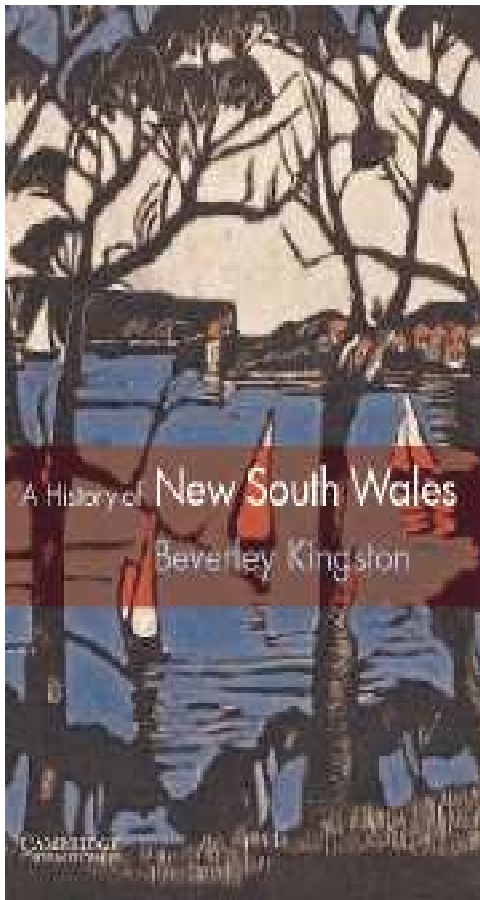


A History of New South Wales by Beverley Kingston. Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. x + 299, £40 Hardback, £17.99 Paperback, ISBN: 0521833844 and 0521541688.



Claimed as the first history of New South Wales in one hundred years, Beverley Kingston's book is a fast-moving, opinionated, often enjoyable work to read. Her atmospheric and sometimes idiosyncratic volume in the *Oxford History of Australia* series, covering 1860-1900, whets the appetite for another overview history. Since the book contains a photograph of the author playing in a North Shore garden in 1942, it is not ungallant to mention that her active life-experience covers about one quarter of the European history of Australia. Indeed, the torrential narrative becomes splendidly partisan in the more recent period. I enjoyed the description of a Labor politician – in this case, Neville Wran – as a Faust who had sold his soul to the media, if for no other reason than because it makes a change from the standard allusions to Judas by embittered progressives. Kingston has had a long-time role in planning the New South Wales entries for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, and her text is enlivened by incisive sketches which include little-known

aspects of the lives of politicians, such as George Dibbs. Nor should we forget that the author is BA (Queensland) and PhD (Monash), and so can shrug off the jibe: what do they comprehend of New South Wales who only Watsons Bay know? To have been based in Brisbane and Melbourne during the personally and nationally formative years of the Sixties ought to qualify an observer to assess whether New South Wales should be seen as Middle Australia – 'the Australian archetype' (p. 3) as she calls it in an opening section. Yet while it would be unfair to describe her book as unsatisfactory, I found it unsatisfying. This review seeks to identify some structural shortcomings in the hope that we do not have to wait another hundred years for the attempt to be made again.

In her *Oxford History* volume, Kingston sliced her forty years into five thematic approaches: materialism, belief, society, culture and power. With such a structure, there is a danger that some episodes will slip through the mesh, and there was some challenge in conveying the cumulative effect of chronological change over four tumultuous decades. For the smaller canvas of New South Wales, she adopts a narrative approach, although there is some back-and-forth zig-zagging, for instance jumping fifty years to bracket the executions for the Myall Creek massacre with the mass hanging of the Mount Rennie rapists. Kingston's view that sugar was an important element in the 1890s debate on federation triggers two pages on cane plantations and crushing mills from 1821 to 1887 – rather more detail, in fact, than is given to the federation movement itself. This scrambling of chronology may explain

why some points that might deserve highlighting scarcely register at all. The proclamation of the Nineteen Counties in 1829 — an early attempt at geographical definition of an organised colonial polity — is listed in a time-line appendix, but the text merely makes a few opaque allusions to ‘the settled districts’ (p. 20), thus weakening the context necessary to understand squatting. For a chronological account to work, the story-line needs to clothe a scaffolding of clearly defined questions, deftly brought to the surface from time to time to add coherent analysis to the factual recitation. Some such explanatory issues are hinted at in a brief opening section, but the clues are thinly pursued.

