concerned with the environment (particularly the 'natural' environment) and less to the human dimensions (see for example, the Action publication series by D.U. Sewell, in particular *Natural Landscapes* and *Tropical Rainforests of Amazonia*). This people/environment (often a thinly disguised man/land) dualism means that people and environment are conceived of as separate, self-evident, even oppositional entities.

In the drawings, the humans depicted in 'natural' environments were fieldtrip bodies (students, teachers/lecturers), who were often (but not always) 'outsiders' to these particular environments, that is, they/we did not live in the fieldtrip location.⁹¹ In the drawings, no other bodies (tourists, locals, farmers, shopowners, and so on) were present, although other bodies were perhaps

⁹⁰ I 'play' with the terms of this dualism, sometimes using man/land when the gender specificity of 'man' seems most appropriate. At other times, people/environment seems more appropriate when I want to include women and men in relation to the environment.

⁹¹ I use the term fieldtrip bodies to refer to the geography students, teachers/lecturers, and myself the researcher. The term is used to purposefully draw attention to the fieldtrip participants as a distinct group compared with tourists, locals, farmers, shopowners, and so on.

hinted at in distant city highrise buildings. For example, in the drawings of coastal environments, there was no evidence of a nearby settlement, of past settlement by the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand, or of the presence of other bodies who may be enjoying the beach or the tourist attraction at the same time as the fieldtrip participants.

In particular, within this generic structure, what in geography is termed the 'natural landscape' is always presented first, in its 'edenic', 'authentic' or 'pre-contact' form. Humans are not part of this landscape; only afterwards are they represented in terms of their visitations - corruptions as well as enhancements - upon it (Lee, 1996: 57).

These 'natural' environmental parts were rendered more 'natural' by the absence of human inhabitants, and by the absence of human "corruptions as well as enhancements". For example, human modifications were seldom referred to on High School B's 1995 fieldtrip and were included *after* the fieldtrip via fax for exam preparation (see Joan's and Martin's earlier comments). In the case of this high school's 1996 fieldtrip, human modifications were taught on the last day of the three day fieldtrip (fieldnotes, 13/4/96). The 'natural' environment was prioritised via the order of fieldwork tasks and the amount of time allocated to these tasks on High School B's fieldtrip. The image (the drawings) and the practice (the fieldtrip) of the lone geographer and/or groups of geography students 'exploring' a 'natural' landscape uninterrupted by other human presence remains preserved. These images are relatively unchanged from the images of geographers exploring so-called 'uninhabited' lands that Stoddart (1986) presents in his book about the history of the geography discipline.

This particular collection of drawings represented geography students' pre-dominant expectations of a particular kind of 'natural' environment as the most likely fieldtrip destination in Aotearoa/New Zealand. And "what is 'natural' ceases to require a social or political explanation" (McDowell, 1992b: 410; also see Davies, 1990b; Kobayashi and Peake, 1994; Pratt, 1985). The

privileging of the 'natural' environment as the 'real' world by geography students and staff has social and political implications that require critical examination. "That which we take to be natural is very hard to understand as social, and even harder to understand as a ritual whose significance lies in the maintenance of [geography disciplinary]⁹² order" (Davies, 1990b: 513). That which we take as 'natural' is taken for granted as unquestionable and immutable.

Many potential and actual fieldtrip contexts were not represented in this collection of drawings. The drawings of coastal environments were to be expected from those students who knew they were about to go on a coastal fieldtrip. But the drawings of coastal and mountainous environments from students who were about to go on a migration fieldtrip to a city, or on a tourism fieldtrip to a village were even more interesting in terms of what was rendered invisible about the forthcoming fieldtrip (refer again to Appendix 3 for drawing instructions). It could be argued that those students based their drawings on previous experiences of geography fieldtrips, and a forthcoming fieldtrip to a village, town or city was irrelevant. Irrespective of the destination of a forthcoming fieldtrip, however, most students associated geography fieldtrips with 'natural' environmental parts rather than with cultivated landscapes (for example farms) or built environments. As long as these 'natural' environments were 'natural', they were somewhat interchangeable. For example, two different 'natural' (coastal and mountainous) environments were lightheartedly dismissed as 'the same difference' by a high school geography teacher. This teacher inadvertently labelled a photograph of students on a geography fieldtrip in the mountains with a coastal fieldtrip caption in the school's annual magazine. This teacher implied (with a chuckle)

⁹² Davies (1990b: 513) is discussing the maintenance of "the gender order" but her arguments can be applied to the maintenance of seemingly 'natural' tenets of the geography discipline during fieldtrips.

that it did not matter. Rather what counts is students doing geography in these 'natural' environments and therefore, the coast is the same as the mountains (fieldnotes, 29/3/95).

4.2 'Going out in the Real World' on a Fieldtrip

A rural rather than urban imaginary was represented in the drawings, although some rural environments were more 'natural' than others. A conversation with a geography academic during a university fieldtrip about other possible fieldtrip destinations, revealed more about what constitutes this particular rural imaginary. He pointed out that accommodation facilities tended to be available in farmland areas "where nothing is happening", that is, where no observable physical processes were happening in the landscape. I followed my documentation of this conversation with the following questions "not rugged enough? isolated enough? what counts as *happening*?" in the landscape (fieldnotes, 7/5/96).⁹³ During the post-fieldtrip interview with this same academic, he anticipated that the fieldtrip destination would be an unknown one for the students.

Bruce: They [the students] don't know the environment they are going to be doing it in, and environment in this case covers both, I refer both to the social environment in the camp and the natural environment outside the gate. Many of the students who come to those camps now are urban folk who are not experienced in the outdoors who have not a little apprehension on account of that as well (Interview with University B staff member, 1/7/96).

There are two binaries implicit in this academic's words: the rural/urban and the natural/cultural. The fieldtrip (both the social and the natural) environment is presented as an unknown environment, particularly for those

⁹³ Perceptions of what counts as happening and/or as isolated landscapes depend on where we live and who we are.

students who are from urban locations. It is an outdoor, a natural environment "outside the gate" of the camp, and "urban folk" (read 'soft', feminine) who are not experienced in such a 'natural'/outdoor (read 'hard', masculine) environment are likely to be apprehensive (see Berg, 1994; Longhurst and Wilson, forthcoming; Phillips, 1980). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, "nature and rural environments are masculinised and valued. Men are presented as being at home on the land, while (high) culture and the urban are feminised and not valued" (Longhurst and Wilson, forthcoming). The choice of fieldtrip destination was quite consciously 'out there' away from urban environments, ideally it was "rural, isolated and wild [which embodies] the ideals of the 'real' New Zealand" (Longhurst and Wilson, forthcoming). One student on this particular fieldtrip commented: "It was very remote. I don't know if it was actually remote in that it wasn't hugely far away from civilisation but it seemed like it was. Yeah, it seemed like you were very detached from the world" (Kendra, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 6/11/95). Even the natural environment is "outside the gate" of the camp. It is relevant to re-iterate Lee's (1996: 56) point: "[c]entral here is the notion of a pure nature, always already untouched, unwritten" *and* unknown, waiting to be seen and known.

But ironically the 'natural' environment "outside the gate" of the camp referred to by Bruce was farmland, hilly farmland. Another geographer from the same department pointed out the disadvantages of agricultural land for fieldtrips and argued for more 'natural' and inspirational landscapes as possible fieldtrip destinations:

Lynley: dealing with agricultural, dealing with farmers, dealing with cows, dealing with electric fences, barbed wire fences, it's just a pain in the bum, you don't need to do that . . . You could go to [a location in the Southern Alps]. You know, we're talking spectacular scenery . . . who'd want to go and wander round agricultural land? I think agricultural land's the industrial landscape of the countryside as far as

I'm concerned. You know, it's productive landscape. This is a kind of a philosophical thing but it's still whichever [way] you look at it, dealing with, having to work on agricultural land's a pain, compared to dealing with working on conservation land, public land with no fences and complications (Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97).

Until I interviewed Lynley, I also had thought of the University B fieldtrip destination as a relatively uninhabited location. Indeed I argued, in a report on research-in-progress that pre-dated this interview, that the rural imaginary represented in so much of the data about this fieldtrip, was one thrice removed from human habitation. In other words, I had argued that the fieldtrip location was removed from any urban or rural traces of human habitation and in turn the 'natural' environment "outside the gate" of the camp implied an environment removed even from the temporary human habitation of the camp. During the University B fieldtrip, I had climbed over fences and avoided cow pats but had not comprehended the environment as farmland, as any thing other than 'natural' and uninhabited. Although I had consciously attempted to be a critical participant observer on this and all the other fieldtrips, I had seen this particular fieldtrip location in the way that I, as well as the other students, were being taught to see it, as 'natural', uninhabited and isolated, as one unknown to "urban folk" (Bruce's words).

But the interview with Lynley gave me an epistemological jolt. The so-called 'natural' environment "outside the gate" (Bruce's words) of the camp was one covered with traces of human and animal habitation; it was agricultural land, "the industrial landscape of the countryside" (Lynley's words). Lynley pointed out that there were many, more 'natural' environments available as potential fieldtrip destinations. There are two important themes from this particular interchange of interview and participant observation data for the argument that I am constructing in this section. First, what Bruce and I had seen as a 'natural' landscape was confounded by Lynley's perspective on the

same landscape. Seeing was not an epistemological guarantee even for myself, the researcher, who had entered the field already suspicious of seeing as knowing. Second, Lynley was critical of agricultural land as a site/sight for fieldwork, and advocated instead one with "spectacular scenery". In other words, Lynley privileges both the visual and the 'natural'. She advocates a *more* 'natural' and uninhabited landscape, "a physical environment that needs to be inspirational to students, to be spectacular" (Lynley, Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97) as her preferred fieldtrip destination.

In a further twist, there was a conflation of the 'natural' and the 'real'. At times, the words and drawings of fieldtrip participants indicated that the 'natural' and the 'real' world were synonymous. At other times the relation between the 'natural' and the 'real' was far more ambiguous and contradictory. Many students and staff expected 'natural' environments as the most likely context for a fieldtrip and made claims during the post-fieldtrip interviews that the fieldtrip was an opportunity to *go out* in the 'real' world. Going out in the 'real' world meant leaving the education site and the buildings behind because these were not part of the 'real' world in some students' formulations. The conflation of the 'natural' (or in this student's words, the physical) and the 'real' was most exemplified in the following quote. During the course of the post-fieldtrip interview with Carol, a university student, I re-phrased an earlier point made by her that geography needs fieldtrips, and asked her why?

Carol: Physical geography is about our world, okay? And our world doesn't happen in A1 [referring to a lecture theatre], you know? [said in a patronising tone as though this point is so obvious that my question is rather ludicrous]. And (laughing) that pretty much is it, you know? You have to see what you're studying, you know, and you can't really do it in labs. 'cause the real world doesn't happen in an aerial photography lab. either . . . But the real world doesn't happen in a building as such, not the physical world, not what we're studying. You have to go out and see it . . . so I think it's definitely a good part to

have fieldtrips or camps as such. Definitely. (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96).

The 'real' world was constructed by geography staff and students as the physical ('natural') world which occurred out there, away from the classroom and the lecture theatre, a world that was separate from the day to day world of education, one that could be best accessed visually via the medium of fieldtrips. Implicit in Carol's words is the idea that the lecture theatre or the class room was not the 'real' world.

The constructedness of what counts as real is highlighted in Carol's conception of what is and where is (un)real. In an artificial distinction between the real world out there (away from the urban) and the unreal world inside buildings (located in the urban) is an implicit denial of the 'realities' of most New Zealanders, 85 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 1997a: 110) of whom live and work in the 'un-real' ('un-physical', 'un-natural') worlds of buildings located in towns and cities. "Yet the notion that culturally, if not statistically, it is the rural which is the 'real' New Zealand, has proved remarkably resilient" (Perry, 1994: 58). Cities are frequently constructed "as part of the modern, 'plastic' and fickle" (Longhurst and Wilson, forthcoming), that is, 'the unreal'. Education sites/sights are just as (un)real as fieldtrip sites/sights. A 'real' world is not out there waiting to be discovered, an exteriority, "the substance of nature and whatever else culture exteriorises as properly outside itself" (Kirby, 1997: 125). Instead, the 'real' world is an ideological construction dependent on "the presumptive givenness of the real's purported ahistorical [and ageographical] endurance and universal application" (Kirby, 1997: 117).

The 'real' is imbricated in nature *and* culture, rural *and* urban, and the artificiality of any separation between the two terms of the respective binaries is undone by this imbrication. To construct nature as more 'real' than culture, rural as more 'real' than urban, is an unstable construction that comes unstuck

when what is included and excluded in the discourse of the 'real' is examined more closely. The social and 'natural' worlds that many geography students anticipated going *out to find* during a geography fieldtrip, were perhaps more unreal/surreal than the everyday worlds that they usually participate in.

Carol: It's sort of almost surreal because you've isolated 35 odd people and put them in one place with very little contact to the outside world for a week, and that's a pretty surreal situation . . . to chuck just 30, any old 30 people who might just happen to have this subject in common, (laugh) . . . and to put them away and let them stew, almost, for a week (laugh) and see what you come up with, that's not a really a real situation (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96).

I have considered how 'Going Out in the Real World' depends on the privileging of 'natural' environmental parts and how this renders particular aspects of the natural world as well as other worlds invisible and unimportant. These aspects, in turn, can then be more readily excluded from geographic fieldwork discourses. I have illustrated some of the inherent contradictions of terms such as 'natural' and 'real'.

5 DIFFERENT, DECENTRED AND DISORDERLY WAYS OF 'GOING OUT IN THE REAL WORLD'

This section will follow two distinct lines of argument. First, I examine the personification of "true nature" and the rhetorical effects of this practice. Second, I argue that the exaggeration and personification of "true nature" that was apparent in some students' drawings could be read as a literal inhabitation of the apparently uninhabited land and sea scapes. The human qualities attributed to (sometimes exaggerated) "true nature" confound any artificial separation implied in the people/environment (man/land) dualism because the human is literally *in* the land and the sea in unexpected ways. Some students have attributed (metaphorical) agency to land, rivers and sea. Such

agency may be limited and contingent but nevertheless the idea of nature as agent parallels my theoretical arguments for a conception of human agency (also limited and contingent). Vicki Kirby (1997: 127) argues for a conception of nature as literate and I take this a step further to conceive of nature as active and as an agent.

Personification was achieved in the drawings through the attribution of human features to inanimate objects such as the sun, the attribution of larger-than-life qualities to the sea, mountains, hills, and the highlighting of particular landscape features such as a rock to suggest that these inanimate objects have a life of their own. This practice of personification of inanimate objects was already well-rehearsed and occurred in spite of the primary focus of my instructions. My intent at the time that I wrote the instructions was to construct the student in an active role in the fieldtrip environment by asking them to draw what they expected geography students to *do* on a fieldtrip. In other words, the instructions set up the linguistic conditions for the students to be active agents in the environment rather than the environment to be the active agent. I realise that these instructions could be read as problematic also. For example, it set up an active/passive binary between the students and the landscape which could reinforce the binary between the gaze and the landscape (see Rose, 1992). It could also set up the linguistic conditions for students to change/damage the landscape.

Rob Gilbert (1984: 91) in his discussion of school social geography textbooks, referred to the widespread practice of personifying inanimate objects. This practice is exemplified by the title of the New Zealand geography textbook *Nature Fights Back* (Macaulay and Clay, 1996). Lee (1996: 58) calls this practice "metaphoricity in geographical discourses". This practice was also evident in the following set of drawings (see Figures 9 to 12).

Figure 9 Kim's drawing of glaring sun

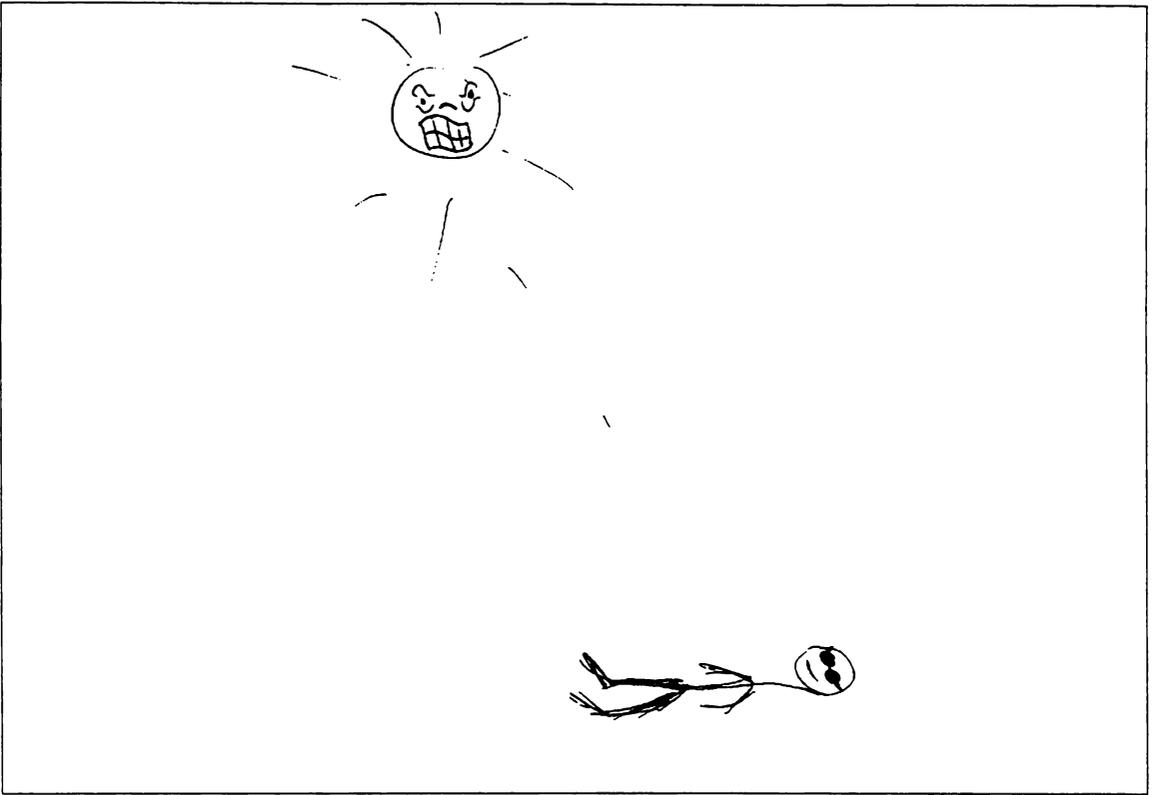


Figure 10 Sam's drawing of towering waves

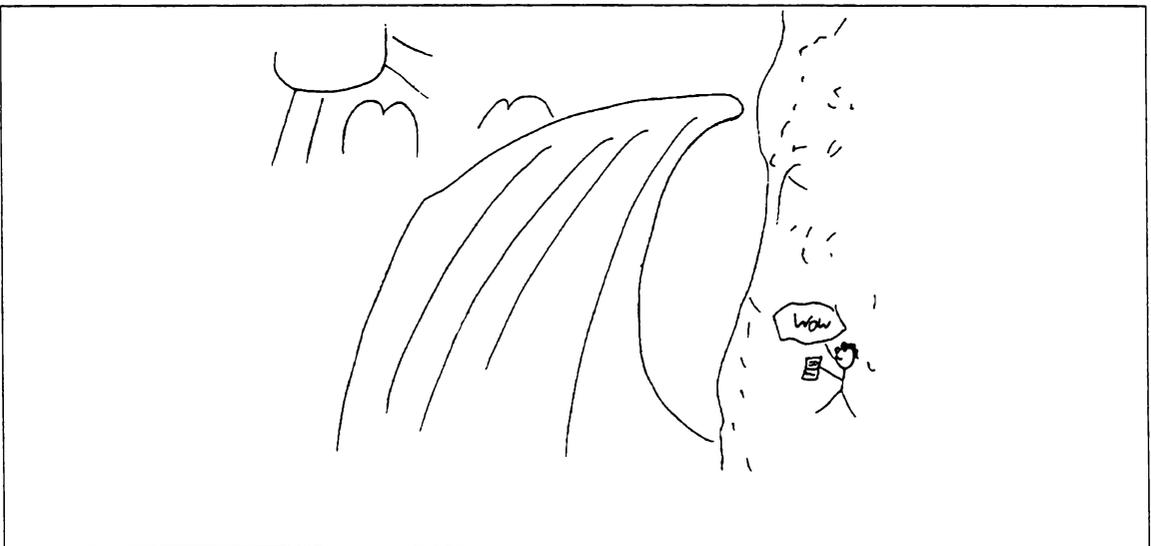
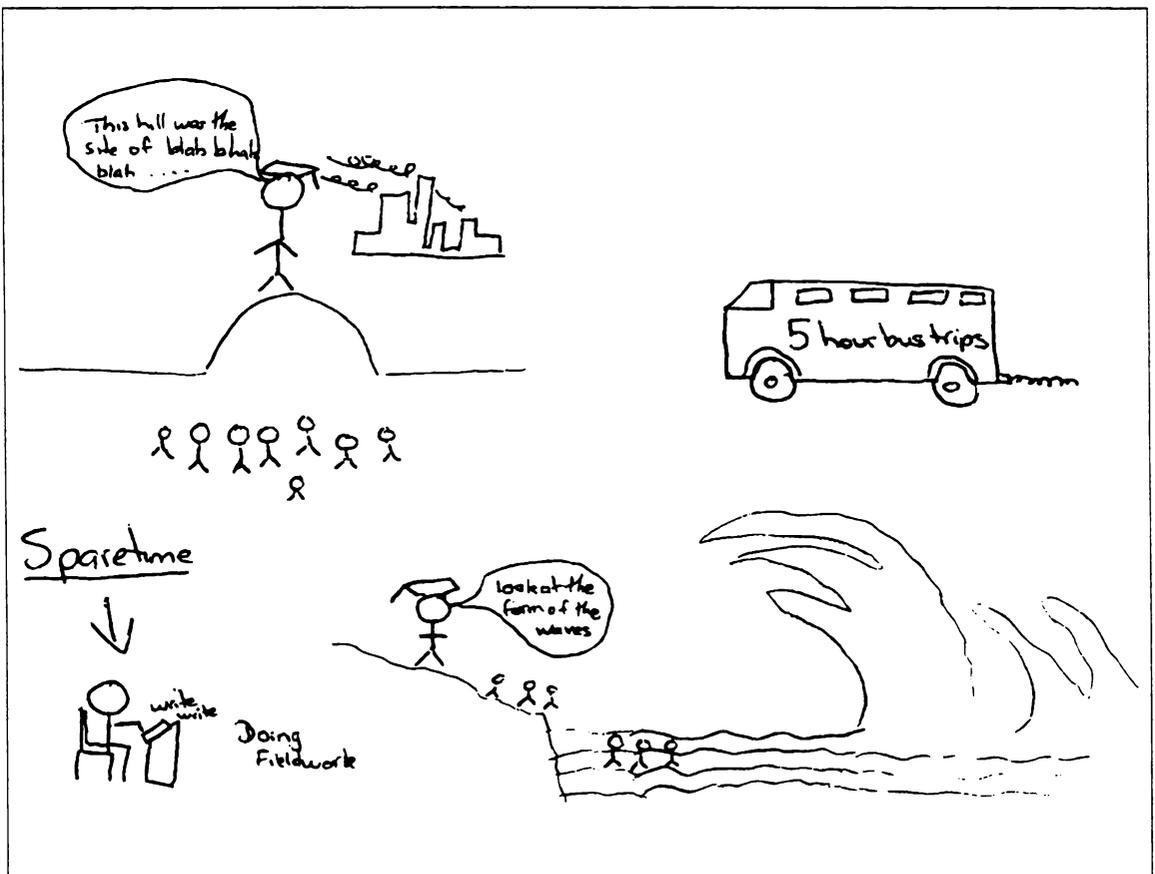


Figure 11 Eileen's drawing of glowing rocks



Figure 12 Frank's drawing of what he expects to do on a fieldtrip



This practice of personification of inanimate objects may at first appear relatively innocent, even humorous but Lee (1996: 58-62) goes on to argue that there are particular rhetorical effects of this practice that have significant implications for geographical education. Lee describes how the personification of inanimate objects in geographical writing is associated with a particular linguistic construction. "While inanimate and non-human objects and abstractions . . . are commonly both actor and theme, humans are rarely actors, though they may be the theme in passive constructions" (Lee, 1996: 61). It is worth quoting at length a particular example of the Burdekin delta in North Queensland cited by Lee (1996: 62, emphasis original) in order to demonstrate these particular linguistic constructions more clearly:

it is the *rainfall* which produces floods, it is the *sugar cane* which uses all the water; it is the *river* which scours the bed and the banks with sediment it is transporting; it is the *delta* which stops building itself; it is the *sea* which seeps, intrudes and replaces; it is the *salt* which enters the fresh water aquifer; it is the *level of water* which will increase the waterfowl and insect populations. The effect of these aggregated active-voice constructions, placing non-animate actors in theme position, is that human agency and hence responsibility for the disaster are disguised and deflected by ascribing agency to physical and introduced inanimate material features of the Burdekin delta landscape. That is, the features in the landscape act autonomously in transitive structures which exclude prior causal human activity. Moreover, metaphorized processes such as 'seep' and 'intrude', impart a vague sense of malevolent intent to the natural features.

A "vague sense of malevolent intent" is most obvious in the drawing of the sun scowling down on a prone body (see Figure 9) but is also evident in those drawings where waves/rivers threaten to engulf teachers and students (for example, see Figures 10 and 12).

Another example, taken from a geography textbook produced for senior high school students in Aotearoa/New Zealand, also demonstrates the personification of inanimate objects and the associated linguistic construction.

Cities and towns *need* vast quantities of water so the potential for water withdrawal *helps determine* the location and potential for growth of urban areas. The industry of gravel and sand extraction tends to be located in the lower reaches of rivers where fluvial processes have deposited these materials (Hensman et al., 1990: 50, my emphasis).

Cities and towns have needs (and problems) but no human decision-makers are mentioned. Any human actors responsible for the city's needs and/or problems disappear (from 'sight' - convenient invisibility?) in such linguistic constructions. These linguistic constructions show clearly how human agency and therefore responsibility can be linguistically and conveniently deleted; "powerful human groups [are] reprieved from taking causal responsibility for social and environmental problems" (Lee, 1996: 68-9). Lee's argument is concerned with the written text and the Australian context but it is compelling to realise that her argument is also applicable to visual texts in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Humans change land and sea scapes for their own purpose but the humans responsible discursively disappear in geography texts. 'Uninhabited' (by humans) nature is paralleled by 'uninhabited' (by humans) geography texts (both visual and written). There is the case of the missing (local) inhabitants of the hilly/mountainous and coastal environments portrayed in the drawings and the missing inhabitants of the discursive spaces of geography texts (see Lee, 1996). In addition, the temporal and spatial prioritising of the natural/physical ahead of the cultural/human renders the human absent, at least initially.

This discursive configuration, which centres landscape, separates people from place, and effaces the speaking self, is characteristic of a great deal of travel writing in the last century, especially the literature of exploration and especially that which aspired to scientific status (Pratt, 1985: 124).

Lee (1996) highlighted the political effects of this discursive configuration, a configuration that still has efficacy in geography disciplinary practices this century.

It is also possible to read the personification of nature in two other ways, both of which destabilise the man/land (people/environment) dualism. First, the absence or erasure of the human is undone by the personification of nature

because the human is already present *in* nature. Nature is not a separate entity, or one of the oppositional terms of the man/land (people/environment) dualism. Instead, people are inside the environment, the environment is personified. Second, personification suggests a form of interiority, a metaphorical inhabitation of the environment. This displaces previous notions of separation between people and environment, of 'exterior meets exterior' where the morphology of (fieldtrip) bodies interacts with the morphology of the environment.

Morphology might then be rethought as the shifting text of legibility itself. The transformative reading/writing of 'the sensible' is a corporeal articulation through and through; it is not divided into separable spheres of mind/body, culture/nature, or language and perception. What I am trying to conjure here is some 'sense' that word and flesh are utterly implicated, not because flesh is actually a word that mediates the fact of what is being referred to, but because the entity of a word, the identity of a sign, the system of language, and the domain of culture - none of these are autonomously enclosed upon themselves. Rather they are all emergent *within* a force field of differentiations that has no exteriority in any final sense (Kirby, 1997: 126-7, emphasis in original).

In arguing for a conception of the environment as literate, as agent, I also stretch the boundaries of what is common-sense, sensible. Just as Kirby claims that "word and flesh are utterly implicated", so too are environment and language utterly implicated. Rather than the exteriority of seeing the 'real' world for yourself, interiorities might be introduced into geography fieldtrip discourses. If the epistemology of geography fieldtrips did not depend on the exteriorities of 'out there', the 'real', 'true nature', and 'seeing it all for yourself', other forms of knowing could be countenanced.

6 DIFFERENT, DECENTRED AND DISORDERLY WAYS OF 'SEEING FOR YOURSELF'

In this section, the privileging of the visual is revised, decentred and disordered. Re-visions revolve around two themes: first, how one student resisted seeing as an epistemological guarantee. Second, the tensions of seeing

yourself vicariously through the eyes of others and how 'seeing for yourself' might more appropriately be revised to 'seeing yourself' (in unexpected ways).

The model of scientific empiricism was not accepted by all students and some actively resisted this model and the implicit requirements of walking and climbing hills to achieve it. Thus the privileging of seeing for yourself was not relevant in all cases and one female university student's actions and words explicitly challenged this. Valerie pointed out that there was

nothing that I couldn't have got from a book in a shorter time period (laugh). It wouldn't have taken me seven days to find out what I found out . . . I just thought there's no way, I'm just not walking up here to see it again, you know, I've had enough. So I just said, look I'm just going to go back (laugh). So everyone carried on and I just walked back and I read some books and they came back and they said, what did you find out? I said, oh, there's a fault up there, and they said, yeah, we found that out but we had to walk up there to find that out. I said, yeah, I just looked at a book (laughing), I mean it's all in there. So, a waste of time. I mean, *I can see they want you to see things for yourself but no need to stress the obvious continually is there?* (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96, my emphasis).

Valerie's epistemology did not privilege seeing over and above other forms of knowing. Valerie relied on reading as well as seeing for herself (but she did not expect to see many examples, or one example, many times). The knowledge available from reading was a form of knowledge less constrained by temporal and spatial limits. Valerie did not need to be on a fieldtrip with the associated commitments to be in a particular location for a period of time in order to acquire knowledge about specific faultlines (or faultlines in general) because this knowledge was available in books and therefore more ubiquitous - "it wouldn't have taken me seven days to find out what I found out". Valerie also did not need to be physically fit to access the knowledge available in books (although access to book knowledge does depend on literacy skills).

Valerie's words also challenge the textbook/'real' world binary. Valerie is confident of the knowledge that she gained from books. Unlike Carol (quoted in section 3), Valerie does not have to see to know and to believe the existence of faultlines. Indeed, faultlines and many other geographic phenomena are underground (a form of interiority) or otherwise invisible to the human "Eye/I". "Well sometimes you'd walk up a hill and you wouldn't see anything, 'cause you couldn't see it because it was under the ground, you just, they just knew it was there because obviously they'd done, studied the area before" (Valerie, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96). Valerie did not depend on seeing for herself to believe in the existence of invisible but material, substantial faultlines. Valerie also did not depend on the knowledge gained on the fieldtrip for the final exam for the course that this particular fieldtrip related to. "They took you on the fieldtrip to have examples of real life but basically what they tested you on [in the exam] was concepts. So what is the point?" (Valerie, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96). Although the 'real' world of faultlines and other physical features had been prioritised on the fieldtrip, the knowledge that was prioritised in the 'real' world of exams was conceptual.

Valerie: I think we had to visit sites of faults or suspected faults and have a look at them and basically all it involved was walking up lots and lots of hills and looking down and *seeing basically what you already knew*, and I found that at the end of the day I'd just had enough of, you know, doing that. I just didn't have the motivation to walk up another hill and see some different trees and see where the fault was (laughing) 'cause I already know what it looks like, I mean what is the point? (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96, my emphasis).

