



Creative Approaches to Research

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Creative Approaches to Research is a trans-disciplinary journal for creative research. It reflects the convergences between epistemology, pedagogy and technology. It incorporates multiple forms of text including academic and creative writing, sound, images, and multimedia.

Creative Approaches to Research recognises the need to extend the range of voices and ways for doing, reporting, and discussing research. Academics from many disciplines have come together to create this journal who share a vision of it as a living and colourful text inviting engagement with multiple ways of knowing.

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INFUSING BIOGRAPHY WITH THE PERSONAL

WRITING RUFUS STONE

KIP JONES

Purpose

A recent four-year research project entitled, “Gay and Pleasant Land?—a study about positioning, ageing and gay life in rural South West England and Wales” took place as part of the Research Councils UK funded *New Dynamics of Ageing Programme* on ageing in 21st Century Britain. The key output of this effort was the short professionally made, award winning film, *Rufus Stone*. This article unpacks the evolution of creating the film script, with a particular emphasis on the author’s relationship with the biographies, the filmmaking process and, indeed, his own story.

Approach

Through first person narrative and textural *bricolage*, the author recounts the processes that went into writing the background, treatment and working script for the film. This included sifting through copious data, story meetings, writing back story and collaboration with the film’s director. In the final analysis, the author was dependent on auto-ethnography to bring the biographies of others to the screen.

Findings

Arts-based collaborative efforts require versatility and experimentation in approaches and a willingness to communicate across disciplines. Knowing when to “let go” in partnerships is key to this process.

Originality/value

The article responds to many of the issues, concerns and questions that have arisen at academic screenings of the film. It provides a valuable starting point for others interested in experimenting with arts-based dissemination of research findings. The originality of the use of auto-ethnography itself to report on this process is consistent with the principles of *Performative Social Science*, on which the project's dissemination is based.

Keywords: auto-ethnography, biography, filmmaking, LGBT ageing, performative social science

“Once you’re into a story everything seems to apply—what you overhear on a city bus is exactly what your character would say on the page you’re writing. Wherever you go, you meet part of your story”. –The Paris Review Fall 1972, No. 55

I was in a panic at the precise moment that I sat down to begin to write the story for the research-based, short film, *Rufus Stone*. My stress was extreme, anxiety heightened. Behind me, a solid foundation: four years of in-depth research as a basis for a 30-minute movie. Early story meetings with colleagues and the director had come and gone with lively discussions of possible plot twists and turns. Two days of theatrical improvisation were spent in experimentation with some of the data. I had piles of papers, electronic files, audio and video files, précis, notes, outlines and lists of possible characters and potential scenes.

Nonetheless: the infamous blank page was now in front of me. Where to begin?

Start with Rufus. Who is he? Where does he come from? How old is he when we first meet him? What is he doing? Introduce the reader to the main character. Good. Now what about detail? How will you describe his motivation and his actions? How will you know why he does what he does, what he is thinking? How will the audience learn, early on, what his wants are and where he wishes to take them?

At this exact moment, I had a revelation. I began to comprehend that I had to rely on my self, my own background, and my own story, if I was ever to put flesh on the bones of the players and their tales. I always expected that the inhabitants of the film would be “composite” characters—that is, the interwoven and combined biographies of several people whom we had interviewed separately for the study. I then, however, began to realise that my own story was an additional one that I could potentially mine for detail. “Bonus material!” I initially thought. By beginning to recall some of the physical settings (the three-dimensionality) of

various scenarios from my own life, I was able to start to imbue the writing for the film treatment with a sense of place and detail that might otherwise be missing.

But again, where exactly to start? Set off where any good story begins, by telling a tale. Intrigue the audience, invite them in, creating the space that allows them to imagine the scene, allowing them to embellish with their own detail. Lay down the beginning of the arc for the metamorphosis to come and outline the *Gestalt*—the order or agenda informing each life. Do all of this from the very beginning, and you are off to a good start.

And so Rufus Stone came to life:

It is a typical Somerset January day—the frost-hardened ground, brown and grey, mimicking the sky above. Rufus and Ellie Stone take the trail to the rail junction through the bushes, littered with the rubbish that is now frozen into the mosaic of the landscape. The junction holds a special meaning for Rufus.

Rufus is seventeen, his sister Ellie just ten. She loves walks with her brother because he brings his camera and gets excited when he talks about taking pictures. Rufus is her protector—tall, with a shock of curly hair that falls on his forehead—and strong from working on their parents’ farm.

...

Ellie and Rufus sometimes spend their Saturdays in the town selling vegetables at their parents’ market stall. Ellie likes going to town because she gets to dress up. Rufus hates its and just sees it as more hard graft with no pay.

...

Rufus’ mate, Flip, is olive skinned, dark-haired and shorter than Rufus. He is two years younger and lives along the rail line in the nearby village. The boys met two summers ago when Rufus was walking in the hills collecting berries. They have been best mates ever since.¹

When writing auto-ethnography, I endeavor to remain a minor character and/or a conduit to a time, place, and other people. I prefer to embody each character and imbue them with background and detail from my own experience. I become fictionalized through writing. In terms of visual representation of such stories, I am always the keen observer, allowing cultural images to become private and iconic. These remembered images twist and turn and eventually morph in various ways to be included as my own graphic memories. I aim to be the sorcerer who reminds audience members of their own stories. Ultimately, the film should render poetically the way in which my memories morph and play with our characters’ histories, much as dappled sunlight reveals, then conceals, an idyllic landscape (see Jones 2012a).

I sometimes question if the only story that any of us have to tell is our own, even in our dry research reports recounting the narratives of interviewees. In blurring the relationship between the writer and my characters, who am I? How trans-

parent can I be in telling someone else’s story? The following was written entirely by recalling my own childhood:

It is a memory of a five-year old boy sitting on his grandfather’s lap. Granddad’s hand, rough and worn from working the land, his thumbnail somehow permanently split, reaches into the pocket of his tattered woollen trousers and magically produces a cellophane-wrapped peppermint sweet for the boy. The tall case clock ticks in the background, the same clock that ended up in his parent’s farmhouse hallway. The sound of this clock has always provided Rufus with comfort in times of crisis. It is recollections of his grandfather that most warmly represent the countryside to Rufus.

In this way, the use of a grandfather clock in the film began. In the end the clock became a “character”—representing childhood, rurality, the passing of time and the damaging effects of time passing without resolution.

MY “GREY GARDENS” SUMMER AND HOW IT FUSED WITH THE STORY



Figure 1. Location of my “Grey Gardens” summer

During this period, I watched HBO’s [Grey Gardens](#) (2009), a television fictionalisation of the well-known documentary of the same name by A. and D.

[Maysles](#) (1975). Both cinematic outputs reminded me that I also have my own story to tell, one that was triggered by the setting of this particular story. In *Grey Gardens*, the neglected grounds had reverted back to untamed nature—the property and estate structures are almost entirely hidden by sprawling overgrowth. This house is particularly reminiscent of a home (see Figure 1.) that a family kindly shared with me one summer between terms at Art College when I had just turned 21. The family was high on social expectations, but at the time, down on its luck. My own narrative, therefore, becomes interwoven due to the similarities with the film. *Grey Gardens* moves me profoundly because of the fact that I found my own story in it *cinematically*.

Indeed, the reminiscing about *Grey Gardens* recalled that particular summer in my young life. 1964 was a summer of love whose soundtrack was *Bossa Nova* by Morgana King. I spent that summer sleeping in an attic room just under the widow's watch of that large grey house. The verandah wrapped itself around the ground floor like an embrace. A large standard poodle bounced freely in and out of the verandah's floor to ceiling windows with their tattered curtains. The family's "open-door" relaxed style made the house a gathering spot for local youth of social standing, mostly in their late teens and early twenties.

It was during this time that I became overwhelmingly attracted to a sixteen-year-old boy who lived nearby. We swam together daily in the overgrown garden's pool behind the house, drank beer, listened to music and talked for hours. Our platonic relationship grew daily, as did our desire to spend every possible moment with each other. When his parents questioned this, he innocently told them that he loved me. His mother responded by threatening to come after me (not only me, but the whole family with whom I stayed) with a butcher's knife. Our reverie ended abruptly and we never saw each other again. My social position and pretence coupled with my romantic outlook had convinced me in my naïveté that anything was possible, even this platonic love. The painful lesson learned that summer was that this was not the case, and never would be. It was '[A Taste of Honey](#)'. It was a summer of beginnings, and an end.

Years later, I listened to the devastating stories from the men in our study who were accused of unsubstantiated sexual acts in their youth, then threatened with incarceration or worse and often shunned by family and community (see Jones, Fenge, Read and Cash 2013). My own youthful experience became a resource that breathed propinquity into such tales as they were subsequently woven into the plot of *Rufus Stone*. The tale of the mother with a knife, full of vitriolic condemnation, made it possible for me to reinvigorate the similar stories that I was hearing for the film.

The naïveté of same-sex attraction and young love, too often forbidden and misunderstood love, was a story reported over and over again in our study and, therefore, became central to the plot of the film. By compositing these stories in

Rufus Stone, at last we remember them together, finally gaining strength in each other for something misunderstood and condemned from our isolated youthful experiences.

Close your eyes and recollect this patterned lightness on the patchwork English country landscape and you will see young Flip—dark, tan, laughing—happy to be with you. There has been no other instance in your life like it. You wish that this moment will go on forever, but, even in your youth, you know it will not be so. You have been taught this in songs and they are sad ones.

You and Flip walk over hills towards a wood. This is not a memorised vista, however. It is a recollection of a three-dimensional physicality consisting of the soil under foot, the sound of the swish of tall grass, and the crunchiness of pebbles mixed with earth. The intensity of the English sky's summer blueness creates a light pressure against your skin. The warm country air is more uncontaminated than any you will ever breathe again. His arm around your neck as you walk is the last uncorrupted act of commitment that you will ever experience. This is the purist state of coupling.

You are in the stream at a point where the water, the great purifier, creates a deep pool. The chilly water laps against his body as you graze against it. The surface of the water makes a fluid partition that allows rubbing against his body beneath it seem easier, less obvious, but still dangerous. The pretence is played out above the surface, the risk and the release beneath. If he ever objected ... but he never did. The physicality of your relationship remains in its purist state.

One particularly hot day when they are swimming, Flip doesn't bother to put his T-shirt back on. Rufus then conceals Flip's worn, white shirt in his canvas army rucksack. He takes it home and sleeps with it next to his pillow that night. He can smell Flip on the shirt and this makes Rufus both happy and frightened. Because Rufus is the older of the two, he feels particularly responsible about his growing feelings for Flip. He knows innately that these stirrings could lead to something dangerous or forbidden in his small English country village.

Flip's mother rings Rufus' mother. Her shrill screaming coming from the telephone reverberates around the farmhouse kitchen. His father is uncomfortable situating himself so intimately next to his wife who listens with the receiver away from her ear. She turns her back on Rufus as he stands in the doorway, bracing himself for what his unfounded guilt convinces him is the earthquake to come.

Flip's mother says that she has found the dirty letter that Rufus wrote to her son and knows that Abigail caught the two of them in the stream. She screams down the phone line that he is a filthy unclean pervert and she is coming to their farm with a butcher's knife to sort out the entire family. She is going to make sure that the whole village knows about their evil son and his wicked intentions. She is going to report him to the police for the criminal that he is.

Rufus' mother is crying.

The tall case clock in the hall ticks away its heavy unrelenting passage of time. It seems more strident than ever tonight—even louder than his father's shouting or his mother's weeping.

Rufus senses that tonight is the end of innocent intimacy. It is probably the beginning of something else, but he is uncertain of what that is.

The preceding paragraphs were developed over time and through many transformations, at times working in the dark against unknown forces and circumstances, but still being driven by my Muse to connect, create and invent. This retrospective invention or “musing”, supported by narrative biographical theory, is extended in this case to the illusory biographies of others and constructed within a sense of other as created by an imaginative projection of self onto their worlds (Jones 2012b), creating ‘dialogue(s) which never happened’ (Reisz, 5 Jan 2012). Philosopher Alain de Botton has remarked, ‘Intuition is unconscious accumulated experience informing judgement in real time’ (de Botton 2012) and so we rely upon it—when we are brave enough. Through such a process, our “composite characters” were created from the data, which simultaneously forged the “amalgamated” plot development for the film’s “treatment” (or story outline).

As a story writer, I allowed my self to be “embodied” by my characters, not the other way round. I found that contemporary fiction, more often than academic prose, provided the blueprint for how to say all of this. Although biography and history are often my favourite reads, I found myself returning to fiction and the novel for inspiration when writing the back-story and treatment for the film. Contemporary authors like Michael Kimball (*Dear Everybody; Us*) were very influential in helping me to develop a style of precise, jargon-free (and non-academic) English. The final resource was a trust in my own memories and intuition—a reliance on auto-ethnography as the final piece of the puzzle. This process brought the composite characters to life and enriched the storyline, which was then handed over to the film’s director to create the final script.