First, there is a need for a robust if teleological recognition that this is a history of New South Wales within its post-1859 boundaries. Port Phillip and Moreton Bay have more than a walk-on role in the early decades, and the loss of the former remained a wound (witness the proposal by Dibbs for a re-merger in 1894, which Kingston does not mention). However, viewed from the 21st century, Victoria and Queensland are essentially distinct stories — although it might have been interesting to have Kingston’s opinion of the latter’s role as the mother colony’s deputy sheriff in the Deep North. The notion of a ‘core’ New South Wales does create some difficulties in taking account of the later Canberra enclave but from the point of view of a single-volume history, the significance of the national capital lies mainly in the ‘ripple’ effect of its impact on the southern tablelands. This could be accommodated by including Queanbeyan as one of a number of state-wide reference points used for occasional stocktaking.

Firmer definition of the post-1859 core as the focus of the study would add to the desirability of giving more attention to maps and statistics than this volume allows. The four maps are all hand-me-downs from other publications, and it is puzzling that nothing should have prepared specially for the first general history in a century. There is no clear indication of the Great Dividing Range, one of the geographical imponderables in the New South Wales story. Near the end of the book, Kingston comments that Sydney is hemmed in on its three landward sides by the Illawarra, the Hawkesbury and the Blue Mountains. This is a theme that merits both earlier exposition and cartographic exploration.

Statistics are scattered thinly and without obvious relevance: three estimates for sheep numbers, covering 1813 to 1851, follow a paragraph on railway construction in the decade 1855-65. One of the unifying themes in a history of New South Wales must surely be the growth of its Europeanised population from approximately one thousand First Fleeters to almost seven million today. A single-page table offered as an appendix would have been a nod in the right direction, so that demographic nerds could at least have flipped back to see how many people the book was discussing at any time.

More surprising is the neglect of even speculative discussion of Aboriginal populations, especially at the time the first settlers arrived. It is a fair point that, in subsequent times, the white man’s census persistently undercounted Aboriginal people. For decades, the bureaucrats were not very interested, many Blacks were still migratory and people of mixed race preferred not to identify their pre-1788 heritage. (The latter helps explain why the Aboriginal census population jumped by two-thirds in the five years that straddled the 1967 citizenship referendum.) Perhaps the recent bout of scholarly name-calling over early colonial Tasmania is a reminder that speculation about pre-contact populations is incompatible with a quiet life. But Kingston is surely not afraid of controversy, and that missing half page on the central question — how many Aborigines were there in core New South Wales in 1788? — is a

major blemish. In 1987, Charles Price suggested a rock-bottom figure of 48,000, but that was based on a continent-wide estimate only a shade above Radcliffe-Brown's 1930 moderate estimate of a continental total of 300,000. Most subsequent reconstructions point to at least twice as many people in 1788. Not only can Australia-wide estimates be scaled downwards, but it is also possible to attempt an in-state, bottom-up reconstruction. One of Kingston's four maps shows around forty language groups in core New South Wales, and minimum calculations can surely be attempted for at least some of these. A consensus figure at around 100,000 people on 25 January 1788 would mean that the first century of the European incursion into New South Wales wiped out 90 per cent of the original human stock. A few sentences about boring old guesstimates could give a State history a chillingly powerful organising theme.

