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Margaret Botticchio
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CREATIVITY UNDER THE GLASS CEILING: A STUDY USING A CONTEXTUAL
THEORY OF CREATIVITY AS A FRAMEWORK

Margaret Botticchio

Dip Ed. (Art), M. Ed.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

Doctor of Education

in the Faculty of Education in the University of Wollongong

February 2006

CERTIFICATION

I, Margaret R. Botticchio, declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Education, in the Faculty of Education, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

M.R. Botticchio

28 February, 2006

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of a study of creativity under the glass ceiling was to make a contribution to a viable theory of creativity. Six case studies were constructed in which each of six women talked about an individual experience of creative work in a distinct domain. These data were not fully included in the early development of a contextual theory of creativity.

The initial proposal of a contextual theory of creativity was developed by asking questions of visibly creative people. Because women were not found in sufficient numbers at the top of many domains or professions, these important questions were not asked of them. When women's data appeared in the research they were not valued. In this way contextual theory failed to show a complete understanding of creativity phenomena and was not tested on diverse populations.

The six stories came from interviews with women who demonstrated a serious commitment to their work in different domains. The interviews and the analysis were structured on the contextual framework developed by Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner. The cases challenged the contextual view of creativity by using the contextual framework with women and by trying to determine whether the contextual theory could accommodate these and other different experiences of creativity. Analysis of the case studies showed that the women's experience of creativity was captured and explained by the contextual framework. The new dimensions of creativity discovered by this research extend the theory, enabling greater flexibility in further testing on other populations and situations. This study of creativity under the glass ceiling offers support for a social theory of creativity that is inclusive of varied experiences of creative enterprise. The theory, made inclusive by this process, provides a more comprehensive understanding of creative phenomena.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have always considered myself fortunate to have a career as a teacher of art. I regard this thesis as the culmination of my professional endeavour to find new and varied experiences within my career with regard to art and teaching. I am grateful to the University of Wollongong for the stimulating environment in which I have been able to apply myself to formal study, to complete this thesis and find new perspectives within my profession.

In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to my senior supervisor Dr Wilma Vialle who has been with me throughout this journey of personal discovery of ideas and realizations. Most of all I thank her for her care and guidance when she helped me turn these many realizations into a thesis. This thesis would not have been possible without her encouragement and constant support over the last decade. Throughout this research process I have come to respect and rely on the clarity of her vision and her command of language.

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To the six women participants who shared with me, sometimes painfully, their stories I am indebted. I thank those I chose to call Karla, Wanda, Willa, Anna, Connie, and Delice for the disclosure of their intimate thoughts and their private worlds. Above all else I am extremely fortunate to have collaborated with these women and to share with them an abiding interest in creativity. From the other women who participated in the pilot studies but did not appear in the final study I learnt a great deal and I thank them for this.

To my three boys and my husband I am grateful for their loving and enduring support. They all in their separate ways kept me going with the various phases of this study throughout a turbulent decade.

Finally, I wish to thank two people who have helped me with aspects of this task. Joan Hugget has given invaluable assistance with the writing and final presentation of the research. Anne Marie Armstrong as friend and colleague made my preliminary study of creativity in schools possible by giving me access to the students in her school of gifted performing artists.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to a study of creativity under the glass ceiling

This thesis is intended to make a contribution to the process of building a comprehensive theory of creativity. Currently, the state of creativity theory rests on two publications which jointly set out a contextual explanation of creative phenomena. In 1993 Howard Gardner published *Creating Minds: An Anatomy of Creativity* and in 1996 Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi published *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*, which together posit that a *capital C* kind of creativity or “creativity in its full blown sense” (Gardner, 1999, p.117) is the type that changes domains and culture and can only be studied in the interrelations of a system. The creativity system is “composed of three elements: a culture that contains symbolic rules, a person who brings novelty into the symbolic domain, and a field of experts who recognise and validate the innovation” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p.6).

Additionally, the two theorists have proposed a *small c* form of creativity that explains the personal creativity we may all employ and witness in our everyday lives in the behaviour of friends, family and colleagues. Personal creativity is not a category of creativity that brings change to a domain or culture. One cannot apply Gardner’s (1999) “acid test” to this form of creativity by asking if, “[i]n the wake of a putatively creative work, has the domain subsequently been changed?” (p.116).

The two creativity publications contain research that specifically investigates the rare incidence of genius-type capital C creativity. Gardner (1993) built posthumous case studies around the lives of seven “indisputable exemplars” (Preface, xiii) of creativity in the 20th Century. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) studied 91 living creators who “had to have made a difference to a major domain of culture” (p.12) and were still involved with the domain they worked in for more than fifty years.

Currently, the research that underpins a contextual theory of creativity has tested the theory on representative samples of rare capital C creators who are mostly men. Gardner (1993) constructed case studies of six men and one woman who displayed “redoubtable achievement” (Preface, xiii) at the beginning of the modern era. Csikszentmihalyi (1996)

studied the histories of contemporary people “who know about it [creativity] first hand” (p.1). Many of these histories range back to achievements half a century ago. From this sample 64 were men and 27 were women.

Subsequent to the two theorists’ proposal of a contextual framework for the study of human creativity there remains a need for extensive testing of the framework on different populations. Indeed, I have taken Gardner’s words as an invitation to extend the research base of context-centred creativity theory. “I believe we now have a method many researchers can employ to study creative individuals and eras, and I trust that in future works I and others can use this framework with enhanced authority and greater ease” (Gardner, 1993, preface xiv). This thesis aims to take up Gardner’s invitation by testing the contextual framework with women, a group I discovered has for a long time been absent from creativity inquiry.

The purpose of this study, then, was to develop case studies of a small number of creative women using contextual creativity theory as a framework. In developing the case studies, the researcher focused on the three sites (domain, field and individual person) and the interactions between those sites as the contexts of creativity. The case studies were analysed to see primarily if the women’s version of creativity experience was adequately explained by the theory in the context of each site.

A personal context for this study of creativity

This thesis represents both support for the ideas behind current creativity theory and a challenge to those ideas. Beyond formal considerations of creativity scholarship and theory, however, lies the experience of people like myself who have come to understand creativity as it plays out in our lives. Support for a contextual approach to creativity investigation and the challenges that are issued from this supportive stance are sustained by my own experiences as a student of visual arts and education, and later in my career as a mature age postgraduate dealing with the same two disciplines.

At the time I acquired tertiary training I attended two institutions. One was the National Arts School and the other the teachers college that trained specialist teachers of Art, Music and Physical Education. I spent most time over the four years at art school where I consolidated a lifelong commitment to artistic expression and acquired a powerful ethic for

originality in all that I undertook. As John Dewey in his 1935 publication *Art as Experience* expresses the ideal for artistic practice “[i]f the artist does not perfect a new vision in his process of doing, he acts mechanically and repeats some old model fixed like a blueprint in his mind” (p.50). I found this to be a powerful perspective that dominated other aspects of my training for a career. The artistic ideal fired my ambition to be a painter but placed my obligation to teach very low on my list of priorities. Upon graduation I realized that many of my fellow graduates also struggled with the dilemma of passionately wanting to paint, sculpt or set up a pottery yet having a contractual obligation to teach for a number of years.

Rationale for a study of creativity under the glass ceiling

During my postgraduate studies I tried to make a connection between the creativity I understood as artistic practice and the scholarship that a theory of creativity is structured upon. Many of the concepts that account for what we know about creativity I was unable to fit with my own experiences as an artist and as a teacher of Visual Arts. As I explored the literature and the accounts of research on the subject of creativity I encountered several of the problems that I think have made research of this phenomenon extremely difficult. At the time I thought that these difficulties explained why a comprehensive theory of creativity has not yet been achieved. The more difficulties I became aware of, however, the greater certainty I felt that understanding creativity is too important to leave the current state of creativity theory unchallenged.

What is creativity?

When I presented my proposal for this study to fellow students and academics at the university I invariably met with two responses. One was surprise at my choice of topic which left me wondering why understanding creativity should be so unusual. The second was that I was asked, “what is it precisely you are studying?” The demand to define creativity placed me in a quandary because it was extremely difficult to provide a definition that satisfied my research objective and my audience.

As I turned to the creativity literature I found that the issue of defining creativity has led to similar dilemmas, albeit on a grander scale. There appeared to be no consensus amongst those researching creativity as to what it was they were studying. According to

Sternberg (1988) what we now know about *The Nature of Creativity* is characterized by “differences which are as varied as creative expression itself” (p.1). In a more recent Sternberg (1999) publication, *The Handbook of Creativity*, the survey of creativity research it contained concluded that:

In summary, there is some consensus in the creativity research community concerning what to study: Creativity occurs when someone creates an original and useful product. However, there is a lack of consensus on such basic clarifying issues as whether creativity refers to a product, process, or person; whether creativity is personal or social; whether creativity is common or rare; whether creativity is domain-general or domain specific; and whether creativity is quantitative or qualitative. (Mayer, 1999, p.451)

All these differences made understanding what creativity is problematic and seemed to highlight the fact that creativity is not an easy subject to research. To do the research and find new ways of understanding creativity means one must develop new conceptual approaches and ask new questions of a broader sample of creative people.

Is it intelligence or is it creativity?

The last half-century has witnessed many advances in understanding how the human mind functions. Within psychology the spotlight has been placed on *intelligence* and the extent of publications on this topic attest to the value of understanding the human mind and its thought processes. Intelligence research is driven by how highly we value knowledge of this subject. Most of the research directed toward understanding intelligence is justified by a belief that higher levels of intelligence are achievable and desirable.

By contrast, when the human capacity for *creativity* has been placed under the spotlight the amount of research on creativity increased but the topic still lagged behind other mainstream subjects in psychology (Feldman, 1999; Sternberg & Lubart, 1996). Additionally, Sternberg and Lubart (1999) believe “few resources have been invested in the study of creativity, relative to its importance both to the field of psychology and the world” (p.12). When one compares the two subjects one is led to believe that creativity is of less interest and we value it less. If the notion of value drives intelligence research there is no

doubt that the topic of creativity has been insufficiently investigated. Perhaps this is so because the study of creativity has attempted to capture some of the prestige and vigour of intelligence investigation, but the interchange of these two concepts in research has secured some very doubtful conclusions.

The prevalence of the habit of interchanging notions of intelligence with concepts of creativity is evident in Sternberg and O'Hara's (1999) recording of different proposals used in creativity research as to the relationship between intelligence and creativity: "(1) Creativity is a subset of intelligence; (2) intelligence is a subset of creativity; (3) creativity and intelligence are overlapping sets; (4) creativity and intelligence are the same thing (coincident sets); and (5) creativity and intelligence bear no relation at all to each other (disjoint sets)" (p.251). According to this survey the view of this relationship that is most often used in research is that which sees intelligence and creativity overlapping.

One other feature of intelligence research is that it is focused on an individual person. Even though a research project may study a lot of people, the study is limited to the characteristics that we agree constitutes a person. Creativity research, because it has recently extended its focus and its limits from that prescribed by the single individual to properties of cultural communities, appears cumbersome, time-consuming as well as difficult. It is considerably easier to speculate about invisible processes within a person than it is to observe previously unnoticed functions spread across the whole of a society or culture. Additionally, when compared with intelligence research, a considerably smaller research base handicaps investigations of creativity. For those like myself who believe in the value of investigating creativity in its own right, the only way forward is to remove creativity investigation from the shadow of intelligence research.

Why are some domains valued more than others?

When in my post graduate studies gifted education became an area of special interest, I found many instances where artistic domains and the subjects tied to them were subtly devalued in order to promote academic disciplines. Eminent figures whose lives exemplify the successful conversion of gifts or talents in a domain into highly-rated achievements are the subjects of creativity investigations. Unfortunately, the majority of eminent participants are academically orientated and those representing the arts are not so well represented in creativity research. Consequently what achievers in music, visual arts and so on have to say about creative experience is undervalued.

What is it about artistic domains that have led to their devaluation? How many other types of domains unsuccessfully compete with academic domains? Why do we promote academic domains and ignore artistic and newly formed domains? These questions were on my mind when I considered whether traditional research techniques were responsible for this “unwanted hierarchy” (Gardner, 1999, p.83) among the domains I wanted to study. Is the research of non-academic domains too difficult or uncertain? Has research become complacent in this matter? If creativity research continues to only question those persons who have realized potential in academic domains it will become almost impossible to legitimate the many other domains that make up a culture.

Why so many men and so few women?

With my background in the visual arts, to some extent I have become used to the scant history of women as art practitioners and the disappearance of women from art history texts. Women like myself are now establishing careers in artistic professions and collectively we form a substantial proportion of those practising artistic disciplines. An Arts education is now accessible to women whereas it was not half a century ago. Young women are making career choices which include membership in a wide spread of artistic domains. There is still, however, a discrepancy between the number of men awarded art prizes and the number of women who receive these honours. Across the broad sweep of opportunities available to women today the numbers of women who receive the highest acclaim in most disciplines are significantly fewer than the men.

Most creativity scholars seem to agree that a genuine theory of creativity can only be tested on proven creative effort. This means that in most cases new ideas about creativity are tested on the work of men. Despite an avowed determination to be gender fair, research into creative matters has developed theory on primarily male data. What surprised me was that this practice still continues, is accepted and barely questioned. What kind of a creativity theory can we have if it is based on such deliberate discriminatory practice? It is certainly not an all-inclusive one.

What is the meaning of “successful creative achievement”?

Women do not appear to reach the high levels of success which are necessary to include them in studies of worthwhile creative achievement. This is a refrain which I found repeated throughout the creativity literature. I was left, in the wake of this excuse, to wonder if this signifies that women have diminished abilities or is this more about how success is achieved.

When Susan Mitchell in 1984 decided to document the lives of successful Australian women in her book *Tall Poppies*, it was a novel idea to align women with this favourite Australian metaphor. She found that too often the template used to measure success is undeniably a masculine one. How do women, if they are recognized as tall poppies, fare when a male template is used? Is a different model needed to ask women how they have become successful?

The notion of a masculine measure of success reappeared during several interviews I conducted with women and girls that became pilot studies for this thesis. Interviews with two women musicians particularly fascinated me because both women had worked at their music all their life but one had achieved national acclaim while the other was locally esteemed. I believe an illustration of how a male template favours a certain kind of success is provided in the two short interview excerpts that follow. Both women are in their late sixties, one is a composer, the other performs with her voice. They are both currently teaching music and speak here about their beginnings in music.

Pilot Study One

My earliest memories were of singing with my mother in church. My mother had a good voice but sang only mediocre Victorian church music. My father was a Protestant shopkeeper who insisted we go to church three times on Sundays. It is odd that in this strict Presbyterian family life, singing in church was a release for me. In everything else I did I felt restricted or limited in some way. Then, I was considered to be good enough, even without training to sing solos with the choir. I was not so comfortable though, performing like this made me feel different, nervous (Interview, 12.3.99).

Pilot Study Two

I suppose I started by fooling around on the piano. I used to lie under the grand piano and bang on the wood, or I would put the pedal down and try to make the loudest, most resonant sound by banging on the keys. Music was around me from day one. My father was a professional musician, a member of an orchestra and taught music at home. When I was about seven I begged piano lessons from my father who agreed to give me lessons on Sundays after church. I did take exams and progressed through the grades very quickly, though no one took this seriously because they believed I would be an artist like my mother.

Actually, I have interviewed a lot of composers on radio. About ninety eight percent of them started their lives as composers by learning from their mother. I have not come across one other male or female who learnt from their father. Perhaps Nigel Westlake was an exception, having a famous flautist as a father, but he also had a musical mother (Interview, 10.5.99).

These were the kinds of problems that I noticed were impeding the development of a comprehensive and inclusive theory of creativity. As I explored the topic of creativity and uncovered more impediments to understanding it, I became convinced that a better understanding of creativity is needed if we are to invest properly in our future. A contextual conceptualization of creativity offers us the means to understand the mechanisms by which our future is creatively shaped in the present. This involves a familiarity with research material on a larger scale than that of individual persons. In fact, the parameters of creativity research must stretch to encompass projects dealing with larger organisations of societies,

cultures, domains and fields. Furthermore, if we understand how domains and fields work with individuals we can appreciate the complexity and uniqueness of creative process and perhaps value this kind of process in a more constructive way.

As my commitment to research creativity was strengthened I started to frame a research questions that would guide this study. Before I could settle for one overarching question I had to resolve which of these problems were the most important issues for this research. Was this to be a study of creative women or was it to be an investigation that led to a more complete understanding of creativity? In favour of the latter I framed the following research question.

The Research Question

Do the current theories of creativity, which seem to have ignored women as a creative sample, provide a suitable framework for the analysis of creativity as it plays out in women's lives?

Organisation of this thesis

Unlike previous studies, this thesis provides an opportunity to look at creativity as though it has relevance for all of our lives. Along with Csikszentmihalyi (1996) I believe that "creativity is a central source of meaning in our lives"(p.1). When we are creative we live our life to the fullest extent at the same time as we contribute to the larger cultures we belong to. I regard the stories of creative experience I have collected, told by women who are categorized by current theory as ordinary, to be the true achievement of this thesis. The organisation of the chapters reflects this view.

Chapter One provides an overview of creativity investigation and some of the problems attached to the study creativity phenomenon. Chapter Two examines the current state of creativity theory. Chapter Three follows arguments for the inclusion of women in a study of creativity, in particular how a feminist and a narrative approach would contribute to the efficacy of this project. The methodology used and the manner in which this study has been conducted is presented in Chapter Four. Chapters five to ten contain the women's stories of creative experience and they are ordered in the following sequence.

Chapter Five - Karla's story

Chapter Six - Wanda's story

Chapter Seven - Willa's Story

Chapter Eight - Anna's Story

Chapter Nine - Connie's Story

Chapter Ten - Delice's Story

This thesis concludes with Chapter Eleven which interprets all the stories in relation to the research question.

CHAPTER TWO

Background to a contextual theory of creativity

The primary objective of this thesis is to advance understanding of creative phenomena. Certainly over the past fifty years, knowledge of creativity has increased as a result of predominantly quantitative research activity which saw researchers asking pertinent questions of the data they had acquired. It is evident in the reports and evaluations of this research that progress was marked by stages where answers appeared not to be answers at all but simply the means of prompting the proposal of new questions. In this fashion creativity research has extended its exclusive focus on individuals capable of creating novelty to a consideration of “communities that may or may not nurture genius” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999, p.333).

By taking up the contextual notion of creativity proposed by Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner, this thesis hopes to participate in a process of building a comprehensive and inclusive theory of creativity. This chapter outlines the historical and critical developments that underpin these recent initiatives in creativity conceptualization. Of particular interest are those lines of enquiry that have successfully culminated in multiple proposals of a contextual theory of creativity. The model of contextual theory provided by Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner is described and examined in this chapter with a view to using it as a framework for this study. First, the model is outlined as a whole functioning system, then each of the three contexts of creativity are examined in the light of their framework function.

Underpinnings of Creativity Theory

Generally it is the opinion of the literature that significant investigations of creativity have occurred over the past fifty years (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Gardner, 1993; Sternberg, 1999). These studies were loosely assembled under the banner of psychology. Some would claim that psychometric studies occurred earlier (Plucker & Renzulli, 1999) and others note that a history to this period of intense study of creativity was evident two thousand years earlier (Albert & Runco, 1999). Collectively, these investigations form a distinctly western tradition which is different from an eastern conceptualization of creativity but is nonetheless considered a positive construct (Lubart, 1999).

A recent review of creativity research suggests that the three most widely-used approaches today have a quantitative orientation and are described as psychometric, experimental and biographical (Mayer, 1999). Mayer (1999) names three other approaches he lists as biological, computational and contextual which are not as well developed but he acknowledges that they may constitute potentially important approaches for the future. The volume of work making up the creativity literature is small when compared with other investigations of psychological phenomena (Feist & Runco, 1993; Guilford, 1950). Creativity was until fairly recently a marginal research area for psychology (Sternberg & Lubart, 1999).

Can creativity be measured?

The role of inspiring instigator of creativity research activity was given to J. P. Guilford following his address to the American Psychology Association (APA) in 1950. Piirto (1992) reports two challenges delivered to this assembly. First, Guilford proposed a “divergent production” which differed from normal or “convergent” ways of thinking. This was described as closely allied to notions of creativity. Secondly, Guilford called for a greater understanding of all facets of this potentially valuable human trait and asked for a commitment to focused research efforts which would find ways of identifying and enhancing this potential in children.

Subsequent research followed the concept of divergent or original production and was driven by questions of measurement and science. A psychometric approach was initially applied to intelligence testing and was regarded as a scientific achievement for psychology (Brown & Herrnstein, 1976) but the psychometric study of creativity did not successfully relate high scores with socially prized creations. The abilities measured did not correlate with the lengthy development of skills and the risk-taking characteristic of well-known creatives (Policastro & Gardner, 1999). Hans Eysenck (1994), an exponent of this approach, remarked that at the start, “faults, errors, and disputations discovered in our discussion of the measurement of creativity are not peculiar to psychology; they are universal in science, and most noticeable of course in the early days of development of any science” (p.199). Eysenck does not clarify how these faults might contribute to a mature theory of creativity.

The quest to quantify creativity produced studies which aided in the understanding of the phenomenon, such as those conducted by Getzels and Jackson (1962), Guilford (1967), Torrance (1967) and by Wallach and Kogan (1965). Tests like the *Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking* used these findings as a theoretic platform for their successful marketing in schools and in the wider community. The literature also documents the criticism which the testing of intelligence (Gould, 1981) and creativity attracted. Extraneous factors such as coaching may account for different levels of divergent thinking and hence influence performance. Creativity tests have been found to typically predict quantity when often it is quality of performance that depicts originality. However, some have found that a certain quantity of divergent thinking does influence quality of performance (Campbell, 1960; Heccevar, 1981). Simonton (1988) found this to be so in science and the arts. Overall there is little evidence to support the claim that divergent thinking tests actually predict creative production (Brown, 1989; Cattell, 1971, Wallach; 1970). Barron and Harrington (1981) concluded that creativity research did not prove satisfactorily that divergent testing actually measured creative thinking, and further, they did not support the divergent-convergent dichotomy at all.

Creativity testing, despite its affinity with science, appears to be the invention of a narrow, singular perspective. Critics look to the measurements themselves as trivial and certainly question whether what is being measured is creativity at all (Sternberg, 1986). Others agree that real-world tasks would provide a comparably credible measurement (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Eysenck, 1994; Gardner, 1993). Many creativity tests break up the creative potential they seek into sub-qualities like fluency, flexibility, originality and elaboration. By so doing, tests fail to capture all that an expanded concept of creativity might allow (Amabile, 1983). What is indicated after repeated testing is merely an improvement of the scores. What is learnt does not generalize to other situations nor does it last. In fact, test takers are forced into giving banal, rambling and inaccurate responses, which show originality degenerating into a kind of conformity required of them by the test (Cromptley, 1972). Sternberg and Lubart (1999) found the measurement of creativity so fraught with difficulties that many investigators avoided the “measurement quagmire” (p. 7) by researching less problematic questions.

Can creativity be improved?

Creativity research has addressed the related questions as to whether creative levels can be improved and what devices might achieve this. The resulting forms of creativity-enhancing programs are the ones we see used in a wide spread of disciplines today. They accompanied the development of testing procedures; both progressed as a popular and successful outcome for creativity research but were also subjected to critical scrutiny. They are popular in schools and in the business community where it is believed they are effective motivational tools for maximising human creative potential.

Generally critics claim these programs have been developed without a “viable theory base” (Clark, 1992, p.204) and in the absence of any empirical evidence (Sternberg, 1988). Critics label the developers of these programs as “pragmatists” because the commercial success of these programs makes other forms of research appear less effective. Creativity-enhancing programs appear to have taken over the whole field of creativity research. The literature refers to Osborn (1953) and his technique of brainstorming; Gordon (1961) with “Synectics”; Edward De Bono (1971, 1985, 1992) who has had considerable commercial success; and, more recently, Von Oech (1986) with his alternate role-playing technique. Some claim that as a group they “have been concerned primarily with developing creativity, secondarily with understanding it, but almost not at all with testing the validity of their ideas about it” (Sternberg & Lubart, 1999, p. 5).

It is my contention that any worthwhile theory of creativity must have relevance for real people and be applicable to real life learning situations. The literature reports the popularity in schools of creativity tests and creativity-enhancing programs (Eisner, 1990) and particularly claims that these programs meet the needs of gifted students (Treffinger, 1980). It is of concern that creativity-enhancing programs and tests are used in schools despite the literature reports of discriminatory bias inherent in some programs across gender, race, economic status and belief systems (Baldwin, 1984; Kozol, 1991; Rimm, 1986). Schools appeared to believe that by using a creativity test or one of these programs they are doing all they can to promote high levels of creativity in selected children (Cohen, 1992). It is not surprising, then, that Sternberg and Lubart (1991) draw our attention to a:

...conundrum in our society...and others concerning the relationship between schooling and the development of creativity in children. Whereas the conventional

wisdom accepts that schooling fosters the development of intelligence, it seems also to accept, or at least speculate that schooling may do at least as much to undermine creativity as to foster it. (p.i)

Cross (1994) has suggested that creativity research in educational settings has been largely atheoretical and consequently the impact of new research has not been integrated into educational practice.

Is creativity rare or common?

Initially, creativity inquiry assumed that the only unquestionable source of creativity data was to be found in the lives and works of genius level or eminently creative individuals. Historians of science point to discoveries or inventions as the benchmarks of progress along with an accompanying “heroic model” of the inventor as an isolated individual of superior power (Schaffer, 1994, p.13). Information about this type of person was exceedingly rare in any given population. Proof of creativity was difficult to find and to collect and as most of these kinds of data were gathered posthumously, it was subject to great distortion imposed by those who would “make heroes” of great men.

Superficially, testing ordinary populations for creative potential solved methodological problems of access to a scarcity of suitable genius-level subjects. Creativity testing was a convenient way of conducting research on an unlimited sample. Such tests were found to be easy to administer and to score. Testing on this scale also allowed a comparison of different abilities on a standardised scale. However, the accompanying assumption that results derived from non-eminant data would correspond to the notion of creativity derived from eminent individuals, proved as questionable as the previous transfer of eminent data to normal populations. The research carried out in the last fifty years reflects this eminent / non-eminant dichotomy and creativity scholarship is divided into these distinctly separate camps.

Some dispute the non-eminant concept (Cattell, 1963; Simonton, 1994, 1988) while others claim that essentially ordinary processes yield extraordinary productivity (Weisberg, 1986, 1993). Gardner’s *Anatomy of Creativity* has been constructed on a study of seven geniuses of the modern era. At the time Gardner compiled these profiles of greatness all the subjects but one were dead and universally acclaimed as successful, eminent individuals in

their domain of expertise at a time in which the world was noticeably and creatively reshaped. Gardner (1993) closely followed the eminence model because he considered it the least contentious; he refers to this approach as “unambiguous” creativity (p.22).

When Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi (1996) proposed taking creativity data from living creators he broke with Gardner’s notion that undisputed eminence provides the sole criterion for collecting creativity data. His three conditions for selection - to have changed a domain or culture, to be over sixty years old and to still be active in that domain - make his sample and the results of his study less dependent on the traditional eminent model. This thesis proposes a further break with the eminent tradition by gathering data from non-eminent women in order to make creativity theory relevant to living populations and to future generations, and to allow a unique comparison to be made of eminent and non-eminent data.

What is Creativity?

Initial conceptualizations of creativity asked if creativity was a property of an environment, of a person, of a process or a quality of the product itself. Researchers tended to focus on one of these areas so that any overall theory of creativity needed to be constructed from an assemblage of all parts. Simonton, for instance, in developing a historiometric methodology used Stein’s (1963) labels of product, process, person and place. Simonton did change the last and, until recently most neglected area, to persuasion because of the powerful social negotiation that he found taking place in historical settings. Despite efforts to label parts and to map out the topic, definitions formed isolated pictures of creative enterprise.

It is not surprising to find in the literature a lack of consensus amongst researchers as to what comprises creativity. The extraordinary resistance this phenomenon presents to attempts to define it was noted by Clark (1983), Rothenberg and Hausman (1976) and Torrance (1988). In practical applications, such as gifted education, this became a sizable problem of definitional inconsistency (Gagné, 1985). In Csikszentmihalyi’s (1996) opinion this definitional problem, whether it is expressed as the nature of creativity or as a lack of agreement as to what it is, merely reflects the very great complexity exhibited by the phenomenon.

In 1988 and again in 1999, Robert Sternberg edited books in which major researchers in the field of creativity reported on their progress. Whereas the first book revealed a diversity of approaches, methodologies and definitions, the reporting ten years later claimed that most contributors, despite diverse methodologies, had formed a consensus regarding what they were studying. An overarching definition of creativity seemed to favour two key elements: a creative idea or product must be new; and it must be given value according to some external criteria. This was expressed by contributors in two word combinations such as originality and usefulness (Mayer, 1999); novelty and value (Gruber & Wallace, 1999); originality and appropriateness (Martindale, 1999); and other like combinations.

An important conceptual advance

At the time of newfound clarity amongst those researching creativity, a contributing factor was the proposal of the current contextual theory by Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner. An important advance was made when Csikszentmihalyi proposed that the focus of creativity research move from “what” creativity might be to “where” creativity might be found. The reframing of fundamental creativity questions altered the scope of creativity inquiry and above all allowed for a more unified theory.

While an unavoidable emphasis on the individual person’s contribution to creative enterprise continues, Csikszentmihalyi has given studies like this one a foundation for including aspects beyond the single person. One might say that although creativity enquiry still emphasises the person’s contribution, it now, as Gardner (1993) claims, centres on “individuals deemed creative by their community” (p. 23).

Howard Gardner’s (1993) definition of a creative person also dispels the popular but limiting notion that creativity is invested in a single item or person at a particular point in time. He describes an “interactive dialectic” and defines it in terms of the lively processes that occur between the sites of a creative system (individual, domain and field). The profile Gardner (1993) constructs of an exemplary creative individual of the modern era is one who “regularly solves problems, fashions products, or defines new questions in a domain in a way that is initially considered novel but that ultimately becomes accepted in a particular cultural setting” (p.35).

Gardner's (1993) *Anatomy of Creativity* is grounded in his practical research experience which first studied intelligence and then moved on to creativity. His early work on intelligence culminated in a proposal of multiple intelligences (MI) which set a standard for intelligence research in regard to obtaining the widest possible viewpoint to accommodate the multidimensional nature of phenomena like intelligence and creativity. When he moved on to creativity investigation he applied the same pluralist viewpoint and effectively unravelled the tangle caused by the practice of interchanging the constructs of intelligence and creativity. By separating the two constructs, Gardner (1993) states that "creativity is not the same as intelligence" and explores the notion that "an individual may be far more creative than he or she is intelligent" (p.20).

Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's conceptualization of creativity as an "interactive system" substantiates Gardner's definition. Feldman, Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner (1994) elaborated on a model originally conceived by Csikszentmihalyi in 1988 which he named the Domain, Individual, Field Interaction Framework (DIFI). This framework is graphically represented in the form of a "creativity triangle" in Gardner (1993) and Csikszentmihalyi (1999) publications (see Figure 2.1).

The Individual refers to the creative person who possesses a distinct genetic makeup, family background, cognitive processes, personality, motivational and social aspects of a creator's life.

The Domain refers to creativity manifest in specific domains or disciplines. A domain represents the most current level of knowledge and practice in a discipline that a creator chooses to work in. A domain features certain symbolic systems and activities that are particular to it. The domain is governed by its own rules, regulations and the status of paradigms which may change over a creator's lifetime

The Field refers to social aspects of making a creative contribution. A field is mostly made up of experts who are sanctioned to evaluate a creative contribution. Creativity is influenced by mentors, rivals and followers (field members). A particular field functions in relation to the political climate and organizational aspects of domains.

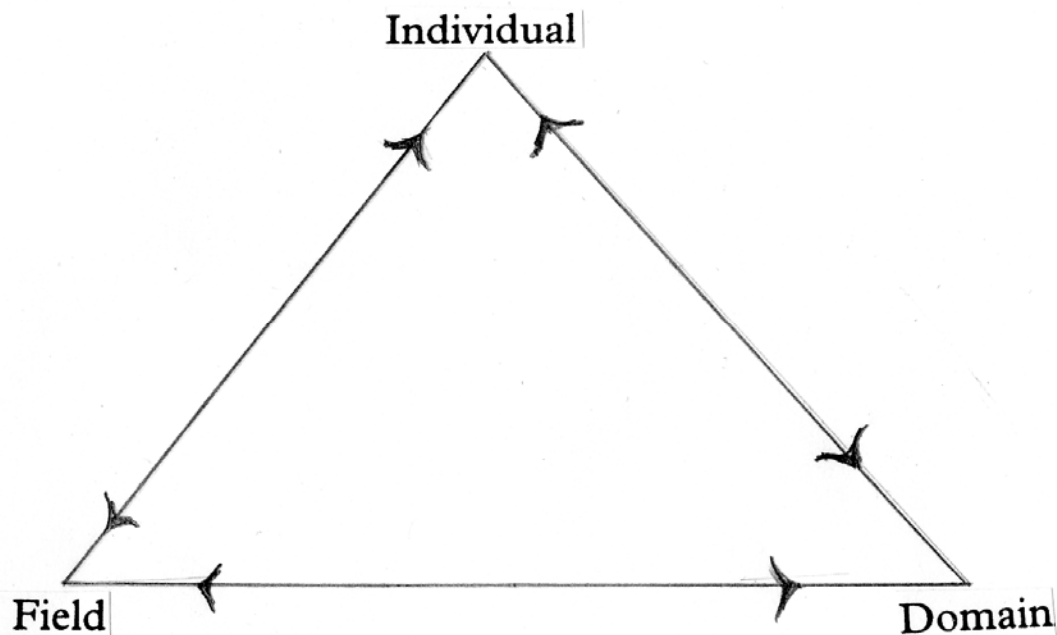


Figure 2.1 The creativity dynamic presented graphically

The creativity triangle reproduced in Figure 2.1 explains diagrammatically that creativity can only be observed in the interrelations of a system made up of three parts. Each part is designated one of the three points of a triangle with two-way interactions between these points. One site is the *individual* of varying ability or talent levels that is engaged in work in a particular domain. Another site is the *domain* which, at any given time, features its own rules, structures and practices. Within domains, individuals are assimilated according to domain rules within which they are expected to operate. The last part of this process occurs when individuals address their work to the *field*, which, in turn, examines the various products that come to its attention. Only a few of these works might be deemed worthy of attention and, of these, few are judged creative. Creative works refashion the domain so that by the time the next generation works in the domain it is different from that experienced by the previous generation.

I have argued that the creativity triangle represents dynamic activity which assumes a circular movement in addition to the interactions between the various points of the triangle. In Figure 2.2 I show a steady progression that starts with the individual site where preparations for new ideas are made. The progression gathers momentum when new ideas, not completely

formulated, are tested and refined in the domain. Finally, the progression in respect of one innovation reaches an end point when novelty seeks acceptance at the field site. Once the cycle is complete the momentum builds again in order to pass the domain and field changes on to the next generation of innovators. The spiralling movement represented by successive cycles of innovation can be examined to find the subsequent changes that occur at each site.

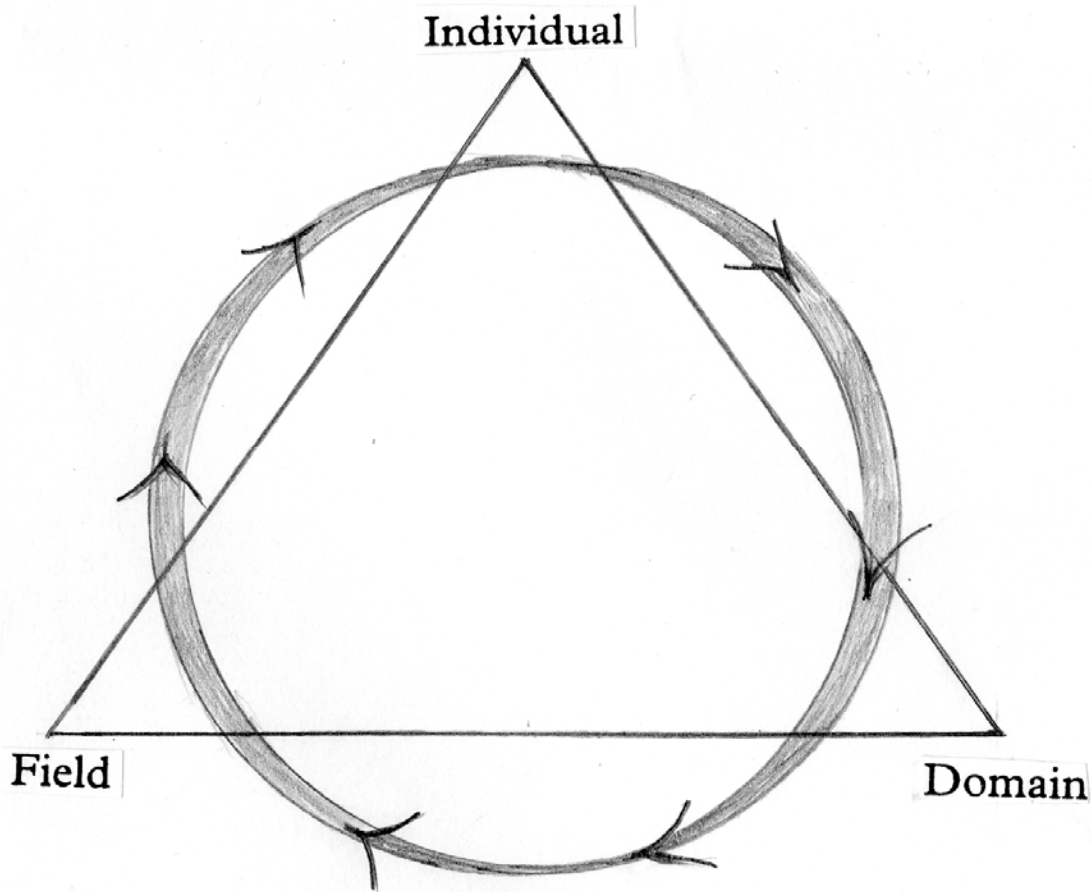


Figure 2.2 The creativity dynamic also indicates a circular momentum

In addition to the above, the two theorists assume two levels of creative activity. The first and highest level is designated a “capital C” because it involves what is considered the highest form of creativity, the kind that changes or alters in some way the domain in which the activity is conducted. Creators historically referred to as “geniuses” have performed acts of capital C creativity. Changes that result from discoveries of such magnitude impact on our lives and shape and reshape our future. What we call progress is propelled by inventions that bring about dramatic cultural change. Creativity with a capital C places an awesome

responsibility upon the shoulders of those who would understand this world shaping process. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) believes that “while we cannot foresee the eventual results of creativity, at least we can try and understand better what this force is and how it works. Because for better or for worse, our future is now closely tied to human creativity” (p.6).

The second level of creativity might be said to be found at the bottom of any scale of creativity. It is not the kind of creativity that attracts research attention and, when it does, it merely confuses the results because the two levels have been used interchangeably (Gruber & Davis, 1988). A personal form is referred to as creativity with a “little c” but everyone possesses it and one must be mindful of the possibility that the big impact kind of creativity at the top of the scale may start somewhere here at this bottom level.

This investigation is centred firmly on the first level of creativity but includes what the two theorists describe as personal creativity. Although the literature is scornful of personal creativity it is said it should be encouraged because it can be an important ingredient of everyday life, and small c creativity is the means by which individuals defy the *Culture of Conformity* (Sternberg & Lubart, 1995).

Where is creativity?

In summary, the “what” question identified isolated parts of a broad notion of creativity. The “where” question allows us to see all these parts set in motion as they are directed by creative purpose. Whereas past research studied parts of the creative enterprise in isolation or, in some cases, where only one part was considered necessary to an investigation current studies try to capture the whole of it. In addition, creativity research now tries to preserve the lively interactions that are thought to occur between parts. We have seen how principles of scientific investigation, including the notion of the “controlled experiment”, when applied to social behaviour, render creative phenomena inanimate or, at best, artificial. The challenge for this thesis is to use methods that preserve the lively qualities of a dynamic system in operation. Any picture of creativity this thesis presents must include some indication of the dynamics within domain, field and individual sites and how the dynamics of each site mesh to create favourable or unfavourable conditions for creativity.

Creative persons within a system: A site for the individual

A system's view of creativity changes the way we see the individual person's role in creative enterprise. Gardner (1993), for example, saw the subjects in his study displaying "fruitful asynchrony" (p.40). He claims that the individual site must mesh perfectly with the other sites in the creativity triangle to form "pure synchrony", however, his data show creativity is not founded on such a perfect fit between the nodes of the creativity triangle. Gardner (1993) believes "there exist certain kinds of asynchrony within or across these nodes" (p.40) that enhance the prospect of an individual contributing to a creative act. Capital C creators who make a misfit fruitful for their particular form of creativity exploit the state of asynchrony.

Csikszentmihalyi (1999), on the other hand, regards the individual as a person who "in order to function well within the creative system, must internalize the rules of the domain and the opinions of the field" (p. 332). A creative person must master a domain before a creative breakthrough (discovery) is made (Feldman, 1988) and that person must possess the skills to successfully negotiate with the field in which he or she works (Schaffer, 1994). As Csikszentmihalyi (1996) points out, the personality of a young person when starting out in a career must inevitably adapt to a domain and meet the conditions of a particular field which vary at different times and from one domain to another. It is possible that after these confrontations there is very little left of a person's original personality. Csikszentmihalyi asks what kind of person a creative individual becomes in their pursuit of creativity.

One might well ask how a person internalizes an entire system in the course of a creative career. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) allows Jacob Rainbow, the prolific inventor and prominent member of the field at the National Patent Office, to describe in his own words how he sees this process occurring.

So you need three things to be an original thinker. First you have to have a tremendous amount of information - a big database if you like to be fancy....So you are brought up in an atmosphere where you store a lot of information. Then you have to have the kind of memory that you need for the kind of things you want to do. And you get better and better and better by doing the things you do well, and eventually you become either a great tennis player or a good inventor or whatever, because you tend to do those things which you do well and the more you do, the easier it gets, and the easier it gets, the better you do it, and eventually you become

very one-sided but you're very good at it and you're lousy at everything else because you don't do it well. This is what engineers call positive feedback. The small differences at the beginning of life become enormous differences by the time you've done it for 40, 50, 80 years as I've done it....Then you have to be willing to pull the ideas, because you're interested. Now, some people could do it but they don't bother...but there are people like myself who like to do it. It's fun to come up with an idea, and if nobody wants it, I don't give a damn. It's just fun to come up with something strange and different....And then you must have the ability to get rid of the trash which you think of. You cannot think only of good ideas, or write only beautiful music. You must think of a lot of music, a lot of ideas, a lot of poetry, a lot of whatever. And if you are good, you must be able to throw out the junk immediately without even saying it....And by the way, if you don't know if they're good or bad, then you send them to the Bureau of Standards, National Institute of Standards, where I work, and we evaluate them. And we throw them out. (pp. 48-49)

This thesis considers one non-negotiable aspect of the individual site to be crucial to this study of the contexts of women's creativity. An individual attempting creativity of any kind is connected to a domain and therefore related to the field that services that domain. Gardner (1993) explains the "domain connection" in the following:

I emphasize that all creative work occurs in one or more domains. Individuals are not creative (or noncreative) in general; they are creative in particular domains of accomplishment, and require the achievement of expertise in these domains before they can execute significant creative work. (p.145)

In ordinary life, young people make their first and most decisive domain connection when they choose the area or discipline in which they will build a career. This thesis considers a person's entering and maintaining a place in a domain a key feature of any creative life. How domain connections are made in different domains is a research question worthy of a more detailed investigation than has hitherto been undertaken. According to the two theorists, individuals will not make a choice between domains they have not previously been exposed to, nor will they connect with a non-existent domain. No matter how great a

person's creative talent is perceived to be, an individual will not contribute to a domain unless the rules of that domain are mastered. Furthermore, individuals cannot make a difference to any domain in the absence of a field that would recognise and legitimate their contribution.

For the majority, connecting with a domain is a career choice and one which will determine future income. Csikszentmihalyi (1996), however, found that creative people make this choice because "they have a powerful and overriding calling to do so" (p.37). Prominent creators from different domains have said to him that the experience of acting within the rules of their chosen domain is so rewarding that they would keep doing what they do for its own sake.

A particular domain connection is made on the strength of behaviours one is seen to be good at. What attracts an individual to a certain domain depends on what behaviours are called for and the symbolic forms used in that domain. From available biographic data, Gardner (1999) has listed the kinds of behaviours creative people engage in across domains that result in creative production. He supports Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi's (1976) demonstration that creative individuals find new problems as well as solving established problems. Others engage in theory-building when they construct a set of concepts that shed a new light on existing data. The creation of a permanent work in a symbolic system can be constructed, performed, exhibited and evaluated as an expression of a problem. This would include a variety of forms such as a novel, a poem, a painting or a musical symphony. An extension of this form would be the performance of a ritualized work that holds a unique or distinctive quality only evident in the performance. Gardner has also introduced the high-stakes performance of individuals who, by their public actions, bring about political or social change. In the process of bringing about change, these individuals take enormous risks with their spontaneous reaction to an unpredictable audience. Gardner adds to his list the proviso that new forms may be added as they are discovered.

Despite Gardner's (1993) caution as to making premature generalizations about any phenomenon defined in terms of originality, the systems model does divide the individual person into categories and makes some tentative generalizations about the patterns found in

each area. For example, because of his interest in developmental and cognitive aspects of human psychology, Gardner (1993) divides the individual site into four categories. One category pertains to *Cognitive Issues* and another *Personality and Motivational Issues*. A third category deals with *Social-Psychological Issues* and the last *Life Patterns*. Gardner admits there is an emphasis in his 1993 study on cognitive issues. Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) publication refers to the individual site as *The Lives* and divides this section into *The Early Years*, *The Later Years* and *Creative Aging*. In my opinion most other studies, including those by the two theorists, have been preoccupied with cognitive aspects of the person. This thesis does not accept the dominance of intellect at the individual site. Although I use the above examples as a framework for this study I try to spread the focus onto those other developmental, social and psychological aspects of the person.

According to Gardner, generalizations about the traits creative persons display trivialize the person's role. The traditional view sees the creative person as possessing a set of traits - cognitive, personality, motivational, social and so on - that can be applied across domains and regardless of the kind of expertise required by specific domains. Csikszentmihalyi (1999) claims "the systems model makes it possible to see the contributions of the person to the creative process in a theoretically coherent way" (p.327). Before a creative individual can introduce a new variation he or she must have access to a domain and must want to perform according to its rules. During the period of immersion in a domain, cognitive and personality features of the individual interact with the states of the domain and field at that time. Persons who innovate tend to have personality traits that favour breaking rules and early experiences that make them want to do so. They are likely to have a cognitive style that includes divergent thinking skills. They also have the ability to convince the field about the virtue of the novelty produced. This, of course, would depend upon their access to the field, their network of contacts, the ability to express oneself and to be taken seriously.

How specific patterns of cognition, personality and motivation develop in some people and not in others are questions the research to date has not made clear. Some traits may be determined by a person's genetic makeup while other traits may be controlled by the developing person. A contextual perspective adds to the list traits which are open to social and cultural influence. In the matter of traits characteristic of creative persons,

Csikszentmihalyi (1999) believes that “the presence of such traits is only likely to make a person more creative if the conjunction with the other elements of the system - the field and the domain - happens to be propitious” (p.332).

It is the intention of this thesis to use as a guiding framework the models of creative persons provided by Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner when the circumstances of women who would be creative are presented for examination. The selection of candidates to whom these models apply will not therefore be determined by a display of characteristic behaviours or particular qualities of mind. Candidature will be determined, as the systems model suggests, on an individual’s activity in a specific domain and related field.

Gardner (1994) has argued the following:

If one wants to understand phenomena of creativity, one cannot simply focus on the individual - his brain, her personality, their motivations. Instead, one must broaden one’s focus to include a study of the area in which that creative individual works and the procedures by which judgments of originality and quality are rendered.
(p.146)

This thesis recognises that an expanded notion of the individual site places greater emphasis on features that previously were unimportant. Greater detail of personal features (insights and work habits, learning style, personal background, childhood experiences and family) enables a full consideration of the person’s negotiations with domain and field. For instance, Csikszentmihalyi (1999) found that the make-up of families provides a certain “cultural capital” (p.328) for creative enterprise. Parental expectations, even the non-academic kinds, have a bearing upon the fostering of creativity. As members of a particular ethnic group, a family’s values and the educational opportunities available to members of that group direct the child toward domains the family favours. Ethnic groups differ on the importance they place on different domains and consequently opportunities are presented to children within the family that are unavailable to children of other ethnic backgrounds.

In some domains, a career is determined by whether or not a family has the necessary resources, time and energy to initiate creative processes as early as the first year of life. Much also depends on the family's location; if a family is situated close by a centre where experts in a particular field congregate, a creative career is certain to progress to a point beyond the family's influence. The family looks to institutions like universities, museums or conservatoriums, depending on the domain they are fostering a career in, to make a connection with suitable experts. Many potential creators await the training only offered by experts active at the top levels of a domain. Gardner (1993) found that parents were prepared to move to the location considered the centre of a particular domain in order to promote their child's career.

The cultural context of discovery: at the domain site

A contextual approach to the investigation of creativity means changing a well-established pattern of research whereby concern for the individual person is paramount. I have already explained how, in this study, the individual has come to be regarded as an environment rather than the perpetrator of an original act. The other two environments of domain and field require equal concern. Specific knowledge of domain and field formations, the influence they hold and the restrictions they apply to creative production are therefore fundamental concerns for this thesis.

Domain and field sites can be viewed as systems within larger systems (Gruber & Wallace, 1999). In Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) view, the environment of creativity has two salient aspects, a cultural or symbolic aspect which is structured on domains, and a social aspect that encompasses the functions of the field. How these larger organisations contribute to the possibility of creativity is also of interest in this thesis. How each of these sites gives validation to the creative act within the larger cultural and social systems falls within the parameters of this study.

Before giving a brief outline of the distinct functions of domains and fields, some notice is due to the literature's frequent association of the creativity system with that of the system of human evolution (Gruber & Davis, 1988; Martindale, 1986). According to

Csikszentmihalyi (1999), the systems model of creativity is analogous to the model used to explain the process of human evolution. The following excerpt sheds some light on the evolutionary nature of culture.

Evolution occurs when an individual organism produces a variation which is selected by the environment and transmitted to the next generation (see for example Campbell, 1976; Csikszentmihalyi, 1993; Mayr, 1982). The variation that occurs at the individual level corresponds to the contribution that a person makes to creativity; the selection is the contribution of the field, and the transmission is the contribution of the domain to the creative process (cf. Simonton, 1988; Martindale, 1989). Thus creativity can be seen as a special case of evolution; specifically, it is to cultural evolution as the mutation, selection, and transmission of genetic variation is to biological evolution. In biological evolution it makes no sense to say that a beneficial step was the result of a particular genetic mutation alone, without taking into account environmental conditions....The same considerations apply to creativity when the latter is seen as the form that evolution takes at the cultural level: To be creative, a variation has to be adapted to its social environment, and it has to be capable of being passed on through time...whereas genetic instructions are transmitted in the chemical codes that we inherit on our chromosomes, the instructions contained in memes are transmitted through learning. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999, p. 316)

The analogy above provides a clear picture of the development of creative activity within the cultural sphere over time. It is also useful to visualize the larger units of culture as made up of “systems of interrelated domains” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999, p.316). Memes, as suggested by Dawkins (1976), are the units of imitation that cultures are built upon. Memes are similar to genes in that they carry instruction for action. Most often memes are learnt and transferred within and across domains without change because it is culturally important to preserve knowledge and understandings. When creativity occurs, it represents a change in how and what is to be imitated. Creativity does not occur directly in a culture, but in a domain; it will always involve a change in a symbolic system but when this change occurs it will affect the thoughts and feelings of the people who make up that culture. A change in one

domain will also affect other associated domains and the collective weight of those changes will influence to a lesser or minor degree the culture at large. The systems view of creativity presupposes a community of people who share ways of thinking and acting, who learn from each other and who imitate each other's actions. Certain rules govern activity in each domain and creativity will only occur according to the rules specified by each domain.

A simple comparison of cultures, past and present, reveals how differently-structured cultures influence the achievement of creativity. Cultures differ in the way that memes are stored; so past cultures with simple structures have transferred memes orally, from one person to another. The tradition of oral story-telling was strictly observed for centuries so that vital information was not lost. A culture with the aim of preserving knowledge in this way exercises a tight control over the transmission of memes and consequently because the culture resists change it will also discourage the production of novelty. The present rapid development of information technologies, and the increase in domains that make up culture, make storing and transmitting new ideas complex and instantaneous. The rate at which novelty is accepted today is greater than when cultures with simple structures were able to exercise control over a few new memes.

Similarly, the accessibility of information within a culture may determine the rate at which potentially creative individuals can make a creative contribution. Historically the ability to control memes has represented power. To gain power, cultures developed protective boundaries around technical knowledge, as for example medieval guilds kept the skills of their crafts secret. Latin is used in medicine today to keep medical knowledge within the profession. When information is inaccessible the less likely it becomes that potentially creative individuals will make a breakthrough in that culture.

Cultures also differ in the number of domains they recognize and in the hierarchical relationship of domains in a culture. Recent history has shown us that when one domain dominates a culture for either religious or political reasons that culture restricts its support of other domains. Throughout the middle ages the church controlled all other domains in an effort to curb the changes that appeared in the name of science. Over time, we have seen a natural process of emancipation and multiplication of domains with an overall relationship

between domains determined by each domain's struggle for independence, the desire to establish autonomy and to legitimate its own sphere of authority.

The degree of integration achieved by domains within a culture is assessed by how readily an innovation in one domain is translated and accepted by other domains, and the more integrated the culture is, the more relevant an advance in one domain will be to the culture as a whole. The fate of a prospective creative contribution today, according to Csikszentmihalyi (1999), is affected by the state of "integration" amongst domains, as it is by the state of "differentiation" experienced by domains at any time within any given culture (p. 318). A culture is considered highly differentiated when it contains a greater number of autonomous domains.

New memes most often arise in cultures that are exposed to other cultures with different ideas and belief systems. In the past, a noted acceleration of the rate of invention was attributed to cultures at the crossroads of trade. Today, when the diffusion of information is instantaneous, useful new ideas are still more likely to arise from centres where people from different cultural backgrounds are able to interact and exchange ideas.

The notion that creativity is "domain specific" characterises the contextual view. Gardner sees domains as "bodies of disciplined knowledge which have been structured culturally and which can be acquired, practiced and advanced through the act of creating" (Li & Gardner, 1993, p.94). Like Gardner, Amabile, Phillips and Collins (1996) have reported a relationship between creative talent and domain expertise. They have explored the links between specific domains, creative production and the acquisition of expertise. Gardner found all domains require specific skills to be acquired, distinct types of knowledge to be stored and significant periods of preparation to achieve first mastery and then a creative breakthrough. These expectations, however, take on different forms and periods of duration in each domain, and in no way can training in one domain be substituted for training in another domain.

What are the questions one asks women to bring forth their experience of the domain site? Csikszentmihalyi has suggested several general questions serve to elucidate the issues arising at the domain site. For example, one might ask, “How information is recorded in a particular domain?” It is understood that over time each domain develops its own system of notation. These may be formal or informal notation systems which are used within the domain to instruct and to assess performance. Even those domains without a formal notation system can store and pass information from one generation to the next through simple imitation. The domain in which the notation system is clear and accurate more easily assimilates new knowledge but if information is too loosely organised it is difficult to recognise a valuable innovation.

In the case of a very major breakthrough occurring, Gardner (1993) found his creators worked with a tightly controlled symbolic system which did not permit new ideas. A major breakthrough is achieved at a time when the domain seems most resistant to new ideas. From all reports an innovation achieved at these times is considered a great accomplishment and the domain itself undergoes a paradigmatic revolution.

At any given time, some domains will appear more attractive to potentially creative individuals than other domains. Initiates are attracted to domains which offer intrinsic rewards and better conditions for making new discoveries. Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) interviews revealed that creative individuals are attracted to domains in which the creator perceives that a breakthrough can be made, where the possibility of making a discovery is far more rewarding than any monetary inducement. That is not to say that extrinsic rewards offered by some domains are discounted by creative individuals but rather a case whereby certain domains at one point appear so exciting that the best minds flock to it.

In summary, when Csikszentmihalyi (1999) says that, “creativity is the engine that drives cultural evolution” (p.320), he draws attention to the pivotal role played by domains in the development of culture. Over time, domains become increasingly complex; they strive for independence and autonomy. At any time the relationship between domains may swing between varying states of integration and differentiation. Overall, the event of creativity will upset the working relationship between closely associated domains. Once a change is

accepted in one domain of a culture, the effect of that change is likely to reverberate across the entire culture. Further creative insights will, in the future, restore the balance between temporarily divergent domains.

Overall, a domain that favours innovation appears to be one:

In which novelty can be evaluated objectively, and which has clear rules, a rich and complex symbolic system, and a central position in the culture will be more attractive than one lacking such characteristics. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999, p.320)

This thesis is keen to apply a wider lens to domains in which creativity occurs. Previous studies of creativity have been limited by their exclusive study of suitable academic domains leaving many other domains, quite capable of creative outcomes, outside the researcher's scrutiny. In the case of Kerr's (1985) study of *Smart Girls, Gifted Women*, domain selection was limited by a perception that certain academic professions were the ones that were worthy of creative/intelligent women. In the spirit of domain inclusiveness this thesis intends to make a study of the ever-changing contemporary domain landscape. As well as the typical mix of scientific and artistic domains, this study includes the newly formed domain of food production and the rapidly developing domain of popular entertainment.

The social context of justification: at the field site

The history of science portrays discoveries or innovation as the benchmarks upon which cultural progress was made. Cultural progress is a notion reliant on a succession of genius-type individuals like Leonardo Da Vinci who made breakthroughs in a wide spread of domains. This view of creativity as pure *discovery* (creativity viewed only as invention) has dominated the world of science and because of science's prominence, has spilled over to other domains. The popularity of this view of creativity has until recently obscured the social processes of *justification* (a view of the cultural acceptance of innovation).

Historically, the social validation of a creative act was regarded as a consequence of innovation, occurring many years (sometimes as long as a lifetime) after a discovery was made and so appeared separate from the processes culminating with invention. Current creativity theory stipulates that creativity occurs in the context of discovery and in the separate context of justification. For this study's purpose the context of discovery is situated at the domain site and the context of justification is located at the site labelled the field. Brannigan (1981) has explained that creative "events are discoveries not in virtue of how they appear in the mind, but how they are defined in and by a cultural criterion" (p.90).

The newly-found definitional agreement between creativity researchers, mentioned earlier in this chapter (Mayer, 1999), is distinguished by the inclusion of both contexts. Csikszentmihalyi's (1999) claim, "There is no way, even in principle to separate the reaction of society from the person's contribution. The two are inseparable. As long as the idea or product has not been validated, we might have originality but not creativity" (p.321), has been instrumental in adding the notion of social valuation to the creativity concept. Without some form of social acceptance it is impossible to distinguish between seemingly new but faddish ideas and those "which are really changes in worlds" (Schaffer, 1994, p.48).

When the definition of creativity includes the context of discovery and the context of justification cultural progress starts to look, as Schaffer (1994) says, "less individual and specific and more like a lengthy process of hard work and negotiation within a set of complex social networks" (p. 16). A study like this one which is based on the two contexts, must include the social aspects of creativity at the field site. At the field site one is able to ask of the data how communities organise themselves to mark what they count as achievement or success in varied disciplines. In the process of including the field site we become familiar with how social realms operate and what judgmental processes they use.

The life of painter Vincent Van Gogh is frequently used in the creativity literature to illustrate how novelty is socially validated (Csikszentmihalyi, 1994; Gardner, 1994). During his lifetime Van Gogh's "canvases were just the hallucinatory original works of a sociopathic recluse" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999, p.321). After his death the same paintings attracted a different valuation when other artists, critics and collectors interpreted his works in terms of

new aesthetic criteria. New forms of judgement transformed Van Gogh's naïve paintings into masterpieces after the criterion used to make aesthetic judgements also changed. Van Gogh's reputation in the painter's domain awaited the revision of antiquated aesthetic standards. Gardner (1994) makes the point that a novelty can be so new that a field using outmoded criteria will not understand it. In this case valuation will wait for the necessary field adjustments that allow the novelty to be understood and applied across domains.

The broad social context of creativity is the sum of all the fields operating in a time/space framework. All the varied tasks performed by field members are directed toward making judgements as to which new ideas will change a domain and contribute to reshaping a culture. According to Gardner (1994), "Judgements of creativity are inherently communal, relying heavily on individuals expert in a domain" (p. 144). Field composition varies from a small group of highly-esteemed experts from across the world to larger groups of middle and high-level experts, only some of whose opinion collectively recognises a worthwhile novelty. Some fields are made up of experts who have direct influence over a domain, while others function with a contribution from all who practise domain rules. At present, consumers and audiences, groups without expert status, are increasingly called upon to endorse new products, performances and ideas. At any given time the composition and structure of a field will vary. Today, field membership is a fluid affair involving large numbers of people spread all over the world. It is harder today to see the social divisions that in the past separated fields from society at large.

Societal conditions at any one time can have an influence on the rate of innovation. A society that has a surplus of energy and wealth is more likely to encourage and afford large scale and costly enterprises that result from and test new ideas. This would apply to innovation in the development of high-rise buildings, railway systems, the space program, or the mass production of cars and aeroplanes to the creation of a new aesthetic form. Regardless of a society's capacity to carry out new ideas, a society which is interested in, and actively encourages, new ideas in a broad sweep of domains, is in a position to recognise breakthroughs when they occur.

The way a society is organized can determine whether a society is open to novelty in any form. When a tightly controlled society creates a central authority which tends toward absolutism, there is little likelihood of experimentation especially if the resulting novelty is perceived to threaten that society's financial security. By contrast, egalitarian societies do not support creative process especially in artistic domains. Periods of great social unrest seem to coincide with higher levels of creativity. Simonton (1991) has suggested that this is due to a synergy created when normally segregated classes confront each other. Similarly, external threats often mobilize society to recognize creative ideas that normally would not attract attention.