One of the frights/delights of writing the treatment for *Rufus Stone* is how easily the character took over when I began to write him. I have heard and read about this phenomenon from fiction writers often, but never experienced it personally before. As researchers, we often (too often?) speak of the “embodied”, but when do we actually physically experience it? I think that I finally have experienced it in writing the story of *Rufus Stone* through developing the concept of a “fictive reality”. Fictive reality is conceived as the ability to engage in imaginative and creative invention while remaining true to the remembered realities as told through the narrations of others. Several, in fact, may recount a similar incident. When these reports are combined into one person’s story, a “fiction” is born. I have learned, in this way, to let the characters lead the writing and come to life through me.

Fifty years later, when Rufus returns to his boyhood village, Abigail, the tattletale from his childhood, is the first to encounter him:

In the adjoining cottage, twitching the net curtains at her window and hoping for a better view of this handsome stranger’s arrival, Abigail White begins to grin. ‘What luck!’ she thinks. Seeing this outsider enter the house next door, she reaches for her trademark crimson lipstick and applies it hurriedly, hikes up her bra straps and throws on a cardy. She is prepared to make her first move.

About to exit through her front door, she remembers, returns to the kitchen and fetches a bottle of Chardonnay to take as a welcoming gift. (As long as she is in the kitchen, she might as well down the remainder of the glass of wine from the first bottle that she opened earlier that morning.)

Fully armoured now, Abigail goes to the cottage next door to meet her new match—or at least she thinks so.

THE “BACK-STORY” TO RUFUS STONE: THE RESEARCH

Michael Haneke, who directed the film, *The White Ribbon* (2007) reports: ‘It’s very simple to get a cross section of society within a village; you get a microcosm of the social macrocosm’ (Jablonski, 2010). Our film about being gay and living in a rural village tries to do exactly that. This is what we hoped would give it its universality and connection with a wide variety of audiences.

Rufus Stone had its beginnings in a four-year project that took place as part of the *New Dynamics of Ageing Programme* (a unique collaboration between five UK Research Councils—*ESRC*, *EPSRC*, *BBSRC*, *MRC* and *AHRC*²) on ageing in 21st Century Britain. The project was entitled, “Gay and Pleasant Land?—a study about positioning, ageing and gay life in rural South West England and Wales”. Through an exploration of the recollections, perceptions and storied biographies of older lesbians and gay men and their rural experiences, the project focused on connectivity and the intersections between place, space, age and identity. Connectivity and identity were central concepts within the project, developing an understanding of how sense of belonging may be negotiated within a rural context. Connectivity can be understood as the ways in which individuals identify and connect themselves with others and the ways in which this may be filtered by aspects of their age and sexuality. Identity and the ways in which older lesbians and gay men choose to disclose their sexuality as part of their identity exerts an influence on the ways in which individuals make connections within the wider community.

The biographies of older lesbians and gay men and their rural experiences formed the bulk of the data studied and the basis for the story and characterisation of the film. This project would have been impossible without the active participation of community partners as advisors and participants over the period of the study, many who continue to actively engage in the dissemination phase of the film. The project aimed to empower older lesbians and gay men in rural areas through a collaborative multi-method participatory action research and dissemination plan. The projected impact of the film is to begin to change minds, change attitudes and help to build communities where tolerance and understanding are keys to connectivity and to increasing the value of the social capital of all citizenry in rural settings. By using film and the facility of “entertainment” to suspend disbelief, the potential to change hearts and minds becomes possible.

The Project's conclusions were that older gays and lesbians feel at high risk of isolation in rural areas constructed by sexuality, rurality and ageing—all components which need to be addressed and made more public. Film was seen as providing a medium with potential to impact on the community and invite discussion around these sensitive issues. This is key to changing the “hearts and minds” of many contemporaries of older gay and lesbian citizens, particularly in the often-conservative rural British countryside. This goal has been central to the four years of research and subsequent effort that went into producing the short film.

A professional film company in collaboration with the Project's researchers and advisors produced *Rufus Stone*. The objective of the film was to contribute a dramatic interpretation of the biographies and everyday life experiences of rural older gays and lesbians who were engaged by the earlier research project. The NDA Research Councils UK grant and Bournemouth University covered the costs of producing the film. The film is totally grounded in the data gleaned from biographies, site visits, focus groups, panel analyses of data and theatrical interpretation in order to produce “composite characters” for dramatisation through film.

The film has had substantial “in-kind” support from community groups including *Equality South West*, *Help and Care*, and *The Intercom Trust*, amongst others. These organisations were key in identifying participants for interviews as well as local areas for the film's screenings. Screenings of the film are envisaged very much as a starting points to generate further community action.

Rufus Stone makes a significant contribution to the development of the new paradigm of *Performative Social Science* (Jones 2006; Gergen and Jones 2008; Jones 2012a; 2012b; 2012c). *Performative Social Science*, defined as a fusion of art and science, creates an innovative model where tools from the arts and humanities are explored for their utility in enriching the ways in which we research social science subjects and/or disseminate or present our research to our audiences (see Jones and Hearing, 2013). The emphasis on *Performative Social Science* provides a methodological base for a vision that underpins the belief that the film will reach a wide audience and is theoretically based in earlier work by Bourriaud (2002) in *Relational Aesthetics*.

The film has the potential to raise issues of inclusion/exclusion of older gay people in/from rural community and civic life, and as such can be useful in challenging oppressive and discriminatory practices. It is hoped that film will be used as a tool in both rural communities and with agencies working with older people in rural areas to change attitudes towards and perceptions of gay and lesbian citizens (see Jones, 2012c for an elaboration of the utility of *Performative Social Science* to open up channels of communication and empower communities through engagement). Screenings of the film can help to build communities where tolerance and understanding begin to offer keys to connectivity for these too-often isolated, shunned and even harmed individuals. The film is a potentially empower-

ing device for raising the profile of marginalized voices. It has been suggested that through performative outputs the lives and experiences portrayed have a power that is not possible through other forms of presentation and dissemination (Pifer, 1999).

STORY DEVELOPMENT/SCRIPT DEVELOPMENT

Rather than diving directly into writing treatment or script, I found that developing the history of the characters allowed them to become more rounded and defined in my own mind first. After I had written the background stories, the director, project staff and I are consulted on the “treatment” or plot of the story. As each twist and turn developed, it was my responsibility to ensure that characters and their behaviour were grounded in the research. Fortunately, because of the thoroughness of our investigation, there was a plethora of background and story from which to create composite characters and actions that move the story forward. Because of my familiarity with the research and its biographies, this information had become part of me, “embodied”, in a sense, or at least at my fingertips. It was subsequently turned over to the director to then use his skills and creativity to come up with the best visual/cinematic storytelling from this material.

Letting the characters develop over time and through several versions of the story in collaboration with the filmmaker provides an example of the joint effort necessary in developing a “fictive reality”. One example is Abigail. Her character began from two directions—initially she was the contemporary neighbour of Rufus. The character of young Ellie, Rufus’ sister (who came to me in a dream), was a separate character developed early on. Then, at the suggestion of the director, Josh Appignanesi, Ellie and Abigail became one person and the triangle between the teenagers Rufus, Flip and Abigail was born.

Appignanesi describes the plot outline that was agreed upon in the end:

The story dramatises the old and continued prejudices of village life from three main perspectives. Chiefly it is the story of Rufus, an ‘out’ older gay man who was exiled from the village as a youth and reluctantly returns to it from London to sell his dead parents’ cottage, where he is forced to confront the faces of his estranged past. Of these, Abigail is the tattletale who ‘outed’ Rufus 50 years ago when he spurned her interest. She has become a lonely deluded lush. Flip, the boy Rufus adored, has also stayed in the village: a life wasted in celibacy (occasionally interrupted by anonymous sexual encounters) and denial (who is) looking after his elderly mother. But Rufus too isn’t whole, saddled with an inability to return or forgive.³

Writing gay characters can be a challenge as well. Because I love history (social, political, cultural) and because it is crucial to biography, it was central to this

film's development. The characters in *Rufus Stone* "came of age" at a time when homosexuality was illegal in the U.K. Although the law changed in 1967, history had a profound effect on the particular generation whose story we tell in the film. In speaking recently with a young reporter from a UK gay news source, the other end of the phone went very quiet when I said, 'When they were youths and "coming out" (or not), the term "gay" did not even exist; neither did the concept of "coming out"'. The young reporter simply had no reference for this. Our story is enriched by these facts; with this knowledge, the characters' actions become more understandable.

Moving our work to arts-based procedures is not a series of isolated acts; it requires an adjustment in how we approach everything in which we engage—including writing for academic publication. I am more and more convinced these days that any academic written texts reporting our efforts at popularizing research should be supplementary papers supporting our productions and certainly not the final results of our investigative efforts. The writing up of our projects should be ancillary to this new performative work; the text should never be the main output. More interesting as documents are the scripts themselves, the notes or the diagrammatic evidence that our projects leave behind as a kind of trail, trace or map. When we do publish, these sorts of records certainly hold more relevance as scholarship (for a full discussion, see Jones 2012a).

WORKING WITH A PROFESSIONAL FILMMAKER MEANS KNOWING WHEN TO "LET GO"

"I think it takes real courage to develop a screenplay and give it over, before you even really know what it is". —Maira Buffini, screenwriter, BAFTA Lecture, September 2011.

Josh Appignanesi, London-based filmmaker (*The Infidel*, 2010), was chosen to direct *Rufus Stone* particularly because of his previous short film, *Ex Memoria* (2006), a study of a woman with Alzheimer's disease, funded by the *Wellcome Trust* and produced for the *Bradford Dementia Group*. Shortly after I had viewed *Ex Memoria*, Appignanesi was invited to Bournemouth University to conduct a seminar, being hopeful that this was the way in which I might develop my future work. Afterwards, we chatted about my idea of making a short film based in research. This conversation convinced me of the feasibility of potentially working with Appignanesi on a project at some point. His creativity and enthusiasm coupled with his skill and knowledge of filmmaking promised a film with the potential to be exciting and meet my expectations of creating something unique from research data. This was long before the research project had been decided upon, the funding secured or any of the data collected.

I always assumed that working with Appignanesi meant working with a polished professional who would certainly have his own vision and take on our story. When making *Rufus Stone* was still very much in the “possibility” stages and before funding was secured, I invited him for a second visit to conduct the two-day Masterclass in turning research into film. To be entirely truthful, it was an opportunity for me to ascertain whether we would actually be able to work with one another as well as gain a great deal of knowledge at the same time!

Eventually, and after almost six years consisting of proposal development, securing funding from Research Councils UK and carrying out the actual research—with story treatment in hand, we then went through a bidding process to select a filmmaker to contract to make the short film. Appignanesi was chosen for his skill and experience. The process of our formal collaboration then began.

My own requirement at this stage was to present the treatment and back-up data upon which Appignanesi could to begin to forge a working script for the film. It was important that the final script remained true to the stories that we had been told and reflected, as nearly as possible, the conclusions that had been drawn from our research. This is a tricky stage in the fusion of art and science! Collaboration across the disciplines meant finding a common language and sharing common goals. From my standpoint, it also meant knowing when to “let go”.

Letting go, for example, was as simple as being willing to lose a scene (or even a line) for cinematic expediency, even when the particular scene or dialogue was representative of well-earned research findings. The following scene, for example, contained real gems of research that indicate, in a single interaction, a curiosity typical of “country folk” combined with the isolation created by geography, which we uncovered frequently in the study:⁴

He levers himself up. MRS CARSTON is 65. Her HUSBAND stands some way off on the road, watching and waiting.

MRS. CARSTON
Hello! Jane Carston.

Rufus shakes without giving his name.

MRS. CARSTON (CONT'D)
Well we live just across the way
and... we haven't had anyone in
here since the last owners sadly
passed away some time ago so...
Well, we're the welcoming
committee! So, "welcome"!

She is robustly middle-class and living the 'country' life.

MRS. CARSTON (CONT'D)
I brought you some homemade jam,
shall I just...

...Plonk it down. She gives the place a good looking over.

MRS. CARSTON (CONT'D)
...and a leaflet about parish
activities... It's not so often we
get a new 'incomer' as they call
them - well I loathe the word!
Moved here donkey's years ago but
even then the locals all moaned
about city folk invading! Pushing
up prices and whatnot... really!

We've drifted up to the CLOCK with its TICK, TICK and back:

MRS. CARSTON (CONT'D)
And are your family joining you?

It's all very polite and bustly, but under the chit-chat she's clearly come to check him out.

RUFUS
I'm... not sure what's happening
for the moment.

MRS. CARSTON
A man of mystery! Do I detect a
slight West Country accent?

RUFUS
I... Well, yes I grew up... in,
well, er, near Dorchester.