Population is the key to another explanatory mystery. How is it that a State more than twice the area of Germany packs so many of its people into a single city? In 1861, one person in seven lived in Sydney. By 1947, the proportion was half, and now it is heading for two-thirds. Kingston appears to take this dominance for granted. It is all very well to describe the magnificence of Port Jackson (although Kingston does not do so), but the non-development of King George's Sound at Albany and Macquarie Harbour in Tasmania prove that it is not superb anchorages alone but also access to hinterland that create a great port city. The three-sided hemming in of Sydney that Kingston notes for the first time on page 230 was an even greater obstacle to its growth in earlier times. As Kingston reports, there were times in the late nineteenth century when Newcastle handled as many ship movements. It was the imperial and above all the colonial state that made Sydney the focus of communications, and an overview history requires a robust account of the way in which railways and roads were manipulated to this end. One of the positive features of Kingston's coverage is the consistent attention given to road-building, but always with the Rome-like assumption that they must all lead to, or from, Sydney. This carries over into the story of the railway network. 'It was decided that New South Wales ... needed railways, three lines, like the roads, one to the north, one to the west, and another to the south.' (p. 42) 'New South Wales' here equals 'Sydney', and the directional description requires the addition of 'from Sydney' to make sense. Even the best sustained section on railway construction in the late nineteenth century, on pages 74 to 77, similarly assumes the centrality of Sydney, although it acknowledges Newcastle as a secondary focus: 'The railway reached Goulburn' and 'inched towards Bulli' (pp. 75, 77).

The omission of any interrogation of the process by which Sydney dominated communications is all the more regrettable, since Kingston's introduction, which promises so much, refers to 'internal tension' between Sydney and the bush, a theme which is hardly emphasised in the succeeding chapters (p. 5). Curiously, although the dominance of Sydney within the State is assumed, it is difficult to gain much impression of its suburban growth. Here, again, maps would have been useful. Perhaps 'bubonic plague broke out in the Rocks in 1900' is a historical cliché, but the omission of all reference to the episode is puzzling. Even though it happened downtown, it symbolised the price paid for unregulated urban growth.

And yet, alongside this world-ranking city, New South Wales has also managed to generate another urban centre, with a population larger than Tasmania. Mysteriously, J.C. Docherty's history of Newcastle, published in 1983, is cited as useful reading for Kingston's post-1988 chapter, the result perhaps of the author's tendency to fill in gaps by doubling back. She does, indeed, call Newcastle 'the

quintessential NSW city' (p. 228). I doubt the adjective. Docks, coal-mines, steel-works, a university – it is hard to see Newcastle as emblematic of Goulburn and Tumut. But if Newcastle has been so mainstream in the New South Wales experience, surely we should have heard more about it in the preceding chapters?

More peripheral areas of the State receive even shorter shrift. 'In some ways, the Riverina has always seemed closer to Victoria', remarks that tantalising Introduction (p. 5) but – barring a couple of unsubstantiated allusions to a new state movement – the implications of this statement are not explored, and a smudged map of the irrigation areas is hardly a substitute. A minor-key with none the less valid theme in New South Wales history is the vision of a mighty city in the Murray valley. Kingston records 'considerable political pressure to meet the Victorian line when it reached the Murray at Wodonga in 1873. Express trains with sleeping cars then took only eighteen hours to cover the distance between Sydney and Melbourne' (pp. 75-76). Albury is not mentioned, and 'then' obscures the fact that the urgently desired link-up took another ten years to achieve. The break in gauge has to be inferred from a previous paragraph, and the general impression conveyed is of a smooth and efficient inter-colonial rail link, which is far from the truth. A century later, the Albury-Wodonga growth centre project is mentioned in passing, bracketed with its unworkable Bathurst-Orange counterpart. It would be unfair to call Albury-Wodonga a failure, but it is surely worth asking why it has hardly proved a ringing triumph: free-enterprise Coffs Harbour was just as notable an urban success story throughout the last quarter of the twentieth century. A history that firmly accepted the primacy of Sydney as the work of the colonial state might well have explored why its more powerful Commonwealth successor achieved so little at Albury. One pertinent question here is the extent to which the New South Wales-Victoria boundary constitutes, even nowadays, a greater barrier to economic development than it has ever interposed against fruit-fly.