What questions can be asked of women to prompt recall of field experiences or field membership, field judgements and so on? Who has the right to decide if a new idea is accepted, rejected or remains unnoticed? The simplest explanation of field purpose is that fields attest to a creative act or idea's existence. It must be asked of women whether a simple confirmation of a new idea's existence is all that an evaluation of creative work entails. Who has the right to decide whether a woman's creative work is actually an improvement or is simply a mistake? Above all by asking these questions of women I hope to discover if field members or the attribution process itself can influence field judgements (Kasof, 1995).

Apart from the various tasks associated with evaluating creative products, the two theorists believe that field members perform a range of other functions that revolve around teaching. For instance, the field offers developing creators the specialized domain training they require for mastery of that domain. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1996) the teaching function is performed by "a field of experts. These may range from grade school teachers to university professors" (p.45). Teaching at varying levels occurs within the general education system, at domain institutions and faculties or independently through mentors. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) believes the mentor role is a central one:

At some point in their careers, potentially creative young people have to be recognized by an older member of the field....The mentor's main role is to validate the identity of the younger person and to encourage him or her to continue working in the domain. (p.332)

Field members have jurisdiction over domains, so where do domains draw their field members from? Gardner (1993) presents a scenario for field membership at the onset of old age when the aging creator after a lifetime of innovation in a domain, “finding it difficult to achieve original new works... becomes a valued critic or commentator” (p.362). This viewpoint of the composition of an aging field is I believe contradicted by the women I have interviewed. To take up a field position is a dilemma for them especially as they feel it is expected of them to take up field membership while they try to innovate.

In regard to the creativity research which includes the field as a site for study, the impression is created that the context of discovery is far easier to investigate than the context of justification. For example Boden (1994) reports that at the field site we are witness to “many self-doubts and many more social disputes, over what are now regarded as important creative insights....Value is not found by [a domain], but negotiated by social groups (sometimes involving seesawing judgements with the passage of time). (p.351) The complex value judgements fields make are further complicated by the particular aesthetic, moral and ethical values that are held at one time but not at another time close to an innovative event.

What are the optimal field conditions that promote creativity? One identified by Csikszentmihalyi is the extent to which a field is able to obtain the resources necessary to its function, from the society supporting it. In some societies, particular domains find it difficult to carry out novel works without access to capital. Large scale operations of a highly experimental nature are dependent on access to sufficiently large accumulations of capital. Historically the Arts have flourished only in societies with enough surplus capital left over to finance this kind of creative work. If a field is unable to provide either financial rewards or improved status to its prospective innovators, it is likely to stagnate. Often a surplus of wealth appears to initially favour an outmoded, academic form; however, in the long run, it will finance the overturning of a traditional form by producing a new and more relevant style. This means an application of new criteria of judgement by those members of the field who understand the innovation.

Csikszentmihalyi (1999) found the following:

A field is likely to attract original minds to the extent that it can offer scope for a person's experimentations and promises rewards in case of success. As we shall see, even though individuals who try to change domains are in general intrinsically motivated - that is, they enjoy working in the domain for its own sake - the attraction of extrinsic rewards such as money and fame are not to be discounted. (p.324)

The centrality of a field in terms of societal values will also determine how attractive it appears to prospective innovators. Certain fields are able to attract a disproportionate number of bright young persons because they appear to offer the best chance of making a creative breakthrough in areas that address societal needs. For instance bright young men and women today are attracted to fields which best provide the means to meet today's intellectual challenges; new ways of solving pressing environmental problems; new ways of gaining access to wealth and power; and, new ways of addressing social problems of health and living standards.

Every field needs a certain degree of autonomy if it is to make its judgements purely on the basis of excellence within the domain it serves. Some fields have extraneous social considerations such as political pressure or extremes of moral righteousness or even popular appeal, which find them more responsive to society at large rather than to the domain. The degree of autonomy attained by a field is determined by the set of cultural and social conditions existing at any particular time. There are considerable variations between fields on the basis of the state of autonomy each can attain.

Field autonomy is also related to the codification of the domain it serves. In a highly codified domain like that of molecular biology the decision to accept or reject a new meme will be made by a small field committed to following the rules and traditions of that domain. On the other hand less codified domains like popular music are broadly accessible to the general public, so its field of experts is notoriously unable to enforce its decision. Over time, in less codified domains what has been judged to be highly original by a prior field appears less so by successive fields. In highly codified domains like the sciences, judgements are more likely to be upheld by the next generation.

In order to establish and preserve the means of criteria used by any field, the field itself must have some degree of appropriate organization. It is often the case with loosely organized fields that members have the opportunity to serve and promote their own reputation above that of the domain they represent. In this situation it is impossible for new ideas to be judged on their merits. In addition, the way a field is organized may contribute to the ideology it holds in regard to being open or closed to new ideas. Hierarchical institutions tend to value past knowledge and generally see novelty as a threat. Today we see institutions which seek to promote older people to leadership roles as a way of limiting their exposure to excessive change. Fields organised to the extent that they require initiates to perform the same routines, regardless of efficiency, will not welcome creativity because they lack the ability to recognise anything other than routine.

One final and perhaps contradictory consideration regarding the role of fields in creative enterprise would be the situation where we have seen new ideas arise at a time when there is no established domain or field to receive them. In the case of “emerging technologies” or innovation that occurs without an established cultural or social context, an “embryonic field” consisting of peers and disciples close to the emerging innovation will initially serve as the experts who can bring new ideas to the notice of a culture. In this situation if the new idea is to make an appropriate impact on the culture, a newly constructed field must be established before that innovation’s claim to creativity can be legitimized.

CHAPTER THREE

Achievement under the glass ceiling

The purpose of this chapter is to include other voices not directly involved in creativity theory-building, but certainly voices contributing to an argument for a more sensitive and informed treatment of women as the subject of research investigating creativity. So far I have reviewed the progress made by creativity researchers over the last half century and argued a case for adopting the contextual model provided by Gardner and Csikszentmihalyi. In this chapter I ask the “woman question” as to “why creativity research at present is not adequately investigating *Creativity under the glass ceiling*”.

It is a research tradition to use the metaphor of the glass ceiling to represent cultural barriers that limit female accomplishment. The main aim of this research is to overturn this tradition, to go beyond these limitations so that the space under the glass ceiling highlights rather than hides women’s achievement. This chapter looks at various gender issues that have determined a woman’s position in creativity research with a view to enabling women to speak about their achievements and present their stories for investigation. These stories are crucial to achieving a hitherto impossible understanding of human creativity that encompasses the diverse experience of it. A new tradition would provide support and guidance for women (and others) as they give “voice” to the situation they find themselves in when they engage with a domain, establish a career, and strive for excellence in their endeavours. The researcher plays an active part in this new tradition as one who values these forgotten accounts of creative experience. At present we clearly have a theory of creativity unsubstantiated by a woman’s experience of it.

A question of women and a woman question

1000 Great Lives (Law, 1999) is one of many popular books recording the lives of remarkable people throughout history. The preface to this alphabetical collection of short biographies of outstanding individuals quotes Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881): “The history of the world is but the biography of great men”. The first section dealing with “A” lists 47 men and 3 women. Women’s creative achievement is hidden beneath claims, like those above, of

men's greatness and injurious inferences of women's ineptitude. Unfortunately the narrative in this popularised book runs in much the same way as it does in serious research. Statements are made that imply greatness is the privilege of men. Women have not been deliberately excluded from the research but it is left to a very small number of women to substantiate a male position of superiority. The unbalanced numbers and the inferences drawn from them are clearly meant to be logically interpreted as a man would but not as a woman could.

The gifted literature has focused on both the categories relevant to this thesis: creativity and women. Most of this research concentrates on women and girls in educational settings but girls are thought to be one of the groups at risk of underachievement. A failure to recognize patriarchal influence on educational institutions and the doubtful merit of identification procedures applied in formal educational institutions are some of the reasons given for women's underachievement. Gifted or talented females today still face formidable challenges when they choose to display exceptional ability. Barbara Kerr (1985) in *Smart Girls, Gifted Women* found that smart girls were unable to achieve as women at a level commensurate with their abilities.

Additionally, Walker and Mehr (1992) in *The Courage to Achieve* examined the constraining factors which affect gifted women's occupational and educational choices across their life span. The main problem for gifted girls is that they are isolated or punished for being different, so they hide their abilities to gain social and family acceptance (Noble, 1989). Another problem for women generally is that high-level career achievement and childrearing seem incompatible (Piirto, 1991; Zuckerman & Cole, 1987). Women, born in the 40s and later, experienced better career prospects and greater opportunities for paid work. However, the pressure to excel professionally and to maintain personal relationships as well as meeting current economic demands that necessitate combining work and child rearing, are additional pressures which must be added to traditional barriers (Subotnik, Karp & Morgan, 1989).

Feminist scholarship, on the other hand, focuses on women but has a minimal concern for creativity as this thesis defines it. The rarity of women at the top levels of a range of disciplines such as the Arts, Sciences, Literature, Finance, Food and Politics is of concern to feminists. Interestingly, the failure of women to achieve eminence in these disciplines is the excuse given for the low participation rates of women in creativity research.

Current studies of creative persons can be interpreted as theory which has not been convincingly tested on enough women or girls. Unbalanced gender numbers give weight to a male version of creativity but allow no distinction to be made between male and female accomplishment. Under-representation of women in broad areas of research is a general climate in which studies of creative women are conducted. The ready acceptance of this imbalance in gender across many areas of endeavour masks the existence of other stories of creative achievement. Early feminist scholarship believed these invisible stories would gather momentum and force upon the research fraternity an asking of woman-centred questions. “We deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion...what is and what is not their ‘proper sphere’. The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to” (Mill, 1851/1983).

Few studies have assessed how many women subjects would be needed to make creativity research fair, equitable and representative of creative women. When women have been included in a study of creative phenomena, the number of women compared to the number of men is usually far less. Statistically, the likelihood of finding outstanding creative individuals from a very large group of men and a much smaller group of women in the same domain is in favour of the larger group. Simone de Beauvoir (1966) said that in this way “the numbers account for a woman’s diminished audacity, confidence and ambition” (cited in Moi, 1987, p.19), all necessary conditions for achieving success in any field of enterprise.

When the question was asked by de Beauvoir (1966), “despite a woman’s improved condition, what is there about women that means they are doomed to mediocrity?” (cited in Moi, 1987, p.19), she articulated the frustration of those deemed to be less in number. The numbers appear powerful as they have prevailed for centuries and continue to do so today under the glass ceiling. To dislodge this tradition Hollingworth (1926) used the “the woman question” asking “how to reproduce the species and at the same time to work, and realize work’s full reward, in accordance with individual ability” (pp.348-349). Asking the woman question across disciplines is a way of moving forward, a way of breaking a terrible tradition which denied women and girls the opportunity to start a career and the opportunity to tell the stories that should rightly be attached to that career. At least by asking the woman question we might initiate a shift in the way the glass ceiling is perceived, from that of a barrier

restricting our view of female achievement, to a sense of transparency which allows these hidden stories to be viewed by the outside world.

Asking a woman question of a broad culture involves asking the question in all the domains that make up that culture. Some domains have used the woman question to address specific issues that pertain to the women working in those domains. Within artistic domains, Linda Nochlin (1989) claims that a woman question is not only a way of piercing through the cultural-ideological limitations domains display at particular times, but it can also influence the way that disciplines formulate what are the crucial issues for that domain at any point in time:

Thus, the so-called woman question, far from being a minor, peripheral, and laughable provincial sub-issue grafted on to a serious, established discipline, can become a catalyst, an intellectual instrument, probing basic and “natural” assumptions, providing a paradigm for other kinds of internal questioning, and in turn providing links with paradigms established by radical approaches in other fields. Even a simple question like “Why have there been no great women artists?” can, if answered adequately, create a sort of chain reaction, expanding not merely to encompass the accepted assumptions of the single field, but outward to embrace history and the social sciences, or even psychology and literature, and thereby, from the outset, can challenge the assumption that the traditional divisions of intellectual inquiry are still adequate to deal with the meaningful questions of our time, rather than the merely convenient or self-generated ones. (pp.146-147)

Under-representation of women in the research process across a broad sweep of research areas has been referred to as a “disappearance” or “invisibility” of the female gender. Many studies under the banner of psychology and the scientific paradigm have strengthened this statistical prediction. The insistence on a rigorous (some would say rigid) objectivity and a tendency to banish any subjective element, directs research findings in favour of men (Bordo, 1993). Furthermore, the language used in many research projects discriminates against women (Gergen, 1992). Even when efforts are directed toward gender equality we often see the “neutralizing” of a woman’s identity (Code, 1991).

Across domains the notion of female achievement is further diminished as, for instance, when “*Women Managers*” are seen as inexperienced: *Travellers in a Male World* (Marshall, 1984). Linda Nochlin (1989) claims women have been excluded from the domains and institutions that promote artists. As a consequence women’s artistic achievement seems limited to the domestic forms of watercolour, handicraft, keeping a diary and family performances. The status of a chef today owes much to the earlier art form of gastronomy (the public expression of male taste and refinement) and nothing to the private domestic work (including cooking) thought to be the natural sphere of women (Battersby, 1989). In Psychology, Mary Gergen (1992) argues that “womanstories” are celebrations of achievement but acknowledges “boys and girls are raised to regard their life trajectories differently” (p. 132).

Perhaps the most harmful consequence of unequal gender numbers in creativity research is that the findings of these one-sided investigations shout out what Virginia Woolf (1927), in her work *To the Lighthouse*, made a male character whisper “women can’t write, women can’t paint” to the female character who had ambition to be a great painter. This taunting refrain has caused great self-doubt and undermined many women with the ambition to be innovative in male-centred domains.

What is the woman question a question of?

Feminist, gifted and creativity scholarship present different perspectives on women’s creative achievement and these perspectives have some bearing on the broad orientation of this thesis. Feminism is informed by the belief that both men and women possess a range of abilities or talents that lead to highly creative achievement. It is a matter of equality that each gender is able to develop and use talents creatively. However, in the case of a gifted person thought to have outstanding talent and the potential for creative achievement, being able to realise that potential opens that person to accusations of elitism (Braggett, 1985). The creatively gifted also receive no equitable consideration from the culture in which natural ability is transformed into achievement.

Gifted educators, feminists and creativity theorists all talk of optimal achievement in terms of the struggle that is endured to achieve it. All disciplines agree that creative abilities are not naturally maximized, a process of struggle is necessary and this would suggest that

adversity is a catalyst for high levels of creative achievement. Adversity is defined by the creativity literature in terms of the long periods of time that creativity takes and the substantial involvement with social and cultural organisations that are currently structured in a way that frustrate the full development of a woman's creative potential. Feminist research is directed toward changing the cultural and social conditions that adversely affect women's talent development. Equity in this instance appears to be lessening the struggle and lowering degrees of adversity. The creativity literature features adversity as a common theme but creativity researchers have attempted to alter individual persons so that they are compatible with the cultural conditions of the day, a relatively futile endeavour.

This thesis finds that the woman question as it applies to this research is not so much a question of equality of gender but rather fair treatment for women over a host of issues associated with an inclusive creativity theory. This would include access to domains, creativity used as if it were intelligence and so on. As McKinnon (1987) has stated, a question of gender is rarely focused on, only that which is either male or female. When one asks, "what is an inequality question a question of?" (McKinnon, 1987, p.32) one is really searching for the complexity and the entirety of the particular problem. This question, like the woman question, underscores many gender issues but as McKinnon explains they are never explicitly asked. They are, however, explicit questions in this thesis because they help demolish the myths and legends that have accompanied past ideas of creative achievement and expose the hidden realities of women's lives when they are creatively engaged. These questions are necessary to making women part of creativity theory.

Unequal numbers of creative men and women and the corresponding notions that women have less creative ability while men possess just the right makeup for successful creative achievement have over time become accepted as the norm. For example, if we turn to the Arts, this commonly held belief is implicit in the history of art. The art history texts record few women artists and give masculine labels like "masterpiece" to the high points of creation in its domains. A feminist perspective applied to the position of women in the Arts has tried to replace the white western male viewpoint, which they say is the unconsciously accepted view of the art historian. Wielding these kinds of questions in the Arts has awakened us to the "striking paradox...the dissimilar positioning and positions of men and women in art history" (Chadwick, 1990, p.8) and perhaps more importantly, provides the

impetus to challenge the intellectual and ideological basis of the unacceptable assumptions drawn from this paradox.

Asking the woman question “ Why have there been no great women artists?”, Linda Nochlin (1989) suggests that one must regrettably accept that there have been in recent history no supremely great women artists (or composers, or philosophers, or chefs as representative of the high art form of cooking). If the institutions which make up the Arts and the condition of them at any time determines the nurturing environment that turns people into artists, then when those institutions exclude women, no amount of manipulating the evidence now will alter the situation. The absence of women in art history books and by inference in fine art domains masks many complex issues. While there may be no female equivalents of a Michelangelo or a Rembrandt there are women artists like Artemisia Gentileschi who may not be well documented nor considered a great artistic genius, but who miraculously did achieve excellence (we know of this only because of a post-modern call for the rewriting of the history books) in a domain and field that conspired against her. What we can do now is find those women who do practise in domains, whose success in those domains is still obscured, and ask them about their experience of creative endeavour.

Great men versus *Remarkable Women*: different standards of excellence

Counterbalancing the myths and legends of great men of genius are stories like those of *Remarkable Women* (Arnold, Noble & Subotnik, 1996) who develop their talents in worlds not conducive to the realization of female creative potential. The women’s stories are told across cultures, regions, classes and age groups so the authors offer great diversity of experience and background. Marginalization of talented women was the only common theme that held across all these categories. Of all the different forms of marginalization that were discussed, the consequences of developing potential creativity “vary from the disappointed dreams of white middle class women to the mortal danger of non-conforming third-world women” (Kerr, 1996, p.xiii).

The authors of this book have created a new paradigm for the study of creative women. They believe that genius/ creativity/ giftedness can be measured in women’s stories, in the distance that is travelled between the marginalized and the mainstream. This thesis intends to adopt this newly created framework, to use it and test it. *Remarkable women* and the

diversity of stories within it serve as a model for anyone who intends to listen to the stories of marginalized creative women and measure their stories against the mainstream but predominantly male notions of what it takes to be a creative person.

Mainstream creativity theory has over the past fifty years accumulated a set of criteria for making judgements as to who is and who is not creative. The criteria are applied in the form of a template, which may be modified by a particular methodology but is nonetheless directed at finding suitable subjects for study. Templates used in this way have contributed to a commonly held ideal of the highly creative person. The gender make-up within this ideal is indistinct, so no clear pictures of differences between the sexes in respect of creative achievement are available. The ideal formed within creativity research subsumes any female characteristics that may have emerged through the research process. Masculine characteristics dominate because they are heavily researched and because they are not clearly identified with an exclusive masculine label.

In the broad domain of education Martin (1991) claims that when the ideal of the educated person has historically been subject to social and cultural “genderization” and when this ideal is used to measure up women against the standards of a domain, the measurements will be “in favour of males and determined from a perspective which valorises men and masculinity; education and womanhood then are antithetical notions. This contradiction means that to be an educated female human being is to be, and not to be, a woman” (p.8). The ideal of the creative woman might not be so well formed but it has surely also become a deficit model.

When Martin (1988) examined the possibility of *Science in a different style*, she found that the “genderization” of the discipline of science limited the scholarship and the creativity of science. She was astounded that scientists were not open to new possibilities. She found scientists in general think it is in the interest of science to conform to prescribed practices without a thought for the possibility that science could be conducted in another way. Martin set out to bring to the notice of other scientists the contribution two female scientists were making with their very different style. To carry out the research and to convince other scientists that women who work outside of the mainstream do in fact make a creative contribution, she had to dismantle the deficit model that is generally applied to women

working in science. “Only when the workings of gender are so well understood that they no longer imprison us, can we overcome the engrained tendencies of a scholarly lifetime to dismiss ‘soft’ topics as unworthy of a philosopher’s attention” (Martin, 1988, p.138).

Gendered positions within domains appear to be determined by the numbers and confirmed by statistics. This conforms to the often-expressed idea that we live in a male world tyrannized by numbers (Boyle, 2000) and a world in which knowledge is acquired by prodigious use of an objective but skewed measuring stick (Code, 1991). It is quite difficult today to escape from numbers and calculations of one sort or another, but within this numbered world one is not certain that you can measure by number what is really important. In the case of women who would be creative, all of those numbers are making us misunderstand the way women work, the way they feel, what is their creative input, in fact their whole way of being. Looking at the statistics of women at the top of professions one could hold the opinion that the more numbers are used, the more ignorant we become of what we want to know and what is in front of us.

If I compare, as I have in the lead-up time to this study, those statistics on women at the top of their profession with the knowledge gained from the five profiles of brilliant women in Andrea Gabor’s (1995) book *Einstein’s Wife*, I discover two completely different pictures of achieving women. I notice that numbers reduce women to a still life equivalent of what is knowable about them and objectivity similarly reduces the dynamic subject of women’s lives to the form of impersonal objects. Primarily, for this reason the story form, based on direct interviews, is the centrepiece of this study’s methodology.

Attempts to equalise the numbers of men and women in a range of creating situations, from politics and dance to business, is thought to be an answer to the woman question. However, the nature of an inequality which favours men and disadvantages women is still alive in the disciplines and the institutions under the scrutiny of creativity research. Efforts to equalize the genders in some disciplines have reduced innovative reforms to the status of “gender neutrality”. This term no doubt reflects the hope of a debate that would see justice for all, but in reality is a refusal to engage in issues that are outside of the research at hand. The results of research labelled so are certainly weakened and are generally disregarded. In the area of education, gender-inclusive strategies have attempted to bring about changes in the way women and girls are constricted in their attempts to become educated. Most of these

initiatives are judged as failures because, while they may or may not acknowledge that women and girls learn differently from men and boys, education has not found a way to dismantle the structures and disciplines within the field of education that perpetuate patriarchal “relations of ruling” (Smith, 1990, p.203).

Feminists describe the gender imbalance inscribed in many domains as a dichotomy. The use of this word places stress on how far apart the genders really are in terms of their respective life and work experiences. Kerr (1996) regards the emphasis on the extent of the differences between men and women as premature, a two-dimensional answer to a three-dimensional problem. The recent collection of women’s stories, *Remarkable Women* (Arnold, Subotnik & Noble, 1996), suggests a reconfiguration of gender relationships that allows for a more practical research solution. The relationship between men and women is a far more complex relationship than the description of opposites allows. The authors take notice of the way that patriarchal systems, which include domains and their institutions, positively influence the experience of one and negatively influence the lived experience of the other. In the same vein, Code (1991) contends that knowledge is a construct that bears the marks of its constructors (p.55) so achievement of one kind or another is mediated by the gender and the sex of the achiever. The main point Code makes is that the life experience of men is mediated differently from that of women.

Jean Grimshaw (1986) has suggested:

The experience of gender, of being a man or a woman, inflects much if not all of people’s lives...but even if one is always a man or a woman, one is never just a man or a woman. One is young or old, sick or healthy, married or unmarried, a parent or not a parent, employed or unemployed, middle class or working class, rich or poor, black or white, and so forth. Gender of course inflects one’s experience of these things, so the experience of any one of them may well be radically different according to whether one is a man or a woman...The relationship between male and female experience is a very complex one. (pp 84-85)

Foster (1994) believes that the relationship between men and women is perhaps more fittingly described as an “asymmetry of gender” because this relationship has more to do “with ontology and with the lived experience of unequal power relations” (p.78).

Terms like “Art ‘His’tory” used by Linda Nochlin (1989) focus attention on the dissimilar positioning of men and women in art history. This term invites us to question the assumptions which lay behind a masculinist claim for the universal values of a history of heroic art which happened to be produced by men and which had systematically excluded women’s productions from its mainstream. Creativity within the history of the arts is a concept steeped in gender issues but it is not defensible to simply replace men with women as the subjects of creativity inquiry in any domain. This thesis proposes that Linda Nochlin’s (1989) argument against an attempt to put women back into art history is not about gender so much as it is about culturally contrived domain-creation.

The problem lies not so much with some feminists’ concept of what femininity is, but rather with their misconception – shared with the public at large - of what art is: with the naïve idea that art is the direct, personal expression of individual emotional experience, a translation of personal life into visual terms. Art is almost never that, great art never is. The making of art involves a self-consistent language of form, more or less dependent upon, or free from given temporally defined conventions, schemata, or systems of notation which have to be learned or worked out, either through teaching, apprenticeship, or a long period of individual experimentation. (Noachlin, 1989, p.149)

This thesis argues the total situation of making-creating both in terms of the development (skills acquired, level of mastery and so on) of the maker and the nature and quality (either painting as high art or commercial illustration) of the work itself must become the subject of an inquiry of this kind.

The heart of the matter

In regard to the past fifty years of creativity inquiry, the research question of whether women and girls are creative appears to be a question that was ignored. The statistics of women who do not achieve at the top level of domains, despite the equal participation rates of men and women in those domains, say quite clearly that women are not creative. Most creativity studies to date, either deliberately or involuntarily, have based their research on this premise. Of course, claims of women’s diminished ability are also founded on a notion

of success that does not recognise female accomplishment. Creativity researchers have automatically accepted that women are not creative and have placed this quite unfounded proposition at the heart of their inquiry. Lately a certain degree of political correctness is evident in creativity research but despite clearly expressed intentions to have equal gender representation there seems to be no real conviction that this research question is important or worthy of further attention. Creativity-related studies which underpin current theory tacitly agree with the proposition that women are not creative.

This thesis presupposes a positive assumption that women are capable of creative achievement. It might be argued that this is as much of an untested assumption as its negative form but it is the only basis from which this thesis can proceed. To take what is at best a personal conviction as a foundation for research is necessary because it is only then that one can ask of women how different a woman's experience of creativity is from that expressed in the current theory.

Other authors have argued for *Women's ways of knowing* (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986), for a different morality which leads them *To speak in a different voice* (Gilligan, 1982) and for *Nobel Prize women in science* (McGrayne, 1993) who made "struggle" a characteristic of female discovery in science. These propositions do have some bearing on the argument for a distinctly female style of creativity and will accordingly be considered in this research. This is not to be taken as an argument for gender essentialism, a position that perpetuates the idea that all women are alike and presupposes that social difference is determined biologically. To the contrary, this thesis expects to find and embrace diversity within the lives of women, particularly in their career choices, in their career development and in their achievements. After all, as Csikszentmihalyi (1993) claims, "such diversity is the built-in creative potential of our species" (p.23).

Another matter pertaining to gender differences lies at the heart of this thesis; as Kerr (1996) stipulates, "as long as we focus on sex differences, rather than concentrating on how girls learn, we will continue to underestimate the abilities of girls" (pp. xiii-xiv). The question of how women learn within domains and how early domain learning can commence opens up a number of other questions that this thesis regards as critical. The question of domain learning is also an important one for the education of girls in the future. It would appear that schools give inadequate assistance or too much general assistance to creative

students (Sternberg & Lubart, 1991, 1996) and may provide learning experiences unrelated to their career choice (Amabile, 1983). Creative individuals are seen to be lifelong students, always pushing mastery to its farthest extent (Piirto, 1994).

What are a woman's specific learning requirements over the course of a creative life and do they differ from what is available to her at present? How does she make the transition from early learning in school to the more demanding lessons domains require? Is she in turn likely to teach women of the next generation? Does she learn best in formal situations or informal ones? Given the public and private aspects of life with which women are said to juggle under the glass ceiling, one would ask if they do in fact become bi-cultural, conversant with both public and private spheres, "outsiders within" (Lorde, 1984). Within this inquiry, questions of this kind probe the extent of each woman's involvement with learning and teaching.

One further question remains at the heart of this thesis. It is not a particular research question for this study, but it is one that this thesis revolves around. To what extent is current creativity research a portrayal of a masculine form of creativity? While the stories in this thesis are definitely of female experience, the lineages of the women's accounts are clearly marked out here; the proposals presented by current creativity research are not so distinctly tied to masculine experience. The story extracted from creativity theory is only assumed to be of male experience because it is based on mostly male data and on social theory which includes the masculine bias, bestowed on this phenomenon by a patriarchal culture and society.

Current creativity theory contains some interesting notions that are not gender-specific. For instance, regarding the way creative persons function in their social environment, there is a "lack of fit" between the person and the society (Csikzentmihalyi, 1996; Feldman, 1986); creative people need to maintain distance (Hennessey & Amabile, 1988); marginality is a feature of the creative person and they are able to turn distance into "fruitful asynchrony" (Gardner, 1994); and the creative person is one in "conflict" with the social environment (Sternberg, 1988). These are the kinds of proposals that make up creativity theory to date and these are the benchmarks that a woman's creativity is expected to be measured against. Whether or not these proposals are distinctly different from the women's stories and whether the proposals relate to a masculine form of creativity will be considered

by this study. Regardless of the outcome, this comparison will ultimately foster a greater understanding of this phenomenon in its widest sense.

Half-hearted answers to the woman question

In the course of my search for other studies of creative women, I found more literature on the separate topics of “creativity” and of “women” than when the two categories were combined. In fact it was almost impossible to find meaningful studies of both creativity and women within the field of psychology. My own background and indeed my understanding and valuing of creativity have been forged in the Arts so it seemed logical to direct my search there. In the Arts literature I found one book which linked the two topics in its title. *Gender and Genius* by Battersby (1989). This book is primarily a feminist critique of liberal art domains like music, literature, philosophy and the various forms of visual art. Another book, *Women, Art, and Society* (Chadwick, 1990), critically examines art history’s pitiful recording of women artists. Both works demonstrate how a feminist critique is most effective when the author is thoroughly engaged with the domain and field she writes about.

As I have stated already, this study draws support from feminist research, but often studies of women involved with work of one kind or another let gender issues dominate. Similarly, theoretical positions are often argued in a manner unrelated to the real environment in which women work. To conduct research on the combined categories of women and creativity, a balance between feminist critical tools and domain ideology must be achieved. The two authors already mentioned expose artistic disciplines and the broad social network that supports them as co-contributors in the denial of women as practising artists. Women artists not only faced a culture which denied their existence, but also an appalling apathy from researchers who should have some curiosity about the “striking paradox” (Chadwick, 1990) of a woman’s position in the arts. Both authors call for a new evaluative system to replace the old tradition which only registered “feminine” qualities in the artwork but never recognized the female artist.

When women have appeared as artists, they did so as exceptions to the standards of creativity that prevailed at that time. Battersby claims that women artists become bi-cultural (by adopting and being conversant with at least two traditions) in the process of creating. To be sceptical of female creativity is to place women outside of any cultural tradition, which

after all is the point of a social theory of creativity. The key to appreciating the artistic woman is to become more practised in “adopting the switch in perspective” that Battersby (1989) says allows us to do.

Since the woman artist does not stand in the same relation to tradition as the male, her face can only emerge clearly by playing two separate games....A female creator needs to be slotted into the context of male traditions. But to understand what that artist is doing, and the merits or demerits of her work, she will also have to be located in a separate female pattern that, so to speak, runs through the first in a kind of contrapuntal way. Feminist cultural history offers us tricks of perspective as disturbing as those in a painting by Escher. (Battersby, 1989, p.152)

This project also aims to contribute to “a new tradition that enables us to remove the gag (or veil) that covers the features of the woman buried in the past and the present” (Battersby, 1989, p.161). Feminists like Battersby, Chadwick, and Nochlin have provided a practical demonstration of how feminist ideas can combine with a domain ideology to change a tradition that clearly favours one side of the gender divide. These women have brought to notice lost women’s achievement in the Arts and, by subjecting these works to critical judgement of that discipline, they effectively create a new tradition for the evaluation of women’s art. These studies of women in the Arts hold an important message for studies like the present one, in that understanding a woman’s creative work can only be achieved within the judgemental system of the domain in which she works.

Quantitative studies of creativity seem not to regard women or girls as suitable participants but they do seem to study “feminine” modes of creativity. When women were included in a study they seem to have been regarded as a kind of problematic variable that more often than not disrupted the orderly progression of the research. Furthermore, I found in my reading of the quantitative literature a complete lack of enthusiasm for joining the categories of women and creativity together. Perhaps the limited number of women in scientific studies of creativity explains how scientists gained a reputation for gender indifference. In highly regarded research projects like the Terman studies, a gender imbalance was evident from the outset because more boys than girls were identified as gifted. The tracking of these young lives into adulthood indicated that more of the girls failed to

fulfil the potential indicated by the selection procedures. The tests used to select suitable subjects were deemed to be valid if the children identified as gifted established careers in professions not achievable by the normal population. When the boys involved became doctors, lawyers and architects the tests proved their efficacy, but when the girls married, had children or took up hobbies the tests were invalidated. Further problems arise in longitudinal studies, when at a later date the standards used at the start to determine average and above average levels of career attainment are exposed (Sears, 1979).

Another highly regarded investigation, said to be the first to include the notion of sex differences in a systematic research program investigating creative people (McKinnon, 1962), illustrates the consequences of gender indifference or gender manipulation. McKinnon and his team questioned three groups of architects to find personality coordinates of creative persons and to determine the personality differences between highly creative and ordinary artists. It seems extraordinary that McKinnon and his associates made no mention of the gender make-up of the groups, but this does seem to fit in with a pattern used by Galton (1869) of sometimes including women in his statistics and sometimes leaving them out. If this became a tradition in the research of that time it is characterised by confusion about gender makeup and implicit sex bias.

A further complication with studies of this kind is that it was left to others outside of the research team to either ignore gender entirely or guess the sex of the participants. In the case of McKinnon's omission it is generally thought that the three groups of architects were all male because the selection process made it likely that men would be nominated as the most highly original architects working in the United States at the time.

McKinnon's 1962 study proposed that genius uses both a masculine and a feminine consciousness but in his report he made an easy transition from the high "femininity" score of the male architects to the conclusion that "the more creative a person is the more feminine he is" (p.492). To McKinnon's (1975) credit in a later article he expressed the need for a research program that would "for the first time" (p.80) investigate the personality traits of female creators as thoroughly as their male equivalents. Unfortunately, McKinnon's research, as it looked for evidence of Jung's theories of psychic bisexuality, tested for matriarchal and patriarchal modes of thinking but these notions of male/female difference

(held within the concepts matriarchal and patriarchal) are inherently biased in opposing images of a strong, purposeful and rational man and a weak, passive and emotional female.

In 1975 Taylor and Getzels' book "*Perspectives in Creativity*" reported on the progress of mainly quantitative studies of creativity. Amongst the contributing authors not one article directly discusses sex differences of creative people or mentions women of high creativity. Two contributing authors (McKinnon and Barron) briefly mention Ravenna Helson, a female colleague who investigated the creativity of female mathematicians. Her work was not reported in the book, only mentioned in support of the authors' own research. Helson's predominantly statistical work relied on the psychoanalytic theory of Erich Neumann and Otto Rank who had each promoted the idea of male genius. Helson made quite careful predictions on the basis of her statistical work. She concluded that although creative males score highly on measures of feminine interest and orientation, creative female mathematicians do not score highly on measures of "masculinity", at least where masculinity is taken to mean "dominance, assertiveness, or analytical ability" (Helson, 1971, p.245).

When these predictions were used to support the men's research, however, her deductions lose their original clarity. Helson's work was used by McKinnon (1975) to corroborate his research which, in turn, was based on biased psychological theory. The so-called "femininity" of male scientists was used to support the Jungian hypothesis that creative persons reconcile opposed personality types. McKinnon, in a 1975 article, says that Jung insisted "only males are culturally creative and that 'masculine' women are useful creatively only insofar as they inspire the men" (p.76). These studies appear to support one another and therefore suggest that they have discovered something significant about creative men and, in the case of Helson, creative women. In reality each one has accepted theory that is strongly biased against women. In addition both make claims about creativity which, even when divorced from gender, are still predominantly about men.

Helson's (1971) study of *Women Mathematicians and their Creative Personalities* was thought by later feminists to carry out the idea that it would take a woman to investigate and even find women's creativity. She set out to find if creative women mathematicians demonstrated the same type of personality traits, such as rebellious independence, flexibility and strong symbolic interest, that were espoused by mainstream research as being characteristic of creative persons. It is curious that the design of Helson's study of creative

women called for two groups of participants, one made up of 49 male mathematicians and another of 44 female mathematicians.

Barron (1976) in his commentary on Helson's project said that the research "was found to have a certain lack of symmetry in the design, stemming from practical difficulties" (Rothenberg & Hausman, 1976, p.194). Barron's statement makes light of the fact that an investigation of women's creativity studied fewer women than men. He seemed more concerned with the practical difficulties imposed on the study because women were included. For example the questions asked of the female participants had to be modified because the original questions were clearly compiled for men. In the group of 44 women, 16 were counted as highly original and within the sample of 48 males, 26 men achieved the highest scores. This is indeed a predictable pattern in research of creative phenomena.

Barron's (1968) credentials for criticism of a female study are not altogether reassuring in the light of his assertion that:

The creative act is a kind of giving birth, and it is noteworthy that as an historical fact intellectual creativity has been conspicuously lacking in women, whose products are their children. At the risk of making too much of a linguistic parallel, it might be said that nature has literally arranged a division of labour. Men bring forth ideas, paintings, literary and musical compositions, organizations of states, inventions, new material structures, and the like, while women bring forth the new generation. (p.221)

By the 1980s, this unquestioned tradition of centering a developing creativity theory upon men offered a target for feminist critique. Howard Gardner proposed groundbreaking ideas about intelligence in his publication of *Frames of Mind* in 1983. This book had an enormous impact upon creativity research by turning over comfortable patterns of thinking about intelligence and, by association, creativity. Feminists pointed out that "women were virtually absent from Gardner's (1983) *Frames of Mind*, the book that gained him profound respect in America for his recognition of diverse forms of intelligence" (Silverman, 1996, p.40). Ten years later Gardner (1993) published *Creating Minds*; out of the seven profiles of great creative individuals, only one woman, Martha Graham, appeared. One is compelled to ask why Gardner (1993) answered his critics in this way and why he did not include the other

women he acknowledged were more than suitable candidates, “the artist Georgia O’Keefe, the writer Virginia Woolfe, the biologist Barbara McClintock, the anthropologist Margaret Meade and other pioneering twentieth century women” (p.12).

It would appear that Gardner’s profile of an exemplary creator (she) is based on one female life which is absorbed into the larger story of the lives of six men. Does Gardner’s composite picture (an anatomy) of creativity warrant credibility? In statistical language one part of seven is not of great significance. Is Martha Graham’s presence in this study that of a “token woman”? Does a woman’s experience of creativity appear to be of anything but superficial significance in Gardner’s theory of creativity? At the end of his book Gardner (1993) offers the response:

While I sympathize with those who might have preferred a cohort with fewer white males or more non-Europeans, I hope that the study will be judged on its power for explaining the work of these seven individuals, rather than on the costs of not including subjects who represent other populations. (p.388)

In the final analysis Gardner has left it to women to tell the other side of the *Creating Minds* story, for instance, Andrea Gabor’s (1995) stories in *Einstein’s Wife* and Drusilla Modjeska’s (1999) story of a dilemma at *Stravinsky’s Lunch*.

Gardner explores the notion that being a male is an advantage for creative work whereas being a female is a distinct disadvantage. One is left to ask if it is only an eccentric woman like Graham who can turn adversity to the benefit of her career. Unfortunately Gardner does not provide other women to verify this claim.

She had neither the family connections nor the social advantage, as then defined, of being male. By personality, she was strengthened by challenges (as Eliot was probably not) and so she was able to thrive under asynchronies of her own devising, as well as those inherent in her situation. (Gardner, 1993, p.382)

Although Gardner has failed to suitably connect the two categories of women and creativity, this thesis will use Gardner’s model insofar as it draws on multiple case studies of

diverse individuals. According to the leading exponent of the case study method, Gardner has in *Creating Minds* achieved a balance between concern for the individual as creator and regard for the historical context of his/her creative work (Gruber, 1996). The depth of study required by a single case or the ideographic approach, as demonstrated by Gruber (1981) in *Darwin on Man*, is built on copious amounts of detail. When Gardner spread this depth of study over seven individuals, less detail on each individual was traded for a greater number of points of comparison that could be argued across multiple cases. According to Gardner (1993) the thrust of the comparative case study then turns into a “search for patterns—for revealing similarities and for instructive differences” (p.7) which brings the study closer to the nomothetic approach applied by Simonton (1994) and Martindale (1989). Each individual case within this broad framework is, in the final analysis, illustrative rather than definitive (Gardner, 1993). *Creating Minds* as a comparative study is an investigation of diversity as well as similarities.

Like Gardner’s example, Csikszentmihalyi’s work is subject to criticism regarding a half-hearted approach to gender. His culminating work and the most salient example for this thesis is *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention* (1996). Between 1990 and 1995 he and his students at the University of Chicago videotaped interviews with 91 exceptional individuals. The analyses of these interviews with living participants illustrate what creative people are like, how the creative process works and what the conditions are that encourage or hinder the generation of original ideas. Out of the 91 persons interviewed, 27 were women and 64 were men. This certainly looks like the traditional pattern already discussed. Despite a clear intention to have equal numbers of men and women in the study, and the possibility that he is simply recognising a current reality, this thesis finds that Csikszentmihalyi’s explanation of the reality of gender distribution within real-life domains which forced an unequal gender pattern upon his research sounds like an excuse.

The same percentage of women and men accepted, but since in certain domains well-known creative women are underrepresented, we were unable to achieve the fifty-fifty gender ratio we were hoping for. Instead the split is about seventy thirty in favour of men. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p.14)

My only criticism of Csikszentmihalyi’s work lies in his acceptance of the excuse that there are insufficient successful women in most domains who could be interviewed. I regard

Csikszentmihalyi's use of this excuse as a blockage to the investigation of women and creativity.

Csikszentmihalyi's conditions for selection did not appear to discriminate against women but nonetheless the rate of attrition in some domains was quite high. The three conditions for selection - to have changed a domain or influenced a culture, to be over 60 years of age and to still be active in the domain in which a career was built - targeted 275 creative persons still active in the United States of America. The domain categories were broad, covering the Arts, Humanities and Sciences. The professions included historians, performers, composers, philosophers, poets, visual artists, architects, writers, businessmen, politicians and scientists. Of the 27 women who accepted, 15 were involved in the arts/humanities category, 9 were scientists and 3 were categorized as business/political persons.

The rate of acceptance varied among disciplines. More than half of the natural scientists, no matter how old or busy they were, agreed to participate. Artists, writers, and musicians, on the other hand, tended to ignore our letters or declined - less than a third of those approached accepted. It would be interesting to find out the causes of this differential attrition. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p.14)

This thesis investigates Csikszentmihalyi's untested suggestion of a "differential attrition" between domains. It is clearly important that the nomination process includes a wide selection of domains with men and women working in them so that the largest possible picture of domains at work is obtained. The protocol Csikszentmihalyi used most successfully to probe the cultural milieu of creative production will be used in this study with some minor adjustments to accommodate women participants.

One other point made by Csikszentmihalyi which relates to domains, fields and women is also worthy of investigation. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) has said that "access to fields and domains, and the ways fields and domains operate, will vary by culture just as it varies in time and by social class within the same culture" (p.405). How do these cultural variations impact upon women's experience of creativity? Csikszentmihalyi (1996) further states:

The same is true of gender differences: Within any given discipline women will use mental processes similar to those men use to reach creative results, but the differences in socialization, training, and opportunities available to men and women in a given social system may impact on the frequency and kind of creative contributions made by the two genders. (p.405)

Women's autobiography

To enter into a process of building an inclusive and comprehensive theory of creativity one is dependent upon a diverse selection of autobiographies. As psychologist Cyril Burt suggested, a systematic study of creativity is best carried by "one of those rare individuals who himself happens to possess this gift of creativity" (in Koestler, 1964, pp. 16-17). In this instance the researcher is an artist, a woman and a teacher theoretically and practically sensitive to a creative woman's experience. If one wants to know about creative phenomena, it is useful to ask questions of persons who unquestionably have had experience of it. The literature shows that autobiography has, over the past fifty years played a primary role in the psychological analysis of innovation (Schaffer, 1994) but psychology has developed a theory of creativity based only on the select experiences of men.

One further problem inherent in continuing with an approach based on personal stories is that autobiography, recorded at different times, can be constructed with seemingly conflicting belief systems attached. Over time autobiographies have changed from the rigidity of positivist applications to the flexible forms introduced by critical paradigms. Of concern here is the question of whether it is indeed possible to build an inclusive theory of creativity out of autobiographies that change meaning according to the paradigm window from which they are viewed.

Traditionally, autobiography was used in Science as a window through which researchers could measure and predict human incidence of creativity. I have argued in the previous chapter that this orientation wields a discriminatory power over which autobiographies are used and which ones are ignored. A positivist approach also expects of the autobiographer a mirror image of a reality that exists outside of the person and to reflect in this image the natural laws that govern "out there" (Guba, 1990, p.20). It is implied that

both the autobiographer and the researcher are involved in a dispassionate observation of material they believe can be seen through this window. Great restraint is placed on the inquirer and the informant lest the objective world out there is contaminated by their subjective worlds “within”.

By placing women at the centre of creativity inquiry, even the post-positivist claim that research is “value free” (Bernstein, 1983; Popkewitz, 1984) is challenged. Feminists like Bordo (1993) and Code (1991) argue that an autobiography reflects the values of its human constructors. The nature of “the world” cannot be seen “as it is” or “how it works” through an objective window; it can only be seen through a subjective value window (Guba, 1990). When the person providing a subjective window is the subject of oppression, that inner world of the individual is defined by the type of oppression that that person experiences. A subjective epistemology in this way allows strongly held values to mediate inquiry. The choice of one particular value system, however, tends to empower some while disempowering others who are not chosen.

The aim of critical theory is to raise to a higher level of consciousness the plight of oppressed people in order to transform the world. Feminist expectations of autobiography are that they make real the notions of “self” that are embedded in autobiographical narratives. Of particular concern for this thesis is that in a feminist belief system, despite its claim to have raised to “true consciousness” women’s autobiographies, there appears to be a sense of “false consciousness” about their claims to have transformed the world. While a feminist paradigm points to culture as the agent of women’s oppression, it fails to demonstrate how cultures that clearly need to change can be changed.

Subscribing to two different belief systems is problematic for this study because one belief system tends to cancel out important matters which are only relevant to another paradigm (Lincoln, 1990).

The adoption of a paradigm literally permeates every act even tangentially associated with inquiry, such that any consideration even remotely attached to inquiry processes demands rethinking to bring decisions into line with the worldview embodied in the paradigm itself. The immediate realization is that accommodation between paradigms is impossible....The thoroughly universal

nature of any paradigm eventually forces the choice between one view or the other.
(p.81)

The authenticity of women's autobiography is another problem one encounters when accommodating women within creativity inquiry. Many women, in the past and the present, live the lives expected of them rather than a life that is self-determined (Bordo, 1993; Sarton, 1973). To write about their true self women have to destroy a culturally derived self in order to speak about their experience of anything. Ellen Moers (1979) found when writing her biography of the eccentric George Sands that her female subject followed the male story model because "she was a woman who was a great man" (p. xv). Life stories based on female lives contain distortions of the "self" because women's own narratives are often isolated within the stories of men or written by men. Historically, we see few attempts by women to tell their own stories; when they have tried we only see the hesitant nature of *The Woman's Quest for her own Story* (Gilbert & Gubar, 1979). May Sarton (1973) in agreement with Virginia Woolf, claims that in female autobiographies the informant "had been less than honest" (p.12).

With so many problems attached to the metaphor of the glass ceiling how can we gain an unrestricted view of women who are creative within the contexts of fields and domains. I believe we have to do more research that includes women, we must look for new narratives and find new ways of dealing with existing narrative representations. The autobiographical form, in conjunction with recent developments in *Social Construction* (Gergen, 1999), still holds its usefulness for creativity inquiry. Through an awareness of what Rosenwald and Ochberg (1992) refer to as *Storied Lives*, this thesis looks to move beyond limitations imposed under the glass ceiling.

Heilbrun (1988) makes clear the interdependency of life experience and narrative form in her efforts to find if women's autobiography is a true account of life as it is lived. She has drawn attention to other feminist efforts to awaken "Sleeping Beauty" and encourage women to break through to a realization that narratives other than their own are controlling their lives. Heilbrun (1988) claims the social conditioning that trains girls to be "female impersonators" (p. 66) produces autobiographies that are not simply fictitious but malformations of the female self.

Arthur Frank (1995) in his book *The Wounded Storyteller* also explores the circumstance whereby contemporary people have lost their sense of identity through the cultural appropriation of individual voice.

Stories of people trying to sort out who they are figure prominently on the landscape of post-modern times. Those who have been objects of other reports are now telling their own stories. As they do so, they define the ethic of our times: an ethic of voice, affording each a right to speak her own truth, in her own words. (Preface xiii)

Autobiography viewed through a window of social construction sees new possibilities in this severed connection between life experience and text. Dialogue serves as a metaphor for social construction theory. If this metaphor takes meaning from inter- and intra-personal conversations then “we have variously centred on the means by which persons together marshal the discursive resources, perform, objectify, negotiate, position and so on to create comprehensible worlds” (Gergen, 1999, p.148).

Gergen (1999) claims that dialogues of “social construction” welcome both the voices of tradition and critique “while granting neither an ultimate privilege” (p.4). By acknowledging the social construction of autobiography we look for alternative visions of truth, knowledge and notions of self whereby we do not lose old traditions, we add significantly to the potentials of human inquiry.

Social constructivist theory agrees with the feminist notion that inquiry cannot be value free but also holds the view that inquiry does not have to be openly ideological to carry deeply held convictions. Constructions are not mere descriptions of “out there” events, actions or environments, but they literally combine inward and outer worlds in the construction of new meaning. According to Gergen (1999), “every telling is not so much a reflection of the real as it is a reflection of our own modes of being” (p.107). The basis for discovering “how things are” and “how things work” requires a means of tapping into human constructions as they are formed in individual minds. Autobiography or any life story may be regarded as an understandable statement of mental constructions, and, as such, is not a report

of what is “out there” or “in here” but “the residue of a process that literally creates them [constructions]” (Guba, 1990, p.26).

Similarly, self-stories do not simply describe the self; rather, according to Arthur Frank (1995), they are “the self’s medium of being” (p.53). Psychologists Rosenwald and Ochburg (1992) have tried to discover the limits of narrative self-exploration. They claim that individuals lay out in their stories a clear relationship between the self and the story, “how individuals recount their histories...shape what individuals can claim of their own lives” (p.1). Rosenwald and Ochburg (1992) also say that telling self-stories “are the means by which identities may be fashioned” (p.1). Constructions of self are then perpetually recreated in the successive stories that are told. “It is this formative—and sometimes deformative—power of life stories that make them important” (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992, p.1).

From a social constructivist perspective one can say that meaning exists in the form of multiple mental constructions which are socially and experientially based. There are as many constructions as there are people who determine their form and content. Multiple constructions never claim the status of ultimate truths; they are individual, ever-changing and because of this they are problematic for research.

Epistemologically, social construction appears to have turned broad social analysis into a study of individual subjectivity. But on closer inspection, “out there” and “in here” forms of knowledge are fused into a coherent whole. The results of an inquiry are shaped by the interaction between the knower (including the researcher) and what is to be known. If knowledge, as constructivists believe, exists in people’s minds, in this location it is perhaps not so available to research and may not be understandable. For the researcher, autobiography becomes a device for releasing human constructions from the mind and making their meaning accessible to inquiry. Hermeneutically, the inquirer also takes on the role of interpreter as constructions are elicited and refined. The researcher in canvassing for stories hopes to find just how many constructions there are. From a multiplicity of possible constructions, research is ever searching for greater sophistication and consensus.

In addition “the sense of need for a personal voice depends on the availability of the means – the rhetorical tools and cultural legitimacy – for expressing this voice”(Frank, 1995, p.7). It is assumed that all self-stories are told within the narrative frames each culture provides its members. These frames of intelligibility may determine or limit the power of personal narrative. It is assumed that voice is articulated in coherent personal stories. Similarly, meaning is extracted from elements other than the content of life stories, in what is emphasised or omitted, in a stance taken by the teller as either victim or protagonist or in the relationship established between the teller and audience. In the case of the women in this study what is at stake is not only a reclaiming or affirming of identity but the sense of agency they stand to gain.

Life stories play a significant role in the formation of identity, these stories may be constrained by oppressive cultural conditions, and these stories – and the lives to which they relate – may be liberated by critical insight and engagement. (Rosenwald, 1992, p. 265)

Life stories are also made intelligible through gendered story forms. Mary Gergen (1992) looks to ways of escaping “the culturally contoured modes of discourse” (p.127) that imprison women’s stories and women’s lives. She claims that each gender acquires in life a repertoire of potential life stories which are relevant only to their gender. Life stories are filtered through these gendered story forms. If the gendered form is absent or, as in the case of the women’s biographies she has studied, they are told within the other tradition, the story is altered. She argues that the forms used to tell a “manstory” are those of traditional autobiography and literature. The plots of traditional narratives progress directly toward an end point and it is considered poor narrative to deviate from this course. Yet this is how a “womanstory” deviates from a “manstory”. Gergen (1997) asks, “How do we rearrange the melodies of talk?” (p. 218).

At this point, I have presented a series of metaphors commonly used to explain a woman’s predicament in her assumption of creativity. A progression of metaphors starts with the image of a “militant female” who is urged into battle as a suffragette, and proceeds to images like the “glass ceiling” that are thought to promote limitations on a woman’s right to work, to establish a career and to be brilliant. Indeed, today across the world, one might say that the word “woman” is understood as a metaphor for the oppressed and for unrealized

potential. The “woman question” has been used here to draw attention to this terrible tradition; the “woman’s story” is suggested as a means of changing this situation.

Rosenwald and Ochberg (1992) observed, “The study of life stories is by no means novel. Psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists have long used the autobiographies of informants as a window into their experience and their social condition (Allport, 1965; Lewis, 1961; Shaw, 1938)” (p.2). The emphasis newly placed upon a cultural criterion that defines innovation and the situation of women in regard to creative achievement poses problems for conventional psychological approaches to the study of human creativity. Perhaps the most salient problem is the source material on which psychological accounts will rely. Early attempts to locate the most reliable source of creative experience recognized that a study of creativity “is not an issue that can be satisfactorily solved by the tools and techniques which present day psychologists commonly employ” (Burt, in Koestler, 1964, p.16). Instead of mental testing and experimental research, psychologist Cyril Burt thought that “what is really needed is a systematic study carried out by one of those rare individuals who himself happens to possess this gift of creativity” (in Koestler, 1964, p.17). These remarks are evidence of a common way of thinking about research: If you want to know something about creativity, you are best served if you ask questions of a person who has unquestionably had experience of it. If we follow this line of thinking, as it has been followed in creativity research, we see that autobiography has played a primary role in the psychological analysis of innovation (Schaffer, 1994).

A positivist approach to autobiography expected autobiographers to reflect a mirror image of the reality that exists out there and the natural laws that govern it. Realist ontology aims at predicting and controlling the natural phenomena it dispassionately observes. Great restraint is demanded of the subject and the investigator lest the objective “world out there” is contaminated with a subjective version of what is happening inside these minds. The inquirer set experiments so that questions were asked of the informant and answers were directly given back. Objectivist epistemology, however, requires a suitable distance between the inquirer and the subject in order not to influence or change the evidence in any way. The autobiographer is also distanced from the data, rendered inanimate, like the metaphor window or mirror that is thought to project a picture of reality uncontaminated by his/her unique subjectivity. Within this paradigm the autobiographical story is possible only within a narrowly conceived

framework. As a template for autobiography the positivist paradigm has produced only a select number of creativity stories suited to investigation; most are stories of men.

In response to the long-term neglect of a woman's view across many areas of human endeavour, including the underdevelopment of female autobiography, feminists have structured their own set of beliefs. This critical paradigm rejects the positivist notion that inquiry is "value free" (Bernstein, 1983; Popkewitz, 1984). Ideologically orientated, feminists see a paradigm as a human construction that reflects the values of its human constructors (Guba, 1990). Nature cannot be seen "as it is" or "how it works" through an objective window, it can only be seen and understood through a value window. In this way subjective epistemology allows strongly held values to mediate inquiry. The questions as to whose values shall be used and whether the findings of an inquiry are compromised by this choice are important ones for critics of the paradigm. The choice of a particular value system tends to empower and enfranchise some while disempowering others who are not chosen. Inquiry then can be seen as a political act.

The aim of critical theory is to raise the level of consciousness of oppressed people in order to transform the world. Feminist expectations of autobiography are that they make real the notions of self that come through the narrative. The inner world of individuals is defined, however, by the type of oppression that the person experiences. Guba (1990) notes that a feminist belief system holds a logical disjunction between realist ontology and subjectivist epistemology. Of particular concern to this thesis is feminist success in raising to "true consciousness" women as subjects of autobiography, but there appears to be a sense of "false consciousness" about the claim that feminism has successfully transformed the world. While feminists point to culture as the agent of oppression, critical approaches fail to provide a methodology that demonstrates how cultures that clearly need to change can be changed.

The problem I have with accommodating women within my research in creative phenomena is compounded by the scant history of women's autobiography. A critical stance such as that taken by feminists in research exposes the misleading emphasis that disciplines like psychology have placed upon select biography. By researching men and ignoring women's accounts of creativity, traditional science appeared willing to listen to some personal accounts and not to others. An ideological position, however, while it brings forth previously unconsidered autobiography for study, eradicates all other autobiographical accounts (Gergen, 1999). Subscribing to a feminist belief system seems to open new windows but completely

closes other windows of longstanding usefulness, leaving those who would understand creativity still with limited access to accounts of creative experience.

A woman's story

So far, this thesis, in building its own theory of women's creativity, accepts current, social/cultural conceptualizations of creativity. This thesis also includes women as active participants in the research which underpins this theory. How then might this thesis offer a full and unrestricted view of women who resolve problems of creativity within the cultural context of field and domain? I believe the traditional form of autobiography provides a suitable basis for achieving this project's aims. I also understand that the view of our world that is offered by recent developments in social construction allows this thesis to move beyond the obstacles I have outlined. Of particular importance to this thesis is the accompanying development over the last decade of a new awareness of what Rosenwald and Ochberg (1992) refer to as "storied lives".

In the book he calls "*An Invitation to Social Construction*", Kenneth Gergen (1999) draws attention to autobiographical accounts, and asks whether personal histories give truthful accounts of the past. Do they reveal an accurate picture of life as it is lived? This thesis adds to the question of truth applied to autobiography by asking whether a subjective autobiography could fully account for "how things happen" and "how things work" in domains and fields that support creative endeavour. Others add to this list of important questions with the finding that "calling stories true requires some category of stories called false" (Frank, 1995, p.22). Are we in the habit of questioning personal accounts? What kind of life story belongs to the false category? Indeed can a life be cancelled because the story of that life has not been told, or told in a form not conducive to its meaning? I am mindful of all those untold stories of unfulfilled women's lives when I ask what are the consequences of altering this relationship between text and life? Gergen (1999) says many in research have come to the conclusion that "the world as it has come to be" is nothing more than the "result of a particular configuration of words on paper" (p.143). If a story were configured differently, would the life represented in the story be less truthful or real? Thus Gergen puts forward a case for dialogue as the origin of constructed worlds. Dialogue serves as the "key organizing metaphor" for social constructionist theory.

CHAPTER FOUR

Process for a transit of Venus across the glass ceiling

In preceding chapters I have presented arguments that have prevailed over fifty years of creativity theory-building. I have tried to show how many of these issues, despite recent definitional agreement, remain unresolved and consequently prevent the emergence of an all-inclusive theory of creativity. I have also represented the current fractured state of creativity theory as inhibiting a wider understanding of human capacities for creativity. In order that we may participate in the important work of creativity theory building, this thesis offers a research process designed to overcome some of these limitations. This chapter is focused on the practical process whereby women's experience of creativity can be liberated from the confines represented by the glass ceiling. Metaphorically speaking, the method described in this chapter allows for a transit of Venus across the glass ceiling.

The methodology for this project is centred on the interviews I recorded with six creative women. The reason why these interviews were conducted was to present for analysis first-hand accounts of the experiences of creative women working in different domains. In this chapter a brief introduction to these six women and an outline of how their stories were formed will be given. How the raw data were collected and how meaning was developed through the preparation of these data will also be explained. While the six stories fit into the scheme of multiple case study methodology formulated by Yin (1989), further refinements of this method have been adopted and will be explained.

Case study design

From the beginning of this project I wanted to ask people how they do what has never been done before. How does one achieve innovation when by definition, this ability lies outside of any model one could devise to understand it? The design of this study has developed so that answers to broad questions are obtained from suitably experienced people. The research method best suited to this objective is the case study form but broad principles of qualitative research also influence the design. As Bogdan and Biklen (1992) have claimed, case study methods are flexible and so are particularly suited to investigation of unique phenomena like non-trivial novelty. Mishler (1990), in agreement with this view, proposes

that the researcher when designing a case bends the methodology to the peculiarity of the particular setting. Miles and Huberman (1994) also see qualitative case study methodology as “more a craft than a slavish adherence to methodological rules” (p.5).

Reading other accounts of the study of creativity stimulated my early thoughts. I noticed that amongst exponents of case study method applied to creativity investigation, there are diverse propositions as to just what comprises a case. Some say the case is a particular person (Arnheim, 1962; Gruber, 1974/1981); others say the case is more than a person or persons (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Feldman, Csikszentmihalyi & Gardner, 1994); while others say it is the productive process of creating (Ochse, 1990; Weisberg, 1993). Feminist case studies say the case is a woman or a group of women in a hostile context (Lynch, 1996; Subotnik & Arnold, 1996; Wiersma, 1992). Research methodologists, on the other hand, maintain that the case is shaped by concern for such things as appropriate levels of complexity, scale, manageability and clear boundaries (Mishler, 1992; Rosenwald, 1992).

Because this thesis is committed to an examination of contexts, particularly the diversity to be found amongst a broad range of domains, the design must be built around multiple participants engaged with different contexts. Additionally, this project intends, as much as it is able, to preserve within multiple cases Gruber’s (1999) idea of “inwardness” (p.99) of the single case. Hopefully the design mediates between these oppositional aims without sacrificing too much of one or the other. Multiple cases are the basis upon which comparisons vital to this project can be made.

The design of this project includes all the thinking, planning and decisions that were made prior to fieldwork commencing. Practical steps were taken according to the sum of all this thinking. The planning phase led to a conceptual framework that initially started the project and later propelled it through data gathering and analysis. Part of this study’s conceptual framework is the “*Theoretical Sensitivity*” (Glasser, 1978) of the researcher. In this instance sensitivity to the phenomenon was acquired over time by reading the creativity literature and from direct personal and professional experience of the phenomena in educational and artistic contexts.