MRS. CARSTON
Well I feel I know you already! We
own the village tea rooms so I'm
sure I'll see you soon.

And she's gone. Rufus closes the door. He checks the road through the old lace curtain:

Figure 2: Excerpt from Rufus Stone script

Because of restrictions on the length of the film, the scene above does not appear in the final film.

In another scene that was shortened in the final edit, Mrs. Carston's blinkered posturing is typical of a rural attitude of many and is reflected in lines which also were partially cut in the final edit of the film:

MRS. CARSTON
Is there... is there something we
can do?

RUFUS
Bit late now. Try fifty years ago.

MRS. CARSTON
I'm sorry, I don't know you but
people here don't have a problem
with...

RUFUS
With what?

OLD CRONE
Our Flip were right as rain before
you interfered with him!

MRS. CARSTON
(smiles warmly)
Of course we don't care what people
do behind closed doors "so long as
they don't do it in the street and
frighten the horses" - so to speak!

RUFUS
Unbelievable.

He strides towards Flip's cottage.

Figure 3: Excerpt from Rufus Stone script

These lines were important ones in terms of the research findings and the frequency with which such attitudes were reported by interviewees. The line, 'frighten the horses'—left out in the final edit—is often repeated in interactions as a response when calls for understanding and compassion towards gay and lesbian citizens are made. The fact that a Victorian attitude frozen in time is today seen as an “amusing” response to an “uncomfortable” conversation simply boggles the mind. Nonetheless, I had to be willing to let go of that line in the final edit and trust in the decision-making process of the director.

My interactions and consultations with Appignanesi continued right up to a few days just before the filming began. At that point, I made a conscious decision to let him take over the reigns entirely in order to produce his best possible creative output. In fact later, when people asked what it was that I did on the shoot itself, I replied, “Bring the donuts!” I felt that my job as Executive Producer was to produce the best possible circumstances under which the director and crew could make the film, then not interfere with the creative process itself.

This approach seemed to work and was appreciated. A day or two after the shoot was finished, Appignanesi wrote to me:

I just wanted to really thank you for giving me this opportunity. Out of nowhere I feel like a real filmmaker again, making the kinds of films I always wanted to make - and I haven't felt that in years, in fact I'd kind of slightly given up on hoping for it.

I really appreciate the time, the trust and the freedom you've given me on this, with something you've lived with creatively and professionally for so long. To have had the tenacity to get it all off the ground and then the generosity and cool headedness to bring in strangers in the way you have is something really rare.⁵

When the first edits of the film came through, I painstakingly went through the film frame by frame, hours on end, looking for continuity problems, checking that the research was adequately represented, and insuring that our final representation made sense as a short story. Back in the saddle, so to speak, I then proceeded with planning a premiere for the film at Bournemouth University and subsequent screenings for academic audiences (including the *Advances in Biographical Methods Research Symposium* at Durham University, May 2012, and a screening at *Cambridge Arts Picturehouse*, Feb. 2013, for the Art and Science Researchers' Forum) as well as gatherings of service providers and users (*ESRC Festival of Social Science* 2012). In August 2012, the film was entered into its first competition, the *Rhode Island International Film Festival* where it received two awards. Plans are in place at this writing for wider distribution of the film in community cinemas, particularly in rural areas of England.

In the end, how much of *Rufus Stone* is my story? This is a difficult question. As an older gay man, of course I identify with the characters. Nonetheless, I grew up in a different country in a different time and under different circumstances. Still, there are similar memories and these were helpful in writing the background story for the film. It also made it easier for me to say to the director, ‘No, they wouldn't react that way, rather this way’.

Like Rufus, I left the countryside for the big city as a young man to find myself. My own narrative inspired the scene with the knife wielding, threatening mother. The two boys frolicking in the water is based on my personal experience during my “Grey Gardens” summer. The ticking grandfather's clock is very much

my memory of sitting on my own grandfather's lap. Crewmembers scouting locations for the shoot might recall my instruction, "Sexy woods! Find sexy woods!" My personal sense of nature as both a source of beauty, yet primal and dark at the same time, has been with me since youth and was conveyed to the director through my initial writings and discussions.

Several conversations about how to portray the physical relationship between the two young men took place between the director and myself. Just before shooting began, I showed Appignanesi a short clip from the Paris Opera Ballet's 2009 production of Roland Petit's (1974) *Proust*, a *pas de deux* ('*Morel - Saint-Loup ou le combat des anges*') which portrays two young men in conflict, both physically as well as emotionally. Appignanesi fashioned the "mirroring" in *Rufus Stone* of the two younger characters with their older counterparts after viewing this clip. The swimming scene in *Rufus* is also partly based on the physical relationship of the two young men in this ballet.

There are certain experiences (or perhaps "memories" to be more exact) that gay and lesbian people often share in common. In conducting a biographic interview with one of the volunteers, I recall clearly his reaching a point in his story when he was also telling my story. This shared experience reinforces a fact that is so often overlooked in reporting on lesbian and gay experiences: outputs are not simply findings on sexual encounters; they are stories about relationships which are often complex ones with histories grounded in family, community, place and time.

Rufus recalls pushing his sister's pram up dirt paths on the hillside, away from the family farm and the village—as far away as he could get the two of them. He remembers the feeling of searching for his own private landscape where his thoughts could finally be free and be his own.

Later, he remembers walks along the railway tracks with his sister. It's the majesty of the sky and the smell of wild grasses mixed with the scent of oil on the railway sleepers, more than a revisualisation of their footsteps, which provoke his recall.

It is the sounds of the train approaching, spewing and hissing steam—these sounds as much an invasion of their privacy as they portend the thrill of travel to unknown, yet-to-be-seen places.

Rufus imagines one last attempt at resolving his youthful crisis somehow. He knows that he still must seek acceptance in order to love openly and freely amongst his peers in rural England. The law may have changed in his lifetime, but tolerance is still not a legacy for him and his kind and particularly not for his generation in the countryside. This is the kind of open-mindedness that is fundamentally socially constructed by one's peers. Life has taught him this hard truth. In his imaginings, Rufus hopes, at least in his case, to finally make this possible.

This is the way in which our story now twists and turns. By consulting his memories, our Rufus is now gambling on his imagined past. This is probably the bravest risk of his entire life, or the most foolish one.

This is the way in which he decided to return to his village.

American by birth, Jones has been studying and working in the UK for more than 15 years. His main efforts have involved developing tools from the arts and humanities for use by social scientists in research and its impact on a wider public. Kip has produced films and written many articles for academic journals and authored chapters in books on topics such as masculinity, ageing and rurality, and older LGBT citizens. His groundbreaking use of qualitative methods, including biography and auto-ethnography, and the use of tools from the arts in social science research and dissemination are well known.

Jones acted as Author and Executive Producer of the award-winning short film, *Rufus Stone*, funded by Research Councils UK. His work has been reported widely in the media, including: BBC Radio 4, BBC TV news, Times Higher Education, Sunday New York Times, International Herald-Tribune and The Independent.

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ENDNOTES

1. This excerpt (and those following) was originally written on my [weblog](#). I found this new outlet to be a more personal space for ‘academic’ writing, providing a breathing space where I could experiment with a fusion of scholarship with drama and fiction.
2. Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC); Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC); Biotechnology and Biological Sciences Research Council (BBSRC); Medical Research Council (MRC); Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)
3. Originally published on the *Rufus Stone* the movie weblog at: <http://microsites.bournemouth.ac.uk/rufus-stone/project-scope/>
4. Figures 2 and 3 are excerpts from *Rufus Stone* (unpublished working script) © Josh Appignanesi and Bournemouth University 2011
5. Personal communication with the Author

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AUSTRALIAN MYTHSCAPE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

RE-IMAGINING AUSTRALIA

IGNACIO ROJAS

In this paper I focus my attention on the concept of the Australian mythscape and its relevance to our sense of national identity. I explore how artists from the Federation period represented those nation building myths and how these artworks have become the most iconic examples of the nation's spirit. I argue that art from the early 1900's plays an important role in defining how (mythically) we see ourselves as a nation; and how as we have developed into a multicultural country we must continue to revisit, challenge and re-define our Australian mythscape to one that better represents our present and is better able to re-imagine our future.

Keywords: Australian identity, Mythscape, Australian art

Defining our Australian identity has been an important theme in our nation's history ever since its European colonisation. All throughout the 20th century and up to this new millennium we have continued to have an ongoing desire to define and re-define ourselves as Australians (Mcadam 1997).

This paper provides the basis of my research as I discuss from a postcolonial-migrant perspective the important role the arts have played in our understanding of national identity issues. Drawing on my experience as a migrant and having witnessed how much Australia has changed since I first migrated here in 2001,

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this paper draws attention to the urgent need to re-evaluate and re-imagine what it means to be Australian in the 21st century through the arts.

The Australian *mythscape* can be understood and define as the constructed temporal and spatial discourse in which the myths of the nation are continuously acted, transmitted, negotiated and reconstructed (Duncan and Bell 2003). Mythscape identify and represent the core essence of nationalism as they facilitate national identity by portraying the ‘who we are and how we see ourselves’ as a collective identity whilst highlighting (and perhaps vilifying) the ‘who we are not’. In other words, mythscape act as cultural sacralisations of the past viewed and remembered through nostalgic and romantic lenses put on to enhance national pride and popular celebration of the country and the spirit of its people. Mythscape generally dwell in a constructed ‘golden era’ by providing a mythical sense of shared memory and values (Tranter and Donoghue 2007).

At the time of Federation in 1901 there was general interest from government, organisations and institutions to stimulate a unified sense of national identity as the colonies came together joined by ideas of modernity under the British Empire (Mewett 1999) Many Australians however, needed more than a signed document to fully embrace the birth of the nation as people deeply identified themselves as British and perceived the concept of an Australian identity as threatening their British loyalty (Stratton and Ang 1994). Facing this popular resistance, in addition to the hesitance from several states to become part of the Federation meant that governments needed a great deal of negotiations and creativity to establish what other countries had obtain through their independence wars; a deep nationalistic feeling in their population and an independent nation (Kavanagh 2010). However, the end of the 19th century did see some upsurge of popular national sentiment and today it is generally seen as the period when our Australian identity was first positioned and captured as it was fervently portrayed in a collective effort, for example, in the works of the Heidelberg School¹ and other federation artists (See figure 1 to 4 in Appendix).

Extending on this point, artists and art itself played a key role in giving the young nation a sense of identity as nations often need to be imagined before they are fully recognized and embraced (Kavanagh 2010). The spirit of the country was an important theme in the arts at the time and its role was not only to stimulated people’s imaginations but to help overcome Australia’s collective embarrassment of its convict past, whilst offering inspiring representations of itself for itself and the world (Tranter and Donoghue 2007).

The myths or ideas of what is ‘typically’ Australian, initially shaped in the 19th century, have since adapted, changed and extended to include other historical and

1. The term is no longer restricted to those artists who painted in the Heidelberg area and is now commonly used to cover late 19th Century and early 20 Century artists who worked ‘plein air’ in different locations in Australia

cultural elements that identify and transfer qualities from earlier myths to newer myths (Waterhouse 2000). The most important Australian Myths relevant to my current research outside of the indigenous paradigm are:

- The Explorer, Pioneer & Settlers Myths
- The Convict Myth
- The Wilderness/Frontier Landscape & Bush Myth
- The ANZAC/Digger Myth (even though this myth is not part of Federation art I have included it in this paper because of its relevance to other myths and to Australian national identity)
- The Migrant Myth (this myth is not explored in this paper)

In my research I review these myths through a postcolonial migrant perspective as they are embedded with ideas of modernity and enlightenment which are charged with beliefs of cultural and ethnic superiority over non-European and more explicitly British culture². The following is a brief outline of the most important elements within the Australian mythscape, their relationship with Australian identity and their relevance in society.

The Explorer, Pioneer and Settler Myths mainly celebrate the hard work and resilience of those (Europeans) that first settled the continent. These myths commemorate the heroic sacrifice of men (and women) taming the new and unforgiving Australian environment into an optimistic future and modern society (Waterhouse 2000). Overtime the Explorer, Pioneer and Settler myths produced the popular notion that the hard labour of the first settlers was not only directed to sustain their families but also to ensure the wealth and progress of the country and its future generations, turning them into highly romanticised myths in popular culture (Hirst 1978). These three legends and their racist underpinnings were nurtured in the arts to the extent that they took on their present status and in the process helped to hide, at least to the minds of those in the late 19th century, the troubling fact that Australia was first, a convict colony (Tranter and Donoghue 2010), and later it was established on a racist foundation. However, as heroic as these myths are they left enough cultural space for other iconic and popular figures to grow in a 'larger than life' style; such as the figure of the bushrangers where Ned Kelly is the greatest and most celebrated example.