If I were compiling a do-it-yourself New South Wales history kit, one box that I would certainly expect to be ticked would be the farcical attempt by Henry Parkes in 1888 to change the colony's name to 'Australia'. We know that this provoked derision south of the Murray, where helpful spirits suggested the alternative of 'Convictoria'. Presumably the episode also provided a window into attitudes to local identity, an opportunity to survey editorial attitudes to what it meant to be part of a colony so randomly named by Captain Cook. According to A.W. Martin's biography of Henry Parkes (p. 369), the veteran Victoria-baiter John Robertson was all for the change: 'If this Colony is not Australia I should like to know what Colony is.' Alas, Kingston passes over this potentially revealing affair in silence.

Of course, it is always difficult to measure something so diffuse as identity, and especially so in a keystone unit of a wider polity. Historians concerned with British identity have to disentangle Englishness, while in Canada, the study of Ontario was for long tacitly seen as a semi-amateur form of local history. In 1974, Ontario history was challengingly re-conceptualised by H.V. Nelles in *The Politics of Development*, which examined how government control of resource development had shaped not only the development of key industries, but the operation of the provincial political system itself. In effect, Nelles saw the Ontario story as one in which urban interests in the south, especially Toronto, carved up forest and hydro-electric resources in the north. This littoral-hinterland analysis does not entirely transfer to New South Wales, partly because the major mineral resource, coal, was located so close to the coast, but also because Sydney did not establish exclusive control over the

mining industry. But there remains scope for fruitful Ontario-New South Wales comparative studies.

Kingston begins her conclusion with the remark that while it is ‘not easy to disentangle the history of New South Wales from the history of Australia’, studies of other States ‘show that there are differences, some strongly felt’ (p. 250). It is regrettable that she gives so few clues about these strongly perceived distinctions. One of the strengths of her *Oxford History* volume was its emphasis upon the fundamental fact that there were six distinct colonies in late nineteenth-century Australia, and she sometimes conveyed the impish impression that the default position for Australian identity was to be found in Queensland. It is not necessary to recite the complete history of the other five States in order to measure New South Wales distinctiveness. When, rarely, Kingston does adopt a comparative framework, as in her explanation of the reasons why New South Wales Labor escaped a major DLP split, both the utility and the economy of the approach are demonstrated. Exploration of particular areas, such as sport and religion, might provide useful indications.

It does seem odd that a general history of any part of Australia can be published in 2006 that says so little about sport and recreation. In her allusion to the Packer affair, Kingston reveals a certain lack of sympathy for cricket, ‘a traditional and rather exclusive game’ (p. 207). But it was capable of drawing large crowds, as she notes in mentioning Don Bradman. It was also Sydney-centred (Bradman had to move from Bowral to become a regular in the Sheffield Shield side), and its alleged snootiness did not prevent it from operating as an Australianising influence for hundreds of young male immigrants.