The question of how creative people could be encouraged to talk about the form of originality they have achieved was addressed when, from my perusal of the literature, I found many first-hand accounts of creative achievement that were extremely credible. Second-hand stories removed in time from the actual achievement appeared vulnerable to distortion. Recording interviews with creators while they are creating seemed the most obvious direction to take. The design challenge was to create an interview process that allowed for genuine reflection and assessment of individual creative processes. So often, the participant can hide behind the glib response, glorious self-promotion or plainly be too embarrassed to speak about something so personal.

The design is “holistic” because the focus is on the whole process of research and does not favour one individual over another or regard one aspect more highly than another. As Reason (1994) has said the qualitative process is one that is undertaken “with people rather than on people” (p.1). Furthermore, a qualitative process is the “means by which people engage together to explore some significant aspect of their lives, to understand it better and to transform their action so as to meet their purpose more fully” (Reason, 1994, p.1). The design is also collaborative in the sense that multiple participants whose life stories can be compared and who in the course of their collaborative efforts will gain, at the very least, a degree of self-knowledge that is useful to them.

According to Stake (1995) the research design sets up a conceptual scheme for managing multiple cases which “requires conceptual organization, ideas to express needed understanding, conceptual bridges from what is already known, cognitive structures to guide data gathering, and outlines for presenting interpretations to others” (p.15). Current creativity theory uses such an organisational framework in the form of the three-part scheme of person, domain and field I have presented in Chapter Two. This scheme used by Feldman, Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner (1994) is the one I refer to as the “creativity dynamic”. The dynamic scheme used in this project is not only organizational but it is part of every phase of this methodology.

The process directed by many questions

The initial question directing this study was a very broad one that sought understanding of human creativity. What is the human capacity for creativity? How does one do it? Is this

capacity general across domains or is it specific to one, or a group of domains? Are creative activity and the production of creative solutions directly observable? How much time does creative production take? What happens prior to the discovery of novelty in different domains? What are the educative processes that make creativity possible? Are the female ways of knowing espoused by Gilligan (1982) and Code (1991) also domain-specific?

Qualitative research questions, according to Strauss and Corbin (1990), “start out broadly, become progressively narrowed and more focused during the research process” (p.38). When I found in preliminary readings of the creativity literature an undeclared absence of women in the research that underpins creativity theory and a disregard of women’s potential for creative production, it seemed appropriate to focus on the missing women. Is there a counter claim to the assertion in the literature that women are not creative? Is a woman’s experience of creativity qualitatively different to that which is reported in the research to be the experience of men? Feminist research, already discussed in Chapters Two and Three (Arnold et al., 1996; Belenky et al., 1986; Code, 1991; Gilligan, 1982) suggests women have distinct ways of being and knowing that are different from those of men. Is it likely that women may also experience creativity differently from men?

Another line of thought running through the literature suggests that each individual’s quest for creativity is unique and can be independently mapped by noting the way each person overcomes the obstacles set before them. Being female, as Kerr (1996) points out, appears to be a rather large obstacle. When obstacles are perceived and added to other difficulties, is the burden of creativity too great for women? Is this the reason why women are not reported to be able to achieve creative solutions?

Further questions inevitably arise when we look at women and their relationship with domains and fields. Are these institutions set up to favour men? If this is so, how do women project their careers? How do women negotiate with these organisations? In the past women were considered unsuited for membership in some domains. How are women overcoming these social and cultural barriers? The burden of teaching the next generation in most domains has fallen on female shoulders. Is the burden of teaching another barrier to success for creative women? Over the last century women have been caught up in great social change. Have these changes influenced proportionally greater rates of female creative production?

It became evident that an expanding list of questions was opening up a far larger field of inquiry than could possibly be contained in one study. Rather than narrowing the focus as Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommend, the questions above seem to expand the scope of a proposed investigation. From amongst these many questions, I started to notice how contextual theory espoused by Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner was only ever tested on “mostly men”. I consider that their conceptualization of a dynamic system of creativity explains more of creativity than has previously been the case. It seemed logical to me that the latest theory offered for understanding creativity should apply as much to women as it does to men.

The simple question on which this thesis rests asks if the creativity dynamic, which successfully explains a mostly male creative experience, can be used to also explain the different experience of women who would be considered creative. Furthermore, is the creativity dynamic flexible enough in all three sites of domain, field and individual to accommodate the changes found in women’s creative experience?

Introducing six creative women

The women who joined me in this research project are Australian and active in domains in which creativity can be achieved in that country. All are situated in a geographic region outside of the capital city of the state of NSW. Overall this region features a sizeable city on the coastline and many towns and villages in a rural area described as “Southern Highlands”. This area also has a university and other tertiary level institutions as well as residential, rural, educational, industrial and cultural enterprise and a significant tourism industry that support varied career choice. Some of the women live and work in the city, others in the towns of the hinterland and two live on rural properties. I selected the women from a district with which I am familiar and where possible candidates were recognizable and approachable. I wanted to avoid the pattern of selection I have drawn attention to in Chapters Two and Three, which starts with the premise that creative genius is extremely rare and exceedingly hard to find in large populations. The selection of participants according to this view is only possible after an outstanding creative contribution is made which may only be recognised by a few field specialists. All the women in this study were selected because they demonstrated creative potential by working in and being committed to a domain at some distance from major domain centres.

By the time interviewing commenced, the youngest participant was twenty-nine years old. Younger women were initially considered and even interviewed. One of these young women was a postgraduate Arts student and a published poet, another was working on a PhD in physics. Another woman I interviewed was a mature age student of sociology. Unfortunately, as students they were unable to show the substantial commitment to a domain required by my selection criteria. Other factors like boyfriends, family, a job and in one case religion, seemed to pull these students away from a solid commitment to the domain they had chosen.

Overall the ages of the women in this study range from one in her late twenties to one in each decade after that, the oldest being in her late seventies. The spread of ages at ten-year intervals was not intentional, simply the way it turned out. The age range is a factor in terms of the consideration given to a developmental perspective and to the influence of a temporal dimension on constructs of creative experience.

All the women in this study are Australian with the experience of living and developing careers in the Australian environment. This project initially planned to include indigenous and migrant women because this mix represented the typical Australian population. At the time it became obvious that the intended research could only be attempted with a smaller number of participants. The upper limit was six and the final selection of participants was determined on the basis of six different domains. Domains are the chief points of difference among these women and it is on the basis of these differences that the research will achieve its goals. After the first round of approaches and interviews it became apparent that the women in these categories were less engaged with a domain and so I decided they belonged in a separate investigation.

Related to the women's common nationality is an Australian perception that domain experience in that country is not sufficient for high-level creative accomplishment in most domains. In fact many Australians answer the call to go overseas in order to situate themselves at the top of a domain. Four of the six women have encountered this issue and one of the four is trying to reverse this trend.

By way of introducing the women participants, I present here one small sample from each interview transcript of what the women said to me about creativity in their own situation.

Karla¹ is 29.

She has connected with domains of chemistry and biology.

She has worked as a scientist for approximately 10 years.

Karla is talking about establishing a reputation in science.

I am very individualistic and I also have this creative side but I also have this analytical mind... So I have always wanted to do something that would make a difference....it is in between disciplines which lead to creative solutions.... By being in two disciplines rather than one, that is chemistry and biology, I can essentially draw on a greater range of knowledge and a much greater range of tools to come up with more creative solutions than I probably would not have been able to do if I had been in either one of those disciplines. What I have done is to put myself in this position. (Interview Transcript, 3.8.00)

Wanda is 38.

She has connected with domains concerned with food preparation and service.

She has also entered the broad domain of business.

She has worked as a chef for approximately 22 years.

Wanda is talking about what makes a good chef in Australia.

OK, you know why Australia's got the best chefs in the world? We have an extremely multicultural community, right? And we have these flavours being brought from Asia, to European to Slavic. Everyone in the world lives here in Australia and all of a sudden there's all these people who've grown up with Mum and Grandma who've shown them this and whatever else....There's no boundaries to cooking, to culture. Like, here, [the restaurant] I mean, look at our meals I mean it ranges from Italian to Asian to putting on a sandwich, right down to fish and chips. Australians love it. Australians love the challenge whether it be cooking or it be eating out...the Australian population will try anything...we're brought up

* To protect each participant's privacy, the names given to them and key people in their stories are fictitious.

thinking, oh, give it a go. If it's no good spit it out...and that comes into our cooking ability. (Interview Transcript, 12.3.01)

Willa is 43.

She has connected with psychology and politics.

She has worked as a psychologist for 20 years.

She has worked in local politics for the last 8 years.

Willa talks about her first profession:

I had no signs. I was driven to be good at everything. I was useless at art and PE. That's why I say I am not creative, but I guess I am creative in a constipated way. I was good at Maths, Science, English. I was good at everything. I studied hard but wanted to do well for its own sake. When I finished being good at it I had lost all enjoyment in anything. I thought Psychology at university was dreadful. It bore no relation to the work I do in private practice, which is more interesting. When I said I was good at everything I meant that in an academic way but I think my gift was with people...I think I understand people, what makes them tick. I think I stumbled on the right thing. (Interview Transcript, 12.10.00)

Anna is 59.

She has connected with domains of dance and music.

She worked as an entertainer for 13 years.

She has more recently held a field position for almost 10 years.

Anna talks about the beginnings of her career in the entertainment industry.

They signed us up on a contract which was separate really [from the stage show My Fair Lady] so we... they became our management and they introduced us to someone who was the first man - then Joe Latona...he was a terrific mover and the first time we saw him he'd heard us sing and he said, "I'd like you to try this movement" and I can remember it as if it were yesterday. We were in this little room and he showed us this step and we all did it as a group, as five and it was such a high because suddenly here was someone who understood what we were about...it had never been done before. (Interview Transcript, 15.3.01)

Connie is 69.

She has connected with domains of music, teaching and the visual arts.

She has worked as a teacher for over 40 years.

She has been involved with music for more than 60 years and performed with her voice for over 40 years. She has been a practising visual artist for 29 years.

Connie talks about the way she introduced herself to me while I was reading Howard Gardner's *Creating Minds*.

Oh the word itself drew me to interrupt your reading. It's a bit strange speaking to somebody that you don't know but I had to do that because the word was there and I found that incredibly interesting and I just hoped that you didn't say to me, "You're interrupting me, go away." I just know now that I'm getting older....I'm at last starting to understand what I should have done and how I should have done it in my life...I've always done these things [music, teaching music and painting] and I've always been driven...even creating what I did at school ensembles, and bands and orchestras, all of that is still manipulating music and making something that hadn't happened before. So that was the way I could make teaching interesting for me. (Interview Transcript, 26.2.01)

Delice is 79.

She has connected with the visual arts domain of painting and with the craft domain of fibre construction.

She has balanced work as a painter and weaver for more than 25 years.

Delice talks about her artistic inspiration:

Yes, well a lot of artists like to go outside and paint what they see but I think I've got a world within me that I want to make visual, into painting or whatever. I'll relax once I get used to this. I think that creativity to me means that I want to express what's in my inner world which is a lot of imagination and I seem to have lived in another world. I don't think I could have continued to live without my inner world because it's...it's very positive to me and it has a glow about it and there's always so much hope and joy in it and it's that that's kept me going and naturally I have to express it in colour. (Interview Transcript, 3.8.99)

Participant selection

If I were asked how these six women became known to me, I would answer that their reputation for working in particular domains directed me toward them. For instance Karla was unknown to me until I heard an interview with her on national radio. She talked about a crisis in her career when she sought funding to continue her research into new sources for antibiotics in relatively unknown marine species. I listened to her interview and was taken with the idea that scientific discovery could be so poorly funded (an area I thought was, compared with the Arts, well endowed). Anna was a friend whose story was revealed to me in a piecemeal fashion during the time we collaborated in setting up a youth theatre in our local area. Delice is a well-publicised artist within our community. The local media on a weekly basis covers Willa's career as a local politician. Connie taught music in the same school that I was teaching visual arts. I didn't know her that well until she approached me in a coffee shop when I was reading Gardner's (1993) *Creating Minds*. At this impromptu meeting we found we had much to say to each other on the topic of our shared interest in creative matters. Wanda's business was operating at the university in which I am studying. All observe how successfully this restaurant venture is integrated with the university campus.

The women I was already acquainted with were invited by me to take part in this project. With those not personally known to me I arranged a telephone introduction and extended the invitation after a brief explanation. After the initial approach all the women were sent a letter which formalized the invitation and provided further information. Everyone except Willa responded quickly, giving consent and expressing varying degrees of interest in the project. Willa required more information about the theorists involved, and appeared to me to be either confused or sceptical of the intention of this thesis. The information Willa requested was sent and secured her consent. All the women made appointments for a first interview. The women had busy schedules, so making appointments with them was not a simple process. Those in artistic domains were more flexible. Largely because of time constraints the women in different ways expressed their consent as conditional on the interviews being slightly structured, taking an agreed amount of time and held at a location convenient to them. All the women participated in two interviews separated by a period of weeks.

A unique interview situation

I set out to interview six women some of whom were friends and others strangers. All participants, including myself, share an interest in the domains in which the women work. Individually, the six women are professionally engaged with a domain to the extent that they have acquired knowledge and experience of a domain and have remained working in that domain. I, on the other hand, am engaged with these six domains because of my intention to study the women who work in them. Somewhat artificially I have acquired knowledge of five domains by observing people who work in them and by reading about them. I have direct experience of the domain of the artist and also teaching experience in that domain. I believe this experience gives me a domain connection that other domain practitioners can understand and share. I believe the domain connection I share with the participants in this project creates a special dynamic that underscores our collaboration in the interview process.

The approach I have taken with interviews and interviewing also reflects the collaborative ideal recently developed by other qualitative researchers like Reason, (1994) and Treleaven (1994). Drawing on the interviews in which Franklin (1994) encouraged professionally accomplished women artists to reflect on their work, I have structured an interview situation for six professional women working in different domains as interviewees and for myself as interviewer. Franklin (1994) based interviews on what she calls a “shared understanding” model which recognises the interview as an interpersonal “situation in which the interviewer attempts to gain understanding of how the interviewee experiences aspects of her own life and/or the world of objects and other persons” (p.102). According to this model the interviewer’s presence and indeed participation is accepted and to a limited degree contributes to what is said in the interview.

Whether the interviewer should answer the interviewee’s questions, exchange roles with the interviewee or transfer responsibility for conducting the interview to the interviewee for significant periods during the interview is a dilemma faced by other qualitative researchers (Hollway, 1989; Oakley, 1981). I have fully participated in these interviews believing that these approaches facilitate open expression and foster an egalitarian relationship between interviewer and interviewee.

The interviews in this research are directed toward understanding how domain practitioners approach innovation in their respective domains. My experience with visual artists makes me think that in this instance the pattern of interviewing where one person extracts information from another (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) is impossible. In the interviews I conducted, the artist/interviewee's quest to understand her own work is valued as much as the interviewer's intention to understand how and why some forms of creativity were achieved. It is established practice for artists to review each work in a succession of works to discover new directions. Critical review by knowledgeable others is a vital part of the artist's self-assessment process. In an interview situation with the artist/practitioner the interviewer expects to tap into the artist's review processes, and in turn the practitioner expects the interviewer to either corroborate her viewpoint or actively respond to her work and contribute to the review process. Failure to do so is seen by the interviewee as dishonouring an unvoiced agreement between the two people sharing this Arts connection. Practitioners in other domains, working with similar deep levels of engagement, also activate review processes. My aim in these interviews is to tap into the review processes of all the women interviewed.

When I asked the women if creativity theory as proposed by the research had any relevance to their work practice or their pursuit of creativity, most of the women indicated that they had no cause to think about their work in this way. I noticed that the women responded by verbally examining other related experiences for which they already had formed narratives. In the time between the first and second interviews the women suspended their old representation and had improvised a new representation that could be stored for future use or revision. Along with Franklin (1997) I noted that these completed and stored narratives do not necessarily remain the same in subsequent telling. Because the life/work narrative is subject to change over time, the two interviews provided opportunities for the women to rethink some ideas and to revise underlying narrative representations. It was expected that the women during the two interviews reallocated the importance they had attached to some events and reassessed their own development (see Appendix A).

When responding to questions in an interview situation, the interviewee makes a verbal representation of experiences that have a bearing on the particular question. Franklin (1997), however, thinks we can assume that certain experiences exist in non-narrativized form as images, snapshots, rhythms or sense impressions and so on. The individual draws on them as well as narrative forms when new representations are developed and stored. The

women I talked to demonstrate this point, when during the interview they referred to their varied work forms or workplace to illustrate their thoughts. I felt it was necessary for me to be familiar with the women's work and conduct the interview in their workspace so that I was able to take in these non-verbal references.

A style of interviewing suggested by Reinharz (1992) is one suited to interviews with women. It is believed that this form of interview responds well to women's situations in a gender-stratified society and uses techniques thought to produce woman-centred, deeply textured accounts of women's experience. This kind of technique calls for open-ended questions that are delivered in a loosely structured conversational fashion. It is generally understood that prepared questions tend to encourage the same response from different participants and obscure the detail of individual experience. Interviews structured on pre-set questions inhibit the teller from telling a story in his or her own fashion. When interviews depend on an array of questions in various categories as this one does, however, the interviewer must make many in-depth questions seem spontaneous. In this case I used a protocol of prepared questions to focus the interview and as a mental framework so that I could keep track of the questions asked in each interview.

The interview protocol

The protocol used in this study was adapted from the schedule of questions used by Csikszentmihalyi and his students when between 1990 and 1995 they videotaped interviews with 91 exceptional individuals. The protocol is a set of predetermined questions that may be asked of all respondents, however in the interest of keeping 91 interviews "as close to a natural conversation as possible", Csikszentmihalyi (1996, p.16) asked questions in a different order and used different words and phrasing in each interview. Because I, too, hoped to get "genuine and reflective answers" (Csikszentmihalyi 1996, p.16) the protocol I developed from this model was extensive, yet it primarily functioned as a focusing device. The protocol sets the boundaries of the issues the interviewee is expected to reflect upon. It also provides the means for the interviewer to redirect the interview if the content strays into irrelevant areas. While the protocol contains three sets of questions organised in a certain order, departures from it are encouraged.

Not all questions were asked of each participant; rather, questions were asked only if the interviewee appeared uncertain or hesitant. As the interviews progressed I noticed that after my first questions the interviewee quite naturally steered the interview to topics indicated in the protocol. Additionally the questions are used at different stages of the interview to consolidate relationship building, probe memories, provoke rich discussion, to recall memories of past attitudes and encourage the exploration of possibilities for the future. I gave the women a copy of the protocol at the end of the first interview and created time for reflection upon them with a minimum space of two weeks between the first and second interview.

The protocol (see Appendix A) contained a cover sheet explaining the aims of the interview and the organisational framework of person, domain and field in relation to creative activity. Thirty-two questions are listed in the section on establishing a career over a lifetime. Thirty-five questions are listed in the section related to relationships of a personal and professional nature. Thirty-eight questions explore working habits and insights. For those who had difficulties starting, questions such as, “Of all the things you have done in your life, of what are you most proud?” were asked. Typically one answer led naturally on to other topics within the protocol. If a topic required more detailed speculation, prompts such as, “What were the personal qualities that helped you achieve this goal?” were used. Other questions such as, “Does being a woman influence the value you place on this achievement?” were asked to extend a topic.

Two interviews: a reflective process

I negotiated with each candidate two spaces in their busy lives for audio-taping two interviews. The first interview was offered as a one-hour time slot and the second allowed two to three hours at least two weeks later. All but three interviews were held in either the home or working place of the domain practitioner. In the case of the entertainer both interviews were conducted at my house because it was convenient and I had already witnessed this friend at work in teaching situations involving rehearsal and dance performance. In addition I used my memories of the televised performances she and her group were most renowned for. Connie, the musician, held her first interview at my house because it was more convenient for her busy schedule at that time. The second longer interview was scheduled in her workspace. Although I tried to keep to the time limit, the women themselves, once engaged in their story, overran the limits, taking as much time as they needed to tell their story. The two most rigidly

controlled time slots were squeezed into a mayor's schedule before a crucial election, however, under pressure to finish her story Willa also managed to extend the time of both interviews. Each of the six women was assured that at any time she could stop the interview but none chose to do so. One set of interviews was completed before I moved on to the next, consequently the first interview started in August 1999 and the last was taped in April 2001.

The second interview was held two weeks after the first meeting. This was thought to be adequate time for each woman to peruse the questions she was given at the end of the first interview session and to reflect on possible answers to them. The women were encouraged to talk freely about privately explored material and to seek new understanding of the topics raised in the protocol. For this reason the second interview was much more time-consuming. The protocol gave the second interview structure and to some extent formality but by allowing the women to talk about their self-reflection in their own time, at their own pace and as it was relevant to the domain they worked in, these interviews became less formal in the free flow of conversation. Every opportunity was taken to encourage the participants to use this reflective process to create new meanings or understandings of their creativity.

Analysis: taking a narrative turn

I have previously drawn attention to the historical record where in the arts and other domains there appears an absence of first-hand accounts of women's experience. The missing dialogues and the silence of women regarding their experience in most domains permeate the historical texts which in turn spread a message that women for many centuries have had no experience of being an artist, a scientist or other domain practitioner and furthermore, have not had the opportunity to be creative within many domains. Whether women have engaged with domains and fields is obscured by the absence of narrative on this subject. This research attempts to retrieve women's lost narratives and to present them for analysis.

The analysis of personal stories involves more than asking several people to tell a story of an experience they have in common. Individuals, as they construct the narrative, try to make sense of their lives. Gergen and Gergen (1984) believe that telling a life story also gives direction to lives. Others holding the view that meanings are socially constructed (Lincoln, 1990) see stories as the work of story makers (Cohler 1982). Together, the teller, the audience

and the researcher impose a sense of plausibility on the narrative as they weave fragmentary episodes of experience into a coherent and intelligible history (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992).

Life stories are told within particular cultural traditions that are available to story makers at the time of telling. Creative women bring to their stories the cultural traditions of the disciplines they are asked to describe. As I have argued, one story can be influenced by many different traditions. Personal narratives contain different interpretations of one event depending on whether the story is constructed in the past, present or future. My approach to creative women's narrative representations is then, as Cohler (1982) has stated, that personal narrative recounted at any point imposes an intelligible and followable order on "inherently unpredictable" life experience and "represents the most internally consistent interpretation of presently understood past, experienced present and anticipated future at that time" (pp. 206-207).

Each of the narratives this research presents also reflects the individual's struggle for self-understanding (Gergen, 1999). Throughout the interview process the women have demonstrated the strength of their motivation to understand their life/work experience in terms of their creativity. In common with Lysaght (2001) I found that by taking the opportunity to tell their story in this way the women achieved a sense of empowerment, that they could use their self-understanding to direct their careers, their creativity and their life in a positive way. These stories are not put forward as mirror images of the women's experiences. The women's stories in fact become as Mishler (1992) claims, "an analytic object that becomes the basis for interpretation" (p.26).

There are many approaches to analysing personal accounts but the kind of approach most suited to this study is one that "turns to narratology" (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992, p.4). While informant reports have described events, objects and encounters which were thought to become more vivid by being the informer's own story expressed in their own words, an awareness of the implications of *Storied Lives* (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992) shows us that informants now not only speak for themselves but their stories gain significance through subjective and intersubjective interpretation (Walzer, 1987). In fact "personal accounts are now read with an eye not just to the scenes they describe but to the process, product, and consequence of reportage itself" (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992, p.2).

Narrative analysis in its simplest form can be described as a search for meaning in the words people use. A new understanding of the complexity of the relationship between language and meaning has accompanied the narrative turn, expanding the viewpoints from which the analysis of text can be undertaken. For instance Wittgenstein (1978) has argued that the meaning of a word can be found by looking at the way it is used in the language. Others like J.L. Austin (1962) suggest that *We do Things with Words*; language provides not a mirror image of life but it is the doing of life itself. As Vialle (1991) found in her study of the development of intelligences in preschool children, language has a definite performative aspect. Gergen (1999) reminds us that “We give to texts their meaning...texts only come into meaning through their function within relationship” (p.42). We can also conceptualise speech as actions (*Speech Acts*), which accomplish something within an interpersonal world (Searle, 1970). When we examine the dialogue of a conversation, “we have variously centred on the means by which persons together marshal discursive resources, perform, objectify, negotiate, position and so on to create comprehensible worlds” (Gergen, 1999, p. 148). Any one of these foci provides a basis for analysis.

My approach to the analysis of six women’s stories draws on two broad strategies identified by Franklin (1997). Each of these strategies has a different focus. One strategy is bound by the view that stories and the meanings they hold are constructed within linguistic traditions available to story makers at the time of telling. Analysis according to this approach involves an examination of the structural components and processes of linguistic traditions. At a level of microanalysis, words, sentences and paragraphs are the smaller units of narrative analysis. At a macro level the researcher examines the way language is ordered into acceptable grammatical forms. How are thoughts and ideas shaped into coherent arguments? With what degree of agility is the teller using language to express the culture that supports him or her?

Another strategy “focuses on the stuff of the narrative, the material that constitutes it” (Franklin, 1997, p.108). This might commonly be referred to as plot, content, subject matter or theme. Davis and Gergen (1997) suggest that a line of plot is arranged around themes and normal lives contain multiple plot lines. Overall, my approach to making meaning of six stories draws on both strategies with their separate foci on plot and language, but favours the examination of themes that emerge from each story. I favour analysis of plot over a study of language components because this mix fits the comparative case study framework I have

employed. A more linguistic analysis would involve a specialized if not technical skill beyond my limited expertise as a researcher. Additionally, a micro level of technical analysis has limited capacity for aiding understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. That is not to say that a theme-based analysis or a linguistic study is best used in isolation, rather it is the case that neither approach can be used on its own without attracting predictable criticism. Along with Mishler (1995) and Franklin (1997), who suggest that these strategies are complementary, I have adopted an integrative approach to analysis that favours a study of the themes that arise from my conversations with six creative women.

During the collection phase I came to hold the view that interviews in their raw state unfairly present the stories of those highly skilled in the use of language and mask themes that indicate the real story of those highly skilled in non-language areas. The six women in this study represent practitioners in six domains not all of whom rely on highly-developed language skills to carry their creativity. In fact none of the women have poorly developed linguistic skills; they use language in combination with other more highly-developed non-verbal skills such as musical ability, bodily movement, taste and smell discrimination, colour and visual sensitivity, rhythm, scientific and technical reasoning and so on. I believe that the steps I have taken, in making transcripts of the recordings and turning them into readable stories, present each case more equitably. In addition, carrying out these activities by first listening and then organising what I heard into written stories served to sensitise me to the components of each case. This process enabled me to recognise the themes running through each story, to collapse these themes together and to compare them with the themes of other creativity research.

It can be argued that these preparatory steps make the material less than original. The protocol and the way it was used to stimulate conversation could be viewed as a strategy for imposing my views on the women I interviewed. Further accusations of tampering with the raw data could be directed to my efforts to make written stories of these verbal accounts. As Reissman (1993) has made clear, the simple act of transcribing recorded interviews involves making many theory-laden judgements. My answer to possible criticism must be that I found that raw data are not always accessible or intelligible. Material gained from verbal accounts is not always ready for analysis. Under pressure to finish, the researcher may give a distinct advantage to data requiring less preparation. I do not equate preparation of data with destroying meaning or tampering with evidence; rather I see it as making all possible meanings accessible.

The preparation of data as I have described also serves to isolate the components of each story. Properties like themes, plots and language skilfulness all contribute to the “coherence of lives” (Gergen, 1999, p.9). In this case, claims made about the working life of women, until recently, lacked any coherence at all. Women have had to appropriate other voices (usually of men with that experience) using themes foreign to their experience in order to tell stories of career, work and life. The extent to which these women have appropriated the themes of successful and creative men is a question for this analysis and one that necessitates keeping distinct the themes emerging from this study of creative women and themes from the research which to date has been predominantly tested on men.

Multiple case analyses: a synthesis both wider and penetrating

This research is structured on the analysis of common themes running through the narrative representations of six creative women. Themes emerging from the women’s stories exist in contrast to the themes that have accumulated from over fifty years of creativity research. At this point I intend to describe how I use two distinct sets of themes to find answers to the main research question.

The problem I see with using themes for multiple case analyses is that the processes followed over many cases tend to aggregate or average out the characteristics the themes highlight. This provides a very thin description of the phenomena under investigation in the same way that adding up the separate variables in quantitative experiments destroys the uniqueness of a case and leaves an explanation that may not even apply to any one case. We can be left with a set of characteristics of a type or a stereotype unrelated to the conditions that have made and revealed them.

Overall the themes used in this project are divided into two distinct groups. First there are the themes expected to emerge out of this analysis, either from a single woman’s story or from the cross comparison of all the women’s stories. These themes I call *emergent themes*. Because these themes are yet to be discovered they will not be described in this section.

Other themes running through the last fifty years of creativity investigation and which I use here, as they are represented in the research of Howard Gardner and Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, are called *organisational themes*. These themes have come out of creativity

scholarship and they are familiar to this investigation. They are described in Chapter Two and can be discussed here without pre-empting the study's findings.

Organisational themes are assembled in the protocol and introduced into the research process at the outset, with the intention of stimulating *emergent themes*. The protocol has assembled in it three categories of themes and each category embraces interacting dimensions of person, domain and field. The first group of themes relates to creative careers set in domains for as long as a lifetime. The second is organized around relationships, private and professional and includes a degree of self-awareness. The last refers to the working habits and insights of creative people.

This analysis proceeded to determine whether the contextual theory of creativity (a concept structured on the organisational themes) I have described in Chapter Two is able to explain the different creativity experiences (emergent themes) of the six women participating in this study. First, all the themes from past research were tabled. This table became a template for extracting compatible themes from the women's stories. The theme content of each case was then tabled. The broad spread of themes were compared across the six cases. As Gruber and Wallace (1999) have said, they were "brought to bear on each other" to produce "a documented synthesis both wider and penetrating" (p.111).

By comparing similarities and differences of the emergent themes in the women's stories across the cases I found a strong pattern of differences. The weaker pattern of similarities in all cases, however, became the basis of the twenty *Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* (see Appendix B). The similarities were then examined to see what they revealed about the women's experience. Typically questions such as, "From over one hundred possible themes why did these twenty emerge to describe the women's creative experience?" were asked. Are these twenty themes a comprehensive statement of the women's creativity experiences? Is this statement distinct from other creativity statements?

Some of the themes referred to the women's domain experience while others offered a glimpse of the women's field situations. The remaining group seemed to define qualities of the individual person. The analysis of *Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* proceeded on the basis that they were a collective statement of the women's creativity experience and this statement varied in particular areas from the statement offered by creativity theory. The points

of difference were evident in the three areas of the theory, domain, field and individual person. The analysis carried out on this basis tests the contextual theory, asking if the women's experience of creativity is a contextual one. This analysis also seeks to confirm whether creativity theory can explain the women's experience at all of its sites.

The parameters of this analysis are set by the question I regard as overarching. Interpretations of *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* are strictly used to challenge contextual theory. It is not for this analysis to spill over to the many other issues attached to a theory of creativity. Nor is it the task of this thesis to inquire into the issues arising at each theoretical site. The purpose of this analysis is to test contextual theory by drawing out the issues and dilemmas that are evidence of the women's engagement with those sites. If contextual theory does explain the women's different experience we can support the theory by asking how the theory changes as it accommodates the women's narratives.

Analysis: issues of validity and reliability

According to Gruber and Wallace (1999), creativity research appears to have given up on the mixed "blessings of precision and verifiability" and swapped them for the "vagaries of the case study method" (p.111). In their view this is something well lost and a sign that qualitative research has come of age (at least no longer inappropriately tying experimental terminology to qualitative investigation). Despite general acceptance of the arguments which profess the unsuitability of concepts like verifiability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) and generalizability (Denzin, 1983) applied to qualitative case study, creativity researchers still want to know if their findings make sense beyond one specific case; they naturally want to know the commonalities of several cases.

Increasingly, creativity researchers are using multiple cases with forms of cross-case analysis to address this issue. Superficially, comparative analysis across many cases is deemed to increase the generalizability of qualitative findings. In reality, or more appropriately at a deeper level, multiple-case analysis is unrelentingly local while directed toward seeing "processes and outcomes across many cases, to understand how they are qualified by local conditions and thus to develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.172).

The proofs of findings generated in the way I have described, ultimately form a synthesis of many “unrelentingly local” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.147) conclusions. In other words, this close look at women’s creativity involves dealing with the complex network of events and processes in each woman’s situation. One story contains a multiplicity of intersecting plots (Abbott, 1992). One plot line naturally shows what happened in what order through the viewer’s own observation or retrospection. As Abbott (1992) observed, “every event lies in many narratives at once. Every event has multiple narrative antecedents as well as multiple narrative consequences” (p. 438). Unravelling plot lines also entails a temporal dimension because plots unfold over time and can only be explained or understood in that way.

The results of this research being characteristically interpretive can be considered trustworthy by means of their “transferability”. This is offered by Lincoln (1990) as one of four criteria for the trustworthiness of qualitative findings and this notion is supported by Stake (1983) who calls this making “naturalistic generalizations”. The qualitative equivalent of reliability is a matter of providing sufficient thick description of a particular context so that others may adequately judge the applicability or fit of the inquiry findings to their own context.

By presenting these women’s stories of achievement for analysis, this thesis also presents its findings to a larger circle of judgement that in the course of time renders this result as evidence.

The evidence generated by interpretive research is much more likely to be of an evocative rather than a comprehensive kind, to be sustained, rejected or refined through future studies. The conclusions of one study merely provide a starting point in a continuing cycle of inquiry, which may [or may not] over time serve to generate persuasive patterns of data from which further conclusions can be drawn. (Morgan, 1983, p.398)

CHAPTER FIVE

Karla's Story

Karla chose to tell her story in the cottage she shares with her partner. The house is interestingly situated on an escarpment, which overlooks the coastal strip and the university that has engaged Karla in a postdoctoral fellowship. The view from her home mirrors the elements in nature Karla is most passionate about. She has launched a career in Science, based on the combination of biology and chemistry. Her PhD research is a solid basis on which she is currently establishing a reputation within Science both locally and internationally. In this research, using sustainable bioprospecting techniques and her study of temperate molluscs, Karla has discovered a usable antibiotic. Karla has excellent prospects of discovering and developing further pharmaceutical products and delivering a high level of published material on her findings. At this time she is attracting venture capital funding, pharmaceutical company and university attention as well as being noticed by the popular press. Her work is now in the public arena, all of which forces her to make big and “scary” decisions about her future work. She has been awarded one of the few postdoctoral fellowships available in Australia. Karla was eager to participate in this study because she is passionate about her work. She readily identified the creative forces at play in her life and particularly those that are shaping her career. Karla shares her life with a partner who she says is more emotionally dependent on her than most others. She also said they do not plan to include children in their plans for a stable home life. Karla was approximately twenty-nine years old at the time of giving this interview.

Karla started the story of her career with an assessment of those qualities she identifies as contributing to her unique success in science.

Back to my school days again. When I was young I really did enjoy doing art more than anything else, particularly wood carving and drawing...I guess I found it a little bit frustrating in the sense that I could never reproduce anything nearly as beautiful as nature itself. So although I did enjoy doing art, my real passion was for nature itself. It is not all that surprising that I went into biology. (Interview, 3.8.00)

In high school Karla was very good at maths and found it natural to engage her analytical mind in nature's problems. At university she used her mathematical skills but

found no relevance to life or society in this comparatively abstract discipline. She says this was at odds with her search for purpose and knowing she wanted to do something that would make a difference in the world. She turned to chemistry to acquire skills for solving the problems she saw in the natural world. She regarded this as a suitable application of her mathematical and analytical skills, even though she had good reasons for not wanting to be a chemist. “I found organic chemistry quite interesting and inorganic chemistry completely uninteresting...organic molecules are the basis of life so I was always very interested in the evolution of life” (Interview, 3.8.00).

She thought of chemists as “stuffy old people in lab coats throwing chemicals around” (Interview, 3.8.00). Her grandfather was a chemist in Germany and was dragged into making destructive things like gunpowder so she had strong and possibly negative feelings about chemistry as an occupation. “I don’t think I could contribute to anything that leads to death rather than life because life is my passion” (Interview, 3.8.00). She rationalized her choice of career on the fact that in chemistry you are exposed to toxic compounds. There is a history of cancer in her family. It is not surprising that Karla finds the ideal of chemistry less inspiring than the ideal of being a biologist. She now regards the use of her chemistry skills as “just a tool for answering biological questions” (Interview, 3.8.00).

By the time Karla was at university she had several years to build on her passion for the natural world. Nature and particularly the Australian bush captured her early attention and provided a fount of knowledge and inspiration for her. She found herself seeking out the chemistry skills that would allow her to answer the biological questions her focus on nature provided. This made her unusual because most chemists are distanced from the organisms they study and are generally more interested in what Karla terms “the greater picture” (Interview, 3.8.00). Chemists do not typically apply their skills to biological questions and biologists do not usually have the chemist’s skill or confidence to answer these micro level questions without resorting to some form of collaboration with suitably qualified people.

By being in two disciplines rather than one...I can essentially draw on a greater range of knowledge and a much greater range of tools to come up with more creative solutions than I probably would have been able to do, if I had been in either one of those disciplines. What I have done is to put myself in this position. I guess that makes me different from most other people in terms of the skills that I

have and, although I didn't do that for a strategic job sort of reason, I did it because they were my passions and they were my skills and that was what I was using. (Interview, 3.8.00)

When building a career in science any young scientist with prospects must establish a reputation within the international scientific community. In Australia it is thought the best way of achieving this is to increase contact with other established scientists usually by going overseas for four or five years. Karla says that when she applied for a PhD scholarship she received a lot of offers from everywhere so she presumed that by maintaining a high standard of scholarship throughout the PhD process, the "post docs" would be forthcoming.

The situation regarding postdoctoral fellowships in Australia is that only fifty-five scholarships at this level are available, they are incredibly competitive and this small number is offered across all disciplines. Overseas scholarships are more readily available and more lucrative. Karla says that she is stubborn but obtaining an Australian postdoctoral scholarship was surprisingly difficult. She said, "You would think these are the kinds of people you would want to encourage in Australia, people who are a little different and not just doing what they are told or following somebody else's line of research" (Interview, 3.8.00). Karla wanted to do her own research, "I have all these ideas and I wanted to research these ideas. I didn't want to work on someone else's problem" (Interview, 3.8.00).

Because her research is centred on Australian marine organisms which are unique in the world, and with so little known about them, she feels it is important to continue studying them in Australia. Also because of Karla's interdisciplinary position she says there was no obvious mentor for her in Australia. Although she acknowledges that it is desirable to gain research experience with the best in the world, she also has personal reasons for staying put that affect her work and go beyond her love of Australian nature.

In science they tend to forget that you may have a life outside of science. They don't expect you to have a life...when you have a partner and he is grounded to a particular place you are faced with a decision to live apart from them for a few years or sacrificing your job for a few years. (Interview, 3.8.00)

Stubbornness is the trait that Karla says directed her resistance to taking the career steps expected of scientists. She also thinks that she could learn more in one month from her interactions with other scientists than in the usual way of working with them on non-important routine tasks for three years or more. Thus she has rationalized a home and a working base in Australia and visits overseas only when the need arises.

Karla accepts the notion that a scientist must develop a “sound reputation” while working at his or her career. The larger field of science dictates the form of this reputation with some differences allowed in the individual domains like chemistry, physics and biology. Today difference is tolerated more than it has been in the past, though the umbrella-like function of the scientific paradigm is still both protective and unifying. Karla discussed the issues that arose from her own negotiation of field and domain.

In science quite often your reputation is dependent on the reputation of your mentors as well. If you have studied or worked under someone with a great reputation you are recognised, as being part of that research group.... Reputation is all-important in science. It's all-important in terms of getting grants, of having your research funded but it's also important in getting respect from the community. Unless you are a respected scientist or you are respected by your peers you can't expect to be respected by the community. (Interview, 3.8.00)

As a young scientist with a social and an environmental conscience, Karla holds the view that the community needs to know about all the research that scientists undertake. Indeed, the “research itself is irrelevant unless other people find out about it” (Interview, 3.8.00). However, she finds that older scientists, and by extension the scientific establishment, take the position that communication to the public undermines the research itself, if not the scientist's claim to a reputation in science. Her own research has brought her to the crossroads where old and new views collide.

A lot of old school scientists are a little bit conservative but a bit cynical about communicating to the public and have the attitude that if you are communicating to the public, you are sacrificing time that could be otherwise spent doing your research. There is no doubt that it is time-consuming to actually communicate to the public and to work with community groups. At the same time there needs to be

recognition of the fact that you can't actually communicate to the public unless you have done the science first. It does come down to balancing it, to finding that balance between communication and research. (Interview, 3.8.00)

Another reason has been suggested to Karla as to why older scientists do not like communicating their findings to the wider public. That is, they just do not have the skills to do it, and so are jealous of the younger scientists who can. Certainly Karla says that as a young scientist she is driven by her concern for all living things and wants scientific practice to sustain life and not destroy it, as it has been seen to do in the past. Essentially, she sees communication with the community as a vital role for those who would change the public face of science to one of sustainability. She is also very aware that taking this stand will compromise her most valued reputation and indeed all that is supported by it. Karla believes that she is one of a generation that will change the domains of science by extending these tight notions of reputation and by opening up issues that cause such a great dependence upon rigid scientific publication. She says that your reputation primarily results from the publications you have out there in the scientific literature, how many peer reviewed articles you have and what the impact of those articles and journals is in terms of the author's respectability in science.

It doesn't matter how many community groups you have worked with. It doesn't matter how many popular magazines you have written articles for...that really is a disincentive to communicate to the general public, because you are pushed for time, you are always working really hard and you have to choose strategically what is the best thing for me to do. It will always be to do the research and get those scientific publications out there. If you do have a social conscience or an environmental conscience of any sort, you do have to make those sacrifices and make some hard decisions about how to approach it. (Interview, 3.8.00)

Another issue relating to reputation, according to Karla, is the scientist's preferred means of communicating the content of their research. Writing skills used in scientific reports are different to the style of writing used if the scientific content is to be understood by the public. Similarly, working with community groups or participating in film and television interviews are not traditionally the means of communication used by scientists. Karla described an article she had written about molluscs for a popular nature magazine as "the

hardest thing I have written in my life” (Interview, 3.8.00). She found this article to be challenging because it was so different from the form and style of writing she has learnt is effective for scientific reports.

In scientific papers you have to write with no emotion, you have to write very factually. This is why it is interesting, that is what I found, this is how I did it and these are the conclusions I drew. That doesn’t appeal to a generalist audience at all. To write to a general audience you have to bring in the passion and the excitement. It’s a completely different style of writing. It is like putting on these different hats and many scientists cannot do it. (Interview, 3.8.00)

According to Karla, because many older scientists do not have these additional communication skills, nor do they wish to acquire them, they develop a feeling of inadequacy and unfortunately are extremely rigid in promoting their views on building a reputation within the domain.

The other side of this equation, in Karla’s opinion, is the notion that doing research is the single most important part of a scientist’s work; it is also a habit under threat in today’s academic institutions.

It seems to me that with the enormous cuts to university funding, teaching for many young academics has become everything. They no longer have time to spend on research at all because their teaching loads are so outrageous. There is no money for casual teaching. I was doing some casual lecturing and getting paid at appalling rates. It takes two weeks to prepare; it’s a nightmare. (Interview, 3.8.00)

In the very short period of time in which she has navigated the domain of science, Karla has established her own priorities and assumed many extra responsibilities; “I guess what is ultimately important to me...I love the research and that is what I want to do but at some stage in one’s life you have to realize that research does cost money” (Interview, 3.8.00). When she realized that her research had the potential to earn “big money returns” (Interview, 3.8.00), Karla also thought that if she did not make the most of this opportunity someone else would. By involving herself in all aspects, including the financial side of her research, she says she has a better chance of directing some of the profits back into marine

biodiversity research. Although she feels this is “scary” and does feel out of her depth, this aspect of funding research in the future has to be one of her priorities. Karla admits that teaching is an important role for scientists, though she has directed her own teaching to supervising post-graduate students because this allows her to make best use of her time, allows her to connect with the nascent creativity in her field and in a way best suited to her research, fulfils the obligations of her fellowship.

To be creative in science is Karla’s top priority. When asked to participate in this study she said that she reflects on her career and her creativity periodically to maintain purpose and to understand how she might perform creatively within this seemingly controlled domain. Most recently she has recommended her process to science teachers at a conference where she told them to reflect back on what they have done and ask why they have done things in a particular way.

She described creativity in science as developing in multi-layered stages. First, one is searching for an original hypothesis, and then one must design an experiment to test the proposal. This is science’s most creative step because here is where new technologies are created. Once a scientist has results, the interpretation of them produces new knowledge which has great value to the world at large. She thinks that although science is perceived as the opposite of creative in its striving for fact, rigour and objectivity, “the whole process is inseparable from creativity” (Interview, 3.8.00).

Passion also plays an important part in Karla’s notion of creativity in a scientific domain. Karla said how inspiring the life of female scientist, Rachel Carson, was in leading her to value passion as an essential of good science.

...partly because of her incredible passion for nature and life but also because she essentially put herself right in the firing line. In the 1960s she wrote a book called *Silent Spring* which was essentially revolutionary in terms of the environment. She was a marine biologist who started becoming very concerned about the use of pesticides, particularly in agriculture, and did a lot of research, put together a book which was incredibly well referenced with her research from around the world as to the effect of pesticides on both the environment and humans in terms of causing

harm, causing cancer and other such things...her book essentially led to the banning of DDT as an incredibly toxic chemical but also it led to the first environmental laws in America and subsequently, I think, in another twenty-two nations around the world. It led to grass roots environmentalism. (Interview, 3.8.00)

Karla says that Rachel Carson was hounded and criticised by the media and the science establishment. She was portrayed by them as a spinster, who had no place caring about the environment. Her scientific work was not taken seriously and she was judged on the basis of her sex. Karla says, “in the face of the awful reception and attitudes of other people she always maintained her passion and kept going and ultimately won in the end” (Interview, 3.8.00). In addition, Karla thinks that Rachel Carson is “just one example of what I think is really important in terms of actually conveying scientific information with...passion and I think if you’ve got the passion you are much more likely to reach the community” (Interview, 3.8.00).

In the course of conducting her own PhD research Karla has had the opportunity to apply these lessons when she experienced the intolerance of the domain for what is generally regarded as a female and thereby insignificant trait that belongs outside the realm of science. She says:

My research has essentially been involved with looking for antibiotics in marine organisms. But because I was doing it as an incentive for conservation, I was also interested in biodiversity and during the course of my study I was also interested in ensuring that my research was sustainable which is quite interesting because if you just come from a chemical background you don’t necessarily recognise the impact that you can have on organisms when you collect them. So I was very concerned about that and did these enormous biodiversity surveys of molluscs, the species I was working on, up and down the coast and what I found was this incredible hot spot of biodiversity...the intertidal area is quite unique. (Interview, 3.8.00)

Recently, Karla found there were plans to develop a piece of coastline that she was very familiar with. The environmental impact study undertaken by the developers reported only eleven species of mollusc, whereas Karla had recorded one hundred and sixty one varieties. Because this was alarming to Karla she turned to another marine biologist who had a lot of

experience with environmental assessments and who is considered by the scientific establishment to be one of the leading scientists in Australia. Karla wrote to him making it clear that she was not an ecologist, was a natural products chemist, and had at this point no experience with environmental impact statements, but she clearly felt that this one was a clear misrepresentation of the biodiversity of the coastal area. In seeking expert advice Karla was shocked and appalled at his response, “which essentially implied...that he was surprised that a PhD student in science could be so emotional and passionate and basically that the only advice he could give me was to pull myself together and be reasonable” (Interview, 3.8.00).

Karla’s response to this “offensive attack” (Interview, 3.8.00), was against the advice of others who said he was abrupt and generally a difficult person to deal with. She was not able, as they suggested, to “leave it” (Interview, 3.8.00). Being a reasoning person she determined that she wanted him to respect her as a scientist and that because this expert in her field could be a potential mentor she needed to have respect going both ways, between possible student and teacher. For these reasons Karla decided to pursue further communication with this man whom she perceived to be clearly sexist. He had little respect for women to the extent that he believed women do not have the right kind of mind for science nor can they achieve because their nesting instincts get in the way. Karla says of her pursuit of his regard:

Fortunately, I actually invited him to a seminar that I gave at an international conference and was quite surprised that he did actually come along and I think subsequently that I have won his respect...that he has discovered that I am not just an emotional twit with a passing interest...not just a greenie...and that I was actually a genuine scientist. (Interview, 3.8.00)

There is no doubt that Karla has now positioned herself so that she can learn from this highly respected scientist. She still disagrees with him over the issue of whether emotion and passion have a place in science. Karla says it was very interesting to hear him speak at the conference she invited him to and at subsequent seminars where she found his talk to be extremely interesting, full of the passion for his subject that is in Karla’s view indicative of an extremely creative scientist.

By way of an explanation to this gendered dilemma Karla talks about passion as coming from a female part of herself, while the analytical side she says is part of her make-up may be called a masculine side. As a scientist she says that she does not know whether these male-female sides exist but sees this as a possible hypothesis. She has thought about this and concludes, “all people have potential, male or female, to tap into either of those pools equally and I essentially feel there should not be a difference between men and women in terms of their creativity. Even if there is, there should not” (Interview, 3.8.00).

When asked if overall she has been treated fairly in respect of her gender within the scientific domains she has direct experience of, Karla answered positively. She does say, however, that it is not difficult to see how men have typically constructed the processes of science; it was and still is a male dominated field. Interestingly she also finds that more women are coming over to chemistry and the balance of males and females in biology is swinging in favour of women. Generally, Karla thinks women have a connection or an empathy with nature and the abstract sciences like maths and physics don't interest women so much because these abstracted sciences are not as connected to the natural world. Scientists see themselves as imposing an abstraction onto the real world. They are not so interested in natural life because it has too much variation. Karla says, “we try to simplify things and in order to understand something we have to separate it from other components so we are never dealing with the whole of anything” (Interview, 3.8.00).

All the sciences appear to Karla in a hierarchical form, according to the degree of segmentation of the real world a particular domain requires, with biology at the bottom end because it deals with natural things in a whole state as far as it is possible. Karla says that this makes biology the hardest science because it has a greater degree of variation to contend with. If you go higher on this scale, for instance in chemistry, the real world becomes increasingly simplified, separate and to some in this fractured form, pure and beautiful. The first part of Karla's story finishes with an image of Karla straddling upper and lower extremities of her scale of sciences. Karla has also outlined her perceptions of the masculine and feminine sides of science.

Karla's story takes on a sharper focus during the second interview. It is evident that because she had consulted the protocol and reflected on the questions it contained, and applied them to her own situation, her story became far more complex. The first question as

to which of the achievements in her life gave her the most satisfaction, was immediately answered with, “undoubtedly getting my PhD...not just that I got a PhD but that I got it in two disciplines” (Interview, 3.8.00). This presented a problem for the university because it is a long established tradition to present a Doctor of Philosophy degree in one domain of science, either chemistry or biology, and not in both. She said that it took a long time but the university eventually made an exception of her and gave her a PhD in chemistry and biology.

Karla claims the content and scope of her thesis were considerable; the hard work of researching over three and a half years and then the writing up of her thesis were all challenging parts of her achievement that ultimately made her PhD unique as well as what she is most proud of. Although it was hard work and required a good deal of self-motivation day after day, she said she also enjoyed “what I was learning in the process of doing it” (Interview, 3.8.00). The writing up part was initially daunting but Karla progressed through this and ultimately found the last bit “very rewarding because it tied it all together as it pulled all my ideas together” (Interview, 3.8.00).

In Karla’s own words the initial aim of her PhD research was:

To discover a new source of antibiotics from the marine environment but the main reason I was doing that was to try to provide an incentive for conservation...to be honest, I didn’t really know how I would do this when I started, other than finding an antibiotic which would provide an incentive to preserve molluscs, which is what I was looking at. (Interview, 3.8.00)

What Karla found was that prospecting was complex, that there were many ways of searching for drugs in natural organisms and many ways in which prospecting can contribute to conservation and biodiversity. Before a start was made Karla needed to know what organisms were out there and how common or scarce they were. She says chemists would not typically be concerned about this but Karla knew this method was used extensively and successfully in the environmentally sensitive rainforests of the Amazon basin.

Another concern was that the collection of many organisms, which could be a future source of medicine, would impact adversely on the very rare species. The literature produced clear evidence that bioprospecting was not sustainable. It shocked Karla to find that chemists

worked heedless of the environmental impact of their work, harvesting and destroying what they knew to be rare and irreplaceable species. Because of her background in biology Karla was more aware of the environmental problems and she said, “I was able to demonstrate through my research that it was possible to do it sustainably without impacting the organisms” (Interview, 17.8.00). Karla thinks that once you can demonstrate that a project is sustainable, you can then contribute to conservation.

Generally marine organisms produce extremely complex chemicals that chemists could not possibly think of recreating in a laboratory. These chemicals are often found to be highly toxic, killing bacteria and human cells. With this biological background knowledge Karla started to screen a large number of molluscs for antimicrobial activity and found an acceptable level of activity in most of the species. From this broad sample she chose a species for further investigation that was plentiful along her strip of coastline. The finer screening targeted small organic molecules with the potential to be synthesized. Upon reflection Karla says this turned out to be a good move because she found abundant and interesting chemical compounds that she could collect easily for uncomplicated isolation and identification. Karla says she was lucky to find that these chemicals were really potent against bacteria but not human cells. She said:

It’s just that you had to make a lot of decisions and fortunately they all came together...I mean, you always, I guess, take risks. It wasn’t the only one that I did a bit more follow-up work on...I did try a couple more species and, as this particular one became more interesting, I just focused in more and more on that. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Karla also made a decision to concentrate on the egg masses of marine molluscs using an established method she called a bio-rational approach. The premise that antibiotics would naturally protect eggs because they are extremely valuable to the continuing survival of any species directed Karla’s research. Further speculation as to the nature of an egg’s poor physical defence led Karla to presume that they would be better protected at a chemical level. Today most studies of molluscs concentrate on one class, which is soft-bodied and considered the easiest to work with. Many marine biologists believe that soft-bodied molluscs have not the physical defence of hard-shelled molluscs so it is thought that they are more likely to produce chemical deterrents. Karla says she disagreed, that having a shell

would not necessarily stop bacteria, which are so tiny they can squeeze through anywhere. She hypothesised that hard-shelled molluscs might produce potentially useful compounds in the same way that the human immune system protects human organisms, not all the time but only when it is threatened.

Studies of soft-bodied molluscs found that they produced highly toxic compounds. It is thought that soft-bodied molluscs need stronger chemicals to defend themselves against predators as well as bacteria. Karla thought that hard-shelled molluscs would be a better alternative because she reasoned they would not have the same defence pattern and therefore the chemicals they produced might not be too toxic. With further tests she found that “shelled molluscs do produce potentially useful compounds but not all the time” (Interview, 17.8.00). She then set out to devise a means of challenging them immunologically so that they would produce useful antibiotics.

After this discussion of her thinking pattern leading up to her PhD, Karla turned to the personal qualities that she considered necessary to this achievement. She briefly mentioned commitment, dedication and self-motivation, saying that after all, “no one is looking over your shoulder. It’s up to you to get the work done” (Interview, 17.8.00). The most important quality, though, in Karla’s opinion, is passion. Just as she has nominated passion as a defining quality of the contemporary scientist’s success, it is also essential to seeing the research finished. She says passion is a personal characteristic and a cognitive trait.

You have to have the passion and willingness to take risks...I think you have to have a love for the work that you are doing. To do it well and being passionate about it essentially gives you the self-motivation. It helps you remain committed to it and persist when otherwise a lot of the tasks that I do are actually very tedious, very boring but it’s for the excitement of the results at the end of it that you do it...Sometimes it all just doesn’t work...this week I did an assay that didn’t work at all and it was quite frustrating but I’ll try again on Monday because if I do get it working, the results are so exciting. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Sometimes, within the domain of science, Karla has encountered people who take a different view of passion; it is conceived of as an emotion quite distinct from the mind and usually attributed to females. Karla’s insistence on telling others of the passion and

excitement she finds in her work has made her vulnerable to derogatory accusations as to the quality of her scientific work. Her response to her critics is immediate.

With respect to this question of being a woman, has it influenced the value I place on this achievement? I have to say a firm no. I would be horrified by the idea that people would consider my research as different because I was a female. I would like to be judged as a scientist on the quality of my research irrespective of my sex and I really don't think it has made any difference in the way that I have achieved what I have. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Karla said that her young age could be seen as a barrier to success in science, more so than her gender. "In some respects it has been quite difficult having gone straight through and not having a lot of upper research experience or general worldly experience. I guess I do feel naïve quite a lot of the time." Karla followed by saying that, "I identify myself as somebody who is still learning. I hope I am always still learning" (Interview, 17.8.00). It seems that regardless of age and gender Karla thinks any person of ability and passion can achieve in science and that any discriminatory practices met within the domain are overridden by these.

When asked if she experienced any obstacles whilst engaged in her research she admitted that she was the one who manufactured some of them.

I think that the main obstacle that I've had to overcome is my incredible desire to feel grounded in a place. There is a great deal of pressure on young scientists to go overseas and study under leading people in your field and I have been strongly advised by many people to do that but I have been stopped in the sense that I wanted to remain with my partner who I think needs me emotionally, more than some other partners perhaps would...I found it a huge obstacle and it is going to continue to be one because I made the decision when I finished my PhD to take on a not very well-paid research assistant position in order to stay here, and then was quite fortunate in getting the post doc...that will only last three years and then I'll be facing that same obstacle again. There is a great deal of pressure to move to another university but I kind of have this feeling that I have found a place that I love to live in and ultimately it could come down to a choice of remaining in

science at all to live where I want to live or actually sacrifice where I want to live and move for science. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Karla's plans for solving this ongoing dilemma involve the setting up of a new sea lab further down the coast, as a centre for bio-prospecting for the university. The university is definitely interested in this as yet only proposed venture; Karla thinks that this facility would provide future work for her in this area. She also estimates her chances of obtaining alternative work as an academic at the university to be very low. Universities in other regions with marine biology faculties are also facing funding cuts so they would not be able to offer Karla long-term work either. This university would be interested in setting up a centre for research in a temperate climate, as the Australian Institute of Marine Science and northern universities specialize in tropical reefs and the marine life found there. Not a lot is known about the creatures of the temperate coast; it is perceived to be a more difficult area to work in because of the cold water and big swells. Karla says that because of the increasing population along the coast the potential impacts on the creatures we know so little about are enormous.

The final outcome will depend upon how the financing is arranged. This university does not have the money that larger universities have to finance ventures like this, so they must ensure its profitability. Karla says that she and another scientist have been asked to investigate ways of generating income from this facility. She sees the money earned conducting environmental impact assessments, which are required as a preliminary to development of the region, as a way to make the centre self-sufficient as well as addressing a few of Karla's environmental concerns. Karla says that these plans will take up a lot of her time and effort as well as present further ethical dilemmas for her concerning the commercialisation of her work and the ownership of and profit-taking from our natural environment.

When asked whether as a young person she was aware of the direction her career would take, Karla remarked that her early years in high school were marked by her interest in art and in nature.

I guess from a very young age I realized I was interested in nature and I guess the local video store would have been quite aware of that because I hired every single

nature documentary that you could possibly get. I had these sort of idealistic ideas about becoming the next David Attenborough or whatever. Then I thought that's ridiculous there is only one David Attenborough...but I did really love nature and I loved art. (Interview, 17.8.00)

By the time she started university Karla had decided to follow her older sister who was doing biology and had a vague idea that she might get a job in the bio-technology field. She remembers at this time thinking that she had chemistry skills that a bio-technician would not have or use. She said, "I don't think I ever, sort of, sat down and thought, well, obviously I've got this, this and this type of characteristic, I should become this" (Interview, 17.8.00).

When Karla watched nature documentaries she said she was inspired by the interesting places and wonderful creatures she saw. The videos about Australian fauna usually depicted the well-known koalas and kangaroos and not the invertebrates. She said, "I have never really been interested in big mammals and stuff and I think that I am less interested in anything that we know more about. I am more interested in things that we know little about" (Interview, 17.8.00). She sees her current interest in marine life as stemming from this early interest in hidden aspects of nature. Similarly, she recalls her early fascination with the procession of hairy caterpillars that proceeded up her road periodically. Karla remembers being enthralled "by the fact that they just maintain this trail, one after the other...people would run over them which I always felt was quite disturbing, and they got very confused then but they would find their trail again" (Interview, 17.8.00).

A tendency to watch ants led Karla to dig up a nest in order to find out more about them. While she identified the chambers, their activities and characteristics of difference amongst the ants, she also realized how destructive her actions were. She said, this was "an important experience for me in realizing that knowledge for its own sake is not necessarily a good thing, that you should only seek knowledge if it is done in a sensible sort of non-destructive way" (Interview, 17.8.00). Karla thinks that this early lesson re-emerged in her PhD research when she demonstrated a sustainable way to collect organisms.

Further lessons have been learnt throughout Karla's PhD years, though of all those lessons the most important advice she would give her honours students would be to find PhD scholarships that have no strings attached. It is important to have the freedom to move in

whatever direction you are interested in, to follow your passion. That is how you can do your best work. Similarly when choosing a university to do a PhD in or negotiating with the field of experts out there, Karla would advise her students that rather than chasing the university with the biggest reputation or the supervisor at the top of his or her field, seek someone you can talk to and only go somewhere you are comfortable. After all you may have a supervisor who is at the top of your field but he or she is most likely to be so busy that there is little time for students. Conferences provide opportunities for young students to engage with a wide range of people in the scientific field they hope to build a career in. Additionally, forming an assortment of relationships with high profile scientists from overseas, with one's own peers and even peers in other domains, enables PhD students to test their ideas, to learn from multiple sources and to create a basis for collaboration in the future. Karla said, "I think it is good to be pretty open-minded about the field and not just restrict yourself to, you know, going after those big professors, because you can learn from anyone" (Interview, 17.8.00).