The Convict Myth: Is centred in the idea that the quintessential convict, brought to Australia between the 1700 and 1800s, was generally an innocent victim of the unjust British legal system who might have been excessively punished

2. In the 19th century ethnicity was closely related to nationality and within different Anglo Celtic groups there was great difference in how they were considered and classified as superior or inferior races in Australia and the rest of the world.

because of a minor offence (Myers 1992). Regardless of how much truth there might be in this myth, one element that continues to be relevant to Australian national identity is the fact that many Australians are direct descents of convicts and what is more significant is that many continue to identify with that notion (Tranter 2003). Others have shifted their association with this to deny the criminality of the myth but continue to identify with the virtues that these colonial convicts had, such as their toughness and resilience to survive (Tranter 2003).

The Bush/Frontier myth: It is important to mention that historically Australia and its landscape has been surrounded by a sense of mystique long before it was first colonised by Europeans. This particular element greatly influenced and stimulated the imagination and formation of the Frontier and Bush myths. In this sense Australia was often imagined, and expected to be, a land of surreal nature and character ever since European powers predicted the legendary existence of a southern continent (Longley 2007).

The Bush myth holds several levels of meaning and interpretations as it was both considered an inhospitable and unforgiving landscape while at the same time it was made to reflect the propaganda symbols and inadequate virtues of European colonisation through its conquest and discovery (Myers 1992). On this point, the Australian bush is a concept mostly created by artists, poets and city dwellers but used and understood by everyone for different reasons (political, artistic etc). This myth ultimately celebrates the nostalgic life of early settlers in contrast to the corrupted reality of urban living (Astbury 1985). In Federation art, the Australian Bush, is often portrayed as a female concept in contrast to the male (white) labour that by being conquered became a simplified concept that simultaneously denied and excluded Aboriginal people from Australian European history and its myths (Waterhouse 2000). On a different note, a more sensual and perhaps erotic view of the Australian landscape is evident in the conceptualisation of an idyllic sunny paradise; home to a healthy white race living in utopia as portrayed in Norman Lindsay's work and Sydney Long's work of the early 1900's (Figures 5 & 6 in Appendix 1) This utopia could only come into being as part of the Australian mythscape after the Australian bush was conquered and Aboriginal Australians were displaced both in reality and in the mythscape (Edwards 1989). Through this myth, white Australians arguably became the 'new indigenus'.

Within the Australian mythscape the ANZAC myth is perhaps the most important of all. I decided to include this myth as part of my research as I believe it inherited and echoes the most resilient qualities of previous myths whilst maintaining the hidden racist undertones of white Australian identity; turning it into a rich source to compare with and represent my perspective on the Australian Mythscape.

The ANZAC experience, in the early 20th century, gave Australia its long needed sacred foundation and to this date the country continues to celebrate and

commemorate the bravery and sacrifice of Australia's soldiers in the First World War (WWI) and later in the Second World War (WWII) as the true birth of the nation (Morris 2006).

Within the ANZAC myth the 'digger' figure is the one that embodies many of the values (real and imagined) of the Australian ethos. Many elements from older myths were transferred to the ANZAC as they found common ground in the ideals that surrounded that era. Mateship, loyalty, courage and strength are qualities that quickly turn into key components of the ANZAC mystique, as well as the ideas of self-sacrifice and the general egalitarian views towards other (white) people compatible with the qualities found in earlier Australian myths (Stockings 2010).

Much of Australian identity has been closely related to its mythscape and the ideas that they embody. To be Australian or to be a 'real' Australian is to hold a conscious or un-conscious understanding of the values, both virtuous and questionable, of these myths such as the ideals of male hard work and mateship as well as their xenophobic and paranoiac undertones (Myers 1992) that complement the view of the continent as a tough land that is both a safe haven from, and vulnerable to, outside evils.

Having in mind that since 1945 an estimated 6.5 million people have migrated on a permanent basis to Australia; it is not surprising to find that today approximately 45 per cent of Australia's population was born overseas or has at least one parent who was born overseas (Australian Government 2011). Since the abolition of the White Australia policy in 1973 a significant number of those migrants have been from ethnicities other than white European. This point was strongly reflected in the Australian census (2012) as Data from our cultural diversity was released in mid-2012.

There is no doubt that such extensive migration has significantly transformed the face of the once British Australia into a vibrant and multicultural society. But has this transformation changed how we fundamentally see and represent ourselves in our mythscape? Or has Australia been split between migrant and Anglo Celtic Australia? Have migrants taken ownership of this land as 'true' Australians?, just as white settlers did when they arrived. These are all questions I aim to discuss in my thesis and challenge through my art practise as I revisit the Australian Mythscape as it was first portrayed in the early 1900's.

Artists now days continue to work on issues of national identity as they celebrate, define and challenge the concept of what Australia is, what it means to be Australian in a multicultural society and globalised world. On this point, postcolonial theories have deeply influenced the core of many art practices, even when many contemporary artists are not aware of this influence, as they provide the support for a critical view of the imbalances of the world and give voice to the untold stories of people (Kapchan and Turner 1999).

Overall, conceptualising Australian identity has always been the great challenge of defining who we are as a nation. In a few centuries Australia has moved on from a convict and free British colony to an independent white Australia, and finally to a multicultural society incorporating other cultural influences that, over time, have contributed to re-shaping our notion of what it means to be Australians (Ward 2005). The challenges of cultural and ethnic diversity in Australia require our persistent attention and demand us to develop a collective effort, similar to that experienced in the arts during the Federation period, to re-define our national identity. Australia's cultural and ethnic diversity urges us not only to review what it means to be Australian in the 21st century but to review the validity of our old-fashioned mythscape and produce one that truly commemorate us as a migrant nation.

In this paper I explored the Australian mythscape and how these myths have deeply influenced the ways in which we see and represent ourselves as a nation. I also explored the important role of federation artists in the formation of our national identity and, as the cultural map of Australia has changed, the real need to re-evaluate the Australian mythscape and re-imagine our nation through the arts.

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APPENDIX



*Figure 1: **The Pioneer**, Frederick McCubbin, 1908, oil on canvas 223.5 x 86 cm; 224.7 x 122.5 cm; 223.5 x 85.7cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne*



*Figure 2: Shearing the Rams, Tom Roberts, 1890, oil on canvas 122 x 183 cm.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne*



*Figure 3: A break away!, Tom Roberts, 1891, oil on canvas, 137.3 x 167.8 cm.
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide*



Figure 4: Fire's on, Arthur Streeton, 1891, oil on canvas 183.8 x 122.5 cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales



Figure 5: Court to Peacocks, Norman Lindsay, 1927, oil on canvas



Figure 6: Pan, Sydney Long, 1898, oil on canvas, 107.5 x 178.8cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales

[IN]ACCESSIBILITIES

PRESENTATIONS, REPRESENTATIONS AND RE-PRESENTATIONS IN ARTS-BASED RESEARCH

ALEXANDRA CUTCHER

There lingers a crisis of representation with respect to arts-based doctoral research. Despite the progress made by researchers and the suitability of the digital environment for the reception of arts-based research, authentic portrayal continues to be an issue that troubles the possibilities for dissemination. As such, the artistic freedoms of the research and its expressions are compromised, and so too are the integrity and authenticity of the research. Performance or exhibition grounded doctoral dissertations continue to be underserved in the examination process as well as the mandated subsequent research dissemination in text-based documents. This paper examines issues of presentation, representation and re-presentation of creative and practice based doctoral dissertations, and specifically explores ways in which artists can perform the text and text the performance so that the work remains authentically arts-based.

Key words: Arts-Based Research, Visual Arts, Representation, Text and Image

RESEARCH IS WHAT SCIENTISTS DO

One of the continuing quandaries in arts-based research is how to authentically exemplify a spoken narrative, a process or an event; things which are context spe-

cific, performative and idiosyncratic. The data in such contexts is enacted for or by the researcher; it is told, expressed, staged and presented. Although arts-based research has progressed as a form at the doctoral level, and many innovative PhD theses have been constructed, one of the challenges that continues to irritate arts-based research is the adaptation of creative works into text-based documents, the traditional medium for the dissemination of such research. The tensions between the creation of arts-based research and its representation in traditional text-based documents are complex and continue to be a stumbling block for the form.

The traditions that have served universities for centuries are persistent; they dominate and they deprive. The pervading scientific traditions of the academy continue to be reflected in the expectations of how all inquiry is to be reported and dispersed. Form and the content are inextricably linked, and together they give an impression of ‘hard research’. As Eisner (2006) highlighted about the academy, “[r]esearch is what scientists do. Painting or composing is what artists do. Thus creating something called “arts-based research” is to some a kind of oxymoron” (p.9). With respect to the dissemination of arts-based research, the researcher is (still) largely expected to conform to scientific traditions, which is somewhat counterintuitive. It is a mischief that results in a poverty of opportunity for arts-based researchers to showcase their work in ways that are authentic to the work, in ways that can access the unique experience of the direct encounter.

In arts-based research, the representation and generation of knowledge are sometimes inseparable. Making meaning of one’s own life through aesthetic modalities can be powerfully revealing and productive. Arts-based inquiry eschews categorisation; it relies on experience and connection and subjectivity – all things that academic (read scientific) traditions abjure. Although this may be a daunting prospect for the researcher, it does have its freedoms. The work of the arts-based researcher is gloriously eccentric, the processes covert. These eccentricities can make the representation, presentation and the re-presentation of the research a challenge.

This is particularly acute in the case of doctoral research and its dissemination. It is not enough to do good work (Catterall, 2009). The work has to ‘get out there’, and in ways that are faithful to the research; as authentically arts-based, artful performance of the research. This continues to be a troublesome issue for creative forms of doctoral work due to the imperatives of academic existence that require publication in whole or in part once the candidate has graduated. Such dissemination of PhD research is a process which dances from page to stage and back again, vis:

- *Representation* – the production of the PhD thesis/ exhibition/ performance/ book (‘page’);
- *Presentation* – at conferences, seminars and symposia (stage);

- *Re-presentation* – translating the presentations into refereed conference proceedings or peer reviewed journal articles (page, again).

In each step of this process, researchers must engage in a translative act. The challenge for arts-based researchers in this process has its roots in the subversive nature of the Arts in research. The Arts are by their nature, rule breakers; they are unempirical, they are intuitive, they are insolent. Art is captivating; it will not sit quietly on a page. It is impetuous, impatient and expects that you experience it in immediate ways; not as a representation, not second-hand, and not as a substitute. As Dewey attested (1934), art is an experience, a direct, aesthetic experience. As such, Art cannot easily be contained in neat and tidy thesis documents, book chapters or journal articles.

The demands of the academy to insist upon publication of research in text-based, peer reviewed journals results in a predicament for the arts-based researcher. Textual ‘manifestations’ of performance, installation or musical composition for example, can bleed these experiences of their capacity and their power through the requisite processes of translation. The experience of reception can thus become somewhat *anaesthetic* – a sedated, numbed interpretation of the original.

This is problematic, given the demands of our domain to publish in what is referred to as “high quality” publications. What this actually means for people who work like me is that the “high quality” publications may not be those that are necessarily relevant to our field, or appropriate to the form of the work.

Herein lays the dilemma. How does one faithfully transcribe the live performance (of data; of doctoral dissertations in the form of dance, theatre, and exhibition; of conference presentations) in ways which authentically embody the work being described? The short answer is of course that you cannot. Nothing can replace or be substituted for real, live artwork, live sound, live action, live movement or live drama. A text based paper in a journal is not a performance, nor can it accurately represent a performance using just traditional word-based presentations as Saldaña asserts, “you are not hearing me speak these words aloud to you...You are reading a printed artefact” (2006, p.1091). The documented form of a performance (or painting) is just that: it is a reproduction, a record, a symbol. It is not the actual, material and conceptual entity. The real thing has to be encountered, in context. It is ephemeral, it is privileged and it is theatrical; it has to be seen (and experienced) to be believed.

So if we cannot faithfully transcribe live performance, what can we do? Arts-based researchers can (and should) use delivery strategies that create simulacra of the work being presented, represented or re-presented. Through the construction of interpretive, aesthetic research representations, arts-based researchers can create context driven, site specific artworks which mimic the conceptual and material practice of their research.

If the researcher is indeed an artist and the artist a researcher (Finley & Knowles, 1995), then it follows that the research is portrait or self-portrait of the inquiry and by virtue of its unique qualities, the researcher (Cutcher & Ewing, 2011). This can be complemented by a further body of (text- and/or performance-based) artworks which are linked to the research yet are transcendent of it. As a result, the audience is able to construct many readings of the form being crafted as a text-based artwork thereby allowing the reader to get a sense of the aesthetics in the original. In this way, the re-presentation and representation of the research becomes a suite of arts-based interpretations (or simulacra) unfolding again and again in the reading as the reader becomes an active accomplice in its enactment.