Even more surprising is the absence of reference to the fact that New South Wales is a stronghold of rugby league – although, once again, we must allow for the hermaphrodite sporting identity of the Riverina. It was not until the VFL went continental in the 1980s, and the ugly ducklings of South Melbourne re-branded themselves as the Swans, that Australian Rules began to build a mass following in Sydney. The story of popular football is intriguing and maybe instructive. The mid-nineteenth century was a great period for sporting codification in the English-speaking world. Famously, the pioneers of the Victorian game were advised by a former pupil of Rugby school that the ground was too hard to permit physical tackling. In 1858 they evolved a mobile and aerial code to exercise cricket-playing muscles during the winter months. However, codification did seriously impact upon New South Wales until 1870-74. Curiously, at just the time when the demographic centre of gravity was tipping towards the native-born, the colony’s sporting activists opted to impose the English rugby union code upon their sunburnt country. With Gramscian sleight of hand, a game originally played by a handful of elite schools came to dominate mass entertainment. But, as good Marxists will know, the working class will eventually seek to re-shape institutions in their own image. From 1907, rugby league, which originated in the acceptance of professionalism but also permitted local experimentation, quickly ousted the amateur game in New South Wales – and, also, in Queensland. No doubt rugby league represents a nasty form of masculinity, but masculinity does contribute its share to communal identity. Oddly enough, off the field the game permeates New South Wales society and identity much more widely in the form of the family-centred Leagues Clubs. In almost every suburb and large country town, the Leagues Club is a major focus for local life, and one built and operated by the community itself. A general history which omits rugby league thus passes up the opportunity to discuss an important element of both the distinctiveness and the social cohesion of New South Wales.

Kingston notes that much of southern New South Wales contained a larger proportion of Catholics (although still an overall minority) than the area north of the Hunter, although any potential implications of this are not pursued. Something might also have been made of contrasts with the denominational make-up of two other colonies: South Australia had fewer Catholics, Victoria an abnormally high percentage of Presbyterians. The early career of Robert Menzies illustrates the importance of an interlocking Victorian Protestant elite, one based upon schools, Melbourne University, the legal profession and the clubs. Adelaide was famously run by a local 'squattocracy'. Although Kingston used power as one of the defining themes in her *Oxford History* volume, there is little consideration of the way social and political influence in the State was manipulated throughout the twentieth century, except in relation to the internal politics of the Labor party. It is tempting to assume that New South Wales was too diverse to fall under the control of a single Protestant and conservative elite, but for one hundred years there was only one university, and it seems to have been fed by a handful of schools. Kingston also shows little interest in the way Commonwealth politics interacted with or impinged upon the State. New South Wales appears often to have punched below its weight in national affairs. Perhaps Melbourne's long-time role as the interim capital gave the Victorian elite an unshakeable foothold that transferred itself to Canberra: almost fifty years after the transfer, the Sydneysider Gough Whitlam was fatally determined to appoint a governor-general from his own State. Distance apart, Collins Street seems to have been a whole lot closer to Yarralumla than was Kirribilli to Pitt Street. 'Presbyterian', of course, is a code-word for 'Scots'. Famously, the first public statue erected in Canberra was to Robert Burns.

In the matter of power, the comparison with Victoria may raise more questions than it can answer, if only because it is the nature of elite power within Australia to be elusive and concealed. But the attempt ought to have been made as part of a wider exercise in assessing the role of the past in shaping the New South Wales of today. 'Of all the Australian states,' Kingston remarks, 'only New South Wales shares with the United States something of an eighteenth-century ethos' (p. 249). Had it been possible to cite this single sentence as the expression of a theme that had consistently informed the whole text, this review might have been a great deal more positive. To encounter the sentiment for the first and only time at the end of a paragraph recording Bob Carr's election victory in 2004, and just four lines before the close of the chronological narrative, is bizarre.

What does it mean? First, it is strictly rather than absolutely true. European settlement in Tasmania belongs to the 'long' eighteenth century that historians discern as extending to 1815, and Georgian architecture is perhaps more characteristic of the island State than any part of the Australian mainland. But to assess the influence of the eighteenth century, we need to define what sort of eighteenth century we are talking about. It was the noble era of the Enlightenment, whose implications for Australia have recently been so fascinatingly explored by John Gascoigne. But it was also the epoch of the *ancien régime*, arrogant in its smug sense of entitlement to privilege. Where antique brutality and modernistic efficiency came together, as in the penal system, the mixture could be profoundly nasty. But New South Wales in 2006 is not an outdoor prison. Fresh waves of people and ideas have re-shaped that original ethos, so that it is now hard to discern the original inheritance. Eighteenth-century British politics were profoundly and riotously corrupt — but this does not entitle us to regard the Askin era as a Georgian throwback.