For Valerie, it constituted "doing the obvious"; seeing was not necessary as an epistemological guarantee. Valerie also challenged the kind of seeing favoured by (some) geographers, their preoccupation with viewing the landscape from some vantage point, the looking *down on* rather than *up at* particular

landscapes: "you can see all that [referring to the faultlines] from the bottom but we walked all the way up the top to see it from the top. But I just don't see the point . . . and then they walked down the hill and up the other side to see it from another perspective" (Valerie, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96). The privileging of the visual was intimately interconnected with the privileging of physical fitness. Indeed a high vantage point *depends* on physical fitness. Later in the thesis, I argue that rugged environments might be selected to show off the physical prowess of particular fieldtrip bodies. These same rugged environments also shape the kind of seeing that is possible. High rather than low vantage points are favoured for viewing and this determines what (geographic) knowledge is included and excluded.

Valerie's perspective is important; she challenges the repeated privileging of the visual, and the valorisation of seeing the real world for yourself rather than reading about it in textbooks. Valerie also goes on to elaborate the time investment of seeing for yourself. Valerie's words imply that the information achieved both in the field and from the book was similar and both sources confirmed the presence of the (sometimes invisible) faultline. Valerie did not prioritise 'seeing for yourself' or 'going out in the real world': "I just wouldn't want to do it [the fieldtrip] again if I had the choice, you know?" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96).

In the course of my analysis of the interview transcripts, it became evident that seeing the real world for yourself also related to *really* seeing other students and staff (seeing their *real* selves/personalities). For example, a female high school student explained that "you definitely see a different side of them [referring to her classmates] . . . their real personalities" (Georgia, interview with High School B fieldtrip participant, 7/11/95). Students, teachers and lecturers all referred to the possibilities that residential fieldtrips provided for getting to know each other and for breaking down hierarchical boundaries

that exist between staff and students. This theme is examined in Chapters 7 and 8 but for the purposes of extending what might count as seeing for yourself in this chapter, it is relevant to consider what it means to 'really see' others. A female high school teacher explained how fieldtrips offer an opportunity to see the teachers you work with in action "because in a classroom teaching's actually very isolated. You don't get to see your colleagues working. You don't get to see them interacting, inter-relating, you know, it's quite different" (Kelly, interview with High School B staff member, 25/3/96). This same female teacher identified similar benefits for staff/student relations as well, "it's also really neat to go away with your kids and to be with them in a different environment, and for them to see you and for you to see them as humans and people" (Kelly, interview with High School B staff member, 25/3/96).

Kelly went on to make this process of allowing students to see their teachers/lecturers as humans more explicit and acknowledged that she has used the effects of this process as a form of social control back in the classroom after the fieldtrip (or outdoor education trip) had taken place.

Kelly: A lot of kids don't actually realise that you are a person, they don't realise that you have a personality, you know. And maybe they don't want to because then that means they have to be a bit more responsible in the classroom, because you're a person and what they are doing is actually affecting a person. Whereas if you're not, if you're just 'the teacher', then it's okay what they do, you know. They can be obnoxious, they can riot, and I think that's maybe something I've used as a form of classroom control . . . letting kids get to know me so that they behave (laugh) (Interview with High School B staff member, 25/3/96).

The process, however, of allowing students to see teachers/lecturers "as humans and people", which makes it possible for teachers to exert social control over their students, also allows the possibility for students to exert

social control over their teachers. "[W]hen I am perceived, I never have access to the form in which others see me. I cannot see how and as what others see me" (Lindemann, 1997: 85). It is pertinent to take these issues up in connection with the same female teacher quoted above.

Kelly noticed how the opportunities on fieldtrips for students to see their teachers as humans could influence (some) students. Kelly acknowledges that "letting kids get to know me so that they behave" is "maybe something I've used as a form of classroom control". For Kelly seeing 'more of' her students leads indirectly to the possibilities for the social control of her students. Therein lies the very same possibilities for (some) students who see 'more of' their teachers/lecturers on fieldtrips, to exert/extend these forms of surveillance/social control back at school/university. Seeing and surveillance were not confined to the fieldtrip itself, indeed the heightened attention to seeing in the fieldtrip context may spill over into the classroom/lecture theatre context upon students' return to their education sight/site.

Kelly's previous quote is mainly about enabling students to see more of her rather than how she might see more of her students. Kelly's perception of herself as the object of surveillance is further accentuated in the following quote which is couched in visual metaphors, metaphors related to exposure and vulnerability.

Kelly: I wonder if exposing my legs, it's like oh, she's got hairy legs (both laugh), so if that like reinforces a stereotype of you know, femininity, in their minds? Yeah, I'm not sure if it's, like for males, if there's very distinct images of what femininity is, and obviously I don't fit them. (raucous laughter) . . . to expose a bit more of me, figuratively and literally (laugh) what that does to their image of me? . . . it doesn't seem to be an issue with others, but it does with those, the group of guys . . . what do they see when they look at me? . . . (in a low voice) "wooh, you know that's a wooh, you must be a lesbian if you want to do something like that". You know, what goes on in their brains in terms

of the stereotypes that they have, that kids have towards behaviours or yeah, towards what you're portraying.

Karen: So how does it feel to be on the receiving end of that scrutiny?

Kelly: . . . there's times when, yeah, it's horrific being under that gaze. You know, the questioning, because it feels unfair . . . that's none of their business, you know. Whatever I choose to be, you know. And then other days it just makes me laugh. Like I just think 'puh'! . . . I always look and I think wow! (laugh) What on earth can give you that sort of attitude, from me? I mean, I don't mean that in terms of, you know, I'm not a lesbian. I mean in terms of oh, *you judge me because of something you think you see in me* (Interview with High School B staff member, 25/3/96, my emphasis).

During the course of this interview and this section of the interview in particular, there was a sense of the pain, the puzzlement, and paradoxically the humour that this female teacher experienced in connection with how some of her male students - "the group of guys" - (mis)represented her 'apparent' sexuality. "Women . . . are expected to look right, and to look right for a gaze which is masculine" (G. Rose, 1993: 145), or more specifically look right for a heterosexual masculine gaze. Kelly's words reveal the vicarious experience of seeing the self through others' (in this case, some male students') eyes. Kelly's words resonate with Sandra Bartky's claim (1988: 72) that "a panoptical [heterosexual] male connoisseur resides within the consciousness of most women". It also reveals the inherent reversal of social/classroom control by these male students so that this female teacher feels robbed of power by their gaze, one of the most objectifying processes to which the body is submitted (I. Young, 1990b).

The gaze is internalised as well as externalised. Teachers and lecturers are particularly visible as they stand in front of groups of students on fieldtrips and in classrooms. But this state of visibility will not be experienced similarly by all teachers and lecturers. Instead it is gendered - "any *woman*, [not any *man*] could make a spectacle out of herself if she was not careful" (Russo, 1986:

213, emphasis in original) - as well as sexualised and 'racialised'.⁹⁴ But this "state of conscious and permanent visibility" is nevertheless *unverifiable* (Foucault, 1995; 201). Kelly's perception of what some male students thought of her was based on one male student daring to write on the school-based fieldtrip evaluation form that he was uncertain of the sexual identity of the staff/teachers on the fieldtrip (fieldnotes, 18/3/96).⁹⁵ In other words, the uncertain sexual identities did not relate only to Kelly but also to Gary (the male staff member) and myself the researcher who were also on the fieldtrip the male student was referring to. But most significantly for the arguments that this chapter is concerned with, what some male students thought they saw in their female teacher was not *verifiable*, not epistemologically guaranteed. Kelly perceived that some male students were judging her on the basis of something they thought they saw in her but that judgement was confounded not only by an absence of a definite denial of being a lesbian but also the presence of a current male partner who was referred to in conversations during the fieldtrip and later after the fieldtrip.

Seeing the 'real' side of students, teachers and lecturers, was claimed as a positive outcome of the residential fieldtrips by many students and staff. But *really* seeing others can never be epistemologically guaranteed solely by scopic regimes. Other ways of knowing, of verification are needed, ways that invade

⁹⁴ Bernadette and Yolanda (quoted pages 135-136) are self-conscious about themselves as white women in a context where they were the minority. Their words suggest that they perceive themselves as being watched by 'black' rather than white men. This indicates how the gaze is 'racialised'. In this example, white women perceive themselves as the object of a 'black' male gaze. A second example of how the gaze is 'racialised' is provided by hooks (1992), Jackson (1994) and Marriott (1996). They argue that black men are often constructed as the object of the (hetero/homo)sexual gaze of white women and men.

⁹⁵ There were two evaluation forms completed by students at High School B; one was for the purposes of this research (see Appendix 4) and the other was devised by staff at this school and had been used for a number of years. During the interview, Kelly passed on some male students' comments from their school-based evaluation forms.

the private worlds of staff and students (these issues are examined in the next chapter). Although such knowledge can never be epistemologically guaranteed, this does not negate the power wrought by some male students' constructions of the 'real' side of their female geography teacher (Kelly). (Un)real constructions have real effects.

Kelly also presented a humorous (judging by our raucous laughter) as well as a sharply ironic twist to our interview preoccupation with seeing yourself as others might see you: "I hope you include a picture of me" (raucous laughter, Interview with High School B staff member, 25/3/96). It seemed that in spite of our discussion being about how others perceived her (wrongly), Kelly still felt these male students' (mis)representation might constitute the final 'picture' imagined by readers of this doctorate. It was, therefore, mooted (in a humorous fashion) that I might provide a photograph to counteract that 'picture', and instead provide a more 'accurate' picture.

Kelly's words were about seeing her sexuality (mis)represented vicariously through the eyes and words of some male students in her class. The residential fieldtrip provided an extended living context in which these male students observed their teachers and took these observations/ (mis)understandings with them into the classroom and their social relations with their female teacher for the rest of the year. At the same time that students, teachers and lecturers make claims about the potential of fieldtrips to break down the social barriers implicit in the hierarchical relations of staff and students, these claims should be read 'against the grain' to include what this means for individual participants who bring differential axes of power to the practice of these gendered social relations. Instead social barriers may be erected between (some) staff and (some) students. Seeing does not guarantee understanding.

7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, the taken for granted, naturalised ways, in which geography fieldtrip knowledge has been (re)produced via scopic regimes that depend on a self-evident reality have been deconstructed and decentred. Indeed "[t]he unnaturalisation of vision [and of the real] involves a replacement, a rearrangement of what falls *naturally* 'into place', a shedding of new light" (Kobayashi and Peake, 1994: 239, my emphasis). Such rearrangements and reconsiderations were suggested in the latter sections (5 and 6), where seeing for yourself/going out in the real world was no longer a simple apprehension of some exteriority, rather a more complex epistemology is required. Embodied fieldwork might suggest such an epistemology.

CHAPTER 7

EMBODIED FIELDWORK

I INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine the intersections of educational and domestic, public and private discourses within the context of the residential fieldtrip. I argue that the intersections of otherwise separate discourses within the context of residential fieldtrips provides the conditions to both reinforce and destabilise these dualisms (domestic/educational; private/public). I begin by employing the notion of embodied fieldwork and explain the key theoretical ideas that underlie it. Embodied fieldwork - sleeping, dishwashing, showering, eating, walking/climbing - is then examined via two different but interconnected theoretical themes. The first part of the chapter is concerned with a critical examination of the intersections of domestic and educational, public and private discourses and what it means to live these intersections. The second part of the chapter is concerned with the disciplining effects of embodied fieldwork. An examination of these disciplining effects alternates between two key themes that Susan Bordo (1993: 194) attributes to Foucault's work on 'the body' :

The 'first' Foucault . . . his deep and complex understanding of the 'grip' of systemic power on the body. . . the 'second' Foucault, . . . for the creative 'powers' of bodies to resist that grip. Both perspectives, [Bordo] would argue, are essential to a fully adequate theoretical understanding of power and the body.

I examine the data (the fieldnotes, the post-fieldtrip evaluations and interviews) for evidence of the two themes. I search for evidence of "the 'grip' of systemic power on the body", of how bodies are disciplined within the embodied disciplinary culture of the residential fieldtrip. At the same time, I

search for evidence of the second theme, of "the creative 'powers' of bodies to resist that grip", for examples of contingent forms of agency that could be read as resistance to the disciplinary culture of fieldtrips. These ideas are further developed in the subsequent chapter about the re-creation of 'the geographer'.

2 WHAT IS 'EMBODIED FIELDWORK'?

"For most of us, learning *is* work, and the work we do to learn takes place at school",⁹⁶ and "our common parlance reflects this" (Kamler et al., 1994: 62, emphasis in original). Educational discourses are discourses of work. Domestic discourses are also discourses of work. Yet the 'work' that students and staff referred to in conversations, evaluations and interview transcripts was primarily educational work (although the descriptor 'educational' (or similar) did not usually precede the term 'work').⁹⁷ The intersections of domestic and educational discourses, of bodily and work discourses, were exemplified in the following two quotes, the first from a Samoan university student:

Lia: The living environment, which we work all day and then we came back, talked about it [the work] so that we don't forget it, and then sleep with it and then wake up in the morning and discuss it again, work again, it's a good idea of doing it (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 28/5/97).

Lia suggests that the residential fieldtrip facilitates the intersection, even the conflation, of work and sleep, and that the continuity of living with the work is

⁹⁶ Or any other number of places such as university, polytechnic, college of education, and the various private institutions that have emerged in the education 'marketplace'.

⁹⁷ Students were more likely to use the word 'work' to describe what they did while on fieldtrips. I use both terms - 'work' and 'educational discourse' - but prefer educational discourse because it is more specific. The term 'work' relates to a number of discourses - educational, domestic, fitness - and is less specific. Despite its lack of specificity, 'work' remains a salient descriptor for students, staff, and myself the thesis writer.

"a good idea". There seem to be no clear boundaries between work and sleep, indeed, students sleep with their work and wake up to discuss their work the next morning. There is a kind of seamlessness to the work, it pervades not only students' waking moments, but also their sleep time. Lia claims there were benefits from this process such as remembering the (geography) work.

The second quote from a Pākehā university staff member also indicates the seamlessness between work and domestic, bodily and educational discourses on a residential fieldtrip:

Jim: When you're, if you like, getting up having breakfast, washing dishes next to someone, sitting down having your meal with someone, it's those little practical day to day things that I think allow you to relate to other people a lot better, it's cutting away all the crap and all the pretentiousness that goes round, in this place, within a university, both with staff and students, and it is cutting through those barriers, you know, you see that someone you know, acts just the way that you do when you are in a domestic situation if you like, it is seeing people on quite a different level, so I think it is very important on that level, but because of that it is then important as an intellectual exercise because you are more at ease at talking to people, at talking to your peers and talking to staff and students, that eases the way for communication, it eases the way for talking and for learning from one another, which becomes all important and I think by breaking down that staff student barrier for example, a hell of a lot gets achieved on both sides, because staff learn a lot as I hope students do as well *by sitting over a plate of cornflakes and talking about the world* (Interview with University B staff member, 10/11/94, my emphasis).

I suggest Jim's words convey a sense that students eat/talk geography simultaneously; there are no clear boundaries between educational and domestic discourses, one melds into the other. Indeed, Jim claims that the domestic facilitates educational discourses. The notion that staff and students act similarly in a domestic situation, "eases the way for talking and for learning from one another" (Jim's words). Jim assumes that the domestic sphere is one

where hierarchies do not exist (but see Johnson, 1990b; 1993), and that this automatically spills over into the educational sphere to minimise staff/student hierarchies and barriers. Interestingly, however, this process in which the domestic facilitates educational discourses is not a two-way process. There is no suggestion in Jim's words that the educational facilitates the domestic discourses. The feminised domestic sphere becomes the facilitator, the social/emotional 'worker' that enables educational discourses to proceed more smoothly, that is, geography work to be achieved more easily. Disciplinary discourses might be more effectively wrought than they would in the absence of domestic, feminised discourses.

Geography (field)work is ostensibly the main focus for the duration of the residential fieldtrip. Time and space is devoted to teaching and learning geography, to fieldwork: "you have to live as well as doing geography and basically you've written off a whole week to geography, you know" (Carol, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96). Bartky (1988: 62) drawing on the work of Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* argues that the production of fieldtrip bodies "requires that an uninterrupted coercion be directed to the very processes of bodily activity, not just their result; this 'micro-physics of power' fragments and partitions the body's time, its space, and its movements". The word "coercion" was echoed by a Pākehā university student who suggested that the length of the particular seven-day geography fieldtrip he participated in could have been shortened if each working day had started earlier. The fieldtrip

. . . may have been sandwiched into three days or less, had we started earlier in the day and been more efficient. I felt that perhaps this particular fieldtrip was an excursion to emphasise that geography is fun and the lecturers that were on the trip were trying to perhaps gently *coerce* students into majoring in geography for their third year and post-grad. studies (Andrew, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 4/11/96, my emphasis).

The allocation of (unnecessarily) extended, uninterrupted time and space to geography work constitutes the potential conditions for coercion, even if that coercion is framed as "gentle" and as "fun". Ironically, Andrew suggests what could be construed as another form of coercion - starting work before eight in the morning (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 4/11/96) - as a means of reducing the extended fieldtrip time-frame. The time and space of the residential fieldtrip counts as uninterrupted time and space because these dimensions are separated out and away from other commitments such as domestic and family, educational, sporting, paid work, and so on.⁹⁸ "[T]he very processes of bodily activity" (Bartky, 1988: 62) - sleeping and eating (as Lia and Jim point out) - not only revolve around geography fieldwork but this work inserts itself into these bodily processes. "[T]he body's time, its space, and its movements" (Bartky, 1988: 62) are disciplined by the prerogatives and parameters of geography work.

Bodily activity is also inserted in to geography fieldwork; the body is present, spoken, acknowledged in the participants' accounts of geography fieldwork. Jim's and Lia's words suggest they/we sleep, eat, live, breathe geography on a residential fieldtrip; they are embodied geographers.

Fieldwork does not end when the assignment is completed and the evening meal is served. Embodied fieldwork is part of every waking [and sleeping] moment on a residential fieldtrip and constitutes ways in which we/our bodies come to understand (consciously and unconsciously) what it means to think like a geographer, act like a geographer, eat and drink like a geographer, and so on (Nairn, 1996: 91).

⁹⁸ Although this separation was achieved more completely in some fieldtrip contexts than others. For example, phones were not readily accessible on five of the seven fieldtrips for students to ring home, unless it constituted an emergency, so it was not easy to connect with home via telecommunications. Also, it was not easy to physically return home during some fieldtrips. For example, a female student on a university fieldtrip said that she was ill and that she wanted to return home but she was cajoled in to remaining (Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97).

I call this embodied fieldwork (Nairn, 1996) because body 'work' is inserted into geography fieldwork just as geography fieldwork is inserted into body 'work' during a residential geography fieldtrip. Pierre Bourdieu (1990: 73) argues that "[w]hat is learned by the body is not something that one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something one is". I would argue, instead, that what is learned by the body is both - the body is knowledge and the body brandishes knowledge simultaneously - depth and surface, interiority and exteriority. In the terms of embodied disciplinary identities, geography students' bodies are imbricated in geographical knowledge *and* geography students use their bodies to brandish (geographical) knowledges. The term 'embodied fieldwork' conveys the simultaneity of the kinds of work to be done on a residential geography fieldtrip: the geography work (which tends to privilege the mind, the eyes and the hands) and the body work (the eating, drinking, walking, sleeping, 'like a geographer'). In other words, the body as well as the mind works on a residential fieldtrip. The spatial and temporal continuities of the residential fieldtrip mean that there is no (or little) respite from embodied fieldwork.

Jim's and Lia's words, quoted above, signalled their positive perspectives about residential fieldtrips. Their words indicate the seamlessness between the educational and the domestic, between 'the body' and geography work, indeed the value of the insertion of the educational into the domestic discourses. Other students were less positive about the pervasive encroachment of geography (work) into their every moment, into their minds and bodies. Anjana, a university student who identified herself as an "Indian Kiwi", claims:

Oh, like every conversation we had . . . was on geography, every debate was on geography, . . . every speech to us was (laugh) on geography, it was just geography, geography, geography. I mean, it was a geography fieldtrip, but I think, you know, that she [referring to lecturer] could've done less [words unclear] . . . geography. *'Cause we are human and we're not geography machines.*

(laugh) (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/96, my emphasis).

Anjana's words convey how she felt overwhelmed by geography educational discourse during this particular three-day fieldtrip, and how she felt more like a "geography machine" than a human. Living, eating, talking, breathing geography was experienced as stifling, even mechanistic, by Anjana. Anjana's words stand in stark contrast to Jim's words which suggest the liberatory potential of living, eating, talking geography. Domestic (reproductive) discourses are absent from Anjana's words quoted above. Anjana used the pervasiveness of "geography, geography, geography" to explain why she had suggested a "mind refresher" (a break from geography fieldwork) on her post-fieldtrip evaluation form (completed during the first lecture after the fieldtrip had taken place). Anjana's choice of the term "*mind* refresher" is symbolic of how she experienced the residential fieldtrip as overwhelmingly concerned with the mind, the intellectual, with geography education discourses. A possible "mind refresher" suggested by Anjana revolved around eating and being somewhere totally unconnected with the work of the human geography fieldtrip that she was on (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/96). Perhaps it could be more appropriately termed a 'mind *and* body refresher'.

Embodied fieldwork indicates an embodied account unlike the disembodied accounts of geography fieldwork that have already been critiqued by feminist (and other) geographers (see for example, Johnson, 1994; Jones III, 1995; Longhurst, 1997; Nast et al., 1994; Rose, 1992; 1993). These (and other) authors claim that geography fieldwork is disembodied in a number of ways. First, geographers' penchant for distanced, analytical observation, constitutes a form of disembodiment because the body of the observer is often an unnamed but implicit male geographer (see G. Rose, 1993). Second, observation skills depend on the observer's ability to maintain analytical

distance (see Rose, 1992), in order to keep irrationality, emotion, and bodily complications out of the picture (I use this visual metaphor intentionally). Third, the privileging of the visual renders other bodily capacities unimportant, and this constitutes a form of (dis)embodiment (see Jones III, 1995; Rose, 1992; 1993). For feminists more generally, and feminist geographers more particularly, "'bringing the body back in' meant both addressing *and* redressing the 'fear of femininity' which had made science such a disembodied affair in the first place" (Davis, 1997: 5, emphasis in original, also see Longhurst, 1997; Rose, 1992; 1993).

These critiques of disembodied fieldwork are pertinent to an understanding of current processes of social construction and reproduction of geographical fieldwork. Indeed,

students may learn about the processes of doing disembodied research/fieldwork as part of the 'official' fieldtrip programme, for example, observing the landscape from a hilltop, surveying landuse in an urban area. At the same time, fieldtrip participants may learn about doing embodied fieldwork as part of the 'unofficial'/unstated components (for example, parties, meals) of the fieldtrip. In other words, participants may experience the fieldtrip with all senses rather than just sight which has been privileged in the disembodied accounts. So it may be that students on fieldtrips learn to shift between disembodied and embodied performances/fieldwork. Or it may be that disembodied performances are simultaneously embodied in unexpected ways (Nairn, 1996: 89).

Although students may be taught to observe in a way that maintains an analytical distance (a way that is arguably disembodied or at least only partially embodied via the visual senses), this disembodied performance may be embodied in unexpected ways. Students may remember more about how cold/hot, how hungry, how tired/energised they felt as they sat/stood at their vantage point, than they remember about what they saw. Or students may remember more about the 'extra'-curricula activities of residential fieldtrips - the "Beer, sex and roadside sandwiches" (headline from *The Geographical*

Magazine, March, 1996) - activities that imply a more varied sensory 'repertoire'.⁹⁹

Davis (1997: 14) warns that "[t]he body may be back, but the new body theory is just as masculinist and disembodied as it ever was . . . Postmodern theorising about the body has all too often been a cerebral, esoteric and, ultimately, disembodied activity". Use of the words 'the body' and 'embodied' to discuss fieldwork does not guarantee that masculinist approaches to fieldwork will automatically change. I use the term 'embodied fieldwork' to indicate the learning, the work, that is done on, with, and through the body as well as the work that is done by 'the fieldtrip body' in interaction with other bodies and 'the body' of the environment.¹⁰⁰ The (unlikely) combination of the terms 'embodied' and 'fieldwork' is also used to indicate the surprises, the potential undoing of any embodied/disembodied dualism (that might be emerging despite my best intentions). "In other words 'the body' turns up on residential fieldtrips in ways that confound the notion of the disembodied geographer/researcher" (Nairn, 1996: 89).

During residential geography fieldtrips, the seamlessness between geography work and body work, between education and domestic duties,

⁹⁹*The Geographical Magazine* (March, 1996: 11) RGS-IBG Conference report included information from the paper that I had presented at the Institute of British Geographers' Conference in 1996. The headline focus on alcohol, sex and food could be read as suggesting that these topics were not anticipated as the usual preoccupations of academic research. The headline has the effect of trivialising critical analysis of geography fieldtrips.

¹⁰⁰ The term 'fieldtrip body' was introduced in the previous chapter (see footnote 91) and is used here to suggest the specificity of the bodies of students, teachers/lecturers, and myself the researcher on a fieldtrip. For example, a group of students with clipboards listening to a teacher at a beach are more likely to be understood by a passer-by as 'student bodies' and/or 'fieldtrip bodies' than as 'recreational/beach bodies'. The term 'the body of the environment' follows on from two arguments made in the previous chapter about the compartmentalisation of environments into 'environmental parts' and about the personification of the ('natural') environment.

potentially destabilises the dualities of the respective terms (education/domestic; geography/body). Or does it? In the next section, I examine discourses about residential fieldtrips in terms of the private/public dualism, a dualism that has been clearly associated with (dis)embodiment: the private sphere with "domestic, embodied activity" and the public sphere with disembodied activity (Duncan, 1996: 127-8). What are the consequences when these two spheres coincide in the same time-space?

3 DOMESTICATING EDUCATION OR EDUCATING THE DOMESTIC?

The distinction between the public and the private is deeply rooted in political philosophy, law, popular discourse and recurrent spatial structuring practices. These practices demarcate and isolate a private sphere of domestic, embodied activity from an allegedly disembodied political sphere that is predominantly located in public space (Duncan, 1996: 127-8).

The geography discipline continues to depend on dualistic frameworks, the private/public dualism being one of these. "The world of geographic scholarship has been that of the public world of the state, the firm and the city" (McDowell, 1992b: 410). Geographers' concomitant inattention (theoretically, methodologically, empirically) to the private/domestic realm has already been soundly criticised (for example, see Johnson, 1990b; 1992; 1993; McDowell, 1992b; Oberhauser; 1997; G. Rose, 1993; Women and Geography Study Group of the I.B.G., 1984). Indeed, the first stage of feminist geography has been credited with re-defining geography so that "a whole range of new areas [were] admissible for investigation" (McDowell, 1992b: 404). Research topics associated with private, domestic realms became "admissible" during this stage and McDowell's (1992b: 404) list reflects their inclusion on the geographic research agenda. But I hesitate to claim that topics associated with private realms and domesticity are *firmly* on the geographic research agenda a decade or more after this first stage was initiated.

Also, in relation to topics associated with the public sphere, the educational context - school, university - was not mentioned as an example in McDowell's quote above (although the state is imbricated in schools and universities via state funding and state education policies). Indeed, geographers seldom included the public/private spaces of schools and universities as sites/sights for investigation until recently (see Lee, 1996; Nairn, 1997). The evaluative aspects of public spaces, of being watched and judged by (in)visible others, are intensified in the classroom and the lecture theatre which are some of "the most evaluative public spaces that exist; the academic and social capabilities, appearance, dress and behaviour of each individual student, have the potential to be evaluated by their teacher and/or their peers" (Nairn, 1994: 89).¹⁰¹ Paradoxically, the classroom and lecture theatre may also "be experienced by students as a relatively private space in which it is possible to accomplish friendship and conversations" (Nairn, 1994: 89). Similarly, classrooms and lecture theatres may be experienced by teachers as relatively private spaces within their 'control', spaces which could become more public if students were 'out of control' (Nairn, 1994). The classroom (and the lecture theatre) are public *and* private space (Nairn, 1997). The public/private dualism does not hold in the classroom and the lecture theatre. I argue that this dualism is undermined in more fundamental ways in the context of a residential geography fieldtrip.

The education and domestic spheres are usually separate, both spatially and temporally. Students usually conduct the domestic tasks associated with their day-to-day living in the private space of their homes before school or university begins, and return to this private/domestic sphere at the end of their day. The rituals of day-to-day living such as sleeping, teeth brushing, dressing, cooking, and other domestic tasks are usually part of the

¹⁰¹ Teachers/lecturers may also be evaluated by their students. The disciplining aspects of this have already been discussed in Chapter 6 in connection with high school teacher Kelly.

private/domestic sphere, the details of which might only be available to selected classmates. The residential fieldtrip, with its implicit requirement that students live together over one night (at least), necessarily makes these private/domestic rituals publicly available to (some) other students. These rituals which have been conducted behind the scenes, which have enabled students to participate in the educational realm of schools and universities, suddenly become visible. Students who previously sat alongside other students in classrooms and lecture theatres, become privy to intimate details about each other, about their nightwear, their (in)voluntary bodily functions, their showering times, and so on. Who these intimate details become available to is usually beyond an individual's control because "they're people that you don't know, I normally wouldn't choose them to go away on a holiday with, or whatever " (Evan, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 15/9/95). Analyses of domestic practices such as sleeping, dishwashing and showering in the context of a residential geography fieldtrip, may seem outside the usual substantive concerns of geography. Yet these domestic, embodied practices were significant in shaping students' experiences and subsequent memories of residential fieldtrips.

The intersection of domestic (private) and educational (paradoxically private/public) discourses in the context of a residential fieldtrip is relatively unique but a useful parallel is the boarding school context, a parallel identified by Christine, a Māori female student who participated in High School A's fieldtrip: "I went to boarding school so it [the fieldtrip] was sort of like that, you know" (Interview with High School A fieldtrip participant, 23/10/96; also see Okely, 1996, chapter 8). Okely (1996: 151) argues that the "British boarding school is marked by its forms of separation from urban culture, from other social classes, from family and home, and from the opposite sex". I have already argued (in Chapter 6) that residential fieldtrip destinations were more likely to be located away from urban areas. In the case of one high school, where the accommodation was located near a small town, teachers reminded students

of the sanctions if they 'resisted' this separation and visited the nearby 'pub' to take part in 'small town culture'. In Chapter 5, I analysed how some geography fieldtrips (in particular the migration fieldtrips) precipitated a confrontation between the social classes, and I pondered whether this meeting of social classes in fact reinforced rather than challenged the separateness of these respective social classes. In this chapter, I am concerned with how forms of separation from family and home, and from the 'opposite' sex (at night) were achieved (or not).

"One important element in recent feminist analyses of gender has been the investigation and deconstruction of dualistic thinking" (Massey, 1996: 109). The intersection, even conflation of domestic and educational, private and public discourses during a residential fieldtrip appear to offer a classic case in which the respective binaries are undone, and destabilised. The destabilising of dualisms has been one feminist poststructural strategy for challenging phallogocentric discourses (for example, see Grosz, 1989). The power of dualisms "is immense, and it is apparently not much lessened - indeed it is possibly only rendered more flexible - by the existence among them of the inconsistencies and contradictions" (Massey, 1996: 113). In the next section, the inconsistencies and contradictions of the private/public dualism are examined for their lived implications rather than their theoretical efficacy. As Massey (1996: 109) points out: "philosophical frameworks do not 'only' exist as theoretical propositions or in the form of the written word. They are both reproduced and, at least potentially, struggled with and rebelled against, in the practice of living life". How was the private/public dualism "reproduced and, at least potentially, struggled with and rebelled against, in the practice of living life" during residential geography fieldtrips?