If there is an expected way of climbing the ladder of science, Karla thinks it involves a young initiate finding a mentor of high reputation and learning under his or her wing. This is however, a path she has avoided. She believes numerous mentors and a quest to seek many varied sources of knowledge produces a student capable of original and creative thought. Karla's first mentor was her honours supervisor, who gave her the idea to use nature to solve human problems. She values this greatly, even though his way of mentoring was to insist that students read his papers; rarely did she see him or discuss ideas with him. Her other honours supervisor was a chemist; he was always available, always helpful and continues to be so today. This has proven to be a good mix for Karla though she says she has seen a situation where a dominating mentor has insisted that the way his research group did things was the only way. This is disastrous for the student who Karla believes must remain open to other ideas. Overall, Karla would advise newcomers to the domain of science to find their own ideas and challenge their mentors with these ideas as early as possible. She further advises her students:

To maintain many peers and have a lot of input and be open to many different ideas, then synthesize that information and develop what you think is your own ideas through the synthesis of that information, rather than following the same route that your mentor has taken and that all his other students take. (Interview, 17.8.00)

A student of science has the task of balancing on one hand a mastery of the discipline he or she is engaged in and on the other the registration of their reputation with the field of experts in that discipline. Many students opt for playing the field, trying for a reputation that has no real basis in science. Other students want to master their science before taking steps to broadcast their reputation, with the result that others in the domain perceive them to be excellent research assistants.

Karla saw this dilemma in her last undergraduate year when she topped the genetics course and listened to other honours students outline their honours projects. At that time she said she assumed that she would specialize in genetics because she was good at it but on closer examination of these genetic projects she realized that this was lab assistants' work. She said, "What they were doing were routine techniques that could be mastered quite easily but didn't give you much scope for thinking...if you do nothing but master the techniques you stifle creativity and it doesn't lead to anything new" (Interview, 17.8.00). Despite her years of success in the genetics course, Karla upon this realization changed the direction of her honours research because she valued "doing more", and aimed to be a "leading kind of scientist" (Interview, 17.8.00) rather than do easy but less creative work.

After a change of universities between her honours year and her PhD, Karla saw how universities, by the structure of their courses, can promote or discourage a student's broad research interest by channelling them into a specialization before they have a chance to explore the dimensions of the domain. She says, "I see that as very problematic in that they become too specialized too early and they don't have the taste of other things.". In her own case, exploring other areas of science before taking a definitive direction in her research has enabled Karla to take an innovative path through her PhD. She said:

Ultimately, you have to specialize. You have to become the master of something, a PhD has to be something that's never been done before so ultimately when you finish it you should have more knowledge of that particular topic than anybody else in the world. You have mastered something but I think it's also important to maintain a broad interest in that ultimately you will then be able to collaborate with people who have mastered another particular area, to perhaps come up with a new solution and take the research in a new direction, rather than just becoming more focussed and getting into this sort of spiralling trap. (Interview, 17.8.00)

When Karla sat for the HSC exam she said that it was clearly evident that she had the skills and subject interests that would be of benefit in a scientific career. She sat for exams in biology, chemistry, four unit maths, art and English. She achieved highest results in four-unit maths, then art, then chemistry and biology with the English exam giving the lowest score. Karla said she enjoyed four-unit maths because it offered “these big problems that you could get in there and solve” (Interview, 17.8.00). By contrast two-unit maths was routine and therefore boring. She was never interested in Physics and she doesn’t know why. She said she enjoyed organic chemistry, but disliked inorganic chemistry because it was smelly, unhealthy and she didn’t like doing reactions. Her weakest subject was English, in particular creative writing which she found difficult, though she found some confidence in a piece of critical writing about the tsetse fly as defender of the rainforest.

Karla believes she entered the broad domain of science when she started her undergraduate degree and started on her current line of research, drug discovery, in her honours year. Her introduction to the domain was not as exciting as she had hoped; she could not find any subject that was challenging or interesting. She was comfortable with maths but believes biology was annoying because it tested whether or not you remembered names and not, as she would prefer, to solve real problems. Initially she liked genetics because her exposure to population genetics engaged her in the use of mathematical skills to solve biological questions. As she progressed through this subject she came to regard modern genetics as different from her first favourable impression. She found that they now rely on high technologies that become routine and boring. On the strength of this she decided not to take on studies in genetics in her honours year. This was a year in which Karla found her work interesting and exciting because she had the opportunity to bring her chemistry skills back into her study of biology and to solve real scientific problems.

Karla found her direction in research in her first honours project, which involved searching for antibiotics in ants. A broad consideration of where in nature antibiotics might have evolved led to a focus on social insects because, like humans, they live in high-density populations so one would think that disease would spread in similar ways. Also because ants are genetically related Karla reasoned that if disease hits a population like this they are unlikely to have high levels of physical resistance, they are more likely to develop effective chemical defence.

Her first experience of chemistry was marked by her dislike of microbiology when she conducted the first anti-microbial screening. She says that she still hates doing this kind of work but has come to see it as a means of getting answers, which in turn allow the research to progress. At this point she identified some fairly simple structures in one group of ants and this gave her “a taste for chemistry” (Interview, 17.8.00) and she experienced the excitement of doing research. This level of involvement increased over the second honours project, which focused on velvet worms; Karla’s interest is evident in her rapturous description of them.

They are incredible organisms that are called a missing link. They sort of fit in between the insects, arthropods and worms and they’re sometimes called living fossils because they are these ancient creatures and they live in hollow logs. They are fascinating because they are predators and they cruise along the channels in the hollow logs and when they find prey they spit out this glue and they trap their prey in the glue and walk up and inject some sort of saliva that decomposes the body and they chomp it up....They are really beautiful because they look like Persian carpets. They have incredible patterns on their backs. When you look at them under an electron microscope they are actually discovered to be covered in spines and they look like pineapples and they are amazing but they are actually very soft and velvety to look at. (Interview, 17.8.00)

In this second honours project she was able to use many more techniques and consolidate her chemistry skills. She found ordinary substances such as sugars, fats and proteins as well as quite uncommon ones, including an ingredient usually put into detergents but never found in a natural source before. Karla said that finding this compound was thrilling but it is her love of these unseen creatures that holds her interest in this form of antibiotic research. “I have that need to continue to observe the organisms that I’m working with. They give me inspiration. The molluscs are fantastic because they come in so many varieties, colours and forms” (Interview, 17.8.00). A certain amount of visual stimulation is evident in Karla’s close affinity with nature’s tiny creatures.

When asked if there were times that she was less interested in her work, she answered that from the time of her honours year she has lived through her work and has never been less

than fully immersed in it. However, there was an unfortunate incident in the first year of her PhD. At that time she played sport and was trying out for the Inter-Varsity Touch Football Team when she managed to tear a ligament that painfully locked her knee so that she could not walk. She had two operations over an eight month period. During this period she could not do any field work and limited lab work so she became increasingly depressed. Karla said her parents made it possible to visit her grandmother in Tasmania toward the end of this convalescence. She says she cured herself of depression and put her time to good use when she realized:

...the importance of environmental legislation for conservation and I used that time to read up on all the fisheries legislation, the Threatened Species Conservation Act, The Environmental Impact Assessment Act...ultimately they didn't help my PhD but it's a very useful sort of knowledge base that I have got now....So I didn't ever lose the interest but I did become depressed because I was unable to continue my research in the lab. (Interview, 17.8.00)

There are many people who have inspired Karla over the time she has built a career in science. Starting with her family Karla says her paternal grandmother was instrumental in stimulating her thinking. They held many long, philosophical conversations about life, evolution, god and all those types of things. Her grandmother is an incredibly knowledgeable person with degrees in biology, philosophy, and history and a library that had an impact on Karla's young mind. Karla said her grandmother is also interested in the arts and would have gone to university after school but was in Germany during the last war so she missed the opportunity of going to university and of starting a career in science. Her grandmother's reason for studying later in her life was simply out of interest and to acquire knowledge. Those conversations were very important to Karla who learnt from them that you could study because you are interested and because you love the knowledge it brings. Karla is upset by the thought of her grandmother's declining health and her consequent inability to continue these challenging conversations.

Karla's father has many of his mother's personal characteristics in the sense that they are both detached, unemotional kinds of people. She said that this prevented her having a close relationship with her dad but she did respect him. Karla thought that her father could do anything he put his mind to; he was intelligent. He is also incredibly stubborn, a

characteristic Karla did not wish to emulate. Overall her father's best quality is that he is able to accept anyone as they are; he did not push Karla in any way, he showed her that he respected her as she is. When it was time to make choices about whether or not to go to university, Karla's dad and her grandmother set out to inform Karla by taking her to University open days, then they allowed her to make a decision.

Karla's mother presented qualities in contrast to her father's side of the family.

My mother is not someone you would typically classify as overly intelligent. She would probably call herself stupid...but she's not...she's very insightful and she is very much a people person as opposed to the other side of my family. It was a wonderful balance for me to have in my life...these very reflective, philosophical and analytical types on one side and on the other side my mother and her mother who are caring, very people-orientated and generally love life which is not something you would think about with my dad. She is also very witty which is kind of nice because my father's side of the family doesn't have a sense of humour at all which is quite draining...I myself am not witty but at least I appreciate it because of my mum and this sort of lightens things up a bit and I think that's important. (Interview, 17.8.00)

When Karla noticed other inspiring people in the domain of science, she said that no one professional person was highly inspirational, instead she took inspiration from the many examples of expertise she encountered in her progress through the domain. She noticed that several lecturers and supervisors over the course of her PhD gave generous amounts of their time to students like herself. One chemist even managed to persuade Karla to do more chemistry at a crucial stage, even though she had decided not to. This is not a common practice amongst academics in science, because it diminishes the amount of time spent on publishing and in building a reputation. Karla admired these men who rearranged their priorities so that teaching was given an emphasis it typically does not have.

Another source of inspiration came from scientists who brought their work into the public domain. One biology supervisor could write scientific articles in a way that was easily understood and so Karla observed that he attracted media attention, which in turn was useful experience for the students he involved in his projects. Karla participated in one of these

events focusing on deadly Australians; it featured her search for antibiotics in ant populations. Karla also observed another professor who made friends of high profile media scientists and was able to expose his students in a more personal way to their influence. While doing her PhD Karla said she expected to receive sound advice and have a limited professional relationship with academics in science. She obviously appreciated those academics that stepped out of the mould and encouraged a more personal and supportive relationship. Karla said that one such academic, “was always excited by what I did and even if it was a little bit obscure and not typically what would be done in science he always encouraged me and I found that very important” (Interview, 17.8.00).

On the issue of teaching and its place in her career Karla said, “ there is no point in acquiring all this knowledge if it is not passed on ...I think it’s important to realize that although you’ve got things to teach the students, they have also got things to teach you, potentially” (Interview, 17.8.00). Because Karla believes learning and teaching to be reciprocal she is happier to have honours and PhD students than to lecture undergraduate students. She has already mentioned the impossible dilemma experienced by academics that try to balance both teaching and research. She says her own experience of teaching has strengthened her resolve not to apply for academic positions.

The first time I ever lectured was to a third year conservation biology class. I gave a lecture about bio resources and I thought it should be something that they should all be really interested in and really excited about. I found people packing up before I had finished and people asking if this was going to be in the exams...I found this incredibly disheartening. You realize that not all the students are like you...it’s the poorer students that tend to take up your time and you are putting a whole lot of effort into it and ultimately the results are quite minimal. (Interview, 17.8.00)

This decision, of course, limits the available avenues for funding her research. Karla is currently one of many applying for a five-year grant. An interesting aspect of this application is that it is attached to a university and would involve supervision of PhD level students. Karla has also rejected industry sponsorships because although they are financially rewarding they would not allow her to keep a teaching role.

At the end of her honours year Karla thought that her undergraduate years were a waste of her time. By comparison the last year, her honours year, seemed so rewarding. Karla thought that all the years at university before the honours year were devoid of learning. She said that she dismissed her undergraduate experience as “just a means of getting into honours” (Interview, 17.8.00). Upon more recent reflection, however, she found that in those three years as an undergraduate, she had acquired some essential skills.

I learned how to communicate; I learned this through both the spoken and written word and I learned how to conduct research. I learned how to use a computer to write essays and to do spreadsheets and those sorts of things which you don't realize as a student that you have acquired these skills because they are not in the exam...so I know that when I am out there teaching, the students are learning important things. (Interview, 17.8.00)

This year Karla has two honours students, both young and female. She talks about them in terms of their capacity to be outstanding creative scientists. One chemistry honours student is, in Karla's opinion, a rarity, “she has an incredible intellect and she just loves it. She loves science, she loves everything about it and she is so motivated. She is always working hard and it's never a chore” (Interview, 17.8.00). Karla also said of this same girl:

Her questions are challenging. She thinks a little bit outside the frame that she has been given to work in...I think she has a really hard project. I think most people in her circumstance would have become very frustrated, but she is persistent and she hasn't lost any interest in the project because of it. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Of the other student Karla says that she doesn't come to see her, she isolates herself in the lab and her work is very average. “I get very frustrated because I know she could benefit from talking to me...she doesn't seem to have that interest. I am not saying that she will not succeed in science but she is more likely to succeed as a research assistant” (Interview, 17.8.00). The final point of difference between these two students is, according to Karla, their different levels of passion for the science they are doing.

The ones that are likely to go a long way are typically very enthusiastic. When they get a result they are excited, you can feel their excitement whereas others

they just seem to be very sort of bland in some way. I think that passion is so important for success and it's one characteristic that you can really pick up on. (Interview, 17.8.00)

As to forming relationships, Karla said, "I have to admit... I am not a social person at all and during my undergraduate degree I did not make a single friend and I wasn't looking for them" (Interview, 17.8.00). She said that other people seemed uninteresting; she hated the trivial conversations one had to have and so she couldn't be bothered with them. However in her honours year, she said, "I really made some friends and I think that the reason I did was that they were going through the same experience as me. I think that's something that students are missing out on...when they are closed off in a lab" (Interview, 17.8.00).

During her honours year, the students worked in different labs but shared a common room where they each had a desk and they made tea and discussed "everything". Because they were living science every day they were more likely to share their experiences and the personal problems each person brought to the common problem of an honours year in science. Karla thinks that she has a responsibility to her honours students to encourage this kind of relationship and personal interaction that she experienced and found so supportive. This involves Karla's own relationship with students; she said, "I like to be there for my students if they want to discuss any of those sorts of things" (Interview, 17.8.00). She is delighted that one current student has taken advantage of this, but is disappointed that the other has not.

Karla says that she has faced many hard decisions while being a student, and many more after, but the biggest problem for her is that:

I did quite unexpectedly meet the person that I am sure I will spend the rest off my life with and balancing my relationship with him and my work has been incredibly hard because during my PhD I always put my work first, and that was very apparent to him and he went through a very difficult period where he needed me more than I was obviously giving to him. It has been hard for him to accept that if I had to make a choice between him and my career, it will always be my career. I can't change that. (Interview, 17.8.00)

At the end of these few sentences the immediacy and severity of this problem was evident when Karla continued to explain the many facets of this problem with tears in her eyes and a choked voice.

On one hand Karla is prepared to do whatever it takes to further her career in science. She considers herself to be “selfish” because she doesn’t need other people; she could easily focus on her research to the exclusion of all else. When working she says she loses contact with people and is withdrawn and introverted. She spends long periods of time on her work, seven days a week. She started this routine to get her PhD but feels she must keep up an even faster pace while she is establishing herself. At the moment she feels she does not have a good balance between her private and professional lives. She said, “I don’t see any alternative because the alternative is... being the same as everybody else and I actually like the fact that I achieve more than most people. There’s no doubt that Kris is proud of me but I think he thinks I take it too far sometimes, and indeed I do”. (Interview, 17.8.00)

On the other hand Karla recognises that as complicated and at times difficult as maintaining this relationship may be, she ultimately wants to live with the happiness that her partner brings to her life, and flowing from this she says that the quality of her science is better somehow when she is happy. “Why I think my career has always come first and probably always will come first is that I know I could develop for myself a quite adequate life which was surrounded by science and nothing else...what I couldn’t do would be to have a relationship and a home and no science” (Interview, 17.8.00). Karla’s optimal vision of her future includes both her partner and science, but balancing both and dealing with the many complex issues that arise seems to be an overarching problem that is current and at best only partially resolved. This is evident in Karla’s rationalisation of the problem.

I think the quality of my science will always benefit from having a partner and a home and security and happiness. My science is my life in many ways but it’s not what gives me happiness....It’s something that I’m just driven to do. I can’t control that, I feel like I have no control of it...Kris did get very depressed and he was a very difficult person to live with and he was draining me in many ways. But I don’t think it is easy to explain why you choose a particular person. What I do know is that in the long term Kris could give me the happiness that I want. Emotionally he

is wonderful, he really does support me and intellectually he challenges me and he also has these incredible practical skills that I don't have. (Interview, 17.8.00)

At this point Karla was willing to talk at length about this one big issue. It seemed to be a subject she thinks about constantly but finds answers elusive. She examined the various segments of the problem in a thoroughly analytical way. She talked about: her needs as a scientist; her hopes for the future; her partner's needs which are complex but none the less deserving in Karla's opinion; their individual personalities and the measures each person has adopted to resolve some of the issues. Karla was also passionate in the defence of her choice of a partner and indeed her right to have a partner at all let alone one who might demand more of her. She is most passionate when she says, "I think that if I can give him a bit of emotional support there's nothing better that I can achieve in my life, there's nothing more important that I can do than to give another person a reason for living, someone worthwhile (Interview, 17.8.00).

The ability to travel freely is one of the smaller issues that is woven into Karla's relationship problem.

Last year it got to a stage in our relationship where I decided I had to move out because he had become violent. Not towards me. But in a scary sort of way and I knew that just going along coping with it wasn't going to change it. I had to do something, so I moved out and that shocked him and made him reform himself and indeed he has done so. During that period I did really question and say, well now I am free, I could go anywhere, study anywhere and do whatever I want but I realized, deep down, that I had a real chance of happiness here and I didn't really want to give that up. (Interview, 17.8.00)

And in the future:

I expect to travel a fair bit in my work and I really want to get to Chile. I would have liked Kris to come but clearly he can't come this year because of work and I've just been putting off organising that trip because I know that having travelled in the past it's not the same travelling on your own as it is with having someone to share the experience with. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Having related the demands placed on her because she wants to have a career in science and a partner in life, Karla said, “Can you imagine what it would be like with children as well?” According to Karla, having children would make this life impossible. She says she is relieved that Kris for his own reasons is also not keen to have children.

There are a number of reasons why I don’t think I’ll ever have children, primarily because I think it’s an incredible commitment. I wouldn’t be able to send my child off to childcare and stuff like that. I would take it very seriously and ultimately I just don’t think that I can do that because it would mean sacrificing my science, sacrificing my research...I feel like I can contribute so much more in educating thousands of people and it would come down to that choice. That’s the main reason and also I don’t seem to have any maternal instincts...I don’t understand young kids. As soon as they get a bit older and start questioning I find them interesting, younger than that they are a bit tedious. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Karla turned at this point to look at her working processes, asking herself where the ideas that drive her research come from. She said that:

Essentially, its sort of like a synthesis of ideas, I guess, from inspiration from the natural environment, ideas definitely come from talking with other people, from reading, probably from life experience and definitely from my own previous work that can lead to new ideas and answers to your questions. (Interview, 17.8.00)

She also described how she feels about the time and effort she invests in her work.

I just feel I can’t stop. I never relax, even when I’m here on the weekends trying to not work and I will compulsorily clean, chop, dig. I’ll never just sit here and do nothing. I can’t stand that. I think it’s becoming a bit compulsive...if I feel like I’m not accomplishing enough I feel incredibly guilty. I don’t know why but I often wake up feeling incredibly anxious and stressed and it never leaves me. I always feel like I haven’t done enough and I have to do more and that I’m not achieving enough...I look around and wonder why other people aren’t like that. I can’t seem to control it. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Generally Karla says she uses rational processes to form hypotheses and test them in an objective way but there are times when she has to say she also relies on instinct. The work she did on the species from which she discovered an antibiotic contained moments which were not so rational. She said, “A lot of that was instinct...I got very excited way before my PhD supervisors got excited...I just felt, instinctively, that there was something really interesting that I had hit upon” (Interview, 17.8.00). The biodiversity research Karla started during her PhD provides another instance of instinct which is, in turn, fostered by rational processes and familiarity with the objects under investigation.

Instinctively I can tell from the one single visit to any site its relative importance in biodiversity, in mollusc biodiversity. I can tell if it's likely to be a good breeding site. I can tell if it's likely to contain a high number of species and that's partly though, you know, rational observations on the characteristics of the habitat that make a good area....It's instinctive also in the sense that I don't have any proof in terms of the number of species. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Karla says that even when she is not working her mind never stops thinking about her work. It ranges almost at will over aspects of particular problems she is facing at the time. She is also sure that her mind is working while she sleeps because every so often she will wake up with a very good idea. On one level when she is doing work that is tedious but demands a high level of concentration she says that she counts a lot. At other times when doing more routine tasks she says, “My mind will wander about on various aspects of the different problems that I'm working on, it's never one specific thing....It won't necessarily be what I'm working on there but perhaps another aspect of my work” (Interview, 17.8.00).

Getting good ideas or having periods of clarity often occurs “on the rock platform. I find that is a place where I can really think quite clearly without all the other baggage. In the lab doing a tedious chore I can't think very well at all” (Interview, 17.8.00). When she is writing Karla tries to control random thoughts by focusing on the critical issues one at a time. To give her mind a break Karla will read about another person's ideas but even there she says that her reading is interrupted by thoughts of her work or something completely different. She finds that this compelling attention to her work is not so easily switched off, “it's always invading and it gets tiresome” (Interview, 17.8.00).

Karla was recently on a steering committee, which was planning for the preservation of a local habitat in the event of a proposed development. This was a team effort and involved working with community groups. Reflecting on this experience she said:

Personally I am an individual worker. I don't like working with other people much, except in a supervisory role...when I take a leadership role I am not interested in getting in there and working in a community. I am interested in giving the community what I have to give in terms of knowledge and so I'm hoping that essentially I'll train them in the methods they'll use and they'll go out and take ownership of the project themselves...I did have to work in a group...it was quite interesting because everyone on the committee had a very different expertise. I was willing to offer what I can but I don't try to be the expert on everything. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Regarding the publishing of her work, Karla decided to include as much of her research as is possible in her PhD thesis because it would be a richer source of papers for later publications. She has already published four papers in respectable scientific journals and has submitted several more for future publication. Recently, Karla submitted a paper to a prestigious American journal, one that usually only accepts papers proposing or testing a new theory. She targeted this journal because, "I knew that I could get this paper published in another journal of marine biology much more easily, but I thought I would go for that one particularly to get the comments back, because the reviewers are the leading scientists in America" (Interview, 17.8.00). The review with its rejection was sent back to her yesterday and in Karla's opinion it was "horrendous" and "very negative, quite nasty really. That's not unusual for science" (Interview, 17.8.00). About the review she further said:

I think it was naïve and I think it's a pity that I don't get a chance to respond to it because maybe I could actually teach them something...it seems pretty clear that they don't like the competition that I offer so they want to squash me before I start...I guess because they're in the process of drug discovery they are screening so many things that anything that has activity at the levels at which I find activity they regard as not interesting...that's probably why they are always finding things that are too toxic. (Interview, 17.8.00)

Karla ends her story by looking to her future. What are the projects that will make her name in science? She says, “At present, the greatest challenge that I have is trying to set up this centre for bioprospecting and considering how these natural products can be commercialised and if venture capital is the way to go” (Interview, 17.8.00). If the project goes ahead she would expect to have a business manager so that she could be free to do the research or at least direct others to do parts of the research.

In the long term Karla is open to possibilities of taking on a field role in science. Her long-term objective of changing perceptions and attitudes of scientists in regard to informing the general public about discoveries in science is an aim she is already committed to. Changing public perceptions of science and scientists is a goal that requires Karla to formally take on a different educational field role.

I often wonder if I won't change quite significantly in taking on a role of communicator in science rather than a researcher or a director of research, such as perhaps David Suzuki has done. I feel totally incapable of writing a book at the moment but I am not ruling out the opportunity to do so in the future. I've actually been approached by a publisher already so it could be a good experience...At this stage my passion is for the environment and I would like to see people's attitudes change towards the environment...it's easier to write the book than to get the book accepted by your peers so that it becomes a useful thing that people will read. (Interview, 17.8.00)

CHAPTER SIX

Wanda's Story

Wanda told her story on the terrace of the unique restaurant she and her partner have created within a university complex. This business is the fifth venture they have tried in the food service area and is considered the most successful in terms of their life together and the judgements of the domain. While they have built separate careers in the wider domain of hospitality they subscribe to the more specific title of “foodie” which they feel more aptly describes the creative and career roles they are engaged in.

Wanda has trained as a chef in Australia, being one of the first young women to claim the right to do so. She has specialised in the dessert section of the menu saying her title is that of “pastry chef”. Her partner trained and advanced his career to “sous chef” level in England and Europe before coming to Australia ten years ago when they met and formed their partnership. They divide the business into separate tasks, Wanda makes the desserts and her partner creates the main part of the menu. Other tasks they divide up according to personal preference. Wanda has taken on customer service while Gary does the bookkeeping. The restaurant is sizeable, their peak trade is carried on a lunch menu and they are in the process of expanding the catering side of the business.

They have one son who at the time of interview was five years old. Their child-rearing is concurrent with restaurant building, which illustrates how intertwined their life and business have become. Wanda tells her story as if it were laid over her partner's story and the resulting picture is of female experience against male experience in the food service domain. Wanda was at this time thirty-eight years old and her partner was thirty-nine.

While Wanda described a “foodie” as someone who loves food, is in the field of food production and is creative or inventive in the way he or she might do this, she is also describing her business as a unique enterprise. The restaurant functions within the rules of the domain, but has been created to facilitate both partners' individual careers and the life they lead within this domain.

OK, exactly what do I do here? Well I create all the desserts for the restaurant and I don't actually cook any of the mains. We have an invisible line that we draw

down and he does this side and I do that side and I don't tell him what to do and he doesn't tell me what to do and that's the way we work together. This is a business line, we found out in the first business it wouldn't be possible to work otherwise. He's very good at his job and I'm very good at my job...we cross over in some areas....eighty per cent of the book work comes from Gary and only twenty per cent from me. I don't particularly like doing the book work and Gary doesn't like the customer relations...if there's people to talk to about menus, functions and anything from ordering to just generally how the customers enjoy their food, that's me. (Interview, 12.3.01)

As to what the rules of the domain are and how Wanda and Gary subscribe to them as they rationalise their restaurant business and its unique situation within a university complex becomes evident as the story is told. Their desire to build the business over time necessitates a periodic but comprehensive assessment of their situation in order to maximize the business potential of their restaurant. Wanda said that their artistry with food is not to be separated from the business aspects, everything is hinged upon the practical domain issues and it is of particular importance how they view this. In her blunt and pragmatic way, Wanda sums up the situation: "it's a restaurant [lunch] between the hours of 11.30 am and 2pm and it's a café the rest of the time" (Interview, 12.3.01). The meals that are available at lunchtime are also available all day. Customers understand that the blackboard menu guarantees a particular number of meals per day so that all meals have fresh ingredients.

This restaurant is unique, so if you apply the general domain rules without considering the human and situational variables in planning its future you will not necessarily guarantee success. Wanda speculates about the elements that would make it successful; being flexible, understanding the clientele, getting the right balance of paperwork and customer relations and balancing their personal and professional skills in the pursuit of creating excellent food.

To be successful it's not just your cooking...the food has to be the dominant thing, of course, everything comes down to that. But if you can't get it out to them, if your waitresses aren't very good, if there's lots of errors or breakdowns or I didn't pay my supplier he wouldn't bring the ingredients and I wouldn't produce the required food. (Interview, 12.3.01)

Wanda and her partner have recently determined that the future development of this business will be in the area of function catering. They are about to distribute leaflets within the University and advertise in local newspapers to attract bookings outside their normal operating hours. In their third year they feel they have consolidated the daytime functioning of the restaurant and it is now time to advertise and extend the business. “Without boasting, similar things happened to us in previous businesses, we thought we would just go along with a little business and it sort of tumbled into a bigger business” (Interview, 12.3.01). From past experience though they have learnt several hard lessons that they now hope have turned into a kind of domain wisdom that will enable them “to get this one right” (Interview, 12.3.01).

The University conducted a survey to discover if they were wasting resources by taking visitors from all over the world off campus for a certain quality of meals. The results clearly highlighted the need for a quality restaurant within the campus. Wanda and her partner were asked to take on the restaurant because they had the required skills and experience to operate it within the University guidelines.

The café’s only got one hour for lunch...so our food has to be quick and fast and it’s got to be cooked to order because that’s the style of restaurant it is and it has to be at a lunchtime price range....We had special guidelines...we had to do our part and the food had to be of good quality so I think, in that sense, we’ve done well by the University but also where I think we have won is in the price range and the speed at which we get it out. We also won over the people that work here not just the VIPs. Yes we are promoting the University. The food has a good reputation; we won the Small Business Award last year. (Interview, 12.3.01)

Another facet of past experience that is applied to this venture is the ability to understand the clientele. Wanda says that ninety percent are returning customers so she must change the menu often as she found that customers get bored with the same menu and she fears they will stop coming.

In the beginning it annoys people if you run out of something on the blackboard but over time...the customers know that we only prepare so much of something and when it’s gone, it’s gone. So the quality is fresh and they know you don’t drag stuff out of the freezer and microwave it...a lot of the time what you want to

do isn't what you can do, you must listen to your customers and find out what is going on. The customers get to know you and they often get to know you personally. Here it's almost like a little town, they say hello and it's good. I personally like it. (Interview, 12.3.01)

While Wanda is happy with her situation in this restaurant her partner has an ambition to take his ability further than this venture would allow. When they started this venture they both decided they wanted a business that would allow them to spend time with their child. Three years on Wanda says she has reached a state of contentment with her career:

[The reality is] I have a five year old and he goes to school in the next block. We have a business here that goes from 9 to 5 most of the year and we live on the other block....Now as a mother...how much more convenience do you want? I get to be dominant in my work. I get to cook whatever I like because I'm the one who's cooking it and my son goes to a nice school. As to going higher in my career I've reached the age where I don't need somebody else to tell me whether I'm good or not. I don't require it and I don't need it. I've reached the level that I know I'm going to get to. (Interview, 12.3.01)

Wanda's partner is unable to fully appreciate this business in the way she does. He is still driven by ideals of "cooking the ultimate" and feels that this venture "is a step down" for his reputation as it is defined by the domain. His training and where he comes from have firmly set his own measure of success in the world of cooking.

Well he is English. He comes from five star hotel establishments in Europe...he achieved success in cooking to a [high] level, very quickly because he had a natural ability...so what I did in cakes because that's what I really wanted to do, he did in the hot food field. He reached the level of second chef by the age of about twenty-five which is very quick. To get to the next level of head chef, it's unknown to have a head chef in a five star establishment under the age of thirty-five. So he would have been trapped in that second chef role for quite a long time. He knew that he wouldn't be able to do that...so that's where he came to Australia...In England you can't afford to have a place on your own, without money backing you but here you can. Here his ability is restricted to the

customers he has to serve and the price that he can charge. So you can [want to] cook the finest things and use the finest ingredients but if you haven't got the finest ingredients or if the customers don't pay you, one can't cook the ultimate. If the ultimate job is to cook the ultimate, he can leave here and go into that and try to achieve it. I would wish him all the best but unfortunately he keeps his head in the clouds because there are a lot of really young chefs now and he has reached the age of thirty-eight. The only place he could go from here would be to open up a signature restaurant and have true fine dining. Very expensive to set up and it would be a gamble because you would not necessarily make more money. (Interview, 12.3.01)

When asked if they participate in domain judgements of their restaurant, Wanda said that they had a food critic visit the previous week. They do not know how they were judged but the critic seemed to have formed some very unfavourable evaluations of them before he arrived. Wanda said that he started by getting lost and so he put a mark against them because in his mind it is difficult to find a restaurant in a university complex. "What rubbish," was Wanda's response. "There's a security guard there at the gate. He could have asked him and he would have been directed immediately. But you know he chose not to" (Interview, 12.3.01). The critic also said to them that they had parking problems at peak university times. In Wanda's opinion there are plenty of parking spaces at night and their parking situation is no different to prime restaurants in the city. Overall domain judgements are considered a necessary affirmation of the quality of any restaurant but these judgements can have a negative and detrimental impact on any business when based on prejudicial and inflexible notions as was demonstrated in this instance.

Wanda is mindful of the pitfalls and advocates a thorough inspection of any food critic's credentials. If they are not solidly positioned in the domain or if a critic who is primarily a journalist or a promotional publicist is judging, then the business being judged is risking too much. She says that part of her domain experience is to know who is judging what and to only select judges who are anchored within the domain as this is the only basis for fairness. It is needless to say that the food critic she encountered last week did not survive Wanda's scrutiny.

Other forms of critical judgements are made and take the form of competitions sponsored by industry groups. One local competition run by the Caterers Association claims to make an award for excellence in the food service industry in several categories every year. The winner is not only judged to have food service of the highest standard but also wins a great deal of publicity and promotion. Wanda said that this alone is particularly valuable to any restaurant business. Unfortunately their previous entry in this competition has given them serious grounds for complaint. Gary has written a three-page letter of complaint threatening that his business would not enter again until the issues he brought to the association's notice are addressed. He said that the way this competition is run by nomination sent in by the readers of the local paper is discriminatory. For instance, because his customers are largely University people and not avid readers of this newspaper it is uncertain if they would achieve the required nominations. He also pointed out that the panel of judges contains several non-industry judges whose background in journalism and advertising would hamper a fair assessment of excellence. In fact he pointed to the newspaper involved as the only winner in this competition.

To date Wanda and Gary have no paid advertising, yet they have taken over a restaurant which was losing money and turned it into a successful business. Wanda claims that to do this without advertising shows the nature of word of mouth recommendations that exist within the community of the university.

Fortunately I am in the middle of a little town, the university, you have to look at it like that because word of mouth here is quicker than word of mouth outside...and you know a bad thing will travel very quickly indeed....You [the customer] have to be a judge, I think that if they come back they are judging. They are the ones who are going to hand over the money for what they get, they are really the ones that are judges. (Interview, 12.3.01)

When eating in other restaurants Wanda says she judges each establishment on their merits. The chief criterion she uses is the food and the amount they charge for it.

If they charge you twenty dollars for a main course I expect something. If they are charging under I am more than happy to go to a pub and eat a steak and salad as long as the steak is cooked well and the salad is fresh. I'd be happy to return as

long as I wasn't charged more than fifteen dollars a meal. I judge according to how much it costs....Now I went to a restaurant on the weekend and it was a lot more expensive than here. I don't think the food was better and in fact one of the meals was really bad but everything else was quite good. So in terms of eating out I'd say I would return...because the menu read interestingly and I could choose something else and see how I went. I'd much rather give them three goes. And it was a restaurant where I could take a five year old. So there is another criteria there. (Interview, 12.3.01)

The waiter or waitress is the point of contact with the customer so in Wanda's circumstance of managing the client's good dining experience they are a vital element of her restaurant's success. Their function is to explain the menu, take orders, make the customer comfortable and deliver individual meals within a shorter than normal time frame. Wanda said that a recent restaurant visit highlighted the balance that the client perceives to exist between the waiter or waitress's service and the food. She said, "The food could have been better but in waiting terms he was really good. The waiter was very attentive and he was good with my son...so Gary gave him a good tip" (Interview, 12.3.01). Wanda thinks that ultimately, hospitality [the domain of] is not as well trained in Australia as it is in Europe. In Europe the training is most serious and it is a real career choice whereas in Australia people treat hospitality as something you do while you are waiting to do something else. Being at the University she employs students on a casual basis. However, she also says she can't rely on them so the greater part of her staff is permanently employed. She considers herself fortunate at the moment because she has two casual girls she considers to be good. If these students stay in the job then she thinks that a payback for the training her restaurant has provided. But past experience tells her that university students do not stay in this role long enough to train themselves to be excellent in this field.

As a restaurant proprietor, Wanda thinks there are many aspects of the food industry that are quite separate from the food elements. For instance, paying casual wages entails an accurate assessment of time management and industry awards and standards as well as making certain the money will be made to pay these wages. The minimum one can pay a casual employee is for three hours so Wanda supervises the rostering of staff closely.

Normally I have two or three each day. Now I have to employ them for three hours so, you know, I've got to get that money up to make sure that I pay them...on Monday and Tuesday we only have four out the front and Wednesday, Thursday, Friday we'd have five out the front...because it's a bit busier on those days. Now in a normal restaurant you wouldn't bother...because you've got a longer period of time to get them [meals] out. On Friday we have a special function so I have to put on an extra one to make sure I get them [meals] out of the way. (Interview, 12.3.01)

Wanda picked up a book by a Melbourne food writer on "Great Australian Chefs". She used this reference to illustrate several points she thought were pertinent to being or becoming a chef. Firstly, she noted that the criteria used for the selection of outstanding chefs have resulted in forty male candidates and only seven females. Secondly she saw many points of similarity between the experience of partnerships in the book and her own. In particular she noted that the division of labour between male and female partners is usually similar to her own. In addition the male and female approaches to careers in the kitchen seem to be predictably different and this culminates in the likelihood that a male chef will burn himself out at some stage. Wanda said that this phenomenon is apparent in the industry despite a woman taking on the greater part of family responsibilities.

Gary did definitely. The last business we had, we had to sell because Gary had had enough. There was no way he would continue. It took us nine months to sell the business but when we did we actually had one year off. We needed it terribly. Gary needed it really badly and I was the one that had a child....I think it comes back down to the creativity side of things because once you start getting to the point where you can't create any more you have had enough. In this industry I reckon five years sees you out. It's hard to continue after that and then you need a break...you can get back to it or get out of it and do something else or go into the management side of things which is where Gary wants to go. (Interview, 12.3.01)

In addition to the pressure generated by the time factor, a career in the kitchen can escalate into levels of stress that can result in the nightmarish situation where the temperamental chef terrorises others in the kitchen. The most vulnerable in this instance are the young members of staff who are learning the disciplines of the domain. For the young it

may simply be standing up to stress levels and hard work they have not encountered before. Many work from early in the morning till late at night. Wanda says she avoids the split shifts that commonly see young staff taking drugs to stay awake and the spiralling physical and mental health problems that ensue in the close confines of the kitchen. If you add to this mix a chef who loses his or her temper regularly to the point where saucepans are thrown and mental tongue-lashings of similar intensity occur, the kitchen becomes a terrifying environment. Wanda affirms that she encountered such places and people in her early days and that she saw this manifestation break up a business pretty quickly. On a happier note though she says that the kitchens of today “are a hundred times better than they were” (Interview, 12.3.01).

When Wanda first made the decision to become a chef, she encountered a domain which resisted her efforts to enter it in the normal way through an education in that field.

I was one of the first female apprentices to ever be enrolled in Australia as a chef and there was no Ryde College, there was only East Sydney. I was there in 79 and 80...and I was a female apprentice chef. To start with it took a long time for me to get a job and then after that when I got the job...it wasn't the job I really wanted but to actually be employed by anyone, as a female apprentice chef was hard enough so I took it. I came across discrimination, you know just starting, looking for a job because they said, she's not tall enough, and she won't be able to reach the pots. I thought well if you had a dick can you reach one. Does it make you a better cook? Can you reach up more? I must say I was very naïve about it. I was only sixteen years old. (Interview, 12.3.01)

Within the TAFE system Wanda found that some of the teachers had a readymade formula for keeping her out of their classes. For instance the butchery teacher said quite openly that if she couldn't lift the weight of half a cow then she was not fit to be in his class. There were also sixteen year old boys there, with slight frames who Wanda felt could also be challenged but weren't. She did lift the weight of a side of beef because she considered it was a necessary step in the development of her career but she was determined that he would not try any other means to get rid of her. She took her complaint to the head teacher who “just walked me back into the class, had a word with the fellow and that's where I remained in that class” (Interview, 12.3.01).

In the workplace while Wanda was apprenticed to a catering company that ran the Bennelong Restaurant at the Opera House in Sydney they decided she needed *a la carte* experience.

So they took me down there and the chef was one of those ranting and raving sort of a chefs, carried on a treat, he did, swearing and carrying on and there was no way he would allow me in his kitchen. There was just no way. If I had known then what I know now or even if they had the systems in place for discrimination I would have had this man because he basically just, you know, swore and carried on like I was a piece of dirt. (Interview, 12.3.01)

At that time if the chef said he would not have a female in his kitchen that was what happened.

[Today, however,] There are strict laws in place...and not only that, females are in the workplace...they have proved themselves to be the better anyway because they're more conscientious, you know they study better....They are the ones that are getting head of the class...boys don't really settle down to it until about twenty-one. Any boy under the age of twenty-one is basically pathetic....So all the way along this trip I had [obstacles]...and it's obviously just made me what I am today. I was probably quite stubborn...I could change to crying and walk away if I wanted to but cooking was what I wanted to do and I knew there wasn't going to be any chef who could stop me. I fought for it...and in this kitchen which Gary and I run...I am a strong person. (Interview, 12.3.01)

Gary supports Wanda's open attitude to female placement in the kitchen. He once, in the first instance of being appointed second chef in a European establishment, hired a female chef when the head chef was away. He was basically demoted because of it. Both partners agree that it does not matter what gender anyone is in the kitchen, it is getting the job done that counts. Wanda added that being an employer only reinforces the practicality of this principle.

Today there are laws in place and agencies who will help those who suffer abuse or discriminatory practices. Kitchen staff will not put up with the dysfunctional behaviour that the domain allowed in the past and they have the laws in place to do this effectively. In their own restaurant today Wanda and Gary have cause to apply these hard-won principles with a multicultural staff comprised of both males and females.

It's still a hard physical job...and now I've just taken on a new male apprentice....Well, there's me...and a female apprentice and then I have a female kitchen hand, a male second chef with Gary who's quite big-headed but to be good at what you do I think you have to be certain of yourself...so I don't mind big-headedness as long as he shapes up to the job. And then there is the new male apprentice. It's about even. (Interview, 12.3.01)

As the first interview draws to a close Wanda reflects on matters relating to her experience as a woman and as a mother but not necessarily relevant to the domain she has positioned herself in. These are in the form of general observations she has made about men and women and how they each go about their life differently. For instance she feels that women are better organisers and value social activities highly. Another aspect of her reflections ranges over the education of her son and the way gender roles are socially shaped within the school system. As a parent she hopes to influence her son's development "in a different way from the norm" (Interview, 12.3.01). She has identified what is normal as a state that she must struggle against. In fact her desire for originality and her formation of creative aspirations within the food domain appear to carry over to other areas of her life.

The second interview begins with Wanda's examination of her career achievements, and why she is so proud of them. She nominated a job she was asked to take on at a time of relative inexperience and before she worked with her partner. At that stage she had finished her training and had returned to Australia after working in a hotel in Europe for a year and a half. A businessman who wanted Wanda to start up a bakery in his ski field resort approached her with the offer of a job. Besides being broke and having to borrow money from her brother to re-establish herself in Australia, an awareness of her youth and inexperience prompted Wanda to initially reject this offer. She felt that this task was way beyond her in respect of previous experience and her youth. She was asked to work alone in an isolated location, which seemed so different from the many chefs in the kitchens she had

worked in to date. She was asked to purchase equipment and set up and operate a new purpose-built kitchen, to start from scratch and create a unique kitchen in a remote environment, which also made this job appear daunting.

I knew of this man but I'd never worked for him but I knew his reputation and he knew the boss where I had done quite a bit of my trainee apprenticeship stints....I handed it over to him and he wouldn't let it go. He said, "No, I've got to have you. I know you can do it"....Then he said, "Come down to the snow, come down and have a little holiday. I'll put you up in one of the chalets and you can think about it and we'll talk about it." Anyway I went down there and looked and of course, he convinced me that I could possibly do it and I did do it...it was a very big project for me at the age of twenty-four and with what experience I'd had, but I'd convinced myself I couldn't do it and then when I finally got into it, I did it really well. He felt I did it well and he paid me accordingly. (Interview, 2.4.01)

In addition she said she would never at that stage have applied for this job if she had found it in a newspaper.

I ended up working for him for ten years, on and off...it was seasonal and that's where I met my partner that first year I was down there. It was seasonal for many years and then Gary and I travelled around Australia in our Kombi and we did that sort of thing in between the seasons....So that set a lifestyle...not only running the bakery because he had an a la carte restaurant and I think there were five or six fast food outlets...in the snow. I ended up working for him for quite some time. I ran a barbeque out on the snow for him as a secondary job on top of my baking and I ended up, one year staying there all year round and I ran his coffee shop for him...in summer. I most probably would have stayed with him except that we were itching to go into our own business. As it remains now I'm glad we didn't because I think we are better off. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Apart from the affirmation of her potential in this domain and with the benefit of hindsight Wanda thinks that those years spent in the snow country served as a substantial practical training for her and for her partnership with Gary. This experience allowed them to springboard into the management of their own restaurant. Whilst this may not have been an

instant success it did allow them to learn relatively quickly and to position themselves to run a successful business as well as practising their individual crafts. Wanda feels that Gary's influence on her professionalism was considerable and that between the two of them they made a good team. "We're heaps better at cost controlling, we're far better at all those sorts of things" (Interview, 2.4.01).

As far back as she can remember Wanda wanted to cook. She was encouraged to experiment in the kitchen by her mother who in her own assessment was a very basic cook. From the age of ten Wanda felt her disasters and successes in the kitchen were preparing the way for her greater ambition. Until she entered the domain in a significant way by taking up an apprenticeship, she practised her skills at home and took some excellent career advice from a schoolteacher.

I knew I was going to cook. I knew it all along and by the time I finished I was in high school, I'd done my School Certificate and I went on to do my HSC because I had this notion in my head that I'd be a cooking teacher....My cooking teacher informed me that it was not exactly what I wanted to do and I should think about alternatives, because teaching was not about cooking...she said, "if cooking is what you really want to do you should go out and train in an apprenticeship". (Interview, 2.4.01)

She did leave school one year short of the HSC because she realized she didn't need to be there to further her ambition and she was "just itching to cook" (Interview, 2.4.01). However, for a young woman to obtain an apprenticeship as a chef at that time was more than challenging.

Now at that stage, back in those days, girls and apprenticeships, well, they were a joke. I went to many interviews, many, and they would look at you because I was only, like, five feet. A skinny little thing and they went, "No, she can't lift a pot, no she can't reach". They gave every other excuse, they might just as well have said, "No, she's a girl".... Then I got an apprenticeship and the only reason I got the apprenticeship was because the company was run by women...when I was at school I used to work in a Chinese restaurant, washing up....So that helped me get

the apprenticeship, I think, having the experience of working down there. They could see I was very keen and they hired me. (Interview, 2.4.01)

The apprenticeship system involved working for an employer and attending a trade course at TAFE over four years. The work component was meant to be a practical learning situation so Wanda became frustrated with the only employment she could secure because the situation prevented learning. On the surface employment with a large industrial catering company should provide a varied experience but the reality made Wanda feel she was going “nowhere”.

I came first in theory at tech but I couldn’t get anywhere in the practical because of where I was working...I went through numerous chefs and in the first year I was there I went through thirteen chefs in total. The first chef I had was a total alcoholic. He used to drink the cooking wine in the storeroom. At the end of the year I knew I would never be what I wanted to be if I continued, so I asked them to release me so I could find another apprenticeship and they wouldn’t do it...I went to the Apprenticeship Board and asked them to release me on the grounds that I was not learning. I had no stability in the job without anybody teaching me. I had to write this up and prove it in court. That was a big thing. (Interview, 2.4.01)

When she reflects upon her beginnings in the food service domain Wanda says it is hard to understand the younger ones in the domain. Just the travel she was prepared to undertake in order to become a chef was far more difficult than any task her employees are willing to take on. At least she knows she has benefited from hardship and does not know why the majority of apprentices today do not understand this. At the age of nearly sixteen she travelled for three hours each working day.

When she did manage to change her apprenticeship she worked a little closer to home and this meant less travel. It was in an a la carte restaurant and she did feel at last that she was progressing in her studies. She said that when she couldn’t practise at school or at work she nagged her mother to buy ingredients for family meals so that she could practise. At one point it was legs of lamb so that she could practise decorating them. She said, “the hard part was finding enough people to eat them” (Interview, 2.4.01). She practised skills like piping

on her nights at home and in the first year when she had little practical teaching she turned to books.

I used to spend, you know, nights at home practising, practising piping. You just practise and pipe on the bench and scrape it off and pipe some more. Then practise, practise and practise and spend every moment out of work thinking about more. (Interview, 2.4.01)

As her apprenticeship progressed, Wanda discovered an area of specialisation that she wished to pursue. Training as a pastry chef could not be undertaken until the more general course of commercial cookery was completed. She debated leaving but ultimately found completing the course, which covered all the basics of the broad domain of commercial cookery, to be worthwhile. In the end she completed her apprenticeship and was employed by a pastry chef who was starting up in a new European pastry shop. She did not seek further training at TAFE even though it was clearly expected. She found that she was learning in her preferred hands-on fashion while doing the job she loved.

I just attached myself to somebody who could teach me more and more. And then through that person I had three years of learning and then he got me a job in Switzerland in a hotel. It's very hard to get jobs over there and it's all right to get one foot in the door but you've got to prove that you can hold it. (Interview, 2.4.01)

At the time, the experience of working in Europe seemed like the ultimate career move. The reality was very challenging and while Wanda depended on her good relationship with the head chef who also had some English, she found that his power or control over the kitchen and everyone in it was absolute. She went from Australia to Switzerland, a country where she couldn't speak the language with the thought that it would be "a bit of an adventure" (Interview, 2.4.01). The language was not such a handicap because she had worked with a Swiss pastry chef and had learnt the rudiments as they applied in the kitchen. For instance she could count in German and read basic ingredients in a recipe. She was not so good at reading the method but she knew from her training what it was anyway. Cooking and kitchens are fairly universal, so language is not the great barrier it is outside. The head chef was instrumental in ensuring that Wanda learnt German quickly.

The chef said to me that a lot of people wanted to learn English and they were happy to talk to me in English but the chef said, “No, during the working hours you need only to speak German as it’s a German kitchen and it’s the one”. He didn’t go on about it; he just decided that if anyone else wanted to practise their English they could practise out of hours. When you had to work in a German kitchen, you learn very quickly how to speak it. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Working in this Swiss-German kitchen broadened Wanda’s experience and presented an opportunity to consolidate her speciality. At first she was employed as a newly finished apprentice. This meant that Wanda was directed to work in all areas of the kitchen and had no particular responsibilities. Wanda said at this point “you just do what you are told” (Interview, 2.4.01). There was much to absorb about this hotel kitchen, as it was open for twenty-four hours where other restaurants usually prepare for set meal times. While Wanda was familiar with the service aspect of cooking, this Swiss hotel presented a most exacting form of dining room service, more rigorously applied than any she had previously encountered. When she was retelling this part of her story Wanda appeared to be very happy to have had the opportunity to refine her domain skills and to further her career in this way.

It was a fantastic experience. It was really good...and then halfway through, the pastry chef walked out and he [head chef] said, “Right you’ve got pastry experience, in you go until we find somebody else”. So they didn’t even bother getting somebody else. I made a deal with him because the pastry chef was earning twice as much as I was. I said that I would stay on the same wage as long as in my reference from the hotel it would be written down that I worked as the pastry chef. So I got paid the same and I got the reference stating what I’d actually done and the joke of the whole thing was that...I’ve never once shown that piece of paper to anybody. (Interview, 2.4.01)

During the time Wanda was working in this Swiss hotel kitchen with predominantly German-Swiss people, she felt compelled to introduce humour into the kitchen, partly as an Australian’s reaction to the Swiss perfectionist ideal she kept brushing up against. It was their rigid ways and the “dreadful, dreadful” inflexible discipline considered necessary there that inspired Wanda to challenge them at every turn. “The Chef [head] knew I was good at

what I did and he allowed me to get away with some things but he'd pull me into line on others because I think he made sure that I didn't get away with too much in front of the others" (Interview, 2.4.01). She said she was the first Australian to work in this hotel so she felt she could exaggerate and perhaps lie and get away with it when she told them stories for her own amusement. When she reflected on this Wanda said it was the introduction of shared humour, something she took for granted in Australia, into the close confines of the Swiss kitchen that seemed most important.

In Australia, I used to go to the Swiss card nights and play the Swiss card games. I liked playing cards and I was quite good at playing the game, very good indeed. When I went to Switzerland I found out that the hierarchy of the kitchen played for money...and they said, "Well why don't you come along one day". But I didn't tell them I had actually played this game before, because I had my own little ways and I got stuck with the second chef. And the second chef was not too happy about having me as partner....As the evening grew on he found out that I was no fool and I'd played this game numerous times before and was quite good at it. So I had a little way of getting back at him in the sense that an Australian could beat the chef at playing cards and this annoyed the fellow, but gave the rest of the kitchen a little bit of a chuckle as well as me. (Interview, 2.4.01)

In addition Wanda found the Swiss desire for perfection often meant there was absolutely only one way, and that was their way of cooking any meal. She felt that from her experience in Australia she had a better way of doing things. Sometimes she would do something different and the results would be recognised but it was a matter of her finely-tuned judgement as to whether she should tell them what she had done.

This was where the perfection side of it came in. It was a little tough going because Australia is a bit lax. The Swiss don't eat as much fish and I had done my apprenticeship at Cronulla and half my training was in seafood restaurants so...I was very good at preparing fish...if I had to fillet a fish they would say, "What are you doing it that way for?" It just seemed so stupid to me. Anyway, I filleted it my way...and in the end the chef let me do it [the dish] my way as long as it turned out the way he wanted. (Interview, 2.4.01)

To sum up Wanda's work experience in Switzerland as it influenced her career as a chef, one could say that it enhanced her reputation and gave her specialty a degree of prestige that was not evident before. At a fundamental level however, her Swiss connection allowed those within the domain to assess not only Wanda's abilities in the kitchen but also her heightened communication skills. It was evident that future employers were reading her career in this way because they came forth with warranted job offers. The bonus: her rather cheeky communication skills were also well practised at this time.

To sum it all up, the head chef, we had this sort of love/hate relationship...he knew my attitude towards the Swiss...he liked me but he was glad that I was going most probably because I would get the better of him because I had nothing to lose. Everybody else would just go, "Yes chef, no chef" and I wasn't prepared to do that because I was going to the other side of the world. When I left I made him a cake and I spent a long time carving it, a marzipan carving on top and it summed up our whole relationship because it was a marzipan finger, like "Up yours, I'm going" which he enjoyed immensely but he wouldn't allow us to bring the marzipan finger back into the room. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Wanda's work experience overseas at that time allowed her to make comparisons between countries in regard to work issues like sexual discrimination in the kitchen, domain disciplines and general gourmet standards. She found that there were far more females included as kitchen staff in Switzerland though not as top chefs, whereas very few women had entered the working domain in Sydney. At the same time the standard of food appreciation in Australia was the opposite of the international gourmet level that underpinned the hotel accreditation system in Europe. Wanda said, "You remember that in the year that I went to Switzerland, Australia was still thinking that Spaghetti Bolognese was, you know, gourmet...curry that didn't have sultanas in it was not" (Interview, 2.4.01). To maintain this very high standard in European kitchens, however, the disciplining system within individual kitchens was extremely rigid and authoritarian giving the head chef absolute power in the kitchen. This situation did not appeal to a young Australian like Wanda though she realized like many creative people in other domains that she had to gain the head chef's respect without losing her individual identity.

I knew with the experience I'd had in Switzerland that I'd come back and I'd do what I wanted to do and I knew the chef knew I was good at what I did. Yes, I caused him to lose a bit but I also knew my boundaries as well...I worked night and day there and he knew it. He knew that I was a hard worker and I also wanted to learn and I did things like when it was Christmas time I made gingerbread houses and spent my spare time decorating...in the back of the kitchen...he appreciated that. He could see what he had in me. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Indeed when Wanda came back to Australia she was asked to set up a European bakery in the Snow country on the strength of her Swiss experience. This signified in Wanda's mind that she was not only a female entering a masculine domain but she was also contributing to raising standards of food preparation in Australia. Her overseas experience gave her an appreciation of the loosely-structured state of the domain in Australia, and as a result, she was prepared to use the seemingly unpalatable notions of discipline she had encountered in the Swiss hotel in the running and setting up of her own enterprise in Australia. Although she achieved a certain level of domain learning overseas, it was not until a point in the future, when she undertook her own business venture, that she considered she had completed all necessary stages of learning in the area of food professionalism.

Going into our own restaurant I'd have to say, I stepped onto another step. Because working in the bakery, it wasn't my money, right, even there you may be thinking about costing, the point being that you had to....It's one thing to know how to learn how to cook and do it and it's another thing to do that and know how to make money. There is another step in that and when you own your own restaurant and when it's your money, it makes a difference. (Interview, 2.4.01)

The first of these steps was taken when Wanda and her partner Gary decided that it was time they had their own business. They had no capital so they accepted an offer to run a hotel restaurant on the basis of only paying rent. Wanda said that this is considered a "free entry" into a business as the entire infrastructure, no matter how gruesome, was already there and they had no setting-up costs.

They stayed with this situation for one year, at the end of which they said they would rethink the situation. During that year they enjoyed themselves, paid their rent, paid

themselves a small wage and operated the restaurant, but at the end the business made a total of nine hundred dollars. They were happy with their first business venture in terms of achievement and the people they met but in business terms they decided to quit. They learnt many things in this year; for example, how they should divide the kitchen tasks.

We learned very quickly that I was very dominant in my field and he was extraordinarily dominant in his. So we learned very quickly that there was this invisible line drawn down the kitchen and he did that and I did this and basically we were only talking when we had to because I couldn't put up with him telling me what to do and he, there was no way he'd let me tell him what to do. Gary was still a better chef than I was at that point. I have to admit that...But he wasn't a pastry chef...but in restaurants you've got more cheffing than you have pastry cooking, so I had to do all the pastry cooking plus I had to help in other ways. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Wanda has not officially gone to a school and learned how to provide good customer service. This is, however, one of the other ways in which she makes a full contribution to the restaurant business and where she has assumed a role equal to her partner's. She appears to be very confident and knowledgeable about aspects of customer interaction.

I've never ever officially learned how to waitress but I can waitress better than these girls. Yes I supervise them. I learned the hard way. I learned with my money and I learned by acknowledging people, remembering what people had before, remembering where they sat, these are all things you learn and you learn them quickly in your own business when you've got to do it with your own money. (Interview, 2.4.01)

The next step along the way to operating and owning a restaurant was to run an inland guesthouse and to take on another winter season in the snow "for the joy of it" (Interview, 2.4.01). This step was rich in experience but provided very little monetary gain. By the end of this period, which Wanda described as "going bush with minute amounts of money" (Interview, 2.4.01), she said they were more than ever determined to start a restaurant that had the potential to be successful in their terms and according to domain standards. They ended up taking on a hotel kitchen in a major tourist location.

Wanda said they started by thinking it would be nice to live in this village and to run the kitchen simply and hire a minimum of extra staff. She said that over a short period this dream turned into a nightmare. They took a miserable and seemingly limited concern and built it up into a booming business. They were catering for three hundred for lunch on Sundays and hired thirteen extra staff. It ballooned too quickly and they increasingly felt they weren't experienced enough to cope. The consequence of this pressure was that their relationship suffered to the point where Wanda moved out but still worked in the restaurant.

Wanda related that almost miraculously they got back together and struggled on until after three years, on the strength of their booming business, the landlord increased the rent to a point where they felt they were penalized for their own efforts. The need to make a decision became critical, as it was obvious that Gary was overtaken by the strain of building up the business and Wanda became pregnant.

They decided to sell this business, a process which stretched over a year. By this time they were in a position to have a much-needed holiday and to buy into a nearby restaurant which they envisaged would involve fewer financial problems and therefore would be driven to a greater degree by a quality and customer focus.

When asked to reflect on the impact of motherhood on her career, Wanda replied:

Anybody who thinks a little child can just fit in is kidding themselves I think. He did fit in, don't get me wrong; I didn't change my lifestyle too much. He came with me to work as a baby. I went back to work after two weeks because it was our business and I could do that...so he came in as a baby and I used to sit him in the bouncer up on the stainless steel bench while I worked...and then we had this back pack...we used to walk over to cook with him...when he slept I used to stick him in a pram in the corner of the restaurant. The regulars got to know him and it was nice for them in a real family restaurant. As he got on I used to make cappuccino with this kid hanging off the side of the backpack watching what was going on...then he got to a point when you could no longer bring him to work because he was walking and it was too dangerous. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Although her baby was walking at nine months, Wanda kept him in the restaurant a further two months but it was far too dangerous and an alternative form of childcare was sought.

My girlfriend who'd been waitressing and working for me for quite some years...decided she'd had enough of waitressing, so she became my full time nanny and cleaner for the restaurant. She used to clean the restaurant for me in the morning and then look after Sam until I got home and that remained that way until we left the restaurant. They have a bond still today. And of course because my mother is no longer around, she sort of is the surrogate nanna. If there is anything exciting, then Sam gets on the phone and talks to her about it. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Bringing up a baby in your workplace is not possible for many, but for Wanda having her baby in the kitchen allowed the two parents to form a strong bond with their son. At the same time as they were honing their business skills, their son learnt from an early age what life was like within the food domain.

It didn't worry me whatsoever and it worried nobody else really. You know, DOCS might have said something but I think Gary embraced it, he is a very good father, he loves Sam to death. In fact he was a part of the restaurant no matter what and even as soon as Sam could talk, it was his restaurant and he still thinks it is his...I made Sam little chef pants and when he comes in here, obviously not when it is busy, but sometimes he has to come here in the afternoon when I am cooking and he always cooks something. I give him free reign like my mum used to do for me. He is very good, he is allowed certain things and if he doesn't know he comes and asks, 'Mummy is this too dear, is this too expensive?' I allow him to cook and he is only allowed two eggs, otherwise he'd take a dozen. Usually he makes cakes or something like that and then he decorates them and we pretend to put them into the front counter and he makes little signs for them. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Wanda is keen to teach her son not only how to cook but also about the passion she has for cooking. This applies also to the teaching of others within her domain although she has

already identified personal factors, which she thinks obstruct effective teaching in the kitchen. While Wanda has been asked to teach in the TAFE system, she has rejected the offer because her experience with apprentices and her own passion for her work seem to create problems that would not suit the system. These problems have come from her reaction to the apprentices she has employed in the past who don't want to be there. Some apprentices do not have the enthusiasm she expects nor do they demonstrate the curiosity she thinks is essential to their learning. Students in this domain decide to take an apprenticeship on the basis of the income they will earn rather than their love of cooking. Wanda predicts that this attitude develops in some the desire to be somewhere other than the kitchen, it is revealed in their conversation, in their body language and in the difficulties they have with learning those extra things so essential to their success.