This paper demonstrates some examples of artworks that I have developed when faced with this crisis of [re]presentation. Such works invite the reader to ‘text’ the performance; ‘perform’ the text and finally, ‘text’ the performance once more.

REPRESENTATION OF PERFORMED STORIES (TEXTING THE PERFORMANCE)

The trouble with the sterile transcription of oral performance is that we are too often left with an inadequate rendition. As argued above, words on a page give a sedated impression of the speaker, and little or no understanding of the original performance of the words. In my readings of thesis documents, I have often found it frustrating that these central aspects of the research (the transcripts) are often consigned to the appendices. Although we can never fully encapsulate the act of oral performance in text-based works, the stories can indeed be honoured in ways that are central to their meaning and intention, acknowledging the presence, personality, history and experience of the storyteller.

In my own doctoral research (Cutcher, 2004) I worried this dilemma for months. My research was autobiographical and arts-based; my participants were myself and my Hungarian family. Whenever I conduct research using participants, I find it a crucial aspect of the research process to create some type of portrait, whether it is a collage, an abstraction or a likeness (see Figure 1) in order to engage my understandings of each participant as individuals. The portraits in my doctoral research have elements of all of these.

It was important to me personally as well as to the research, that I capture (at least in part) a sense of the personalities of those who were being so generous with their stories, as well as to get a glimpse of their multiple identities. The imagery is more fully explained in the body of the thesis either with the digital representation of the images, or in the memoir passages of the thesis, in a type of reflexive artistic statement that can either be read with the image or disregarded. The reason that I find it necessary to create such portraits is that the process enables me

to get ‘inside’ each character, to utilise the information they have given me (and they have not given me), in conjunction with what I have observed about them.



Figure 1: Portrait of my Father

It was through the act of creating the portraits and thinking through the material practices of artmaking (Sullivan, 2008) that I was compelled to move beyond the traditional text based documentation of the narratives. Image making slows my consciousness, as writing can sometimes be too noisy in my head. By creating images I am able to explore the characters in respectful and conscious ways. Painting and printmaking are more contemplative for me; I pause and reflect upon the participants and the information they have presented as I paint, carve and print. The portraits did in fact inspire the rest of the artmaking processes and products in the thesis.

The construction of a compelling narrative depends on the writer’s ability to ‘read the scene’. The writer, therefore needs to ensure that the “scene is seen” (Barone & Eisner, 1997, p.101). One must notice (and render) what counts. As Diamond & Mullen assert, “[A]rts-based forms [can] make experience more accessible, concrete, imaginable, and affecting” (1999, p. 20). Images give us insights that are unique, in ways that a declarative statement cannot.

Thinking through these issues as I created the portraits, I came to the decision that I needed to portray a more complete representation of the transcripts of my participants. I wanted to be provocative, but I also felt it was important to produce a portrayal of the oral performances that was authentic to both the storyteller and to the stories being shared. I wanted the audience to “see the scene” as

I had, through my eyes as the artist-researcher, but also to engage in an aesthetic experience during the act of looking.

I eventually decided to present the edited monologues as *illuminated manuscripts* or visual diaries. Just as I had created portraits of each family member, I combined artefacts, documents, related imagery and photographs into a bricolage in order to create diary-style pages as another type of ‘portrait’, which describes visually each of the narrative monologues. The visual illuminations on the narrative manuscripts are decorative elements that frame and augment the diary-style pages (see Figures 2-4). They appear in order to complement the writing and to provide an immediate, rich and visual essence to the information being presented. I have utilised family photographs, letters, documents and other personal historical visual information in order to do this. Much like the decorative elements on a medieval illuminated manuscript such as the Book of Kells, these illuminations are both decorative and informative. The colours of the paper utilised as supports, as well as the font styles have been carefully chosen to reflect the character of each of the contributors. They are meant to be read visually and/or verbally, so that the reader is able to actively and subjectively create their own interpretation of the events and experiences.



Figure 2: My Father



Figure 3: Myself



Figure 4: My Mother

The illuminated manuscripts operate as artworks and as narratives, as well as a combination of these. The images reflect ‘light’ back to the storyteller, directing our gaze to attend to what is being said and to what is not. The text-based representation of the narrative is augmented by visual devices which interrupt, enhance, contribute and transcend the stories. The audience thus gets further layers of information about the narrative and the individual who performed it. In this way, the “scene is seen” (Barone & Eisner, 1997, p.101), not just by me as the researcher, but also by any reader of the work. The portrayals become individual

artworks which together constitute a body of artwork about the speaker, and the spoken, a visual/verbal portrait. Conveniently, such a strategy also ‘obeys the rules’ in that they can exist in an A4 (letter sized), bound, text-based document. However, they do demand a full colour rendition and thus continue to irritate traditional black and white formats.

PRESENTATION (PERFORMING THE TEXT)

I have been a frustrated audience member in many presentations where the (obviously talented and imaginative) author has chosen to give a traditional paper, scrupulously edited, typed and read verbatim. Such occasions have bled the artistic power out of even the most interesting work. At such times, I have longed for the actual images, drama, poetry, or music that is being discussed. I am well able to read a paper myself and probably in much less time than it takes to present it. No doubt, the pressures of wanting to make it through to the “refereed stream” have meant that the traditions of conference behaviour have demanded it.

I seek ways to aggravate such boundaries. In my research, I find it problematic to separate the forms I use (painting, digital forms, printmaking, poetry and creative writing) when discussing the research and its representational form. Recent conference work has been performed as staged storytelling with digital installations (Cutcher, 2011), bricolage of poetry, image and storytelling (Cutcher & Ewing, 2011) and most recently, poetic readers’ theatre and video (Cutcher & West, 2013). In this way, I remain faithful to the Art and faithful to the Research. It seems self-evident that enactments at conferences and symposia for works of arts-based research should be portrayed in ways that remain authentic to the methods used in the work being presented. That is, they ought to be presented *artistically*; performance-as-artwork.

It is encouraging that practitioners of note are performing their conference work, in the truest sense, to great effect. Donald Blumenfeld-Jones’ enactment, dancing his data at the 2006 AERA Annual meeting’s Vice Presidential address comes to mind. More recently, the *Narrative, Arts-based and “Post” Approaches to Social Research* (NAPAR) conference in Arizona early in 2011 saw a range of rich and original performance-based presentations. Of particular note were a Readers’ Theatre (Saldaña, McCammon, Omasta & Hines, 2011), One Man Play (Blumenfeld-Jones, 2011), Deaf Crit (Valente & Bahan, 2011) and Digital Portfolio, Folktale and Film (Fonseca, 2011). It is these occasions I find to be truly remarkable, as they are faithful to the texture of the work being portrayed, informative and inspirational. They have been vicarious and powerful learning moments; the synthesis of content and form facilitates the performer’s authority of the form. Such approaches engage the aesthetic of the method being utilised. In this way,

the dynamic between artist, artwork and audience is authentically engaged in the moment of performance and its immediate reception.

I urge all arts-based practitioners to create conference and symposia presentations in this way. Once this methodology becomes tradition, when we have a research culture that expects artful representations and dissemination of arts-based research, we work towards creating new traditions for research in general, rather than as a marginalised form of inquiry. It is in this way that we can continue to colonise “scientific” territories.

RE-PRESENTATION (TEXTING THE PERFORMANCE, AGAIN)

As conference presentations, performances such as those described above are artworks; the audience encounters an aesthetic experience. I have discovered that a very real difficulty arises when I attempt to grapple with the complexities of translating such performances (e.g. Cutcher, 2011; Cutcher & Ewing, 2011; Cutcher & West, 2013) into text-based documents for publication. I bump into many difficulties in the rendition; it is frustrating that much of the nuance, texture and creative presence are lost in the necessary translation.

One of the biggest challenges for such documentation, in my view, is resolving the tensions between such exciting conference performances and submitting papers that “represent” them. Performance texts, by virtue of what they are, are performed. They are not transcriptions or text-based documents. Even a script gives prompts and staging directions – and it is up to the actor to interpret the words and give them life on stage in the ephemeral moment of enactment.

Writers of theatre and fiction have been grappling with such challenges throughout history, so it is to the writers and the poets that I have turned for inspiration. There are many literary devices that arts-based researchers can employ to make the words “perform”. Add images to these devices and the result is a text-based artwork that simulates aspects of the original performance yet also transcends it.

Consider the examples below. The first of these is a paragraph of words in the traditional style. It shares the same font as the rest of this paper, and is written as straight prose. The examples that follow play with literary devices such as punctuation, font style, size and placement on the page as well as imagery to create visually poetic renditions. I encourage the reader to read them silently first, and then aloud, using the formatting, patterns, punctuation and stage directions implied in the layouts.

Example A:

What type of word count do you place on an image? On a time based performance? On a dance? What about my voice? You can't hear it. What about pacing? You can't hear it. What about emphasis, pauses, expression, movement, tension, emotion, impact? You can't hear it.

Example B:

What type of *word count* do you place on an **image**??????



On a *time-based performance*?????

On a *dance* ?

What about my **voice**?

You can't hear it.

What about **p-a-c-i-n-g**?

You can't hear it.



What about
emphasis, pauses, expression, movement, tension, emotion,
impact?

.....*You can't*

hear

it.



These examples in themselves are not performances although it can be said that the interplay of image and text in the second example ‘performed’ together. Nor do they adequately document my own performance of these words – in the very best of postmodern traditions (oxymoron intended), your reading created a new text that gave you an impression, an awareness, a simulacrum. They are not absolutes as Eisner said, “everything I say is incomplete” (2011); everything I perform is incomplete, everything I write is incomplete. However, these devices add drama to the experience of reading them and speaking them creates dissimilar effects. How did it feel to perform the words? What did it sound like? What was the outcome? Were you confused, delighted, irritated? These are important questions.

Even if you resisted the suggestion to speak the words aloud, the way the text has been formatted, sized, laid out and arranged, demanded a more active role in your reading, interrupted further by the inclusion of imagery which also, by their very presence, demanded to be read. You had to make a decision as to *how* the reading would occur – in what order, in what way, and when and how you would engage with the images. It would not have been a passive experience; your eyes would have moved across the page in altered ways, pausing and accelerating at whim. You had choices about how you were going to engage. Directions to “read the following aloud” forced yet another interpretation. The imagery presented the further complicated the reading, simultaneously as interruption and amelioration.

Using such poetic devices with words and with full colour images, are the materials of artistic practice in the context of the text-based document. The way we engage with texts, and how they are presented to us as an audience, will influ-

ence our readings. Straight prose can be limiting, it can lack intensity, and it is difficult to do in a way that shows any depth and because it takes time to articulate emotion in academic or common language, it can actually bleed the sentiment of its magnitude. Poetic, visual and dramatic literary forms can articulate intensity more succinctly, more powerfully and can express a depth of emotion which slows down the reading to allow an individualised response – an aesthetic experience. Our lives, our research and our performances are layered. Poetic and dramatic forms (when done well) are also layered, and thus give the reader a more tangible experience of the event. The documented form can be the artwork in itself.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The work will be polarising and this is appropriate; artists have often been the *agents provocateur* of their cultures. Until non text-based artworks such as exhibitions, installations, performances and digital theses are ordinary forms of PhD submission, and online digital displays of such work become the norm, our community must meanwhile push beyond the boundaries of ‘academic’ or ‘formal’ conventions to ensure that creative works of research are not further marginalised; that the synergistic marriage of form and content so evident in arts-based research is preserved in its dissemination. Journal editors, those gatekeepers of form and content, can also progress this idea further, by accepting submissions that artfully represent research as the standard - such as in this journal, rather than as (tokenistic) special issues. Researchers must continue to aggravate the frontiers; we must continue to authenticate, advocate and to champion.

There is still much to be done to bring performance and exhibition into the centre of social and educational research, and to provide appropriate mediums for sharing this very important work. New traditions must be developed for the reception of all arts-based research that insist upon direct encounters. There is much yet to be done to coax the scholarly audience towards a context where it will be possible to engage in (if not live, then) documented performances and exhibitions in visual, time-based rather than textual forms, such as that which serve the digital environment so well. The Arts, and the Arts in research, rely upon immediate, receptive experience for understanding. Only then will we address the [in]accessibilities in arts-based research.

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SMOKE AND MIRRORS

RECRUITING HIDDEN POPULATIONS IN VET

ANNIE VENVILLE, ANNETTE STREET,
& ELLIE FOSSEY

Purpose

This paper explores some of the challenges recently encountered in the recruitment of vocational education and training (VET) students with a diagnosed mental illness.

Design/Methodology/Approach

Twenty students with mental illness, from four VET Institutes in two states of Australia, participated in a qualitative case study investigating factors affecting successful course completion.

Findings

Access to students was dependent upon key contacts in each research site and although difficulty in recruitment was anticipated, unexpected opposition to student recruitment strategies came from some of the specialist staff employed to assist students with disabilities. Staff portrayed opposition to recruitment strategies as means of ensuring harm minimisation to students with mental illness. This paper argues that such protective gate keeping behaviours could equally be constructed as deliberately paternalistic and, at best, unintentionally stigmatising.