3.1 Intersections of Domestic and Educational, Public and Private Discourses

The separation of the sexes that Okely (1996) referred to in connection with the culture of (British) boarding schools, was most significant in the separation of female and male students' sleeping spaces on some of the residential fieldtrips. This separation was the uncontested norm on one University B and two High School B fieldtrips, but was subverted on two fieldtrips (both University A). On the remaining two fieldtrips (both High School A), because of the large communal spaces (a marae¹⁰² and a surf life saving club) utilised as accommodation, students were not separated by sex. I argue that the separation of the sexes (in the case of the five fieldtrips where this was enacted or at least attempted) was premised on fieldtrip organisers' unspoken assumptions that the fieldtrip participants were heterosexual and separation might manage/control heterosexual desire and/or embarrassment. Bordo (1989: 14) draws on Foucault's work (1978; 1979) to argue that "through the organisation and regulation of time, space, and movements of our daily lives, our bodies are trained, shaped, and impressed with the stamp of prevailing historical forms of selfhood, desire, masculinity, femininity". "Like gender, sexuality is often regulated by the binary distinction between public and private. It is usually assumed that sexuality is (and should be) confined to private spaces" (Duncan, 1996: 137). The unspoken assumptions on which the "organisation and regulation of time, space, and movements of our daily lives" rested were sometimes spoken about in the relative privacy and/or safety of the post-fieldtrip interview (interviewees were guaranteed confidentiality). For example, a male university student referred to the sleeping arrangements, laughed, and (quickly) went on to discuss facilities and field equipment:

¹⁰² "People always think of marae as physical spaces in particular places, but that's not enough. A marae is its *people* also" (Morehu, Maniapoto, cited in Roa, 1987: 8, emphasis in original).

Colin: boys and girls were separated in the bunkrooms which helps (laugh), um, yeah, I think the facilities were great, yeah. Ideal for what we did. Heaps of equipment, there was a whole room of equipment that we could borrow and use and it was all really well organised each day. Yeah, I was really impressed.

Karen: Hm. So when you talk about the separation gender-wise into bunkrooms . . . I've had other interviews with people saying well you know, like it seemed a bit sort of silly because we're you know, in mixed flats or whatever, and I just wondered what you thought of that. You're saying the separation helped?

Colin: Yeah, I think it did. Yeah, it was kind of like school . . . and yeah, I sort of respected people's privacy as well, I think that's all it came down to, privacy. I mean, it's great that people flat together and stuff but on a trip like that, I think if you're separated it's, that's good. Unless your girlfriend's in next door (laugh) (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 20/12/95).

Colin does not spell out exactly how the separation of boys and girls "helps", instead he gave a meaningful, perhaps embarrassed, even nervous laugh to fill in "the structured silences" (Fine, 1992: 38) about sexuality in educational contexts.

Michelle Fine (1992: 31) calls this the "missing discourse of desire".¹⁰³ Schools and universities (and by extension school and university fieldtrips) "have historically been the site for identifying, civilising, and containing that which is considered uncontrollable. While evidence of sexuality is everywhere within public high schools" and universities, it is seldom mentioned in the official education discourses (Fine, 1992: 33; also see Connell, 1989: 294). When

¹⁰³ Fine (1992: 31-59) writes about 'Sexuality, schooling and adolescent females: The missing discourse of desire'. I am extending Fine's notion of the "structured silences" about female sexuality in schools to include male, lesbian, gay, transgendered sexualities because I believe all sexualities (to greater and lesser degrees) and discourses of desire are missing from the 'official' curricula in educational contexts (also see Connell, 1989; Hinson, 1996; Quinlivan, 1996; Watson, 1996).

I questioned further, Colin rendered his "structured silence", his covering laugh, in more 'acceptable' terms (for me the female interviewer?), as the discourse of privacy and respect. But Colin's "structured silence" about how the separate bunkrooms helped, was undone by a later proviso - "unless your/[his] girlfriend's in next door" - which structures his earlier 'silence' as synonymous with heterosexuality. Even though sexuality is present as an ('official') absence, a "structured silence" in educational contexts, the silence stands in for 'normative' heterosexuality which renders *other* sexualities even more absent, silent, invisible by comparison (see Valentine, 1993).

A male university staff member ruptured these "structured silences", these unspoken assumptions of heterosexuality that were fundamental to the gendered organisation of sleeping spaces, on a fieldtrip that he participated in. Mark spoke about what it meant to be a gay man on a residential fieldtrip. Speaking the unspeakable was not easy: "I mean this is one that is probably more poignant, and more uncomfortable for everyone, that nobody talks about, yeah, it's hard to talk about it" (Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95). Nobody talks about what it means to be gay or lesbian or transgendered on residential fieldtrips:

it's one of these situations where my sexuality completely busts up the structures through which we live our lives or we teach our students, or we do geography, . . . and it's also a very pragmatic example of how sexuality and geography confront one another (Mark, Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95, my emphasis).

The particular nature of the residential fieldtrip facilitates this confrontation between sexuality and geography, a confrontation not so readily facilitated in the day-to-day teaching and learning of geography at school and university. But what does this confrontation mean for those who have to live it and speak it?

Mark explained how it was the overnight nature of residential fieldtrips, the living together, the sleeping arrangements, that put him in such an "uncomfortable" situation, a situation that was "even more sort of dangerous" now he was a staff member:

as just someone on a fieldtrip and as a gay man, I feel very uncomfortable about the overnight business, as a student I think I would have felt so uncomfortable as to avoid any course that had a field trip, it's not a titillation to be confronted with a bunch of naked men, in either of your colleagues or your students, and it's, I mean it's awkward, and it's bizarre, and I mean if it wasn't, we'd have mixing of genders in the sleeping rooms. But we don't, and why don't we? And I transgressed that policing, obviously (Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95).

Mark signals the disciplining aspects of separate sleeping rooms by his use of the word 'policing', a policing that he had no choice but to transgress. 'Hetero'sexual desire was implicitly (because it was not spoken) and explicitly (because separate sleeping rooms were allocated to female and male students) policed, disciplined, controlled; "I mean if it wasn't, we'd have mixing of genders in the sleeping rooms" (Mark's words). But there were no attempts to police 'homo'sexual desire, to spatially separate gays from other men and lesbians from other women. I am not suggesting that this should happen, but rather by arguing a 'logic' parallel to the separation of female and male students, the full implications of attempts to manage one form of desire but not others, are exposed for careful consideration. Mark's words also undo the metaphorical sexiness of transgression - "I mean it's awkward, and it's bizarre" to be a gay man in domestic contexts (sleeping rooms and showers) not of one's choosing. Transgression has been re-presented in feminist and queer literatures as "a way of celebrating a politics of creative subversion" (Davis, 1997: 13) but celebration and "creative subversion" do not describe what Mark describes. Transgression is not all that it purports to be. Especially if you have to live the transgression(s) for a continuous period of seven days as was the case for Mark on this particular residential fieldtrip.

The implications of living transgression, of living the destabilisation of the private/public binary, are now examined further. The private becoming public and, ironically the public becoming private and invisible, are evident in Mark's words:

about the fieldtrip thing, *I am forced to pass*, I mean my sexuality is just completely erased from that geography of the field experience, it has to be, because otherwise *we couldn't have a fieldtrip*, you know, . . . Who would I sleep with . . . that came out wrong, who would I bunk with? We'd have to confront it, *we'd have to make something private, public, which everyone knows anyway*, I am sure all the students know that I am gay. . . I don't make a secret about it, at least I don't think I do, but it just gets erased . . . I don't know how I was assigned to a bunk that I was assigned to, but I was assigned . . . and I wonder if my, the colleagues that I had to sleep with were made uncomfortable, I don't know, I imagine they were. I was. The whole experience made me very uncomfortable (Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95, my emphasis).

Mark explains how "something private" - his gay sexuality - becomes public if sexualities *other* to the assumed heterosexuality of all fieldtrip participants, were confronted, acknowledged when sleeping arrangements were being made for a residential fieldtrip. Yet ironically, Mark was public about his gay sexuality but his words convey how his sexuality was "erased", made invisible and private. The idea of homosexuality as appropriate only to private spaces "is based on the *false* premise that heterosexuality is also defined by private sexual acts and is not expressed in the public arena" (Valentine, 1993: 396, emphasis in original). Mark points out that he was "forced to pass" in a residential fieldtrip context that was based on an assumed heterosexuality, an assumption "so naturalised as to be virtually invisible to the straight population" (Duncan, 1996: 137). An assumption made visible by the spatial separation of female and male students' sleeping areas. If *other* sexualities were taken account of, then *other* kinds of sleeping arrangements would also be made. To make such acknowledgements and the associated spatial arrangements could undermine some of the unspoken but fundamental

assumptions that underpin residential fieldtrips, and Mark suggests that "we couldn't have a fieldtrip" if these assumptions were spoken, made public.

The feminist poststructural strategy of destabilisation of dualisms such as the private/public is both helpful *and* unhelpful. The private becoming public is potentially helpful because sexualities (other than the assumed heterosexuality) of fieldtrip participants become visible, acknowledged. This challenges and undermines fundamental assumptions on which the spatial organisation of domestic arrangements such as sleeping and showering are premised. But such 'helpful' destabilisations of the private/public could make lesbian/gay/transgendered fieldtrip participants incredibly vulnerable to harassment that would be difficult to avoid. Fieldtrip participants are held 'captive' in the spatial/temporal arrangements of a fieldtrip, often (but not always) at a distance from nearby settlement and access to public transport, so they cannot easily leave a residential fieldtrip. Apparently helpful aspects of the destabilisation of the private/public dualism quickly become potential tools of harassment or worse. But the maintenance of the private/public dualism, in this case keeping the private sphere private and separate from the public, was also unhelpful. Mark's sexuality was "erased", rendered invisible; he was "forced to pass" (Mark's words).

But the threat of sharing sleeping spaces with others not of your choosing, was not particular to one gay man. On a different university fieldtrip, the lack of enforcement of separate sleeping spaces for female and male students (although this had been promised), was perceived as uncomfortable

and unsafe by a heterosexual female student.¹⁰⁴ Bernadette did not perceive the domestic implications of a residential fieldtrip in a positive way. She pointed out that "I've never been a great one for school camps and all sleeping in big rooms together, I'm not really into that" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96). In fact, Bernadette made arrangements to stay at night with a family member in the city where this migration fieldtrip was located. I quote Bernadette's reasons at length because her words convey so clearly the private/public dualism, and the implications, the threat, of the private becoming public:

If I had stayed there, I wouldn't have wanted to be in that first room because there were males and females in the same room sleeping and even though some people would have been fine with that, I personally wouldn't have wanted to do that . . . I was a bit amused really because . . . when I talked to [the lecturer] about the field trip she told me that males and females wouldn't be sleeping in the same room, you know they'd have separate quarters but she didn't actually do that at all, everyone just went wherever they wanted to, which was quite interesting. But the girls that I'd been hanging around with on the field trip they actually had a room to themselves, just four girls, or five or six of them. But that was quite interesting, I suppose it's university and people don't really worry about that kind of thing, but *it doesn't really appeal to me, I'm quite protective of my own safety and stuff like that* (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96, my emphasis).

Bernadette's words suggest that she would have felt unsafe sleeping in a space shared by female and male students. Bernadette's choice of the words - "I'm

¹⁰⁴ Bernadette did not identify herself explicitly as heterosexual during the interview but did so implicitly after the interview by talking about her boyfriend (fieldnotes, 11/9/96). It is relevant to note that Mark identified his gay sexuality explicitly, whereas, heterosexuality is assumed by default, in absence of a presence of a stated 'other' sexuality. Instead I rely on other information (information provided after the tape recorder had been turned off) that might indicate Bernadette's sexuality so that I do not assume by default. But my claim is problematic. Statements by Colin (quoted above) about a potential 'girl'friend and now Bernadette (who talked *after* the interview about a 'boy'friend) do not constitute 'certain' heterosexuality, if there is such a thing as certain sexual identities. Naming boy/girlfriends is also a strategy that (some) lesbians/gays adopt in order to pass (Quinlivan, 1996; Squirrel, 1989).

quite protective of my own *safety* " - emphasises the potential threat of sharing a sleeping space with male students. I prompted Bernadette further by asking "would you be able to tell me about why sort of being in a big room, everyone sleeping together is not appealing?"

Bernadette: I don't know, I suppose I'm quite a private person, I would have been quite happy staying in that room with those other girls . . . that wouldn't have worried me . . . you know if there'd been a whole pile of showers in a row, I don't really like that (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96).

Bernadette makes it quite clear that she wants to maintain her privacy, to prevent what is private being public. The private dimensions that she refers to are domestic, embodied routines such as sleeping and showering. Bernadette's words convey her perception that she wants to demarcate and maintain the boundaries between domestic/private and educational/public discourses as much as possible (especially with men but less so with other women). Maintenance of the private/public dualism was a useful strategy for Bernadette. In a contradictory manner, Bernadette defied the attempted separation between geography fieldwork and family commitments (another version of the public/private dualism) and managed to 'do' *both* work and family during the three day fieldtrip.

There are three points that I want to emphasise from my analysis of Bernadette's and Mark's words. First, the destabilisation of dualisms such as the private/public may have theoretical efficacy but this takes on different, even threatening meanings when considered carefully in terms of students and staff who might have to live, and sleep through (however temporarily) the implications of these destabilisations. Second, the maintenance of dualisms as well as the destabilisation of dualisms have both helpful and unhelpful consequences. Such theoretical strategies must constantly be re-evaluated against the contextualised, lived, embodied experiences of individuals,

individuals most at risk to the consequences of the private becoming public. Third, Mark's words convey how he was forced to partake in domestic arrangements, in which he felt uncomfortable, and Bernadette's words convey how she found a way to subvert domestic arrangements in which she would have felt uncomfortable. In both cases, Mark's and Bernadette's words convey the coercive, disciplining aspects of residential fieldtrips which are necessarily premised on shared sleeping spaces. Bernadette's avoidance of communal sleeping arrangements was made possible by the location of the residential fieldtrip she was on, in a city where a member of her family lived. Mark had no choice but to live and sleep through the disciplinary practices of the fieldtrip that he was on.¹⁰⁵

The lived experiences of residential fieldtrips are criss-crossed by many axes of difference. I am touching on those of sexuality, gender, 'race' and cultural practice in this section, yet so many other axes of difference - age, religion, class - may also have had bearing on these lived experiences (see Monk, 1997; Nagar, 1997). I pursue those axes that post-fieldtrip interviewees have spoken about as most salient. I turn now to the perspective of Lia (a Samoan student already quoted at the beginning of this chapter) because she echoes the concerns of Bernadette (a Pākehā) in some interesting ways. Lia (like Bernadette) was not comfortable sleeping in a communal space shared by female and male students, or in a space shared by students and staff.

Lia: I found it really hard, from my culture it's really hard to have male and females together. Maybe I'll get used to, I'm getting used to it because I've seen in the hostels there's male next to female rooms but to me it's like a whole different aspect of life I'm entering into, it's like

¹⁰⁵ Bernadette was not the only student who subverted the sleeping arrangements on University A's fieldtrip to a large city. In 1995, two female students made alternative arrangements for their night-time accommodation. In 1996, Bernadette, as well as a male student, made alternative arrangements. On the remaining five fieldtrips, students were not allowed and/or able to make alternative arrangements to sleep at another location.

I'm entering danger zone . . . as a female, I need to have my own privacy as a female, need to have my own space (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 28/5/97).

Lia and Bernadette have both talked about how they value their privacy, and the risks of communal sleeping spaces. Lia explains that in Samoan cultural practice, women and men usually do not share communal sleeping spaces. Bernadette does not explain her experiences in terms of Pākehā cultural practices, but this could be read into her explanations. Bernadette's family background and the cultural practices that she was familiar with meant that she had grown up to expect that females and males would/should sleep separately on school and university (field)trips. The reason I have brought Lia's and Bernadette's perspectives together in spite of (or because of) their different cultural backgrounds is to show that Lia (who might be constructed as the 'cultural other') and Bernadette (who was not the 'cultural other') did not feel comfortable with communal sleeping arrangements where women and men slept in the same space. Then, *if* there seemed to be some common theme emerging in relation to female participants' experiences of communal sleeping arrangements, this is undone by Mark's experiences. It is also undone by the perspectives of three Māori students (two female and one male) who all spoke positively about communal sleeping and living arrangements.

Melanie felt very 'at home' with the communal living arrangements of the same three-day university fieldtrip that Lia and Bernadette had felt so uncomfortable with.

Melanie: I mean, you must be aware that that's quite the norm for my culture anyway . . . to live even as an extended whānau's quite communal, you know, . . . but I imagine the girls in my bunkroom probably after day three they'd probably be, 'cause even on Sunday it was a bit awkward 'cause some of us weren't out of the shower before the next one wanted to go in kind of thing and hurry up, are you still in there kind of thing. But that kind of living is quite normal for me and

communal meals, communal sleeping, showering, it's part of my culture anyway so I don't at all have a problem with it, you know, . . . we whānaungatanga for days on end . . . And as part of your culture you learn to tolerate each other for long periods of time anyway (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96).

For Melanie the communal living arrangements felt very familiar. Indeed, there were significant parallels between the communal nature of residential fieldtrips and of Māori cultural experiences that Melanie terms "whānaungatanga", loosely translated as the practices that provide/construct a sense of family (whānau). Two other Māori students also felt comfortable, even proud of the way a Māori context - the marae - and the associated cultural practices were incorporated on the two-day high school fieldtrip they were on. Christine pointed out that sleeping communally facilitated the opportunity to get to know other fieldtrip participants more: "like everyone *sleeping in the marae* so, sort of getting to know people more" (Interview with High School A fieldtrip participant, 23/10/96, my emphasis). Christine's point echoes an earlier quote from University B staff member Jim, who also claimed that a combination of the domestic and the educational facilitated the means for students and staff to get to know each other.¹⁰⁶

Domestic practices are cultural practices, and for Christine and Stephen, it was Māori cultural practices, that shaped the domestic, educational and spiritual dimensions of the accommodation for one of High School A's two fieldtrips. Christine explained the significance of staying on a marae. Although

¹⁰⁶ Living together as a means to get to know each other better than would be possible in the school or university context was cited by many other students and staff. Again, the domestic was constituted as a 'facilitator', an 'emotional worker' in the context of residential fieldtrips.

there was no formal pōwhiri, the Māori male bus driver initiated a whaikōrero, to "sort of get rid of your tapu-ness sort of thing".¹⁰⁷

Christine: I've been to heaps of marae . . . we did some whaikōrero and, talk, you know, things like that and there was sort of all the heaps of others like who just probably wouldn't have thought about it, . . . it was sort of a real big learning thing for them, it was pretty cool . . .

Karen: So you're saying like for some of the other students that was a learning curve to see the bus driver doing that whaikōrero to [voice trails off]?

Christine: Yeah. *And even maybe learning things about me.* Learning about you know, just, you just sort of learn more about each other . . .

Karen: So like do you mean that the students in some ways got a chance to find out more about you by being at the marae, is that what you mean?

Christine: Oh yeah, they might, . . . it's just like that's an example of things that happen on fieldtrips, like how you get to know each other better, sort of things like that. And yeah I think, yeah, I suppose they did, but I don't know, *understanding more about Māori culture too*, I think (Interview with High School A fieldtrip participant, 23/10/96, my emphasis).

Christine is quoted at length to show four significant details. First she is 'at home' in the accommodation selected for this particular high school fieldtrip. Second, Christine refers to the spiritual dimensions of staying on a marae when she explains the purpose of the bus driver's whaikōrero to remove the "tapu-ness" of the visitors (students and staff of High School A) before they moved on to the marae to stay. Thus the domestic and educational context of the residential fieldtrip was imbued with a spiritual dimension, a dimension that

¹⁰⁷ Pōwhiri is the Māori term for a ceremony of welcome (Williams, 1975: 300) which usually incorporates whaikōrero, that is, formal speaking (Williams, 1975: 485). The acknowledgement of tapu is part of pōwhiri and/or whaikōrero. Tapu means sacred and/or forbidden. "Things have tapu not because we're afraid of them but because, being what they are, they demand a respect from us" (Miriamia - Maniapoto, cited in Roa, 1987: 34).

tends to be relatively absent from 'official' fieldtrip discourses.¹⁰⁸ Third, she tentatively suggests that staying at the marae means that other students are learning about her, or at least are learning about Māori culture which Christine thought "was pretty cool" especially in a school context where there were few Māori students compared to other schools she had attended. Fourth, Christine's words imply that getting to know each other better involved learning about each others' cultural backgrounds and that the living context selected shaped this learning.

Similarly, Stephen (who participated in the same fieldtrip that Christine referred to above) spoke positively about the location of the fieldtrip at a marae, and the

pōwhiri. We did one of those and, that was pretty cool because we didn't do one last year [see footnote 108], no, we didn't have one of those [a pōwhiri] and I didn't really see the significance last year as what I did this year. Think whoa, gee so maybe there is a bit of, a few gods out there and stuff, and that was pretty freaky and fairly cool (laugh). And a good thing about it was like, appreciated by especially some of my friends, 'cause afterwards you know how we have all the talks and stuff, they go ooh, hey, and then we just got up, you know, go and did our other thing, and I think, (sound of lips like a kiss) cool (laugh) . . . I prefer a marae . . . I reckon just a cultural perception, it's just you know, I know that a marae is safe, (laugh) 'cause I've been welcomed, I've been blessed and I know that people are watching over (Interview with High School A fieldtrip participant, 24/10/96).

Like Christine, Stephen felt "safe" in the marae context, a context made safer because it included a spiritual dimension. And like Christine, staying on a marae facilitated Stephen's relations with other students because the pōwhiri was "appreciated by especially some of my friends". All three Māori students

¹⁰⁸ The spiritual dimension was more fully acknowledged on the fieldtrip that Christine refers to (held in 1996) than it was on the same fieldtrip held the previous year. On the 1995 fieldtrip, we moved on to the marae with females in the front and males at the back, pausing in silence to pay our respects. No whaikōrero or waiata occurred (fieldnotes, 27/7/95).

(Melanie, Christine and Stephen) convey a sense of pride that their cultural practices were an integral part of the cultural practices on the two fieldtrips that they refer to. This facilitated their relations with other students as well as their sense of ease/comfort during the residential fieldtrip. These students felt validated by the congruency of cultural practices between what they knew from staying on marae at other times and what they noticed about how the living together was conducted on the two fieldtrips they refer to. But not all students found their cultural practices reflected in the cultural practices of the fieldtrips they participated in. What other cultural practices (in addition to those associated with sleeping) operated as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion on geography residential fieldtrips? What was it like to be a student on a residential fieldtrip in which your cultural practices were not reflected at all? How did these cultural practices operate as disciplining mechanisms, and what forms of resistance were possible within a context that was not easily escapable?

4 DOMESTIC DISCOURSES: COMPLIANCE AND RESISTANCE

Disciplining ("the 'grip' of systemic power on the body") occurs at "the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1980: 39). Students lined up for their food, eat and slept (if possible) at designated times of the day, worked much longer hours than they 'normally' would if they were at home and went without (some) bodily comforts. These forms of regimentation were reminiscent of boarding school, even military regimes. "Banally, through table manners and toilet habits, through seemingly trivial routines, rules, and practices, culture is '*made* body'" (Bordo, 1989: 13, emphasis in original; also see Bourdieu, 1977: 94). The body is both compliant with and resists these regimes. The following discussion focuses on both. Consider, for example, the

domestic/cultural practices of dishwashing and showering. Like the domestic practices that have already been discussed, these are usually private practices which become available for public scrutiny and therefore potentially for public comment/criticism in the context of a residential fieldtrip. I begin with the banal, the "seemingly trivial routine" (Bordo, 1989: 13) of dishwashing to argue that even the micro-practices of dishwashing can be experienced as a particularly intense form of disciplining, a form of disciplining that enforces a particular set of cultural practices at the expense of others.

4.1 Dishwashing

For the most part I did not consider the hygiene levels of dishwashing on the seven fieldtrips that I participated in for this research.¹⁰⁹ I took the question of hygiene for granted until I interviewed Jill (a South Korean student, who participated in High School B's three-day coastal fieldtrip). After Jill's interview, I realised that it was possible to read dishwashing practices on residential fieldtrips as indications of particular cultural practices. Indeed, the domestic arrangements on four of the seven residential fieldtrips (one University B, one High School A, and two High School B fieldtrips) tended to mirror the cultural practices of Pākehā New Zealanders, the dominant 'racial' group (although I realise that even within the category Pākehā, there is enormous diversity in cultural practices). The other three residential fieldtrips (one High School A and two University A fieldtrips) more explicitly included other cultural practices in addition to Pākehā cultural practices.

¹⁰⁹ This is yet another example that seeing was not an epistemological guarantee. I had watched dishwashing practices and had taken fieldnotes about the gendered/'racialised' dimensions of who was and was not doing the dishes but I had not taken fieldnotes about the quality of hygiene of dishwashing. Although I had 'seen' the quality (or lack) of dishwashing hygiene, I had not noticed and named this as salient because I had taken the quality (or lack of) for granted.

Jill's 'racialised' difference (that was not specifically articulated in the context of the interview) was heightened, even expressed bodily through cultural differences in domestic practices such as dishwashing and showering. Jill raised the issue of dishwashing hygiene early in the interview, as her 'second' memory of the fieldtrip (which suggests its significance in spite of a seven month time lapse since the fieldtrip had taken place).¹¹⁰

Karen: What else do you remember about the fieldtrip?

Jill: Washing dishes. It was really different with my culture. Actually, um, (pause) okay (tape turned off) um (pause) um, I don't know, I think New Zealander doesn't wash dishes with the, ah . . . (pause) I mean (tape turned off) they don't even wash the bubbles properly, so there's still the dirt and the bubbles still on the washes. And the next morning I had to use the spoons and dishes, so I washed them before I used.

Karen: Yeah. So did you do that each time?

Jill: Not each time. I, you know, I couldn't because everybody watched me and ah, you know, it um (pause) have done by each group, so the other groups was in the kitchen and yeah, they served the dishes so I couldn't go in there and washed dishes before I ate. So, just sometimes, a few times I (voice trailed off)

Karen: Yeah. It would be, I imagine it would be hard to eat from dishes that you didn't think were clean.

Jill: Mmm hmm. Yes (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participant, 9/11/95).

¹¹⁰ Jill may have wanted to raise the issue of the lack of dishwashing hygiene first but may have felt unable to do so. I sensed her uncertainty about raising the issue even in 'second place' because she began to talk about dishwashing practices and then turned the tape recorder off while searching for words or a way to say it (fieldnotes, 9/11/95). I encouraged her to continue by reassuring her that I would not be offended by her comments. I understood from Jill's hesitation that she perceived that it was 'my' dishwashing practices that she was criticising. I was one of the many Pākehā on this particular fieldtrip who would have appeared to be comfortable with the dishwashing standards because I was used to communal dishwashing arrangements from other fieldtrips as well as from my boarding school days.

There is a sense of the disgust in Jill's words, "there's still the dirt and the bubbles" on the dishes (a sense of disgust that was also conveyed by her body language during the interview). She attempted to wash dishes and utensils the next morning before she ate off them but it was difficult to always achieve this without being watched and noticed in the public kitchen space of a residential fieldtrip. Jill was subjected to the dishwashing practices of 'New Zealand culture' which she pointed out were different to 'South Korean culture'. These practices affected her sense of hygiene which she felt unable to do anything about if she was watched by others. Jill's words indicate the coercive, disciplining aspects of the seemingly trivial practices of dishwashing. The "state of conscious and permanent visibility" (Foucault, 1995; 201) disciplined Jill to comply (on all but one stated occasion) with unsatisfactory dishwashing practices.¹¹¹ There were, however, other ways in which Jill also resisted "the 'grip' of systemic power on the body" (Bordo, 1993: 194).

4.2 Showering

The other cultural difference in domestic embodied practices that Jill referred to during the post-fieldtrip interview was to do with showering. Jill's account of her showering practices directly followed her account of dishwashing practices:

Karen: So, what else do you remember about the fieldtrip?

Jill: And ah, taking a shower, because, I take really long time about forty minutes, but the other people just took two minutes or just two minutes or five minutes. So, it was really different. And the rest of people should wait a long time because of me . . . I didn't care much about that, 'cause I felt it is important to me to wash, I mean taking a

¹¹¹ The word 'unsatisfactory' is probably not strong enough to describe the palatable disgust that I sensed from Jill's body language.

shower in my way, you know? (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participant, 9/11/95).

Jill was again aware of her difference, her different embodied practices. Jill complied with the dominant cultural practices of dishwashing except when she was able to invisibly subvert this and engage in her own cultural practice. In contrast, Jill maintained her cultural practice of long showers in spite of the visibility of this difference at least to those female students waiting to use the shower, which could constitute a form of peer pressure to shorten her shower time. Jill also resisted and/or ignored any (un)spoken 'rules' about saving hot water for other students' use. But compliance with and resistance against the embodied micro-practices enacted on this particular fieldtrip did not work to incorporate Jill into 'the body corporate' of geography students, to provide Jill with a sense of belonging and/or enjoyment as it did for other students.¹¹² Instead, these micro-practices contributed to Jill's overall sense of alienation: "Actually, I didn't find any good points about the fieldtrip, 'cause first of all it wasn't interesting. It was hard and you know food and the facility wasn't so

¹¹² A further postscript about Jill's compliance and resistance takes the themes of this section a step further. Jill initially complied with (she agreed to a post-fieldtrip interview) but later resisted the disciplinary power of the research process. Jill refused to complete a participation profile form after the interview had taken place and stated quite clearly to me on the phone that I was not to contact her again in connection with the research. Jill may have felt more able to refuse my requests from her home base (as compared with the classroom context), via a phone line. I include this particular example here (rather than in the methodology chapter) to indicate the forms of agency that Jill exercised as well as those that she was not able to. The forms of agency have been linked to different spatial contexts - the kitchen and the showers on the residential fieldtrip, the school where the post-fieldtrip interview took place, and the home where I made my follow-up phone call. All of these spatial contexts had differing and contradictory degrees of private/public dimensions. It could be argued that the more private contexts of the showers and the home enabled more potent forms of Jill's agency, than did the more public spaces of the residential fieldtrip kitchen and the high school. Or perhaps I attribute too much to the spatial contexts and their private/public dimensions. What is more certain is that Jill exercised contingent forms of agency in the disciplinary contexts of a residential geography fieldtrip and a research project.

comfortable to me" (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participant, 9/11/95).

Cultural difference did not easily have a recognisable space within the living contexts of four of the seven fieldtrips (including the one that Jill participated in). On these four residential fieldtrips, domestic discourses were premised on a sameness, a conformity to unstated but implicit Pākehā cultural norms. But there were three fieldtrips - two migration fieldtrips to a large city and a tourism fieldtrip to a village - in which cultural difference was included explicitly in the goals for the fieldtrip, living contexts and associated domestic arrangements. It could be argued that such specific inclusions of cultural difference and associated cultural practices might ameliorate the kinds of cultural alienation that Jill referred to above. On the two migration fieldtrips there were specific inclusions of cultural difference. For example, students were provided with opportunities to 'eat' cultural difference, that is, to try the cuisine of various cultures. In the next section, the cultural practices of eating and drinking are examined.

4.3 Eating and Drinking

The organiser and lecturer of the course related to the migration fieldtrip explained that the fieldtrip was premised on having contact with specific cultural groups: recent Chinese and Korean migrants, Pacific Islanders and refugee groups (Rosemary, Interview with University A staff member, 22/7/95). Arrangements were made for students and staff to eat one lunch and one evening meal at 'ethnic restaurants', and one lunch and one evening meal at markets where 'ethnic foods' were available for purchase. Bronwyn and Yolanda (both Pākehā students) recount their experience of this:

Bronwyn: I mean, it's fine, it's okay to say, yes we were going to experiment with the different cultures' food or whatever, but it was such a hassle with so many people, so many reasons, I mean I had a stomach ulcer at that time, there was a hassle for me

Yolanda: maybe just for one night would have been great, you know, but for the whole day it was concentrated on learning about different cultures and then you had to have dinner as well in a different culture, maybe just one night and the other two nights have your own food (Interview with University A fieldtrip participants, 13/9/95).

A comparison of Bronwyn's and Yolanda's words with Jill's words (pages 229-230) suggests some interesting, even ironic, similarities as well as differences. Like Jill, Bronwyn and Yolanda found it difficult to conform to a set of domestic arrangements that were different to their usual cultural practices. Eating food from different cultures was part of the 'official' purpose of the two migration fieldtrips, and is perhaps the most literal example of embodied fieldwork. Bronwyn and Yolanda, along with some other Pākehā students, voiced their dissatisfaction with learning/eating/living their geography work, with literally "consuming geographies" (this is the title of Bell and Valentine's (1997) book).