The other thing that I felt I couldn't cope with was the fact that they're still on the premises and they don't really want to be there....I'd probably not be very fair to them...I would not give them the full amount of encouragement because I'd think it'd be wasted. And I would show it in my attitude; they know me very well....I find very quickly that I don't want to teach them. (Interview, 2.4.01)

On the other hand, Wanda finds apprentices who demonstrate their interest and passion for the food domain are well worth teaching.

I really enjoy it, I really like the ones that go, "But why?" I love that; I like the questions coming from them....You can see their potential straight away. It is in how they walk in, what time it is, their tools are clean and how organised they are....This year I've had a mixed batch, not in talent, I'd have to say talent comes from a person within, whether they be male or female. I do have another male apprentice in there, he's good too but he's a second year. He comes with not much experience so he is very happy to be in here because where he was, he wasn't learning so he's learning what we are doing in here. And he is very good....I have a new girl just starting and we find girls are more organised and Gary would say that as well. Today was her first day alone with me baking and I like them to communicate with me all the time. Communicate, communicate that's the only way you've got to do it and if they don't know something, ask

because they'll get into far worse trouble if they don't do it right and they didn't ask. (Interview, 2.4.01)

In addition to the apprentice training, Gary and Wanda must teach and coordinate their fully-trained staff. Recently Wanda had a run-in with the second chef largely because she detects in him a sexist attitude that makes it difficult for him to relate to her as a woman owner and therefore as an instructing chef. Being male and female owners they both find same-sex working relationships are far more successful so the second chef takes most instruction from Gary.

If in the future Gary decides to promote his career elsewhere, Wanda would like to run the restaurant herself. To do this she would want to employ someone who could step into the head chef's position and help with stock control measures and other changes she would instigate. She feels that the current second chef would not be strong enough for the task because he is "lousy" at ordering and organising. "Having words" with him seems to occur frequently when Wanda expresses her dissatisfaction with his approach to kitchen cleanliness. Wanda said, "He has the talent to do better but he is a clock-watcher and lazy" (Interview, 2.4.01). As a male Gary is more able to supervise him but needs to put far more effort into backing up this employee than is usual. During their latest clash Wanda said to the second chef, "would you prefer that I write all this down and give it to Gary and maybe Gary can tell you what to do?" And he answered, "If you think that is necessary" (Interview, 2.4.01). While they work together and try not to undermine the other they have recognised that it is harder to change inherent behaviour than it is to establish effective training. Gary's answer to the second chef problem is to work closely with him, to write everything down and to have regular sit down discussions about routines in the kitchen.

When dealing with this kind of problem Wanda says she tries not to harp and usually asks the employee to look at the situation from the owner's perspective.

He has to work mainly with Gary and I don't tell him...how to cook but when it comes to keeping the place with a certain cleanliness standard, that's when I step in...I could personally go in there and clean it to the standard that I like but why should I...I said to him, I employ you, I pay you, I run this kitchen and it is my responsibility. I have to keep it to a certain health requirement standard and so

you tell me, if you were paying the wages would you personally clean it or would you make sure that somebody else was doing it...you personally don't have to do it but you have to make sure that it gets cleaned. If your apprentice can't clean it properly then you have to get in there and do it because I'll be looking at you, not the apprentice. (Interview, 2.4.01)

A glimpse of the domain at work is seen in the way Wanda rationalises her problem with the second chef. Those in authority strictly enforce the creed of the kitchen and sacrifice what could be the beginning of individual initiative. The rules of the domain are harsh, as Wanda says, "the kitchen is not a democracy" (Interview, 2.4.01). To many young people, subjecting a developing talent to the environment in a kitchen goes against their own ideals and immature convictions. It is generally recognised that an apprentice must obtain mastery before an individual can creatively contribute to the domain he or she may work in. Additionally, it is left to each domain to establish the upper and lower limits of its standards. This is clearly unpalatable to those noviciates that fail to recognise the purpose and content of any domain's rule system; instead they see this form of training as a personal threat to their creativity.

I've tried my hardest to explain to them how we get to certain things, how we do things, at the end of the day you learn something off every boss you have ever worked for. I don't care how bad they've been. Sometimes it is how not to do something....I said to him, "Look if you work for me this is the way I do it and I do it this way through the experiences I have learned from and I think is best. You may disagree with me and that's fine, you are allowed to disagree with me but while you work for me and while I pay the wages you do it my way, until you have your own place...You may think that is not right and I felt many times with people that that's not right but I knew that when I had my own place I could choose to do it however, I will and you can do the same but not under this roof. Under this roof you do it my way". (Interview, 2.4.01)

It is Wanda's view that an apprentice can maximise their domain experience if they understand the rules and are certain to place themselves in a restaurant or kitchen with an established reputation. As she and Gary have done in the past, those in charge not only provide a suitable work experience but also give extra attention to furthering the career of

those apprentices under their supervision. In particular, talented individuals will reach a stage where they have learnt all they can and must move along to seek greater experience. The last female apprentice Wanda trained was a good example in that she had obvious talent and was prepared to extend herself to ensure she was advantageously positioned in the domain. Wanda said:

They can have all the encouragement that they like. They can have all of wanting to be the best that they like but these young apprentices need first to study in a place that has a reputation....She started in a place that was industrial, it had no reputation and she was frustrated to the point of fury when she came around to us. She said, "Have you got a position?" And I said, "No I don't". And then she would say, "Well can you put me down for one". She came back again and again and she would nag. She said to us, "If there's any functions could you employ me to work?" She would come round and she would push and ask Gary and she got to know him, until finally over the Christmas holidays when we were so busy Gary started employing her. So if a young person wants to be good at it she's got to surround herself with good people....You've got to recognise your opportunity for what it is. (Interview, 2.4.01)

In addition, a responsibility for training an apprentice includes an understanding of the fact that all the training they receive is not necessarily for the benefit of the restaurant. Individuals who demonstrate most potential will learn quickly and want to move on to different experiences in other kitchens. There are those who believe that an apprentice should pay off the restaurant for their training by providing cheap labour for an agreed number of years.

We'll reach a level where that's as far as we can go and she can go. When she reaches that point she'll know, and she'll stay a bit longer and she might do two years. She might finish her apprenticeship but she will say, "Well, I have learned everything." And it will become boring, it'll become routine and then it will become annoying and she will have to move. And I will be happy for her to move...and I will do anything to help her... get into the right place because I've done that with other apprentices. (Interview, 2.4.01)

The mixed role of trainer and owner places limits on the personal relationships that might develop in a kitchen. Wanda says that the working environment can create friendships especially with those whom you like or even admire but at the end of the day, “you get to know people a bit more than sometimes you would have liked to do” (Interview, 2.4.01). She sums herself up as having to have “a bite” but to those who work with her “her bark is worse than her bite” (Interview, 2.4.01). She does not socialize with her staff beyond the periodic get-togethers she arranges for staff. She likes to tell jokes and have an easy working relationship with her employees but she always tells herself to remember the limits she has imposed on herself, because of past experience.

People get to know me and the ones that really understand me are the ones you develop a relationship with, and the ones that never understand you just don't. Yeah, you get to know them, you tell jokes, you do things but I try not to socialise with the people I'm employing.... You have to realize the boundaries. In the end, you've got to remember that you pay them a wage, they will always go, they will move on. There's one leader and that's it and that's what you have to be. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Wanda closed the interview with a few comments about the field aspect of the domain she has worked in for over twenty years. Recently, she said, older practitioners have moved into field positions such as teachers, writers and as critics. The recent advances in publication technology have created an opportunity in the food domain for younger chefs to take on a field role and in turn influence the structure of the domain and its capacity for change. When Wanda reviewed the current phenomenon of the “Australian TV Chefs” and the contribution they make to her domain, she judged their passion for the craft of cooking to be the most important criterion for success. She said about one such chef:

He is just passionate and you can see it whether he is making mashed potatoes or whether he's making a complex Italian dish. He didn't produce a TV show on the gourmet thing... He uses the produce around him and he does it with a passion that just oozes out of him. He recognises that whatever others are producing they do it because they love to do it and that shows. It's the passion within him that shows, whereas others can come on and be technically correct. (Interview, 2.4.01)

Wanda's own plans for the future do not rule out a field position, perhaps a teaching role in the TAFE system. She was asked if she has the urge to teach others in the domain. Of course there is the teaching obligation she treats very seriously in the apprentice system that the restaurant supports.

Yes, yes, I do. You know the only thing I would teach them...I want to and I might find very quickly that I don't want to teach them....I did that with my apprentice here...I'd think I am going out of my way to teach you here, so you either do it or....Now, I was offered a job in the TAFE system before we had this restaurant and I decided not to take it...not just because I didn't want to teach, the money was good and everything else was OK but personally because I didn't like the system that I most probably would have had a bit of trouble because I would not be able to keep my mouth shut and I would not be able to go with the flow which is what you have to do....I am this domineering personality and going in there for the teaching....I would think of changing the system. Yes it's a challenge...I might do that later on when...I'll probably look at it...something to ease out of [the restaurant business]. The other thing that I felt I could not cope with was the fact that so many of them [apprentices] don't really want to be there. (Interview, 2.4.01)

CHAPTER SEVEN

Willa's Story

Willa told her story in the mayor's office of the town in which she has started a second career in local politics. She has previously established a psychology practice in the same town. At this time she is working in and consolidating a career in two distinctly separate domains. Willa has formal training in Psychology and taken up the "learn while you do it" challenge of educating herself in the ways of the political domain. She has progressed from councillor to mayor rather rapidly but her term as mayor is about to end and at our first meeting she is agonising over the process she must undergo in order to be re-elected. To have a second term as mayor Willa's fellow councillors must vote her in. The vote is taken in the council and is the culmination of all the political manoeuvrings that take place prior to the nominated meeting.

Willa agreed to participate in this study at this time, despite the constraints of managing two careers, one of which was in crisis mode at the time. Willa seemed to treat the reflective self-assessment required of her by this study as a timely opportunity to do some personal stocktaking of her two careers and particularly to make sense of recent events. The second meeting with Willa had to be postponed due to the heightened tensions and time restrictions that the re-election process imposed on her, so Willa participated and told her story prior to and after the vote was taken. Willa is married and a mother of three children. She is approximately 43 years of age.

Willa began by expressing doubts about the conceptualization of creativity used in this study and she said she was unfamiliar with the two theorists who feature in it. Before she agreed to participate she requested some additional background information regarding theory and theorists. She also said she did not consider herself to be particularly creative so she doubted the process that selected her for inclusion in this research. Willa has herself conducted PhD level research in Psychology so there was some initial conversation with her about method and so on which was intended to clarify the issues she raised. Happily Willa was able to move beyond her concerns and agreed to participate in this project. In the course of these early conversations it became clear that she was intellectually attracted to this project because it is a study of women. The theoretical aspects of creativity seemed less important to

her. As the interview progressed however, Willa seemed to accept the social view of creativity and proceeded to describe how her early alignment with feminist theory has directly affected her life and her two careers.

Establishing a career in one domain and then starting another career in a seemingly unrelated domain fits in with Willa's personal creed.

But I don't actually believe in planning your life, I met...one of those motivational speakers who get paid fifteen hundred dollars an evening to motivate people (and) he said, "If you fail to plan you plan to fail". This is what he was telling me at lunch and I was telling him what nonsense. As far as I am concerned I think life is just a glorious mess. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Willa described the beginning of her political career as a series of events that happened serendipitously. Her career in politics and her career in psychology have not been planned to go from X to Y. Willa said:

[If I] go back to when I became a councillor, I had quite bad postnatal depression which I have had with all of my children. At about twelve weeks with my third child – about eight years ago – I thought I had to get out of the house....I thought I was going mad. I went to a nursing mothers meeting and met a lovely Swedish girl who was married to a then councillor on the council. We became fast friends. One night we were over at their place for dinner – my husband, baby and I – and I made a completely flippant remark that I should run for council too. The next thing was that someone resigned from council and caused a by-election and Mark, Anna's husband, said, "Well, put your money where your mouth is, you are going to run"... So we put together a very low-key campaign – we worked very hard, but it had no money thrown at it...and I was elected to council much to everyone's shock – including mine I think. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Then the mayoral election was called early and Willa was approached about taking on the position as the first lady mayoress. Initially she thought the idea ludicrous but managed to see it in a positive way when she consulted her parents and acknowledged the strength of the

challenge of being the first woman to lead this council. Despite winning both elections, her career in politics was to prove quite difficult in the sense that she experienced a palpable disapproval of all her actions by her peers on the council. Willa also saw that carving a path through this essentially masculine domain, where there are no women in senior positions to be allies or mentors, would be extremely difficult for a woman.

Before I took on the job, I went to see a senior officer who has since leftHe said you would only have to be here with your bottom on a seat two days a week. You could get through the work. I mean I am a quick reader and I am not being immodest...and a quick thinker and I can do more than one thing at once. Sometimes I might do things fairly badly but I can get by on it. I have developed a near-enough-is-good-enough philosophy with all the work I do which goes against the grain because I am inherently a perfectionist I think....But this is one of the things I am disapproved of for because I don't come in often enough. I am not here like all the other male Mayors who have been here maybe five or seven days a week or whatever, and then I feel guilty about it. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Willa's entry into the domain of psychology was also characterized by an absence of planning. Having finished high school Willa could not decide upon the direction her career would take so she put university off (having gained a place in medicine) for a year and worked as a base-grade public servant. This experience was "demoralizing" and so when the year of depressing work was over she enrolled in an arts program at the local university.

Willa did not take up her place in medicine because she reasoned she was not suited to all the "body stuff". She wanted to study what happens inside people's heads. She did not want to study the gruesome body parts that were necessary for a degree in psychiatry at that time. In her first year she chose maths, statistics, women's studies and psychology as subjects she would study because she thought they would be interesting.

I didn't know whether I would do an honours year in maths or statistics or women's studies or psychology or what. I chose psychology eventually but I just stumbled into it. Then I did quite well in it and then I decided to do a PhD. I ended up in academia then. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Willa made a decisive connection with the domain of psychology in her undergraduate years but it was her serious involvement with women's studies that provided the subject matter for her honours and PhD theses. She first targeted gender stereotyping in preschools for her research then moved on to women's eating disorders. As an academic she consulted in various clinics in the capital city which specialized as she did in women's psychological problems. The disorders of bulimia and anorexia were the most serious of these problems and seemed to be brought to national consciousness at the time. The specialization she developed as an academic was not carried through to her private practice in the country town to which she eventually relocated.

At any one time I am seeing two or three mostly young women with an eating disorder but I am just a generalist. I see a range of problems, marriage problems, children's disorders the whole lot. No specialization at all. (Interview, 11.8.00)

During a period of change in her life (babies with accompanying periods of postnatal depression, relocating family from city to country, changing from academic to country practitioner, and changing from specialist to generalist) Willa intended to "slow down a bit" but ended up adding another career to her already full life. She believes that if she were the sort of person who fits the ideal mould this would never have happened. For Willa things just seem to happen and they either turn out happily or not so happily. Bearing this in mind she says when she started her career in psychology "she could have as easily been a lawyer or a doctor" (Interview, 11.8.00).

When she was asked if she assessed her strengths and weaknesses at the time she started either career she said she had no signs that would set her on a vocational course in her last year of school. She was good at everything but "useless at art and PE. That's why I say I am not creative, but I guess I am creative in a constipated way." She says she was driven to be good at everything, she studied hard but now recognises that she wanted to do well for its own sake. When she achieved top marks she seemed to lose enjoyment in the subjects themselves. At university she found psychology theory "dreadful" because it bore no relation to the work she does in her practice which she now finds interesting. In typical Willa fashion she has found her true "gift" to be her ability to successfully engage with people.

In the family situation I was always the one who won my father out of a bad mood. I think I understand people, what makes them tick. I think I stumbled upon the right thing. Psychology at university is not about understanding people in that everyday sense so if I had any gift at all it was understanding people. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Another aspect of Willa's self-assessment accounts for the pragmatism that is so much a part of her political life. Other qualities highlighted by the academic world that Willa has taught in, and in turn has been taught by others, are fairly predictable but these academic strengths are also the ones with which she is dissatisfied. As Willa moves from understanding individuals' psychological problems to understanding the psychology of people collectively, as they are living in communities, she says she relies on a different set of qualities that are not so easily defined. She expresses this special quality in the following way:

All I have tried to do is seize opportunities when they have come along. What differentiates me from other people is (a) the opportunities that have come along and (b) sometimes I have had the wit to recognize them as opportunities. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Depression has been a problem for Willa after the birth of each child. The second bout of postnatal depression was the worst though it was not so bad that she had to be hospitalised. Rather than feeling handicapped by these difficult experiences she has learnt to tap into these experiences to understand how she might help other people solve their psychological problems.

I think I tend towards being pessimistic and all those things. The accident of doing psychology has helped me and talking to other people about their depression has helped me deal with mine. You just have to manage it. I just have all those traits of randomising things, of finding myself deficient all the time, of catastrophising, of over-analysing and all those things that are characteristic of being depressive. So now I just keep an eye on myself when I am heading down the same old path. Anyone in professional life has to manage oneself. It's about being in and out of control, how you can manage your time and yourself all the time. I think this has

all helped. It's a balancing act; I don't completely get on top of myself. I am always struggling a bit with the whole thing. (Interview, 11.8.00)

The subject of Women's Studies at university helped Willa to think about other women's psychological problems in a constructive way. She fashioned herself into someone women might consult, to help them deal with the real but often not publicly acknowledged problems they experienced. At university, Willa said, theory of this subject was excellent, whereas theory in psychology was not so useful. Feminist theory helped her to see that gender is a fundamental social divide across all other issues like race, class and economic circumstance. She believes that between-sex differences are far smaller than within-sex differences and consequently, when people generalize about "women's condition", she is able to counter with examples of just how individual most psychological problems are. Understanding the gender divide is crucial to her therapeutic work. It gave her a way of thinking about the world that was useful when researching and treating women's eating disorders. Willa thinks that feminism also gave her the passion to want to solve community problems.

[Feminism] gave me a way of thinking about the world that I found useful and I have kept this up. I am sorry to say that feminism is dead in the current generation of young women. They do not see it at all. Women's Studies then was very much on the outer, it was considered almost laughable academically. I do not know how it is now. Feminism has dissipated as the women have become older. To me feminism has failed to address *body*. If you talk about women and creativity and energy – women's energy is dissipated on an hourly basis by being consumed about their bodies. They feel they don't have the right to eat or occupy any space. They are full of self-hate. This is something I feel very passionate about. (Interview, 11.8.00)

A feminist perspective is also pivotal to her career in local politics. She has fortified herself with the lessons to be learnt from feminism so that she is better able to deal with "the horrible side of this business" (Interview, 11.8.00). Though she feels she has gained from the experience of being Mayor, she voiced doubts about the personal repercussions of her role as first woman to take up the office in the shire. She feels that she has become harder rather than

stronger and that she now deals with people in a brittle way where once she was nicer. Within herself she says:

I am still the same, I still go home and cry a hell of a lot and no one would guess that. When you are seen to be doing a competent job or you haven't got any cracks in your veneer, people seem to like you less. They see you as a polished operator. I am stronger in one sense, I have steeled myself because there have been quite a few awful political situations. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Now the pressure of the re-election process is intense; she says it makes her take a personal accounting of her career in politics. She asks herself why she does this and is it worth the cost to her family. This is not a dispassionate stocktaking; it appears to be agonising.

It is such a pressure. I wake up in the middle of the night, my heart is racing and I feel I am about to scream in panic. It is as though I have lost my way, I do not know where I am going any more. I think my children are growing up and I am obviously missing large chunks of them. Now John is eight and he was born yesterday. He is going to be eighteen and I will still be frigging around being mayor or doing this or that. Does it matter? (Interview, 11.8.00)

This coming election is undoubtedly a big political problem, and one Willa is expected to solve within the very loose boundaries of the political domain. Willa said, "I have an election coming up – it makes me take stock of my life. It is such a pressure....You have to go on with your everyday goals that probably don't matter. So you do try to take stock" (Interview, 11.8.00).

Out of her personal accounting Willa also reflected on the differences between men and women in politics. Generally, the men you met professionally do not weigh loved ones against their career and they do not ask themselves what is important so often. To women, their career is not an isolated thing that can be viewed without consideration of the relationships that exist within it. She says, "You [women] can't exist on that plane because nothing is important on that plane" (Interview, 11.8.00). If women have no other women as

role models they are forced to put together a career in their own way. She said she could not be like any of the previous Mayors so she had to be herself. In the process she created her own political style and she feels stronger for having done it this way. Many of the theories Willa has studied in psychology remark on these differences.

This impostor syndrome they talk about. When women get into positions of power they feel they have got there by luck. They feel that any minute someone is going to uncover them as the fraud they think they are. I don't think that I suffer from that too badly but I do feel different. You don't know who to model yourself on. I just thought very early on that I am just going to be myself. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Knowing who you are through self-analysis seems to be a maxim Willa would offer to younger women aspiring to a political life but many women she has met with deny there is a difference between men and women and that these differences end up becoming obstacles to furthering their career. She said:

I don't think that men on the whole are given to such self-analysis as women are – or analysis of others – they just bat along most of the time. That sounds sexist but I have found that to be true. I get cross when women say that they have no difficulty when dealing with men. It's either that they have been truly blessed or they haven't seen anything. When I say to other women that I have had postnatal depression, they say "really" and then you describe what happened to you and they say, "Oh that happened to me too. That's exactly how I felt". It's as though women on one hand will say they have had a dream run, there's no such thing as sexism or disadvantage. Though when they describe their stories it is full of it...I guess there is not much point to dwelling on this, you just have to deal with it as best you can. (Interview, 11.8.00)

Willa's story expands noticeably over the second interview that took place after the election in which she was not re-elected Mayor but did win a position as deputy Mayor. She had reflected on the protocol questions and she was immersed in her own evaluation of events leading up to the council vote. She was feeling disappointment and at the same time she was recovering from one of her political "ordeals". I think the circumstances made Willa more talkative than she appeared in the first interview. She was certainly engaged in a

personal review of her career and was particularly weighing up the pros and the cons of whether this was a failure in political terms. What does one do next?

Of her career achievements Willa said she is most proud of finishing her PhD in Psychology because it was a particularly traumatic time. Midway through her PhD at the age of twenty-three she broke up a six-year relationship and was then diagnosed as having a malignant melanoma.

I got through the two years then, which were very hard, of three monthly check ups and so on. Yes that was not nice. That was a thing which goes by the lymph gland, and so they check you all over. That was most unpleasant. That was in the middle of my PhD and I think I was proud of the way I handled that. I mean I didn't...I had a few months of reflecting on mortality but then touch wood, I was fine. Then at the six-monthly check up I was clear again. (Interview, 22.9.00)

In her short political career she was proud to be elected to the council the first time and again when she was elected Mayor. When she was first approached by fellow councillors and asked to consider putting herself forward as Mayor, she thought:

It had never entered my head to be Mayor. It was not something I had in my head, full stop! Two weeks later I was Mayor and so I feel in many ways I was just thrust into that. But looking back now as I have been over the last couple of days I feel proud of what I have achieved. I think I will continue to feel proud of that. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Overall, Willa considers her children are her finest achievement though she qualifies this by placing them against her domain-centred achievements.

I found this question really hard actually and I was very proud of achieving my PhD at the time but then when I had the children I realized it was a lesser thing. When my first child was born I looked at him and thought – Wow – this leaves anything else I have ever done for dead. But it is not something I can legitimately be proud

of. As I said it is just nature and I don't think I can be proud of my parenting as such. I don't think that's of excellence. (Interview, 22.9.00)

When asked to reflect upon failure she has experienced within any domain, Willa immediately looked to recent events where she failed to be re-elected as mayor. She said, "It is like a real physical wrench, like a torch to the belly so to speak" (Interview, 22.9.00). The political domain at this local level is loosely structured and has less rigid rules so what might be spoken of as failure in one moment can be called a personal setback in another. Nonetheless, Willa was striving to get through the impact of the previous weekend. The new Mayor was one of the councillors she considers a mentor despite his belonging to a different political party. He too expressed feelings of being overwhelmed by his appointment largely because the need for his nomination was only apparent days before the election.

I will be proud once I get through this. Yes I will be proud once I get through. I see Bill the new Mayor. He said it is overwhelming because we didn't sort this out till Sunday – and we tried to be civilized about it. We need to come to a really good solution for the shire – which the cynics will never believe but that is exactly how it happened. And I said, "Oh, Bill you have no idea how it is struggling with it from this end." Because I remember how it was being overwhelmed with this notion I could be mayor - but the notion that you're not is pretty awful too. (Interview, 22.9.00)

The political problems preceding the election occurred when the declared support for Willa's nomination was insufficient to carry the vote. One woman councillor refused to give Willa's nomination her support and so, to resolve the resulting deadlock, the council met informally for lunch at one councillor's homes to discuss what could be done. The woman whose favour they were canvassing seemed to be more interested in, as she said, "taking scalps" and saw working together with others as a personal defeat. Consequently this became a problem for the whole council, most councillors wondering how they could work with someone who believes in winning rather than collaborating.

The qualities that Willa has relied upon to get her through difficult political situations are: hard work; a sense of humour (she can usually laugh at herself); sensitivity "although that is a plus and minus it makes me acutely sub-sensitive to what other people say about me

and think of me, but also I think it has made me deal with people well so I don't tread on people's toes too badly" (Interview, 22.9.00); and a survival instinct. When asked if she had acquired the proverbial "political toughness" she responded, "Yes I think so, but I don't think I have that in spades though. I have a little bit of it" (Interview, 22.9.00). She believes that she acquired this earlier in her life when she was dealing with a number of personal crises and particularly her sister's suicide attempt.

I think it's come from my earlier years. Particularly, soon after I had the melanoma my father had bowel cancer. My sister then had a serious depression and she made a very bad suicide attempt – she was in a coma for a week. We didn't know if she was going to live or whatever and working with her through that - and all sort of things....I think I have acquired some wisdom through that, probably earlier than I needed to. I had decided that - this is very simplistic – there are two kinds of people. There are those who take what life dishes out and broaden themselves with it, and then there are other people who narrow and shrivel with it. I am determined not to be one of the latter. I have always tried to get better as a person through each of these experiences because otherwise you will end up bitter and twisted. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Immediately following the above, Willa jumped back to the pre-election situation and described the way she dealt with the woman who would not support her.

As soon as I walked into the lounge room she opened her arms to me; I was to hug her, which I did. Because I thought – well relationships have to appear all right or we will all just crack up and we won't be able to work together in the future, so I hugged her and she said very sanctimoniously that she did not come to this decision easily. I said, "No I appreciate that". She said, "You don't have any idea of how I feel." She said that she understood that too. The rest of the time we spent the time trying to make her feel all right. I thought I was quite proud of myself at the end of that. Somebody else might have slapped her face and called her names. It would not have served any purpose to disrespect her. (Interview, 22.9.00)

According to Willa, women entering the political domain are more likely to achieve in a different way from the men who have already established the domain and themselves in it. She is at a loss to explain her own recent experience with this woman colleague who acts more like a man. Willa has previously predicted that women produce a “more self reflective set of achievements” because women reflect on themselves more than men do. She asks herself, “What kind of achievement is likely for this woman who treats politics like a battleground and sees opposition in colleagues of the same gender?”

I think that women reflect on themselves more. I mean – I have a husband who comes home and tells me Willa what am I feeling? He is an engineer. I get so frustrated – I don’t know if he is true of all men, he seems to act and wonders what is going on. So I think – probably – it’s a more reflective set of achievements...I think that some things have been more of a struggle because I am a woman - I value them more. (Interview, 22.9.00)

When Willa was asked if this recent setback was one of the more significant obstacles she has faced in both careers, she said “no”, especially when compared with the struggles she had in her twenties which she would not relive “for quids” (Interview, 22.9.00).

It was all those times then that were hardest to overcome. Post-natal depression was dreadful after each of the babies, but that was all right, I got over that too. I think the biggest struggle was with myself! Just staying on the level – I am an obstacle to myself. The trouble is sometimes I feel like - a bit like my husband and I think what am I going to come up with next. Why can’t I wake up and the next morning be sunny and the same. Dealing with my own temperament seems to be an enormous struggle. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Going back to the last years of high school, Willa said she experienced a “stupid sexist attack” from a male physics teacher who “rubbished” her and made fun of her even though she topped the co-ed school in both maths and physics. She believes that she always viewed herself as an impostor in regard to maths and physics. One of her strengths was maths yet at the time she believed she was not good enough in these subjects. This attitude caused her to back away from the place she gained in medicine at university and later to choose

psychology because it was founded on language and people skills about which she was confident.

Also at school Willa perceived she was good at everything, good at marks, good at exams and willing to study hard but she felt aimless, like a “rat on a treadmill” (Interview, 22.9.00). It was not until she tackled her Honours year that she felt truly engaged with psychology. It was a year of intellectually “hitting her straps” (Interview, 22.9.00) and the subject of her thesis, sexual stereotyping in children, was her first attempt to combine psychology and feminism, the two subjects she felt connected to. At this time the psychology faculty would not officially condone her thesis as a joint study.

Of course psychology wasn’t going to have a bar of anyone doing anything like women’s studies with them because they were a legitimate science and all that rubbish. So I ended up doing it just in psychology. I suspect I must have had a bit of interest in it. It didn’t feel like that at the time. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Willa says the honours year in psychology was stimulating while the PhD thesis was “a grind” because it involved an awful lot of work. The honours thesis was exciting because Willa was able to express new and significant ideas pertinent to the domain of her choosing. Research for this thesis involved looking at what girls and boys are good at and this was done in pre-school situations at greater depths than the course in psychology allowed. This time was also significant for Willa in that this was when she saw most clearly how useful psychology could be: psychology as a means of helping real people solve problems they face in living their life as opposed to the uselessness of theory unapplied.

We read Piaget, you know what psychology is like, all you ever read is excerpts in big American texts of what Freud might have said or what someone said Freud might have said. Certainly when I went through it was all behaviourism, we never even read Skinner. We never read any primary sources until our Honours year. We only ever got American textbooks that debased the notions anyway....I probably didn’t do a very good course anyway. (Interview, 22.9.00)

The subject of her PhD thesis relating to the socio-cultural features of eating disorders in women was also a serious application of the ideas Willa gained in both psychology and

women's studies; it was informed by two disciplines. Willa says that her thesis could not have developed in the discipline of psychology alone. She thinks that her timely encounter with feminism had a greater impact on her work. Willa is afraid that feminism today has become "just another thing you study at university" (Interview, 22.9.00).

I found feminism in second year uni and suddenly the world made sense. I have been a committed feminist ever since and it is probably like a religious belief, it's an absolute framework from which I operate and I can't understand other people not being able to see things in that way. I find them very frustrating. It is clearly, to me, the obvious divide across all cultures, all histories and all times. It makes sense to me. But I am aware that other people don't quite see things like that. I used not to appreciate that but I am now more respectful of other people. (Interview, 22.9.00)

When asked if there were personal consequences in taking up feminism at university Willa said:

I have to half apologise for my statements because it [feminism] is not the flavour anymore. Feminism seems long dead particularly in the young women I see....Whereas to me it is a central truth. I know I sound like a zealot there but you shouldn't learn Freud, Marxism or Feminism. It's a way of seeing the world that should inform your everyday action....It never gave you acceptance, just something to tag yourself with. I mean you could say you were an environmentalist, that would be fine, but to say you were a feminist that would be absolutely out. (Interview, 22.9.00)

The backlash of *What about the boys* has been taken up by the primary school which her children attend.

They wrote that they were taking up boys' needs. I wrote back and said the girls are not even there yet so quit this nonsense and get back to your girls' stuff. I wrote this as a parent of two boys at the school. For goodness sake! I love the backlash when you haven't achieved anything. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Additionally, the personal cost of adopting a feminist viewpoint is transferred over to loved ones and to professional colleagues.

I had a couple of years of anger at the world, but I have mellowed from that point. I think that had something to do with the break up of the relationship I was in. I was just constantly angry, but since then I have realized there was reason to be angry and there still is reason to be angry. In my farewell speech as it was, I said I have encountered sexism and some of it has been frankly hilarious, but not all of it, to soften that I have become half apologetic about it. I know I sound like a throw back to the seventies but the world is still sexist. (Interview, 22.9.00)

When Willa first ran for council there was a big issue before council that involved the local community to an unprecedented degree. It was proposed that the old council chambers and even older community hall were to be demolished and a McDonalds erected on the site. It was a difficult time for council in that there was a seven–five split on the hall issue with the seven in favour of the McDonalds proposal. Willa campaigned on the basis of support for the community that clearly wanted to retain the buildings and use them to revitalize the town centre after the freeway (under construction) by-passed the town. The community, unusually, expressed the message that they did not want McDonalds on that site. This involved many meetings where about five hundred people turned up with slogans, candles and crosses. Willa gave her first public address to this motivated crowd. Willa says, “I must say that the community rallied around it, and now that I have seen other campaigns and other issues, it was one of the real things that the town got together on” (Interview, 22.9.00).

Much later when she asked her opponents on this issue why they kept to the other position they said to her that they were entrenched in a position where there seemed to be no way out. Remembering this time she says it stimulated her interest in community development as a key part of her political agenda and served as an example of bad decision-making. Willa feels that this was all about saving face and winning for the majority seven, which is ultimately a poor solution. She has cause to think of this issue often and remembers how she felt giving her first rousing speech. At that time she was congratulating herself on a well received speech when a colleague who Willa respected told her that one has to earn

one's spurs in political life; it is not enough to be enthusiastic and agree with one's audience. Recently, in her final address to the council as Mayor, she was able to turn to this councillor and ask him if he thought after nine years and a refurbishment of the hall as a community theatre she had earned her spurs.

One particular councillor, who victimized Willa because she was a female councillor, overshadowed Willa's first days on council. During the course of the hall campaign he would regularly and secretly address remarks like, "Excuse my language you fucking populist people, I wouldn't piss on you if you were on fire" (Interview, 22.9.00) to Willa. The council had fixed seats for a year when in session and Willa was permanently seated next to him, enduring his speaking to her like that at every meeting.

During that first term Willa became pregnant and after the birth Willa said it was a struggle to establish breast-feeding in the atmosphere this man had created. Bill, her husband, would drive up to the meeting with their baby so that Willa could breast feed in the car. Willa said no one would breast feed in that environment; for a start the chairs were wrong and the men were just too creepy. So Willa established the habit of leaving the meeting long enough to feed her child. On one such occasion when the council was discussing dogs in the shire (an issue this man was incensed by) he turned to Willa who was talking to another councillor and said, "I hope those dogs get your baby and rip off its fucking face so that he is unrecognisable" (Interview, 22.9.00).

This was too much for Willa who, crying, left the meeting followed by the shocked councillor who witnessed this event. Willa was ready to give up politics if it meant putting up with this level of abuse. The other councillor who is now the new Mayor, had no idea that this man spoke to Willa like this and suggested that they apply to the Mayor to reseal her away from the abusive councillor. On the grounds that he had never heard this man swear, the Mayor refused to help Willa, but the Deputy Mayor suggested that she send him a solicitor's letter asking him not to talk to her in that fashion again. His reply came swiftly, vowing never to speak to her in any fashion ever again. Although this churlish reply was a victory of a kind, she said it was "an awful ordeal, a baptism of fire if you like, sitting next to that fellow" (Interview, 22.9.00).

By the end of her first term in politics, Willa felt sick returning home after council meetings.

I remember close to that election...I would come home every night bilious, full of angst and bile and anger about these seven people who were making these dreadful decisions. I thought this was awful. I would be awake till three am with it kicking over in my mind. I don't think I am naturally an aggressive sort of person. I thought, I can't operate like this in this sphere. (Interview, 22.9.00)

She said that at this point she consciously decided to improve her relationship with the councillors who generated so much anger in her.

I am going to remember these people have children, they have interests, they love their children, they are human beings like me – and I am going to make an effort to feel better about all of this. It was like a watershed thing for me. So I tried to talk to the people who sat next to me and so on the next council I did not want to be next to the two men I was most afraid of. Two most grim and ultra conservative men and I ended up sitting between them. I thought, this is another omen you know, so I got on well with them both. I asked them about their families and I did the sort of things I do to people I liked and who were less grim than they were and I just bluffed my way through and formed good relations with just about everyone on the council. (Interview, 22.9.00)

When asked why she tried to change the dimensions of her relationship with all the other councillors, she said:

I did it for myself so I was not so angst-ridden but it worked out better for everybody. In fact that was one of the things a couple of the councillors approached me on, "You're a bridge builder; you are someone who can get on with anyone". Is it not ironic? I didn't do it as an ambitious thing; it wasn't a political manoeuvre to make myself acceptable, I did it so I could live in my own skin. It worked out to be something that made me acceptable to other people. It came on me one night; you know how you get these flashes of insight on your

life. I realized that I was acting like a boy in many ways, in a male world, and it wasn't suiting me. I would rather be more compassionate, I would rather build bridges, would rather work with these people. Also I spend more time with these men some weeks than I do with my own children and husband, I have to find a way of connecting with them that is not so angry and hostile and conflict-ridden. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Willa planned to use this strategy with the woman councillor who refused to support her in the recent mayoral election. Her current relationship with this woman was full of animosity and conflict and Willa saw the need to change this state of affairs. Even if it is on a superficial level, it is important in politics to have relationships with other politicians, which allow one to share a laugh or simply be pleasant over a meal table. Anger, conflict and aggression are feelings which affect the way Willa works; she does not think so clearly and she feels that the world is about to collapse around her. She said that this is a legacy from her childhood, when every articulate person in her parent's household argued constantly. Her mother, though, was a peacemaker and sent Willa to fix things up with her father and to kiss her sisters before going to bed even though she might feel like scratching their eyes out. She said she was brought up on her mother's dictum "don't let the sun go down on your anger". Today, Willa said she will not leave things unfinished or nasty. "I will ring people up and say, Look, I am sorry about what happened or whatever" (Interview, 22.9.00).

Willa's advice to young people entering the domain of psychology is not to take a leaf out of her book, because although she has found her own truths others are best served by finding their own truths out of their own experience. She predicts a very short career in psychology for those who practise and believe, as she does, "that practising psychology is the genuine engagement of two people struggling with a personal story. Two people who also accept and cherish this story and who want it to have a happy ending" (Interview, 22.9.00). She set up her practice with this belief and has only affirmed it since.

Before setting up practice as a psychologist Willa had worked as a research fellow at the Institute of Health in Canberra. It was a good job despite her weekly commute and she enjoyed looking at societal attitudes to cervical cancer screening and to breast cancer screening. She then became pregnant with her first child and had to leave.

I was there with a newborn baby and struggling with postnatal depression, but when he was about eight months old I thought what would I do? Maybe I will set up my own practice. So I did. It was a bit of a cheek really because all my counselling experience had been at the psychiatric ward at Prince Alfred and in eating disorder units around Sydney, but I set myself up as a generalist psychologist and would go in to see one or two clients per week and that was fine, and it gradually built up from there. I was very lucky; I was in the right place at the right time. I was the only properly trained psychologist in the district at that stage. So I developed quite a good practice. (Interview, 22.9.00)

She remembers starting her generalist practice with a constant feeling of anxiety about how she could possibly fix her patients' problems.

I started off intensely anxious; I used to ring a friend of mine who is a clinical psychologist and ask her what to do about this person. She would give me a number of strategies. Not that I revealed their information or anything....She helped me out with these sorts of things. Increasingly I began to realize that the techniques had nothing to do with why people get better; it's because you care about them. That's why I am almost burnt out in my practice because the reason they get better is they come to see someone who cares about what happens to them. There is now literature in the counselling field, it doesn't matter what you do. You can be a Rogerian, a Freudian, you can be a Skinnerian, you can be whatever you want, it all eventually leads to some outcome. So it is not in the technique, I reckon it's in the caring. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Willa says that she would be criticised as a practitioner because she puts up with the personal wear and tear she experiences as a consequence of the way she has chosen to run her practice. In addition to generating anxiety and being more closely involved with her clients than is advocated, Willa says the domain of psychology would accuse her of being unprofessional. She gives patients her home number and patients from the past send her Christmas cards and write to tell her what is happening in their lives. In the beginning Willa had to take the money herself and experienced the conflict between listening to them, most

likely to invite them home for a meal and asking them for ninety-five dollars please. She is pleased with her relationships with patients and its contribution to successful outcomes, though doubts that the profession thinks that this is what should be happening.

Even now people will come with some dreadful situation they are in and they will tell me the first part of their story and I will be wracked with anxiety over the week until they come back. How can I help, what can I do? What is the advice? Almost invariably they come back better just for having told me the story. They are part way to whatever it is they want to come to anyway. But I still have not acquired the wisdom to stop the anxiety bit in between....A few techniques help because they come and they are looking to fill in a questionnaire or to listen to a tape or to do this or that so you do need a bag of tricks as I call them. Usually after a few sessions you just toss them out the window, nobody is even interested in them once they are engaged with you. (Interview, 22.9.00)

When she meets other psychologists Willa says that she has nothing in common with them. They are going to conferences, reading literature and referring to statistics that she thinks have nothing to do with facing patients and helping them with their lives. “I have found psychology to be fraught with ethical dilemmas,” says Willa. She counters the claim of holding a negative view of her profession by referring to a psychologist/author who she says has influenced her thoughts on the matter by putting forward an impressive argument, *Against Therapy*. The idea that every therapeutic position, including feminist psychology, has as its basis the notion of a powerful, omnipotent therapist imparting wisdom to a less powerful client who desperately needs help coincides with Willa’s negative view of the therapist-client relationship. She is able to accept also the simple remedy suggested by this author that people need more friendship and love than prescribed therapy.

The viewpoint and resulting ideas of psychological therapy in this book have had a profound influence on the way Willa practises her profession but it also highlights the isolation she feels there. “I actually find the profession of psychology morally bankrupt. It is not something I would enter into again. I would do something very different. I would do something that was morally very straightforward like optometry” (Interview, 22.9.00).

Advising newcomers to the political domain is also a useless thing to do in Willa's opinion because, just as in psychology, if you tell young people of the awful things that happen in politics you will appear as not quite on top of things or a whinger and they will not believe you. Willa says that the only piece of advice she would offer aspiring politicians is that it is important to be honest with yourself.

I have seen a couple of councillors try to remodel themselves in the eight years I have been here. One fellow who was a strong environmentalist, and I admired him for that, he was often beyond everyone else but he stuck there. A couple of mayoral disappointments later and he swung round and tried to remodel himself as pro-business. People left him in droves. Nobody voted for him. It doesn't always happen but I would advise somebody to try to be true to themselves and keep reflecting back on what you are there for because otherwise it is entirely thankless. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Willa maintains that politics is a business where you help people but very often you receive little thanks for your effort. She insists that one survives in this domain only if one is realistic about this aspect of political life. She did not receive any thanks of any kind for taking on extra roles or for simply doing a good job. She doubts you can convey this thanklessness to young people; they must come to this through their own experiences.

It is something you have to come to or you don't come to. Find your own way and try to stay true to whatever that is...your own set of principles which will probably be different from mine and stay true to them and then every so often reflect back on them because in the hurley burley you will lose them. (Interview, 22.9.00)

One of Willa's central beliefs is that people living together in communities need to foster a practical sense of community that will sustain their way of living into the future. The difference today is that a concern for the environment tells us we have to build communities in a way that is new and at times without a preceding pattern to follow. While community development is a central feature of her political platform she has experienced disappointment

especially in regard to her efforts to include community consultation as an essential part of council decision-making.

The shire's recent strategic planning process, which ultimately will lead to a redetermining of the shire's zones, was carried out during her term as mayor. This process included community workshops where a disappointing three hundred out of a possible forty thousand people came and participated in this important decision-making process. Willa says that "community consultation is a double-edged sword" (Interview, 22.9.00) because people today are caught up in so many other issues. They are struggling to stay alive in their own houses, and communities are literally dying because of TV, the internet and so on which are pushing them to stay in their own houses.

Willa says she has tried a number of different approaches, though time and again only the already-committed few turn up. She has come to believe, sadly, that this is the way of things for the future and that people will continue to be caught up in their own domestic issues to an unprecedented degree. She has come to believe that people in the shire will complain that they were not consulted when the strategic plan was formulated regardless of the means used by council to stimulate community involvement.

During one campaign to humanize the development process used by council in the case of large subdivisions, Willa turned to the "mums" of the shire, a group she became most familiar with in the course of her psychology career. She found that women are prone to post-natal depression and eating disorders because they are susceptible to social and cultural influence. She said, "The reason why women are getting depressed is that they are locked in their own little houses that they have to keep clean and remove germs from" (Interview, 22.9.00). Willa says she has specialized in women's health problems, and in politics, most specifically identifies with women in the community. She regarded the "mums" of the shire as allies when she attempted to install new playgrounds in every potential community centre. Willa thought the consultation with mothers a kind of community development on a small scale while improving the facilities for the youth of the district. She said, "A couple of mums would come along and have a chat while their children played, it was only a little thing" (Interview, 22.9.00).

More recently, when the council was considering the setting up of a playground and other leisure amenities for “a swank part of a new development” (Interview, 22.9.00) there appeared to be considerable opposition from residents to this proposal. As Mayor, Willa was curious as to why this was so and called a public meeting on the site. She was shocked, however, when a group of mums told her they did not want a playground nor did they want a bridal path or a bike track linking up their properties. Further, they said that they had their own play equipment and pools, so they did not want garishly coloured playgrounds, which would detract from their own properties. They thought children playing on them would be undesirable and too noisy because they would be unsupervised. They also thought that the seats provided with the playground would create a sideshow alley situation in their back yards and the planned bike tracks and bridal paths that were popular elsewhere should be cut out of their neighbourhood. In this instance Willa’s disappointment was tempered by her knowledge and experience of the difficulties of community development. She said of this situation:

This is such a horrible anti-community thing, that anyone would object to having a playground put in a reserve next to them. So we are not putting a playground in. We are still not dealing with teenagers....This pocket is people who – I don’t know -They do not want to look up and out. They do not want to end up minding other people’s kids, which is nonsense. People don’t just drop their children at a playground and drive off. (Interview, 22.9.00)

During her time as Mayor, Willa was caught up with the proceedings of the Sydney Olympics, an event that should have promoted community building on a large scale. She says it was impossible not to get caught up in the “media hype” of that time and that she, as Mayor, was pressed into serving the Olympic ideal. The end result of her political involvement is, as Willa says, her “Olympic flame was completely extinguished” (Interview, 22.9.00). The media claimed that Australians were seeking a reaffirmation of the Anzac spirit in staging the Olympics, a reaching out for a spiritual identity. Willa’s experience was at odds with this claim.

I had to read out as part of my speech that SOCOG gave me at the torch relay. I had to refer to the sacred flame and I just took the word out. I struggle with my

own religious beliefs anyway. All I do know is that the flame is not sacred. I was not prepared to say that; I found the whole thing meaningless. (Interview, 22.9.00)

In the midst of Olympic events, Willa found herself making a “most awful statement” to a Sydney newspaper; she said that “torch ceremonies across the state brought people together” (Interview, 22.9.00).

I remember thinking to myself as I said it, “okay, twelve thousand people stood on that oval but in the most meaningless way”. A bushfire would bring people together more genuinely than an Olympic torch. What it does show is that you can come together positively as a community and the media can create that hype and it can be positive. Generally the media acts negatively... The drive that has been behind the Olympics, it saddens me because it can’t seem to be translated into anything worthwhile, would we rally round for education or public health....It has been depressing but on the other hand you have to look at the positive angle of that because you can get communities out. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Willa made a final comment on the key role the media plays in the development of a political career. She is fairly critical of the local media, especially the local paper with which she maintains a “fairly gloomy association” (Interview, 22.9.00).

I don’t know if you get the local paper, I wouldn’t if I weren’t in politics here. It is getting increasingly damning and negative. I think it has gotten to a point where it dehumanises the council and councillors in an irresponsible way...as a community we need to take stock of what we are doing to each other. As well as being Mayor, I have been a wife and a mother and that has been very tough at times. All twelve of us around here are genuinely trying to do something...while you might be doing it for all sorts of personality and ego reasons, at the end of the day it is not well paid. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Regarding people who have most influenced her pursuit of two careers, Willa nominates the loving support she has received from her parents throughout her life. She said, “Most outstandingly my mother and my father, probably in my work and in my life. They are both different sorts of people” (Interview, 22.9.00). First she says her father has a certain

“doggedness” which he used as a scientist and in writing and researching a book on the value of raw food. In her youth Willa was inspired by “the way he gets things done”. He is a scientist and always worked in a laboratory where he methodically tackled an ordered series of experiments. This is the way that “he has broken untackable jobs into doable bits” (Interview, 22.9.00) in a precise and sequential way. Willa said, “I remember with my PhD he would say, ‘Willa on day one just sit down and write and on day two write’. I found that tremendously frustrating but inspirational at the same time. My father thinks that life is like that” (Interview, 22.9.00). Another of her father’s traits that has inspired her is his capacity for critical thinking. She says, “I remember when I was growing up he was one of the first people to take up environmentalism....He has always been a doubter....Now you could almost call him an eccentric because on just about everything he has some different opinion” (Interview, 22.9.00).

From her mother Willa says she has learnt to be flexible, how to build bridges and how to relate to people. Her parents are quite different and for a long time while bringing up young children things were difficult mostly because her father does not cope with the changes and chaos children bring with them. She has noticed his relationship with her children is improving, as they get older.

Mum is almost the opposite of eccentric, she is very conventional but she is a strong person in her own right. Mum has been president of the Early Childhood Association and up until a year ago she was president of Kidsafe, which is the child accident prevention foundation. She has taken on high profile roles; she was a teacher and then progressed up through the education ranks. Both of them are very hard workers. They would come home from work and Dad would immediately go to the garden or whatever or some project he was working on and Mum would do the house and cook and then get her files out and do her work work. (Interview, 22.9.00)

According to Willa her mother and father together have provided constant and loving parenting, two necessary ingredients for success in her careers and in her life. Willa told a story about a recent phone conversation with her father which seems to illustrate their relationship.

I rang them just before the election and I knew that Dad would have his quote dictionary close. I said, “Dad look up that quote from Ecclesiastes in the Bible, there is a time to every purpose under heaven”, I would like to say that because I would like people to get the idea that now is the time for change. He rang me back and he said, “Willa I want to tell you that we still love you”. I said to him that I know that, I take it for granted. He is so clumsy but so loving. What a silly thing to say but it was such a nice thing for him to say. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Outside of the family Willa has learnt a lot from one councillor. He has acted as a mentor for Willa in the political arena that is local politics. He belongs to the same political party, is about to turn sixty and is a bit of a father figure to Willa in the hurly burly of local politics.

I think what he has taught me is to be more pragmatic and less idealistic and he said to me, “Some battles aren’t worth fighting because all you do is alienate people. Save your strength, save your guns for the big ones”. I didn’t admire this in him at first because I could see his pragmatism and it used to annoy me. I could also see that he was very influential and he used to win the big ones when they mattered. Now I do save my fire, I don’t get all thingy about things I can let go. Initially I could only see that as cynical, to get people on side...You have to work with people, they have to feel okay about you, if you are continually wrangling with them you won’t ever have a constructive compromise. (Interview, 22.9.00)

When Willa was asked if the teaching required of her as a psychology academic was helpful to her in her political role, she answered with a definite no, in so far as speaking to large audiences came naturally. It was more a question of whom it would be appropriate for her to teach in the field of politics. When she first entered the political domain she was younger than the other councillors and for this reason was deemed to be a prospective student type and not a teacher type of person. Eight years later she is still comparatively younger than the male members of council who, in Willa’s opinion, would not want to be taught anything by a younger and an implied less experienced person, let alone a woman. She said there would be substantial resistance to her setting out to teach her fellow councillors anything. This is one of those “masculine things”; Willa also claims that the political domain

is directed by these masculine agendas. She says that in politics “what is needed is less of the cut and thrust and who wins and who loses kind of stuff and much more about compassion and caring” (Interview, 22.9.00).

Of course local politics as it is seen from the inside is quite a different situation from that of politics at a state or a federal level. Willa says that as a councillor she works as one of twelve whose aim it is to make good decisions for the shire. The political mix on the council can be quite varied so decisions are not on the whole made on a party basis. Willa sees herself as a member of a group but her influence on decision-making is only within the context of the group which is the council. Her role as Mayor was to support the mechanisms and the individuals who come to a point where they can make these decisions.

Amongst the female members of council to whom Willa would look for support in changing these masculine agendas is the councillor who recently refused to support Willa’s re-election as mayor. Willa says that she would not have any sympathy with her feminist-based objectives nor would she recognise them. This woman presents herself, as a male would, by seeming to want to do battle; she doesn’t want to take any prisoners regardless of the issues and personalities involved. Willa gave an illustration of how the council tried to gain some concessions from this colleague in a conversation amongst councillors on the eve of the mayoral election.

In trying to get this woman to support me even for deputy, one of the councillors said to her, “Look Helen, at the end of the day we all have to work with each other.” She said to him, “I have just rolled the managing director, why would I then put her in a director position”. She has obviously taken on this idea that politics is about rolling people and who has the numbers and so on. The councillor said, “You have Willa’s scalp. There is no question about that.” This was all said in front of me, “You have engineered a change, you have done it. What Willa is wanting now is a sense of closure.” She said I was just hanging on. I said to her, “I just want another year where I can be close to some of the projects I was involved in.” She went away that night saying she could not make up her mind despite five other people in that room helping her like mad. I thought she has completely lost the plot, for her it was

about wanting a double coup to shaft me out completely. She is entitled to want this. (Interview, 22.9.00)

In politics professional judgement is used to determine whether fellow politicians are possible opponents or allies and what factors might influence a working relationship in the future. Willa's judgement, applied to her fellow female councillor, runs something like this:

Even the way she debates, it is as though she has taken on the façade of the political thing. I don't know what she feels, whether it is a woman thing or just that she wants to call the shots or she hasn't understood that politics is ultimately about working together in the council situation....There are twelve of us and we are making decisions together and this is a very odd situation. It is not like having an opposition and a government. Ultimately you have to be a bit of a team. I don't think she has ever understood that. (Interview, 22.9.00)

And:

I don't think she has any consistent philosophy. Ironically if she did have one it would be with the other people, she is much more pro-business, anti-environment, she hates indigenous issues and makes awful racist remarks of all kinds. When the paper ran that front page article on that woman who had that gambling problem...her [other councillor] husband is a director of the RSL and she very improperly has been telling me all that stuff about her gambling....This absolute lack of compassion for this woman. She said, "She has got her comeuppance"...there is that more conflict driven style. (Interview, 22.9.00)

Psychology is no less of a masculine domain, according to Willa, because it is about imparting knowledge from one educated person to another relatively ignorant person, it is very structured and so on. At the end of our conversation it occurred to Willa that the way she feels when she mixes with other psychologists is indicative of a masculine type of intimidation.

I am pretty isolated professionally. That is a problem for me. I could not talk about male psychologists with any knowledge. Whenever I go to conferences and stuff I always doubt myself. I think, Jesus, I am so out of touch and look at all these techniques I have never heard of. I go away and I really question myself. That is so bloody intimidating. (Interview, 22.9.00)

CHAPTER EIGHT

Anna's story

Anna told her story in a friend's house which is situated in the country town where she lives with her husband. She has two adult daughters who live in the city, a two-hour drive away. Anna's mother also lives in this city; in recent years she has become fragile so Anna travels often between her home and the city. The focus of this interview, however, is Anna's career, primarily as a dancer but more generally as an "entertainer" who sings and dances and is, as Anna refers to it, a "theatrical performer." At the time of this interview Anna is approaching her sixtieth birthday; her story relates to the first half of her life in which time her career flourished and ceased.

Anna started training for dance at the age of five. She participated in classical ballet classes, taking all the exams at the highest level. It was Anna's choice to leave school early and enter the domain she refers to as the "theatre" when at the age of sixteen she was selected for the cast of the first international production of *My Fair Lady* in Australia. She was one of ten selected from an audition call of seven hundred from all Australian states. The production was to open in Melbourne so Anna also had to leave her family and her home. At this time of lavish stage productions and as more people watched their newly-introduced television sets, traditional forms of entertainment were undergoing substantial change.

During her time as a cast member of the musical production, *My Fair Lady*, Anna aligned herself with a new performance group of three dancers and two singers. The group called themselves *Take Five* and effectively invented a new style of entertainment specifically performed for a newly created television audience. Anna said they started off almost by accident, playing around with off-beat jazz rhythms. By the age of thirty she had ceased performing, the group broke up, it being the accepted practice for female performers to move on to other things like building a family.

Although she is no longer performing, Anna today carries a legacy from this time of "cutting edge" performance in the close relationships that the members of *Take Five* have maintained. They still meet regularly, reflect on their shared past and the creativity instilled in each one of them by their shared theatrical experience. After twenty years of keeping her

creativity alive through these exchanges with other members of the group, Anna has assumed a field position in teaching dance and choreography to a small number of talented youths.

Anna began the interview by looking at the question of how an innovative group like *Take Five* was formed and how new dance forms were devised. She referred to a recent gathering of *Take Five* members in Australia who met, as is their custom, for her birthday. On this occasion they talked about their early days together and how this shared experience was the beginning of a life-long friendship. As Anna described their conversation it appeared that they acknowledged the creative contribution that *Take Five* made in the entertainment arena at that time and that this was achieved by the whole group's commitment to their performance over a short but intense period of time. Thirty years later each member still retains that commitment to the others in the group. To those outside the group such as husbands and wives it is as though this group of theatrical friends understand each other in a way that is beyond the normal comprehension of friendship. David, one of the two boys in the group, described this to Anna:

“Annie”, as he calls me, my sort of nickname in the theatre, “you and I started together if you recall...we started as a young couple in *My Fair Lady* as two dancers just harmonising together and there was another girl in the cast who was considered a singer but she could also dance and she had another chap lined up and that way we formed a group”....*Take Five* was the five, made up of two who were really hired in the original production of *My Fair Lady* as singers but could also dance and three who were dancers and hired as dancers but also had to sing. I was one of the dancers, we were a little bit younger being the dancers but we all had to audition and show that we had the skills in both, that we could all move and we could all sing. But we were stronger in the one area. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Anna described how the group started while they were performing in *My Fair Lady* by practising and developing new routines in their breaks in a practice room underneath the theatre. One of the group set harmonies, another played the piano and they rehearsed and developed quite different dance routines set to the off-beat harmonies they had devised.

This is in *My Fair Lady* and through that we eventually got the movement and the harmonies. The other girl was very good at setting harmonies and eventually we

had two numbers, that was all we had to our name at that stage...our life was really fairly easy, we just seemed to fall on our feet. We were in the right place in the right time and we just happened to introduce ourselves to the Horrie Dargie Quintet who were quite famous in that era in the sixties...quite well known overseas and in Australia. They said they would like to see what we could do. Well, we only had these two numbers but that was enough for them to see, and they saw a young version of themselves. They couldn't dance but they harmonised as we did...perhaps we were a little stronger on the dance side...But that was perhaps meant to be our expertise, our field. (Interview, 15.3.01)

The Horrie Dargie Quintet had made their mark in an era where the predominant new musical expression was rock and roll. The name *Take Five* was adopted by the group and taken from a popular jazz piece by Dave Brubeck, which also became their signature tune. The Horrie Dargie Quintet at this time was a big agency representing influential names in the theatre, show business and television. *Take Five* signed a management contract with this agency, which in turn introduced them to an exceptional choreographer, Joe Latona from the well-known English firm Latona, Warren and Sparks. Anna said she could still remember their first meeting with this man she describes as a “terrific mover”.

The first time we saw him he'd heard us sing and he said, “I'd like you to try this movement” and I can remember it as if it were yesterday. We were in this little room and he showed us this step and we all did it as a group, as five and it was such a high because suddenly here was someone who understood what we were about. He was putting the right moves to Anne's music and it had never been done before....It was so different from all the disciplined days of strict ballet where you had to adhere to a rigid regime....Suddenly you could express yourself and really we were high on this. (Interview, 15.3.01)

It was not long after this fateful meeting that *Take Five* was signed up as featured artists in a popular weekly television show. This meant that the group rehearsed in between performances of *My Fair Lady* and after the evening performance once a week they dashed to the television studio to record the *Take Five* segment of this live show. At first they devised new routines in their basement space in the theatre where *My Fair Lady* was performed and then they were given professional studio space in which they were expected to

produce two new numbers every week for their second contract with the *Delo and Daly Show* that featured a weekly *Take Five* segment.

From their first show it was evident that *Take Five* was expressing a new form of dance that was different from the live performances popular at the time. Although their segment was recorded live it had the distinction of using technology trialled in the United States. From my observation of the new medium I can still clearly remember the impact of this show which used overhead cameras to emphasise dance formations from the ceiling followed by snappy changes to other angles. This is taken for granted today but in television's first years, the differences between stage and television performance were very noticeable.

It was on late at night. This was television and it was a very unusual show with an American, Jonathan Daly. It was called *Daly at Night* And it didn't start until eleven....We did open with the number *Take Five* which Joe Latona set the movements for. The next day we had these fabulous write-ups so that was a great thrill. We had learned it exactly, everyone moving like one, in a tight group, so it had that discipline of the tight movement but it had the creativity of Joe's movement and Anne's musical expertise and it all came together beautifully....I think the crit was something like, "a spark of something new" and "it hadn't been seen before". (Interview, 15.3.01)

In this period Anna's career contained the predictable routine of a large stage production like *My Fair Lady* and the quite different rehearsal requirements of a new expressive form. Added to this double load was a certain amount of effort directed toward bridging the gap between one kind of performance and the other. There was a feeling running through their busy schedule of two different kinds of performance; it was tied to the experimental nature of the new medium of television. At one moment in her day Anna worked within the highly disciplined and conforming requirements of stage rehearsal and performance and at another time experienced the pressure of inventing new routines that were spontaneous expressions of the mood of that time.