The best way to test the ‘eighteenth-century’ hypothesis would be to trace a specific set of issues over time, measuring the interplay of the inherited and introduced. Kingston is especially qualified to do this through examining the role and status of women, who certainly appear in the text but are not firmly linked to analysis of identity. There is something of a Jane Austen character about Elizabeth Macarthur (remember there are some tough females in *Pride and Prejudice*). Miles Franklin was the classic wannabe Girton girl stuck in a Brindabella homestead. As a personality, the Victorian Germaine Greer may be *sui generis*, but she is also the eminently comprehensible product of a collision between imported American feminist ideology and native Australian male machismo – but is the latter a product of the old world bawdy house or the new world frontier spirit? If the eighteenth century is still present in New South Wales, then it merits more than a belated throw-away line. At the very least, we need to beware of what Kingston, in her conclusion, sagely calls ‘an old world charm which passes for history’ (p. 252).

To measure the balance between eighteenth-century and subsequent external influences, Australian historians need a firm grip on the British and Irish background. (This is not to claim that the country’s history is some way ‘derivative’, but rather that a clear understanding of imported themes is basic to an evaluation of the locally dynamic processes that represent the exciting core of the Australian experience.) Kingston does not shine in this category. Her statement that New South Wales produced wool for ‘Lancashire’s hungry mills’ (p. 19) is an astonishing howler. Kingston implies that a Whig government was voted into office at the general election of 1830. The Whigs certainly won the election, for governments never lost before 1832, but their cabinet had been formed beforehand through traditional factional manoeuvres. The secretary of state for colonies did not approve the creation of Victoria because Port Phillip settlers had cheekily elected him as their representative in Sydney in 1848: Earl Grey had approved separation the previous year. It is anachronistic to say that Orange Lodges were imported into late nineteenth-century Australia ‘from Northern Ireland’ (p. 115) since no such capitalised entity existed until 1920.

Perhaps because the book has not been organised around continuous explanatory themes, it is not always easy to grasp how the author intends narrative chunks to interact. ‘The end of transportation to New South Wales brought immense and dramatic changes’ (p. 36) – so runs the eye-catching opening to chapter 3. An attentive supervisor would have pounced on the word ‘brought’ had this appeared in a draft PhD, and asked whether a causal link was implied. The end of transportation probably did open the way, if not immediately, to elected institutions and the transfer of control over land policy, but did it cause the gold rushes, or the break-away of Victoria and Queensland?

But at another point, Kingston seems to dismiss any possibility of cause-and-effect. ‘Debates about federation during the 1890s became a welcome distraction from the ailing economy, the drought, and the noisy demands of labour’ (p. 97). This is a profoundly curious statement. First, while federalists cared a great deal about the issue, much evidence suggests that the bulk of the population had to be browbeaten into taking an interest in the movement at all. While it is not always easy to see just how federation could answer the challenges facing any of the colonies, to brand it as a simple irrelevance is bizarre. In her discussion of the issue (one which made only fleeting appearances in her *Oxford History* volume, despite its terminating date at 1900), Kingston usefully stresses the subtle role of George Reid in forcing the other colonies to accept his terms – and also includes a digression which forward-projects

Reid's public service reforms to the time of Neville Wran. But there is no serious attempt to confront the fact that opinion was deeply divided on the issue, no mention at all of the two referendums of 1898 and 1899, let alone of the votes cast (surely it is worth mentioning that the 'No' side scored 48 and 43.5 per cent) — nor of the fact that Reid himself was torn, and acquired the famous nickname of 'Yes-No'.