The students on the migration fieldtrips were not only learning *about* different cultures but also were taking *in* different cultures. They were taking into their bodies, the culture of 'others' via their food (see Bell and Valentine, 1997; hooks, 1992). "Within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture" (hooks, 1992: 21). This could be read in a number of ways but I will highlight two readings relevant to the argument that I am constructing here. The first relates to disciplining practices and how 'eating cultural difference' touches more than the surface/ exterior of students' and staff members' bodies. Eating as well as learning about cultural difference perhaps constitutes one of the more explicit examples of how geography fieldwork reaches into the "very grain of individuals" (Foucault, 1980: 39), inserts itself into their interior bodies.

Second, the body's interior (rather than the body's surface) "becomes the site of engagement" (Kirby, 1997: 126) with cultural difference, with geography fieldwork. Embodied fieldwork is a "corporeal articulation through and through: it is not divided into separable spheres of mind/body, culture/nature, or language and perception" (Kirby, 1997: 126). bell hooks (1992: 39), however, cautions against a revolutionary reading of such an engagement with difference: "The over-riding fear is that cultural, ethnic, and racial differences will be continually commodified and offered up as new dishes to enhance the white palate - that the Other will be eaten, consumed, and forgotten". Geography students and staff can easily depart from all this difference (Sugnet, 1991). The "defamiliarisation [of cultural difference on the fieldtrip] is to distance us from whiteness, so that we will return to it more intently" (hooks, 1992: 29).

Some students (including Bronwyn and Yolanda quoted above) did not enjoy such embodied fieldwork but other students did. For example, Josh (a Pākehā student on the migration fieldtrip a year later than Bronwyn and Yolanda) said: "Eating out was great, I really enjoyed that, at the different restaurants" but he still pointed out the disciplining aspects of eating on residential fieldtrips: "you never get to actually choose what you'll be eating on a fieldtrip unless you take your own food" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 12/9/96). On some fieldtrips, food was not available other than at the designated mealtimes. I documented a conversation during which students complained that the only food available outside meal times were apples (fieldnotes, 30/3/95). Some students did bring their own food and/or drink with them on residential fieldtrips, and it is to these students' strategies that I now turn as an example of how disciplinary practices to do with food and eating were ameliorated/resisted by some students.

Andrew (a Pākehā university student) described how he brought some of his domestic practices from home on the residential fieldtrip:

Andrew: I enjoy a glass of wine most evenings, and for me it was, perhaps not so much having alcohol, but having *a creature comfort from home* that is something I enjoy, and that made the whole fieldtrip sort of more enjoyable for me so that you know, the things like the smelly socks and wearing gumboots to the toilet, all those sorts of things well, okay, I've got my glass of wine, I can cope with all that, (Karen laughing) you know, it's like I'm at home (laugh) . . . I had my walkman radio as well so that I had some music, *my own music*, and I had my wine. And those things just sort of took the nasty edge off the bad things of the trip (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 4/11/96, my emphasis).

Although Andrew did not bring his own food, he did bring his own alcohol and music, and took care of those sensory/bodily needs which "took the nasty edge off the bad things of the trip". Andrew brought aspects of home on the fieldtrip thus undoing any separation between home and fieldtrip. Andrew seems to 'do' home and fieldtrip. Bernadette also managed to 'do' home (by staying at her sister's home) and fieldtrip (see page 220). At night, Bernadette escaped the fieldtrip for home (her sister's home) while Andrew included 'home' on the fieldtrip, albeit as invisibly as possible.

Again the destabilisation of these binaries is not complete or unambiguous. Andrew referred to a "*glass of red wine*" in the post-fieldtrip interview but he drank his red wine from an opaque water drink bottle. I had pondered the significance of this more covert form of alcohol consumption compared with the more overt forms that centred around the consumption of beer and spirits on this particular fieldtrip (fieldnotes, 7/5/96). I take up the significance of alcohol consumption in Chapter 8 but highlight this aspect in relation to possible readings of Andrew's more covert consumption of wine and music. Drinking wine from an opaque water bottle and listening to music on a walkman mean that both forms of consumption remained relatively private within the relatively public contexts of a residential fieldtrip. These signs of 'home' were rendered invisible but were available via other senses

(auditory and taste). Surface appearances gave few visible clues to the interiority of these embodied dimensions which almost seem to have been smuggled in to a time-space that pretends to have left home, at home. The invisibility of Andrew's (and other students' home practices) maintains the apparent separation of fieldtrip and home. Nevertheless, these invisible forms of resistance are perhaps the most effective because they go unnoticed yet achieve the desired affect of ameliorating (some) discomforts of the fieldtrip.

For some students and staff, family members were left behind. The theme of separation of family from the education-place that Okely (1996, see chapter 8) identified in her analysis of boarding schools, is now examined more closely.

4.4 Family

Four women (three staff members and one student) spoke at length about what it meant to leave children behind in order to participate in the fieldtrips. Another two women (both high school teachers) resisted this separation by bringing members of their family (in one case her child and in the other case her dog) on one of High School A's fieldtrips. A male staff member talked about residential fieldtrips in the past when he and another colleague had included their wives: "he would go with his wife, I would go with my wife, and we'd take our cats (laugh) and we'd really set up house" (Brian, Interview with University B staff member, 7/6/97, my emphasis). Teachers/lecturers, rather than students, tend to 'have the power' to bring along their 'significant others' on fieldtrips.

Melanie (a Māori university student, already quoted) spoke at length about how she would have liked to have shared the fieldtrip with at least one member of her family:

Melanie: especially my youngest, she's six, and I thought about what she would be wanting to do at this point on the trip and how she would've enjoyed say, going into the inner city 'cause we live in a small town, and seeing all the huge buildings, and buildings with lots and lots of people around the streets and things like that. I wanted to share that with one of them, or even perhaps that my husband might have come along. You know, I wanted to share it with one of my family members . . . I like family environments, yeah. (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96).

Melanie found this separation difficult because family was such an integral part of her life. But Melanie expected that it was not possible for other family members to join her on a university fieldtrip: "I never assumed before the trip that we were allowed to do that" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 11/9/96).

Other fieldtrip participants who left children behind in order to attend residential fieldtrips also spoke about how difficult this was, and how it made it hard to enjoy the fieldtrip. For example, Lynley (a Pākehā university staff member) explained:

I basically resented the whole time I was there and I didn't find myself 'into it' at any stage. This year, I have realised that the best way to cope with being away from my family is to just essentially forget they exist and throw myself into it completely (Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97).

Lynley's strategy for coping with the separation 'in body' was to also achieve the separation in 'her mind', to forget her family existed, in order to cope with this segregation of family and education/work. The assumption is that bodies on fieldtrips will be autonomous, self-contained, individual, unconnected (masculine) bodies.

The domestic/ education, private/public binaries have been investigated in detail. In the next section, I examine the binaries that operate within discourses of fieldtrip (and outdoor) education which depend on participant bodies that are 'able' bodies.

5 ABLE-BODIED DISCOURSES: COMPLIANCE AND RESISTANCE

Lee and Taylor (1996) write about the engineering discipline and what they call the dilemma of obedience, a notion that has resonance for the geography discipline, and in particular for residential geography fieldtrips. During a residential fieldtrip, there is an emphasis on *action* - walking, climbing, observing - on able-bodiedness. Action is juxtaposed against a notion of *passivity*, of students' compliance with the requirements of assessment and other disciplining mechanisms such as eating at designated times. A physically fit, active geography fieldtrip body, that climbs steep relief to view the landscape, is about action. Yet, the same (active) fieldtrip body might (passively) comply with teachers' expectations to work late at night instead of watching a cricket match on television (fieldnotes, 11/3/96). This dilemma of obedience is an effective concept that encapsulates the contradictions and ambiguities of expectations of active and passive bodies which are inherent in the disciplinary culture of geography residential fieldtrips. But the active body which requires so much discipline and self-control might not be much different from the passive body which also requires discipline and self-control. Active and passive bodies can both be read as compliant (see for example, Bartky, 1988; Bordo, 1989; 1993).

Compliance with the disciplining requirements of fieldwork and physical exercise can re-code forms of obedience (passivity) as masculinised in ways that perhaps mirror the compliance required in military contexts. It would seem that previously feminised terms such as 'the body' (see Longhurst,

1995) are re-coded as masculine in a residential fieldtrip context. This re-coding process is accentuated by an emphasis on a physically fit body, a masculinised, youthful body that is needed to complete and compete in the work and play activities of residential fieldtrips. "The social definition of masculinity is inextricably bound up with a celebration of strength, of perfect bodies . . . It is also linked to a celebration of youth and of taking bodily functions for granted" (Morris, 1991: 93). The body (which is usually the feminised term of the mind/body dualism) is privileged in a fieldtrip context that is premised on able-bodied discourses. The flexibility of these re-codings could suggest the undoing of the respective dualisms. If a passive body (for example, in the sense of its comportment) could be understood as masculinised then this could be the case. But on a more cautious note, this flexibility demonstrates the persistence of masculinist discourses in the most unlikely places and on the most unlikely sides of the binaries (see Massey, 1996). Instead, in the fieldtrip context, the terms - passive and body - end up on "the masculine arm of a binary" (Lee and Taylor, 1996: 63) and are perhaps rendered more pervasive, and disciplining as a result.

Discourses about able-bodiedness, like discourses about heterosexuality, depend for their 'normality' on unstated, unnamed assumptions. Just as discourses about heterosexuality rely on structured silences that turn out to 'stand for' heterosexuality, so too do discourses about able-bodiedness rely on silences structured around a "norm [which] is measured by the absence of a disability" (Morris, 1991: 92-93).¹¹³ This norm depends on invisibility: "ageing, ill, disabled bodies are hidden from view" (Shilling 1993, cited in Davis, 1997:

¹¹³ I am aware of a debate about the use of terms such as 'disability' and 'able-bodied', and how these terms are caught up in constructing the very discourses that I am attempting to unpack and question. But I am guided by two principles; first, I take my lead from authors such as Jenny Morris (1991) who describes herself as disabled and uses the term 'disability' in her published work. Second, it is useful to use the terms that are the subject of the critique in order to expose their inherent instabilities.

2). Deborah Lawrence (1998: 1) points out the term disability has "an 'individualised' focus . . . Any disadvantage the disabled person might face within the physical environment is then explained as the problem of the person, not the environment".

Fieldtrip culture is based on taken-for-granted notions that every body on a fieldtrip is physically able. If, and when, any body was not physically able to carry out a fieldwork task, these assumptions were immediately called in to question. But disabilities are not necessarily on the surface of the body and readily visible. Indeed many 'disabilities' existed inside bodies, and were often invisible. The interiority/ exteriority themes (Kirby, 1997) are again significant. For example, some of the 'disabilities' that I became aware of in the course of the research, included asthma, diabetes, a dislocating knee, and lack of physical fitness. All of these conditions were relatively interior to the body and were not readily visible unless the condition manifested itself in a more extreme form as in the case where one student had an asthma attack. My access to knowledge about these interior dimensions, was based more on what I *heard* during conversations and interviews than on what I *saw* during the fieldtrip.

5.1 Dis-Abled Bodies

I begin with the example of Nancy who had an asthma attack while climbing. I asked Nancy about this experience during the post-fieldtrip interview. Nancy explains how physical fitness was assumed, an assumption that was apparently based on visual assessments. Nancy's body 'appeared' to be physically fit at an exterior level and Nancy had seemed able to climb on the previous two days of this fieldtrip. So the organiser of pairs for the climatology day assigned Nancy to data collection on the ridgetops. But as Nancy climbed, she had an asthma attack and had to return to camp. This exchange between

Nancy and myself demonstrates how the two themes - assumptions about able-bodiedness and seeing as knowing - shaped my questioning.

Karen: Did you feel that it would've been good if they sort of checked with people as to whether they wanted to do a lot of climbing or [voice trails off]?

Nancy: Yeah, yeah. I think they tried to . . . *but not by asking people*. They sort of did it who they thought . . .

Karen: Like was there any point during the preparation for the fieldtrip where they asked people for any sort of information about their fitness?

Nancy: Fitness level or anything like that, no. No. No, they didn't.

Karen: So when they were saying, thinking who would be people that would want to do the climbing, for example, *they just seemed to be doing it from looking at people?*

Nancy: Yeah, yeah. They'd . . . probably did it . . . from the other days but I don't think they really had definite ideas. Yeah.

Karen: . . . when you discovered that you were going to be one of the ones that was going up to the ridgetops, did you feel able to say well hold on, no I'm not going to?

Nancy: . . . I actually swapped how high I was going with one of the others who was going up that way, but *I didn't really feel confident enough to say to one of the staff* or anything. It sort of, it seemed like . . . that was the way it was and they thought that I could just do that. . . it seemed they [the lecturers] sort of just assumed everyone's fitness level, apart from what they saw, was the same.

Karen: The same as?

Nancy: The same as theirs, I guess (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 7/11/96, my emphasis).

There are four points that are important from this interview. First, the assumption of physical fitness seemed to be premised on an expectation that the physical fitness of all students would be the same and in turn this would be the same as the lecturers' physical fitness unless a visible disability proved otherwise. Second, the sameness that is expected and that Nancy refers to is at odds with the differential levels of fitness amongst staff and students, an

argument that I develop further in a subsequent section. Third, it was difficult to make a disability such as asthma audibly present (before the actual attack occurred). Nancy made changes with another student so that she would not be climbing quite so high, but she did not feel confident enough to tell a staff member. The unwritten assumption of physical fitness and the concomitant assumption of the absence of disability takes on the significance of an unbreakable rule. Fourth, Nancy explained that there were no attempts to find out about individual student's levels of physical fitness in a written and/or verbal form, during the preparation for this particular university fieldtrip. It seemed that the lecturers made their organisational arrangements on the basis of what they assumed and/or what they had seen of individual's capabilities the previous two days. In this case, seeing was not an epistemological guarantee of knowledge about Nancy's physical fitness and assumptions were proved incorrect. If Nancy's asthma attack had been more severe, these assumptions could have proved dangerous, even life threatening.

But "we're not going to ask them to do things that are too silly" pointed out Brian, a staff member on the same fieldtrip as Nancy. Indeed on the first night of this fieldtrip, Bruce (another staff member) had asked students to let staff know about "medical conditions" so that staff could take appropriate action in their allocation of work (fieldnotes, 4/5/96). Brian explains a staff member's perspective of the organisation for the climatology exercise in particular:

Brian: Well, when they go off to do their climate observations during the climate day exercise they're sent off in pairs, and we try to make sure *that the fit ones go to the far places and the ones that are less fit are looked after closer to camp.*

Karen: So how do you find out who's fit and who's not?

Brian: Well, if they have serious fitness problems then *they're asked to tell us*, and during the first couple of days we find out who are the fit people and they'll be sent, and I think, I'm not sure, I think that . . . whoever it is assigns the students to locations for that day will check. Particularly for the hard ones [referring to observation points on the ridgetops]. I mean, some people will volunteer to go on the hard ones and others won't, and it'll be quite clear that some have got sort of mobility problems and we'll keep them close to camp (Interview with University B staff member, 7/6/97, my emphasis).

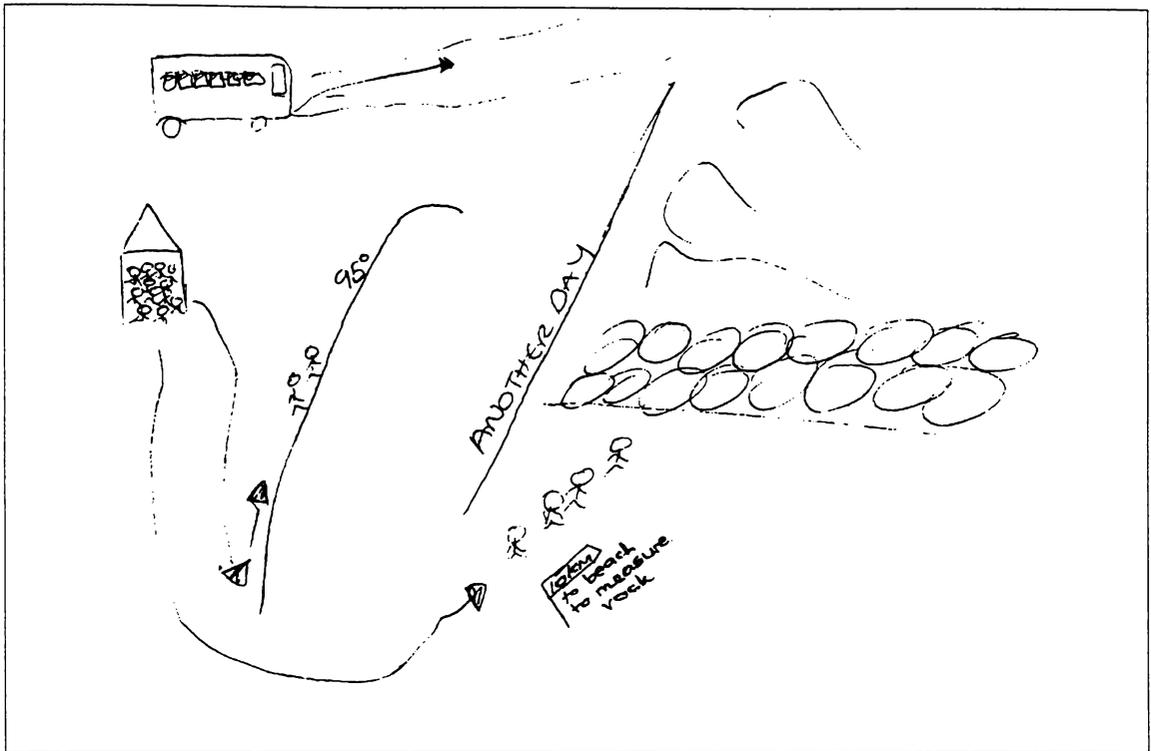
Although Brian (and Bruce) imply that there was no (official) rule that students climb to the ridgetops, an 'unwritten rule' motivated Nancy to attempt the climb. Brian's words are interesting in terms of the implicit and explicit messages that could be read into them. Fit students get to go to the "far places" (Brian's words), they are spatially extended, and the implicit reading could be that these students were recognised as independent, autonomous, mobile bodies able to explore faraway places. The less fit students "are looked after closer to camp" (Brian's words), and the implicit reading could be that these students were perceived as dependent and therefore needed to be "looked after" close-to-camp (which echoes 'close-to-home'), a much more limited spatial field. Both Brian and Bruce assume that it would be easy for students to tell staff, but neither ponder what it might mean for a female (or male) student who is unfit, to acknowledge this to the fit male organiser (as was the case in this particular instance) of the climatology day. So if student to staff information channels might be fraught, what about staff to student?

This was also uncertain: "I'm not sure, I think that . . . whoever it is assigns the students to locations for that day will check" (Brian's words).¹¹⁴

One other example concerns Cathy, a student whose knee easily dislocated. As a result of this, Cathy did not go on the peninsula walk that took up the morning of the second day of High School B's coastal fieldtrip. Instead Cathy stayed at the field station and watched television (fieldnotes, 12/3/96). Cathy had already anticipated the difficulties of walking in her pre-fieldtrip drawing (see figure 13): she drew the slope of her mountain/hill at 95 degrees and therefore as impossible to walk on or up. It would seem that the impossibilities of steep relief loomed large in her imagination before the fieldtrip began.

¹¹⁴ Certain kinds of information to do with health and safety cannot be left to chance. University A's (1997: 1) *Codes of Practice for Health and Field Safety* includes a statement that: "It is the responsibility of students to advise the field trip leader of any special medical conditions". Such a statement ignores the difficulty that some students may have communicating (personal) medical conditions to staff (which is demonstrated by the example of Nancy). Fieldtrip leaders should provide at least two forms of communication, that is written and oral, in which students can convey such information *before* a fieldtrip takes place. Written communication is important for students for whom English is another language. The expectation that such important information can be asked for and responded to orally ignores issues of literacy and/or privacy.

Figure 13 Cathy's drawing of impossible landscapes



I interviewed Cathy seven months after this fieldtrip had taken place and in response to my opening question about what she remembered about this fieldtrip, she referred first to her absence from the peninsula walk: "I didn't get to go on the long walk so I still don't get some of the things that other people do" (Interview with High School B fieldtrip participant, 4/11/96). Cathy not only missed the walk, but she missed the geographical knowledge made available to those students who went on the walk, knowledge that she does not 'get' or understand like other students seem to; "it didn't help with understanding, I didn't see it". Instead: "everybody hassled me 'cause I couldn't go on the long walk". Cathy then went on to explain what she had done while everyone was away walking and gaining geographical knowledge: "Oh, I got to sit there and make scones or something. I made scones" (which contradicts my fieldnotes). The point I am making, however, does not rest on the accuracy of my observations versus Cathy's memories. It is concerned with how her absence from a particular fieldwork exercise affected her subsequent understanding of this component of geographical knowledge. Cathy was not

directly penalised in terms of marks allocated for the fieldtrip assessment: "they took that into account, they gave me an aggregate sort of what I'd done" but there were other 'penalties' for being absent from able-bodied activities, one of which was being hassled by other students.

When the participants on the peninsula walk arrived back at the fieldstation, Cathy was greeted by two male students loudly asking why she had not cooked lunch while they were away. Cathy's response was that she could not cook, and one male student's rejoinder was that she "couldn't do anything" (fieldnotes, 12/3/96). Cathy embodied two forms of dis-ability; the first related to male students' expectations that (all) females can cook and ideally have food ready waiting for hungry males on their return. These male students may not have really expected there to be food literally waiting for them, but the joke and the metaphor on which it was based had enough gendered currency for two male students to 'make fun' of, to hassle, Cathy. The second form of dis-ability relates to Cathy's inability to walk up and down steep, rocky land without her knee dislocating. If a fieldtrip body cannot walk (and cannot cook), then her/his legitimacy as an active, doing, participating (in this case female) fieldtrip body is called into question. Physical dis-ability transposed into a form of dis-ability in specific forms of geographical (fieldtrip) knowledge. The converse is also worth stating: if geographical ability depends on/requires physical ability, then dis-abled students are automatically excluded from particular forms of geographical knowing. Such automatic exclusions reinforce and reiterate able-bodied discourses because dis-abled bodies (with asthma and dislocated knees) cannot easily or fully participate.

Bordo (1989; 1993) and Foucault (1995) emphasise the disciplining elements of anorexic, exercised, imprisoned bodies, bodies that are self-controlled even to the brink of death in the case of anorexic bodies. But Bordo and Foucault do not take account of 'the body' that asserts its own control to varying degrees, whether that be in the form of physical disabilities, ill health

or injury. This argument is not intended to shore up the nature/culture dualism or to suggest that nature (the body) 'triumphs' over culture (the mind) because physical disabilities, ill health and injury are not triumphs. Rather this argument is about how nature and culture, body and mind are held in constant tension, a tension that releases along unexpected faultlines so that self-control, bodily discipline is never fully realised or complete.

5.2 Able Bodies

Physical fitness (or lack of) was discussed by many fieldtrip participants, in particular by those students who had participated in the physical geography fieldtrips. In this section, I focus on one particular physical geography fieldtrip, that of University B, because fitness (or lack of) was most frequently cited by students who participated in this fieldtrip during the post-fieldtrip interviews. Sarah Maguire, quoted in *The Times Higher* (17/1/97), found that significantly more women than men "said students had to be very fit to do physical geography". In my research, there were female and male students who stated their enjoyment of the physical demands of the fieldwork. For example, Jane and Marcia both agreed during their joint interview that although they had found the physical exercise challenging, they had enjoyed it.

Jane: The exercise killed us . . . But it was fun (laugh).

Marcia: Oh it killed us, but you felt really good at the end of the day almost. Like you'd learnt heaps and you'd done heaps.

Jane: I couldn't believe it when they told me that I'd been picked, the lucky person (laughing) to go up to the highest point for my climatology day. It was like there's no way I'm gonna get up there, thought it would take me all day but it was actually really good and when I got up there it was so great, it was the best place to be, you could see everything. And I'm glad I actually got to go up there 'cause otherwise there's no way I would've gone trekking off up there (Interview with University B fieldtrip participants, 6/11/96).

Jane's and Marcia's narrative is very different to Nancy's in the previous section, although they are all talking about the same climatology exercise on the same (University B) physical geography fieldtrip. Jane's words intimate humorously the 'informal' compulsion, even the competitive satisfaction, that might be available for those students who were picked/chosen "to go up to the highest point". (Who could refuse such an honour?) Marcia and Jane both make the connection between doing (action) and learning very clear in their words - "you'd learnt heaps and you'd done heaps" (Marcia). Physical effort was rewarded with greater geographical knowledge - "you could see *everything*" (Jane, my emphasis). Seeing as knowing, as well as 'doing' as knowing, were emphasised by these two students (as well as by Carmen and Evelyn, quoted earlier on page 163). Action and geographical knowledge are connected; knowledge, on geography fieldtrips, "is physically encoded" (Lee and Taylor, 1996: 63). And significantly, Marcia and Jane agreed that this physical geographical work was fun.

Carol was another female student who enjoyed the physical demands of the same physical geography fieldtrip. Carol evaluated her own level of fitness in relation to others, and noticed gendered patterns:

the girls weren't as fit on the whole, did you notice that? 'Cause it was something I really noticed. Like on the climate day most of the people sent climbing or sent farthest were guys . . . I thought I was unfit, and I came to the conclusion by the end of the week that I wasn't really that unfit compared to other people, you know, and I thought that was quite interesting. . . Well, I would've expected that everyone would've been able to do the amount of climbing that I did that week with the amount of stops that I did, but I know [names one female student] had to go home one day and [names one male student] didn't cope very well and stuff, and that a lot of the people ended up really, really tired (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96).

Carol's observations are somewhat dismissive of those female students who were allocated to the ridgetops. At least four women (Nancy, Marcia, Jane and

Carol) were allocated to the ridgetops out of the total group of thirteen female students on the fieldtrip).¹¹⁵ Carol's words reiterate themes that have already been referred to: her expectation that everyone would have similar levels of fitness and the spatial 'extension' of climbing high, a spatial extension primarily made available to male students from Carol's point of view. But Carol contradicts her claim that "the girls weren't as fit on the whole" when she names one male and one female student who had to "go home" (the camp 'equals' home notion already intimated in Brian's words). This section of Carol's transcript is significant in two other ways.

First, it demonstrates the networks of surveillance operating in a fieldtrip context. Staff were not the only ones making (in)accurate visual assessments of others' physical capabilities, students also made visual assessments of each other and of the staff. The effects of constant 'visibility' heightened by the competitive elements of going the farthest and the highest, could constitute a heady/bodily mix of (geographical) incentives.

Second, self-surveillance is also indicated in Carol's assessment of her own levels of fitness. Carol was perceived at least by one female and one male student, as well as myself (the researcher), as physically fit, yet her self-perception underestimates this (in this section of the transcript and elsewhere in the interview). Maguire also found that "female students tended to think of themselves as unfit" (cited in *The Times Higher*, 17/1/97). Such a female perception draws on wider discourses beyond those of a physical geography fieldtrip, discourses that show and tell female bodies that they are un-fit, literally and metaphorically (see for example, Bartky, 1988; Bordo, 1989; Jones, 1991; Wolf, 1991; I. Young, 1990a). Nevertheless, it is a perception that is

¹¹⁵ There may have been other female students who were allocated to the ridgetops but I did not record this information (although in hindsight, I wished I had). On this physical geography fieldtrip, two thirds of the total number of students were male, so in numerical terms Carol's perceptions were accurate.

reinforced in particularly intense ways within a fieldtrip culture centred on able-bodied discourses.

Moreover, the production of the fieldtrip body entailed quite specific physicality, as Carol puts it:

with our fieldtrips, you're expected not only to have *a certain level of fitness* but you're expected to have *a certain level of height*, 'cause we were crossing some quite deep streams. It's all right, I've got some friends, they gave me a piggy back, (both laugh), I was fine (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96, my emphasis).

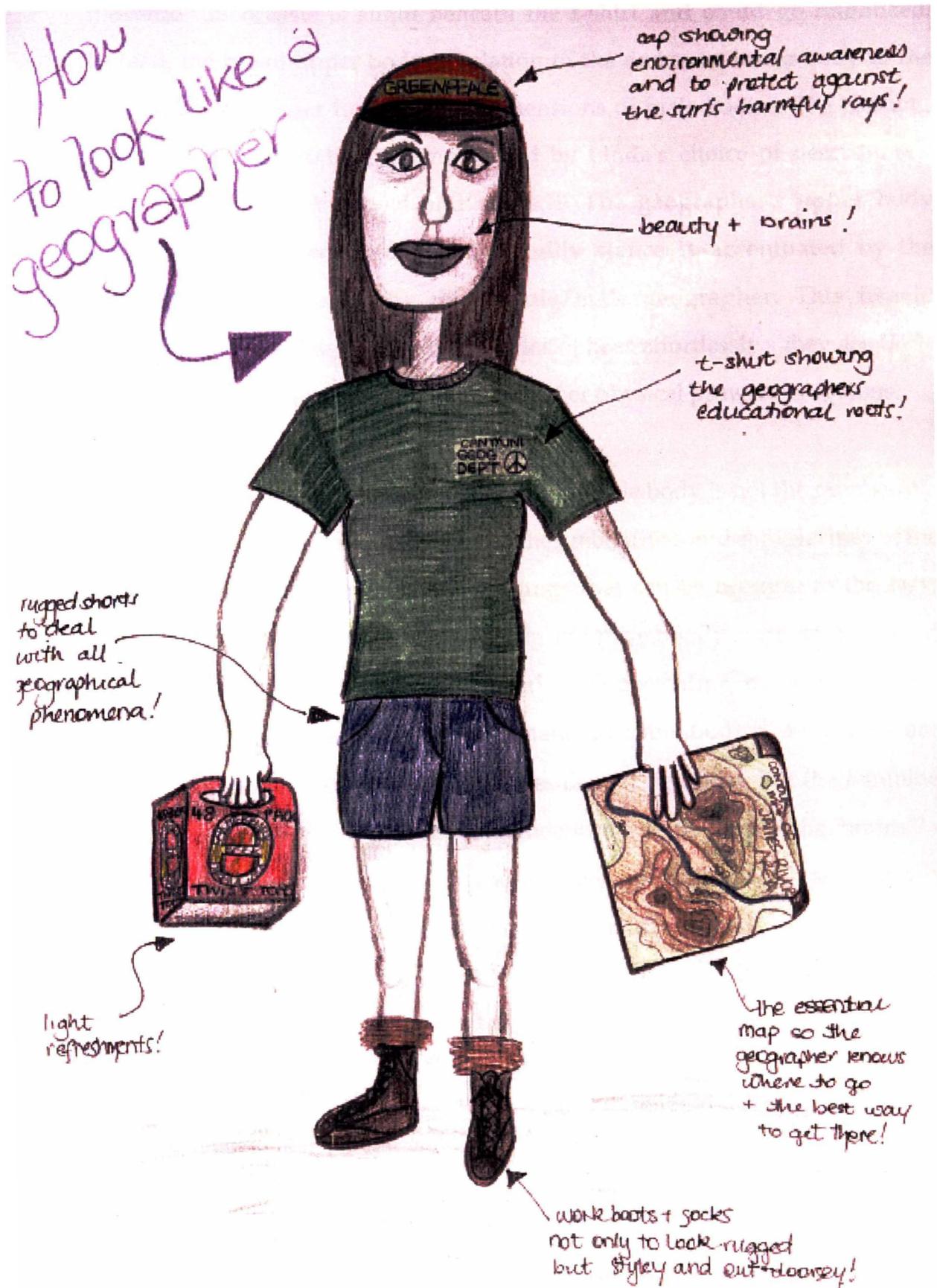
There were dimensions of fitness, height, and presumably weight (if friends were to give their peer a piggy-back across rivers) for the 'ideal' fieldtrip body. The specifics of the physicality of a fieldtrip body, or more generally of a 'geographer' (although these bodies might be the one and the same in students' imaginings) were echoed by Linda's drawing of 'how to look like a geographer' (see Figure 14 on the following page). The drawing was done during Linda's first year of university geography. She had not been on a residential fieldtrip at that point.¹¹⁶

It depicts a woman geographer with attributes that are associated with notions of femininity and masculinity. The captions written by the student on her drawing describe this geographer as someone who has "beauty and brains!" *and* wears "rugged shorts to deal with all geographical phenomena!" She wears "work boots and socks not only to look rugged but styley and out-doorsey!" And . . . she carries a '48 pack' of . . . [b]eer for "light refreshments" in one hand (the means for geographers' re-creation?) and "the essential map" in the other hand to provide evidence of the geographer's work. This geographer's body is a rich metaphor for understanding the culture of geography and more specifically the culture of geography fieldtrips (Nairn, 1996: 87, emphasis in original).