My Fair Lady was also disciplined because also once again, every movement was set. There was not the freedom to be as creative because it had been set in England - the show - every step. I remember, one day the first time in *My Fair Lady* we

actually waltzed for eight hours to learn that waltz, to be one step forward, one step back, to be so perfect. I remember writing home to my mother, ‘I’ve had the most wonderful day, I’ve just waltzed for eight hours’. And I sincerely meant it. (Interview, 15.3.01)

As a member of *Take Five*, Anna’s reliance on the discipline she acquired with classical ballet training was not lessened but rather her use of it when interpreting an era within the expressive form of dance was heightened. In addition the requirements of television and the larger television audience introduced other factors into the group’s performance. For instance what was a fixed costume for the length of the production of *My Fair Lady* became in a *Take Five* performance an overall concern for developing a signature style of dressing that varied from one show or one number to another. The scheduling of these performances as well as the technical aspects like makeup, lighting, camera angles and so on complicated and enhanced a *Take Five* performance. It is Anna’s view that each member of *Take Five* was able to adapt and make the necessary changes so quickly because of their very disciplined background in either dance or music.

As time went on and we were to go on to bigger shows, as we did, we always dressed. We had wardrobes where we would do one sophisticated number...maybe in a black dress or something and then we might do more a character number; we could do *Fever* which was the big Peggy Lee hit and wear tight pants with long mohair sweaters and our hair back in high ponytails and do a very off-beat version of that, with lighting done in a little bit of a unique way so that we were almost in silhouette when it opened...so that we were presenting something quite different to the public. (Interview, 15.3.01)

The type of dance developed by *Take Five* in their performance was stylistically situated in the early sixties when the phenomenon of “jazz ballet” extended the domain of classical dance and when in regard to television and theatre productions the domain defined itself more generally as “movement”. In fact, *Take Five* presented one of the first public expressions of this form in Australia and overseas the group contributed to a major shift in style of the presentation of dance.

It was quite dramatic and very different to anything we'd done before because, remember, it was all tutus and *Giselle* and *Swan Lake* in the old days, then *My Fair Lady* with its discipline. *Take Five* was much freer, we could represent a bit of that new era. (Interview, 15.3.01)

The feeling of those early performances was also aligned with the coffee lounge culture of the time. Anna described the mood of the time in terms of late night coffee cellars with low lighting projected through a smoky haze and folk music that invited the audience to contemplate a bluesy reassessment of their world. This was not to be simply labelled bohemian, as changes were viewed in the past, but they brought changes to the way dance was experienced by performers and audiences. These changes occurred in other forms of entertainment like music and film. A *Take Five* performance was a statement of popular culture.

We could be where the Seekers started in the Treble Clef, which was a very popular coffee bar, and people would go after *My Fair Lady* to unwind. And there was a kind of “hippy” feeling, you know and then you had Peter, Paul and Mary, that sort of thing, we did one of their numbers. We would cover a lot but we always had one number, we would do two numbers each week, which was a little bit more strictly *Take Five*, a little bit more innovative and just our own style that people got to know. That was more jazz based. *Black Coffee* was a favourite number, a very smoky number, with Arthur Young who was a famous pianist playing on a grand piano and the chaps would lift the girls up on to the piano and they'd lean back in a slinky way. That was the style, like coffee bars and cigarettes before they were banned. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Anna's experience of dance was from the start within a group. From the time she took lessons through to being a part of a large cast, to the formation of *Take Five*, Anna mastered this domain as a group member and not as a single featured performer. The extreme level of individual discipline within a group like *Take Five* allows a sharing of the expressive and artistic nature of innovation in this circumstance. When Anna describes *Take Five's* new style of dance in terms of an “off-beat” in jazz music, she also says that whereas jazz musicians improvise spontaneously there can be nothing so unplanned in dance. Because they are five dancers trying to move as one, the emphasis is placed on blending into a unity

that the ability to improvise or anticipate another's next note, as jazz musicians seem to do, is quite impossible in dance. Furthermore any discordant movement by one individual is not compensated for or balanced by the others in the group so although their collective aim is to look relaxed and spontaneous the mechanism that achieves this goal is highly disciplined.

It was a jazz expression, you wouldn't, you could never really, in a group improvise, in fact it's very important to blend and it's a strange thing, you can't really even have a unique voice in a group....It must have a blend to be a good jazz group...and you can't really improvise but there's a creative feeling that still is there but without improvising. To be as one [in dance] it'd be that discipline, to make it look that easy and relaxed, it has to have the background of discipline, as singers have also, as well as dancers....It's the same in dance, I could pick straight away anyone today and I'm sure any of my theatrical friends, dancers, could pick from anyone who does jazz today those who have never had a classical background. They are lacking something; you really do need that discipline, classical, I believe. (Interview, 15.3.01)

When Anna reflected on the importance of discipline within *Take Five* she recognised that there were many disciplines at work when they delivered a performance. A major part of their achievement was the individual's mastery of instruments (including their bodies) which was necessary for the discipline of a working group. For instance each member was using his or her voice as an instrument for sound at the same time they were using their body as an instrument for movement. Each performer had achieved the highest form of discipline in one area and to a lesser degree in the other. The changeover from theatrical performance to performance directed to a television audience added other forms of discipline to this mix. It is Anna's opinion that her experience and mastery of dance "is a very great discipline, I don't know that anything's greater" (Interview, 15.3.01). In fact, the rigour of achieving mastery in dance enabled her to master the other disciplines easily and quickly.

Dancers expect their bodies to meet the demands of their art so their bodies must be prepared at an early age. To undergo this training Anna was aware at the age of five that she was most comfortable with the way a dancer disciplines the body to the extent that it was her

preferred way of learning. Although she was not certain that dance would be her career in the future, while she disciplined her body she prepared herself to take that direction. To others, disciplining the body in the manner of classical ballet seems to be a most arduous form of training for a career, especially in the light of the short duration of a dancer's working life. Those who would contemplate a career as a dancer must find a willingness to undergo more than physical discomfort at an early age.

You hear this from classical dancers. Look how easily they go on their point shoes and it's agony, if you have ever done point work, yet they make it look so easy, and it's the discipline that keeps you going. I mean from the time that you are little your teacher tells you, "It doesn't matter what happens, if your pants fall down, when you're a tiny little thing...it doesn't matter if the audience is laughing, you never stop, you go on, you dance on". I can recall at five years of age my teacher was extremely disciplined because she had danced with Pavlova, the famous Russian ballerina and we really knew that. We would be within terror of ever stopping. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Anna's memories of this formative time are extremely vivid. She can relive those situations where she was confronted with an authoritarian dance mistress and on balance finds the terror and fear she experienced far outweighed the physical discomfort.

I recall once running on in a solo and my teacher always stood on the side of stage to watch us, she never stood out the front like our parents...and I had to do this solo number, we were all lucky to be granted a solo and I knew it back to front. I went blank but I knew I had a lot of pirouettes to do, so I did the pirouettes and then a little while later came the music for where the pirouettes should have been, so I did them all again but I never would have stopped and when I walked off she said, "Well done, Anna". She hadn't noticed because I didn't stop and I didn't dare stop. I would have been banished from the studio. I was with fear almost, to keep going. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Recently Anna has had cause to reassess her own training because her daughter has chosen a career as an actress. Her daughter has inherited the potential for dance and because it complements a stage career, she is taking lessons at a professional level. Anna has tried to warn her daughter of the hardship involved but is pleased also that she perseveres. An outstanding dancer is only so because she has disciplined her body to the extent that she can perform exquisitely despite pain and exhaustion. Knowing that physical deformity is a possible outcome for a dancer does not seem to change Anna's strongly-held conviction. This is why on one hand she tries to put her daughter off but also expects to see her daughter "draw blood" while taking lessons. There seems to be no concept of a mediocre dancer with a less rigorous or easy training in the plans of either mother or daughter.

Anna has come to the conclusion that, "I don't think a lot of people realise the extent of this discipline because it really is discipline of the body and it goes into every walk of your life" (Interview, 15.3.01). She feels that the discipline she experienced at an early age carried over to her personal life, to the relationships she did and did not form and to the whole way she conducted her life.

It's strange that I have never realised it until I've got older how much it has disciplined my whole life. But also out of this you do form these wonderful friendships because they are long-lasting as well, because they are just as disciplined, maybe you do come together. You're like-minded, you love the same things, you've all had the disciplined background, you do come together through this, this common love. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Today Anna has a close knit circle of friends she refers to often as the "theatre friends" and they include cast members of *My Fair Lady* but the closest are the other members of *Take Five*. They are godfather or godmother to her daughters and their lives are still as entwined as they were when they were devising new performances. When the group are in mixed company they are conscious of excluding others because they can very suddenly be talking in a language that is exclusive to them alone. Anna feels that having adopted the discipline of a group in the formative years of *Take Five* and experiencing the thrill of

producing a new style of entertainment has created an indestructible bond between the group members. She describes the individuals at that time as sharing an infectious “high”.

There are always things in life that give you a high to a certain extent but it's just that that was such a first, something was different....We just had the right choreographer and he had the right group. He did not know how we could move. He just said, “Try this”, and we loved what he set and he loved what he saw and it was just like a marriage. He was as high as we were....I remember that because that was something first in our life. It was different because we were more creative. We were doing something new that we had never seen before. I can even remember when he did this particular one corner little step thinking this is just wonderful. I can remember the feeling even sitting here now. So it's probably as high, I use that word because happy doesn't explain it. High is when it's, um, the culmination. (Interview, 15.3.01)

The landscape of the entertainment industry today looks very different to Anna who is mindful of the part it will play in her daughter's attempt to realize her ambitions.

Yes, well it is a very different time; so many more people are pursuing this life today. They seem to have this thing, through television, that this is a very glamorous life. Although I would discourage my daughter, and I have tried unsuccessfully, I think I'm just seeing the pitfalls and probably wanting to avoid her being hurt because there is a lot of hurt along the way. I realise that out of the thousands today that are pursuing this as a career a lot of them seriously, are not prepared, not prepared well enough anyway. Once again, getting back to the same thing, they haven't had the discipline....At an audition today, seven thousand might turn up for one role. You could straight away wipe out five thousand because there is really no talent there and that's the difference. I think in the old days there were less, but there was more talent and it had been carefully nurtured by really good tutors. Today people are opening up schools, an acting school, a dance school or a tap school and I don't know what their background is, they are people who have just come out of a soapie almost. They haven't had that good solid background, so

they are not producing the talent. I think today a lot of kids are being encouraged to pay for courses and they go through this with great expectation and they're just doomed to be hurt and I think for my daughter that's what I fear. (Interview, 15.3.01)

When Anna looks at the state of the domain today and the effort young people like her daughter must make to break through or become well known, she says that by comparison the progress made by *Take Five* in the sixties was relatively smooth.

With *Take Five* we were very fortunate. We were nurtured all along the way; we went from one TV show into another, and into a third one which was bigger. Then we were offered a contract to go to England and were signed up by the Grade Organisation, which was the number one agency in London that had Cliff Richards and all the big stars of that era and it was a smooth ride, I have to be honest. But perhaps we had prepared well. I mean, I'm making out as if we just landed there, but there were years of work but it just never seemed like work...we've all said that, it never felt like work....All the hours of rehearsal for *Take Five*, all the getting there, travelling overseas, none of it ever seemed like work. (Interview, 15.3.01)

The medium of television has irrevocably changed the domain and particularly how the domain selects its participants and its stars. Anna said that there is a TV show she sees regularly called *Pop Star*, which shows young hopefuls competing for the ultimate prize of fame and fortune in this domain. She thinks it gives a false impression that there are lots of opportunities for the relatively untrained. Through this show the domain seems to promote the idea that those without talent will be promoted to a level of mastery very easily.

It's really cruel to watch that show. We're watching as voyeurs seeing people being told, you could be a pop star and then, sorry you've no talent....In one second of looking at that show you can say straight away no talent and it is really cruel that somebody has encouraged them to be there....As a matter of fact if you notice, the

show's not about so much what they can do, that's secondary, we are actually watching the hopes and then the dreams being shattered. (Interview, 15.3.01)

As much as Anna talks about the importance of having a carefully nurtured talent and a disciplined body for success in this domain she also says that luck had a part to play in keeping her group, *Take Five*, on a comparatively smooth path to success in their field. Anna thinks that the entertainment industry which subsumes domains like dance and singing depends heavily on television to broadcast the work and attract acceptance or popularity with a wider audience. So working in this industry also means collaborating with others who have expertise in other areas.

Timing is so important, the fact that we were there having lunch that day when the Horrie Dargie Quintet were having lunch and Anne Hathaway suggested, "Why don't we be bold and go and approach them?", I mean that surely is just luck. We could have had all the talent in the world and remained in that basement of *My Fair Lady* not knowing how to pursue this. But that meeting, and I feel that that is the sort of spiritual thing that somehow leads you to that destiny.... It was meant to be but I am sure that had we not had the backup, talent perhaps if that's the word, we would not have pursued it. (Interview, 15.3.01)

With the benefit of hindsight Anna has retraced the steps that were taken by *Take Five* and that ultimately led her to a successful international television and stage career. This path began in Australia with a fortuitous lunch with the Dargie brothers which led to a management contract and collaboration with an "innovative" choreographer, Joe Latona and a "famous" pianist Arthur Young. The management company, DYT (made up of the Dargie, Young and Tillbrook families) provided *Take Five* with a rehearsing studio where they were expected to develop new routines. Their first appearances on late night television in *Daly at Night* led to a regular *Take Five* segment on the *Delo and Daly Show*. This show was modelled on a popular American variety program, the *Jackie Gleason Show* and was the first show to be broadcast live across Australia. This television commitment provided a recording studio in which they were expected "to come up with two new numbers every week" (Interview, 15.3.01).

Similarly when *Take Five* was invited by the BBC to go to London and feature in a series of spectacles, the group came under the management of the Grade Organization. This company launched the group on the “London Circuit” and featured them in BBC television shows which showcased artists like Ethel Merman and Eartha Kitt. Under the direction of Dennis Mayne Willson (director of a very successful Sammy Davis Junior special on BBC television) *Take Five* was given rehearsal and recording facilities and was expected to suitably develop their routines. They also formed an association with choreographer Malcolm Claire who had successfully choreographed Cliff Richard’s performances. From their base in London they were invited to go to Spain where they were contracted by the international company Signor Bermudez to perform on stage and television all over the world.

Anna has come to the conclusion that the newly formed group was willing to take risks to achieve success in a newly formed domain. Their associates on the other side of these collaborations also took risks as they promoted new and as yet unknown talent. Anna said that the medium of television creates a “hype” that gets things moving in a short period of time. In the case of *Take Five*, once they associated with the Dargie brothers and further collaborated with Arthur Young the pianist, Joe Latona the choreographer, DYT the management company and the television people, the “hype” seemed to take over.

That’s right, it builds you up, that’s what we had, the hype. We went on to do the Ethel Merman show, we worked with lots of the big names of the time, like Eartha Kitt, where we were actually the group that backed them and when we went to London we did the same with Dick Emery. We were given the series there with the man who’d done the Sammy Davis Junior special from America. It just went on from one thing to another. I suppose you can’t call it all luck. I suppose there had to be some talent there but it was a risk when we approached, originally the Horrie Dargie Quintet, although we were a group who sang as they did, they were older people. We were coming to them with a new idea, something that hadn’t been done exactly before and that was a bit of a risk. (Interview, 15.3.01)

In the beginning the consequence of “taking risks” was a fairly exacting schedule of rehearsal and performance.

Suddenly we had a facility to practice in every day with a piano. We could get up early; *My Fair Lady* didn’t start until seven at night and we had all day. We would work all day and then go and do the show all night and then sometimes do a television show after that. It never seemed like work....I don’t know that kids are prepared to put in those hours today.

Technical advances are another aspect of television work that account for the transformation of the domain itself and in Anna’s opinion the ill-preparedness of today’s youth to withstand domain discipline.

[Today there is] a lot of overdubbing, we had to do ours live so how we sounded that’s how you sounded [on television] but today you can have a very small voice and they can overdub and have ten tracks on top of that one person’s voice making them sound ten times larger. But also another thing I notice, everything is processed now. You know there’s nothing spontaneous now...they just find out which girl can look the best and it’s pushing the sexuality so much that the young girls, there’s a new one I noticed the other day, she’s thirteen. They’re pushing the sexuality - and that’s what needs to be toned down a bit; they’ve gone too far the other way...and they’re giving them too much movement now. We might have started movement but now there is far too much. We need to go back to understated movement. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Recently, when Anna saw a former member of the *My Fair Lady* cast who has a sterling reputation in the theatre and who now educates the domain’s fledglings at NIDA, they discussed the old days and affirmed their belief that, even though it was large and disciplined, that production of *My Fair Lady* had enclosed them with a feeling of family when most cast members were away from home. They agreed that this feeling was not to be experienced in any production since. Anna was shocked when she was told that it is common

practice today for theatrical people to take at least fifty days a year off. Both women agreed that when they started no one took a day off at all. In fact they found that the disciplined life they experienced in that production has not been replaced in any form of production today. The direction the domain is taking causes Anna to question the quality behind the notion of success it projects today.

It surely means that you'll be short-lived in your success because...each one thinks they're more important. We worked for one thing, the group. That was what was important. Your love life, dating, anything like that, everything else was secondary. Everything else had to fit in...around the group. I don't know if people are prepared to give up that much today. It is a way of life and it forms your whole life...there's always ups and downs in any group, I mean, you get tired but still you are working for the sole purpose of that one thing, that good performance. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Take Five was an expression of the spirit of the sixties and it was also evolving along with the early days of television in Australia. When she was asked how long a group like *Take Five* could expect to perform on television, Anna said:

Well it started in Melbourne at the beginning, as you say, of television with new innovative shows, American ideas, new camera work that was great to be used in *Take Five*, overhead shots and other things that had never been done before. They copied that from the Jackie Gleason show, which was a big show in America. (Interview, 15.3.01)

The next step was to go overseas where a more experienced group, at least in the way of television production, attracted contracts to perform in stage venues and on television. To some extent the group continued to be caught up in the sixties spirit in England as well as taking on an increasingly sophisticated audience.

We went to England and had the agent there, as I said the Grade Organization and we worked with some big names there, on both television and in clubs and then we were asked to go to Spain. We progressed to television, which covered Spain, Portugal and many other European countries...we managed to do that for three years. People would meet you at the airport; took you to hotels, you performed. It was tiring and I remember one day in Majorca where you flew to Madrid [to have your hair done] and at the hairdressers somebody came in and said, "Quick, you're off to Portugal". The hair had to be dried quickly and get onto a plane to do television in Portugal. There's no doubt, it was tiring but once again, it was exciting. Just pack that bag, drop everything else and go. You just got on that plane and if you were tired you knew that the minute the camera was on you, you were smiling and giving a performance. (Interview, 15.3.01)

The split up of *Take Five* occurred naturally when the girls wanted to return to Australia.

Because time was moving on a bit and we were going to come back to Australia and work but we all lived in different states and each one wanted to go where they lived...for me it had to be Sydney. I was an only child and I'd been away for years....We just felt we were tired by then. We had travelled for years, we were really going to pick up the threads again but, you know, we were at a stage where we needed to have a private life and for everyone that was what really broke up the group. Amicably, the boys had no choice, it was the girls in a way that decided it because it was always that romance or anything else in our life had to be secondary and at this stage in our life we felt it had to have a priority. I'm sure the boys would have had us working on for years and years, but that's what happened and that's how it did change. (Interview, 15.3.01)

After the breakup Anna said she felt like a major part of her life had finished so she needed to find other things like marriage and having a family to fill her time and use her energy.

The two girls more or less settled. You still pursue classes for many years, when you are first married, you still do classes and that's part of it, you still meet like-minded people and you keep very fit for many years....You still stay in touch, I mean there's no doubt you still feel you miss that creative outlet because suddenly you know, you're married and eventually you've had the children and as much as you love all of that there's nothing creative, not in the same way, exactly. I went on to do modelling after that...I could sort of go on the Paul Hogan commercials where they required dancers, so I was able to do things like that wherever they needed movement, because I was in my twenties still and I still had plenty of energy. It's still in that same vein and you could still take the direction quickly. A lot of the ex *My Fair Lady* girls went on to do modelling jobs, or TV commercials. (Interview, 15.3.01)

Anna started the second interview by looking at the specific obstacles she faced throughout her career. The first she mentioned appeared in her teenage years when it became evident that she would be too tall to pursue a career as a classical ballerina. Strangely enough this fact, rather than frustrating her ambitions, only set her apart and trained her for the development of a far more expressive form of dance.

In my ballet school, if you were too tall, you were given more character numbers and more personality-type numbers. You never got to wear the tutu and be the ballerina because we were in the time of Dame Margot Fonteyn when everyone was no more than five foot three but in my case, being five foot seven, I was always going to be too tall, too long-legged. Yet there is this envy if you're at a ballet school to be one of the little ballerinas. In a ballet studio there has to be a wide range of different numbers, which are covered in your ballet exams. I would always get more of those character numbers and singing numbers in a different style and the little ones would get the tutus. So I was aware then that probably I was never going to make it. But fortunately because of my personality, I did long for something. I didn't know what it was exactly then but there was something more. I loved the singing and I used to sort of imagine I could do something but I didn't know what it was. I used to do tap; and jazz hadn't come along at that time. That

was an extension of tap in my era. So I didn't realise there was going to be a future for me. (Interview, 19.4.01)

In the studio where Anna experienced adolescence through a classical ballet discipline, Anna recognised her teacher's ability to predict future change in this domain. Her teacher achieved a very high standard in her academy and simultaneously supported and encouraged her tall students. Firstly, she directed her too-tall students toward another form of dancing that she saw while visiting America. Secondly, at a time when Australia did not have television, she predicted that these failed classical dancers could find success with this medium. Because she was travelling to America regularly she was able to see in advance what the future held for dance in Australia. Consequently she was able to prepare these tall girls for the possibility of taking another direction.

It was the beginning of jazz and modern dance which she'd seen in America and her younger sister taught tap which leads itself more to that style...it's a freer style, as you say, it's more expressing yourself. She had often played music and let us express ourselves, you know, just in an ad-lib way. But I really took to that, I loved it. I knew then that I'd found something that I preferred to classical. (Interview, 19.4.01)

The odds of a young person surviving training as a ballerina at that time were particularly poor but to survive with an ambition to succeed in a new form of dance was indeed rare. Anna believes that it was the professional insight of her teacher that kept her going through the years of ballet exams where despite knowing she had no future there, she achieved distinction in every exam.

My interest survived but some of it was out of fear. One has to realize I had an extraordinary teacher, she had danced with Pavlova...and she was so rigid...we were actually terrified but as we got older it turned into great respect and love...I mean it was such a discipline. If you were a minute late or if you took up physical culture, which was a popular thing in the forties, you had to leave her studio...She

dismissed them from the class right then and there. She had a stick, she was really rigid and we were terrified. So out of fear, in a way, you survived, but it taught you, you were part of a class. She told us that no matter what; we danced on even if your toes were bleeding. (Interview, 19.4.01)

To some extent the career of a dancer is dependent on the goodwill of others in both initiating the training at an early age and in keeping the young within this disciplined program. At a time when it was usual for parents to place their children in academic schools, Anna's parents had the foresight to additionally enrol her in ballet school. She said it is remarkable that her mother, without domain knowledge and limited means, introduced her at the age of five to a prestigious school of dance and supported her throughout those years of exams and rigorous training. From the start Anna observed less fortunate outcomes when other children were subjected to a parent's ignorance of the domain. She said, "Mothers took their children away when they cried....They soon went by the wayside and their mothers took them out, offended by the way their daughters were spoken to...if you can't take that you'll never take the challenges of the future" (Interview, 19.4.01).

Anna thinks that this domain's discipline looks harsh to those who do not understand it but it should not be diluted for children. In its strenuous form this training offers a necessary testing of a candidate's suitability for the domain. Although she expressed sympathy for those whose chances of a career in dance ended before they began, she also said, "if you're going to be bored or whingeing about the time, you're not suited to it. They are obstacles in a way, but they are also character builders. If you can survive that, you'll survive" (Interview, 19.4.01).

Although her father was musical he was never involved in Anna's training. [It was her mother] who, funnily enough, had never had any background, who I must be so grateful to, I often think of that. My whole life took this direction, would not have taken this direction if not for a woman like my mother, who had come from the country and never experienced, she wasn't musical...She had no connection with the theatre, but somehow at the age of five she took me to this ballet school and fortunately it happened to be one of the very best that one could have chanced upon....She was always there. She sewed the little things for me.

She didn't have a lot of money....She gave me every opportunity and I have asked her often. I have said, "How did you know?" And she said, "I don't know, I just felt that this would be something that would be lovely for you to do". (Interview, 19.4.01)

It is usual for students to be guided by a mentoring relationship with a knowledgeable or experienced person within a domain but in Anna's case her mother who is totally ignorant of the domain, functioned as a mentor in so far as she introduced and kept Anna within the domain for the ten or so years of her training.

Yes, she was always there, every class, every week she sat and watched me every single Saturday. We made an event of it. Getting there was an event, the little things we would do on the way to class. And she tells me, even now, as an older woman that she just enjoyed every minute...she learned a bit of French on the way...and sewing for the concerts which would be nine costumes at a time. She'd either sew or get a dressmaker, which must have been very costly for her. Yes I think she enjoyed it. She never nagged me about practising. But she would say, "I often didn't know how you got through and got honours but you did and I never had to nag you". But she was actually the one who walked with me to the door the day of the *My Fair Lady* audition. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Anna's first break, the *My Fair Lady* audition, appears in the trajectory of Anna's career as a door of opportunity that once she passed through everything that happened after seemed easier. The level of difficulty experienced by Anna at this point, however, was extremely high in terms of her age at sixteen and her inexperience of life. From her viewpoint this audition held the potential for her to taste failure for the first time. She said that the audition process for a novice is "absolutely terrifying."

I'd been told about it by a wonderful woman who was another [supportive person], she sort of led me in the right direction, Betty Bloch of Bloch's Ballet Shoes. And she suggested I go to this audition and my mother took time off from her work to walk me to the door and then she said, "Now you are on your own". I didn't know

what I was going into as I walked through that door and that was the start of my whole career. (Interview, 19.4.01)

The production of *My Fair Lady* Anna auditioned for was the first of the very big shows staged in that era. They were lavishly costumed and costly to run so the production in Australia was based exactly on the English production right down to the Cecil Beaton costumes. The auditions held in the state capitals were to select the Australian cast of ballet dancers and singers who would back up the lead artists who came from America or England. At this time Anna said that this was typical and demonstrates the fact that Australia did not have confidence in its own people. When she arrived at the audition she realized:

I had never seen a show. I had seen one ballet concert and my parents would never take me to the theatre. I think after the war they were too poor and I'd never seen a stage show so I really had no idea what *My Fair Lady* was all about. I'd never heard of *Pygmalion*....I had just finished all my ballet exams and I had been told by this Betty Bloch that I would be suited. She had also put me on to a modelling career...and she had successfully launched me into that. So I had confidence in her, that she really knew what it was all about and I was the right height. I had to be five seven and over but I didn't know why. I still had no idea why I was going or where I was going. (Interview, 19.4.01)

When she stepped through those doors and was on her own Anna said that despite her anxiety she was comfortable with the situation.

I stepped through those doors and I was glad I was on my own because I was a person who felt more confident on my own. I couldn't show off, as I used to think it would be. That's why I did well in exams because you're in your own room with an English examiner who comes from England and you can express yourself freely without feeling as though you're showing off. That was my personal thing. (Interview, 19.4.01)

The other girls Anna met at the audition seemed to know more about the audition process and the panel's objective.

I saw a whole lot of girls there from the big ballet studio in Sydney, which was the top studio, and they seemed to know everything about *My Fair Lady*. They were humming tunes and I had been told you had to bring some music and sing. So I had that prepared. I had no steps prepared; we didn't have to do that. And that was quite a day. They knew exactly what they were looking for....So the choreographer would say to you, "I'd like you to try this." A lot of the girls from this ballet school had only ever done classical and they'd never tapped, so they didn't know the free style of jazz. In *My Fair Lady* there was a Covent Garden scene...you had to be able to do things on an off-beat, a little bit different to classical. And also they were strictly ballet girls and for a start a lot of them were far too tiny. They were trying to stand tall and they were asked to take their shoes off...so hundreds of them were eliminated straight away. [The process of auditioning at that time was] like a big cattle call as they call it and you go by numbers. You stand there and they'll tell you by number, "number forty-two, step forward or back", and you don't know at that stage whether you are in or you are out. It went on for a bit, this was the trouble. I'd started a little temporary job and I'd said I was going to the eye doctor and this eye appointment had to go on for weeks because as you were eliminated, you'd get into the next round and you were called back....As I was called back I would start to notice the same girls. They eliminated down to seventy and then down to thirty...and then we got down to...four only from New South Wales. We didn't meet the others till we got on board the train and we all ended up in Melbourne where the show was to open. We had two months of rehearsal beforehand. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Anna described the work ethic she found in *My Fair Lady* when she wrote letters to her mother about the wonderful time she was having in her first paid job.

We were getting paid quite a nice salary. I'd never had this sort of money in my life and I was away from home but the discipline was there....You were up early, didn't

dare be late. You'd never dream of thinking you were aching, it wouldn't even cross your mind, didn't matter if you didn't even have lunch. You did your job but it was a wonderful world. Interestingly enough, I think it probably applies because I've even heard my husband say about cricket that he never once ever found it boring in those long test matches, which are five days. And I don't think, in all those years of going to those performances every night, eight a week, I ever felt I was going to work or found it boring...In fact if you were off, if you were sick you were really upset. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Once Anna was accepted into the cast of *My Fair Lady* she discovered that if she wished to make a career in musicals she was well suited to it. Had it not been for the formation of *Take Five* she said she would have stayed in that format. Similarly, when she moved to Europe the organisations that orchestrated the performances had a way of claiming the allegiance of performers. By making things easy for performers these organisations essentially maximized the performing lifespan of individuals.

That was the thing because in J. C. Williamsons, once you're in, you're like in a family, you're in and then we could have gone straight on to *Camelot*, which was the next big show. Everything just ran smoothly, it was charmed, I mean, I just can't believe how easy it was. There were no obstacles after that. But as I say *Take Five* intervened and from then on...someone took up the option. The Grade Organisation in London and then Signor Bermudez the big agent in Madrid. It just went on and on. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Perhaps the obstacle most dancers face is the fact that "there is a limited life" (Interview, 19.4.01). There is no doubt that this inescapable fact applied to *Take Five*, as Anna said, "We left before that time" (Interview, 19.4.01). When Anna was asked about the end of her career in dance and the end of *Take Five*, she answered with the certainty that every performer is aware of "that time" coming sooner rather than later. She agrees that her life of physical discipline, travelling and the absence of a personal life could not be maintained forever. She did not think of negative things while she was at the peak of her career, she was aware of it but was so caught up in the pleasure of loving the life she was

leading that these things were set aside. At the end, the decision to split the group up must have come from a confrontation with this fact. Every performer in their mind thinks it is best to quit while they are performing at their peak and their worst fear is that the quality of their performance will be so low if they leave the decision for too long.

Interestingly, when Anna was at the peak of her career she stresses just how happy she was to be so busy; the amount of time spent in rehearsal for a television show accounted for most of the days of the week and performances ran late into the night. “We were at the top of what we did and I never really had time to think much about it...but I did always find time for other things that I pursued, like working with children...I went to homes where children were disadvantaged” (Interview, 19.4.01).

Those little children who were in such sad circumstances I think perhaps I just worked with them body-wise or walked with them and talked with them...I went to Barnardo Homes...in Melbourne, the home called Allambie, for children who were wards of the state... there was one little boy who didn't speak at all. He had not spoken for quite some time and through a little bit of mime...I was able to get through to this little boy....They asked me to work with him one-to-one. I also did similar work at the Spastic Centre in Sydney and Barnardo Homes in London. So it was more communicating than dancing because most of these children either weren't talking or weren't able to walk, so it was just really facial things and how you communicate and maybe I did that well because mime is a very important part of ballet. I worked when I was in England for the Down Syndrome Children and they love to grab and hug and so once again that's a very tactile thing. (Interview, 19.4.01)

In recent times Anna has re-entered the domain of dance, taking up a field position as a teacher. As well as teaching the performance aspects of dance she has picked up again the communicating and therapeutic side of this domain. At first in a voluntary capacity that she became choreographic director of a local youth theatre company, then when the quality of her work through the performances she directed were evident she was asked to take up a position as dance instructor for a local girls' school. Once again Anna found she was making

that commitment to a polished performance, albeit through the young people she was initiating into the ways of the world of theatre.

Yes, giving back, as they say, that's the expression these days, giving back a little bit. Actually, when I was approached by the headmistress I was a little bit nervous. I was tentative because I had put all that on hold for many years, but the girls were lovely and they were very keen to start something new because the school had never had dance at all and they were more sporty people...and they were boarders...And it worked on several levels. Because they were boarders I found they were missing that family communication. So they would often arrive very early and we would all sit on the floor and have a little half hour chat to unwind. Yes it was a bit like therapy but then we would do our warm-ups while we were sitting there....One girl's hair was falling out and then after a few classes, it stopped and I think she found that little outlet, something away from the academic and perhaps pressure from home. That was very rewarding and you know we were able to put on little productions. (Interview, 19.4.01)

When her daughter joined a local youth theatre group, Anna was asked to take on the role of choreographer and dance director for this company. This association lasted over a few years and Anna at first contributed minimally because the productions involved primarily dialogue and movement was a peripheral component of staging serious drama. It became apparent that Anna brought to the company her professional experience and it was thought that the best use of her talents would be to stage a musical. The challenge was to choreograph the whole show, to select those children who could move for the dance sequences, and to instigate a rehearsal schedule for the dance scenes that when combined with the drama and musical rehearsals would achieve a creditable performance. Anna said, "And in two months we put on a full show – of all the musical shows, that has more dance in it than any other show – *West Side Story* – it's all expressed [in dance and music]" (Interview, 19.4.01).

During the two months of preparation for this musical production Anna found she was not only a dance instructor but also a mediator for young people who had no previous experience of the domain and no idea of how a high quality theatrical performance is

achieved. It started with the audition process; many would-be dancers did not accept Anna's judgement as to who could and who could not move. In the theatre the domain rules seem harsh but as Anna said often in rehearsals they are this way for the purpose of creating a unique performance that is above an acceptable standard.

You have to have the best but we were able to find a little spot for the others, no one was turned away, but we had to have the best...for in two months to put on a production like that. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Anna appears to be very confident of her ability to audition young dancers and prefers to do it according to the rules of the theatrical domain. In fact, she says there is no other way.

Yes you can see it in a minute. You can pick it in one step. I think I picked one step and gave that step to all of them and in that minute you could put them where they belong. And even if they couldn't do it exactly right....You knew that if you trained them a bit longer they would be fine. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Anna found that these youths were deserving of a bit of extra training as to what the theatre rules are and how they are applied.

The thing is that they were coming to the audition for something so they were willing to be shown. That makes a big difference. It's not like a school production when you are told to go in as this, and you reluctantly go to it. They chose to come to this, they were there because it was something that they liked and that makes a big difference to their willingness to learn...in the end I think they realised that they had made something special. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Interestingly, Anna's long-lasting impressions of this production of *West Side Story* are based on comparisons with her experience in the production of *My Fair Lady*.

But, actually, what I noticed about that show is a bit similar to what I experienced in *My Fair Lady*. There came this camaraderie that after two months and – now years on...really those friendships have endured. Our children and many others – some that we still see around all still talk of that show and that's because they came together at a time when they were teenagers, maybe going, some of them, through troubled times....So a lot of things were ironed out and some firm friendships have been formed that I think will be lasting....It was a special time for them, nothing to do with what I did just that they came together and that is that same thing, that special relationship that I had in *My Fair Lady* that's endured for thirty years.

The local council recognised the high quality of this performance and as they wanted to support youthful endeavour they were willing to finance further productions but the company collapsed when the director decided to move on. Anna said:

They were children who came of their own accord. They obviously liked the theatre, they were creative children obviously because they wouldn't go through that [ordeal of auditioning]...I think that was just the beginning. It ended too soon unfortunately because it was probably at our pinnacle and we finished on a high note...because as you know the director moved away and I suppose it is good to go out when you are on top. (Interview, 19.4.01)

In the world of the theatre there is a type of etiquette, rules that make up a professional discipline that Anna says are essential to a high standard of performance. The director has an overriding last word on every matter relating to a performance. This is often, as it was the case in this production, imparted with an absolute authority, which is not palatable to youth who hold ideals of fairness and merit that seem to collide with the professionalism of the stage. The director of this company was using these productions as a showcase for his own talent so that he could make a comeback to the professional theatre. Anna found the children resented his using them for his own benefit. At first the students clashed violently with this authority figure.

He wanted this to be a stepping stone to Sydney and the bigger world, to get back...he had been there before and he wanted to get back and, in some way, it's one of the realities of the theatre that he was using them and these young people are not very forgiving when they detect this.... It's a love hate relationship - and yet they are supporting each other with this....They realized that they had made something. They did get something out of it...He may not be able to impart it exactly the way that somebody else would but he knew what he was really on about and what he really wanted whether it was for his own good in the end, or not, he wanted a polished performance and that's what his ultimate aim was...I think, really he, in a funny way, he did get their respect because they all did pull together (Interview, 19.4.01).

Perhaps in this instance Anna's ability to see the gap between school training and domain expectations has come from her own experience of learning in school and as a learner in the domain of dance. Certainly over the length of this story of her career in the theatre, not once is school mentioned as a source of learning. When she was asked if this was simply an oversight, Anna replied:

Not at all, I hated every year at school. I didn't like school at all. I felt they never really understood me....If I had a free moment I was either telling stories in library class when everyone was supposed to be just reading. I just had a very vivid imagination and I was always talking far too much in school for their liking and I'd often find myself dreaming out the window and thinking I really shouldn't be here...I wasn't naughty at all....English was easy so I always got good marks without trying. I think that was just a natural thing but mathematics I could never understand; it wasn't artistic in any way. I knew that I should leave young but my mother was called to the school because I was so young and I was in a class older than I was. They did try but I said to my mother that no, I definitely wanted to leave. So I was quite young when I finished school, fourteen. I'd done the exams but I just didn't want to stay on any longer or go to university. That did not interest me. (Interview, 19.4.01)

Throughout her school life Anna said she held an ideal that determined her idea of successful learning, she described this ideal with the word artistic. She also said she did not find enough of this type of work at school. When she was confronted with academic and sporting work that had no artistic component, she said she would have turned any task into an artistic challenge.

English, although I didn't like the teacher, particularly, I liked the reading and I liked the Shakespeare and the plays, that side of it. It was just a very plain state school. It didn't really cater for anyone who liked anything artistic. The only thing was I was in the school choir always, even from junior school and I was...in the play. I could act a little bit then but in senior school I don't recall that they even did productions....But sport, I never had any love for it. It was the thing I loathed the most. I would often get my mother to write a note and say I was ill, or I had a doctor's appointment. I hated them all, swimming and yet I'm a good swimmer but I loathed it....I loved the water when I went to the Olympic Pool because I'd seen Esther Williams in the movies and she had danced in the water and only when I saw that did I come to life and think I could love swimming. (Interview, 19.4.01)

CHAPTER NINE

Connie's Story

At first Connie told her story in a friend's house near the private school where she instructs music pupils two days a week. She finished her story in the shearing shed she uses as a painting studio and performance space, a part of the property she shares with her partner Ron. At this time Connie is trying to balance her need to support herself by teaching and her compulsive need to sing, to paint, to write poetry and to ride her horse well. Her work history extends over more than forty years. Initially she taught music and was a specialist consultant in the state school system on a full-time basis. More recently she has supported herself by taking private music students. Over the time Connie has worked as a teacher she has established two other professional careers, one as a painter and the other as a singer.

As a singer Connie has established a close professional relationship with a fellow musician who is blind. He has been her accompanist for over two decades. Most recently she has performed and recorded her own poems in collaboration with another friend who is one of Australia's most prominent composers. Connie was eager to participate in this study because she was approaching a "hideous birthday" (her seventieth) that she says is forcing her to resolve the many problems that are the consequence of a multidisciplinary career and a compelling urge to be creative. The most pressing problem seems to be Connie's deteriorating health; this story was delayed by Connie's tiredness that became a chronic illness and resulted in her hospitalisation. Connie is divorced and says she prefers not to remarry; she has one daughter and two granddaughters.

Connie started her story with a comment about the centrality of creativity in the arts and further talked about her lifelong fascination with all artistic domains.

I've always done these things and I've always been driven in the direction of the Arts, of all the Arts, even when I was very young, but it's taken me a long time to say...I'm actually driven by the whole thing now. I understand it a lot better now that I'm getting older and I'm trying to make time by not teaching so much to be able to experiment in some of these things...apart from music, the other things, visual art, pottery that I haven't had time to do in my life. But I want to give them a

go. I want to just see what I can do because I don't want to be too old and say, well I haven't had a try at any of these things...that would be bad. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie says if she looks back over her career as a teacher, as a musician and as a painter she would have to admit that all her efforts were driven in a compulsive way by her innate sense of creativity. She said, "I can't not play around with things, I mean there is a tree at home that really didn't want to be plaited...I had no other option but to try to make it into a piece of sculpture" (Interview, 26.2.01). Of course, Connie says, with a gleam in her eyes, such things are done instead of the things she finds less interesting, like the housework.

Connie's awareness of the many ways she experienced creativity goes back in time and crosses over domain boundaries.

Even though I was sort of writing pretty terrible little poems when I was ten I can still remember the incredible surge of excitement when I was sitting in my parents' home writing this....It wasn't awfully clever but the actual....Well, I suppose I can only call it an excitement of a sort because I can remember the time and the day and where I was sitting and the whole thing...it sort of, somehow got me in the chest. (Interview, 26.2.01)

The elements of design, the fundamentals of art have an equivalent in music. Connie is able to take musical elements and apply them to the paintings she is working on at the time. Connie has one painting that I have seen which was inspired by an Australian composition called *Goldfish in Summer Rain*. A discussion of this painting reveals Connie's interdisciplinary approach, her dialogue constantly crossing from one domain to another.

That's a piece that was written...for flute...for a sort of small ensemble...playing with the same sort of lovely ethereal feeling...it's probably more of an illustration but I found the title very evocative and I've continued on with that theme. I love the title but maybe it's because I love the words too....There is a vagueness in the music and a sort of distance...even though the fish are a little bit bright...I think I caught grey with almost everything...and some brown. I always like layers and I keep putting layers on them till I like it...it doesn't seem like I'm creating the image too much. I feel as though I'm creating the surface more than anything...one

of these days it's all going to fall off the wall because there's fifteen layers on them.
(Interview, 26.2.01)

Exploring her multidisciplinary life, Connie compared her experience as a singer with that of being a painter. When she is singing her aim is to interpret the composer's work, given that the composer has written instructions as to how he or she would like the song to be performed. Accordingly Connie believes she is the composer's messenger while the message is in the written music. When she becomes a painter she must take on the tasks of both producing the message and being the messenger without the benefit of the formal training she has acquired in the music domain. In music there is a clear division between composer and performer. Connie prefers being the performer because it provides the most excitement and is the best vehicle for her talents. Connie describes performance as an "immediate adrenalin rush" whereas in painting "the adrenalin rush happens before really and when it's on the wall, it's too late" (Interview, 26.2.01).

Overcoming nerves is a part of performance but Connie says that she is "much more nervous about paintings being seen by people" (Interview, 26.2.01). Although she finds the presenting of her paintings to the public far more confronting than singing a most difficult piece, she considers painting a greater challenge because it is open and does not have the guidelines given in music. It is Connie's view that in creating a painting the paradigm in which she is working is quite different from that she experiences when singing. To Connie the domain of music offers a clear view of its rules and how to use them, whereas in the domain of art she considers herself to be a novice and the rules appear less distinct. Anyone using their voice in music is essentially showing an audience their "very heart and soul" though she says, "that is not quite as terrifying as...putting my heart and soul on the wall for people to see" (Interview, 26.2.01).

Although singers have a duty to interpret a composer's work, they will use their unique personality to make the delivery of the song different from other performances of the same song. The quality of a performance, however, will come down to individual musicality and musicianship. Connie sees these elements as the essential layers of a performance. A singer might choose to follow the composer's instruction but most are primarily concerned with pushing the boundaries to see just how far they can go beyond these musical directions. Connie said this is the key to creating a new and different rendition.

It's nice to listen to other people's performances of a certain piece but in the end...you really shouldn't and you don't have to copy what someone else has done...but in the end it's up to you how you do it and how you interpret those words and how you interpret that music and how beautiful you can make that. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Apart from the individuality a singer gives to a song, the performance will be judged to be either good or bad on the quality of technical skills displayed. The main thing is that a singer has a basic technique in place and that this is done almost unconsciously. This means that the voice is produced well, the language is conveyed appropriately and that the breathing is good. The technique should be automatic so that the singer can concentrate on the interpretation and make the words as interesting as possible. The performer has to be visually right because he or she is singing to an audience of people.

[Once you get over the basic things like the technique and the nerves, the moment of performing] is most exciting because you don't ever do it in exactly the same way and then the audience reacts back to you, they react to you with their eyes and their faces and you still change it...when you are singing to them, you maybe take little liberties or change little things here or there. It's a very small detail...but if they are really listening and they are interested and you're brave enough...it's very exciting and a very powerful moment where you, sort of, I suppose it's a bit corny, but you're in their hearts and minds. There are certainly magic moments there. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Upon finishing high school, Connie decided that she would make teaching her main career. She sat for advanced music exams while she was training to be a teacher. She now regrets this choice.

I think because of the time in which I had to choose a career, the Arts weren't something that was readily available or considered to be appropriate, in my family. Earning a living was...and so probably music is what I should have done, or sing....I think that is my big regret. (Interview, 26.2.01)

In the end she was able to combine teaching and music, although the training was done separately and her singing qualifications were obtained much later. Overall, Connie thinks that she has been a reasonably successful teacher and that it was interesting and of benefit to her.

I had to follow the syllabus of course and be entertaining enough to keep all these bottoms on their seats and be smarter or funnier or wittier or more mad than what they saw on television last night and still teach them something. So, I think in that sense it is very valuable because I can control people if that's of any value but I certainly have learned, in teaching the senior syllabus...contemporary Australian music in particular, I feel as though I've helped a lot because it was new and in the sixties and seventies it was very new. Peter Sculthorpe was breaking a few rules and Richard Neil and Barry Conyngham were starting to do different things and be quite experimental. You had to go along with that and learn it as you went. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Over the length of her teaching career Connie says she had little free time to advance her singing or her painting. She loved to sing and to paint but was always limited by her full-time teaching responsibilities. Connie considers her life to be so much richer and diverse since she gave up full time teaching "because while I don't have a totally clear mind away from teaching, I have at least got some time now to be involved in artistic pursuits" (Interview, 26.2.01). She does not say that teaching was a wasted experience; rather she saw ways that she could be creative in her teaching and that teaching music kept her in touch with the changes occurring within the music domain at the time.

I suppose, even creating what I did at school ensembles...and bands and orchestras, all of that is still manipulating music and making something that hadn't happened before. So that was the way I could make teaching interesting for me. (Interview, 26.2.01)

At one point in her teaching career Connie combined the visual arts with music. She was at the time a music consultant to the Education Department helping primary schools and individual teachers with the practicalities of including music in their curriculum and encouraging students to make their own music.

I spent some time working with the visual arts consultant and the English literature consultant and I decided that if I could combine the two I would. I embarked on a programme with some students at the high school where I was in Sydney to make instruments out of clay....I had classes...sitting in the music room, making bells out of clay, and making slabs out of clay....We strung the bells and the slabs on to some racks and hit them with various objects so that you got the change of pitch. The slabs were arranged in order of size or thickness or the way they were fired, or the temperature at which they were fired or whether or not they were glazed. We actually got a change of pitch in those. And then create their own notation using a sort of graphic notation, which was really very big in the seventies, where they made their own signs because there were no existing signs. (Interview, 26.2.01)

By the time Connie started to paint seriously she was thoroughly immersed in the music domain and was a very experienced teacher of music, in fact she became a music consultant to other teachers. With this background it is not surprising to find that Connie was at first painting musical forms on a two dimensional canvas. She adopted an abstract approach for this reason, building form through layers of paint rather than an illustrative methodology that is grounded in the depiction of real life. Her paintings provide evidence of a painterly style which has developed from the more abstracted aspects of her musical experience. Connie also talked about music that is visually descriptive:

[even as real as] water running and you can play it like water running...some kind of poem which is an entirely descriptive work of a river, coming down from the mountains and rushing out to the sea and all the activities of the village people along the river's edge as the river goes past. In that sense music can be totally realistic and descriptive....It's only a little bit of a mystery perhaps when people want to read it. I think that frightens a lot of people... it's very logical. (Interview, 26.2.01)

After talking about the intense and exciting relationship she has with an audience during a performance, Connie expressed her views on the different roles of an audience in the domains of music and in the visual arts. The audience is an integral part of a musical performance, having a participatory role whereas the audience that will view her paintings

are further removed from the actual creation of the work. She expects the audience that will appraise her singing, for instance, to be generally less educated in music, but a person viewing her painting seems to need a greater degree of education in the visual arts.

Because I know music so much better, I suppose....The bottom line, the nitty gritty thing is that you need to play those notes, what's on the page, whereas art and paintings, the design features and the arrangement of colours and all that sort of thing, it's not as obvious to the person who's looking. It is obvious to the educated person. The average person looks at it and says, "Well I like it or I don't," whereas, in music there is a degree of correctness that the average person can say, "Yes I like that. It sounds right". It sounds as though that person can do it, although I can't read the music they still can....The educated eye can look at something and say that picture is not balanced, for the reasons of those elements of design. The average person doesn't know that, it's a different thing altogether. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie's story at this point becomes a statement of experience regarding the level of intensity that underscores all of her creative efforts. She takes on more creative projects regardless of the training or skill level she has or does not have in a particular domain. When it came to sculpture she said she had acquired a mountain of old weathered pieces of metal that she felt compelled to turn into sculptural forms. She added that she had no knowledge of welding or casting or any other sculptural techniques.

It doesn't stop me from doing it in any way whatever because I have to do it and I love it too much....I seem to take things on and I think I'll make sculptures not having the, you know, I've never had training in sculpture, I just think that oh, I've found these wonderful things I think I'll make this. You know, there's a sort of blind passion there that says, yes, I can make this. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Creating in so many domains has affected Connie's ability to sleep and she is generally unable to stop thinking about whatever project she is working on at the time. She says that she has really good ideas at night and it is predominantly visual then, unless she happens to be memorizing a song or a piece of music. She talked about the way she

would learn the words of a song prior to a performance and then apply this in her approach to painting.

There's something that needs to go into your brain and stay there and that you actually put this super, super effort into, say, memorising something or getting something right. That takes quite a few days then to go away and you find that you're going over it all the time. When I'm not doing that, then...I'm just lying awake thinking of how I could do this picture or that picture...I mean I risk sounding like an absolute idiot, or a total fruitcake, I don't think I ever really stop thinking about it. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie recently saw just how obsessive she has become. She was reading the colour cards that she always takes with her when her partner was trying to discuss a domestic issue with her. She said she had to pause and think about this, "He's talking about life and I'm not even thinking about whether the garbage is out or something. I mean that is probably going a bit far but I can't help that" (Interview, 26.2.01). She was aware that she retreats to "this other lovely world" (Interview, 26.2.01) quite often.

The consequence of what Connie calls her "intensity" and her "obsession" is that she would burn herself out.

When I was teaching I was certainly too old to be teaching five or six days or seven days a week as I did. But I still, you know, ran on adrenalin. It went on for a length of time and then I completely burned out. It's ridiculous. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie was forced to give up full time teaching because she became too sick to continue.

It feels as though I've got to put that much into it, to everything. I mean that intensity...I think it's a personality problem that I have, that I am far too intense about absolutely everything, whether it's teaching or it's performing I have to do it as though it's the absolute last thing I'll ever do ...and then...I don't want to dabble in lots of different areas and not succeed. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie appears frustrated with what she calls her “personality problem.” This has been so all of her life. When she was a child she remembers attracting the label of “highly-strung child” and indeed this is how she experienced life in her early years, as she does today. She says she would rather be more like her friend and fellow musician:

[Annette] is a composer and a most successful one these days, but she has a much different way...of approaching what she does. She manages to have a life. She doesn't manage to do as many different things as I do. She writes music and she does that and then she has fun. I don't seem to be able to get away from either the need to do what I want to do or the need to make money. I would like to have her ability to switch it off. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Annette is one musician with whom Connie collaborates. Recently Connie wrote a poem and Annette has written the music. While Connie performed the song, Annette accompanied her on the piano and this was recorded on a CD. They have attracted further commissions on the success of this venture. Connie said that this experience of a newly formed collaboration was both terrifying and rewarding and did take time to achieve.

Yes, it was a very exciting thing to have done....It was different and I'd not ever performed her work before and, of course, every composer's work is different. I understand her work very much better now...I can do a very much better job with the song. It's gone into the pores of my skin and I don't find it unusual....I had never performed with Annette playing for me, which is another thing. I'm so used to [my regular accompanist] playing for me that I know that whatever I do he's there with me and I'm there with him and it's very comfortable but to change to another accompanist is fairly major, because you've got to find out where the, sort of, where the connection is and it can be very uncomfortable. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie says that her usual accompanist has been working with her for over twenty years, that they have built up a very close and immediate understanding of each other, and that this relationship is critical to the performance. Connie says that although he is blind, this does not matter musically but it does make his perception of her more acute. What is important is that “his musicianship is of the highest degree” (Interview, 26.2.01) and she feels privileged by their collaboration. He is constantly accusing her of living on her nerve

ends but, in the final analysis, it is Connie's injection of feeling into her singing that he values. She said, "As much as I say that I don't like my intensity, and I don't a lot of the time, but it is my intensity and the singing that really does please him....It's a gift, I guess, in performance" (Interview, 26.2.01).

Connie has commented upon the individual differences amongst musicians and in particular between the two people she works closely with. Her accompanist uses spontaneous composition as he improvises on the piano with Connie singing along. The friend who is a composer is unable to improvise. Whether this is a matter of different training or inherent levels of musicianship is a fascinating question to Connie.

Well, I'm not trained in jazz at all. I had a totally classical training in both piano and singing....I think classical training is a very good training for [jazz]....I think you are either born with a good ear in music, with good hearing you can aurally hear things. But that divides up into some interesting questions too because I refer to my friend who is a composer, who can sit down at a table in an empty room and write a symphonic work and can't improvise. Now this person has perfect pitch which means that you can tell any note on the keyboard....It's being able to say, yes you are playing that note which happens to be in the head. Now I can do that and I can improvise...but I don't think I could sit down and hear a whole symphony orchestra playing their parts. (Interview, 26.2.01)

These three professional musicians have each embraced a teaching role in the domain of music, but appear to bring different musical skills to the performance of their music. The skills that they were born with are most differentiated and those acquired through training are less so because there are common elements in all music tuition. For instance, Connie says of her male accompanist, "He has an impeccable ear as most blind people have", and to this she adds that he is a "wonderful arranger and a gorgeous pianist" (Interview, 26.2.01). He reads the Braille of the music that has definite notation and he is particularly accurate about this. He also insists that Connie is well prepared and equally accurate. She knows that she has to try hard to know the music because she knows that he will have spent many hours learning the Braille and memorising the songs. When they have performed classical song cycles with up to seventeen songs he has memorised all the songs as well as the music.

Even when I sing folk songs that are not necessarily specifically attached to a piece of written music, Alan does lovely arrangements underneath what I'm doing, beautiful chords and I mean that's a tremendous gift to me. It is perhaps the most wonderful gift of my life really. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie also says that her partner in performance is sensitive to her as a person as well as to her music. She thinks that he reads her as well as he reads the music. He reads her footsteps, her tone of voice and knows when she is tired or has a headache as well as when she sounds croaky or when her voice is not the best. In this way his perception of her is acute and their collaboration is quite special to Connie. In no way does Connie consider him, within the world of music they share, to be disabled. On the other side of this partnership Connie says that she has the gift of perfect pitch and this is a point of musical connectedness that has sustained their collaboration over a long period. The formal and the informal structures of this relationship between singer and accompanist seem to be mutually supportive.

Musically we are very much together and I feel very honoured that he continues to play for me because I think, as I said, it's one of the great gifts of my life to have somebody like that who thinks I'm worth it. (Interview, 26.2.01)

Connie and her two colleagues are of a similar age, around seventy, and as a result all have reduced their teaching commitments. This is a significant age for musicians because the possibility of a weakening of their individual musical abilities is certain. Connie said she saw her mother at the age of ninety distressed because she could not sing a descant as she had throughout her life. Upon further medical investigation she found that vocal cords do in fact dry up in later years. Connie said that well known singers seem to retire at about the age of sixty.

It may be, too, they retire, or stop singing at that age because they realise that they are not going to do it if they can't do it at their peak and certainly there are things that change, as you get older. I think it would be awful to go on when you are not doing the best you can. If you are getting an awful result I think you'd have to stop. I find that very frightening. (Interview, 26.2.01)

As an aging singer Connie asks her colleagues to constantly assess her vocal cords. She is reassured by their feedback that she still has an excellent instrument with a slight weakening of the low notes but improved high notes. Singing to Connie is such “a physical and athletic thing” and because, “It’s like eating and drinking, it’s like food, I just do it” (Interview, 26.2.01). Contemplating being unable to sing is more traumatic than physical injury and, recognising this, Connie keeps putting this issue aside.

Well I must say that I was pretty nervous when I had this bronchitis and a little bit of asthma at the same time. So I went for the second time in my life to a throat specialist and said, would he have a look at these and see if there’s anything wrong, and there wasn’t anything wrong, I just had a very bad throat infection which I’ve had twice to the point where I thought it was time I went and saw him....He understands and he said, “Hello my song bird.” Isn’t that nice...they were a couple of terrifying moments and I have to come to terms with that some time. (Interview, 26.2.01)

The second interview took place in Connie’s studio (an old shearing shed converted into studio and performance place). When I asked Connie about her achievements we were looking at her performance space and at the various paintings, finished and unfinished, that are displayed there. Her immediate response, however, did not refer to her work in the domains she has represented there.

Probably this isn’t the sort of answer you’re looking for but I first must say my one daughter and my granddaughters. They are beautiful and clever and I tried very hard to do interesting things with my daughter to get away from the very oppressive upbringing I had myself and we both did the same things and that’s wonderful for me. I thought being a grandmother was going to be an old lady’s thing but it’s just marvellous and...they’re very interested and I only have one daughter and I don’t have many relatives so it’s lovely to have one person who belongs to me. (Interview, 5.3.01)

In regard to teaching music Connie thinks that she has helped or influenced a lot of lives over a long period. She has helped many fulfil a musical ambition, recognize their musical abilities, enjoy music and make career decisions involving music. Many past

students are still active in the domain, and this gives Connie a sense of worth, of achievement. “So I feel as though I’ve contributed to this. There seems to be value in all that classroom teaching and the HSC problems and that sort of thing” (Interview, 5.3.01).

One singing performance stands out in Connie’s memory as being outstanding. This was a song cycle of seventeen songs. A huge task for her and her accompanist to learn and perform. The audience feedback was very satisfying and confirmed their impression of having achieved a particularly high standard and a unique performance. Unfortunately this performance was not recorded. Connie said that it was not so common a practice at the time and, although she is left with positive memories of this performance, in retrospect, “it was a silly thing to do to go to all that trouble and not record them anyway” (Interview, 5.3.01). At this time she is working on a performance of five songs, which as a matter of course will be recorded.

When Connie first started painting she was greatly encouraged by the results of her submission of a work in the Sydney Morning Herald Art Prize. Connie said there were five hundred and seventy five entries and only twenty-five would be selected for exhibition at the Blaxland Galleries. The winner was to win an all-expenses paid study tour of Italy. Her painting was selected for exhibition and she was a contender for the prize.

I was in the last twenty-five for the trip to Italy; to actually go and learn how to do it...it was a moment that I’ll never forget. I feel proud about walking through...the Blaxland Galleries and my painting was hung right at the entrance next to the winning entry....It was interesting that even though mine was abstract the one that won was more modern still. It was a landscape in glass, in a perspex box. (Interview, 5.3.01)

In much the same way that Connie has identified the aspect of pleasing an audience when singing, she also says that this is an important part of her experience of painting. She said, “It’s a great honour for people to buy something and say that they can live with this” (Interview, 5.3.01). Connie has painted a number of works on a commission basis, which seems to mean that she is taking some direction from these people. Painting this way is problematic but because of her music training, where Connie seems to strike a productive relationship with her audience she is not bothered by the limits a commission can place on

personal creativity. She seems to make it into an exercise in the interpretation of people which she then channels into her painting just as she has interpreted a composer's work as a preliminary to the creation of a performance.

Fortunately, the people who've asked me tend to be people I know fairly well and that Japanese piece that I did, I knew him well and I have worked with him, he's a musician, and he...wanted an abstract but he wanted it Japanese. So right, abstract and Japanese is what he got and he was very happy....It's a lot easier because I know what to do to please him...It's interesting because he is a pianist you see and he doesn't actually do art in that sense but he's very aware of what he thinks he wants....It would have been dreadful if he hadn't liked it at all. (Interview, 5.3.01)

At this point Connie turned to another painting which she said was also a commission, but unlike the other she expected this to be difficult in the sense of pleasing the owner. She explained her process.

This one here is the start of putting some things, some ideas together about my friend's property, which is up near Armidale. She is a dressage rider. She is an equestrian, a three-day event judge and so her sheep property is at the foot of a very steep mountain range...and her sheep climb up those steep mountains. So I'm just putting in the things that I think would make her happy. It's part of what her life is...it's a fairly isolated place....I know that this person is going to be difficult to please but I know that I have to put in some horse aspects....I am not sure where it's going to go but I think that would please her because she rides well...and that particular horse, [pointing to a brushed gesture] that movement and that sort of flamboyance is the sort of thing that she likes. (Interview, 5.3.01)

This painting in progress consists of overlapping gestures, some brushwork and overlaying shaped pieces of collage. One can see in these abstract arrangements the line of a horse's neck, the sweep of a tail and the upward crest of a hill. The night before the interview at two am, Connie had placed some key horse elements on the painting and at this point, while it captured her attention, she appeared to be thoroughly lost in a consideration of the relative visual effects of these collage pieces.