Keywords: Mental illness, recruitment, participation, barriers, VET, students

Three quarters of those who develop mental illness do so between the ages of 16 and 25, a time when most young people are commencing post-secondary education and training programs (CoA, 2008). Certain manifestations of illness and the side effects of medications can make mental illness more visible however the relative concealability of mental health problems means that differences are often unobservable to others (Brohan *et al.*, 2012) and people may choose when and if to disclose. Students with mental illness, whether disclosed or not, have been described as one of the most *at-risk* groups in the vocational education and training (VET) sector. This is attributed to several factors, including: poor course outcomes, the very presence of the mental illness and the oft-reported stigma and shame that surrounds mental illness (Cavallaro *et al.*, 2005; Venville 2010; Miller and Nguyen, 2008). Secrecy enveloping mental illness makes it difficult to determine the size of this student cohort (Shaddock, 2004) and, with reliance on self-disclosure in routine data collection, rates of disclosure of mental illness in the post-secondary education sector appear low (McLean & Andrews, 1999; Bathurst & Grove, 2002; Miller & Nguyen, 2008). Research that privileges the voice of disadvantaged students has been called for to inform learning strategies and achieve better student outcomes (NVEAC, 2011). Likewise, there is a call for the voices of those with mental illness to be heard in the research literature (Beresford and Croft, 2004; Epstein *et al.*, 2001).

A robust and comprehensive literature in the health and social sciences is devoted to the conduct of research that balances the potential risks of participation with the right to be heard. Matters of informed consent (Du Bois, 2007; Turnbull *et al.*, 1988), managing participant distress (NHMRC, 2009; Lee and Renzetti, 1993), trust and confidentiality (Mechanic and Meyer, 2000) receive due attention. Ethical standards expect researchers working with hidden and hard to reach populations to ensure that they do not stigmatise and further marginalise members of already vulnerable groups (Weis and Fine, 2000), yet recruitment of members of vulnerable groups can pose distinct and complex challenges. This paper explores some unexpected issues encountered in the recruitment of VET students with mental illness in a recently completed qualitative study investigating the place of disclosure of mental illness in the Australian VET sector. A snapshot of the substantive study, *Unfinished Business*, is followed by a critical examination of the recruitment process.

THE SUBSTANTIVE STUDY- A SNAPSHOT

Unfinished Business was a qualitative and interpretive case study (Stake, 1995, 2000) funded by NCVER. A central aim of the study was to get behind the *taken-for-granted* cultural meanings of mental illness, disclosure and course success in the VET context. This aim is most closely aligned with a social constructionist

epistemology (Burr, 1998) which rests on the assumption that knowledge, including the most basic, *taken-for-granted*, common sense knowledge of everyday reality is derived from and maintained by social interactions (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). As a theoretical framework, social constructionism is concerned with explaining the social processes by which people describe, explain or account for the world in which they live. This theoretical lens was seen as especially useful in understanding the ways that mental illness and disclosure are constructed in VET—the different languages that people use and the sense they make of what they do.

Three case studies were chosen to provide the maximum opportunity to learn about the research problem: enrolled students with a diagnosed mental illness, VET staff and VET institutional practices. The choice of this design framework allowed for the selection of sites from both the public and private VET sectors and also enabled an exploration of the impact of regional and institutional variables on the student experience. Twenty students and twenty staff from four Institutes in two states of Australia were interviewed in the study. The place of disclosure of mental illness in VET was the central unit of analysis within each case contributing to a richer understanding of the phenomenon. Overall, the findings indicated that disclosure is not preferred by VET students with mental illness, even in the knowledge that educational supports are structured in such a way that their provision is dependent upon disclosure. A more detailed account of the key findings is published by NCVET (Venville and Street, 2012).

THE CHALLENGES OF RECRUITMENT

To better understand the factors influencing disclosure, and the place of disclosure in successful course completion, we intentionally sought to recruit students with a diagnosed mental illness, whether or not they had formally disclosed their mental illness to the VET Institute. From the first contact with Institute Directors (or nominees), it was clear that negotiations concerning research into mental illness belonged to the realm of specialist staff; it was considered outside the domain of the staff member who usually managed Institute research projects. At the three public VET sites, the key contacts nominated were specialist equity and access staff; the counsellor was the contact at the private site where no specialist equity staff were employed. These contact staff determined access to students in two crucial ways: through arranging site visits and approving recruitment strategies, both of which directly impacted students' opportunities to volunteer to participate. There were notable variations across sites (Table 1).

Recruitment Strategies	Site 1 Private Inner City	Site 2 Public Outback	Site 3 Public Regional	Site 4 Public Outer-Metro	Total students recruited across sites
Email invite from Institute Director to all staff and all students	✓				7
Email invite from Institute Director to campus heads and head teachers		✓	✓	✓	
In-class presentation	✓ 27 classes over 3 days	✓ 7 classes over 2 days	✓ 6 classes over 2 days		9
Poster display on student and staff websites	✓			✓	
Invitation from disability staff				✓	3
Hard copy poster and information sheet displays	✓	✓	✓	✓	1

Table 1: Recruitment Strategies and student participants

The printed poster and information sheet display was the only recruitment strategy to gain support and implementation across all four sites; it also proved to be the least effective. Site 1 issued an email invitation from the Institute Director to all students and all staff, whereas Sites 2, 3 and 4 emailed the invitation from the Director to campus heads and head teachers only: it was then left to the discretion of these staff to arrange further distribution. Site 4 made email/letter contact with all students registered with the Disability Liaison Office (DLO) - the follow up email however was only to students identified as “likely” to have a mental illness by the DLO. 10 students of the 20 recruited in total responded to invitation via email/letter. Notably, of the three students opting in from Site 4 in response to the letter of invitation from the DLO, only one had disclosed their mental illness, the remaining two had declared other disabilities they perceived to be more acceptable (hearing impairment and learning disability).

The in-class presentation

Sites 1, 2 and 3 allowed mainstream class visits to promote the study, whereas Site 4 refused permission for in-class presentations. During the in-class presenta-

tions students were given a snapshot of the central issue under investigation- poor course completions for students with a disclosed mental illness. Researcher background, professional and academic interest in the issue was briefly described and students were told that while some research into this problem had occurred, it had been largely from the perspective of those professionals typically cast as having expert knowledge regarding students with mental illness- teachers, counsellors and disability staff. We spoke of the importance of the lived experience of mental illness and of the need to hear from those students the factors they believed contributed to successful course completion. We explained that we were also particularly interested in the factors that influenced their decisions to disclose or not disclose their mental illness and the role disclosure played in course completion. The nature of participation in the project and the strategies for participant protection were described and students were advised of ways to obtain further information about the study. They were reminded of the voluntary nature of participation.

Access to classes for these presentations varied between sites. Site 1 allowed access to the majority of classes in operation during research visits, Site 2 granted access to seven classes, Site 3, six classes and Site 4 denied access. Sites 2 and 3 curtailed access to the arts, retail, information technology, nursing and welfare oriented classes. Interestingly, three teachers who opted into the study were trade teachers yet access was not granted to a trade class in any site. Nine students out of 20 in total opted in as a result of in-class presentations. Table 2 shows the number of student participants per site.

Students	Site 1	Site 2	Site 3	Site 4
Female	7	3	1	4
Male	1	4		
Total	8	7	1	4

Table 2 Student participants per site

OBSTACLES TO RECRUITMENT

Foucault (1975) contends that knowledge and power are inseparable. Information about this study was largely governed by a select few who were able to exercise power to control access. Contact staff acted as gatekeepers by managing site visits and access to students. The apparent unwillingness to actively enable student recruitment by some counselling and specialist disability staff was couched in the language of *duty of care*, what Ware (2002) describes as the professional diction of overwrought concern. It was necessary for us to be alert to the existence of subtle institutional pressures and sanctions and the potential impact of

institutional context on a student's right and opportunity to make a free choice about participation. We were also mindful that a professional qualification did not shield staff (Ware, 2002) from these same organisational constraints.

All sites but one refused to distribute research participant information to students registered with Disability Support. Two key reasons were given for this decision: (1) the view that students would interpret a direct communication (not related to study support) as a violation of role and breach of confidentiality thus creating an ensuing loss of trust in the staff and (2) that students would consider this form of communication as evidence of open support for the study which could coerce participation from those more vulnerable students who may not understand the ramifications of involvement in a research project dealing with the sensitive topic of mental illness.

The refusal by one site to allow in-class presentations was also portrayed as a protective measure, a duty of care. Key staff expressed the fear that a student showing open and public interest in the study would be constructed as one who is mentally ill and therefore likely to experience discrimination from fellow students or staff. This was an interesting comment in the context of the language used by that Institute in its promotional material wherein it describes itself as a "*health promoting organisation*". These obstacles to recruitment were represented as means of ensuring harm minimisation to students with mental illness, however this protective gate keeping could equally be constructed as deliberately paternalistic and, at best, unintentionally stigmatising.

Specialist disability staff demonstrated a more active form of resistance to the study by their own lack of participation. Table 3 shows the numbers of staff by site and position and of the twenty staff participants, only two were specialist disability staff. This lack of involvement came as a surprise as I (AV) had naively assumed that most specialist disability consultants would be particularly interested in understanding the factors influencing disclosure and successful course completion. This assumption was grounded in my own work experience in the VET sector. At the commencement of the study I had not long left the VET sector where I had been employed in a large public Institute in New South Wales as both counsellor and teacher-consultant for students with psychiatric disabilities. I thought it was important to disclose my recent employment in VET as part of the recruitment process in order to enhance trust and aid in role clarity and hoped that a description of past work experiences would give potential participants insight into my motivations and capacity for completing the study. I aimed to demonstrate sufficient knowledge of the research topic so staff would see me as someone who could be trusted "to report fairly... and informed enough to make the conversation worthwhile" (Rubin and Rubin, 2005, p. 86). Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest that the border between *insiders and outsiders* is often cloudy and I paid considerable attention to acknowledging my work experience in the VET system as an

insider, while seeking to clarify my *outsider* status as researcher. I failed to see that my interest could be interpreted as a critical comment on the status quo until a number of staff informed me that they “do a good job here”.

Position	Site 1	Site 2	Site 3	Site 4
Teacher	2	3	4	
Counsellor	1	2	1	2
Specialist disability staff		1		1
Student support staff	2			1

Table 3: Staff participants by site and position

Staff reluctance presented us with a challenge: while mindful of not minimising the concerns that staff expressed, we were committed to hearing students’ views. Stringent research procedures were designed to ensure participant safety but attempts to reassure staff failed to convince all who could have enabled our access to students. It is possible that staff reluctance to assist may have reduced the number of student participants who had formally disclosed their mental illness to their VET provider. Indeed, there are increased numbers of students with a diagnosed mental illness engaging with post-secondary education (Stallman and Shochet, 2009; Collins & Mowbray, 2005; Megivern *et al.*, 2003), yet they are not formally registering with Disability Services (Vivekananda *et al.*, 2011; Martin 2010).

Risk versus benefit

It is conceivable that some specialist staff underestimated the willingness of students to contribute to the study or were unaware of the benefits gained by participating in research that casts one in the role of expert (Grinyer, 2004). In sharing their stories, many research participants achieve something in return. Self acknowledgement, catharsis and an increased sense of purpose have been identified in the literature as some of the benefits of participation (Corbin and Morse, 2003; Hutchinson *et al.*, 1994). In seeking confirmation of consent at the beginning and end of the interviews, an opportunity was created for the students to articulate their motivations for participation (Table 4). This gave them and us insight into what they were seeking in exchange - an unexpected consequence of an action primarily designed to reduce the power imbalance between the researcher and the students, and to ensure informed consent. Without exception, students reported feeling enriched through participation in the study and this may provide a partial explanation for the very high participant retention rate (80%) recorded in this study.

Themes	Representative quotes
To assist others	<p>'If my experience can help one other person then it has almost been worth it' (S J Site 1)</p> <p>'I do not want other students to experience the difficulty that I have' (K Site 4)</p> <p>'No-one wants to listen, no-one wants to know' (B Site 2)</p> <p>'They need to know not everyone is perfect' (F Site 4)</p> <p>'Others might not speak out' (C Site 1)</p>
Validation of recovery	<p>'It's a building block for me and I have to thank you for giving me the opportunity' (M Site 2)</p> <p>One of the reasons I wanted to do this interview is because um, the last two universities I went to I kind of dropped out because of my anxiety. I really admire what you are doing and thank you for letting me be part of it' (E Site 1)</p>

Table 4 Student reasons for participation- Unfinished business

Determining risk

When the language of risk creeps into the practice of the professional the orientation shifts away from the present to the future and actions become more about the management of what might go wrong. Once we become aware of a risk, once a risk is identified, we are forced to become what Beck (1992) describes as a *risk decision-maker* and must then embark on a journey to control that risk. Specialist disability staff described two central dilemmas impacting on their role in the recruitment of students into the study: breaches of trust and confidentiality and an unwillingness to over-burden students with mental illness. Tomlinson (1982) constructs this as a type of benevolent humanitarianism and urges wariness.