Linda indicates both masculine and feminine qualities in her labels, and in the bodily contours of her drawing. The geographer's body is marked as feminine by long hair, manicured eyebrows, full lips, and eyes with long lashes. But if

¹¹⁶ Linda was interviewed as part of my pilot study in 1994, and completed the drawing after the interview. For a discussion of this drawing "as a metaphor for culture" see Nairn (1996).

Figure 14 Linda's drawing of how to look like a geographer



the geographer's head was covered, the body is not so obviously feminine; the indication of breasts is slight beneath the t-shirt and could go unnoticed. Instead, the broad upper body in relation to the narrower lower body of the geographer are closer to the bodily dimensions of male bodies. The clothing style is masculine, which is emphasised by Linda's choice of descriptors - *rugged* shorts, *work* boots and socks.¹¹⁷ The geographer's upper body dimensions and associated 'full-on' bodily stance is accentuated by the "essential" items carried by this female/male geographer. This female geographer carries the weight of 48 bottles of beer effortlessly - they are "*light refreshments*", literally and metaphorically; her physical prowess is obvious.

The drawing shows that a physically capable body is not the prerogative of male geographers only. It also shows the ambiguities and complexities of the exterior body and the differential readings that can be brought to the task; Linda's drawing incorporates both female and male bodily markers on to (and in to?) the same body. The youthful and masculine elements of this geographer's body reinforce the argument that able-bodied discourses are encoded as masculine and youthful on residential fieldtrips. But the feminine elements associated with the head (and therefore with the mind - the "brains"? - which is perhaps undone by the bodily descriptor "beauty") prevent any closure, any certain conclusions about the nature/culture of able-bodied discourses on fieldtrips. Indeed, it could be argued that the feminised head/mind/"brains" in Linda's drawing challenge arguments made by other poststructuralist authors that the mind/intellect are coded as masculine and the body as feminine (see for example, Grosz, 1989; Longhurst, 1995; G. Rose, 1993). This parallels Berg's (1994: 248) arguments about how the theory/empirical investigation binary (in human geography discourses

¹¹⁷ Bordo (1989: 19) also notes that "[f]emale bodies now speak symbolically of [the] necessity [to embody 'masculine' values] in their slender spare shape and the currently fashionable menswear look".

practised in Aotearoa/New Zealand) is gendered in unexpected ways. Berg (1994) argues that theory (associated with the mind/intellect and usually gendered as masculine) is gendered as feminine and empirical investigation is gendered as masculine. This binary inversion can be read on/in to the body of the female/male geographer, that Linda has drawn.

Fieldtrip bodies are not necessarily male bodies *only*; female bodies that have masculine and/or youthful qualities can 'qualify' as fieldtrip bodies also. Whereas the converse is not true, male bodies with feminine qualities are not re-presented in drawings of fieldtrip bodies. Moreover, the feminine qualities that Linda has drawn are not those that would be necessary for the climb to the ridgetops. Although Linda's drawing potentially subverts the masculinisation of the identity of 'geography student'/'geographer', a closer analysis suggests another reading. I argue that Linda's drawing re-presents a 'form' of masculinity 'on the arm' (or in this case on 'the body' of a female geography student) to reiterate Lee and Taylor's (1996) earlier metaphor. This is a form of bodily colonisation, in which a particular masculine identity colonises female (and male) bodies and renders female geography students in an ambiguous likeness to male geographers. This likeness could be the 'sameness' that Nancy and Carol have already assumed.

Carol, Marcia and Jane (as well as many other female students) were all physically able. The requirements of geography fieldtrips, however, not only shaped these female students' bodies as able, but also as masculine and youthful. Bodily functions and performance were taken for granted (Morris, 1991). One set of bodily functions that were taken for granted were those that required toilet facilities, an issue often trivialised with embarrassed laughter or

silenced with sexual innuendo (Edwards and McKie, 1997).¹¹⁸ Male and female staff did not acknowledge the issue of how female and male students might find a place to go to the toilet while out on bare hills for the day taking climatology measurements or on the peninsula walk. Staff did not inform students (prior to the start of fieldwork activities) about where and when toilet facilities might be available during these activities. For female students/staff who were menstruating, this kind of information could be critical, yet it is information that they may feel unable to ask for easily.¹¹⁹ Generally, such bodily functions were absent from the 'official' discourses of the fieldtrip; the assumption was that fieldtrip bodies were non-menstruating bodies, that is, like male bodies. A female student perceived her menstruation on the fieldtrip as the worst possible timing; she said that "she was unlucky being a girl" because she still had two days in the field ahead (fieldnotes, 8/5/96). This female student felt unlucky having a menstruating/female body on a fieldtrip. Perhaps she would have felt 'luckier' if she had a male-like body (at least a non-menstruating body) for the duration of a residential fieldtrip. Having a female menstruating body was problematic for this student. For some male students and staff, having an unfit body was problematic.

5.3 Environments Shaping Bodies and Bodies Shaping Environments

How we perceive our bodies is shaped by the environment in which they must operate, and how we perceive our environments is shaped by the capabilities of our bodies. Expectations of a forthcoming fieldtrip were shaped by

¹¹⁸ I also did not expect that students and staff would talk to me about such personal/private matters. I had noted my own bodily discomforts in my fieldnotes because embodied practices were one of my theoretical/empirical concerns.

¹¹⁹ If an asthmatic student found it difficult to talk about her asthma, it could be even more difficult for a female student to talk about menstruation, particularly to male staff (and there were only male staff available on the University B fieldtrip).

participants' perceptions about what their bodies would be required to do and how able they felt to meet these requirements. These expectations would have been shaped by each participant's gender, age, physical ability and so on. Gender and physical ability have already been considered. The focus of this section is age and physical ability. University B's physical geography fieldtrip continues to be the context. The 'form' of *youthful* masculinity that I have argued above, was noticed by Sean, an older (than 35 years) male student. His expectations were shaped by the anticipated environment and by his body:

Climbing the hills and things and ah doing a bit of tramping that I hadn't done for years and I did train up a little bit for it in terms of rushing up and down a few stairs for a couple of weeks, because *I envisaged there would be a little bit of that but it was far in excess of what I expected really* (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96, my emphasis).

When Sean recounted his memories of this fieldtrip six months later during an interview, he cited (in the following order) the work, the "camaraderie" and the "physical exercise is the other memory. Fitness, or lack of it. (both laugh)". Sean (like Carol) perceived himself as unfit (although Sean's self-assessment was possibly more accurate than Carol's).

During my interview with Sean, he also highlighted the age difference between himself and most of the students as a significant factor in terms of feeling like an "outsider". Sean perceived that his age shaped how he chose to relate to the younger students as well as how the students might relate to him: "maybe if I shaved my beard or something (both chuckle). Try to look a bit younger but no, that's not me. They have to take me as I am". Sean was clear about not changing his exterior, older male body to fit the norms of youthful masculinity, but the steepness of the environment still had an impact on his (unfit) body. "I think my perception was that it would be a little bit flatter down there and that I wasn't familiar with the country so from that point of view it was a bit of a surprise, bit of a shock to the system" (Sean, Interview

with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96). Sean's body was affected by the steep relief but he pointed out that it "didn't do me any harm though". Like Marcia and Jane (quoted above), Sean reiterates the popular discourse of physical exercise. It may be painful, surprising, excessive, shocking, but (as the rhetoric goes) it is always good for the body and ultimately the mind: "healthy bodies make for healthy minds" (Gidlow et al., 1994: 261). Physical exercise was a form of discipline imposed on the body, a form of discipline shaped by the morphology of the physical environment of the fieldtrip. The steeper the land, the more demanding the physical exercise.

Age and physical ability were also two significant themes that were highlighted during interviews with staff members. Both social and fieldwork activities constituted "hard work", work that was harder because of an age difference between staff and students:

Jim: It can be physically tiring as a staff member to go on a fieldtrip, particularly if you participate fully in the social activities, they're late nights, they can be uncomfortable sleeping arrangements, physically tiring if you are out walking around all day, *some staff at the end of it are feeling the pinch and you know, keeping up with young fit, energetic, enthusiastic students is hard work* (Interview with University B staff member, 10/11/94, my emphasis).

The social activities are the re-creational, play activities but play becomes work when staff have to keep up with young students, a formulation in which youth is synonymous with fitness and energy. Jim's words are significant because he acknowledges the work aspects of social activities and the physically tiring aspects of "walking around all day", aspects that are often glossed over because they go against much of the rhetoric that surrounds fun and/or physical exercise.

The spatial extent of fieldwork activities is determined by teachers and lecturers guided by their pedagogic purposes (for the fieldtrip) but also by

their age and physical capabilities. One staff member suggested that the spatial extent of fieldwork activities had contracted as staff had grown older:

We don't go so far and especially if you were to draw up a map which showed the location of field activities year by year, you'd find that this area, the dots would shrink (laugh) . . . I don't know why we have contracted, it may have something to do with the age of the staff (laugh) (Brian, Interview with University B staff member, 7/6/97).

The contraction of the fieldwork area would not be apparent to students who usually participate once in a fieldtrip. Indeed the contraction may have also been shaped by pedagogic considerations. But the intimation that the age of the staff has shaped the spatial extent of fieldwork activities is significant because this factor would be difficult to acknowledge in a fieldtrip discourse so reliant on able-bodied, youthful discourses. The physical limitations of staff and how these may have physically and spatially limited fieldwork activities have seldom been written into the literature about fieldtrips.

Jim's and Brian's words indicate that staff members' fitness levels were different, rather than the same as perceived by Nancy and Carol, and that these fitness levels changed as staff members aged. A student also noticed different expectations and different modes of geographic mobility amongst the staff of the fieldtrip that she was on. Kendra referred to a group of students who were taken by a male staff member in a four wheel drive vehicle to see a particular landform: "like they didn't go over the hill. He took the car and took them round type thing (laugh) which is really funny, whereas my group like, went over the hill. And yeah, so it's different with different lecturers, they've got different expectations" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 6/11/95). A year later, another female student commented about the same staff member: "he'd take you off in the truck (laughing) and you wouldn't have to walk anywhere" (Jane, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 6/11/96). This male staff member could maintain an aura of (masculine)

geographic mobility in a four wheel drive vehicle that compensated for whatever reasons he might have had for not wanting to climb over the hill (whether it be lack of fitness, energy, age, or ill health). But such alternatives were not readily available to female students, although I noted some male students were allowed to drive the four wheel drive vehicle (fieldnotes, 9/5/96).¹²⁰ The male staff member was able to hide his lack of fitness behind the wheel of a vehicle that attested to his masculinity while Kendra was forced to display her lack of fitness for others to see: "I really hated it because I'd been having a bit of trouble breathing, and so walking all round the hills and it was just like really horrible because I got out of breath really quickly and then felt really stink because I kind of *looked like I was really unfit* (laugh)" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 6/11/95, my emphasis).

Spatial extension and mobility were synonymous with youth as well as with masculinity. Youthful masculinity was so hegemonic that (some) older men were perceived as denying their age, as "desperately trying to prove that they're not getting old, they're not losing their physique or whatever it might be, they're not losing their ability to get out there and stomp up the hills" (Lynley, Interview with University B fieldtrip staff member, 17/6/97). In this formulation, maintaining physical fitness holds the possibility of continued meaning as an active geographer, as someone still able to "get out there and stomp up the hills", a meaning premised on a denial of age or at least the effects of ageing (for example see Bonita, 1993; Koopman-Boyden, 1993; Maaka, 1993 for discussion of aspects of ageing, gender and 'race' in Aotearoa/New Zealand). If age and/or lack of physical fitness can no longer be denied, then

¹²⁰ If female students had asked to drive the four-wheel drive vehicle, they probably would have been allowed but to ask may have been too intimidating for many female students. A four wheel drive vehicle symbolises a form of masculinity that is particularly geographic; four wheel drive vehicles can cross rugged terrain and ford rivers, which was also expected of students on this fieldtrip.

other forms of geographic mobility must be substituted, ideally forms that maintain a masculine, mobile exterior: the 'rugged' four-wheel drive.

Conventional images/expectations of fieldtrip bodies and fieldtrip environments become mutually reinforcing. The morphology of the fieldtrip environment influences what bodies are able/might want to go there, and fieldtrip bodies choose fieldtrip environments that will reflect the physical prowess of the fieldtrip body. The selection of rugged relief as a fieldtrip location enables (even subconsciously) the most active, fit fieldtrip bodies (or their substitutes) to be 'portrayed' to best effect. Flat, urban locations did not feature much as likely contexts for forthcoming fieldtrips in students' drawings. Such locations do not have the same potential to reflect the fieldtrip body (or its substitute) at its physical (masculine) best. Indeed, Jock Phillips (1980: 228) points out that the city was perceived as "effeminate because it was a place of voluptuousness and fashion, of luxury and ease, where men lived a soft life". Rugged relief far from cities are a more likely location for the display of the hard working/hard playing man (see Longhurst and Wilson, forthcoming). The discourse of geography fieldtrips is one that privileges active environments and active bodies. As one female staff member put it "this thing about being physical . . . it's like you wouldn't be allowed to be fat and unfit on one of these fieldtrips, oh no, and. . . that really pisses me off. For a start off it's discriminatory" (Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97, also see I. Young, 1990a).

The discourse about able-bodiedness is accentuated in the drawings of stick bodies that walk and move unencumbered by flesh, by weight, by substance. Kirby (1997: 126) challenges Butler's engagement with corporeality because it "ignores the commonsense understanding of bodily substance as the sheer insistence and weight of the body's interiority. Instead, the body's surface becomes the site of engagement". Most (70 percent) of the drawings also ignored the sheer insistence and weight of the body's interiority, of its

substance "the very meat of carnality that is born and buried, the stuff of decay that seems indifferent to semiosis. Substance evokes the soil of groundedness itself; the concrete and tangible thingness of things" (Kirby, 1997: 125). Instead the "tangible thingness of things" disappears in the thin lines of stick bodies drawn on one-dimensional paper.¹²¹ What can be easily seen is the surface of the body and the surface of the environment. The surface of stick bodies (because that is all there is) interacts with the surface of the environment. Exterior meets exterior. This superficial investment in exteriorities denies interiorities, bodily functions, the unseen and the private.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Many students who were critical of the fieldtrips that they participated in, claimed that despite their criticisms they enjoyed residential fieldtrips. Bronwyn was able to say that "apart from all the criticisms we have said, I still enjoyed it and there's no other way I would have talked to a Cambodian person in my life otherwise or known anything about immigration procedures or whatever" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95). Nancy, who did not have positive expectations before the fieldtrip: "a couple of friends who went on it the year before . . . they didn't seem to enjoy it terribly much", and who suffered an asthma attack during the fieldtrip, claimed: "I remember it not being as bad as what I thought it was going to be. Yeah, and then just that I enjoyed it" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 7/11/96).

Enjoyment renders disciplining aspects of the residential fieldtrip ambiguous. Some students did not enjoy the living conditions of a residential

¹²¹ I acknowledge that the one-dimensional medium in which students were asked to convey what fieldtrip bodies do, makes it somewhat difficult to convey depth and/or substance.

fieldtrip but still claimed they had enjoyed the fieldwork. Although other students claimed they did not enjoy any aspect of a fieldtrip, they still might be perceived outwardly, on the surface at least, to be complying with the norms and practices of the residential fieldtrip. In the absence of a (public) statement to fieldtrip organisers about their dissatisfaction, their lack of enjoyment (again the assumptions that are made in the absence of a presence), students and staff are perceived as 'enjoying' the fieldtrip. Enjoyment can be constructed by default (so can lack of enjoyment). In other words,

we need a discourse that will enable us to account for the subversion of potential rebellion, a discourse that, while insisting on the necessity of 'objective' analysis of power relations, social hierarchy, political backlash, and so forth, will nonetheless allow us to confront the mechanisms by which the subject becomes enmeshed, at times, into collusion with forces that sustain [their] own oppression (Bordo, 1989: 15).

In this chapter, I documented instances of individual staff and student resistance to disciplining aspects of residential fieldtrips. But many forms of resistance could also be understood (on the surface at least) as forms of compliance. Potential rebellion is undermined by individualised, privatised forms of resistance. These resistances are significant for the individuals concerned but do not necessarily translate into a challenge to the status quo. Individualised, privatised forms of resistance suggest the significance of the corporate culture of residential fieldtrips, a corporate culture that is difficult to challenge and change. Resistances do not necessarily guarantee "revolutionary effects; sometimes resistances have 'reactionary' effects" (Walkerline, 1990: 3). Although some private resistances became public, I doubt that there was awareness from teachers/lecturers and other students about the level of discomfort that was experienced by some students and staff.

If there was not a public, open challenge to the existing regimes of domestic practice, it would be assumed that all students and staff were accepting, even happy with the domestic arrangements of the fieldtrip. What is not seen and/or spoken publicly, is not noticed, named and included in the

discourse of residential (geography) fieldtrips. These exclusions remain so and domestic arrangements continue unchanged and unchallenged. The private becomes publicly available to other staff and students but it does not enter the official discourses of fieldtrip organisation where concrete changes might be debated and even implemented. In other words, there were levels at which the private became public, but not public enough to have any real effects on the official discourses of fieldtrip organisation. Writing domestic discourses such as dishwashing, showering and sleeping practices into the more public academic discourse of a doctoral thesis continues the project of destabilising the private/public binary and more importantly places the cultural differences of individual fieldtrip bodies more firmly on the agenda of what must be taken account of when (and if) organising a geography fieldtrip.

CHAPTER 8

THE RE-CREATION OF GEOGRAPHERS

I INTRODUCTION

The title of this chapter has a double meaning. The first refers to the recreational activities that geography students and staff participate in (or not) during a residential fieldtrip. The second, refers to the re-creation, the re-production of 'geography students' and/or 'geographers'. Or, to put it another way, are the embodied disciplinary identities - 'geography students'/'geographers' - re-created within the disciplinary culture of residential geography fieldtrips? Is this a repetitive process? Whose image might geographers be re-created in? But it is more than what geographers might look like, it is also about how they might act and interact. These actions and interactions shape what kinds of geographies are possible on residential fieldtrips.

This chapter continues the theme of embodied fieldwork but the focus here rests on re-creational activities (in the broadest sense). I examine how these activities might contribute to the social construction, even the disciplining of 'the geography student' and/or 'the geographer'. A recurring epigram 'work hard, play hard' voiced by some students and staff, indicates how work and play are inextricably linked: "like when we did work I mean I think everyone was working pretty hard but as soon as the leisure time came up everyone sort of partied pretty hard" (Nathan, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 20/11/96). Work as well as play are significant in a chapter about the re-creation of 'the geographer', and the play/work dualism is examined for its inherent contradictions and ambiguities. Like the dualisms

examined in previous chapters, play/work is undone in fundamental ways in the context of a residential geography fieldtrip.

Re-creational activities are not only premised on able-bodied discourses but also (ironically) on discourses of social interaction/cohesion/bonding, that is, discourses of inclusion. Dualisms, however, are about two terms not one: it is not possible to talk about inclusion *without* drawing on its constitutive other, that is, exclusion. As Carla put it, overnight fieldtrips mean that "you are meeting and *bonding*, that's the current word, getting to know your classmates better" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95, my emphasis). Re-creational activities such as sport, games, songs/jokes, and alcohol consumption, are supposed/expected to achieve a sense of group belonging, a group/geography identity, which I refer to as 'the corporate body' (after Kamler et al., 1994).

The notions of work, play and fun act as the organising principles of this chapter, just as they acted as significant organising principles shaping the day to day contexts of the residential fieldtrip, and later shaping participants' memories of fieldtrips during post-fieldtrip interviews.

2 WORK AS PLAY AND PLAY AS WORK: WHAT ARE THE MEANINGS OF RE-CREATION?

The work/leisure dichotomy performs a fundamental role in leisure theory. "[W]ork has been used to define leisure, but in most instances, work defined relative to leisure has referred to [paid] employment" (the public sphere associated with men) rather than to unpaid work (the private sphere associated with women) (Sky, 1994: 94).¹²² But educational work for students is usually

¹²² The work/leisure dichotomy that Sky (1994) refers to is another name for the work/play dualism that I am concerned with. Play, leisure and re-creation are related terms; I utilise 'play' and 're-creation' primarily but 'leisure' is the key term used in the leisure theory that I draw on.

unpaid work, although it is often more highly valued than other forms of unpaid work because education represents future access to paid employment. So the terms work and play take on different nuances in educational contexts. Nancy King (1983) derived definitions from students' descriptions; if students were required to participate in an activity, it is work; if students were not required and/or were 'free' of supervision by teachers/lecturers, it is play. But a further distinction is important; Jacqueline Goodnow and Ailsa Burns (1985) differentiate between 'work', 'play' and 'fun'. These authors found that work and fun were not necessarily seen as opposites by primary school children, although some teachers seemed to perceive work and fun as incompatible (Goodnow and Burns, 1985: 105). In other words, it is possible that work might be fun, and for the purpose of the arguments in this chapter, that play might not be fun.

The work and play themes emerged early in the research, as I sat on the first bus (heading out of a city) on the first residential fieldtrip (with High School B) that would be part of this research. I sat beside Anne (one of the two high school teachers on this trip) who talked about her memories of residential fieldtrips at University B several decades ago. Anne focused on the so-called recreational activities, and much of her story-telling was about the consumption of beer and related drunken activities. For example, she recounted the tale of a drunken male doctoral student (and ostensibly a staff member on this fieldtrip) who went in to the bunkroom where a female staff

member was sleeping and did a brown-eye (fieldnotes, 29/3/95).¹²³ Anne laughed as she told this story but also intimated her respect for the female staff member who had been subjected to this particular incident as well as to other similar incidences (fieldnotes, 29/3/95). Implicit (but probably not intended) in this notion of respect for this female staff member who had 'good-naturedly put up with' such incidences, was an (unquestioning) acceptance that she would/should put up with these kinds of 're-creational' activities. Women (and subordinate men) are "seen as targets for comic displays which frequently blur the boundaries between humour and harassment" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 81). This incidence, the context, and the implications of what it must have been like for the female staff member on the receiving end of those kinds of 'activities', shocked me. Re-creation is not necessarily (or only) about benign, playful, restorative activities; what constitutes the re-creational may be shocking and insulting, a 'tool' deployed by some to discipline others. And I introduce the shocking and the insulting to immediately unsettle (as I was on that first bus trip) any cosy notions that might be associated with the term 're-creational'.

Anne's stories were also about the long hours of work on the residential fieldtrip that she had participated in all those years ago - in order to convey a sense of how they worked hard and played hard. This epigram was reiterated the next morning of the high school fieldtrip, in her comments about how you go to bed late but get up early the next morning, a comment that related to

¹²³ A brown-eye is a colloquial term for baring the buttocks/anus. The buttocks/anus is "non-specific with regard to genital difference in that everyone has one" (Waldby, 1995: 272). The buttocks/anus might be bared from a moving vehicle such as a bus occupied by a (male) sports team as they travel through towns and cities. At the end of one university fieldtrip, an occupant of a car containing four male students bared his buttocks at the bus occupied by students and staff (waiting to leave). The male student did this by 'hanging out' an open window as the car moved off. A brown-eye might be done for 'bit of a laugh' as part of masculine mateship (drinking) rituals but the contextual nature of humour means that a 'bit of a laugh' can also threaten and shock (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 69).

residential fieldtrips of the past as well as to the current residential fieldtrip (fieldnotes 30/3/95). There was a sense of a kind of equation; that residential fieldtrips 'equal' late nights/early mornings, and this was shorthand for an ethic of 'work hard/play hard'. This ethic is a significant part of the "discipline and ordeal" (Turner and Turner, 1978: 249) that is taken for granted as a necessary component of residential fieldtrips. Discipline and ordeal constitute "an initiation, a form of rigorous training which will 'weed out' the unfit" (Lee and Taylor, 1996: 65). I argued (in the previous chapter) that this weeding out mechanism operates literally as well as metaphorically to exclude students and staff who are physically unfit. But (ironically) the same process of discipline and ordeal, that operates to exclude can also operate to include. The collective experience of coping with adversity, the work requirements, late nights and early mornings, can have the effect of bringing students together, to form a group identity, a corporate body. Geography students and staff are "levelled to a homogeneous social state through discipline and ordeal" (Turner and Turner, 1978: 249).

In order to understand how the disciplining of an individual and a corporate student body might be achieved, Lee and Taylor's (1996) concept - the dilemma of obedience - is again useful. There is the disciplining of the (individual) student body to achieve the physical tasks that fieldtrip activities require. There is also the disciplining of all the students' bodies so that they participate collectively in the same space, at the same time, a pedagogical imperative that enables efficient educational delivery "because everyone has to do certain components of the work at the same time" (Robert, Interview with University A staff member, 2/5/95). Such disciplining enables fieldtrip bodies to be productive as well as compliant, productive of geography work, yet compliant with the organisational demands of that work. Lee and Taylor (1996) use the phrase "dilemma of obedience" to describe this contradictory mix of productivity and compliance, of activity and passivity, of being 'in control' (as individual students) and 'being controlled by' teachers/lecturers. For example,

educational delivery is different on fieldtrips than in classrooms and lecture theatres. In many cases, teachers and lecturers were talking to large groups of students in outdoor settings which meant that teachers'/lecturers' voices had to compete with the wind, sounds of waves, engine noise and other background noises in order to be heard. Students had to be more attentive than they might in the classroom/lecture theatre in order to hear. But the conditions that facilitate increased disciplinary effects simultaneously facilitate the conditions for resistance. In other words, it was often easier to evade teachers'/lecturers' surveillance and to engage in activities unrelated to the educational tasks in an outdoor setting than inside a classroom/lecture theatre.

Significantly, these disciplinary effects could be endured if there was fun and humour:

You're just stuck, you know we were all stuck together, we had a job to do, we got it done, but we had fun along the way . . . I mean it would get to the point where it was really, really stressful and [names male teacher] would walk in the door and say something silly and we'd all be laughing again (Joan, Interview with High School B fieldtrip participant, 6/11/95).

Joan points out that work can be fun if there is humour (see Dubberley, 1993; Goodnow and Burns, 1985; Stebbins, 1980; Walker and Goodson, 1977; Woods, 1976; 1990). In this particular example, Joan (and other interviewees from this fieldtrip) named their male teacher as the primary instigator of humour on this fieldtrip. Joan's words suggest that humour might be a survival strategy, perhaps therapeutic and/or a means of escapism (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 70, emphasis in original; also see Woods, 1976; 1990). Although student (and teacher) humour contains moments of subversion to the disciplinary requirements of residential fieldtrips, I argue (like Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 70, emphasis in original) that humour "is also a compelling mode for sex/gender conformity".

"The oppositional categories of 'work' and 'play' in the [educational] setting are themselves discursive constructions, playing [and working] out the male/female dualism in their binary form" (Kamler et al., 1994: 63). Work is coded as the masculinised term and play as the feminised term. Yet the epigram - work hard, play hard - re-codes play as masculinised, the descriptor - 'hard' - re-evaluates play. Hard is a significant masculinised, sexualised descriptor that refers to muscled, impenetrable, impermeable male bodies as well as to the phallus, the 'hard-on'. "The 'dominant fiction' of masculinity constructs men's bodies as 'ideally' phallic (Silverman, 1992; also see Potts, 1998).

For the masculine ego the body can be used to draw a defensive line between inside and outside. So long as there is very little fat, tensed muscle and tight sinew can give a hard, clear outline to the body. Flesh and bone can pass itself off as a kind of armour . . . A hard body will ensure that there are no leakages across the edges between inner and outer worlds (Easthope, 1986: 51-52).

There is a hard exteriority to the 'ideal' masculine body that does not allow interiorities 'out' or exteriorities 'in', an exteriority that is ensured by 'hard' work and play.

Gibson-Graham (1996: 135) draw on the work of Grosz (1994) to challenge these "naturalised hard and impermeable [masculine] qualities" by discussing (theoretically) how leakages and bodily fluids (such as seminal fluid) "break down the solidity and boundedness of the male body". The male body is both soft and hard (Bordo, 1994; Waldby, 1995).¹²⁴

Indeed, the penis - insofar as it is capable of being soft as well as hard, injured as well as injuring, helpless as well as proud, emotionally needy as well as cold with will, insofar as it is vulnerable, perishable *body* - haunts the phallus, threatens its undoing. Patriarchal culture generally wants it out of sight (Bordo, 1994: 267-268, emphasis in original).

¹²⁴ Just as female bodies can be both soft and hard, feminine and masculine (see Bordo, 1989; also see Linda's drawing, Figure 14, Chapter 7). In particular, the literature on women body builders makes the destabilisation of these dualisms clear (for example, see Johnston, 1996).

In the readings that I offer of particular forms of humour observed on some fieldtrips, I suggest both 'hard' and 'soft' understandings of the 'joke-work' carried out by male protagonists. At the same time, I ponder the 'joke-work' of women who appear to adopt masculine forms of humour. In addition, I include an analysis of 'joke-work' that went 'against the (hegemonic masculine) grain' to suggest forms of resistance/subversion. Mary Jane Kehily and Anoop Nayak (1997: 84) point out that "[a] significant omission in [their] paper (and the literature more generally) is a careful study of young women's varied uses of humour and the types of fun that subordinate males engage in". How does this 'binary-work' (or should I say) 'binary-play', fit (or not) with what fieldtrip participants have drawn and said about fieldtrips, and with their actions during fieldtrips?

3 THE CORPORATE BODY

The concept of a 'corporate body' of geographers is the idea that a collective or community of geographers exists. In the context of the university residential fieldtrip, this collective or community of geographers consists of the academic geographers - both staff and students - who have already experienced residential fieldtrips. Individual bodies new to the culture of geography fieldtrips in New Zealand/Aotearoa, become part of a process of learning to be a geographer, "a process of disciplining the body and mind into pre-dispositions for behaviour as part of a larger group, or a corporate body" (Kamler et al., 1994: 3). The residential geography fieldtrip becomes a critical site/sight where some individuals make the rite of passage to become one of these geographers, one of the 'corporate body' and other individuals do not (Nairn, 1996: 91).

"[L]earning to position oneself as a [geography] student 'subject' means becoming more like everyone else, minimising difference" (Kamler et al., 1994: 4). I have already argued that an assumption of able-bodiedness, in particular a masculine, youthful form of able-bodiedness, denies differences in physical fitness and ability. The denial of difference renders fat or emaciated, dis-abled, unfit, female and/or aged bodies invisible and inaudible. But so far I have focused on the able-bodied requirements of 'formal' field'work' activities. Now it is time to consider the embodied practices of 'informal'/social/recreational/play activities, and how these practices depend on soci-able bodies.

Again I argue that fieldtrip bodies have to be able in particular kinds of social activities in order to join the corporate body.

In many cases research participants named the social activities as the most memorable aspects of a residential fieldtrip. Students attributed friendships and/or enjoyment of the fieldtrip to these aspects: "getting to know a lot more people I enjoyed a lot as well, because I'd turned up knowing one person and left knowing sort of 30 and being friends with a fairly large proportion of those people" (Carol, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96). Carol also attributed the residential nature of the fieldtrip with intensifying social processes: "living with people the whole thing is so concentrated that it occurs, like social things occur at a much faster rate, you know? . . . I think alcohol helps speed up social things as well, quite a lot . . . 'cause people relax a lot more" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96). For some students, the social elements ameliorated the discipline and ordeal aspects of the work and the living conditions. Even domestic tasks became social events:

that might've been something . . . we wouldn't have liked about the fieldtrip, having to go and peel millions of potatoes or something but it was actually fun because everybody was all in there together and you had the music up and you were all just dancing round the kitchen and (laugh) so the domestic duties didn't even seem bad (Jane, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 6/11/96).