When Connie was asked if she experienced any impediments to her success in either domain, obstacles that make success or achievement difficult, she immediately said, “I think the main thing is that having gone into teaching for reasons that can be explained, it actually always prevented me from singing and prevented me from doing any art work really. There was always the need to earn a living” (Interview, 5.3.01). Connie said that she is in the same position as the majority of her older female students, who only engage in musical training once they find “freedom” from a lifetime of financial or family responsibility. Connie would like to be free of the responsibility to provide for herself and her family financially; she would like to work in the visual arts and music and to find her limits in each domain so that her work is the best she can possibly do. At the present time she feels she knows her musical limits but she is still discovering her boundaries in the visual arts. It is fortunate for her at this time of retirement from teaching that she predicts her painting talents will outlast her musical skills.

This is the most free I’ve ever been in my life now....I still worry about money all the time but I think it is an obstacle that is really very destructive....I feel quite angry with myself at times because I’ve allowed myself to get into this position. I’ve worked very hard but I don’t seem to have enough to show for it and what I want is time. I mean money allows you to have time, doesn’t it? (Interview, 5.3.01)

A woman who is a teacher of music conforms to a popular perception of professional stereotyping; the combination of being female and artistic seemed to send out a message that Connie would be an ineffective teacher. She does not feel disadvantaged because of her gender, rather she saw the stereotyping as a personal challenge that she could prove to be wrong. When I asked Connie if in her teaching career she was held back in any way she said:

No...I really don’t think so to any great degree but that was probably a great deal to do with the fact that I had very understanding principals in schools, both male and female, who let me have my own way a lot. I didn’t have to fight but I think you’ve got to prove yourself in jobs. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Teaching music in the seventies carried an expectation that a woman would be weak and unable to control students regardless of her musical expertise (and possibly the stronger

she is musically, the weaker she is as a teacher). When Connie was asked if she felt disadvantaged by this perception she said:

No. I think it's been the reverse really because a lot of male teachers would see music as rather a feminine thing whereas science may be another...but I did have one experience at a high school that I have never forgotten....I was conducting a big assembly at a school, it was my job to conduct a thousand girls singing and the piano was pushed out of a little storage room...and after the assembly each week the piano had to be pushed back and the roller shutter door pulled down and this particular Monday, for some reason...the girls who did that had to go to something quickly....Fortunately it was a fairly small upright but I asked the science master who happened to be still there, in the hall, would he mind helping me push the piano back and he said, "No, you wanted equal pay and equal rights, you push it back yourself". So I did....You have to really know what you're doing and be strong enough and the men, and even the women, nobody respects anyone in teaching if you are not good at it. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Amongst colleagues at school and throughout her own schooling Connie felt the limiting effects of a strong academic tradition.

I find that there is a great deal of, there could be a great deal of criticism if you weren't efficient, if you couldn't control the students, teach them and control them at the same time and sometimes, the other teachers are your worst enemies....I must say that when I was at school even, I suppose, there was a prejudice of people towards the arts, not so much a gender prejudice but a prejudice towards people who did so-called arty things, such as music, art or drama. This has always been in my life, and I think it still is. I have it here at home...you are considered to be not terribly, terribly clever if you do art of some sort. (Interview, 5.3.01)

When Connie did the leaving certificate she was unable to do the subjects she was good at. Art was then considered a "half subject" though she was able to do full music. If you did not do Latin and loads of Maths and Science one was certain to be thought of as "not a very clever girl" (Interview, 5.3.01). Subjects like Maths, Science and Latin had prestige whereas Music, Art and PE were not always fully examinable subjects. If one was to take on the

theoretical aspect of music one could be seen to use one's brain but involvement in other performance areas seemed to indicate a dysfunctional brain. Connie said that teaching music at that time meant that she was pressured into changing the prejudices of others. She said:

I really had to make very sure that I was competent and I was, that I could control students better, or if not better than the men. I could get more out of them, better than some of the men....I was a very strong person...and I, you know, that I had to be. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Connie's successful approach to engaging teenage students in music involved reshaping her own personality. She sought to become a person who could command student attention by being entertaining as well as instructive. Connie says it is unfortunate that the history of music teaching has been fashioned on prejudice but it is pleasing to her to know that there are some wonderful music teachers now who combine excellent teaching and music skills.

People of sixteen, seventeen and eighteen can be terribly perceptive and they can assess you as you walk in the door and see if you...know what you're talking about and if you show the slightest weakness, it isn't a very nice characteristic....They can pull anybody down no matter what they're teaching but they think that the arts are an easy option, that they weren't going to learn anything and could have a good time. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Over her long teaching career Connie has developed strategies that perhaps take her out of the traditional teaching mould. She was appointed as one of the first specialist teachers of music in the state. Additionally, she shaped her personality so that she could bring students into the domain of music. Connie has highly-developed interpersonal skills which she employs naturally with students and colleagues with the intention of promoting musical domains. For instance she has developed a range of unconventional strategies to win over her pupils whether they are individual students or small performance groups or the whole school choir. One regular part of her weekly teaching schedule was to conduct the whole school at weekly assemblies and control up to one thousand students while doing so. On the other hand she has made the one-on-one teaching situation attractive and intimate.

There is another fairly sneaky method that I perfected over the years that really is very useful, particularly for vocal ensembles and concert bands where I had eighty people playing and in jazz groups or rock groups, all of the things that you have to do at high schools to suit absolutely everybody's tastes. You have to be one of them and it's not too hard for me to have a middle age of fifteen and dance rock and roll and I can dance as well as they can so, if they were my friends they would do anything for me. I mean, I would only have to stare at them....It may be a funny thing to do but if they are your friend they're not going to play up on you. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Connie used just such a technique recently with a fifteen-year-old private student who is a competent ballet dancer with a nice but untrained singing voice. This student was to dance and sing in a local show and Connie was trying to reduce her fear of performance to the extent that they could start to work on her voice.

Well she was all right with the dancing but she was absolutely terrified of singing and she was singing in a huge hall and she realised, of course, that she couldn't be heard...she was singing that awful song from *the Sound of Music*, "I am Sixteen Going on Seventeen" which is the corniest song...she knew it was corny but I ended up on the stage making up words with her, dancing with her to get her to trust me and I sang, I am sixty going on seventy...and we laughed our heads off. (Interview, 5.3.01)

The lesson progressed in a more relaxed fashion, they re-examined the hall and the student admitted she wasn't frightened so they practised the steps she needed to take before she could sing. She had to dance and get her breath and another breath, relax and then start to sing. Connie finds that being silly or talking in funny voices or just being her simple self helps people relax and overcome the fear they experience in preparation for a performance. In addition to this, "we have to try to get the most out of them, whatever it is and the most passion, the most excitement, or anger or whatever". It is all about bringing things out in people and "I think I like that better than...worrying about whether they are going to pass exams" (Interview, 5.3.01).

Connie endorses the syllabus changes that have taken place in music teaching since she became a teacher and says that this allows not only an earlier start in a music domain but also a recognition of talent at a much earlier time than was available to her. This is of paramount importance to any career in music. Connie's earliest memory of making music was when she was four, able to reach the piano keys by standing in her grandparents' house and playing a Scottish tune on the black notes. In primary school she played the piano for the choir as she was having piano lessons and taking the exams. She also played the piano for assemblies in high school but remembers she was "always very nervous as a performer at the piano. I'd never have made a concert performer. I haven't got that sort of courage" (Interview, 5.3.01). Although she was singing in public at school and at church, the formal training she needed to do this well, was not commenced until she was twenty-five. She said, "In singing I have never been as nervous as I was at the piano...maybe I was just better at it" (Interview, 5.3.01).

In regard to piano training Connie said that she was playing by ear (a natural) till she was five and later undertook training by progressing up through the grades of the music examination system. At one point it became evident that she needed tuition that matched her evident ability, so a position as student to a well-known pianist at the conservatorium was sought and taken. By the time she left school Connie had completed all the exams and progressed through all the grades at the highest level. When Connie moved on to singing she started with a highly regarded teacher and progressed through that exam system much more quickly because she had the keyboard background and she could play for herself. Connie claims that her development in this order was advantageous because "you can't reach a peak in singing until you're older...it's a physical thing. You get better as you get older. People do not start when they are five or ten" (Interview, 5.3.01). With the new syllabus at school, sixteen is a good time to start because it allows students to discover if they like singing and if they have ability.

While Connie considers her voice to be her strongest musical asset; its late, and almost chance, development is an example that she is eager to pass on to younger students. She said, "I'm sure I had a voice because I was asked to do something when I was about nineteen or twenty and must have had the voice but nobody ever said, would you like to have a singing lesson, but maybe my parents couldn't afford it either" (Interview, 5.3.01).

Connie says she was aware of painting at an early age because when she was ten she was in the habit of practising on a neighbour's piano but the reason she spent a lot of time with this neighbour was that she watched her paint little watercolours which were copied from cards. She remembers: "Strangely, even then I felt that maybe this wasn't real art and maybe she shouldn't have been copying cards or copying flowers" (Interview, 5.3.01). Up to the Intermediate Certificate level Connie studied Art but was forced to drop it because there was a limit placed on the number of Arts subjects one could sit for in the Leaving Certificate. Although art was a part of the teacher-training course and she did teach this to infant level students, it was much later that she sought out training in art. She enrolled in an evening ceramics course at technical college for three years then progressed on to do fabric design and dyeing and then silkscreen printing. Finally she started painting on a "small scale" because she was working full time at a school and Connie said, "There still wasn't time to do it in a sort of continuous way but I did make a start and so quite a few years later I'm really getting into the swing of it" (Interview, 5.3.01). After fifteen years of painting Connie says she has taken her direction from her first glimpses of the domain in action that she discovered as a child.

I mean I don't copy trees and I don't copy flowers...I don't think there's any point in doing something that's entirely photographic. I don't think there's any point in reproducing things as you see them. There's got to be a very important place for your imagination and I can't not do that...I've got to have a creative input to this and I don't see...if I do realistic things that look like what they are that I'm being creative at all. (Interview, 5.3.01)

At this time Connie is planning to exhibit a series of paintings and sculptures which is more stressful to her than preparing for a concert. She said, "I've had to keep working part time so I find it quite difficult to talk about music...at that point for a couple of hours and then suddenly switch off and think, I'm going to go on to this painting now" (Interview, 5.3.01). Because of her music teaching Connie feels it is necessary to use a non-working day or a couple of free days to do her painting. She prefers to allocate separate times for painting and music. When she paints she will work on several at one time, looking at them to see what she will add or subtract until she considers it finished. Painting takes up a lot of her studio space so she has to schedule music performances in this space around her painting activity.

She says that she is very good at leaving her paintings alone once she decides they are finished but while they are in progress she is unable to keep her hands off them.

The strongest personal influences on Connie's music career were those of her piano teacher and then her singing teacher. These formative relationships have no equal in the field of visual arts. As a young teen connecting with a music teacher from the most highly regarded institution in the state, Connie says she learnt about music despite her fear of the teacher.

My piano teacher was very hard...she was a wonderful pianist and a very, I think, difficult personality. Just tough, a very tough teacher and I don't remember ever being encouraged....I was pretty terrified of her and so was everyone in the state that she examined....Looking back I can see that I must have been able to do something, otherwise she wouldn't have bothered to have me. I don't ever remember her saying that I played that nicely. I did a fair bit of crying as I walked down Bridge Street. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Connie indicated that the relationship she had with her piano teacher at the end became one in which she felt smothered. Her music teacher tended to tell Connie what she should do with her life as well as with her music career. At the time of her marriage Connie could see her teacher forcefully taking over the wedding plans and other areas of her life that she felt were her own. Connie made a decision to end the relationship and her piano tuition. Years later when Connie admitted to her piano teacher that her marriage was a mistake, the teacher lived up to her reputation by saying that, had she not been in America at the time, she would not have allowed Connie to marry such an unsuitable person.

It was in fact the marriage that decided the multiple strands of Connie's career. The breakup and eventual divorce were in Connie's opinion forced upon her. Her husband's increasingly psychotic behaviour threatened Connie's and her daughter's lives. Connie was traumatised by these attacks as much as the fact that his family did not feel it necessary to inform Connie of the prevalence of this mental condition in his family or of his medical history. Connie chose to take up further music tuition at this time as a purposeful distraction from the trauma her marriage was creating. As a result she formed another strong bond with a singing teacher who was highly regarded in the music world. Connie says she was a hard

taskmistress but also exhibited great kindness to Connie who was training her voice and raising a young daughter while suffering an abusive relationship at home. Voice training was at times therapeutic and the discipline Connie had already acquired in her study of the piano seemed to help her personal situation. In the later days of her marriage she started to work as a full time teacher. This career appeared to Connie to be the only way she could support her daughter as a single parent.

Connie regards the two men with whom she has formed the closest relationships as obstacles to every facet of her career. She says it is not a matter of gender bias but one of an attitude that fails to understand the domains in which she is working and the demands of a performance personality.

My actual husband was a clever, incredibly clever mathematician. He was a lecturer in pure mathematics about which I know nothing and he seemed to resent anything that I did. He resented the attention I got if I was playing. He would walk away and talk to people and make a loud noise and distract people. He also put down the arts in a very big way because being the mathematician that he was, he believed that science was the important thing in the world and not the arts, and so what I did was rather childish and unnecessary. He knew that I was very fond of poetry. He said, "If the sun comes up this morning why not just say the sun comes up this morning, why say it in some flowery way?" I can remember these things because they hurt so much (Interview, 5.3.01).

The man Connie has lived with since the divorce also demonstrates a similar attitude. Connie said:

He does at least go to concerts. He started to listen to music but he has said to me that people like me who stand up and perform...or even play the piano, are on some sort of ego trip and obviously need that ego trip, and that was the most hurtful thing that's ever been said to me...ninety-five per cent of the population of the world would not stand up and perform...it shows a tremendous lack of understanding of the arts generally...he sees it as an exhibition that I need. If he only knew what it takes to go through, to learn this stuff, to get the courage to perform. This is wiping out my whole life's work. (Interview, 5.3.01)

As president of a local music group Connie considers the benefits and the drawbacks of holding this position. She says that she does not like the meetings nor does she like the administrative side of this position. In fact during all the time she spent teaching she has never wanted to be a school principal. The committee knows that Connie has excellent music credentials and she talks to important people in this domain as well as attracting people to their concerts. Connie says that this gives her credibility and a bit of prestige, though as the years march on she is less concerned about the worth of this position.

It's something I feel that I don't need any more...I feel as though I'd like to be a bit more reclusive in my old age....I just feel that I need to actually come down, emotionally come down. I mean I am a very high personality. I live on adrenalin things...it hasn't done my health any good and I seem to be burning out and I have done that before...you know what teaching is like. They always want you to help them with something or asking for something...everybody needs attention and I'm really fresh out of that. I feel now really that I'd like to be quiet and practise my pieces, do my pictures and ride my horse. (Interview, 5.3.01)

As to gender differences within the music-teaching domain, Connie said that she has always taught females to sing and men seem to prefer to learn an instrument. Most of her private clients are women. Overall her private students are predominantly older females with enough free time to meet the demands of musical tuition. The number of women out there in the world of music have increased but in the instance of conductors there are still more male conductors than female. In the world at large Connie thinks there are more men like her own doctor who would love to undertake lessons in music, but they are too busy elsewhere to do it adequately.

I have always found in the private scene, I've always had more women. More men would like to learn piano but more men are busy. I know several men, including my doctor, who is an absolute avid music lover who says, "I want you to teach me singing and the piano". Well, I would like to teach him singing and the piano and I'm sure he'd be a very interesting person to teach but he hasn't got time now...he's learning the cello but he doesn't do any practice because he hasn't got time. So I can see that the men aren't going to be free but there are certainly more

male pianists. I mean, singing seems to be such a gift that if you haven't got the voice I don't think men on the whole are quite as brave to try as women. It takes a great deal of trying and I think men could be more easily threatened by the fact that they might sound dreadful. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Connie said that a few years ago when she went to a Sydney University conference called *Composing Women*, she was made aware of one example of gender politics that is played out in the music domain. She said that there were gay women at this conference who sat apart from the other women composers. They were very good musicians, they talked about their work and played their work but remained apart because they seemed to want a special recognition of their works as homosexual compositions. Connie expressed surprise at finding these women making this kind of statement and questioned the outcome they expected because it is not usual in the music field to attribute musical worth on the basis of gender. She couldn't see homosexuals or any other gendered group producing a definitive musical style. It does not seem to be relevant in the case of Simone Young who, as Australia's most well known female conductor, attracts musical attention because she is the only woman conductor who performs internationally at this level. In Connie's opinion the musical worth of this lone female is not dependent upon her gender. "She is a conductor and she is as good as the men. She is conducting Wagner's Ring Cycle in Europe. It doesn't get much better than that" (Interview, 5.3.01).

When looking for evidence of artistic talent in her immediate family Connie pointed to her mother as a person who demonstrated musical ability and was able to draw but did not pursue the development of either of these talents. Because Connie experiences this as a driving force to the point of obsession she is equally outraged by her mother's lack of opportunity to do so. She expressed it in this way.

My mother sang and she had a wonderful voice. She was a contralto and she sounded like Marion Anderson....I have a recording of hers when she was singing the typical things of the day...but she had had very few lessons. It wasn't the thing in that family to have music lessons. It would not have been considered important....She always sang the solos in the Messiah in local churches. She didn't ever broadcast but she certainly had the ability to do that. It's a shame, a total waste.... When my sister was born I can remember my mother sneaking out to have

a few lessons....So she did belong to a choir, outside choirs, but mainly always in the church and always a soloist and in fact she played the pipe organ as well. I was brought up in that very rigid Presbyterian, almost Calvinist, background so I had no other musical influences except those that my mother did. She had a shop and she worked in that as well. I'm very grateful that I had the opportunity, that they gave me the opportunity to study because my mother didn't have that opportunity. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Neither her sister nor her brother took up the musical training offered to them in the way that Connie did. She remembers that her brother loved aeroplanes and playing the organ but "he didn't put his mind to studying music in a formal way, as I have. I mean, I must have been just a person who did as I was told" (Interview, 5.3.01). She also said about those early lessons, "I don't know if I was given a choice or they made me or what but I don't remember ever not wanting to do it" (Interview, 5.3.01). She said she was amazingly brave at one point and asked her piano teacher why she needed to do exams. The teacher replied that she would need the qualifications because one day she might be left a widow with six children. Connie immediately thought this a ridiculous suggestion though now she says "As it turned out I was a divorcee with one child, which saved me from going to be a checkout girl" (Interview, 5.3.01).

Connie's father was a quiet and shy man who had no obvious artistic pursuits. He was very kind and had a gentleman's manner, he was a good man and a nice father but he was not artistic in any way. He was a shopkeeper, but Connie chose to sum up her father with the following: "He went to church and lived by it" (Interview, 5.3.01). Of course he set the pattern of life for the whole family and this had an impact on a developing young girl.

We went to church and I did what I was told to do. I sang in the church choir as I was told to do. I sang...I always sang the alto part and I can remember being very bored. I mean our life was church and school. At school I got my excitement. At church...it didn't excite me. English subjects at school excited me. We had a wonderful English teacher who was inspirational. She made such an impression on me and I have been dedicated to the English language and writing ever since. But it is still an art; it's still an extension of what I do. It's an excitement. I do see things in terms of the adrenalin rush. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Connie felt strongly about the waste of musical talent that occurred in her family through her mother's lack of opportunity and her siblings' failure to take up the opportunities they were given. When her own daughter was born she fully intended to provide the opportunity for musical development but her personal and professional circumstances did not allow it to happen. At first she stayed home to look after her daughter, as her husband wanted her to do; but by the time her daughter was three, Connie was taking singing lessons and exams and had started to teach casually while her mother-in-law, an ex-school principal, minded her daughter. Her husband did not support her efforts to develop her voice and he certainly did not want to pay for the lessons so Connie felt she had to lie to him in order to hold back some of the money she earned. She remembers her first lessons at the conservatorium were achieved because she went with another young mother who would take turns with her to go into the teacher while the other would baby-sit both children in the botanical gardens. When Miranda, her daughter, went to school Connie was working full time and when her daughter was nine Connie left her husband.

When Miranda was in high school I took her to piano and flute lessons after school but she stayed back quite a lot when I was rehearsing in the school and she's an adequate pianist but I should have taught her singing, but I was too busy. I couldn't think of teaching her anything because I had to work the full syllabus and do a lot of work at home. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Connie says that when she was married and her daughter was young the only escape she could manage was going to choir practice. She found that her husband did not object. "He was not even interested. I only went to the choir practices to get out of the house and on my own" (Interview, 5.3.01). The man she now lives with doesn't object to Connie's musical commitments but he is always asking her why she has to go out. Connie feels he does not accept the commitment she has to her accompanist, her students, the group she is president of or to the friends who support her. Although her partner is concerned about her health after a very stressful year, Connie knows that he is not capable of understanding the emotional basis of her work. He has a point of view and he sticks to that regardless. He thinks quite simply that teaching is something that she does easily but the view that aggravates Connie most is when he says to her, "Why don't you go out to the shed and paint and relax" (Interview, 5.3.01).

What he doesn't understand is that I am painting to try to succeed and do something good and it's a huge challenge. I'm not doing it for the fun of it. I mean I enjoy it and I love it but I'm not doing it just to play. Also I do need to sell things, which he doesn't seem to understand at all. The pressure that I do put on myself is very constant. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Within the next year Connie wants to record a particular song cycle with her accompanist. She anticipates this will take them till the end of the year because of their work commitments. A few of the songs are totally new and will take longer to prepare but this is desirable to Connie because "you can't keep doing the same things and I want to do things that are a little bit more dangerous" (Interview, 5.3.01). When Connie decides on the songs she will record she said that other things influence her choice. Primarily she is not going to propose a song to her accompanist that she feels he will not value. For instance she told a story of a classical piece she sang at a wedding, which was very popular amongst the Italian guests, but he would think this pop version of a classic was "musical garbage". She said she would not ask him to prepare something that was not musically valuable. Having said this, she is personally attracted to songs she finds exciting and which have beauty in the music and the vocal lines. When she was talking about the individual songs and their suitability for dramatisation she remarked, "There is a painting in there, it is so evocative" (Interview, 5.3.01).

Another project that Connie has "on the boil" is her shearing shed. This could be considered another artwork because she is constantly revising and adding to its form and its purpose in the same way she develops her paintings. She considers the shed to be a gift, which in reality is a functional shearing shed, a heap of corrugated iron that in some way inspires her to transform it according to her artistic senses. It still needs a lot of work but she surveys her progress, all the new bits, the historic bits she wants to preserve and the need for better light are all considered as she works on a painting or prepares for a performance. She said, "I've had to put windows in simply so that I can get some light. This light at night still isn't good enough but when I can afford it I'll get more" (Interview, 5.3.01). Her current focus is on the collection of weathered timber in the sheep runs and yards outside. She has found a use for this area and accordingly is redefining the spaces so that they accommodate

her large horse but also preserve and display those weathered timber forms she finds so sculpturally interesting.

When I have a concert in here and we are having a concert, people can go out there and have afternoon tea in that little area there in that garden. I haven't made a proper garden yet....I can use that area...to stand things up, some sort of garden sculpture. (Interview, 5.3.01)

In her shed Connie has a collection of found objects that she intends to use in the near future when she branches out into the more sculptural paintings and three-dimensional forms she is planning. She examines them item-by-item; their possibilities are evident to her in their forms. They are displayed so that she runs her eye over them while she is doing other things in her shed. They are all objects found on her property or are from other country estates and they speak of a rural way of life and a passing of time that is quite evocative. Connie says that if she had stayed in Sydney her work would not have taken this turn because she would not have found items such as the carriage step, the girl's side saddle, the leather muzzle, the bits of railing and the Throsby Park meat cover. Some of these items have been purchased at auctions or junk shops, indicating Connie's strong desire to work with these forms and to invest in her future work.

With these many projects either planned or in place, Connie can see the need for reduced teaching, which means severely reduced income, in order to have the time to carry out these planned works in different fields. Somehow she seems trapped within these realizations as she articulates them.

I always have had and still have the problem of wanting to do too many things.... because I love it all so much and because I'm getting older, it's becoming such a whole thing...all the time, all the time.... It doesn't ever seem strange or unusual to come up here and do this... I sometimes seem to feel I was born with a paintbrush in my hand...it's such a normal thing for me to do and the excitement that I get from all these bits and pieces...it's an amazingly exciting thing.... It kills me but I just love it, live it, but I'm still finding it hard to compartmentalise. Even the artwork would be enough for a normal person in their right mind...if all I did was paint and I should just do one thing properly instead of trying to be a jack of all

trades. But I just keep having these ideas and my imagination will kill me in the end.... I'm still singing...that's really important.... I'm just really over the edge and I mean I've got to sing well. I can't get sick and not be able to sing...I don't know what to do about being so obsessive. (Interview, 5.3.01)

This exercise in reflecting on her own creativity has given Connie some thoughts, if not solutions, to parts of her dilemma. For instance she has said that whatever came along in order to further her career in any field she would just do it and never think about whether it was too much for her to manage. While she did prioritise her full teaching load in this way, she does not now see one art form taking precedence over another. In addition she has said that in terms of the stress she creates by doing several things at one time, music does involve others to a greater degree therefore the responsibility she feels to the other people involved in her music-making generates a greater degree of stress for her. This was a pattern set in her teaching of music, which has been the most draining activity and perhaps highlights the inwardness and less stressful nature of her artistic work. She also said that she was not in competition with others; the source of her motivation is an inner compulsion to do things that of themselves did not cause her stress.

In regard to the collaborative relationships she has formed in the course of her music activities, and the large number of students she has attracted Connie has successfully influenced others in the domain. Connie is angered at the suggestion of her partner that this success is attributable to luck.

Maybe some things do go right for me, like people help me but that's got nothing to do with luck.... I have to make luck.... I try really hard to be nice to people and talk to people and if I don't do that I don't get students...people come to me. I've always got plenty of people and that's not luck, it's because I've worked at it (Interview, 5-3-01).

As this interview drew to an end Connie's focus settles on the value of reflecting on one's past accomplishments and failures in order to confront the problems of the present and the future.

I think I've just admitted that I'm an absolute fruitcake. It's very good because I've really had to think about a lot of things...and confront a lot of things to myself. I've been thinking about all of this and why I don't have to do it. I'm so driven, I can't seem to stop. Even my family describes me as a driven person. That's their view of me and I don't think it's a compliment. I suppose, in the long run, it's better to be driven than not but on the other hand it's hard to do it, to deal with yourself and your obsessions...it's an awful thing that I am, and I do have to be, so pushed by money. If I could just be happy about doing what I'm doing, I'd be happy doing what I'm doing but, because I'm doing a lot of it because I have to, or because I need to, that upsets me and makes me terribly anxious...maybe a lot of women have this problem. I mean any woman on their own; it's what you do to keep a roof over your head. (Interview, 5.3.01)

Throughout these interviews Connie has implied that some of her work is creatively less valid because it is tainted with her need to support herself, her family and her partners, in particular with her teaching of music which has taken up the time she needs to develop her artistic pursuits. She is also angry that at this stage of her life she can't afford to work for money less and work for her creativity more. At the end of her involvement with this study her perspective on her paid teaching work has altered to the point where she says about her teaching:

All the school stuff was creative. When I look back at it now having had this experience I can see that I could make these people do something beautiful or I could make it into something. So it's the same thing. (Interview, 5.3.01)

CHAPTER TEN

Delice's Story

Delice told her story in her house, the larger part of which is a painting studio and a separate tapestry workshop. These working spaces are the functioning heart of her house and contain the tools and materials necessary for work as a painter and tapestry maker. Breakfast dishes, a comfortable chair, a copy of a manuscript Delice is working on appear amongst the large looms, canvases, coloured wools and paints. Every article contributes to a sense of the artist working and of works in progress. Overall, the house projects a visual impact of colour which suggests that this artist's work occupies a major part of her life as it does her house. Colour vibrates from every corner in the scintillating relationship between finished and unfinished oil and acrylic paintings; tapestries on and off the looms; multihued shanks of wool; or simply the large blocks of colour in a rich purple carpet or a deep yellow wall. This play of colour is also evident in Delice's choice of clothing. As she moves about the house different colour relationships are set in motion.

After establishing a career as wife and mother in comfortable circumstances Delice, at the age of forty-seven, was forced to make a terrifying decision that ended her marriage, caused her to flee with her youngest son across a continent in order to support herself and to create a new life. Subsequently, over the last thirty years, Delice has established herself in the broad domain of visual arts and has consistently produced paintings and tapestries that reflect her unique being. Prior to her late entry into this domain she acquired some training in a number of institutions but could finish few of the courses offered because during this period her husband moved family and household frequently.

She has exhibited in regional, national and international galleries, has furthered her career by studying overseas and has been invited by the United Nations to pass on her knowledge of weaving to the people of the Pacific islands. She has an impressive number of commissioned works to her credit. Delice is divorced and lives alone in a town on the periphery of a large city. She has three grown sons, one of whom she sees periodically; the other two, according to Delice, are avoiding her. At the time of this interview she was approximately seventy-nine years old.

A local newspaper recently featured Delice and her artwork and described her works as “beginning with a dream and ending as an explosion of spectacular colour”. This reaction seems to express the essential ingredients of Delice’s creative production and indeed substantiates the artist’s own account of her experience of creativity.

A lot of artists like to go outside and paint what they see but I think I have a world within me that I want to make visual...creativity to me means that I want to express what is in my inner world....I don’t think I could have continued to live without my inner world because it’s very positive and it has a glow about it and there’s always so much hope and joy in it and naturally I have to express it in colour. (Interview, 3.8.99)

At the age of thirty-two Delice had what she calls her first vision. She describes this event in terms of a heightened colour awareness that is related to the inner world of her imagination.

Colour does really mean a lot to me....My first vision was very colourful and still and it was transparent....I always liked glass stained windows because we used to go to the Newcastle cathedral and that was full of music and beautiful glass stained windows. So once I had that vision I related all the other colours to those glass stained windows because you see the light behind the colours of the glass and that is really my world. (Interview, 3.8.99)

It wasn’t long after this experience that Delice’s husband moved his family to New Zealand and there she went to the Royal Art Society and made contact with several inspiring artists. Up to this point Delice’s only exposure to the art world was the occasional hobby class so that she could learn the fundamentals of using a brush and applying paint with it. One artist she met there was a disciple of Josef Albers, a German artist who gave the foundation course at the Bauhaus till it closed in 1933. Albers then migrated to the United States where, in prestigious institutions, he taught his revolutionary ideas about light and colour as they relate to optics and human perception. These ideas, said Delice, result in “vibrations of colour” (Interview, 3.8.99). This was so appealing to Delice that working with colour became her introduction to the domain of painting and weaving.

I worked on these colour vibrations for about three years and that is also a whole world on its own...so what I did, I got five sheets of paper and on each sheet I did twenty yellow squares, by hand, no rulers, of course. So I did twenty yellow/yellow squares, twenty yellow/green squares, twenty gold/yellow squares or whatever....Then I came back and I did all the combinations of that yellow/yellow with the complementary colour [and so on]....This took me about three days to do. When I finished I put them all on the wall and sat down and looked at them and more or less meditated on them and the next thing I heard was music. I read a book later, trying to discover what had actually happened and I read that it was what you call “cosmic music”. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Delice says she has not experienced this kind of connection between colour and sound since she worked so intensively with colour but she has retained the conviction that, at some elemental level, colour and music connect. When she works as she often does for long periods either painting or weaving she plays classical music while she works with colour. This connectedness is central to her understanding of her own spiritual experience of creativity. She has thought about creativity as involving at least three elements which work together for a purpose. One is the intellect which includes the craft of painting, another is the imagination or the intuitive side of a person and the most important is the unique feature of individuals that Delice refers to as “the inner light” (Interview, 3.8.99). In a philosophical manner Delice makes the observation that this is also true of the compositional aspects of painting where one manipulates a positive, a negative and a neutralizer to make the composition work. She adds that she sees this three-part pattern in aspects of formal religion. In fact, when Delice did undertake formal education in the Arts she noticed that one undertakes to study seemingly separate and non-specific subjects and these come together only at the end in some form of specialization.

When you go to art school, you don’t just learn to paint or sculpt, you do everything. I mean you will do painting, you will do sculpture, print making and use all the different mediums and then you come back to where you started. You will have evolved because you have gone through all that process and I think that with everything in life you can’t just go ahead in one straight line and not see and not be involved in all the things that happened on the way. (Interview, 3.8.99)

When Delice was asked what was the most important achievement of her life, she said it was definitely her painting. This is the part of her life that she loves and that she can best express herself in. She feels that over the last twenty years she has produced a respectable number of paintings that are according to her own high standards very successful and she has consistently exhibited them over this time. The exhibitions have not always been a commercial success but the majority have and there is no doubt that obtaining an income from her paintings has been an important aspect of rebuilding her life. Delice, however, does not measure the success of her paintings or her tapestries with a commercial yardstick alone; rather she looks at them in terms of how absorbed she has become in these activities over time. She said that between her paintings and her tapestries, “I can’t do a tapestry until I’ve got a painting to follow” (Interview, 3.8.99).

Someone said to her that she paints with wool and indeed she finds weaving exciting and not laborious as some do. She also finds that when she is weaving she is so caught up in it that three hours seem like five minutes. Currently she spends most of her time painting or weaving but she considers painting her “purest” form of creativity, an idea that seems to be founded on the notion that painting comes first and weaving follows.

Well, with tapestries, I usually choose a painting that I have done. I don’t do a painting especially to make a tapestry because it...I feel if I do that the painting is going to be too rigid. So I just paint away and then after a few paintings and if I am wanting to do a tapestry I say to myself, well what painting would I like to do, so in that way I have a bit more freedom. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Delice says she proceeds with a tapestry [this is a woven tapestry, different from the traditional tapestry] by first “overdyeing” shanks of wool in an array of colours [she has at least fifty hues arranged on the wall above her current tapestry]. The dyeing is done by hand.

When I put the wool into the dye pot, and I still do it in the old fashioned way of dyeing, I let the wool simmer for about half an hour...I use commercial dyes, I can’t use natural dyes because I would spend so much time looking for plants that I might as well give up painting...but what I do, I don’t stir the wool around very much so that it gets an uneven colour and it’s the uneven colour that adds to the texture.... When people are weaving they have quite big areas of one colour and it

is so flat whereas mine, my colours have got a little streak of a little bit lighter....Through dyeing, overdyeing I will get three colours, subtle colours so it makes the tapestry that much more interesting. It has got that much more life in it...than just flat plain colours, boring. (Interview, 3.8.99)

At the time of her first major sculpture/fibre exhibition Delice said she “was missing colour and so I ended up going back to weaving and doing pictorial weaving of some of my paintings. I found it was a wonderful balance because when I am not painting, I am weaving” (Interview, 3.8.99). She has been combining the two forms ever since. I inquired as to where her ideas for paintings come from. Delice answered this question several times but in the first instance she said:

Well, after this exhibition which had cost me a lot of money and I sold so little I decided that I was just going to paint for myself and really express myself the way that I wanted to because this last exhibition was a painting on France and it wasn't quite me although I enjoyed doing it.... I was sitting on the couch one day and all these words came to me and so I wrote them down and then when I read it... it was like a poem and it was divided into twelve...when I read it again I said, “Oh that's about evolution”...so then I thought I would put it away for a time and then I would do twelve paintings...I thought I would do a little painting for each verse...and then I thought I could elaborate on that and I have been doing that ever since. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Further back in time Delice said she experimented with themes for her paintings that were more of “this world” rather than her “other world” (Interview, 3.8.99).

In a way, it is not just from everyday life experience. I usually get ideas from books, or I might hear a word and that word might spark something inside me and then I get an idea you see and once I have an idea I am off but I find that when I have had my exhibitions I like to have a theme, a strong theme....there were two themes a little bit different from my usual other worldly themes and that was that I started to do a theme of explorers and intertwined them with Aboriginals....Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson were three and then Burke and Wills were another group and so I intertwined Aboriginals because they were

exploring the land of Australia...my imagination, I can do all sorts of things with my imagination but I read the story, of course, first and then I take little areas of the story up...and that's how I go. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Delice said that the reason explorers came to her mind was that even as a child she was aware of explorers and Aboriginals in the physical sense of "going over the land". Additionally, she had ancestors who took part in those early explorations.

My grandfather, he was one of about twenty...who went out to look for Leichhardt's body and they never found his body.... And then, Cox, he was another relation of ours... and then history is so interesting, isn't it, so I wanted to do a painting of Cox which I have got behind me, still in six panels.... I sold them all.... they were probably easier to sell because they probably had some connection with what people knew about and then after that I did bushrangers... and that took a lot of time to do because I had to actually read about each bushranger. (Interview, 3.8.99)

A recent commission of a large work for a hospital has set Delice's painting in a new direction. For some time she has used acrylics on paper and on canvas but this commission required the use of oil colour on canvas. While the oils added intensity to the colour aspect, the fact that this work was for a hospital made Delice aware of the healing quality of colour. She said:

I've always been interested in healing - healing through colour - but being an artist you realize colour is a wonderful thing. Psychologically it has a tremendous impact on you if you work with any particular colour for a long time.... because it was in large areas I was really able to vibrate colours [to the extent that it created a] wonderful energy. I feel that painting really was powerful. I know my acrylic paintings are very colourful and strong but this was an energy thing and I was thrilled...I will be aware from now on of not just colour and its vibration but of energy as well. (Interview, 3.8.99)

When she was asked what obstacles she encountered in establishing her career as a painter Delice nominated the circumstance of leaving her husband because it was the most

traumatic time in her life, but interestingly she also saw these events as personally liberating because they offered her “a second chance” at a life she could determine. “Well, the biggest obstacle was when I had to leave my husband because he was sick for about the seventh or eighth time and I knew I just had to because there was really no other way out that was logical” (Interview, 3.8.99). Delice said her husband was suffering from a mental illness which caused him to be a perfect gentleman to acquaintances but he started to viciously attack those in his family. The decision to leave him was prompted by a particularly brutal attack, and so very quickly Delice put what she could into the car with her youngest son who had just finished his matriculation exams in Perth, and drove across the Nullarbor to her only relatives in Melbourne. She said she only had two hundred dollars in her purse and no credit as her husband had looked after all of that. As she was talking about crossing the continent she was also talking about the effect this had on her painting.

Well, funnily enough, coming across the Nullarbor, I didn’t really paint it until about eight years later. I suppose by the time I settled down and had my own home which was such a miracle, I thought you never forget the images because the Nullarbor is so vast. I have been over the Nullarbor by train and by car and plane so I know it fairly well. It was the space that I noticed and it was showing in my paintings. (Interview, 3.8.99)

She arrived in Melbourne with just thirty dollars in her hand and she said she was extremely frightened by her circumstance.

You have no idea how frightened I was. I’d hate to think anybody else would be so frightened. If you are in a group it’s not so bad, but if you are absolutely alone, and I mean with a son who doesn’t really understand. He had just finished his matric....I used to look at these people while I was waiting for the tram, these really poor people and I just was so frightened I would end up being like them....In the twenty years I was married, I never worked...leaving with very little money and not having worked for so long and then when I did work before being married I was working by myself so I just wondered how on earth I was going to survive. Because I had lived a moderately reasonable sort of life I didn’t like the idea of being a poor person...that frightened the life out of me. (Interview, 3.8.99)

After a six-month period of job searching and living with family, Delice eventually found “quite a nice little job” (Interview, 3.8.99). This was office work and she said she had an absolute need to re-establish herself in a material way. The only way that she could do this was to work, save and buy a house for herself. She could see that the work she could get was not as interesting as her earlier experience of working as a photographer.

Well I was working for nine months in an office...the people there were very nice. It was the Education Department... and there was carpet on the floor and you would get your morning and afternoon teas on the traymobile so I couldn't really complain but, you see, I wasn't used to office work. Really, I'd look at my watch and then five minutes later I'd look at it again and it was only five minutes and that's how hard it was for me. I found it terribly hard.... I didn't stay in that job because I couldn't stand it although they were really nice to me. (Interview, 3.8.99)

In order to save money and to be financially secure Delice worked all week and at weekends she went to the Art Gallery where for twenty cents she was able to follow a guide around the Asian exhibits and learn in particular about Asian tapestries. She said this was the highlight of her week. At the end of nine months she saved up three thousand dollars which she originally intended to go towards her house, but she ended up spending the money to go to Mexico for three months to gain experience of working on large looms.

When she came back from Mexico she was back to saving for a house and moved to Sydney to get work. During this time she did short courses at the Strathfield School of Textiles, where she gained further experience of fibre. “But it really wasn't art weaving, it was more to do with materials” (Interview, 3.8.99). At this time the divorce was finalized and Delice was given ten thousand dollars at first, and then another five thousand, which she used to buy a little flat overlooking the harbour at Mosman.

Wasn't I lucky? That little flat went up by thirty thousand dollars in the three years that I had it. I never lived in it because I didn't have the money so I rented it and while I was renting it I became a housemistress in Armidale at a private

school, so I was there for two years and in that way I saved up a little bit of money. (Interview, 3.8.99)

At this time Delice's efforts to regain financial security are interlocked with experiences that would facilitate her practice within the domains of painting and weaving. While she was working as a housemistress in a girl's school at Armidale, Delice secured the use of a spare room that served as a studio in which she created large woven sculptures. In the first school she was fired because a colleague made a fuss about Delice's having her three boys on visits. The headmistress discovered later that she had made a mistake so she was willing to recommend Delice to another school as well as continuing to provide the studio and the assistance of the grounds keeper whose help was required for moving large works and the even larger looms Delice had acquired. An additional benefit was that the headmistress of the new school unwittingly paid her more money which allowed Delice to save more. She had managed to save five thousand dollars when the gardener told her that there was a house in a nearby town for sale for only eight thousand dollars.

It was a little old miner's cottage and he took me down there and next thing of course I am going around all the banks and asking for a loan and all the banks said, "No", except the very last and he said he would lend me three thousand and so I put somebody else in and they paid that house off and so I had the little flat in Mosman...I paid that off and I had the kitchen done up and then this dear little house in Uralla. Anyway the next thing I was able to buy a little house in Sydney but that was after eight years of working and not going anywhere, even to the films or anything. I just saved up this money because being a Taurus I really did need a security in possessions. (Interview, 3.8.99)

While working as a housemistress Delice was planning to exhibit the large woven sculptures she was making when the girls in her care were in class. These sculptural works were exhibited in Sydney and as a consequence Delice was nominated as one of the top ten sculptors in Sydney at that time. She had further exposure in an exhibit of her work in the State Office Block. When Delice reflected on this time in her career she says it was possibly the best exhibition she has had, in terms of her satisfaction with her work, the selling and the publicity she gained.

After this exhibition Delice made two decisions, which effectively set her on a course as a committed painter and weaver. First, she sold her properties so that she could buy some land with a home and various buildings on it in northwestern Sydney. She made a home, a studio and even a gallery on her land where she painted an epic series of large works and created weavings based on the themes she explored in her paintings.

When she was not working on the property itself Delice was painting and weaving a substantial body of work. Second, after her sculptural works were so well received she decided that she was missing colour so she started painting again. She found then that she would make a tapestry as a woven interpretation of her painting. Over the next ten productive years in this house she exhibited her work regularly, both in her own gallery and in prestigious textile and painting venues.

During the time Delice was developing a definitive style of painting and weaving, she held several successful exhibitions. One that was particularly memorable for Delice was when she exhibited works painted after she had had the opportunity to travel to France for a few months. She expresses her amazement at the success of prior exhibitions which allowed her to afford trips and which, in turn, inspired further paintings. Unfortunately this exhibition was to take place when the French were testing on Mururoa Atoll and anything related to France was exceedingly unpopular.

This was the last exhibition at a commercial gallery that Delice undertook because this type of exhibit is costly to stage and not one piece was sold. Because she has retained most of these paintings it is interesting to see the body of work inspired by a trip to France against the works she has developed from Australian themes.

I decided that I was just going to paint for myself and really express myself the way that I wanted to because this last exhibition was painting France and it wasn't quite me, although I enjoyed doing it. So, yes, after that exhibition I was really upset that I had sold so little and I really needed the money. (Interview, 3.8.99)

While searching for a personal form of expression in painting Delice had ideas, which were expressed in words initially, and then she turned them into poems. She said that she took these ideas in their word forms and translated them into visual images by painting them.

The themes and concepts she explored included evolution, pioneering exploration, earth and land and a primal spirit world. The formation of a distinctive painting style through word association was a new experience that she described as if “for months I had this wonderful feeling of a different part of my body coming alive” (Interview, 3.8.99). This newly discovered connection with words set in motion new goals for Delice that not only guided her painting but saw her aspiring to write a book, an experience she believed would enhance her painting.

When asked what advice she had to give young painters Delice said that at the start the most important thing is to keep painting and acquire many years of experience so that you can ensure the originality of your work. While you are working, even if you are unsure of the direction you are taking, you are trying to fully engage inner parts like imagination and reasoning with your mind and your emotions. You are also trying to learn technical skills at the same time that you are understanding what is inside you and how you would express this. Young painters looking forward to a successful career are not always patient about the groundwork that needs to be done or the time that it might take to achieve absolute originality. Delice said, “Because my work is unusual I don’t think my work fits in with the norm, to a certain extent...I think it is awful if you are not accepted or if you are accepted” (Interview, 3.8.99). This is a contradictory feature of the domain that is most difficult for novice painters to perceive. It is Delice’s opinion that some might view success in the painters’ domain in a way that puts a young painter in competition with the entire domain and originality is achieved as a prize or as winning some sort of competition.

Delice was asked if her work had undergone periods of inactivity or if she experienced the doldrums in any way and she answered:

Funnily enough, I have not. Once I found my little home that I lived in...I painted just about every day but I have always done it in sections. I have had an idea and so I do lots of drawings about that idea and then I paint those ideas out and then, maybe, I might have a few days or a week when I am getting all those paintings organised and I’m not painting... somehow an idea will come to me. I am pretty good with ideas and I think I am an idea person. And then I’ll get another idea and so out of that idea I’ll do a lot of other drawings and I’ll paint all of those...like in waves, I suppose you could say. (Interview, 3.8.99)

When Delice looked back over her time at school she said that it was like the experience of trying to fit a square peg repeatedly into a round hole. The things she felt she was good at were not taught. “I was simply not interested in the things I was taught at school, it didn’t relate to your life” (Interview, 12.7.02). Delice gives the impression that her schooling was about learning that was so far removed from her interests that she considers her time in school was wasted. The only subject she felt she was good at was art and it wasn’t offered as a formal subject. Her classmates affirmed her talents in this area because they asked her to do their illustrative work in subjects like biology. She said she was conscious of thinking about the mysteries of nature and other complex philosophical subjects but was constantly accused of not paying attention in class or daydreaming while looking out the window. It was inevitable that Delice asked her parents if she could leave school earlier than her brother and sisters. She said that it surprised her that her parents agreed and so she found herself turning to the domain she had most interest in, photography, to look for a job.

Delice said that the people in her family were surprised at her choice of career. Her mother and father studied art at school but did not demonstrate their artistic flair to their daughter. Perhaps her father had some influence as a surveyor because he was always drawing lines and contours, which fascinated Delice from an early age. He was always drawing “funny things” that his children laughed at and Delice said she pulls out his old letters even now as a source of humour. In one such letter he talked at length about “the character of snakes, snakes, he’s quite a character and is always good for a bit of natural history” (Interview, 12.7.02). Her father also communicated to her a reverence for the Australian landscape and a sense of elemental truth that is invested in the earth. She says she shares his curiosity about Aboriginal tribes that demonstrate great familiarity with the earth and have detailed knowledge of the bush terrain.

I suppose my father had a little bit of an influence on me because being a surveyor we used to go for picnics and we came across this beautiful aboriginal rock drawing and that was the first time that I really felt that I’d found something that had some truth about it and it was beautiful. I mean we lived in Newcastle and I know there were a few buildings in Newcastle that were lovely buildings, like the cathedrals, but that beautiful line drawing was so timeless. I was aware of that timelessness...and it was something that really grabbed me. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Some years later in a museum Delice saw a drawing, a replica of the rock carving that so impressed her as a child. She was astounded to find that this replica seemed dead in comparison to the timeless and spiritual qualities she identified in the rock drawings in the bush.

Delice said that her mother did not communicate with her children on any level other than being a good mother, consequently Delice was an independent child who did not seek advice from her mother. It became obvious, though, that Delice's mother had contributed to Delice's early fascination with photography.

My mother would talk about photography because she did a little bit of photography but her brother was quite a very well-known photographer in his own country and he did really beautiful work. It was all black and white in those days....so when I was about twelve, I started, I'd wait for hours for a cloud to get into a certain spot sometimes before I'd take the photograph. I was...fourteen when I bought my first camera...the first camera I had was a Thornton Pickard and of course it was out of date and it didn't cost very much...it had a beautiful little blind on it where you'd pull it down with your two fingers before you went click...it was a half plate...people wouldn't know what a half plate was these days because they do not really exist....my mother used to work with plate half plates but this was film, they transferred the glass plate over to a film by the time I had started photography. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Delice continued to teach herself the art of photography, buying another second-hand camera, a Sanderson quarter plate, with saved up pocket money. She started taking photos of friends and family in their urban environment. It seemed a natural progression when she left school at sixteen to take photos professionally. She started taking photos of children in dancing class and progressed to a business where she "used to go round to people's homes and with the people outside really, take photographs of the family and make a little book of the family" (Interview, 3.8.99). During this short time she acquired experience in Sydney and Newcastle photographic studios and learnt from watching other photographers take studio shots. She also observed touch-up artists apply colour on photos and the use of dark-room techniques which included sepia tinting. By the time she was married she had a profitable

business that she ran for eighteen months until her husband decided it must be sold so that Delice could be a full time wife and mother.

After her business was sold Delice's life was centred on raising her family of three boys. She said that she went through this stage of her life with minimal artistic involvement. She did take up embroidery and watercolour painting, which she regarded as only having hobby status. She said the only reason she started embroidery was that her mother-in-law was president of the embroiderer's guild and her work was so impressive that Delice started to emulate it. With no experience of this domain she was amazed to find she did this so well that her mother-in-law and her sister-in-law would not accept her work as her own. They devised a test for Delice and were consequently forced to acknowledge the exceptional and skilful nature of Delice's work. Delice said it was an extraordinary experience because she was able to proceed with complex stitching, without training of any kind. She said, "They were astounded at what I was doing because I had never learned but do you know I really do feel, or believe, that I was a nun in my last life and that I did embroidery then". (Interview, 3.8.99)

From these early beginnings as a hobbyist Delice found herself acquiring, in a piecemeal fashion, a basic training in the Arts.

I've been influenced by different artists, by reading about them. I did do three quarters of the Diploma of Art so I've got that far but then we were moving all the time so you couldn't continue it on but I got a fairly good basic training there and also learned a little more about architecture and the history of art. I always wanted to know how artists thought and really it was their thinking that I was more impressed with than their actual art....I was more interested in people like Piet Mondrian, Kandinsky and Albers and it had a lot to do with geometry. Because...I knew that the beginning of creation, I don't know why on earth I've got into evolution, but the beginning of creation had a lot to do with geometry and sound and vibration (Interview 3.8.99).

All the artists that inspired Delice along the way to becoming an artist herself were men. She discovered this fact as she talked about each one. "Was this significant?", she asked me, and answered herself that she said it was just the way the domain was when she started.

It was always the men's ideas that were interesting to her, or those men who had invested deep and mystical meaning in their imagery. She said, "Just thinking about women artists, all the women artists that I'm aware of, were usually painting what they saw whereas I paint from another world but it's to do with this world" (Interview, 3.8.99). Friedensreich Hundertwasser was one of the male artists she has researched extensively. She found in her reading about his life and in his painting great justification for her own unusual style of painting. Delice discovered that his experience as a Jew in Nazi Germany and particularly his survival when the rest of his family died, was a source of humanitarian and soul-stirring wisdom that explains to Delice his fantastic use of colour.

Yes, I have a curiosity about them....Mondrian was one...I've never been like other people....Now you find that other people who are artists they have always been influenced by Renaissance painters. Well, I was never interested in Renaissance painters. I mean I loved and appreciated their work...but I was more interested in people like Piet Mondrian, Kandinsky, Joseph Albers and...I suppose that's why I enjoyed reading about Piet Mondrian's philosophy which went along very well with Plato's philosophy and then Joseph Albers with his music and his colours and... who else? I did not find Hundertwasser's work until, oh quite a few years later and I could have jumped over the moon, if I could have jumped over the moon...his philosophy again...and the names of his paintings and his paintings and the colours and his little bit of metal. He had little metal pieces in his work and you know at the time I just thought I had found God....I think because of all that experience in his life he just painted and did what he wanted to do and he couldn't have cared less about what other people said. He was an incredible artist...his colour and the absolute joy of looking at his work. It had meaning to it because he believed that everybody should be able to create and that it would be the saviour of human kind. (Interview, 3.8.99)

People keep telling Delice that her work is like a Chagall painting. While she admits to similarities between their works and acknowledges Chagall's inspirational stature, Delice is keen to point out that her work has been conceived in a totally different context. The only point of realistic comparison is their application of imagination, but the imagery each one creates is quite different. This kind of response would indicate that Delice wants to affirm the unique and unusual nature of her own creativity. While Chagall has created a Russian Jewish

mythology, Delice points out how different their work is, with her Australian dreamtime and the essentially Aboriginal inspired spirit world she has created.

I still have to go my way...Chagall was a tremendous influence. Chagall has been the greatest influence in my work once I got beyond Piet Mondrian because his work is so full of absolute love and joy and sorrow but at that stage I wasn't doing any work like his....So that's another thing balancing...because he was also Jewish he showed the sorrow in his work but he also...it was all held together by love. It was incredible....Although I have come from Australia with my Aboriginal ideas and so we are very different people but it was just the very beautiful colours and flow and the dream world. It's something beyond your physical makeup. Yes, it's that inner light again, the inner light of imagination that I try to make visual in my paintings. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Reflecting on her own creative path was evidently an insightful process for Delice. One point of interest occurred while she was thinking about other artists working as painters at the same time.

Funnily enough, when I think about it, it's always been [the ideas of] men that I've been interested in, but you know, it was always men artists, it's only in the last few years that women have come into the domain of art. [They bring a different world] it's a world that is here but we don't see it. Apparently we only see with our eyes one percent, one percent of what is really in the world. And I have just read that recently but I have always believed it but I did not know about the one percent, but I knew there was a lot in this world that we cannot see. So that's the world I suppose that I really paint. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Because Delice paints "another world", she is constantly saying that people generally find some aspects of her work difficult to understand and therefore they avoid confronting its meaning. Gallery directors have told her they have seen people come into their gallery, see Delice's paintings and walk straight out. While these people are a minority, Delice finds that most people love her work but she appears to be more affected by the negative incidents. She is extremely well read and has formed a personal philosophy that she is able to explain but I found I was at first trying to correct her version of art history. I was not listening to what

could be a unique way of looking at the world. After she had explained aspects of her imagination and other intangibles to me, she said, in a forgiving way that “ it is too much” (Interview, 3.8.99) for most people to stretch their understanding to matters not seen directly with the eyes. The following is just one example of Delice’s explanation of her other world:

I am just thinking where will I start? Well, I suppose...yes, because I am a loner, on the whole I am a loner...and so I go into the world with my own imagination but I have found what my imagination is, it is really reality. I am painting really and my world is not reality and you know Einstein discovered that we are only energy but, you know, it takes a long time for our brain to...for that to sink into our brain because we have been conditioned for hundreds, thousands of years that we are people and the flesh is flesh but we are not, we are just energy. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Delice finds it difficult to promote herself because she is so aware of the “over the top” or strange aspects of herself and her work. She claims that the visions she has experienced are connected to her work.

Well, you see, I’ve had a lot of visions. I haven’t had any for a long time, unfortunately, because I have a lot of very positive visions and dreams, usually in colour and I mean they do affect you because they are all from a deep part of me, they are all from the unconscious....Usually if you have those sorts of dreams you’re on drugs but I’ve never had a drug in my life....Not even drugs that are prescribed for sickness, because I never get sick...but I certainly have had unusual visions that a lot of people if they had seen them would have gone overboard....Those experiences, in a way, they are all mixed up with my art. So I have had experiences of the unconscious and subconscious and natural experiences of this world and I suppose I am trying to balance them...to bring together my inner thoughts and my life experiences. (Interview, 3.8.99)

There is an element of apology for her imagery but it is nonetheless forcefully expressed in her painting and in her tapestries.

When I get stuck with a painting and I don't know what to do, I'll quite often look at Chagall's work but I have realised that even though I look at his work I don't get ideas from him because he's from France and his whole background is completely different from mine...maybe I get an idea of a colour or something like that, but it never works with mine. I am always a bit embarrassed about having Aboriginals in my work but I have had Aboriginals in my work even when I was doing embroidery and nobody wanted to know anything about Aboriginal work then...maybe it was because my father was a surveyor and so I related to the land...we lived right near the bush and you grow to love the country when you are young...there is a real mystical experience about the land and so I don't paint fairies, I'll paint Aboriginals...with all these Aboriginal spirits reminding the Aboriginals about creation and how to look upon the land with absolute reverence. It's so important; I look upon the land as sacred. The Australian bush is so ancient. It has given me a real connection with the earth. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Aligned with the "other worldliness" of Delice's paintings is a compulsion to nurture the spiritual side of her being. She has attended spiritual workshops and tried to school her uncooperative self in the practice of meditation. Delice insists that this in turn aids her understanding of her paintings as an expression of the deepest parts of her psyche. She has stated several times in the course of this conversation that she has painted works years ago and is only now starting to understand them. One painting, a self-portrait that hangs in her bedroom where she sees it daily has been the greatest mystery and the biggest challenge.

I have got a painting [a self portrait] in my bedroom and I feel it is quite a personal painting and I was going through a really hard time emotionally and I am only just now... I did that about four and a half years ago and it is in my bedroom and so I can look at it a lot while I am sitting in the bed and I am only just getting the idea now about what it is all about. It is incredible...sometimes I can't quite understand my work, like that one in my bedroom. I can't quite understand it but it is a very very personal expression of my spirituality. I did not understand it at the time but I am getting to understand it. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Other spiritual or unexplainable experiences have marked Delice's career although she says her attempts at meditation have not always been successful.

I went to a workshop with Burnam Burnam, a healing workshop, and there again there is the healing, and I just wanted to find out, you know, what they thought about healing and how they healed people. And again it is a vibratory thing...anyway we were sitting on the inner circle and Burnam Burnam, because he realized we were all sincere...he asked this gorgeous young aboriginal to come and play the didgeridoo....I never related the didgeridoo to healing. Anyway we were sitting up there and he started to play the didgeridoo and, you know, I was taken, my spirit I suppose was taken right down to the centre of the earth and back again....I mean they are always wonderful but just to be taken down to the very centre of the earth and back again with the sound...because it is the sound of the earth...especially when you are sitting in a circle, there is an energy about a circle and sitting on the ground itself, without your shoes on. Oh, I hoped I might get that experience again but I have not...so, the earth does mean a lot to me. (Interview, 3.8.99)

At this point Delice was asked if she experienced colour in these meditations. She said that in the above instance she did not but at another time she did.

I remember when I went to some Steiner meetings, Rudolf Steiner, and they told us to meditate on anything at all and you'd be able to see it. If you keep meditating you'd be able to see what it really is. Well, because me and meditation...my mind goes so fast...in the last year or two I've been trying to meditate and I noticed my mind is getting a bit slower but at this stage it wasn't. And I meditated on that [a rock] for half an hour and then nothing happened. So I then get up and...you know, as soon as I relaxed I had a most wonderful experience of really seeing that rock and it was a gold, a golden rock. (Interview, 3.8.99)

Delice says she never gets sick and she is always happy despite having "troubles". In addition she describes herself as having lots of energy, a brain that never stops and having enthusiasm for work. When she talked about the miracle of her travels overseas in search of stimulus for her paintings Delice describes her behaviour there as if she were justifying it to a disapproving friend.

This was in Avignon and this is the Palace of the Popes in Avignon and oh, there is an eerie feeling about Avignon. And I as usual go my own way....I go off on my own whereas the others are all together. But I go off very naively, on my own, I am not frightened, you know, being on my own...being by myself in other countries. (Interview, 3.8.99)

The other women of her own age that Delice meets or travels with do not perceive themselves in this way; they are more typically dealing with depression and low levels of energy and are afraid to tackle things on their own. Delice believes that working with colour in the way she does is therapeutic and is responsible for her continued good health. She was taken with the notion, when I put it to her, that the lives of our most creative people suggest that a high level of creative work is extremely satisfying and ensures well-being.

By way of contrast Delice sees the life of artist Brett Whiteley, as that of an extremely talented but unhappy man. He is not an artist whose success indicates a feeling of fulfilment gained through working to an extremely high standard in one of the artistic domains.

Because he became famous so quickly, didn't he, but he had a wonderful background and I think he was a wonderful artist but I can understand...he became famous so quickly where other artists have worked their whole life and done little drawings that came out of their heart or whatever...in a way it probably means that they are more sincere in what they are doing. Yes there was a lot of promotion but he was so unusual...people expected so much of him. That's probably why, you know, he was always thinking of committing suicide. He wasn't a happy person. I think having that mind and I think having drugs, I think he...because drugs open up so many other...bring forth into your consciousness so many other chemicals that he was having a real fight. But he was an incredible artist, you know, his technique and his drawing were incredible....He was a genius but he was a precocious brat...he was very rude to lots of people...yeah, he certainly was an incredible artist but there would be a bit of superficiality. You know, clever, cleverness in it because he was being pushed into that. He should have been let alone a little bit for periods where you struggle. You have to

struggle by yourself a lot, to be an artist and I think most artists who have become well known have done an awful lot of struggling by themselves and being poor.
(Interview, 3.8.99)

Delice is also unafraid of change, which seems odd to her because her aging friends do not see the same exciting possibilities she sees in the ever-changing world of art. Others who inappropriately classify her art also bother her. For example, the following dialogue comes out of Delice's concern over the word naïve, which she feels is too often wrongly used to describe her work.