The implicit assumption that participation in the research process is potentially harmful can remove participant agency and control over what is said (Morse, 2002), how it is said (Ramos, 1989), or if anything is said at all about a topic (Corbin and Morse, 2003). We suggest that such defensive actions pose a risk to students with mental illness. The protective gate keeping role adopted by some specialist staff could be interpreted as a lack of belief in the capabilities of individuals with mental illness - the very type of stigmatising response that students told us they were so keen to avoid: *"If you can't trust those who are there to help you, who can you trust?"*

According to Foucault, people know "what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does" (Foucault cited in Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, p.187). Specialist disability staff

enact the Disability Standards for Education formulated under the Disability Discrimination Act (CoA, 1992). These Standards clarify the obligations of education and training providers to ensure that students with disabilities are able to access and participate in education and training on the same basis as those without disability. A psychiatric diagnosis is a fundamental pre-requisite for students of educational institutions in Australia seeking reasonable adjustment on the grounds of psychiatric disability. The requirement of a diagnostic label of illness indicates support of the medical model of mental disorder implying people with mental illness need ‘experts’ to treat them; this effectively places them in positions of passivity and helplessness (Walker, 2006).

Thus, for VET students, the disclosure of a mental illness necessary to receive the mandated ‘expert’ help available may send a “separate but equal” (Evans, 2008, p13) message at best, but more likely it perpetuates and reinforces a sense of ‘othering’. In turn, this can “compound experiences of discrimination, oppression or abuse which may have contributed to people’s distress in the first place” (Tew, 2005, p. 224). Language is involved in setting and maintaining power relations in society and the spoken language creates distinctions like “mentally ill” versus “not mentally ill” (Walker, 2006). Attention must be paid to “the ways in which complex systems of domination rely on the oppression of one group to generate privilege for another” (Bailey, 1998, p. 117).

Fox (1999) argues that risk is in the eye of the beholder and the experience of risk is deeply personal (Beck, 1992). If our understanding of risk and experience of risk-taking contribute to our sense of who we are, to our autonomy – what does this mean for those people who have less and less opportunity to exercise this fundamental right? The right to risk taking behaviour may be withdrawn by professionals and by the burden of illness. Ware (2002) claims that educators in general and special educators in particular operate from an imaginary “moral framework” (p.163) that minimizes the need for reflection and she calls for a re-examination of professional beliefs and practices: “Simply put, I urge that we be fully conscious of the consequences of our actions as educators” (Ware, 2002 p.151). We too caution staff against the unintentional disempowerment which can be created by low expectations and the soft bigotry of benevolence.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Charmaz (2006) reminds us that taking a social constructionist approach to research means acknowledging that subjectivity applies also to the researchers, who are only able to interpret interpretations, and construct constructions provided by the participants. In casting a critical eye over our recruitment strategies we identified an inadvertent barrier to the development of the requisite level of trust needed for students and staff to participate. Because of the distances from researcher

base to study sites, visits were necessarily of short duration. Our fleeting site visits mimicked the very behaviours part time teachers told us contributed to their own difficulty in establishing relationships with students, gaining collegial support and monitoring students at risk. We flew in and flew out. MacDougall and Fudge (2001) recognize that the preparation and contact stages of research often require considerably more time than that available within time limited projects.

In creating opportunities for the voices of those missing from the research literature to be heard researchers are obligated to make transparent their decisions about the ways in which findings are communicated (Charmaz and Mitchell, 1997) and the voice they privilege. They must also be aware that members of hidden populations may represent a different account of reality from those otherwise available (Jorgensen and Phillips (2002). With twenty students and twenty staff, numbers in this study are relatively small and we acknowledge that there are many student voices we did not hear. Research exploring the ways specialist disability staff construct mental illness may illuminate potential barriers to recruitment of students with mental illness. It is hoped that a discussion of the obstacles to recruitment that we encountered will contribute to the wider debate on the ethical conduct of sensitive research.

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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF RHETORIC AGAINST COMPLEMENTARY MEDICINE

JEFF FLATT

Purpose

This paper aims to critically analyse a selection of the 'Friends of Science in Medicine' media to determine if power and ideology are linguistically structured and deployed in their representation of complementary medicine.

Design/methodology/approach

Thirteen separate media events are collated as a single case and analysed by critical discourse analysis. This research design interrogates discourse statements for their constitution and reproduction of power and ideology.

Findings

The Friends of Science in Medicine represent complementary medicine through a strategy of rhetoric and argumentation that contradicts the literature. Their discourse is symbolic and derives from a power-based ideological perspective that forms the basis for promoting exclusion of complementary medicine from university education and primary health care.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, rhetoric, complementary medicine, ideology, power, Friends of Science in Medicine, science, evidence-based medicine.

This paper presents a critical study of events occurring in Australia in early 2012. These are the collective discourse of the 'Friends of Science in Medicine' (FSM), who are a special interest group originating from within biomedicine. They advocate the cessation of university complementary medicine education 'not based on scientific principles nor supported by scientific evidence' (Friends of Science in Medicine, 2011). FSM formed in late 2011 and as of February 2012 had a membership of '450 Australian biomedical scientists and clinical academics' (Token Skeptic, 2012). By April 2012 they had widened their focus from university education to the clinical practice, use and legitimacy of complementary medicine within Australian society. The six complementary medicine disciplines identified within their original criteria had also enlarged to an open-ended listing by this time (Friends of Science in Medicine, 2011; Friends of Science in Medicine, 2012).

A variety of responses emerged as this discourse progressed during the early part of 2012. Internet postings generated lengthy debates within comment forums and scholarly journals published articles that reinforced or disputed the FSM position (Norrie, 2012; Novella, 2012; Spedding, 2012). Complementary medicine professional associations also responded and expressed concern that FSM were using emotive reasoning based in anecdote, inaccurate definitions and misrepresentation (National Herbalists Association of Australia, 2012; Australian Traditional Medicine Society, 2012). In addition, some observers described the FSM depiction of complementary medicine as problematic due to political and ideological overtones and power-based rhetoric (Komesaroff, 2012; Komesaroff et al., 2012; Myers et al., 2012).

Because they are attempting to impact the education and practice of complementary medicine in Australia, it is essential FSM are accurate in their interpretation of the disciplines they are discussing. The responses described above indicate that their argument is contested, and it is suggested that their rendering of complementary medicine is neither accurate nor impartial because of their ideological and power-based interests. This paper will investigate this possibility.

RESEARCH DESIGN, DEFINITIONS, AIM AND LIMITATIONS

None of the publications cited above have systematically examined the FSM discourse. As a consequence, in-depth empirical analysis of the objectivity of FSM is lacking. This paper attempts to address this by applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) to statements used to portray complementary medicine. CDA is chosen for this task because it is able to scrutinise the concepts of power and ideology within discourse (Wodak, 2001). As Blackledge (2012) explains, CDA can analyse text for the constitution and reproduction of power because it is through language that agents establish unequal power relations and enact discriminatory

practices. Power and ideology are selected for review because various commentators cite their influence within the FSM interpretation of complementary medicine. Adams et al (2009) also identify these as strong socio-cultural features of the biomedicine - complementary medicine relationship, and as discursive repositories that characterise debate between these healthcare fields.

There are a variety of CDA approaches to the analysis of discourse. In Meyer's (2001) review of the theory and method of CDA, he identifies fourteen techniques that examine power and ideology. Four of these are relevant to this study: *coherence*, which explores statements that signify the immediately observable intention of the discourse; *lexical style*, which considers specific words used for more subtle intentional meaning; *rhetorical figurativeness*, which examines the use of symbolic language to generate persuasive meaning; and *propositional structures*, which investigates the use of statements that propose knowledge. In short, this choice of analytical techniques explores the meaning, intention, persuasiveness, and knowledge propositions within discourse.

In this paper, discourse is defined as 'meaning-making as an element of the social process' that arises from 'a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective' (Fairclough, 2012, p. 11). Definitions of power and ideology are sourced from the literature discussing biomedical and complementary medicine relations. In this context, the notion of power derives from medical sociology and is concerned with professional dominance of healthcare practice, patients, training, and regulation (Broom, 2006). According to Baronov (2008), biomedicine has a dominance in these areas that derives from an ideology consisting of science, privilege and positivism. He describes these features interacting in various forms to socially express biomedical power.

Assessing whether this power and ideology are linguistically structured and deployed by FSM in their representation of complementary medicine is the aim of this paper. To achieve this, a concise paraphrased review of the FSM argument is presented, followed by a description of the main thematic areas of their discourse. Statements illustrating the FSM depiction of complementary medicine are extracted from these themes and CDA is applied. The findings from this process are aligned to the literature and the presence of power and ideology within the discourse is discussed.

Limitations

This paper does not explore the genre, history or intertextuality of the FSM discourse. This refers to the presence of similar arguments within different texts through time, and is the analysis of the common goals of a 'discourse community' (Wodak, 2008, p. 15). While highly relevant to this paper, this area contains a considerable amount of rich material that constitutes a separate publication.

THE FSM ARGUMENT AGAINST COMPLEMENTARY MEDICINE

The primary contention within the FSM argument is that the tertiary teaching of complementary medicine undermines the credibility of Australian universities. They state that the delivery of these courses represents an invasion of 'pseudoscience' into academia that sullies genuine scientific teaching and research (MacLennan and Morrison, 2012). They claim that complementary medicine university health science courses are unscientific due to their theoretical groundings, which that say are untestable. They are 'distressed' that these therapies are given scientific validity and state that healthcare should not be taught or practiced unless it has scientific evidence (ABC Brisbane, 2012; Science on Top, 2012; Token Skeptic, 2012; ABC Breakfast, 2012).

Shortly after their initial media penetration, the FSM discourse moves away from a purely university focus. Their discussion widens to include the clinical practice of complementary medicine within Australia, which they claim uses fabricated scientific credibility to deceive the public. The presence of these practitioners in the community, FSM argue, leads to dilution of the health dollar and wastes public money (ABC Brisbane, 2012; ABC Central Coast, 2012; The Skeptic Zone, 2012). Incredulity at the willingness of the public to engage with 'non-sensical' medicine is stated, and disbelief at the potential for intelligent people to suspend their normal judgment to pursue complementary medicine healthcare is present (2SER's Razors Edge, 2012; ABC Brisbane, 2012; The Skeptic Zone, 2012).

This indicates that the focus of the FSM argument is not only the cessation of university delivery of complementary medicine but also the rejection of the practice and use of these healthcare practices within Australian society. Their discursive position is summarised within their contentions that '... the whole idea here is that we should abandon all alternative and complementary medicines' and '...hopefully eventually getting rid of the whole concept of an alternative system ...' (ABC Brisbane, 2012; ABC Breakfast, 2012).

COLLATING AND ANALYSING THE FSM DISCOURSE

FSM were active in the Australian media in the first four months of 2012 and promoted their argument through the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *ABC*, the *Conversation*, the *Medical Journal of Australia*, the *Australian Doctor*, regional radio stations, and skeptic podcasts. By May of 2012 thirteen separate FSM discursive events were sourced from the public domain and collated as a single case. This fusion of multiple media is able to occur as the discourse creates a unified message with thematic saturation.

Three dominant themes emerge from FSM statements focusing on the representation of complementary medicine. These centre on practice, patients, and the demarcation of complementary medicine from scientific biomedicine. In the following section each of these themes is discussed through a literature-based description, a selection of relevant FSM statements, and an analysis of their content.

Practice – a Literature-based Description

The term complementary medicine describes a set of heterogeneous disciplines with a taxonomy and public healthcare delivery status that varies between different national and state regulatory systems. Most recognisable are those professions and occupations supported by technical literature, professional associations and recognised systems of education (Kaptchuk and Eisenberg, 2001). The practice of these disciplines is diverse, descriptions of different clinical methods are published, and in Australia practice variations are recognised (Nestler, 2002; Expert Committee on Complementary Medicines in the Health System, 2003; Dunne et al., 2005; Conway, 2011).

A cohesive practice method with theories of holism and vitalism is promoted within complementary medicine. This refers to the view that patients have an interconnected matter, life, and mind that is ‘more than the sum of its parts’, and treatments are prescribed with the aim of augmenting a ‘vital principle distinct from physiochemical forces’ (Smuts, 1936, p. 101-102; Morgan, 1998, p. 36). However, this proposed unity of method is not evident amongst all practitioners and these theories, their definition, and their application are contested in the complementary medicine literature (Fulder, 2005; Greco, 2009; Evans, 2012).