For some students discipline and ordeal worked to bring them together: "we were all doing the same thing, you know, we didn't like climbing the steep parts of the hills and those types of things but *we were all in it together* " (Sean, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96, my emphasis).

For other students, social expectations added to the discipline and ordeal effects of the fieldtrip: "I had no friends on [the fieldtrip], it sort of made me feel quite stink . . . I ended up quite depressed (laugh) . . . and I wanted to

go home" (Bronwyn, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95). Another female high school student anticipated her desire to remain at home in her pre-fieldtrip drawing (see Figure 15).

Figure 15 Maria's drawing of what she expects to do on a fieldtrip



Lynley (a university staff member) describes a female university student's unhappiness before and during that university's seven-day fieldtrip:

I've got a feeling that she was very much a home person who didn't want to leave home, didn't want to be away from home. She asked me a whole range of questions about the fieldtrip before we went about how fit she had to be and whether she needed to bring this, that and the other and she was worried about it, and then basically as soon as she got there, I don't think it was the first day that she came to me, it was the second day she came to see me to say she wasn't feeling very well and that she thought she might have to go home and, I said well,

is there anything we can do? You know, what's wrong? And she said she had a bad tummy and stuff like this and I think that really it was all about wanting to go home and it wasn't so much about being ill . . . she came to me and you know, she had tears in her eyes . . . and I felt sorry for her, as you would, and I wanted to help her, but . . . it would've been a real pain for her if she hadn't stayed for the fieldtrip because they did a project on the last day that was worth twenty percent . . . so I was trying to encourage her to stay without forcing her to stay . . . And once we got past the half-way mark in the fieldtrip it was kind of like you know, she could see the end coming . . . she sort of almost played this sort of weak and helpless person who wanted to go home, to me, and . . . in her group, she was not co-operative at all. Now I don't know if that's because she felt left out, I don't know which is the cause and which is the effect, if you see what I mean. But I got the feeling she was not a very easy person in general, and quite attached to home (Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97).

Lynley's story about this female student suggests the disciplining requirements of 'the project worth twenty percent', strategically located on the last day of this fieldtrip, and how it 'keeps' this female student on the fieldtrip instead of going home. The student *might* have felt left out, she did say that she felt ill, yet the (individual, female) student is constructed as unco-operative and difficult which is then 'explained' by her attachment to home. Lynley did not appear to question how the fieldtrip itself might 'enable' some students to feel comfortable and make others feel uncomfortable, uncomfortable enough to feel ill and/or depressed.

One university staff member talked about 'going through' the stress of living together in words that imply such an experience as a form of ritual, a form of discipline and ordeal. Jim's words suggest that the experience of being part of a corporate body is one that is 'good for you', perhaps character-building and potentially transformative:

the stress one gets with a number of people living in a tightly confined area for any length of time, and it has to do with not getting enough sleep because the person next to you is snoring or you know, someone's feet smells, you know, it's all those sorts of things, and you do get those tensions because . . . there's not

much room for private space and if you are there for a week, particularly if it is raining outside or, you know, people can get pretty ropey on that, so that creates its tensions. Now, having said all that, I don't think that should be entirely a negative experience, I view it as actually quite useful for people to go through that experience and have to deal with it and be confronted with that, and have to get along with people that they may not normally do that with, and find ways of sorting that out (Interview with University B staff member, 10/11/94).

The rhetoric that physical exercise is good for body and mind reappears in a different form. Jim draws on a rhetoric that living communally and learning to tolerate others' behaviour and habits is good for individual students. If students are able to find ways of surviving the stress of communal living, perhaps they move on to a different, 'better state', to become a 'truly social' geographer. But what about students like Bronwyn and the unnamed female student (above) who were depressed and/or felt ill because of the experience, an experience that by its very communal nature reinforced their sense of social isolation more strongly? The 'usefulness' of such an experience becomes doubtful, it certainly cannot be claimed for all students. Other students expressed doubt about whether a communal, social culture was achieved. Valerie was conscious (and critical) that a group identity or culture was part of the agenda for the fieldtrip that she was on: "even though they did try to sort of bring you together it didn't quite pull off, I don't think". Instead she doubted the coherence of any corporate body: it "was all sort of split up into groups" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96).

One university staff member, however, referred to the group identity as a coherent entity, "a delicate beast and it requires winding up in the right way (chuckle)". Later in the same interview, however, Bruce acknowledged that:

Beast may not be the right word, but it's certainly an organism. It has a personality all of its own, I'm quite sure of that . . . call it group chemistry. . . one is aware that there are things one can do to promote what you would call favourable group chemistry, and there are things that one can do or things that

one can omit which will result in poor chemistry or bad chemistry. But having said that, you know, even if one is sort of quite conscientious and does all what one imagines to be the right things, this chemistry takes on a life of its own which you can never quite predict, and part of this first 24 hours is watching rather anxiously to see how it's going to turn out (Interview with University B staff member, 1/7/96).

Bruce's words convey a sense of a corporate body (which he calls a beast then an organism). In such a conception, all the individual geography student bodies are "being linguistically and bodily constituted as one" (Kamler et al., 1994: 121). The constitution of a corporate body enables pedagogic efficiency. If all the students operate as a corporate body and work, play, eat, and sleep at the same time, then the management and organisational tasks are made simpler for the teachers and lecturers running fieldtrips. Bruce explained that the corporate body cannot be taken for granted; it can be shaped by the (in)actions of staff but can also shape itself.

One high school teacher talked explicitly about how he worked to shape the group chemistry/identity of residential fieldtrips. Dean described this process as an art form, and he acted (along with other teachers on the fieldtrip) in particular ways to create a sense of fun and, therefore, a sense of community:

there's a style, it's a game, I think a fieldtrip is a game that you play, and you set up pieces and there are things that you do, and sometimes in a calculated way to get things happening, like the joviality and the joking and stuff like that, it's a little bit of a put on, it's important to me that teachers have fun on the trips, very important . . . we also make sure that we work hard to have fun as well, we all have fun whatever happens, and then if we are relaxed and enjoying ourselves . . . the students can kind of pick up on that and have a bit of fun too and it's like in those unguarded moments that a lot of learning occurs . . . so you are dissolving the student/teacher boundaries a little bit . . . we've stayed up singing till 1 or 2 in the morning . . . dressing up for dinner, jokes about muffins . . . all that kind of carry on, the beach trip, everyone had to bring a packet of biscuits, we put them into a big box, and you put your hand in the box, and pull a biscuit out, you know, it was a gimmick, . . . on fieldtrips, we get the kids working on that group work activity . . . and the teachers will serve the kids supper, just little things like

that, that to me send big messages to kids that they are valued and that you can learn and have fun at the same time, and in fact the learning can become fun when . . . you take account of a community of people (Dean, Interview with High School A staff member, 31/7/95).

Dean's words convey the range of 'techniques' that he (and other staff members from High School A) utilise to shape the social aspects of residential fieldtrips so that students as well as staff have fun.

Dean's words suggest that fun is central to the formation of the corporate body, and it is hard work to achieve it. Fun facilitates work and possibly (more effective) learning. If students are having fun, they may relax (un)conscious barriers to learning. Although Dean has the best of intentions in making learning fun for students, there is an ironic twist to his words; the relaxed students and the unguarded moment suggest a duplicitous manoeuvre in which fun and relaxation are utilised to achieve the work of learning.¹²⁵ The discourses of fun are being used to facilitate (field)work, to make work and the context in which it is conducted more palatable. Some of the strategies that Dean describes involve switching of staff and student roles, so that staff serve students their supper. Other strategies involve staff acting like students (or students acting like staff) to dress for dinner, stay up late and share the same jokes and songs. The shared songs and jokes are not only a marker of belonging at the time of the fieldtrip but are sometimes maintained as a marker of group identity when students return to their institution. For example, Jane claimed that "the few weeks after the fieldtrip, going to lectures was just like a social event, you know" and Marcia described what students talked about: "it's like all those standard jokes and stuff" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participants, 6/11/96). All of these activities serve to break down staff/student

¹²⁵ This moment parallels a similar duplicitous moment in Jim's words (page 203) which convey a sense that discourses concerned with the domestic get used to facilitate discourses concerned with fieldwork on residential geography fieldtrips.

barriers because a collective, "homogeneous social state" (Turner and Turner, 1978: 249) involves staff as much as students.

3.1 Fraternising on Residential Fieldtrips

An homogeneous social state, or an "egalitarian comradeship" (Phillips, 1984: 91) is sought, even reified, as an integral component of residential fieldtrips. This state is premised on the break-down of hierarchical boundaries between staff and students, as well as between students. Phillips (1984: 87) writes about the military and rugby contexts, but his claim that New Zealand armies are distinguished by lack of hierarchy (or class), by officers who knew all their men, "fraternised with them, chatted with them, and took an interest in them" has a certain resonance with how university students described lecturers' and professors' interest in them as students. Some staff members (on one university fieldtrip) called the corporate/student body "the troops". In this case the connection between residential fieldtrips and the army was more obvious. Many students and staff (including Dean in the previous section) spoke about the breakdown of staff/student barriers. Three students and one staff member are quoted to show a range of perspectives on the so-called breakdown of staff-student barriers within the context of the University B fieldtrip:

Carol: Everyone's by their first name. Always it's Professor this and Professor that otherwise. Yeah, I thought that was good (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96).

David: We [referring to students and staff] could just sit down and chat and we could have a few drinks together and they [referring to staff] call you by your first name and I really like that, you know. I don't like this hierarchical thing . . . they were just so one-to-one and so genuine . . . I really appreciated that (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 8/11/96).

Valerie: Even though they said that you can be on first name basis and it's *just one of the guys* (laugh) but they're still up there, they're still sort of, they're the lecturers. They always sort of will be . . . Yeah, I just didn't feel that close to the lecturers. Like some people did. Some were quite interesting, some people had got really close to them and sort of go and had a beer with them (laugh) and sit down . . . I didn't feel like you could approach them . . . just from the fact that I've gone to them and they haven't been willing to help you at all so, I mean when you go on a trip and they say yeah, I'll help you and you can come into us and talk about anything and you don't feel like you really can (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96, my emphasis).

Bruce: The kind of socialisation process that goes on, the business of staff meeting student, getting to know each other, all of those things. They are not formally notified as part of the activity but I mean, it's obvious to anyone who goes there that these are very much products of the experience in the same way that the other things are (Interview with University B staff member, 1/7/96).

This collection of quotes shows a range of positive and negative opinions about staff-student relations on this particular residential fieldtrip. Being on a first-name basis seemed to indicate to some students that lecturer/student hierarchies had been broken down, and Carol and David spoke positively about this. But Valerie identified a gap between the rhetoric and the practice; relating on a first-name basis did not guarantee staff members' approachability and help, and it did not vanquish their status as lecturers (and ultimately as arbiters of grades for the course that the fieldtrip was part of). It would seem that "the business of staff meeting student, getting to know each other" (Bruce's words) is more available to some students than others. Being part of a supposed "homogeneous social state" (Turner and Turner, 1978: 249) on this particular fieldtrip seems to mean being "just one of the guys" (Valerie's words intimated this gendered dimension). There is a sense of (some) lecturers who took an interest in their students, chatted with them, had "a few drinks together" (David's words) or more specifically had "a beer

with them" (Valerie's words). Phillips (1984, quoted above) refers to this as fraternising. Although, Phillips uses fraternising in a different context, I argue that the word and its gendered meaning has relevance to the residential fieldtrip context.

Fraternising in the context of residential fieldtrips represented the means for joining the corporate body but there were students for whom such fraternising appeared unattractive and/or unacceptable. For example, Valerie perceived joining the corporate body of geographers as depending on physical ability and soci-ability, both of which she associated with a male body:

the ones that got involved in all the geography party life and stuff like that . . . Well they were sort of the typical geographer, weren't they? I mean, I remember [names one male staff member] he just didn't shave and he'd wear his woollen jersey . . . he'd be up the hills [at] the crack of dawn and he was sort of what I'd call a typical geographer. . . he'd be there all night drinking with all the students . . . so they [referring to the lecturers] were typical geographers themselves which maybe is a *difference between them and us* (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96, my emphasis).

Valerie perceived these abilities as distinguishing typical geographers, and she did not belong to 'them'. Instead she perceived herself as belonging to 'us' - the other female students who shared Valerie's "cabin and anyone who didn't do that [the actions referred to above], I suppose, on camp". Andrew also referred to 'them' - the lecturers - and 'us' - the students. He questioned the appropriateness of lecturers drinking with students - "joining in with the jollies" - and, like Valerie, found the terms on which fraternising was conducted unacceptable, "not a very good thing to be doing in front of young, impressionable people".

In contrast, Jane and Marcia felt included in the corporate body: "suppose if you're in the geography gang you're a geographer (both Jane and Marcia laugh)" (Jane, Interview with University B fieldtrip participants,

6/11/96). Marcia and Jane were not quite as specific about what the conditions of joining and/or belonging might be. Perhaps the conditions for joining/belonging were more obvious to those who did not want to join than to those who did. "Agency is never freedom from discursive constitution of self but the capacity to recognise that constitution and to resist, subvert and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted" (Davies, 1991: 51). Valerie recognises what it means to be constituted as a 'typical geographer' but she (as well as others) resist that constitution. Instead Marcia and Jane were confident of belonging, of being constituted as geographers, a confidence that was not undermined by their female bodies. Marcia's and Jane's point of view is significant because it prevents any neat conclusion that all female students and staff feel excluded from the body corporate of 'geographers', and/or that male students and staff will automatically feel included. In the next section, I examine how a notion of a group identity (corporate body) depends on particular norms and forms of soci-ability. I pay attention to the experiences of female and male students and staff who felt excluded (even dis-abled) by these forms of soci-ability.

3.2 Soci-Able Bodies

Jim (the university staff member quoted earlier) claimed that the communal experience was potentially a character-building, transformative experience. But (in the following quote) he acknowledges that some students (and staff) have more dominant roles in shaping the social environment than others, and that to be an unwilling 'participant' in the social environment could be "rough".

There is inevitably I think when a group of people get together for any length of time, there is, I probably won't be able to express this very well, but a group, if you like, identity seems to emerge, the group, and that works in a number of different ways. At one level that group identity or the way that group behaves may be compounded by, if you like, a group of people getting away from a

cloistered home or university environment, out into the open, whoopee, the inhibitions are gone, and it's, if you like, the yahoo element, now that's fine, people are enjoying themselves and letting off steam. It can be, I think, where that element, when that feeling becomes dominant in the group, it is difficult because not everyone likes that environment, not everyone is comfortable in that environment, staff and students, and that's I suppose when that group builds up a momentum that carries people along with it, willing and unwilling, so that can be a bit rough (Jim, Interview with University B staff member, 10/11/94).

There are a number of themes contained in Jim's words. First, the notion of joining and/or belonging to the body corporate implies that there is a 'choice' but for students held 'captive' on a residential fieldtrip, it may not feel like a choice. Davies' (1991: 46, emphasis in original) notion of "forced choices" may be more appropriate

since the subject's positioning within particular discourses makes the 'chosen' line of action the only possible action, not because there are no other lines of action but because one has been subjectively constituted through one's placement within that discourse to *want* that line of action.

The willing and unwilling participants are carried along by a corporate body that is attributed with a life, a momentum of its own. How much willing and unwilling participants *want* particular lines of action cannot be easily determined. But the notion that fieldtrip participants may be positioned, even forced, to act in particular ways is a key idea for this section. For example, a gay man's words about the residential fieldtrip context - "I was forced to pass" (Mark, Interview with University B fieldtrip staff member, 15/6/95) - echo Davies' words. Other students and staff describe their "forced choices" in different ways: "it was a very strong feeling of being forced into something that I didn't want to do, to be somewhere with people that I didn't want to be with" (Trudy, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 25/10/95).¹²⁶ But "forced choices" are not necessarily obvious to observers (such as myself the

¹²⁶ Trudy was a participant in University B's second year residential fieldtrip in 1977, two decades before the University B second year residential fieldtrip reported in this thesis. I interviewed Trudy to gain one perspective on how the fieldtrip might have changed (or not) over time.

researcher and/or to the teachers/lecturers running fieldtrips) because the lines of action may be the same for the willing and unwilling participants. That is, seeing is again not an epistemological guarantee.

The second theme implied in Jim's words is the sense of inevitability of a corporate culture defined by a dominant element, a group who are enjoying themselves. This assumed inevitability 'performs' a number of functions, and I highlight three for the purposes of my argument here. First, assumed inevitability places the group identity in an autonomous position beyond the control of staff members and potentially beyond the realm of resistance by individual students and staff. But staff members from two different institutions - Bruce and Dean - have also described how they shape group identity which suggests that if it is possible to shape it, it is also possible to control it. Second, 'apparent' enjoyment also works to place the corporate body beyond control or sanction. If (some) students and staff are enjoying themselves, it is difficult to justify controls and sanctions that stop enjoyment. Perhaps enjoyment is considered to be a more innocent emotion, one that is understood to be free from malevolent intent, and therefore it does not require control.¹²⁷ The third function follows from the first two, the apparent and inevitable enjoyment by a dominant group tends to render invisible those students and staff who may not be enjoying and/or feeling part of the corporate body. Perhaps lack of enjoyment has a more invisible quality than enjoyment, a quality accentuated by teachers'/lecturers' desires that all students enjoy a fieldtrip that they have invested time and energy in organising. Lack of enjoyment would also be hard to detect if students kept it to themselves and went through the motions of participating, as part of their strategy for surviving the fieldtrip. For example, Trudy remembered her strategy: "I suppose I would smile at the jokes, kind of stay on the fringe. It was like an ordeal. It was like getting through it but not

¹²⁷ Just as a joke, 'a laugh', might free the instigator from responsibility for the feelings of those who do not enjoy the joke (see Kehily and Nayak, 1997).

rejecting it totally" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 25/10/95). A strategy which could be interpreted on the surface as participation, even enjoyment. Survival strategies and genuine participation could both be read as exterior displays of enjoyment. This might explain some staff members' certainty: "I'd say that the students really enjoyed themselves" (Lynley, Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97).

Other staff members were more cautious in their claims. For example, Rosemary was conscious that some students might not enjoy particular aspects of a fieldtrip: "I mean every trip develops a little bit differently and some groups of students sort of enjoy certain experiences and others don't". Yet she was still certain of the social benefits of a residential fieldtrip:

I think that fieldtrips, as I say, can be tremendous fun, and I think that socially students get to know each other because the reality is that a lot of students can be very isolated and lonely in university, and there is really very few opportunities, I think, for people to get to know each other (Interview with University A staff member, 3/5/95).

But ironically, Rosemary's more general claim is at odds with the experiences of some of the students on one of the fieldtrips that Rosemary organised. In the case of two female students, the residential fieldtrip accentuated their sense of social isolation: "I remember actually mostly going off by myself and having to walk around all the streets by myself, I never saw anybody else, so I spent a lot of the trip by myself actually" (Bronwyn, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95).

"[F]orced choices" are again explicit in both Yolanda's and Bronwyn's words:

Yolanda: I said to myself purposely, I am going to make sure I start talking to everyone just so you know I have somebody to talk to, because I just hate being away sitting in the corner going, oh dumb blond, so I make

an effort of like especially talking to like the girls, I mean there was some that I didn't like but I purposely made myself talk to them anyway just so I would enjoy a little bit of the trip with them, but being thrown together in that aspect was good, but it was sad that we didn't know each other before that, sort of in the class . . .

[and later in the same interview]

Bronwyn: Because you're spending so much time together, we have to, you have to put yourself in a group for that time . . . 'cause in the class you're there for an hour and you go. It doesn't matter if you came in late and the only seat left was next to this awful fat person who doesn't play rugby and was really ugly and doesn't go anywhere near your identity group. And that's fine. You're only there for an hour but . . . in the fieldtrip whether you want it or not you're *forced* to go into that group because it's peer pressure. You can't be seen with that person or whatever. You can't get in the other bus with us because well how're you gonna be labelled, you know? (Interview with University A fieldtrip participants, 13/9/95, my emphasis).

Both Yolanda's and Bronwyn's words certainly challenge any cosy notion that fieldtrips are fun social contexts where students get to meet and know each other. Instead there is a sense of the sheer effort, the forced nature, indeed the hard work of social interaction in order to comply (even temporarily) with the 'norm'. In other words, these group forms of social interaction, of soci-ability act as "forms of regulatory power" in the formation of 'geography students'/'geographers'. This "formation takes place according to the requirements of power, specifically, as the incorporation of norms" (Butler, 1997: 19) such as soci-ability (as well as physical ability). A geography student must (be) fit, physically and socially. Bronwyn is quite specific about what kind of bodies do not fit; they are fat, ugly, non-rugby playing bodies and to be spatially contiguous with such bodies has the effect of defining associated bodies by proxy.¹²⁸ Bronwyn suggests that this could be survived in the shorter

¹²⁸ Bronwyn is talking about fat, ugly, non-sporting bodies which do not 'fit' easily into geography classroom and fieldtrip contexts. But they are also bodies that do not 'fit' into popular discourses about bodies in Aotearoa/New Zealand and beyond.

time-frame of a geography class but this is far more difficult in the extended time-frame of a residential fieldtrip. The incorporation of norms becomes more necessary for survival in a residential context.

Davis (1997: 10) draws on Young's (1990a: 123) work to argue that

the body is central to how dominant cultures designate certain groups (elderly, homosexual, fat, female, people of colour and so on) as Other. Subordinate groups are defined by their bodies and according to norms which diminish them as 'drab, ugly, loathsome, impure, sick or deviant' . . . This 'aesthetic scaling of bodies' is not only central to the construction of difference, it is the mainstay of processes of domination as well.

Bronwyn is *both* privileged (for example, Pākehā, university educated) as well as marginalised (a woman) and she was *both* the subject of and subjected to the 'aesthetic scaling of bodies'. Bronwyn disparages the rugby playing body and at the same time she recognises its dominance on the fieldtrip and more generally in New Zealand society. In a contradictory discursive manoeuvre, Bronwyn (re)constructs an aesthetic scale, that marginalises herself, to marginalise others. Bronwyn attempts to shore up her own resistance to domination by bodies (such as masculine, rugby bodies on a fieldtrip) by asserting dominance over other bodies (such as fat, ugly bodies), and, in the process, she reaffirms an aesthetic scale of bodies that marginalises herself and others.

But the fit, the incorporation of such norms, is never fully realised/achieved. Bronwyn and Yolanda point out that any apparent corporate (geography) identity is fractured in many different ways:

Bronwyn: well a group is supposed to have this common identity, right, but there was no common identity among our group for three days, there were different sets of identities going on because of the groupings that ended up emerging, and when . . . the guys had half an hour so they ran off as their group to the pub and their identity was, oh we're just here to sit through this rubbish and then quick we'll go out and get

our beer and have fun, which is really the priority for us, that's how it came across to me.

Yolanda: . . . there was a girl's group kind of, (voices overlap)

Bronwyn: well we were in a little group of oddballs really because

Yolanda: we were and then we had a couple of guys because they didn't fit into the rugby heads, you know, sort of image, so there was a group of us there who normally wouldn't dream of hanging out with each other . . . so that was quite an odd relationship, each trying to be nice friends to each other (Interview with University A fieldtrip participants, 13/9/95).

Bronwyn (as well as other students and staff already quoted) recognised an unwritten norm that there would/should be a common identity (what I call a corporate body) amongst the students on a fieldtrip but the rhetoric and the practice were different. Bronwyn and Yolanda did not become more like everyone else, instead their differences meant that they 'joined' a group whose membership was defined by 'difference from' the common identity rather than 'similar to'. But the composition of their group around axes of difference such as gender (female and male) and masculinities that were 'other' to a rugby playing norm, was re-presented in terms of "forced choices" rather than resistance or subversion. Difference within the group that Bronwyn and Yolanda joined, and the group's difference to the overall fieldtrip collective, was not celebrated, rather there is a sense of their disappointment that they were in "a little group of oddballs". Although difference was not celebrated, it is also doubtful that Yolanda and Bronwyn wanted to be the same as everyone else, especially if being the same constituted being like the guys who drank beer and/or played rugby.

Evan was not included in the group of "rugby heads", but he did not feel excluded by them in the same way as Bronwyn, Yolanda and some other female students did. Bronwyn's and Yolanda's perceptions of the "rugby

heads" were reinforced by the fieldtrip; Evan's perception of them changed as a result of the fieldtrip:

I mean they were, I thought they were just in the class just being yobs and that, but . . . they were really, you know, really intelligent people . . . It's probably some sort of stereotype I've got when I see that sort of person but, you know, you get to know them and they actually, you know, give a shit about the subject. They care about it (Evan, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 15/9/95).

Evan points out that what he had noticed about these men in class was undermined by knowledge gained during the fieldtrip, a knowledge of contradictory rather than unitary masculinities (see for example, Jackson and Salisbury, 1996). Yolanda and Bronwyn also pointed out the difference between collective and individual masculinities and their different effects. Bronwyn suggested that breaking up collective masculinity could change things: "break the guys up for a start, get them out of that pack, because they intimidate" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95) and Yolanda continued "as soon as they are together they, men are men and they don't believe women are quite up to their you know . . . but alone, you know they wouldn't dare say that, they'd be quite nice" (Yolanda, Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95). Similarly, Carla (on the same fieldtrip) was critical of male group mentality: "they went off and excluded themselves from the rest of the class, at times, and . . . when they travelled, they all had to travel together . . . I wasn't too impressed, I don't know, they were just all being very boyish". But she also acknowledged that they could be quite different as individuals: "when you got them by themselves . . . they are very chatty and they're really nice and . . . you could tell they were enjoying it, you know, or understanding and learning it" (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95). Often individual boys can be friendly and courteous, but once in their peer group, act differently (Milligan et al., 1992). Although "masculinity is never unified or homogeneous" (Jackson and Salisbury, 1996: 107), I examine how particular forms of collective (or

corporate) masculinity might dominate the social environment of university residential fieldtrips. What happens when some men do form a unitary group (a "pack", to use Bronwyn's words), monopolise social, psychological and physical space (Jackson and Salisbury, 1996) and define what counts as soci-ability?

3.3 Collective Masculinities

Carla retaliated against the intimidation of collective masculinity represented in this case by some male students' monopoly over one of the vans used for transport on University A's fieldtrip:

They were carrying on and I went and hopped in the front seat . . . I was sort of doing it just to annoy them, you know, and I didn't even, wouldn't be in there, because it wasn't pleasant because they were just all being, you know, sort of boyish and ra, ra, because when I hopped in they said, oh you can't sit in the front seat, only privileged people are allowed to sit in the front seat, and I am going, I didn't say anything . . . it was just sort of . . . a sarcastic sort of act, out of . . . sarcastic retaliation because I knew that they wouldn't approve, but then I quickly, I left the van and went back to the friendly vans (Interview with University A fieldtrip participant, 13/9/95).

Carla attempted to subvert one form of male monopoly of space, to take up some space herself but it was momentary. She acted but she could not speak to the "boys"; it was almost as though taking up some bodily space was enough, to also take up some linguistic space would require more effort and more risk (see Nairn, 1997). This same group of male students not only monopolised space in the van of their 'choice' but they also monopolised the evening work and social spaces:

Bronwyn: They bought their beer after . . . and then got a bit drunk and whatever and they came to the meeting that night sort of all sprawling and half out of it and reeking of beer, that was just so typical, yeah, it's like they had to display their manhood really.

Yolanda: Masculinity, or they had to be cool or something, I don't know.

Bronwyn: . . . I mean they may not see anything wrong with that, but *I think it had a detrimental effect on what was going on in the group* (Interview with University A fieldtrip participants, 13/9/95, my emphasis).

Soci-ability was defined in terms of a specific collective masculinity that took up space, had visual and olfactory effects, and dominated group dynamics. More specifically, the display of manhood depended on the consumption of alcohol, and drunkenness.

Consumption of alcohol occurred on all three university fieldtrips despite policy directives to the contrary. In University A's (1997: 2, bold type in original) *Codes of Practice for Health and Field Safety*, there is a categorical statement: "**No alcohol or drugs** are allowed to be consumed on any University fieldtrip". In University B's (1996: 15) *Staff Guide*, there is a similar statement: "it is not acceptable to be under the influence of alcohol on campus at any time" ("the term 'campus' includes . . . field stations, and applies to all activities under the general control of the University").

The consumption of alcohol not only defined particular forms of manhood, it also seemed to define 'geographer-hood' for many university geography students. Some students even made specific connections between alcohol consumption and geography careers and lifestyles. Andrew, a student (on a different university fieldtrip to Bronwyn quoted above) also noticed how alcohol consumption was a dominant factor in the social activities, and he surmised that enjoyment of that kind of soci-ability might influence a geography student's choice of career and/or lifestyle: "the jovialities in the evening and the emphasis on having a boozy good time . . . if I didn't know what I wanted to do as a career I'd certainly be thinking *that geography was, you know, a good fun sort of a lifestyle.*" (Andrew, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 4/11/96, my emphasis). Andrew's words could be read

another way. Those students who already favoured particular forms of social activity congruent with what appeared to be on offer as a geography career and/or lifestyle, would feel more welcome to join the corporate body of geographers. Social (and physical) activities, particularly on residential fieldtrips, have the potential to act as gatekeeping mechanisms to readily include geography students most comfortable with collective forms of masculinity which favour alcohol consumption.¹²⁹ 'Beer drinking masculinities' are not exclusive to the geography discipline. Beer drinking masculinities are part of many popular discourses such as the media, sport, 'the pub', and national pride, in Aotearoa/New Zealand as well as overseas (see Canaan (1996) for the British context; Connell (1995) for the Australian context; Honeyfield (1998), Law (1997) and Phillips (1987) for the Aotearoa/New Zealand context).

Anthony also referred to geography as a lifestyle when I asked him about what he had learnt on the fieldtrip:

You sort of get into what the geographer is, eh? You kind of learn heaps more about what's expected of a geographer and the lifestyle of the geographer. You sort of get fully into becoming a geographer. Get into the geographer's mind . . . going out, exploring, climbing round the hills . . . and just getting into geography full-time and sort of exploring all that sort of stuff and, ah, and then (laugh) *mellowing out at night* (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 20/11/96, my emphasis).

¹²⁹ Alcohol consumption was not the only form of social activity. Marijuana-smoking also occurred. One female university student explained this activity in terms that referred again to invisible resistance: "there is a small group of marijuana smokers and they have to be quite discreet . . . like alcohol is accepted but marijuana isn't . . . so that sort of happens in the evening when it's dark and you can go off and not be seen . . . that's just a very small select group . . . like the vast majority are into drinking beer" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 25/8/95).

Anthony's words convey what it means to get into the geographer's mind *and* body, exploring during the day and mellowing out at night. Anthony noted that "there were a few people that bought beers eh, . . . I had brought something up anyway, just sort of for the trip . . . I went to the bottle store and got some more and thought well . . . it looks like it's gonna be quite social". In Anthony's approximation, alcohol consumption was 'equivalent' to the social.

Joyce Canaan (1996: 118-119) found that "young men linked drinking to hardness. Drinking had this function because . . . it brought a young man to lose self-control and encounter a usually hidden part of his identity . . . With this part of self, young men took more risks than usual". Playing 'hard' (on a fieldtrip) meant drinking large amounts of alcohol and staying up late. This demonstrated the physical and social staying power of male and female participants. Playing 'hard' also represented attempted control over the bodily effects of alcohol consumption and over the need for sleep, a form of control that always threatened to be a loss of control. Such a loss of control might allow some men and women to take more risks socially and physically. Although women and men participated in alcohol consumption on all three university fieldtrips, alcohol consumption was coded as masculine, even violent:

I went to bed early one night . . . I woke up the next morning and I asked a colleague, 'What happened after I went to bed?' He and the students were all sitting around talking, and as it turned out, they were mostly women, I don't know whether that is important or not, and he said 'oh, you know just sat around, had a bit of a yarn, *nothing violent*'. But I found that really telling, like it was meant as sort of a joke, but it was also kind of a coding for, you know that sort of heavy drinking, is frowned on but expected and allowed and even encouraged in all sorts of contradictory, mixed ways during the fieldtrip experience . . . [Some staff] wanted the heavy drinking, partying and that kind of thing, and they wanted the bonding that comes out of that . . . shared drunkenness when you bond with people when you are drinking with them. There were other [staff] who didn't, who made that explicit to me, who wished fieldtrips could be drier and hated that kind of *loss of control*. (Mark, Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95, my emphasis).