Even if we countenance the implausible hypothesis that the colony sleep-walked into the Australian Commonwealth, the historian surely ought to pause and note that this was the point where New South Wales turned away from the path that would probably have led to a New Zealand- (or maybe Nicaraguan-) style independence. Of course we cannot second-guess what might have happened had the 'No' voters triumphed, as they so nearly did. Maybe federation would have come around again on the back of the Anzac legend. But it is equally possible that the mother colony-cabbage patch rivalry, now one of the minor and risible features of Australian culture, might have escalated, through trade wars and disputes over Murray waters, to convert the relations between New South Wales and Victoria into something more like the Chile-Argentina confrontation in Latin America, where shared history, language and ethnicity, not to mention a healthy mountain barrier, has not prevented endemic hostility.

At times, Kingston's enthusiastic determination to cram in facts creates cumbersome prose. Here is an example of a sentence which might have been pruned and then cut in two: 'The Women's Liberal League established in 1902 by Hilma Ekenberg, a Swedish nurse, who arrived in Sydney in the 1880s, known after her marriage as Mrs Molyneux Parkes, maintained a prickly relationship with Joseph Carruthers' Liberal Party, though they could agree on issues like temperance' (p. 95). Of lesser glitches, 'comprised of' (p. 31) ought to have been edited out, and a social historian should know the difference between sewage and sewerage.

Kingston's conclusion terminates with an evocation of multicultural children playing on a beach at dusk. A man fishing off the rocks makes the scene timeless — although we may guess that he is probably not black and certainly not wielding a spear. 'They (who?) say that the sea will rise here with global warming' (p. 253). The tectonic plates are shifting, we learn, the prelude to a weak joke about New Zealand washing up among the Kiwi colony at Bondi. When historians resort to speculations about tectonic plates, they surely reveal a failure to identify underlying themes in their own work. 'What will this scene be a hundred years hence, or two hundred? It is not easy to know or understand the past, but it is impossible to predict the future.' True, and this is why historians generally concentrate their closing thoughts on the first problem rather than the second. 'Who in 1770 or 1788 could possibly have imagined the changes that would take place on these shores in just over two hundred years. Yet ...' (p. 254). And so the history of the three-letter abbreviation, NSW, ends inconclusively in a three-letter word. I have not the faintest idea what it means.

It would be an exaggeration to call the first modern history of New South Wales a journey into uncharted territory. But there was always going to be a challenge in melding together diverse research covering specific periods, issues and regions. Kingston's book will be valuable in helping to shape future attempts to encapsulate the experience of Australia's oldest State. One clear lesson is that the historian (or perhaps a scholarly team) must identify unifying themes and consistent intellectual challenges that can give coherence to a two-century overview. The post-1859 core should be regarded as the essential framework, stressing the implications of the artificial and accidental elements in its boundaries. A firm demographic analysis will be required, tracing change in both Aboriginal and Europeanised populations. The

dominance of Sydney must be tackled, with due attention to the local growth and regional hegemony of both the capital and the Newcastle region. Countervailing perspectives should be built in, to take account of how New South Wales was experienced from places such as Albury, Armidale and Queanbeyan. Interrogation of the eighteenth-century foundations will require constant evaluation of fresh influences, especially from ideas and people without. Comparison with other States may throw light on what is distinctive, and the relationship between post-1901 New South Wales and the Australian Commonwealth requires deeper understanding. Other themes will no doubt be identified. It has always seemed faintly comic that some convicts absconded from the early penal settlements in the belief that they could walk to China, but future historians may feel that these hapless escapees had a prophetic view of a long-disguised Asian destiny. We ought to have been aware of a deep background to the debate on the environment ever since the publication of W.K. Hancock's *Discovering Monaro* back in 1972. Water conservation and grassland management are likely to feature more centrally in any future retrospective view of those changes that nobody could have foreseen back in 1788. It would be pleasant to think that such a history might be planned for publication in 2017, to mark the bicentenary of Australia's first bank. Meanwhile, Beverley Kingston's pioneering attempt provides plenty of thought-provoking opinions even though it does not deeply engage with the underlying issues.

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