Yes, because this idea of naïve, people say there is a bit of naivety in my work which I don't mind, you know some people do say I am a bit naïve but they are not...I do not think they are putting me down....It was interesting you know when I said primitive and you said primeval which is a much better word and that has helped me a lot because, um, because I am trying to make my work primeval and apparently Picasso was shown an Aboriginal painting quite a few years before he died and he said, "Oh isn't that wonderful?". That's what I have been trying to get to all my life....I think Picasso enjoyed that. But he actually connected with African sculpture. He was drawn to that essence. You know like an Aboriginal painting. If you were to describe it [Picasso's cubist style of painting] you would say, a few lines, one or two colours, it is not complicated is it, it is very simplistic but it contains so much....Oh, yes, I think it was an exciting time [referring to the major changes that occurred in the visual arts in Paris early in the twentieth century] terribly exciting, because they, almost all the artists found one another in Paris didn't they, whether they came from Russia or Germany or Italy, Spain or whatever...all these artists who were thinkers...they were not doing the traditional things and it...well blew society's head off in a way, didn't it.
(Interview, 3.8.99)

Despite her late start in the artistic domains, Delice knows the domain and the people who lead in them. She has acquired a piecemeal education in various institutions in Australia and New Zealand, but she is predominantly self-taught. She has benefited from her unique approach but at times her education has been painful. During the time Delice was enrolled in one of the numerous art courses that served as her training she talked about a simple

experience with colour that she thinks illustrates her connection with the Australian earth and the Aboriginal people. She was enrolled in a technical course at the Strathfield School of Textiles which she hoped would reveal the secrets of dyeing textiles, when she discovered that they kept the colours for dyeing in a cupboard in many little covered boxes. Her reaction to looking at the dyes she would use was dramatic, and a puzzle to others who did not know why Delice ran out of the college in tears. She said at the time she was shocked to find colour lying around so obviously synthetic and bearing no connection to the earth where she believed colour originates. She also said that in the first instance she had no intention of ever returning.

We went into the room and right along the wall were all these little boxes and they said, "Well, have a look at all the colours you are going to use in the boxes". So I opened up the boxes and it is interesting how I reacted so differently to everybody else because I noticed that all the other pupils accepted what they saw but not me. I was horrified! The reason I was so horrified was that to me making a colour the way the indigenous people made it...they thought that everything coming out of the earth was sacred. I was thinking that the colour was taken from the earth, rocks and trees....They were in plastic bags and they were manufactured in that artificial, chemical way and there was no connection to the cosmos and creation that I had learnt about in the bush. (Interview, 12.7.02)

Over the course of the interview we discussed Delice's trips overseas, especially her travels around France and the paintings that resulted from this trip. She is preparing for another shortly and I asked her if she is searching for a subject that will effect a major change in her painting. After much talk about the main focus of her painting being an affinity with the Australian bushland and the imagery she has created around Australian landforms and history, I wanted to know why she is going to France again. This trip appears to offer a break away from her usual work and at this time Delice thinks it is desirable to have a break. Works she has produced after past trips are quite different from the Australian works and she finds it beneficial to change direction from time to time.

Once you go on to a stylised thing you are going right off on to a branch and you are getting away from the truth. I'm trying to stick to truth all the time and this is

why I'm having a nice break because when I go to France I just hope there will be something there to trigger me off...to get me going again. (Interview, 3.8.99)

When Delice opened her own gallery she found she needed separate sections for her Australian works and her French works. They were such distinctly different worlds conveyed through separate imagery and a different pattern of colour. France contained so much cultural history and Delice's imagery contained religious and historical figures evoking a sense of medieval magic. Although she travelled to France with other artists she said she was compelled to go off on her own so she could absorb and paint what she saw. The colours she used were primarily royal reds, purples and blues to create a mood suiting the imagery. Her Australian paintings contain different images of spirits, animals, land and plant forms and when it came to formulating the colours Delice said she had a bit of trouble. "I took years to work out how on earth I was going to unite these two absolute opposites that were the brown and white of Aboriginal art and my love of colour" (Interview, 3.8.99). She solved this problem by sticking to her love of primary colours; she depicts the mystery of her Australian spirit world with dominant primaries of red and yellow.

While reflecting on her solitary and intense pursuit of the visual arts, Delice explained how she simply could not paint or draw or weave when she was in a group or when she felt that someone was watching her. She said:

I couldn't, I just couldn't. No, a friend of mine who was a bit concerned about me when I was going through, you know a really hard period of my life, she said, would I like her to come up and we'd paint together, so that I had somebody with me and I thought that was very nice of her....and this other person [who loved Delice's painting] was asked, but do you know, I mean, I don't know what this other person thought of me. She probably thought I was a bit rude but I just couldn't work. So what did I do? I just kept on giving them something to drink and something to eat. (Interview, 3.8.99)

When it comes to other group activities within the domain, for instance teaching and learning, Delice, interestingly, has observed that we have no choice about how we learn. It is mostly in groups with other students so one tends to learn at a superficial or very structured level. She did point out the differences she experienced between learning technically-

orientated textile information and the “laid back” visual arts approach. Teaching in the visual arts is difficult because one is trying to teach the unteachable in a specific way; that is how to be creative within an Arts domain.

I enjoy teaching but I don’t want to teach, if that makes sense....I just found that the work that I put into it I enjoyed but by the time they’d gone, it was a three hour lesson but it ended up always four or five, I’d be exhausted and even the next day I’d have to sit around before I got my imagination back again. It took me away from my painting...teachers of art do find that too but unfortunately they’ve got to make money. I’ve just been lucky that I’ve had enough money dribbling in to survive. (Interview, 3.8.99)

This interview concluded with Delice’s apology for “not having the words.” While it was evident that she was searching for words to tell her story, one only need look at the paintings and tapestries and drawings around her to see that she was not hesitant when telling her visual story. Her physical appearance resembles that of one of her energetic sprite-like images and she giggles often as though she was involved in a continuous and pleasing inner conversation.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Conclusions and Recommendations

In order to further understand creativity, I have initially been concerned with building a picture of recent developments in creativity scholarship. I have highlighted contextual approaches undertaken by Howard Gardner (1993) and by Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi (1996) whose interpretation of creativity is marked “with a capital C, the kind that changes some aspect of the culture” and can be “observed only in the interrelations of a system” (p. 27). I have then outlined the problems I have with accepting this picture as the basis of an overarching theory of creativity. By privileging women’s experience outside of capital C prescriptions I have brought forward previously obscured images and drawn from them some dimensions of creativity from under the glass ceiling.

The twenty *Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* (see Appendix B) have been obtained from the case study data. The case studies are structured on the organisational themes I have outlined in Chapter Four. Organizational themes arising from the two theorists case studies are embedded in the protocol used in this study and have stimulated new emergent themes in the women’s stories. All the emergent themes were tabled so that comparisons across the cases and between organizational and emergent themes were undertaken. The dimensions that emerged from these cross comparisons of themes satisfied the following:

The themes held in some form (either a weak, moderate or strong showing) across all cases.

The emergent themes had a relationship that aligned with or departed from organizational themes.

Themes that did not satisfy the above were eliminated and the remaining themes were consolidated and tabled as twenty *Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling*. The credibility of the women’s creativity dimensions is tied to the concise structuring of themes from creativity research and the exhaustive comparison of organizational and emergent themes.

In this chapter all the dimensions have been assembled in summarized form at the beginning of the following discussions. The dimensions have also been divided into those which pertain to:

The **domain** site (see Table 11.1);

The **field** site (see Table 11.2); and

The site of the **individual person** (see Table 11.3)

Ostensibly, the main task of this concluding chapter is to consider *Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* in regard to whether women experience creativity in a way that qualitatively differs from the way which is documented by contextual theorists as that experienced mostly by men. There are, however, distinct problems with pursuing conclusions and building theory based on separate experiences or modes of being for men and women (Bohen, 1997). Models of women's ways of being like those proposed by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) and by Gilligan (1982) have affirmed a newfound valuation of women's experiences but still construe gendered ways of being as essential to individuals separate from the social interactions that occur in professional socio-political contexts.

To forge new understandings of creative phenomena that are grounded in universalizing and essentialist assumptions is to exclude the experience of women and other different groups from the theory-building process. To presume that *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* stand for all women who create in a universal manner denies the diversity we find amongst women. If it is claimed that *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* are in fact "women's ways" (Bohen, 1997, p.35) it is implied that other ways are men's ways (Crawford, 1989; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988). Gendered notions of creativity act in competition, excluding those in one category from access to other ways. A gendered approach on its own provides a questionable basis for an inclusive theory of creativity.

I believe the current state of creativity theory represented by the triangular dynamic inadequately represents diverse groups we know to be present in broad social and cultural contexts. Consequently, the real question for this chapter is to decide whether the dynamic

system used by Csikszentmihalyi and Gardner to explain a mostly male creativity can also be used to explain the different creative experience of the women in this study. I regard maintaining and developing a focus on the contextuality of creative phenomena is in addition a most important task for this chapter. By directing a sharper focus on the women currently excluded from the creativity system I hope to make creativity theory inclusive of their diverse experiences.

By locating each dimension in one of the creativity dynamic’s three sites this thesis will assess whether the dynamic formulation is flexible enough at each location to accommodate the women’s creative experiences. In the spirit of Davis and Gergen’s (1997) advice that “there are multiple ways of giving words to create worlds, and no one way is the only way” (p.6), the themes developed here are not considered a means for women to lay claim to these traits as characteristic of their sex but as enabling new understanding of the nature of a complex and worthwhile system that frames creative human endeavour. As I have argued by including women in the research on creativity, we not only raise consciousness of the other gender but we also promote a broader realization that the future of all humankind is tied to understanding these dynamics of creativity.

Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling: at the domain site

The following themes related to the domain site emerged from analysis of the women’s stories:

Table 11.1 Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling relevant to the domain site
* Duality of purpose – expression of domain success and personal attainment
* Multiple domain connections
* Duality of motivation – love of domain work and fulfilling personal responsibilities
* Consequences of balancing dual aspects of creativity
* Balancing this duality over a lifetime

In between disciplines: a conscious duality of purpose

Interactions between individuals and domains and between fields and domains represent one corner of the creativity triangle devised by Gardner and Csikszentmihalyi. At the domain site the system is directed “to the act of changing some aspect of a domain” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p.291). Activity in this corner is controlled to a lesser or greater degree by the domain. Gardner (1993) has described this site in the system as hinged on the fact that “at any historical moment, that domain features its own rules, structures and practices, within which the individuals are socialized and according to which they are expected to operate” (p.38). Through the *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* listed above all the women convey their varied experience in regard to this location. The dimensions above follow the women as they position themselves in relation to the domain they hope to influence and in turn be influenced by.

When Karla, the youngest of the women, approaches and engages simultaneously with the domains of biology and chemistry she steps outside of the usual pattern in science of seeking specialization in one discipline. By applying chemistry skills to biological questions Karla believes she is more likely to make important discoveries. She believes, “it is in between disciplines which lead to creative solutions” (Interview, 3.8.00). Although Karla seems confident of her ability to influence two scientific domains she approaches science with some caution in respect of the influence the domains will hold over her.

Like all the women, Karla has made a serious commitment to two domains. In addition she is motivated by a duality of purpose. She loves the work she does but also feels responsibility to the “general public” and to herself. The reason for this may be that “creativity is rarely the product of a single moment; perhaps more often it is the product of a lifetime” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p. 192). Karla’s double positioning is in fact a strategy for life. On one hand she projects professional ambition that will take a long time to achieve and, on the other, personal needs that she sees enduring over her lifetime. In a sense Karla has adopted a perspective that is founded on a holistic self-regard, unlike Gardner’s exemplary creator who felt most whole in the domain of work and totally misplaced in the domain of life.

A duality of purpose in Karla's case is explained in terms of her early achievement within these two scientific domains. She has already discovered a useable antibiotic and at present her ambition is to find new marine sources of non-toxic compounds for medical applications. Karla's domain work is directed by her belief that this can be done in an environmentally sustainable way. Her second and no less important goal is to maintain a relationship with the one person with whom she wishes to share her life. Karla expresses this passionately and emphatically; there can be no mistaking her dual objectives. "There is nothing better that I can achieve in my life, there is nothing more important that I can do than to give another person a reason for living, someone worthwhile" (Interview, 17.8.00).

Personally, Karla views the consequences of her duality of purpose to be the conflict and stress that are added to a life already fully committed to science. She believes her two goals complement each other. "I think the quality of my science will always benefit from having a partner and a home and security and happiness. My science is my life in many ways but it is not what gives me happiness" (Interview, 17.8.00). But the domain of science makes it clear to its initiates that there is a preferred path to success in science. Relationships and other aspects of life not directly related to domain work put scientific discovery at risk so they must be sacrificed for the greater good of science. Karla's dilemma is, then, whether to conform to domain rules or take on the domain and much added stress to fight for the right to have what some would judge to be a healthy relationship while making a series of discoveries in science.

In Willa's case, negotiating a pathway through two domains and sustaining two goals has developed in her a pragmatic sense of negotiating with domains on her own terms. She says that giving birth is an achievement that surpasses all else in her life. To bring up her children to be decent human beings is a continuing part of her life goal. Willa is also proud of her achievements in psychology. After establishing a specialization she fashioned herself into a "Mrs fix it", a solver of individual persons' psychological problems. She says she has "found her own truths in psychology" (Interview, 11.8.00) which she upholds in her practice but finds herself professionally isolated because she runs her practice in a way that is contrary to the domain's professional standard. At the time of the birth of her third child Willa extended her work role, becoming a solver of community problems through her connection with the domain of local politics. In both domains Willa has contrived to fit into a male-dominated environment. *Women's Studies* guided Willa's course through psychology

but in politics there were no women to serve as role models. She said, “You don’t know who to model yourself on. I just thought very early on that I am just going to be myself” (Interview, 11.8.00).

At the present time Willa runs two careers and two ambitions concurrently. Her workload is staggering, the conflict arising from dual goals is tangible and understandably Willa’s story is a classic illustration of the living struggle that underlines women’s lives. If Willa is to make a creative contribution in psychology or politics without losing sight of family goals it will depend on her ability to manage the increased workload and to resolve the conflicts that this duality brings to her life. In addition to this considerable task she will also make her own rules as to how creativity is achieved.

Domain rules, like theories of creativity, are built on the legends that surround past discoverers and their discoveries. The career path of great achievers (the capital C kind) seems to require that genius and all other aspects of life be channelled into creative production. No alternate path is able to tempt creators of this calibre away from the domain work that ultimately alters a domain and can influence a culture. Current creativity theory visualizes the career path of a typical capital C creator as one where “the creators were so caught up in the pursuit of their work mission that they sacrificed all, especially the possibility of a rounded personal existence” (Gardner, 1993, p. 44). The dimensions above allude to divergent career paths taken by these women away from the pathways recommended by domains and creativity theory. I think the stories make it clear that these women are not prepared to follow in the footsteps of past creators irrespective of the level of creativity attempted.

Particularly inflexible domains like ballet rigorously enforce discipline and require conformity of practitioners because it is thought that this is necessary for the dance form’s survival. Anna spent ten years training her body to dance prior to starting a career as an entertainer. Typically, dance classes start for girls at the age of five or six. Mastery of dance and strong musical ability were required when Anna became a founding member of an innovative performance troupe which devised a new style of artistic entertainment. Traditionally, the realm of entertainment developed from non-artistic beginnings that were directed toward men and that exploited the females who featured in them. Anna’s dance group legitimized the artistry of dance in an entertaining form, changed traditional

perceptions and incorporated in their performance the new technology of television. To achieve novelty in this very public arena at the top level Anna assumed a demanding schedule of rehearsal and performance in locations all over the world and sustained the pressures inherent in the consistent development of new routines. Anna believes that it was only by conforming to the strictest body discipline, that *Take Five* were able to express their times in synchronized movement and harmonies.

Although Anna says dance is physically demanding and this domain's discipline is rigorously enforced, every member of her group thought they had a charmed life that was "absolutely wonderful" (Interview, 15.3.01). Unfortunately, the commitment required by this domain did not allow Anna a personal life of any kind. So after thirteen years, when she felt it was time to have a family, her career had to cease. Twenty years later in order to initiate her daughter into the domain of dance Anna again takes up her profession by assuming a field role. For women like Anna who are innovative in a strict discipline like dance, a duality of purpose may only be sustained if one ambition is attempted at a time.

As I have previously described it, the creativity dynamic is structured on the notion of capital C creativity. Within the theory, however, Csikszentmihalyi (1996) has described a separate category which I refer to as small c creativity.

To refer to people who experience the world in novel and original ways....I refer to such people as personally creative – given the subjective nature of this form of creativity...it is possible – even likely that someone personally creative will never contribute a thing to culture. (p. 27)

The notion of personal creativity encapsulates much of the six women's experience. The current theory assumes that any truly creative person places domain work above any perceived personal or societal responsibility. Women who do decide to favour personal needs are deemed to have insufficient creative drive or talent to excel in a domain and so be able to change it. Consequently, women like Connie have been dismissed from theoretical concern.

Many women like Connie see the dilemma inherent in their creativity in the form of a dichotomy. According to the choices they make, women seem to slip from the capital C category to a small c grouping. When Connie, despite her developing talent for musical

performance, chose to make teaching her career because she could support herself and her daughter that way, it was the antithesis of the choice made by Gardner's exemplary creator who "chooses perfection of the work over perfection of the life" (Gardner, 1993, p. 362). With time Connie has come to realise that her compulsion to create artistically is far stronger than she had then, in a time of crisis, perceived it to be. Deciding to promote personal responsibilities over her own creativity has caused Connie great anguish because it is now apparent to her that a full-time teaching career has taken away her opportunity to fully explore and develop her talent for music and visual arts. Connie certainly indicates in her story that she regrets her decision but she is still unable to make a different choice.

Again, contrary to the opinion of creativity theorists, Connie continues to develop her talent for musical performance while she performs as a teacher. She still has a fierce and compelling will to innovate artistically with her voice and in the visual arts. Because of her decision to teach she has directed some of her passion for music and her creative spirit into her teaching of music. Many in the music world and education circles regard her as a pioneer of specialist music teaching. She gave her high school students a taste of reality in the domain of music and consequently has changed the landscape of their learning experience. Connie has applied a sense of "capital C" creativity she acquired in music domains to her "little c" occupation of teaching with results that brought changes to the field of music in so far as she has given new perspectives to several new generations of creative musicians and those appreciative of musical performance.

Delice, the eldest of the women, positioned herself in two artistic domains at the very last moment. At the age of forty-seven she fled from a life she valued in terms of bringing up her family to discover she was given a "second chance" (Interview, 3.8.99) to develop her talent and to follow her interests. Delice, perhaps because she attended to personal family goals first, was able to give her second career her full attention. Like many women today, Delice placed family first and only attempted work and further education after family ambitions were secured. In her first job as a portrait photographer Delice tentatively discovered the art world but family commitments shaped Delice's life up to the age of forty-seven in a way that offered few opportunities to further her artistic ambition.

Happily for Delice she was able to make good use of her second start; she has achieved a unique painting style based on personal imagery and reverence for the spirituality she finds

in colour. Her tapestries, while using the same personal iconography, display the highest level of technical mastery expected of craft practitioners. Her paintings and tapestries miraculously support her life and future artworks. Delice's story of a second chance superficially coincides with the domain position where art and life are totally committed to innovation. However, as I found in the interview, Delice's domain success masks a deeply hidden sense of personal failure. In the interviews she kept referring to her "troubles" but did not elaborate on this fairly frequent reference. With hindsight and a few direct questions I came to see how deeply she felt about her failure to maintain a close relationship with her boys. I now believe that Delice, like the other women, has carried dual ambitions throughout her life, one manifested in success, the other in failure.

Just as Anna connected with a domain undergoing rapid transformation, Wanda made an approach to an embryonic domain. Wanda aspired to cook serious food and to train as a chef. She launched her career in a sector of industry only vaguely concerned with the art of food preparation. She says that in Australia at the time of her training, the larger domain of hospitality and the sub-domains of food preparation and food service, as they are called today, were underdeveloped and supported by a public with unrefined culinary tastes. Wanda recognised in this situation an opportunity and a challenge. She could contribute to shaping the domain of food production and influence public taste. At first Wanda's career seems to parallel Gardner and Csikszszenmihalyi's model of a capital C creative career where innovation is given priority over personal development. Her main goal was first to qualify as a chef then to make the restaurant she works in a commercial and cultural success. Connecting the domain of food production and the world of business she followed her interests, was aware of her aptitude and sought training in Australia and then overseas. Wanda then formed a partnership that is still today both professionally and personally orientated. But it was when her son was born that Wanda encountered the full extent of a woman's dilemma.

At this point having reviewed the women's domain interactions, it seems to me that these innovative women slip from the domain-changing creativity category (capital C type) into the personal category (small c type) as they enact their dual purpose. I have come to the conclusion that Wanda's story about the dilemma she faced when her son was born is the best illustration of the way all the women push the boundaries that encircle them. Wanda met her baby's needs at the same time she and her partner were opening a new restaurant. She

solved her problem simply by incorporating her family responsibilities in with her professional obligations. At first Wanda performed parenting tasks in the restaurant until it was no longer safe to do so, then she made other arrangements which nonetheless provided an upbringing for her son that was centred on the kitchen and the restaurant business. Wanda is good at using personal or small c creativity to further her capital C objectives. In a similar way, Willa contrived to breast feed within her schedule of council meetings and Connie applied capital C ideals to the small c occupation of teaching.

The women’s consistent attempts to blur the boundaries erected by creativity theory between small c and capital C formulations prompts me to wonder if, in the future, maintaining these boundary lines will be so important. Additionally, one speculates if the issue of domain change which has the power to isolate creators in one or the other category will happen in the future in large measures such as that achieved by capital C creators or by small increments such as those achieved by the women in this study.

It may be that women, as theory dictates, can only be creative if they prioritize everything in life so that it leads to making a creative contribution in the domain of their choosing. If this is the case the women in this study who do not sit comfortably or exclusively in the category of capital C creativity waste their efforts to balance the conflict and sustain the duality of purpose I have found in the women’s stories. I would argue that having read the stories it is impossible to support this conjecture. The way these women overcome obstacles, manage their duality, take risks and question the expectations made of them is more likely to increase their chances of making a creative contribution relevant to their generation. I would further suggest that whether this contribution is small or large is a more important question for our time.

Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling: at the field site

Table 11.2 Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling relevant to the field site

- * Strong moral/social dimensions
 - * Learning through the social dimension
 - * Teaching versus innovation
 - * Strong evaluative and promotional skills
 - * Support from the family
-

A regard for relationship: at variance from the field dynamic

Gardner (1993) has described the conditions under which his creativity dynamic reaches an end point.

Individuals address their work to the field, which in turn examines the various products that come to its attention. Of the many individuals and works that undergo scrutiny by the field, only a few are deemed worthy of sustained attention and evaluation. And of those works that are appreciated at a given historical moment, only a small subset are ever deemed to be creative – highly novel yet appropriate for the domain. (p.38)

A highly competitive field situation requires a creator with social skills equal to the tasks presented at this location. Curiously, Gardner's creators maintain their distance from others physically, emotionally or mentally. Gardner (1993) claims the capital C creator displays anti-social behaviour when, in competitive circumstances, he or she seeks field recognition and acceptance.

Intensely competitive individuals who saw – and labelled – many others as rivals. They doggedly protected their territory, divided the world into supporters and enemies, proved quick to reward loyalty and to punish apparent disloyalty. They perceived the socio-political scene in zero-sum terms. If you were not for them, you were against them. Each had an ensemble of followers who did their bidding, and neither welcomed close colleagues perhaps because they felt that few of their domain peers were their equals. (pp. 377-378)

By contrast, the *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* above convey all the women's regard for relationship. The women's stories of creativity founded upon "relational being" are the antithesis of the capital C experience which substantiates the creativity dynamic. The dynamic, in fact, features a characteristic disregard of others and has been said by Gardner (1993) to be destructive of relationship. Overall, these female dimensions of creativity align with other contemporary constructions of women as relational beings (Gergen, 1992). The narrative style and content of the women's stories, in comparison to the aggressive approach described by Gardner, appears enriched by the women's concern for

others. At least in a symbolic way the women's efforts to relate to others form a thread of connection between the women and their social environment. As creators the women seem to be conscious of and connected to the contexts in which they create.

All the case studies reveal the women's regard for relationship in various ways. It is extraordinary that Anna has retained the close friendship of other members of the innovative dance group *Take Five*, thirty years after they ceased performing. Delice, whose life seems to be most taken up with work, is deeply troubled by her failure to maintain relationships within her family. As well as holding ambitions for a nurturing relationship, Karla gives new meaning to the mentor role in science by investing it with reciprocal relationship. Willa's reputation in psychology is founded on her insistence, against professional recommendations, that effective therapy is based on "genuine engagement" (Interview, 22.9.00). In politics she builds bridges of mutual understanding through the relationships she forms with fellow councillors. The key to Connie's success in teaching music is her ability to engage her students in a teacher/pupil relationship that is interesting to them. Wanda's approach to running their restaurant is one which embraces other people including customers, staff and the surrounding community. Wanda's regard for the possibilities of relationship in developing their restaurant business is in marked contrast to her male partner's narrower focus on the ideology of food production.

The women's awareness of others gives their approach to creativity a distinct moral dimension. For example Karla's love of and curiosity about the natural world acquired a moral and or ethical tone when she considered how others might benefit from her domain discoveries. Karla realized early that scientific practice routinely destroyed the minute and rare species she wanted to study. She believes science inadequately defends its practice, because it believes that this is the only way knowledge of unknown species can be obtained. In response Karla has developed a fierce ecological conscience and within her scientific work instigated new environmentally sustainable practices. Along with a concern for everyone's environmental inheritance Karla has recognised her lay audience. She holds the view that the general public are the beneficiaries of science's desirable and undesirable discoveries (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). Keeping the general public fully informed of discoveries, in language understood by a non-scientific audience, is a scientist's moral responsibility according to Karla.

In a similar fashion Willa's early interest in "what makes people tick" (Interview, 22.9.00) has become a career dedicated to solving others' psychological problems and in politics a means of addressing a stockpile of community problems. Her concern for fellow colleagues within psychology motivates her to question the ethics of their practice. In the short time she has been in local politics she has put together for herself and her fellow councillors an ethic for working together with the community. She also articulates a rationale for relationship within the local council.

What I think is needed in politics is less of the cut and thrust and who wins and who loses kind of stuff and much more about compassion and caring....It is as though they have not understood that politics is ultimately about working together. In the council situation, I mean councils are weird, there are twelve of us and we are making decisions together and this is a very odd situation. It's not like having an opposition and a government. Ultimately you have to be a bit of a team. (Interview, 22.9.00)

These dimensions prompt us to pose the question as to who, in the context of the field situation, our respective creators are relating to? Who do they learn from and whom do they seek to influence? According to Gardner, once capital C creators engage with a domain they are open to the social world we designate the field. Gardner (1993) said, creators:

Inevitably encounter other individuals with whom they must interact. Typically each creator will have one or more mentors; if reasonably successful, she [EC] will also spawn colleagues, rivals and followers, and she will become involved in political battles, to at least a limited degree. (p.376)

The women in this study could be said to have a similar spread of social activities and corresponding relationships. However, it is the mentor relationship that I believe distinguishes the contemporary woman's field engagements from those experienced by Gardner's capital C creators one hundred years ago. I believe the women have nominated a different set of people to perform traditional mentoring roles.

By all accounts the mentor is an important field member who facilitates both the creator's quest for novelty and the processes of evaluation that lead to field acceptance of

that novelty. It is Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) opinion that "jurisdiction over a given domain is officially left in the hands of a field of experts" (p.45). When he refers to field members who are experts in a given domain, Csikszentmihalyi implies that recognition and training can be acquired from lower level experts but in the matter of acceptance of novelty only experts at the very top of the field can be approached. Access to mentors with higher levels of domain expertise is an issue for the women confined as they are by changing times and by small c prescriptions of creative persons.

These women were not born into families that over several generations accumulate domain expertise which provides, for the young creator, expert mentors within the family situation. Neither were they situated in domain centres where the highest level experts congregate. Most of the women found their first domain mentors in the course of tertiary education. At university, Karla and Willa sought the attention of lecturers while Wanda commanded the notice of a number of local chefs associated with her apprenticeship. Delice, as a mature-age student in a succession of art schools, convinced others and herself of her talent in the Arts. Connie and Anna at an earlier age impressed their private tutors with their natural abilities in music and dance respectively.

Once domain education and through that, field attention, was obtained the women sought by various means to attract the attention of a higher level of expert. For instance after completing her postgraduate degree, Karla sought the attention of leading scientists by attending international conferences. In a less structured domain, Wanda first commanded the attention of local chefs then moved overseas to work with executive chefs expert in a more sophisticated European cuisine.

Karla and Wanda, like the others, sought the attention of highly respected practitioners in their respective fields. But the women were only successful because they engaged experts beyond their usual acquaintance, in a reciprocal form of relationship that continued well into their careers. Karla refused to accept the advice of one considered science's best because she felt his advice was a reaction to her passion and her gender and not her science. She made it impossible for one with the highest reputation in science to ignore her. She insisted that he was to get to know her over a longer period of time before passing judgement on her science. Using a totally different approach, Wanda managed to engage the notoriously correct master

chef and the entire Swiss kitchen under his command in a mutually respectful relationship by using her signature, a more than cheeky brand of humour.

The extent to which fields are made up of high-calibre experts is one of the factors explaining the absence of expert mentors available to these women in the early stages of their creative development. Increasingly, more fields include in their membership large groups of non-expert members like consumers, fans, the general public, mass audiences and the mass media. These groups, of course, exert some influence on the field's work, and some believe its non-expert composition undermines the field's promotion of domains and the judgements they make. I have already spoken of others who are involved with large numbers of people making field judgements; for example Karla's identification in science of an audience she labels the general public. Connie's teaching is directed to large assemblies of students who judge both her teaching and her musicianship. Anna performs for mass television audiences, and Wanda's restaurant appeals to a larger clientele within the university and to the wider public.

The women's stories translate into accounts of learning from social acquaintances or people who work on the fringe of a domain. In the absence of available experts the women seem to make do with the people they meet in everyday life. Anna found that the woman she bought her ballet shoes from provided necessary information which enabled her to successfully audition for an important dance position in the theatre. Connie sang with her mother in the church choir throughout her childhood. She learnt from this routine event that it is a tragedy when a natural voice, such as her mother had, remains undeveloped. Connie also speaks of a neighbour who lent her a piano to practise on and who opened her eyes to originality in the visual arts. In a similar vein Wanda practised and improved her cooking skills only with her mother's inexpert cooperation and control of her mother's household budget.

All the women rate parental support highly on a list of persons who influenced their careers, that is to say, in their early years when "it is parents who are responsible for stimulating and directing the child's interest" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p.161). The problem parents today have in taking charge of a child's creative development is that, despite improved communication between generations, it is difficult for parents to understand a child's career needs if, as has happened with these women, they fall outside of acknowledged

vocational pathways and the parents' experience. For instance Delice's fascination with spiritual questions and the visual world seemed at odds with her parents' mundane family concerns. Yet it was through her relationship with her father that the unlikely qualities of a country surveyor's world sparked Delice's visual imagination. Similarly, Connie thinks it is a miracle that her parents with their Methodist/shopkeeper work ethic were able to foster her love /fear fascination with artistic performance.

It is Anna's mother, however, who typifies the kind of support all the women say was instrumental in their creative development. Anna was attracted to artistic parts of her education and she preferred to learn in artistic ways that were so obviously unavailable to her at school. Anna's mother, through the closeness of their personal relationship, managed instinctively to provide rudimentary classes that gave Anna's interests a direction in dance. All the women say their parents declined to take charge of their daughter's careers, virtually stepped aside to allow them to follow their dreams. Yet in some cases parents, without domain experience and by loving instinct, provided rudimentary lessons or a direction that consolidated their daughter's creative ambition. In Wanda's case, she said her father simply treated her as an adult; talking to her about life he awoke in her a fierce passion for justice and fair play.

These stories of parental influence that are dissimilar to those of earlier creators demonstrate that parents today have opportunities to more broadly influence a child's creativity. All the women say it was the relationship they formed with loving parents that served as an experiential model for the other relationships upon which they structured careers and their creativity. In Willa's case she said both her mother and father set a professional example at the same time they gave her loving support. She still values highly the relationship she continues to experience with her parents because she feels this is what sustained her in difficult times in her early twenties when her life and career were threatened by an aggressive form of cancer. Without her family's loving support she would not have continued working on her thesis or had the courage and resilience she needed to fight this illness. Willa has tried to invest some of the personal qualities of relationship she experienced with her parents, in her professional relationships. She believes that, in the way this relationship developed her resolve to be creative against unfavourable odds, it will also benefit others who come to her for therapy.

The four youngest women, Karla, Wanda, Willa and Anna, when they recalled their childhoods, said they enjoyed a close unconditional bonding with both parents. The two older women, however, had parental relations which resonate with Gardner's outline of a creator's background one hundred years ago. Connie and Delice share with capital C creators a traditional childhood typically controlled by a father figure with an authoritarian approach to discipline. In addition, they share with capital C creators a family situation where middle class values protect children from the corrupting influence of open society. Like Gardner's creators these two women reached adulthood without experiencing meaningful or long-lasting relationships. Gardner has said that his creators, having little experience of mutual relationship, seemed to regard their "work as the area where they would feel most whole" (Gardner, 1993, p.367).

Gardner, in respect of his creators' early lives, makes the point that perceived failure of relationship in their personal world directed his creators to find success in creative ventures in the seemingly impersonal world of domains. Both Connie and Delice upon maturity sought to escape parental control through marriage but then witnessed the disintegration of the marital relationship and the subsequent strain this placed on the mother/child relationship. All of the women, to a lesser or greater degree, maintained a focus on innovation in their respective domains, to the extent that they regarded domain work to be therapeutic in times of personal crisis. In the absence of a relationship model, they also projected idealized forms of relationship on to loved ones and their domain work. As a single parent Connie has a more dynamic relationship than is usual between mother and daughter. When teaching music she changed all expected notions of a formal teacher/pupil relationship. Delice, on the other hand, uses her imagination to relate to the great personalities of the art world and engaged with them in debate of the aesthetic, spiritual and philosophic questions so fascinating to her in the visual arts. Sadly, Delice continues to experience disappointments in her attempts to relate to her boys.

This examination of the dynamic in action at the field site confirms the notion implicit in the women's stories that women creators engage with life through a multiplicity of roles and relationships. Similarly, in the social environment of the field the women adapt to different societal expectations and, in turn, are socially adept. In the field situation the women perceive there is, in addition to the domain role they assume in order to innovate, a field role which would put on them the responsibility of doing the teaching work of the field.

According to current theory, the field's work entails activity which promotes domain rules and perspectives within a domain and in the wider sphere of a culture. Field members undertake an evaluating function in respect of the judgements that lead to cultural acceptance of domain change. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) claims that field work also includes the "task of generativity" (p.199), the passing on of domain knowledge from one generation to the next and so on in an evolutionary sense.

The women here, however, articulate a dilemma in respect of the expectation that they will assume field membership. The dilemma for the women, who regard themselves as active creators, is that they consider any form of teaching, and the relationships and responsibilities associated with this role, reduces their chances of making any kind of innovative discovery. Although the women feel they are more than qualified to do so, and indeed acknowledge public opinion that they may be naturally suited to field duties, they also feel that working towards domain innovation compromises their ability to innovate in their respective domains (see second Conclusion, p.293).

It is of concern that the gender most prevalent in teaching professions is the one society regards most suited to field work and by extension unsuited to domain work. Currently the creativity dynamic is structured on Gardner's (1993) idea that the ageing creator "finding it increasingly difficult to achieve original new work becomes a valued critic or commentator" (p.362). Clearly, the dynamic is structured on the notion that innovators resist field pressure and postpone field duties to a time when they no longer innovate. These women from various domains say that this dilemma is embedded in creative experience across all the domains making up our wider culture.

At the time of their interviews four of the women had teaching duties. Karla taught postgraduates in science because it was a condition of her postdoctoral fellowship. Wanda supervised the apprentices working in her restaurant because the apprenticeship scheme was considered the most economical system on which to build the food industry. Connie was supporting her retirement and creating more time for artistic endeavours by teaching private music pupils. Anna was conducting dance classes as part of a special program in a private secondary school. Willa and Delice had experience of teaching in their respective domains

but currently decline to undertake field responsibilities. Of the four who teach, Anna is the only one not simultaneously teaching and trying to innovate in a domain.

Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling: at the site of the individual person

Table 11.3 Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling relevant to the site of the individual person

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- * A woman’s perspective of the world: an obstacle turned into an advantage.
 - * A recommendation that others love doing the work required by a domain.
 - * Careers are stimulated by early exposure to the “real” world of domains.
 - * Advise that young people expose themselves to leading ideas, achieve mastery, work on the periphery and find their own identity within a domain.
 - * Personal experiences that feature in women’s career development include trauma, crisis, and depression, heightened emotions, emotional displays and periods of stress derived from balancing work and personal responsibilities.
 - * Gender differences an issue in domain work.
 - * Excitement a feature of domain work.
 - * Experienced a paradigm shift.
 - * Post modern displays feature in creative work, blurred genres, attacking traditions, morality, deconstructing history, manipulating technologies, humour and satire
 - * Work habits like trusting instincts, multiple tasking, perfectionist tendencies and team experience are common features.
-

Creative woman: a small c construction of creativity

With one set of *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* remaining to complete the analysis, one is reminded that the creativity dynamic was conceived as a counter proposal to the proposition that individuals and their actions were sufficient to explain creative phenomena. So far I have followed the analytical procedure outlined in Chapter Four which seeks to interpret *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* in all the current theory’s sites. I believe the analysis procedure followed at domain and field sites was moderately

successful in that it has drawn out the issues and dilemmas that characterize the women's experience of creativity at those sites. The danger of continuing in the same way at the site of the individual, however, lies in making interpretations that may only replicate characteristics of creative persons.

For the analysis of the remaining *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* at the site of the individual a new conceptual approach was required. In the light of the many perspectives this site attracts, the varied functions of this space must be considered. Graphically, the individual position dominates creative activity, situated as it is, at the apex of the dynamic triangle. This site, according to Gardner's (1993) description, is where innovative process "begins with a set of individuals of varying abilities, talents and proclivities each engaged in work in a particular domain" (p. 38). The women participants here have at this site a space where they can talk about qualities of creativity experience that are personal to them but may be so deeply embedded that they remain hidden from the researcher's view. From the researcher's perspective the individual site is most important because it holds the key to understanding the whole creative system. This location holds the possibility for multiple meanings. Like an outline of a character part in a play it awaits the performance that gives it specific meaning.

Although the remaining *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* contain themes that are personal to individual creative women, the dimensions also hold themes the women have in common. Conclusions were drawn from these woman-centred data on the basis of an analysis that first considered the themes one case at a time and then collectively. In agreement with Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) contention that creativity cannot be described by characteristics of confirmed or unconfirmed creative persons alone, this thesis is unable to say that the above dimensions are characteristic of one exceptionally creative woman or of creative women generally.

What this thesis can conclude is that women in the guise of the individual invest the role of the individual with their personal meaning. The women who assume the individual role give a characterisation that brings alive the whole system with their personal existence. Many features of these women's existence, however, we recognise as components of a small c creativity construct.

I have argued in previous sections of this chapter that *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* bring to creativity theory qualities of creativity experience that are personal to individuals and do not easily fit with the current theory's general notion of a capital C creator. Qualities like the women's "duality of purpose" add to the theory a motivational, intrapersonal dimension. Similarly, the women's "regard for relationship" gives creativity theory a greater social and interpersonal dimension. Others of the remaining dimensions give an emotional aspect which current theory relegates to the small c category of personal creativity. Currently, cognitive features dominate the make-up of creativity theory with social and psychological features taking a smaller proportion. The emotional dimension is not as important to the capital C category of creative persons as are dimensions relating to the human mind. Overall, when the above dimensions are absorbed into the current theory, the balance of features making up capital C theory is disturbed. While cognitive themes are not represented in the *dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling* because they are individually specific like the domains they relate to, the remaining dimensions are all sourced at non-cognitive locations.

Other themes above align the women's experience with themes developed by the current theory. They delineate predictable experiences deemed necessary to all creators. For instance it is understood that mastery of the domain's symbolic system is required of all creative individuals. Another expectation of creative individuals is that they expose themselves to the leading ideas in the discipline that is practised. The women as creators share a love of the work they do with the two theorists' creators. The women are passionate about their domain work but they are also passionate about their life. The women have recommended to others the advantages they see in working at some stage on the periphery of a domain but the women attach personal significance to the marginalization that only comes to women creators.

In contrast, the emotional dimensions reveal facets of the women's engagement with creative ventures that are not shared with capital C creators. This can be seen in the passion they have for their work and their life or with the excitement many extract from performance of varying kinds. The women's emotional world has become entangled with their professional experience. The varying combinations of personal and professional worlds contain positive motivating moments for the women but they also create times of crisis.

Some of the dimensions above reflect the women's perceptions of obstacles they have encountered as part of their struggle to be recognised as creative individuals. While the subject of obstacles to women's creative achievement underscores the case studies, the various struggles and barriers the women identify go beyond those articulated by the creators in the two theorists' studies. An example is seen in the spirit the women apply to overcoming the various obstacles they encounter. It is an optimistic spirit that sees all setbacks as challenges to be overcome. Through the telling of these stories the women reveal glimpses of their spirit and in doing so they invite us, the audience, to share in their triumphs and invite us to empathise with aspects of their struggle. I believe this is one of the quintessential elements that makes the women's experience belong to them.

Finally, there is a temporal dimension in the themes above; as Gardner (1993) has observed there are "themes that cut across the accomplishments of these individuals and help to confer a common spirit on the age" (p. 392). The age spread of the women has been helpful to this dimension; the stories of the older women placed against the younger women's accounts indicate changing times and the changing circumstances that occur with the passing of time. The temporal dimension also shows us the creativity dynamic at work over periods longer than a lifetime.

In cultural terms we describe such a period as an era or a particular age. The rate at which paradigms change is an indication of how many creative changes are wrought in a particular culture within a set timeframe. The changes to domains over time define the character of an era and show the creativity dynamic at work on an evolutionary scale. The women in this study are witnesses to the cyclical dimension of the creativity dynamic.

It may very well be, as Csikszentmihalyi (1996) has said, that we all have a degree of personal creativity and finding out who is innovative enough to change a domain is just a matter of seeing "whose c is capitalized" (p.372). It is of interest to me that Csikszentmihalyi thinks we all have small c characteristics. Equally intriguing is his notion of what it is "to move from personal to cultural creativity" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p.344). The interpretation of the data at this individual site suggests that the women do move from the category of personal creativity to one that is said to bring changes to a domain. The indication of movement between small c and capital C categories further suggests there is a degree of interdependence between the two categories.

Recommendations: a contribution to creativity theory

This research has presented the lost data of women's creativity experience and drawn from these data the conclusion that the women's experience of creativity is a contextual one. Furthermore, the creativity dynamic is a theoretic structure that was used successfully to interpret the women's lost experience. The women's unique experience of creativity as it is interpreted in the previous section involves domain, field and individual person dimensions. As the current theory of creativity stipulates, there is evidence of interactions among the three contextual sites. This study of women creators, executed in the manner described, has confirmed that a woman's experience of creativity can contribute to a comprehensive theory of creativity.

In summary

The following statements summarise the conclusions made by this research at each site. These statements are the basis of this thesis's recommendations for building an inclusive creativity theory:

- 1) At the domain site the women blur the boundary current theory has erected between capital C and small c creativity formulations.
- 2) At the field site the women compromise their chances of innovation by assuming various field duties while trying to innovate.
- 3) At the site of the individual the women cross over from a personal creativity category to a domain-changing creativity category.

The above conclusions indicate that the creativity dynamic is a structure that has captured the women's experience, but the dynamic is altered at all three sites to accommodate the women's different creativity data. The alterations occur in two areas of the theory.

- * The first area refers to the boundary line that appears inadvertently within the current creativity theory between small c and capital C creativity concepts. While

the two concepts are distinct and used to qualify each other, the boundary between the two concepts is only implied by the differences between the two concepts. The boundary line functions as a barrier keeping the two concepts separate and has been effective at enforcing this separation. This is the boundary line that this thesis chose to ignore so that women could participate in this research. The women blurred this boundary line as they used highly developed personal creativity to achieve in the arena of domain-changing creativity.

From the perspective of this researcher, the women appear to move from the small c category to the capital C category of creative persons and back again. In summary, the findings suggest that the theory makes small adjustments to accommodate the women's movement from the small c category to a capital C category and vice versa. The women blurred the boundary line that was deemed to have excluded women from other creativity studies.

* The second area is more a movement or progression assumed by current creativity theory to take place in one direction and in a circular manner. The creativity dynamic is considered to be active with interactions among the sites and an overall progression from a beginning to an end point. This implied progression starts with individuals involved with innovation in a domain and then proceeds to an end point at the site where the field accepts an innovation and also expects the individual to take up field membership. Once innovation is accepted the domain is changed, the field then must promote these changes to the next generation of innovators and so the movement continues in a cyclical fashion.

In summary the findings suggest that the women introduce another direction to the theory's pattern of progression when they assume field membership while they try to innovate. This directional change may or may not start a complete counter movement (an issue in my opinion that warrants further investigation). Alternatively, the change in direction appears to weaken the momentum behind the progression toward innovation.

Recommendations for changes to the visual representation of creativity theory

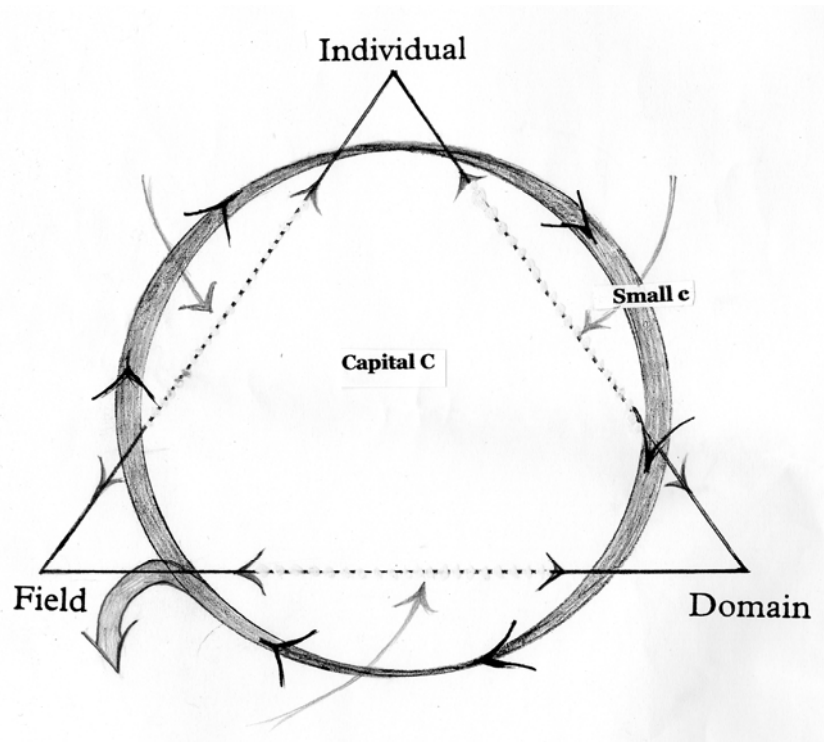


Figure 11.1 Alterations to the creativity dynamic presented graphically

Recommendations for further research

Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi and Howard Gardner's publications highlight the need for extensive research of creative phenomena that challenge and support, as this study has, a fledgling contextual theory of creativity. This study challenged new theory by applying the contextual framework to the construction of case studies of women this thesis believed were creative in their own right. Clearly, the results of the response to challenge support the idea of a contextual creativity theory and add to it some new dimensions but there still remains a need to test the viability of contextual creativity theory across other diverse populations and in the light of changes experienced in the context of contemporary life. Further research such as this study will contribute to an inclusive and comprehensive theory of creativity.

The new dimensions discovered by this research process expand the theory and point to new directions for creativity inquiry. The evidence in all cases of the women's concern for moral and ethical issues constructs a greater moral dimension. Similarly, an

interdisciplinary approach to domains and to life, and the increased importance of the social dimension the women highlight with their regard for relationship extend the theory, enabling it to reflect even greater diversity. These findings, along with Gardner and Csikszentmihalyi's expressed recommendations give new directions to be researched and liberate creativity research from its preoccupation with the individual person and matters of intellect. Together, we recommend a much needed exploration of the cultural, evolutionary aspects of creative phenomena that are now urgently awaiting our attention. I recommend that research in the future explores more fully the creativity system, its scale and its mechanisms.

From this study of creativity with its focus on domains as Csikszentmihalyi (1996) advocated we can see clearly the importance of a broader realization of "the systematic interconnection" (p. 315) of the creativity system. We can see that the changes creativity brings about in domains has consequences for the whole system (other domains, the culture, the civilization and the historical record). Similarly, Gardner's (1997) notion of "humane creativity" (p. 159) recommends that future research, along with seeing creativity freely encouraged, also see it exercised responsibly. Gardner believes that an ethic for creativity was carried in the grounding principles that have traditionally resided within artistic and professional domains but that these principles and practices have of late been eroded by "seductive messages about self interest and the marketplace"(p.159). The women's confirmation here of the need for a strengthening of this moral dimension recommends further research is directed to understanding the full consequences of introducing creative change into a large and complex system.

When I began this study of creative women I was guided by my belief that creativity was an important human endeavour for everyone to understand. At the conclusion of this investigation it is with a sense of urgency that I recommend further research of this phenomenon to help all of us understand creativity now as it plays out in its various cultural contexts. We must be prepared to understand broader applications of creativity and not only those that have become convenient to research. In times of global crisis on so many fronts we need to know where to find solutions that have never occurred to us before. I believe the worldwide problems we face today in our physical, social and economic environments urge us all to investigate all aspects of creativity in ways not previously attempted.

Although it was not part of my research agenda to investigate the many woman-centred issues that arose from this study, I soon realised that aspects of women's creativity highlighted by this research warrant further investigation. The issue of obstacles to creative achievement appeared frequently in this study of women's creativity. The range of limitations the women described are typically represented in the metaphor of the glass ceiling which, until recently, kept women's achievements out of the public record. By liberating women's creativity from under the glass ceiling this thesis exposes many more dimensions than hitherto have been explored.

Themes arising from this research that I think are worthwhile pursuing include Andrea Gabor's (1995) hypothesis that marriage and family are still institutions through which even the brightest women hope to measure successful achievement. In regard to this study finding that a duality of purpose and a regard for relationship characterised the women's experience of creativity, I think these aspects would be interesting investigations to follow from this study.

During this research process I came across the question of whether women have a distinct worldview. This question was one I found myself thinking about in relation to the analysis I was undertaking. Regretfully, I had to remind myself that this was another of the side issues that must remain outside of this investigation but I marked it for further study. Other questions pertaining to the contextual basis of creativity were also mentally tagged for future investigation and included the following: What is the nature of a woman's upbringing? Do women still have a traditional upbringing that espouses ideals of marriage and motherhood and can women only embrace a creative career by sacrificing this ideal?

To teach or not to teach was a real dilemma for the creative women in this study. Does teaching in fact compromise one's ability to innovate? Or, as several of these case studies suggest, does innovation in teaching and domain work facilitate creativity in disciplines like education, where quantitative notions of measurement and improvement of creative potential have restricted professional innovation. I believe this research of contextual creativity opens up new possibilities for educational practice. Questions like those above that link education with creativity in domains are worthwhile pursuing. Some recent concern in education over the disproportionate numbers of women in the teaching profession at all levels could prompt education institutions to reappraise the value of researching women and creative matters.

Beyond my interest in creativity, I am concerned with aspects of learning and teaching that were raised in the case studies. One area of interest is the nature of learning within a domain. It appeared to me that the women's learning in a domain was far more effective than when subject matter and skills were learnt as part of a generalist education. In the case studies several of the women performed as teachers in a domain and were seen to apply creativity to domain work and to teaching. This prompted me to ask if the domain connection teachers and pupil's share is a more effective conduit for learning. I believe other aspects of this investigation have relevance to educational practice so I strongly recommend that the topic of creativity be placed at the top of education's research program.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL USED IN A STUDY OF CREATIVITY UNDER THE GLASS CEILING

This interview will be used to research creativity as it is found in the lives of women. The literature on which this study is based is focused on three areas:

The individual woman active in a domain

The domain itself

The field which promotes and judges the domain's activity

The Individual woman (interviewee) is the primary source of information about the three areas. I propose to ask questions in the interview that will help revive memories of involvement with these three areas. To clarify the meaning of terms used in the protocol and in the interviews the following explanation is offered.

The Domain is a set of symbolic rules and procedures that govern the domains activities. Mathematics as a domain uses the symbol systems of algebra, geometry and number theory. Similarly, painting as a domain expresses itself symbolically with brush strokes, colour and composition. The rules that govern painting are distinctly different from those that apply to mathematics. Domains are embedded in our culture and they provide symbolic knowledge which is shared by a particular society or by humanity as a whole. At any given time the number of recognised domains and the structure of a domain can change. An individual can only be creative within a recognised domain. A person is deemed to be most creative when that person, through their work, brings changes to the rules or the symbolic system of that domain. It is also evident that being highly creative in a particular domain is possible only when that domain's structure is such that it enables mastery to be achieved early within a human lifespan.

The Field is made up of all the experts who influence the domain. For instance the field of painting has art teachers, university lectures, curators of galleries and collections, collectors of art, critics and reviewers, cultural societies and government agencies that administer cultural foundations. All these people have an influence either to a greater or lesser degree on the way the domain of painting functions and are in turn responsible for the state of painting in a domain at any given time. Collectively this field of experts will select those new works of art that deserve to be recognized, preserved and remembered. Creativity obtains legitimacy only when a contribution is recognised and is accepted by the field for inclusion in the domain. This process may take a long time, even a lifetime.

THE INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

The following questions are adapted from those used by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi in his 1996 survey of the most creative people in America at that time.

1. Establishing a Career over a lifetime

- a) Of all the things you have done in your life, of what are you most proud?
 - To what do you attribute your success in this endeavour?
 - What were the personal qualities that helped you achieve this goal?
 - Does being a woman influence the value you place on this achievement?

- b) Of all the obstacles you have encountered in your life, which was the hardest to overcome?
 - How did you deal with these obstacles?
 - Were there some that were too difficult?
 - Do you think that any of these obstacles occurred because you are female?

- c) Would you recommend to others:
 - Few or many social contacts?
 - Encourage mentors, peers or colleagues?
 - Establish your own identity early or late?

- d) Have you had a particular awareness of yourself that caused you to take up your career in a particular domain?
 - When did this occur?
 - Did this awareness take a long time to understand?

- e) Has there been a particular project or event that has significantly influenced or stimulated your career?
 - How did the project develop overtime?
 - How important was this project / event to your career?
 - Do you still have interesting / stimulating experiences like this?

- f)** What advice would you give to a young person starting a career in your domain?
- Is your advice related to your own experience?
 - How does your current perspective differ from the outlook you had when you started this career?
 - Regarding the importance of the field.
 - Regarding contact with leading organizations.
 - Regarding the importance of the domain itself.
 - What would you advise regarding:
 - Specialization?
 - Mastery?
 - Focus on leading ideas?
 - Work on the periphery?
 - How important is it to find your own identity at the beginning?
- g)** How long have you worked within a domain?
- What has kept you interested in that domain?
 - Has your enthusiasm for the domain diminished over this time?
- h)** Have there been times when you were less involved in your work?

2. Relationships, Personal and Professional

- a)** Has there been a person (or persons) in your life who has influenced or stimulated your thinking and attitudes about your work?
- When did you know them?
 - How did you meet them (did you actively pursue them)?
 - How did they influence your work (in terms of motivation, personal attitudes or professional values)?
 - In what ways was he/she a good and/ or poor teacher?

- What did you talk to this person about (personal, career strategy or specific problems related to your work)?
 - What did you learn from them (which problems to pursue, field politics, self promotion or a milestone in your work)?
- b)** Is it important for you to teach and work with young people?
- Why?
 - What do you have to teach young people?
 - How would you go about this?
- c)** When you interact or work with young people can you assess whether or not they will become successful in the field?
- Do you recognize potential for creativity?
 - What characteristics do they demonstrate?
- d)** Do you notice gender differences regarding the people, colleagues or young people working in your domain area?
- In interests?
 - In talent?
 - In the way they learn?
 - In the way they fit into the field?
 - In how they judge success?
 - In their professional goals and values?
 - In their personal attitudes?
- e)** What is your experience of balancing your private life (self, family and friends) with your professional work?
- Is one necessary to the other?
 - What degree of importance would you give to each area?
 - If you could would you change the balance you have achieved over time?
 - Why?
- f)** In what way do you think your family background was special in helping you to become the person you are?

- Did you have a mentor within the family circle?
 - What kind of support did the family offer at the start?
 - Was your family supportive throughout?
 - What kind of activities did you like to do as a child?
 - Who did you like to do them with?
- g)** In what way has your partner, spouse and /or children influenced your goals, your work and career?
- h)** At any time in your life, have your peers and / or colleagues been important in shaping your personal or professional identity?

3. Working Habits and Insights

- a)** Where do the ideas for your work generally come from?
- Reading?
 - Other people?
 - Your own previous work?
 - Your environment?
 - Life experience?
- b)** How do you decide what new project or problem you will attempt when one is completed?
- Have there been times when it's been difficult to decide what to do next?
- c)** How do you go about developing an idea / project? Describe the process?
- d)** What parts do rationality and intuition play in your work?
- Are there two different styles in your work? (One more rational/objective, the other intuitive / subjective)
 - Do you “go with your hunches” or “trust your instincts”?
 - Do you think the above are wrong or misleading?
 - Is your work best suited to a methodical, rigorous approach?

- Do you think about your work while you are doing other things?
 - What is your best working time (early in the morning or late at night)?
 - Do you sleep well or poorly?
 - Have you ever had a useful idea while lying in bed, or in a dream?
 - Have you experienced a sudden flash of insight whilst not at work?
- e)** Can you describe your working methods?
- Do you work alone or as part of a team?
 - Do you progress from rough outlines to a more refined product?
 - Do you prefer to publish/perform your ideas right away?
 - Or do you want to do further work before publishing/performing?
- f)** Have you experienced any changes in the way you work over the course of your career?
- Do you think and feel differently about your work now?
 - Has the intensity of your involvement either diminished or increased over time?
- g)** Have you experienced a paradigm change in your work?
- Please describe the circumstance?
- h)** At present what task or challenge do you see as most important for you?
- Does this challenge take up most of your time and energy?
 - How are you preparing to meet this challenge within the domain?
 - How will you face the field in this matter?
 - Do you perform tasks out of a sense of responsibility, or because you enjoy doing them?
- i)** In the future are you planning to make any changes?
- To how active you are in your domain?
 - To the extent you are involved with the field?
 - To the way you view the world?
 - To the priority you place on personal and professional goals?

The information obtained from these interviews is only to be used for the purpose of this research. Full confidentiality will be maintained by means of using pseudonyms and by giving each participant the right to review all work which pertains to them.

Consent is conditional on each participant being fully informed about the aims and content of this research project and of their rights as informed participants. The first meeting will provide the opportunity to further discuss any of these issues. Once consent is given, the participant is able to withdraw at any time by notifying the researcher.

PROTOCOL : SUMMARY

- 1) Establishing a career
 - a) Starting in a domain
 - b) Obstacles encountered
 - c) Strengths and weaknesses relevant to a domain
 - d) Significant achievements within a domain
 - e) Perspectives achieved
 - f) Gender differences in a domain

- 2) Relationships Personal and Professional
 - a) Professional influence
 - b) Private influence
 - c) Teaching others and being taught
 - d) Predict success or failure in a domain
 - e) Gender differences in relationship building
 - f) Negative influence
 - g) Balance of private and professional life
 - h) Sensitivity to self and to others
 - i) Field consciousness

- 3) Work habits and insights
 - a) Where ideas come from
 - b) Working methods
 - c) Prioritise
 - d) Rational thoughts versus intuition
 - e) Paradigms
 - f) Goals
 - g) Sustained interest
 - h) Education in relation to domain
 - i) Personal management

APPENDIX B

Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling: at the domain site

- 1) All the women in this study express their achievements in terms of domain success and personal attainment.
- 2) All the women participants make a connection with more than one domain.
- 9) What directs the women to connect with domains and then keep working in those domains is their interest in what they do as domain work and being able to fulfil personal responsibilities.
- 14) All the women maintain a balance between their domain work and their private life and to their regret it is most often skewed toward their work. This imbalance remains despite constant attempts to change it.
- 18) All the women say after years of commitment to work in a domain that they are still tied to a duality of reward and motivation. The enjoyment they receive from doing domain work is measured against the satisfaction they obtain from fulfilling personal obligations.

Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling: at the field site

- 4) The women have strong moral and social interests that direct them to connect with domains
- 10) All the women find people who stimulate their thinking and or their attitude to work. The women are able to learn from a wide spread of people with whom they have social contact.
- 11) These women practice field skills of promoting and evaluating the domain. In regard to teaching in the domain the women say this is important work but teaching takes time and energy that is best applied to domain work.

12) Most women evaluate others in the course of a developing career

15) The women look to their family background and to their childhood for the kind of support that they consider vital to the development of creative careers.

Dimensions of creativity under the glass ceiling: at the site of the individual person

3) A woman's perspective of the world is thought to be an obstacle to creative achievement. These women turn what is perceived to be a disadvantage to their advantage.

5) The women give advice to others that they choose a domain because they love it and like doing the work required by that domain.

6) The women's careers are stimulated by an early real world project that gives them an idea of the complexity of the domain and offers a taste of success.

7) Amongst advice given to young people starting a career in a domain are the following:

- Expose yourself to leading ideas in the field
- Achieve mastery of the domains symbolic systems
- At times work on the periphery of a domain is advantageous
- Find your own identity within a domain early and stick to this

8) The following personal experiences feature in the women's creative work and their career development:

- Experience of trauma, crisis and or depression
- Heightened emotions as part of their work
- Emotional displays outside of work
- High degree of moral or ethical concern for others
- Have experienced times when work is not possible
- Experience times of intense stress which derives from balancing work and personal responsibilities

13) Most of the women notice differences in the way each gender regards and carries out domain work. They have also experienced occasions when gendered views clash.

16) Most women experience a degree of excitement from their domain work.

17) Most of the women have experienced paradigm change and noted the effect this has on their domain work.

19) A sense of an era was obtained from various post modern displays:

Blurring of genres

Attacking established traditions

Moral reasoning

Cynicism

Manipulating new technologies

Humour that verges on satire

Deconstructing historical accounts

20) The women's work habits varied across domains but several common features were evident:

Women tend to trust their instincts

Women think about their work while doing other things

Women have perfectionist tendencies

Women have experience of working within a team