Canaan (1996) links heavy drinking with youth and employment (that is, work) amongst working-class men. The heavy drinking by older men (staff and students) on fieldtrips can be interpreted as a performance of youthful, working masculinity, a performance that might confirm a place in New Zealand male culture for older (and younger) academic men. Physical/manual work tends to be valued/masculinised and intellectual work associated with universities is feminised in New Zealand male culture particularly in 'the field' (see Berg, 1994). Playing hard and working hard (in a rural location) enables (male) fieldtrip bodies to transcend any suspicion that they might be 'Woolly Woofers', "[t]he feminine and (probably homophobic) pejorative sexual connotations" of this and other similar terms "indicates the way in which intellectual or academic activity is feminised and devalued in *Aotearoa*" (Berg, 1994: 252, emphasis in original).

But if drinking is a key activity through which men "exercise the power and control of hardness", it is also an activity "where they lost control" (Canaan, 1996: 120). Mark's words convey the ambiguity of how alcohol consumption maps on to control and loss of control for both the participants and the spectators. Spectators such as the staff who wished "fieldtrips could be drier", and students like Bronwyn who is disgusted by the spectacle and the smell, seem powerless to control the inevitability of alcohol consumption.¹³⁰ Instead, their social experiences of the fieldtrip are controlled/disciplined by proxy to other alcohol consuming bodies. Similarly, the more alcohol that participants drink to prove their control and their hardness, the more likely they are to lose control. Alcohol consumption enabled staff and student participants to take risks with the staff/student hierarchy: "Cause he [referring to a male staff member] was half cut, I think there was some other stupid questions that I asked him as well" (Anthony, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 20/11/96). Another male student felt able to discuss a

¹³⁰ This parallels other discourses of inevitability such as 'boys will be boys' (see Jackson and Salisbury, 1996) and 'uncontrollable male sexuality' (see Potts, 1998) (compared with 'controllable female sexuality' which is symbolised by a single word 'no', the utterance of which will supposedly 'control' female and male sexuality simultaneously).

woman's appearance with a male lecturer while they were drinking together - "she had blond hair and big tits" (fieldnotes, 9/5/96). To participate depended on a (masculine) sameness. The students "that did get drunk with the lecturers and stuff, maybe there weren't any boundaries, maybe they felt totally comfortable like that. But for me . . . I just don't feel like I have anything in common with the lecturers" (Valerie, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96).

The masculine nature of this activity was emphasised further by 'the threat' of Nathan being out-drunk by a female student. To be "outdrunk by a girl" challenges the very basis on which this particular form of masculinity is founded but at the same time reinforces that base.

I remember going to bed earlier than everyone else and getting ridiculed . . . I said well, I'm off to bed now and everyone went ohhhh. Titty (laugh). It was like oh well, and Marcia goes oh, outdrunk by a girl. Off to bed eh? And I thought oh man. Get some heat for trying to get some sleep . . . it was actually a couple of the girls that gave me a hard time more than anything. More than the rest of the guys it was like these, bam. So it wasn't a macho thing because they were kicking my butt . . . I nearly stayed, I was like, especially when one of the girls started getting into me, I was like oh, perhaps I should stay up and I thought nah, I'm just tired, I'm outta here. 'Cause I usually do what I feel best (Nathan, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 20/11/96).

Going to bed early was dismissed as "titty"; it was a feminised insult to Nathan's masculinity, an insult that he nevertheless was confident enough to ignore. Although Nathan reads two female students' words and actions as not macho because they were voiced/enacted by women, I would argue otherwise. Marcia (who along with Jane felt part of the geography gang), talked and acted the forms of collective masculinity, they worked hard and played hard. If Nathan's words are any indication, these women played harder than some of the men, they consumed more alcohol, stayed up later and possibly bantered ("kicked butt") harder. In order to join the geography gang, female students

acted more like male geography students/geographers, and in doing so exaggerated some of these forms of masculinity. Female students who performed hyper-masculinity, engaged in forms of 'geography drag'. Their parody might ensure their inclusion in the "geography gang" but it reinforces rather than challenges the masculinity of the corporate body. The parallel was not the case; male students did not perform femininity or hyper-femininity in order to fit in. Instead femininity was made fun of, was used to police masculinity, and was objectified. Parody becomes a political strategy only if it is read as such, otherwise it serves to reinforce a masculine norm. Masculine behaviour by men still counts as more 'real' while the same behaviour by women is perceived as a 'bad' copy and therefore can be more readily ignored (see Bell et al., 1994: 37).¹³¹ Nathan almost takes Marcia's hyper-masculine banter seriously but in the final instance he can ignore it and go to bed.

Marcia's (and other female students') parody of masculinity provides the means to examine the "performances and the production of space" of men and women, of "heterosexuals as well as sexual dissidents" (Bell et al., 1994: 45) because it is time that geographers question the production of their own identities and spaces. Some students and staff put up with the production of spaces and identities in which they could not find themselves. Other female and male students and staff resisted and/or subverted the constitutive discourses of collective/corporate masculinity premised on "partying all night" to maintain identities that were different, that did not fit.

Valerie: Like you can sort of have the ultimate geography experience but to have that and to be that, you have to be a certain person in the first place. If you're not that sort of person and you don't like partying all night, well, then you're never going to have that experience . . . and you're not even going to want to. But in doing that you're not actually going to fit in totally (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96, my emphasis).

¹³¹ Bell et al. (1994) discuss these same ideas in relation to heterosexual and queer spaces.

To belong to the body corporate of University B's fieldtrip, meant the incorporation of a particular masculine 'style' of physical ability and soci-ability. There were students and staff who chose not to belong to the corporate body on these terms but in doing so they accepted that they did not "fit in". "Subjection exploits the desire for existence [belonging], where existence is always conferred from elsewhere; it marks a primary vulnerability to the Other in order to be" (Butler, 1997: 20-21). Norms about who 'fits' (who exists, who matters) on University B's fieldtrip are conferred by masculine, hard-drinking bodies. The risk, or the reward, of rejecting these norms, is not belonging to the corporate body of geography students/geographers. One important constituent of this masculinised 'culture' is humour.

4 'JOKE-WORK'¹³²

Humour can also be a powerful disciplining mechanism in educational contexts (see Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Nairn, 1994; 1997; Woods, 1990). The humour of vocal students and staff has the potential to discipline/control other students and staff. "Humour is a powerful device for celebrating one's own identity and for enhancing one's status, and for whipping others into shape" (Woods, 1990: 195). The term whipping was echoed by some male students' jocular use of 'caning' - "gave it a caning" - to describe physical feats (such as running up hills to set new records, consuming large quantities of alcohol) and more generally to describe the work hard/play hard ethic of University B's fieldtrip (fieldnotes, 9/5/96).

Humour often implies, even defines who is acceptable (as a man, a woman, a geographer, and so on) and what is acceptable behaviour (of a man, a woman, a geographer). Humour could be understood as resistance to

¹³² This title is taken from the article by Kehily and Nayak (1997: 80).

institutional authority: a form of resistance that has 'reactionary' (rather than 'revolutionary') effects especially when the dynamic of gender is considered (Walkerdine, 1990: 3-4). In other words, resistance, which is often synonymous with liberatory notions of the 'powerless versus the powerful', has contradictory effects (Walkerdine, 1990). Resistance does not automatically mean a challenge to existing social relations. Indeed, some forms of resistance (such as humour) might cement inequitable social relations more firmly under the guise of claims such as: it was 'just a joke', 'a bit of a laugh'. These provisos 'allow' "the infringement of multiple boundaries: religious/sexual, teacher/pupil, male/female, public/private. [Humour] brings these borders into sharper relief and reveals the complexities of power within school [and university] arenas" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 79).

Peter Woods (1990: 195) notes that topics of humour include: "sexual activity [and] bodily functions, [which] are wildly humorous, without much subtlety" (also see Kehily and Nayak, 1997).¹³³ Bodily functions, referred to in humorous tones and/or responded to with laughter, included: snoring, sleep talking/yelling, 'farting', brown-eyes, alcohol consumption, and 'pissing' in a rain gauge. Sexual topics, again referred to in a humorous context, included anal sex, the size of penises, male homosexuality, and potential pairings of women and men (for example, there was a lot of comment to one male university student, suggesting he should "save himself for important business that night", that is, for heterosexual intercourse with another female university student, fieldnotes 9/5/96). These topics were more likely to be instigated by some male students and staff (although not solely) and would generate (public) laughter more notably amongst some male students and staff (but again not solely). "The nature of humour is complex because it resides not only in the

¹³³ Although Woods (1990: 195) is discussing topics of humour "during the stage before the onset of puberty", these topics were particularly noticeable on University B's residential fieldtrip (fieldnotes, 4/5/96 to 10/5/96).

logic and the content of what is said, but in the performance of the teller, in the relationship between the teller and the audience, and in the immediate context of the instance" (Walker and Goodson: 1977: 212). In the case of the University B fieldtrip, humour was primarily defined by some male students and staff, the audience was both male and female, and the contexts ranged across 'work' and 'play' activities. As time passed on the (seven-day) fieldtrip, more public performances of jokes were evident and humour pervaded more and more social interaction (fieldnotes 4/5/96 to 10/5/96).

Kehily and Nayak (1997: 69) argue that "humour plays a significant part in consolidating male peer group cultures" in educational contexts such as secondary schools (and universities) and they suggest "that heterosexual masculinities are organised and regulated through humour". For example, during the introduction to the various items of equipment required for the climatology day, different forms of (masculine) humour were enacted. There was reference to: the importance of having a "wet wick" on the whirling psychrometer (sexual innuendo), the similarity of the whirling psychrometer to what soccer/rugby/basketball fans use to make a noise at matches (reference to sports primarily played and/or watched by men), the distilled water that was not for whiskey (reference to alcohol) but "had been passed by the (male) cook" (toilet humour) (fieldnotes 6/5/96).

A particular 'humorous' tone was established during the introductory session on the first night of this fieldtrip when the male lecturer and leader of this fieldtrip commented that he did not drink water because "fish make love in it" (fieldnotes 4/5/96). The comment was conveyed as part of a message to students to boil the water before drinking but additional "joke-work" was achieved (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 80). This lecturer managed to make water into a (humorous) sex topic and thus set a tone that 'allowed', even invited, the sexualising of (geographic) discourse. At the same time, he conveyed (implicitly) the message that he drank the 'real' thing, that is alcohol, not water. In the process of articulating this 'joke', this male lecturer established himself as

a 'real' man who drank alcohol (rather than water), who was interested in sex (as any healthy heterosexual man 'would be') and that he was a good 'joker' (in both senses of the word). This was reflected in some male students' comments about this lecturer: "he's a good man, I mean, I don't think I've met anyone to know so many jokes in my life . . . I thought he was the top leader" (Nathan, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 20/11/96). Rob Walker and Ivor Goodson (1977: 213) identify a relationship between humour and power: "[s]uccess or failure at telling jokes endangers status in the immediate context and so not surprisingly it is usually those with most power in the situation who tell most jokes". A male student acknowledged this lecturer's role in establishing a particular tone: "they [the lecturers] had to be there themselves so they were going to have a good time anyway, so I think the interaction there was really good. I think [names the male lecturer] sort of probably led that off to a large degree" (Sean, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 5/11/96). Some female students also acknowledged this particular male lecturer's role as well as his jokes:

Marcia: he's almost legend status now. (both laugh) . . . everyone's just in awe because he was just so hard and tough and he stayed up every night (both laugh)

Jane: He's got all these stories to tell. He's just an endless supply of

Marcia: fun.

Jane: yarns and stuff. (laugh) He's pretty funny (Interview with University B fieldtrip participants, 6/11/96).

The role of lecturers in fieldwork contexts was mentioned in Toby Harfield and Sue Clark's (1994: 24) report *Mainstreaming the Minority*, on the under-representation of academic women in employment and formal decision-making. A male geography academic identified the need for women academics in geography: "Fieldwork by its very nature is very informal . . . the high level of interpersonal contact is something, I think, which underlines the need for

appropriate role-models and people with whom students can talk about anything" (Harfield and Clark, 1994: 24). Andrew notes however:

the lecturer is not actually a peer, but the lecturer joining in with the jollies (laugh) is a form of pressure on the student as well, because the student may think okay, if I'm not doing what everyone else does then I might not get graded in the same light as everyone else. I didn't think it was healthy (Andrew, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 4/11/96).

Another male staff member was clear about his boundaries for staff/student socialising: "as a [staff member] who can't join in, I mean unless you are a certain kind of person you really can't join in that, and you've got to police it, and it's a hard thing to police, and I mean I don't want to do that, *I'm a scholar, you know, I don't want to be a cop*" (Interview with University B staff member, 15/6/95, speaker's emphasis).

Kehily and Nayak (1997: 83, my emphasis) suggest that "female teachers and female students are *rarely* seen as 'funny'" due "to the power relationships at stake in a humorous performance". Marcia identifies one of those rare instances, significantly an example of a female lecturer: "all the people in the first week [fieldtrip] always talk about [names female lecturer] and stuff like that, saying she's real cool and awesome (laugh). She's real funny, she's got a real dry sense of humour" (Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 6/11/96). This female lecturer described herself - "I'm quite a party animal" - and her participation in a game that revolved around sexual innuendo:

a drinking game, you sit round and you stand up and you say I have never been to London, and everybody who has been to London stands up and has a drink, it's . . . just a fun game. And of course, after about the first two minutes it gets onto sex and where you have or haven't had sex or how you haven't had it, had sex, and I was thinking it's a fairly outrageous game (Interview with University B staff member, 17/6/97).

This female lecturer also pondered how appropriate her participation might be:¹³⁴

something that bothers me a bit is . . . we have these intense social relations, . . . and I don't know, I feel comfortable with the line that I draw, in terms of there being a line . . . But sometimes I wonder whether I'm drawing the right line, and whether I'm not, and I try to understand where my line is, what defines that line as it were, and, yeah, it's very clear to me but I don't know whether it's right . . . in other words if someone's sitting around with this game playing 'I have never', whether or not I'm there as a staff member is kind of neither here nor there . . . Although I might be naive in thinking that. But it's also not a situation which is compulsory, you know, if they find the game is far too lewd, then they can walk away, they don't have to play . . . And I don't know whether that's an okay line at all. I'd be reluctant to draw it anywhere else, however, because, I think that by and large the students enjoy that, you know? And . . . I think it's great fun, you know (Interview with University B fieldtrip staff member, 17/6/97).

This female staff member was concerned about how her participation might be interpreted by student participants, whether they might experience such a game as "too lewd", uncomfortable and perhaps intimidating. Instead, she reassures herself that such a game is voluntary. No matter how 'voluntary' a game might be, there are still compulsory elements which are not necessarily named. The male lecturer who made the joke about water and this female lecturer who is part of a game about sex, were not explicit about what kind of sex was being referred to. Heterosexuality is assumed by default. The 'voluntary' game is about "compulsory heterosexuality" (see Rich, 1983).

This game, the jokes of the male lecturer, the particular forms of humour that were part of 'information' about climate equipment, and so on are part of a significant fabric woven by some (male and female) staff and students, a fabric that assumes and reinforces heterosexuality. "Bodies are trained, indeed

¹³⁴ Mark pondered the appropriateness of collegial and staff/student relations from his perspective as a gay man on a residential fieldtrip. But no other male lecturers that I interviewed pondered the appropriateness of staff/student relations during their interviews.

schooled, into heterosexual elaborations through [these] humorous techniques" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 84). Humour is not an 'obvious' form of disciplining and perhaps its effects are all the more powerful because humour is dismissed as voluntary, fun, enjoyment, or 'just a joke'. Kehily and Nayak (1997: 69) point out "relatively little [research] attention has been paid to the social significance of [humour] to the lives of pupils" (but see Woods, 1976; 1990). Yet "forms of knowledge [such as humour] that constitute the spheres of the everyday and the popular" (Giroux and McLaren, 1992: 25) are powerful and must be interrogated and demystified. Humour positions students "within differing dominant and subordinate peer group sexual cultures" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 84). Perhaps (some) staff participation in this process might indicate their desires to be part of these youth/sexual cultures. Humour acts as a mechanism by which students and staff achieve a sense of belonging in dominant peer sexual cultures, or not. As one high school student put it: "this was sort of like a boys' thing, you know? You sort of stuck together, ruggers,¹³⁵ . . . sort of like a little mini family. We had our little phrases that we said, (laugh) you know, just normal things" (Stephen, Interview with High School A fieldtrip participant, 24/10/96). "The exchanges could define those who belonged (operating as a form of male bonding) and those who did not (operating as a form of 'othering')" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 84). The heterosexual imperative becomes even more 'obvious', when certain 'humorous' forms of 'othering' are considered.

The (corporate) culture of geography fieldtrips is one that is defined by particular forms of fraternising and collective masculinities. In other words, it

¹³⁵ Ruggers refers to rugby players.

relies on forms of 'homo'social male bonding'.¹³⁶ Peter Lyman (1987: 156) argues that homophobic jokes are significant in homosocial contexts because they "draw an emotional line between the homosocial male bond and homosexual relationships".

This allows for the intimate closeness of male peer cultures to be sanctioned, without compromising on an overtly heterosexual group identity. Homophobic displays not only consolidate the identities of the heterosexual individual but speak to the wider hyper-masculinity of the peer group. In such exchanges masculinities are visibly performed, highlighting the frequently misogynistic and homophobic structure of these practices and the uncertainties that underlie these outbursts (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 83).

For example, a song called 'the wild west show', that I heard on the University B fieldtrip, included many verses: specifically one about "homosexual swans" with their heads under water looking for "cygnet rings", another about a "desert ship full of Arab seamen/ semen" and another about the "kiwi bird" who "eats, roots, shoots and leaves" (fieldnotes 7/5/96). Again humour was defined around male heterosexuality which was bolstered by references to a stereotypical homosexuality. The "homosexual swans" and "cygnets" re-play the stereotypical narratives that homosexual men are interested in young boys, and in anal sex. Such caricatures of gay male sexuality work as sanctions against the validity of this form of sexuality in the context of the residential fieldtrip (at least). Any gay males participating in this particular fieldtrip would be reminded (yet again) that they are not 'real' men, and implicitly not 'real' geographers. "The combination of humour with homophobia becomes a technique for the display of heterosexual masculinity as independent, entirely 'unfeminine' and exclusively straight" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 82). A

¹³⁶ The term homosocial is used in two senses. First, it is (frequently) used to describe homosocial male contexts such as male sports (for example, see Fougere, 1989; Parker, 1996), all-male workplaces (for example, see Hacker, 1989), and 'the pub' (for example, see Law, 1997). Second, it is relevant to a residential fieldtrip context, where a particular form of socialising dominates so that it appears that women and men are participating in the 'same' social forms, and different forms of socialising 'disappear from view'.

geographically located - kiwi¹³⁷ - form of masculine heterosexuality is conveyed by the double entendre - "eats, roots, shoots and leaves" (the latter three words are coded as (hyper)masculine forms of sexual practice, that is, the independent, 'unfeminine' and exclusively 'straight' sexual practices that Kehily and Nayak refer to).

Masculine forms of humour such as "critically putting down the sexual practices of a peer, or laughing at his sexual inexperience, may hide broader insecurities about relationships and the masculine pressure to 'perform'" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 80). Even humour, which might also be understood as emotional and irrational, is work, "a form of 'joke-work' which displaces sexual anxieties on to others through laughter, while relieving the self of embarrassment" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 80). In such a conception, humour becomes a form of work that displaces 'internalised' male fears on to females and subordinate males, who then put up with, resist and/or subvert, such public displacements that are insinuated on to their 'subordinate' bodies. Indeed, the constitution of such displacements as 'a bit of a laugh' make them difficult to challenge: "the notion of humour could be invoked to avoid the charge of outright violence, aggression or abuse" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 72).

Another example of the line drawn between the homosocial male bond and homosexual relationships (Lyman, 1987) was physically enacted on the return bus journey of a high school fieldtrip. Two male students sat together and one had fallen asleep. I watched the contorted choreography of the male student who was still awake as he avoided the accidental touching of the sleeping male student's head as it instinctively 'searched' for a resting point (fieldnotes 7/3/96). Yet I had seen male and female, as well as female students' bodies touching, as one or other relaxed and/or fell asleep against each other

¹³⁷ The kiwi is a native bird of Aotearoa/New Zealand and a symbol of national identity. Kiwi is a colloquial term for a New Zealander.

on long bus journeys. When the sleeping male student's head did touch the male student, he bumped it away and some students who noticed this, laughed (fieldnotes 7/3/96). This is a poignant example of the fear that homosexuality might be assumed if male bodies touch on a bus, that gay sexuality might be contagious (Kehily and Nayak, 1997).¹³⁸

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Lyman (1987: 150) aptly terms masculine jocularitas a "theatre of domination", in which sexist and homophobic jokes work to augment male bonding, to "overcome internal tension and assert [group] solidarity". Ellen Jordan (1995: 79, emphasis in original) suggests that these internal tensions can be understood as "the crossfire in a long-standing battle *between* groups of men over the definition of masculinity, a battle that is a good deal bigger than the education system" or the residential fieldtrip. A battle which disadvantages women and subordinate men. Women do join the battle, although they might deploy themselves to shore up (their) assumed heterosexuality, or quietly subvert the battle by parodying the physical feats of 'hard' masculinity. For example, one female student wished (in an ironic tone) that she had brought a game of tiddlywinks because the other forms of entertainment were uninteresting. Other female students 'laughed at' / made jokes about the forms of masculinity they witnessed on the fieldtrip, during their interviews. Female (and male) students also absented themselves from playing audience to these (masculine) heterosexual performances: "like the ones who would party went out to the fire and they cooked their sausages or whatever they did out there (laugh) and the other ones sort of would stay inside and they'd talk round the

¹³⁸ Although such a fear does not prevent men from playing rugby where physical contact is legitimated (see Fougere, 1989; Phillips, 1987).

fire and play cards or whatever" (Valerie, Interview with University B fieldtrip participant, 31/10/96).

Finally, participation in the 'theatre of domination' does not guarantee that a dominant player understands himself as such and/or feels 'dominant'. For example, one of the male students whom I observed as a key player in the rituals of masculine humour (on the University B fieldtrip) also wrote on his evaluation form (completed at the end of the fieldtrip): "I did all right, and people don't really hate me". Anthony was not certain that he was liked by other students (and staff?) which suggests his vulnerability to the Other in order to be (Butler, 1997) or perhaps a vulnerability to the Same (that is, other male, heterosexual students) in order to be. Again, the themes of exteriority/interiority are significant. I had read the exteriority of Anthony's bodily performances as evidence of 'hard' masculinity but an interiority glimpsed in what was perhaps a throw-away comment suggests that 'hard' humorous masculinity is never assured. Kehily and Nayak (1997: 80) draw on Freud's work (1905) to argue that "this type of humour permits the forbidden to be expressed and indirectly articulates vulnerable feelings". How the surface of the body might be read as evidence of enjoyment and social participation might be at odds with the thoughts and feelings of students and staff, who are searching for a means of (acceptable) social existence for the duration of a residential fieldtrip.

CHAPTER 9

RECONSIDERATIONS

I INTRODUCTION

To conclude is to reconsider. I have come full circle to reconsider the questions articulated in Chapter 1. This thesis is "a cross-section through the middle of the story" (Myerson and Rydin, 1996: 227) of geography residential fieldtrip cultures in a particular time - the 1990s - in a particular place - Aotearoa/ New Zealand. It is "a story whose ending is unknown" (Myerson and Rydin, 1996: 227) and yet I must make some 'final' comments.

The aims of this research were two-fold. First, I argued that the residential fieldtrip is a key context in which students learn how to act and think like geography students/geographers. It is a key context because students and staff live and 'do' geography work together for two or more days. The (re)production of geography disciplinary identities is, therefore, a relatively focused, continuous process. These embodied disciplinary identities - 'geography student'/'geographer' - are socially constructed and (re)produced in particular ways. Second, I examined how the social construction and (re)production of embodied disciplinary identities is shaped by, and shapes, geography disciplinary practices.

Fieldtrips/fieldwork are variously argued to be "essential", "central", and at the "heart" of what geographers do (Head of Geography Department, fieldnotes, 19/10/1994; also see Hammond, 1992; Ninth Inter-University Conference of Teachers of Geography, 1995; Stoddart, 1986). Yet this 'heart' (fieldtrips/fieldwork) is taken-for-granted as "the best means" (Ninth Inter-

University Conference of Teachers of Geography, 1995: 4) of teaching and learning geography (also see Gold et al., 1991). More specifically, it is taken-for-granted as the 'best' means "to interpret 'real world' problems" and "of relating theory and practical matters" (Ninth Inter-university Conference of Teachers of Geography, 1995: 4). In this thesis I critically examined whether the fieldwork conducted on residential fieldtrips is indeed the 'best' means to interpret the 'real' world and to relate theory and practice.

This research is a critical analysis of the (re)production of contemporary geography disciplinary identities, practices and cultures in a particular place. Critical analyses of the history of geography disciplinary practices already exist (for example, see Driver, 1992; 1994; 1995; Jones III, 1995; Livingstone, 1990; Stoddart, 1986). Less attention, however, has been paid to the contemporary (re)production of the geography discipline at specific sites of (re)production. This thesis is about the (re)production of 'our' disciplinary identities and spaces (see Bell et al., 1994; Okely, 1996) during university and (senior) high school residential fieldtrips. More attention, however, is paid to the university context in this thesis and this is strategic.

The university is at the top of the education hierarchy and is privileged in this thesis and more widely as a powerful influence in shaping the dissemination of knowledge via teaching *and* research. The dissemination of knowledge takes many tracks and many can be traced back to the university. High school teachers and university lecturers are trained in university geography departments. Students who want to specialise in geographical knowledge do so at universities. High school teachers are more likely to be the researched than the researchers. Academics are usually the researchers rather than the researched. This thesis is one attempt to subvert this pattern and to divert more attention towards the disciplinary practices of geography academics.

Geographers are trained to gaze at, and to analyse, the spaces and places of Others. Yet it is time to turn the lens upon ourselves and our disciplinary practices, to subject ourselves to critical gaze and to critical analysis. A critical analysis that, in this case, is informed by feminist poststructural theories. The locatedness of knowledge - in time and space - is examined from the inside out. I am a geographer investigating 'our' own traditions from the inside, from the interior. In the process I (re)construct geography's interiority to subvert disciplinary preoccupations with exteriorities. My "construction of committed, passionate, positioned, partial but critical knowledge" (McDowell, 1992b: 413) of geography residential fieldtrips draws on and contributes to "recognition of the locatedness of knowledge" (McDowell, 1992b: 413).

In the next section, section 2, I summarise the findings of my research as they relate to the (re)production of embodied disciplinary identities and practices. These geography disciplinary identities and practices correspond generally to social and epistemological practices which are interdependent. In the following section, section 3, I suggest interventions in the social and epistemological practices of residential fieldtrips. Finally, I make some concluding remarks.

2 EMBODIED DISCIPLINARY IDENTITIES AND PRACTICES

An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate (Davies and Harré, 1990: 46).

The embodied disciplinary identity - 'geography student'/'geographer' - is not a fixed end product of residential fieldtrips. Instead, participants in geography residential fieldtrips are constituted and reconstituted through a complex set of discourses. In this thesis, I have examined geography disciplinary identities and practices, both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic. In this section I interweave these hegemonic and counter-hegemonic identities and practices in

an attempt to demonstrate the complexities and the contradictions. There is no one-dimensional disciplinary identity (as in the drawings), instead fieldtrip bodies are sites of discursive struggle.

This discursive struggle is played (and worked) out in many forms. There are students and staff who appear to 'take on' the hegemonic version of geographer-in-the-field. There are students and staff who appear to resist hegemonic practices and identities. Most importantly, it is not a matter of students and staff choosing either the hegemonic or resistant versions of geographer-in-the-field. It is a complex interaction of both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forms of embodied disciplinary identities and practices. Fieldtrip participants are not "inevitably caught in the subject position [of 'geography student'/'geographer'] that the particular narrative and the related discursive practices [of geography residential fieldtrips] might seem to dictate" (Davies and Harré, 1990: 48). For students, however, who wanted to complete their assessment, who wanted to pass the geography course, some compliance with the requirements of geography fieldwork was necessary.

The residential fieldtrip context, like boarding school and military contexts, is one where particularly intense forms of disciplining may occur. Students wake up, eat and work at designated times. Students and staff live/breathe/eat geography. It is anticipated that students and staff might talk geography over morning cornflakes although family members and other domestic commitments are not expected to encroach on geography work. Indeed, the relative 'isolation' and separation of fieldtrip accommodation away from urban culture, family and home (Okely, 1996) enforces the exclusion of family and home from the realm of geography fieldwork. In order to see the 'real' world, the 'unreal' world of family and domestic commitments is left behind. Geography students and staff are (unrealistically) released to explore the 'real' world unencumbered by domestic, familial and/or paid work commitments. The longer the residential fieldtrip, the greater the intensity of

these disciplining relations and the more effectively embodied disciplinary identities are learnt.

In the case of this research, the hegemonic version of 'the-geographer-in-the-field' of physical geography fieldtrips is young, physically fit, heterosexual and masculine. In particular, the markers of physical ability and youth distinguished these fieldtrips from human geography fieldtrips. The hegemonic version of 'the-geographer-in-the-field' of human geography fieldtrips (concerned with migration and tourism) is one based on New Zealand citizenship norms which are tied up in assumptions about 'race', class and language abilities. The markers - 'race' and class - went un(re)marked on the physical geography fieldtrips. The assumption is that physical geography is not about people, yet markers of New Zealand citizenship, 'race' and class emerge in other guises. For example, patrician effects of 'ownership' surfaced in proprietary attitudes towards land and knowledge, as teachers/lecturers cast students in decision-making roles about 'our' sea wall, 'our' beach while the relevance of indigenous land claims were ignored.

Some students were reflexively aware of the constitutive power of actions as well as "the constitutive power of language" (Davies, 1997: 272). Students were reflexively aware of what it meant to act like, and talk like, a geographer. They understood what actions conferred a comprehensible identity of geographer-in-the-field. For example students knew what they 'had' to wear, what kind of body and fitness was 'required', what constituted the terms of social acceptability such as staying up late at night, beer-drinking, heterosexuality and a particular style of joking, in order to be understood as a geographer-in-the-field. Some students and staff rejected these terms, others accepted the terms for the duration of the fieldtrip, others re-negotiated these terms so that they were more palatable, and others endured the fieldtrip until they could return home. Agency, or the subject's power to act, refers to both the

subject's power to incorporate as well as to resist the norms of the respective residential fieldtrips.

Membership in the corporate body was conferred upon female and male bodies that were independent, 'unfeminine', straight, white, 'educated' bodies (see Kehily and Nayak, 1997). Women as well as men accommodated the masculine qualities of the hegemonic version of geography disciplinary identities and practices. There is no neat mapping of masculinity on to male fieldtrip bodies. The (exterior) embodiment of these participants appeared to be congruent with 'the geography' of 'the fieldtrip', a geography preoccupied with exterior appearances of the environment and of the body. "[B]odies reinscribe and project themselves onto their sociocultural environment so that this environment both produces and reflects the form and interests of the body" (Grosz, 1992: 242). But these apparent 'hard' exteriorities of hegemonic disciplinary identities are belied by (vulnerable) interiorities, contradictions and resistances.