The FSM Representation of Practice

The FSM discourse does not clearly define complementary medicine, and states ‘... terms are very tricky. We ourselves have wondered how to use them’ and ‘(t) here’s a sort of, there’s a word CAM which amalgamates complementary and alternative medicines, and it’s probably not a very good bracket...’ (Science on Top, 2012; World News Australia, 2012). They describe the historical origins of complementary medicine as ‘spring(ing) fully born into the mind of some German peasant or sort of a backwoods bloke in America as a fully blown theory’ (Science on Top, 2012). FSM comment on those who might follow these historical origins when they say ‘God knows why you should think that people who believe the world was flat are wiser than people now’ (Science on Top, 2012).

FSM describe complementary medicine practice using vitalistic theory. Reill (2005) outlines the original eighteenth century description of this as a non-physical force forming an indefinable energy. FSM apply this definition when they state ‘...they’ve gotta have a mysteries energy that no-one can define and no-one can locate and no-one can identify’, ‘... there’s always a mysterious energy

involved' and '...completely fanciful theory of mysterious energies ...' (Token Skeptic, 2012; Science on Top, 2012). Practice is described as ineffective pseudoscience because '... when you try and test the theory you can't because it's not testable...' which means '... there's absolutely no evidence and could be no evidence to support them...' (ABC Brisbane, 2012; Token Skeptic, 2012). Consequently FSM describe complementary medicine as '... a faith, that's not a science, that's a faith' (Token Skeptic, 2012).

Because FSM believe these therapies are unfounded, practice efficacy is said to be due to non-specific treatment effects. Statements such as '(t)here's a huge placebo effect for many of these things' and '(h)omeopathy ... it's a total placebo...' show that FSM do not believe complementary medicine therapies have effectiveness (Radio Adelaide, 2012; ABC Central Coast, 2012). This leads FSM to then describe practice as dangerous because patients, they say, are ineffectively treated. This creates '...delays in effective treatment, side effects, drug interactions, health misinformation and distrust of conventional medicine' (MacLennan and Morrison, 2012, p. 225). Statements accentuating this risk are applied, such as '... public harm being done to patients', '... there's a lot of harm being caused in women's and children's health', '... the threat is to society in general' and '(l)ives have been lost over this' (The Skeptic Zone, 2012; ABC Brisbane, 2012; 2SER's Razors Edge, 2012).

Analysis of the FSM Representation of Practice

FSM do not clearly define or delineate complementary medicine practice. Subsequently, they universalise a wide variety of distinct practices. This fictional grouping is then subjected to ongoing negative sentiment that has a demeaning intention. This is borne out in the lexical style, where copious derogatory statements occur. These statements act to ridicule and 'other' complementary medicine as a whole, with the implication that it warrants exclusion because it is underdeveloped, unsophisticated and absurd.

Accompanying this are sweeping statements that describe a mythical practice that is unable to be scientifically assessed. These act as rhetorical accomplishments that aim to persuade the audience of the compromised state of complementary medicine. FSM reiterate this proposed inadequacy when they assert that these practices are dangerous to public health. These are propositional statements that have a superficial appearance of logic. However, they are not presented with evidence to underpin their allegations, which undermines their validity.

Patients – A Literature-based Description

Australian public use of complementary medicine occurs across all ages, genders, races, and health conditions. It is said that 44 percent of adults and 24 percent of those with chronic disease access practitioners and products (Xue et al., 2007; Lin

et al., 2009; Armstrong et al., 2011). Research from different regions of the globe reveals a higher degree of subjective suffering for many users, and describes those with chronic ill health forming the larger portion of long-term patients (Rossler et al., 2006; Grzywacz et al., 2007; Bishop and Lewith, 2008). Use of complementary medicine increases proportionally with higher levels of educational attainment (Briggs, 2010).

This use is associated with a variety of push and pull factors. Push factors away from biomedicine include dissatisfaction with the doctor-patient relationship, concern over pharmaceutical side-effects, and the perception of a lack of efficacy of treatment. Patients are pulled to complementary medicine due to its holistic orientation and their desire for an active role in shared treatment decisions within an inter-subjective and caring relationship (Bishop et al., 2010; Berger et al., 2012).

The FSM Representation of Patients

Patients are regarded by FSM as naive and susceptible to mythology. They state that '(p)eople should be free to choose what they like, and they always will' and '... if they believe in the mythology, that's up to them, they can go...'. They go on to say there is '...ill informed choice from patients...' who are 'either gullible themselves or they are victims...' (Radio Adelaide, 2012; 2SER's Razors Edge, 2012; The Skeptic Zone, 2012). They describe patients lacking in critical thought where '... when they tell you that they've got evidence for their treatment, it usually means something like, well it helped my grandmother' and they warn patients that '...whilst they can keep an open mind about therapies when they first investigate them, their mind should not be so open that their brain falls out' (Token Skeptic, 2012; The Skeptic Zone, 2012).

FSM portray patients as uneducated and needing information, protection, and guidance. They say '...the public needs to be educated...' and authorities should be '...informing consumers and protecting them', particularly 'from what has absolutely no chance of helping them' (The Skeptic Zone, 2012; ABC Breakfast, 2012). To validate their viewpoint they quote examples describing negative patient experiences and say that '...hundreds of emails ... have been flooding in...' describing mistreatment by practitioners (ABC Breakfast, 2012).

Analysis of the FSM Representation of Patients

FSM use paternalistic language towards patients, who are belittled and viewed as uneducated. The intention is to describe those using complementary medicine as lacking judgment and having underdeveloped critical faculties. The FSM lexical style portrays complementary medicine patients in the same way as practice: backward and unscientific. Throughout this portrayal, the public are rhetorically presented as unreasonable in their use of complementary medicine. The FSM

discussion contains propositional statements that assert knowledge and understanding of patient's agency. These assertions contradict the literature and are at odds with current evidence.

Demarcation – A literature-based Description

Demarcation discourses attempt to differentiate and separate practices that fall outside specified criteria. The philosopher of science, Karl Popper (1959), describes scientific demarcation as identifying selected characteristics to distinguish science from other kinds of intellectual activities. Various authors identify numerous influencing factors in demarcation attempts that include socio-cultural forces and contextual elements of culture, language, and history. These combine to form rhetorical demarcation strategies, notably in the use of evidence as a tool of differentiation (Taylor, 1996; Zerbe, 2007).

Attempts at demarcation of biomedicine from complementary medicine are documented. These tend to follow similar lines of reasoning, with propositions of implausibility and absurdity being commonplace (Sampson and Atwood IV, 2005; Greasley, 2010). This reasoning is socio-cultural and ideological, and resides in what Hansen and Kappel (2012, p. 17) term 'pre-trial belief' or 'beliefs held prior to empirical investigation into the effectiveness of a particular treatment'. This is further described by Jenicek and Hitchcock (2005, p. 125) as the rationale that 'researchers will justifiably refuse to accept even positive results from apparently impeccable meta-analyses of apparently impeccable randomized trials of proposed remedies grounded in scientifically false theories'. This position is considered to be problematic for valid review of complementary medicine evidence (Ernst, 2004; Linde and Coulter, 2011; Rutten et al., 2012).

The FSM Representation of Demarcation

FSM present a clear demarcation strategy within their discourse. This is expressed in their desire to '...realise clearly where the line that distinguishes good medicine from pseudo medicine is' and '... fundamentally, what lies at the heart of it is not whether this university's good or that university is bad, it's what exactly does evidence-based mean' (Token Skeptic, 2012; The Skeptic Zone, 2012). They define demarcation criteria when they refer to complementary medicine and say '...it's not about knowledge, it's about the presentation of absolute anti-science... ' and '(t)hey are pseudoscience, or at best they are anti-science or non-science' (ABC Breakfast, 2012; Token Skeptic, 2012).

This places the FSM interpretation of science as a primary demarcation fixture. However, this position is conflicted because they dismiss the current positive complementary medicine evidence-base when they proclaim '... don't tell me it's evidence-based. It's not!' (Token Skeptic, 2012). Conversely, they promote research when they say '(t)he evidence-base we know can only come from research,

no disagreement with that' because they want to '... make sure the public gets the very best in the most scientific of all ages of evidence-based medicine' (ABC Breakfast, 2012).

Marginalisation of complementary medicine appears within the demarcation strategy when FSM say '... there are many alternative practitioners, naturopaths and things, who give perfectly sound advice about lifestyle management and the like'. These types of statements particularly target chiropractic when FSM say '(t) here may be a physiotherapy aspect to chiropractic and backs' because '...there is an evidence-base that's similar to that for physiotherapy' and '...more reasonable chiropractic performers are doing what is essentially stuff like physiotherapy' (ABC Breakfast, 2012; Radio Adelaide, 2012; ABC Brisbane, 2012; Science on Top, 2012).

Analysis of the FSM Representation of Demarcation

These FSM statements intend to differentiate between what they describe as scientific biomedicine and unscientific complementary medicine. Their lexical style consistently references 'evidence-based' and they portray complementary medicine as pseudoscientific. Statements of non-science status for complementary medicine are rife, which contributes to a marginalisation discourse. The suggested lack of evidence compared to biomedicine is referenced to the Cochrane research database, where complementary medicine holds a minuscule percentage of total data. Thus, the FSM propositions of demarcation criteria are dubious due to severely disproportionate comparisons and pre-trial belief negating impartiality towards evidence.

DISCUSSION

Collating the findings from the thematic areas provides an overview of the FSM representation of complementary medicine. There are three main characteristics within the discourse that make up this representation.

Firstly, FSM universalises distinct complementary medicine disciplines to circumvent difference. This strategy has been criticised as responsible for rhetorical constructions rather than factual representations. These are said to reflect an ideological attitude as opposed to accurate empirical observation. This is because they create fictional portrayals that constitute targetable entities for demarcation discourse and maintenance of professional dominance (Caspi et al., 2003; Stone and Katz, 2005; Shroff, 2011).

Secondly, demarcation is attempted through what Gieryn (1983, p. 781) terms 'boundary work'. This is the use of science to differentiate practices that challenge professional domination. Here FSM apply positive scientific qualities to biomedicine and negative non-scientific qualities to complementary medicine.

As Derkatch (2012) says, efforts to demarcate biomedicine from complementary medicine are processes that use constitutive rhetoric, where agents of language represent complementary medicine for their own ends. Taylor (1996) also states that definitions of science within such discourses are intentionally constructed to exclude non-scientific practices. This construction is operationalised by FSM through interpretations of science and evidence that act to sustain professional dominance and power.

Finally, evidence-based medicine is rhetorically applied to develop normative statements for healthcare education and delivery. Numerous authors say this carries an inherent risk of fundamentalism, intolerance of alternative views, and the use of evidence as a symbolic weapon (Jadad and Enkin, 2007; Derkatch, 2008). These comments reveal the rhetorical value of evidence as ideological symbolism, and this discourse uses this strategy to forcefully promote a certain type of science. However, the inability to provide proof for statements, combined with the presence of pre-trial belief, undermines this approach. This is said to be a common error in such discourses (Astin, 2002; Ernst, 2004).

What emerges from these findings is a discourse strategy that allows negative statements to be applied in an attempt to delimit complementary medicine. However, because FSM portray their subject matter in a manner contradictory to the literature their argument is symbolic rather than factual. This makes their discourse a 'strategic manipulation of symbols to support a preconceived end' (Hyde and Binham, 2000, p. 211). The result is a rhetorical construction of complementary medicine that is an expression of ideology and power concealed behind scientific and evidence-based objectivity. This finding reinforces the viewpoint of those who have previously commented on this discourse.

CONCLUSION

The paper has asked whether FSM deploy power and ideology within their discourse, and if their portrayal of complementary medicine is accurate and impartial when compared to the literature. CDA techniques have been used to analyse a selection of FSM statements across a range of media events, and have explored and illuminated underlying motivations for FSM speech acts. The findings have shown that FSM contradict the literature in their viewpoint of complementary medicine and its use, and manifest ideology and power within their discourse.

The implications of this are that FSM are using a style of language that promotes their own beliefs to suppress alternative voices. This leads to FSM having an inaccurate understanding of complementary medicine and patients because they have an interpretive bias originating from an ideological perspective. Their underlying desire to maintain power overrides any potential positive outcomes from

within their view of complementary medicine, and contributes to a discourse that presents as diatribe.

The statements that FSM use have no respect for complementary medicine or its patients, create no potential for the application of science to this healthcare field, and leave no room for equitable scholarly debate. The negative implications of the presence of this type of imbalanced argument within the public sphere are not limited to the complementary medicine field. The knowledge community needs to carefully review these voices and conduct an ongoing critical analysis of the expressed demands. If this type of ideological discourse is allowed to flourish unchallenged, the possible consequences for freedom of knowledge and unfettered access to healthcare are significant.

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