Resistance cannot automatically be read "as having revolutionary effects; sometimes resistances have 'reactionary' effects" (Walkerline, 1990: 3). In a parallel argument, the incorporation of norms could be read as forms of resistance with potential revolutionary effects. For example, many female students and staff were physically fit and relished the physical demands of geography fieldwork (which contradicts the claims made by Maguire reported in *The Times Higher*, 17/1/97). Some female students played hard - they drank copious amounts of alcohol and 'led' social activities - they were key players in the social culture of residential fieldtrips. This can be read as the incorporation of male norms of socialising and as ultimately reinforcing those norms. Indeed, as I write these incorporations as potential resistances, I risk the charge that these women's resistances are still understood in comparison to male defined norms. This is one reading.

Yet the hyper-masculine performances of female students confirm the social construction of the disciplinary identities of geography students/geographers. The geographer-in-the-field is not 'naturally' a man. The hegemony of a masculine style of geographer-in-the-field is socially constructed and as effectively mimicked by female as by male fieldtrip participants. To read the incorporation of norms as a parody of those norms, and therefore as a form of resistance, a form of geography 'drag', does not change these norms. Again theoretical manoeuvres must be translated into material social practices for change. These theoretical manoeuvres, however, do confirm the social construction, and therefore the mutability of the embodied disciplinary identity of geographer-in-the-field. I now summarise some of the resistances and accommodations by individual students and staff. In the latter part of this section, I summarise how these individual resistances were undermined by an emphasis on a corporate body of geography students/geographers.

Many students could not and would not comply with the disciplining requirements of geography fieldwork. Female and male students, who were older, physically 'unfit' (knees dislocated, 'over'weight), asthmatic, and/or diabetic, were dis-abled by the particular ways in which fieldwork was conducted. The notion (in geographic as well as popular discourses) that being there, seeing it, guarantees full knowledge (or at least better knowledge) has been learnt so well that many students believe that knowledge gained in other ways is inferior. The privileging of an epistemology of going out in the 'real' world to see for yourself, privileges physically able, youthful bodies. In such a formulation, 'superior' forms of (geographic) knowledge are only available to 'superior' bodies.

There were also the disciplining requirements of the living conditions of residential fieldtrips. On five (of the seven) fieldtrips, the separation of female and male students' sleeping spaces was enacted or at least attempted. I argued

that this (attempted) separation is premised on unspoken assumptions of heterosexuality and this renders invisible other sexualities and needs for different sleeping arrangements. Some university students subverted this separation so they (female and male students) shared the same space.

Sleeping arrangements were also about the intersection of cultural practices with gender and/or assumed heterosexuality. On those fieldtrips where communal sleeping arrangements were possible, some students experienced these arrangements positively and others did not. Māori students whom I interviewed, felt at 'home' in a communal context that was familiar and affirming. In the case of one high school, the accommodation for the fieldtrip was a marae. In this context Māori cultural practices and spiritual dimensions were an explicit part of the discourse of geography (field)work.

There were other students (Pākehā and Samoan) who resisted communal sleeping spaces and made alternative sleeping arrangements away from the fieldtrip accommodation. The latter form of resistance was possible only on those fieldtrips located in an urban area. Indeed, the location of residential fieldtrips in (isolated) rural areas enables more effective separation of students from 'urban distractions' (see Okely, 1996), and, therefore, more effective management/discipline of students. On the remaining five fieldtrips, students had to make do with living and sleeping arrangements that confounded some students' attempts to maintain their privacy, and in one case, their 'public' (sexual) identity.

Despite the disciplining elements of the living and working conditions of residential fieldtrips, students found ways to re-wash dishes that were not satisfactorily clean, to have long showers, to drink wine or smoke marijuana in beer drinking contexts, to return early from climbing up and down hills, to read books as a source of knowledge, and to remain inside by the fire while party participants cooked their sausages outside. These, and many other large

and small acts of resistance, constituted a form of agency, although limited and contingent, that enabled the fieldtrip to be endured, even enjoyed.

Some students spoke about domestic tasks and the physical demands of climbing as fun and/or as social activities. Work was constructed as fun and in a parallel fashion, I questioned whether so-called fun and jokes might be better understood as achieving a particular kind of work. Joke-work is "a technique utilised for the regulation of masculinities and the negotiation of gender-sexual hierarchies" (Kehily and Nayak, 1997: 69) within geography fieldtrip cultures. Joke-work was a significant component in the formulation of hard or hyper-masculinity as male students and staff jockeyed for positions of status. The quantity and 'quality' of jokes, that is, their transgression of multiple boundaries: male/female, staff/student, heterosexual/homosexual, public/private (Kehily and Nayak, 1997) served as a measure of the man, the 'hard' case.

Resistances and compliances can be subjected to readings both with and against the grain, readings that confirm both revolutionary and reactionary effects. It was the corporate culture of geography fieldtrips, however, which undermined individual resistances and/or complicated individual desires to belong or not belong. For some students, the terms for 'joining' the corporate body of geography students were terms that they would not usually accept in order to join or go away with a group. They nevertheless 'accepted' these terms in order to achieve a comprehensible existence for the duration of the fieldtrip. If students did not accept these terms, they might still be understood as complying by their presence on the fieldtrip and/or by the absence of a (public) statement to the contrary.

There were students and staff who clearly stated their enjoyment of fieldtrips and their decisions to continue geography on the basis of such positive experiences. There were other students and staff who clearly stated

their dissatisfaction. For some of these students and staff, their fieldtrip experiences shaped their decisions to seek geography courses with no (residential fieldtrip) component or to discontinue studying geography.

In addition to the positions re-presented by these two ends of the continuum, many individual students re-presented complex 'mixtures' of both enjoyment and dissatisfaction, resistance and compliance. Some students who said they were unhappy and/or uncomfortable during the fieldtrip still claimed enjoyment of the fieldtrip. Perhaps the sense of relief at the successful completion of a fieldtrip explains this 'enjoyment' and perhaps the end of the 'discipline and ordeal' of the fieldtrip does achieve some form of ritual catharsis.

Some students and staff felt the pressure to join the corporate body even though it did not represent a group they would (usually) choose to be part of. Placement within a (geography) discourse premised on a corporate culture, meant that some students wanted to join because they had been subjectively constituted to *want* that line of action (Davies, 1991), in spite of their uncertainties about the 'geography gang' itself. Herein lies a particular, insidious, form of disciplining. The price of belonging is subordination (Butler, 1997: 20). "Subjection exploits the desire for existence [belonging], where existence is always conferred from elsewhere; it marks a primary vulnerability to the Other [as well as the same] in order to be" (Butler, 1997: 20-21). This vulnerability (interiority) was keenly felt by students and staff who occupied marginal positions in hegemonic hierarchies. Yet, this vulnerability was also alluded to by a male student (a joker) who 'apparently' occupied a dominant position in the hegemonic hierarchies of one university fieldtrip.

Such a corporate body of geography students and geographers together depends on unspecified notions of "egalitarian comradeship" (Phillips, 1984: 91), of "deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 1983: 16). Notions which, on

closer analysis, turn out to have quite specific hierarchical meanings in terms of 'race', gender, class, sexuality, physical ability and age.

Community is an understandable dream, expressing a desire for selves that are transparent to one another, relationships of mutual identification, social closeness and comfort. The dream is understandable, but politically problematic, I argue, because those motivated by it will tend to suppress differences amongst themselves or implicitly to exclude from their political [or disciplinary] groups persons with whom they do not identify (I. Young, 1990c: 300).

Desires for, or claims about, a community of geographers suppress differences within the corporate body and displace Difference on to the object(s) of geographical investigation, whether it be people and/or places. Difference seems only to apply to Other people and/or places, not to the group of geography students/geographers themselves. I have already argued that this essentialisation of Difference for the consumption of geography students 'invites' racist attitudes towards migrant Others. This fascination with the Difference of the Other might provide one (of many) explanations for the suppression and/or specific exclusions of Difference from the corporate body of geography students/geographers.

The Difference of the Other is an 'outside' referent that secures a (false) sense of the same for geography students, that is, a reiteration of discourses of us and them (Torgovnick, 1990; also see I. Young, 1990a). An investigation of the structure of Difference (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994) and sameness shows how Difference exists within the assumed sameness of the corporate body of geography students/geographers, and sameness exists across boundaries of assumed difference. For example, in the case of the migration fieldtrip, some students were migrants, some students' home places existed in the places of the Other that the students went to see, and some Pākehā students experienced what it meant to feel 'out of place'.

The 'social' rather than the 'geography' work made the fieldtrip memorable for many students and staff. At times, the 'social' work appeared to

displace the 'educational' work. Students and staff declared their work hard/play hard credentials in various ways. To work and play hard, without much sleep, was worn like a badge of honour. To work (hard) and go to bed early meant that you were a 'piker'. These assertions, however, might hide a 'different story'. Hardness was measured by the relative abilities of individual staff and students to suspend/ignore bodily imperatives to sleep, to present an exterior of work-ability and soci-ability. In this sense, geography maintained its reputation as a masculine (dis)embodied affair. But work-ability was (probably) compromised by soci-ability, and in this sense, the time-honoured justification for residential fieldtrips, that is, time for extended geographical work, is debatable. If lack of sleep and/or uncomfortable living and working conditions compromise students' abilities to complete assignment tasks, to think and understand, then the justification for fieldtrips as an opportunity to focus on fieldwork, on geographical knowledge, is no longer tenable.

This geography (fieldwork) was also related to overall course structures in contradictory ways. In the case of one (high school) fieldtrip, the knowledge presented was incomplete for examination purposes and the missing knowledge was conveyed by facsimile. In the case of another (university) fieldtrip, the knowledge gained via fieldwork was not examined. Instead conceptual knowledge was the focus of the examination. Although fieldtrips (and fieldwork) are considered to be the 'best' means of gaining knowledge about the 'real' world and of relating theory and practice, it turns out that this knowledge is as partial, located, and incomplete as knowledge conveyed in the 'unreal' world of the geography classroom/lecture theatre.

The 'real' depended on exemplary geography in which the best, biggest, most concentrated, most different, most geographic examples were chosen for

students. Reflecting geography at twice its actual size¹³⁹ was mirrored in students' pre-fieldtrip expectations of fieldtrips in their drawings of exaggerated 'true nature'. 'Have place will travel' suggests geographical knowledge reproduced around a distant exotic Other, rather than around a close local same. In such a formulation, geography students, in buses and vans, pass by local geographies/knowledges on their way to see what are constructed as exemplary geographies that are (supposedly) not available locally.

Hegemonic disciplinary practices and identities 'invite', enable and consolidate the reiteration of a particular narrative and set of discursive practices. The spatial and social practices of residential fieldtrips work in a contradictory way "within the framework of the dominant tendency towards homogeneity (that is, towards the establishment of a dominated space)" (Lefebvre, 1991: 411) and the establishment of a corporate body. There is "the tension between self-identity and resistance on the one hand, and the reproduction of [a geography disciplinary] culture through [students supervised/disciplined by teachers/lecturers] on the other" (Geographies of Young People, Project Summary, 1998: 2; also see Foucault, 1978). Henrietta Moore (1994) provides a useful summary of the tensions between the identities of individual fieldtrip bodies and the corporate body.

If we imagine that individuals take up certain subject positions because of the way in which those positions provide pleasure, satisfaction or reward on the individual or personal level, we must also recognise that such individual satisfactions have power and meaning only in the context of various institutionalised discourses and practices, that is, in the context of certain sanctioned modes of subjectivity . . . taking up a position or a variety of positions within competing discourses is not just about the construction of self-identity and subjectivity . . . to be positioned is always in relation to others, and thus, one's interrelations with other individuals - intersubjectivity - will also determine what positions one takes up (Moore, 1994: 65).

¹³⁹ This phrase is adapted from Sally Cline and Dale Spender's (1987) title 'Reflecting Men At Twice Their Natural Size'.

Residential fieldtrip participants live and work together which intensifies social interrelations and the disciplining of identities.

Hegemonic disciplinary identities and practices are never assured and never complete (see Foucault, 1982). There were men and women who resisted this hegemonic identity, whose embodiment confronted 'the geography' of 'the fieldtrip'. I want to be aware of the dangers of fixing subject positions such as 'geography student'/'geographer' and the associated meanings beyond the moment when they are politically productive (Giroux and McLaren, 1992: 18). I have anticipated this (doctoral) 'moment' as one opportunity for making a political and theoretical intervention into the social construction and reproduction of geography disciplinary identities. A moment in which the geographer's gaze is turned in upon itself, a move that subverts the disciplinary tradition of looking (away from the self) at other people and other places. But what does this mean for residential fieldtrips, for geographies and geographers of the future? In the next section, I suggest another two arenas for strategic intervention: social and epistemological practices.

3 LEANING ON THE INSTABILITIES¹⁴⁰

The existence of instabilities in the binary logic of sexual difference has no necessary effect on the politics of sexual difference. A further step must be taken if feminist or gay or anti-racist struggles are to benefit (Sedgwick, 1990, cited in Waldby, 1995: 274). In other words, "some kind of *social practice must lean on these instabilities* if they are to represent any kind of transformative possibility" (Waldby, 1995: 274, my emphasis). In this thesis, I have brought instabilities, contradictions and "effects-to-light" so that the disciplining influences of residential fieldtrips can be more fully debated (Connell, 1989:

¹⁴⁰ This title was inspired by Waldby (1995).

300). I have scrutinised the actions and words of teachers and lecturers who communicate geographic knowledge, alongside the experiences of students whose knowledge is being shaped by these actions and words. This research is a small contribution to a broader academic arena in which the social construction and (re)production of knowledge continues to be critically examined. Critical analysis is important but it is not enough to simply deconstruct and to destabilise (see I. Young, 1990c). I argue for strategic interventions in the social and epistemological practices of residential fieldtrips to lean on the instabilities and tensions exposed theoretically, so that material effects might be achieved.

The instabilities of (residential fieldtrip) binaries have been investigated, yet the transferral of feminine qualities to the masculine arm of the binary (Lee and Taylor, 1996) reveals a resilient flexibility that resists any 'final' destabilisation. The devalued and feminised side of binaries such as body/mind, private/public, domestic/education, play/work, urban/rural took on 'new' meanings in the context of the residential fieldtrip. A parallel process was intermittently evident; there was some feminisation of geographical work because the domestic, the private, the body, and play were all present in the more public realm of (geography) fieldwork. This is not usually the case in a geography classroom/lecture theatre or on a day long fieldtrip. But the feminisation of geographical work achieves a similar process to the emotional, decorative, and/or domestic work that women do in many home and work settings. The feminisation of particular aspects of the residential fieldtrip re-presents (by comparison) masculinisation to greater effect. Put another way, men look hard(er) if there is a feminised other available for automatic, implicit comparison.

Instead, it is time to utilise this binary work (and play), this (re)consideration of the construction and reproduction of (geography) disciplinary identities and cultures, as a basis for reflexively changing social

and epistemological practices on residential fieldtrips. It is time to reconsider the centrality and meaning of fieldtrips to the disciplinary identities of geographers and geographies. This process can only be initiated by geography educators, educators who do, and do not, run fieldtrips. It is a process that allows for the possibilities of reconsidered fieldtrips, and of geography without fieldtrips. It is a process that generates more questions, more research and more listening to students as well as staff.

Two strategies for intervention are identified. First, residential fieldtrips could be abandoned. If however, like I. Young (1990c: 317), I "conceive radical change not as the negation of the given [that is, geography residential fieldtrips] but rather as making something good from the many elements of the given" a second strategy is suggested. Geography residential fieldtrips could be reconsidered. In posing alternative conceptualisations of geography residential fieldtrips, it is "of course, always a positing, and hence excludes and demarks, thus always itself open to the possibility of deconstructive technique" (I. Young, 1990c: 321). To deconstruct, to critique is a well traversed academic path. To 're-construct', to posit alternative geography fieldtrip practices risks a misunderstanding of these alternatives as prescriptive and/or as answers to all the identified issues. Instead these interventions and alternatives must be continually subjected to critical re-evaluation (see Alton-Lee and Densem, 1992). Most importantly, I argue for ongoing critical reflexivity.

What might the social practices of residential fieldtrips be like if they were critically reconsidered by students and staff each time a residential fieldtrip was planned? This would mean that sleeping, eating and working arrangements would be made explicit, discussed, and negotiated before a fieldtrip. "If institutional change is possible at all, it must begin from intervening in the contradictions and tensions of existing society" (I. Young, 1990c: 315) or more specifically (in the terms of this project) in the contradictions and tensions of existing social practices of residential fieldtrips.

I begin with interventions in social practices, and with the example of the physical and social arrangement of sleeping spaces. If sleeping spaces on residential fieldtrips (either communal or separated by gender) were available for negotiation, then the social and physical conditions in which students and staff are expected to exist might have less disciplining effects. I am aware of arguments about the cost and pragmatics of organising overnight accommodation for groups of students and that a residential fieldtrip would be impossible to organise if students chose to sleep individually in a context where only communal space is available or vice-versa. My argument, however, is that students would be made aware of the physical constraints of the fieldtrip accommodation yet provided with the opportunity to think creatively about how they might meet their particular needs within a pre-identified frame of reference. Or they might participate in research for appropriate accommodation that might cater for both communal and individual needs. Or students might choose to stay at home (in their own accommodation) and conduct their geography fieldwork each day from their home, school or university base. My premise is no longer how students might comply with the requirements of residential fieldtrip accommodation, instead it is how might the accommodation comply with the needs of students and staff.

Similarly, the provision of food and eating on residential fieldtrips might be reconceptualised. Again, the organisation of food might be a task creatively shared between students and staff. Or a task delegated to self-selected groups who share similar food preferences and would plan menus and buy the required food for a forthcoming fieldtrip. Within such a framework, self-provisioning as well as eating out might be incorporated on terms in which students have played a decision-making role.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ The self-provisioning approach is one that I have already adopted as a high school fieldtrip organiser. It works well in terms of catering for diverse dietary and culinary preferences but it does mean there are a greater number of cooks in the (often) limited kitchen facilities of fieldtrip accommodation.

Interventions in the social conditions of fieldtrip participants' existence do not necessarily require a devolution of responsibility to students, a devolution that might prove untenable in the context of restricted timetables and limited selection of potential fieldtrip accommodation. In situations where the fieldtrip venue is somewhat fixed, I argue there is much to gain via attention to process. Indeed, attention to process is applicable to all residential fieldtrip contexts whether the venue is fixed or negotiable. On all of the seven residential fieldtrips investigated in this research, it was assumed that students already knew each other and/or would 'naturally' get to know each other. A confident, soci-able geographer who readily meets new people and makes themselves 'at home' in new spaces is taken for granted (Nairn, 1996). Attention to process would mean that students are introduced to each other as well as to staff members before (or at the beginning of) fieldtrips. Pre-fieldtrip discussions about what it means to go away and live, as well as work, together would extend this introductory process.

Other strategies that relate to process could be conducted via more private forms of communication such as a pre-fieldtrip information sheet. This provides students with the opportunity to convey information about their expectations of a forthcoming fieldtrip, physical abilities, medical conditions, food and sleeping preferences, with provision for comments that students might want to add. It would be naive to assume that so-called 'private' written communication will guarantee that all relevant personal information is conveyed. Yet an information sheet that allows for required information (such as medical conditions) as well as more informal information (such as food preferences) might invite a more extended range of information from students. This method could be interpreted as potentially (and subtly) invasive of students' privacy. Apart from necessary information about medical conditions and physical abilities, the extent of information conveyed by students could be decided by them. This method provides for systematic, yet relatively private communication. This contrasts with the practices of the University B fieldtrip,

during which students were expected to verbally convey personal information to an all-male personnel.

Such a process would ideally be continued throughout a residential fieldtrip and might be achieved via a journal in which students write (personal) accounts of their experiences of fieldtrip, place(s) and people. Provision would be made for journal writing in the fieldtrip programme. Completion of a journal might be one of the assessment items of the fieldtrip or the journal might be incorporated into a more formal essay requirement in which students write about their sense of place, drawing on their journal entries. Journal writing might add human geography dimensions to physical geography fieldtrips. Depending on the education level and/or the course context, students might write a critically reflexive essay about residential fieldtrip education practices.

Importantly, this process is completed with post-fieldtrip evaluations and/or debriefing. This research provided this component of the process via the evaluations completed by students soon after fieldtrips and in a more in-depth fashion with some participants via interviews. For some interviewees, this represented a significant context in which they laughed, cried, shared personal details, conveyed their despair and/or their enjoyment of fieldtrips. These interviewees acknowledged the value of an opportunity to debrief. In particular, there were no such opportunities for teachers and lecturers, especially if they worked in a context where the assumed benefits of fieldtrips remained beyond question. For other interviewees, the interview itself did not fulfil any significant debriefing role. Debriefing does not require an extended interview but it does require an opportunity in which students (and ideally) staff might provide anonymous feedback about a fieldtrip.

Some teachers and lecturers acknowledged their role, and their power to shape the social conditions of students' existence on residential fieldtrips. They

explicitly discussed their actions to shape a corporate body. Within their acknowledgement is another acknowledgement of their influence to shape (and be shaped by) the social and physical conditions of a residential fieldtrip as well as the reiteration of fieldtrip participants' actions (including their own). If "the high level of interpersonal contact [on residential fieldtrips] underlines the need for appropriate role-models and people with whom students can talk about anything" (Harfield and Clark, 1994: 24) then staff members on residential fieldtrips must (re)consider their own actions in the first instance. It is also possible, indeed ethically necessary, for staff members to intervene in the reiteration of fieldtrip participants' actions which have an oppressive effect on other participants. This might even mean intervening in the difficult, uncertain arena of joke-work. Social practices (of residential fieldtrips) must 'lean on' destabilised binaries if any institutional change is to take place.

I turn now to epistemological interventions. What would epistemological practices be like if critical reconsideration, rather than discovery/exploration which has long been the metaphor of enlightenment (Myerson and Rydin, 1996), was adopted as a metaphor for fieldwork? The metaphor of discovery is caught up in the privileging of 'seeing the real world'. The metaphor of reconsideration could enable interior as well as exterior geographies and a more varied sensory repertoire for obtaining (geographic) knowledge. Most importantly it enables the basis on which knowledge is claimed and the structures of that knowledge to be interrogated.

To adopt an epistemology of reconsideration on the migration fieldtrips (for example) means the specific reconsideration of the structure of Difference and sameness. If Difference is understood as essential rather than socially constructed, then 'race', gender, and other social relations might be (mis)understood (again) as immutable. hooks (1992) suggests that the Difference of 'race' must be understood from both sides.

Mutual recognition of racism, its impact both on those who are dominated and those who dominate, is the only standpoint that makes possible the encounter between races that is not based on denial and fantasy. For it is the ever present reality of racist domination, of white supremacy, that renders problematic the desire of white people to have contact with the Other (hooks, 1992: 28).

There are a number of interwoven strategies here. First, hooks (1992) indicates that specific attention to racism is necessary. This issue should be part of an explicit discussion of the 'racialised' dimensions of going to 'look at' the Other prior to migration (and similar) fieldtrips taking place (at least).

Second, the problematic of 'privileged' university students going to view the 'unprivileged' migrant Other might provide an opportunity to model critically reflexive teaching and learning. Staff and students could discuss issues of power and cultural imperialism (see I. Young, 1990a, chapter 5) before, during and after a (migration) fieldtrip. Roger Robinson (1988) cautions against paternalistic sympathy that sometimes occurs if 'privileged' students are encouraged to consider the 'unprivileged' Other. Instead he suggests "the development of a realistic empathy" (Robinson, 1988: 154) although he acknowledges "complete empathy is impossible with even a close friend, let alone someone of another culture". At the same time, staff and students could try out and critically evaluate fieldwork strategies designed to be less intrusive of (migrant) Others.

Third, the means of ready departure back to a 'safe centre' might be subverted by conducting fieldwork about migrants living where geography students live. Fieldwork about the Other migrant 'at home' might just as readily include geography students who are part of a migration course who are themselves migrants. Alternatively, public transport might be used for (residential) fieldtrips instead of privately owned vans and buses which were

the primary mode of transport for all seven fieldtrips in this research.¹⁴² Fieldtrips on foot or by cycle could also be considered although the requirements of dis-abled students must be taken into account.

The ways in which migrant communities are "marked out and stereotyped" by geography students on the migration fieldtrips is "cultural imperialism" (I. Young, 1990a: 123).

Culturally imperialist groups project their own values, experience and perspective as normative and universal . . . The dominant groups need not notice their own group being at all; they occupy an unmarked, apparently universal position (I. Young, 1990a: 123).

Therein lies a fourth strategy. As part of the curriculum, geography students could be encouraged to examine themselves (as one example of an unmarked group to which they 'belong'). It is strategic to reveal the 'us' - geography students/geographers "as fragmented along lines of gender, national origin, class, political sympathies, race, and dozens of other categories and preferences" (Torgovnick, 1990: 4). Another way to challenge cultural imperialism in the construction of geographical knowledge may be to include in the curriculum the study of the unmarked but dominant group of so-called European migrants.

The final epistemological intervention that I discuss is one in which the privileging of the visual is de-emphasised so that all senses might be relied on in the process of gaining (geographical) knowledge. This is what I refer to (in Chapter 7) as embodied forms of knowing. The definition of what counts as geographical knowledge might be broadened to include information that students have already gained about people and places from other contexts such as holidays, surfing, popular culture, fiction and music. The means to gain

¹⁴² I participated in two fieldtrips that relied solely on public transport systems during the International Geographical Union Conference held in The Hague, The Netherlands in August, 1996.

geographical knowledge might also be broadened to include sound (see Smith, 1994 on soundscapes), smell, taste and touch (see Rodaway, 1994 on sensuous geographies). For example, students might form the shape of cusps on beaches rather than viewing them at a distance (on coastal fieldtrips) and they might take notes about the smells and tastes they experience on fieldtrips.

Sara Kindon (University of Victoria, Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand) has developed a local fieldwork exercise in which students are blindfolded and therefore rely on other senses for information about the urban places their guides take them to. Alternatively, the privileging of the visual could be subverted by conducting fieldwork at night. Coastal processes might feel different at night. Informal urban night-time fieldwork was part of the two migration fieldtrips and this component might be developed further. Night-time fieldwork might also subvert the anticipated pattern of day-time fieldwork followed by night-time work (such as writing and presentation) and/or re-creational activities (such as talking, games and drinking).¹⁴³

Embodied knowing is more than incorporating other senses into the practices of geography fieldwork, it is also about how the unofficial discourses of geography fieldtrips might be woven into the official discourses. It is about making explicit the implicit discourses of geography fieldtrips and how the social discourses of living and working together convey important (geographical) information about the (re)production of identities and spaces. Embodied knowing does not just occur on residential fieldtrips where students live and work together. Such knowing is available in education and home places, the local places, where students also live and work. Students might bring their 'local fieldwork' to their classrooms and lecture theatres rather than go away to conduct fieldwork. The book *Cool Places. An Introduction to Youth*

¹⁴³ It is important to acknowledge the gender politics of fieldwork at night. For example, see Valentine (1989) about 'The geography of women's fear'.

and Youth Cultures, edited by Gill Valentine and Tracey Skelton (1998) might serve as one 'map' (of many) for the potential parameters of local fieldwork.

4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is my hope that these theoretical, methodological and pedagogical concerns will come together in future research projects so that the social construction and (re)production of geography disciplinary identities and practices are consistently and critically evaluated. Ideally, 'we' (geography students/geographers) might learn to gaze inwards as well as outwards, and in this process learn to supplement 'the gaze' with other sensory modes that invite and enable embodied forms of knowing.

Myerson and Rydin (1996: 222) explain the necessity for epistemological patience in the face of "growing inquiries, which will never outgrow their 'open, never-ending and inconclusive character' (Lindblom, 1990: 35) . . . Every move creates new arguments, new differences always accommodate new agreements". This thesis is one such 'growing' inquiry, an inquiry that continues beyond the pages. I have attempted to 'lean' on the social and epistemological practices of seven residential fieldtrips, to (re)consider the inherent contradictions and dilemmas of geography disciplinary identities and practices. How well I have leaned on these practices is yet to unfold beyond the weight of these pages. Theoretical manoeuvres need to affect social and epistemological practices, and be critically reconsidered, if the feminist project of disrupting masculinist, ethnocentric and homophobic forms of knowledge is to benefit women and men.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. LETTER OF EXPLANATION

Dear geography student,

I am a geography teacher/researcher and at present I am carrying out research on geography fieldtrips for my Ph.D. I have discussed the research with; this letter is to inform you about the proposed research.

The research aims to explore what students learn on geography fieldtrips. This involves me participating in geography fieldtrips as a participant observer, and interviewing students and staff (with their consent) some months after the fieldtrips. Lessons and fieldtrips will proceed as usual. The names of students, the staff and the institution are confidential and will not be used in written reports.

All participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any point without needing to state any reason for their withdrawal and/or to request the return of any information that has been given to the researcher.

If you have any queries concerning the proposed research, please ring me,
Karen Nairn ph. 3388902 (days and evenings) or

Thanking you for your support,

Karen Nairn.

APPENDIX 2. CONSENT FORM

**Constructing Identities:
Gender, Geography and the Culture of Fieldtrips.**

CONSENT FORM

I,.....,
consent to participate in the doctoral research project "Constructing Identities:
Gender, Geography and the Culture of Fieldtrips."

I understand and accept that the following procedures will be followed:

- 1) my confidentiality will be protected through the following measures:
 - a) all names and any special characteristics that would lead to my identification will be changed.
 - b) the interview tapes will only be listened to by Karen Nairn and an assistant who will transcribe the tapes. The assistant will treat the tapes as confidential and will not discuss them with anyone other than Karen Nairn.
 - c) the interview tapes will not be released to anyone.
- 2) I will be given a copy of the typed transcript to keep and will be given the opportunity to indicate material that I do not wish to be used.
- 3) if I request access to publications from the research these will be supplied.
- 4) I am free to withdraw from the research project at any time.

I give my permission for Karen Nairn to use the information gained during the research for her PhD thesis, and any other published and unpublished papers.

Signed:.....(Participant)

.....(Date)

Signed:.....(Researcher)

.....(Date)

APPENDIX 3. PRE-FIELDTRIP EXERCISE

Name: _____

What is the first image or word(s) that spring to mind when you see the word *fieldtrip*.

Please describe in words...

Draw what you think geography student(s) do on a fieldtrip...

Have you been on any geography fieldtrips? Yes No

If yes, describe which ones and what you remember (please write on the other side of this page).

APPENDIX 4. POST-FIELDTRIP EVALUATION**Fieldtrip Evaluation.****Name:** _____

1) What did you think of this fieldtrip? Please explain...

2) What experiences on this fieldtrip 'stand out' for you at the moment?

3) Summarise what you have learnt on this fieldtrip...

4) Did the fieldtrip help you to learn more effectively than you would have in the classroom? Please explain...

5) If there was more time available on this fieldtrip, what other activities and/or topics would you like to see included?

6) What do you think of the cost of the fieldtrip?

7) Are you interested in continuing with geography? Please circle: yes/no and explain...

8) Have your fieldtrip experiences had any influence on this decision? Circle: yes/no and explain...

9) Other comments...

Thank you!

APPENDIX 5. POST-FIELDTRIP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions for post fieldtrip interviews:

- 1) what do you remember about the fieldtrip to?
- talk as things come to mind - what 'stands out' for you at this point in time?

- 2) what did you think of that fieldtrip?

- 3) summarise what you learnt on that fieldtrip...

- 4) what would you like to have learnt about?

- 5) do you think the fieldtrip was a good way to learn geography?

- 6) do you plan to continue with geography?

APPENDIX 6:**SAMPLE LETTER SENT WITH RETURNED TRANSCRIPTS**

Dear

Please find enclosed your copy of the transcription of the interview. I am sorry it has taken so long to send out but transcribing is a lengthier process than I had anticipated. I am really pleased with the richness of the material that is coming out of the interviews and would like to thank you for your part in that.

I have also enclosed a participant profile for you to fill in and a postage paid/self addressed envelope. I would really appreciate you filling in the profile and returning it to me as soon as possible. As it says on the participant profile form all information will be treated as confidential and all questions are optional.

If you would like to get in touch with me about any changes that you would like to make to your transcript and/or if you have any queries about the research, please ring me collect at my Christchurch phone number (days and evenings) or include any changes/queries that you have with your returned participant profile.

Thank you again for your participation in the research.

Yours sincerely,

Karen Nairn

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