

makes an important contribution to the resurgent historical interest in empire and its cultural impact. The product of wide research and impressive scholarship, Potter's book provides a keenly analytical perspective on some key debates within that literature. Significantly, it does so by drawing the metropolitan centre into the same frame as the dominions and colonies the BBC was broadcasting to. Such a broadbrush approach to the British world remains relatively rare. At the same time, this integrated approach ensures that it makes an important contribution to media history, which can also be limited by 'national' histories. Whether read by historians of empire or historians of media, *Broadcasting Empire* is a valuable resource in its own right and a stimulus to further work.

NOTES

1 Tom Fleming ed., *Voices out of the Air: The Royal Christmas Broadcasts, 1932–1981*, London, 1981, p.11, in Potter, p.59.

FELICITY BARNES

University of Auckland

Patched: The History of Gangs in New Zealand. By Jarrod Gilbert. Auckland University Press, Auckland. 2013. 332pp. NZ price: \$49.99. ISBN 9781869407292.

In the cyclical panic that discontinuously rends the sensibilities of suburbia, now is the time of the Outlaw Motorcycle Gang. Whereas in the past various media may have dragged Mafiosi, Bodgies and Skinheads out of the shadows, popular *frisson* is, for the moment, best engendered by men on big motorbikes. Jarrod Gilbert takes up their story in what is – from some perspectives – the unlikely locale of New Zealand.

In that sense, a book confidently subtitled *The History of Gangs in New Zealand* promises a broader recounting. Disappointingly, the boys from the backblocks of the nineteenth century and street gangs of an emerging urbanism in the first half of the twentieth century (admittedly less threatening than those of New York or Chicago) are dismissed in the briefest of paragraphs. History commences here in the 1950s, with the story of rock and roll rebels, but without, as far as this reviewer could tell, any significant use of A.E. Manning's pioneering 1958 study *The Bodgie: A Study ion Abnormal Psychology*. The narration moves speedily on to the world of motorcycle outlaws, by way of the 1960 and 1969 Hastings Blossom Festival. This turning point in relations with police is suitably highlighted in the narration so that Gilbert is able to distinguish the motorcycle 'gangs' from the preceding 'clubs'. The research is consequently strong on ethnic succession within gangs and the author neatly traces the sequence from origins amongst Anglo youth in Auckland to more diverse yet segmented gang structures in the later twentieth century, with gangs diffused more broadly across New Zealand. The rise of the Mongrel Mob and the concept of multiple marginality receive deserved attention. Internal workings of the gang are balanced by reflection on legal and political pressures and the inevitable scapegoating of men on bikes. This is, after all, a tale of masculinist identity. The girls in the gang infrequently appear. When they do they are often doubly brutalized and marginalized. If women remain for the most part silent, the elaborate media web in which the clubs and their members were routinely enmeshed draws considered analysis. Gilbert reflects further on the gang 'scene' as outlaw groups moved from the street to the highway and from brawling to illegal commerce. This transition eventually invites a draconian – and quite possibly a supra-legal –

response, from all sides of politics.

The author's explanation of research methodologies is interesting, with much of the weight placed on years of ethnographic research – fieldwork within the gangs. And there is a rich vein of oral testimony used to good effect throughout. Such ethnography has for long been a favoured technique for sociologists wanting to explore marginalized groups and is no doubt a sound response to the problems of understanding these New Zealand subjects of moral panic. All the same, since the book moves beyond the internalized self-definition of club members, and makes a claim as history, ethnography might need to be better balanced with more clearly defined chronology and use of written historical records. A little less interest in the gang 'scene' and a more historically informed critical distancing of the narrative from self-serving auto-methologies might have been useful.

It is not so much in Gilbert's observations of the patched bkie as it is in his consideration of the emergence of 'LA-style' gangs, that this weakness is most obvious. Media may like the comparison with Los Angeles. But New Zealand is not yet California and even Auckland is not Los Angeles. A Los Angeles ethnic gang tradition, reaching back to the Zoot Suit era and beyond, and Southern California's sprawling urban milieu and largely uncontrollable cross-border narco-commerce make that megalopolis and its youth subcultures fundamentally different. A more measured scrutiny of Californian research might well have strengthened this section of the book. For a major segment of the political economy of California, and indeed of the United States, requires increasing production of criminals. The United States, with its rebarbative faith in extraordinarily high rates of incarceration and execution, and its exceptionally low rates of social mobility, must consistently expand its indicators of gang membership. This is not yet the case in New Zealand.

Generalizing loosely, the assumption on which the story rests – a connection between the motorcycle clubs and the Bodgie – may well be accurate. At the same time, there have been multiple gang-like networks which can claim an inheritance from the Bodgie. 1950s rock and rollers, as Gilbert tellingly points out, were hardly hierarchical in structure. Nor were their members ever defined by any selection criteria. Theirs was a fluid, decentred world, shaped by a passing musical style and a uniquely fleeting fashion sense. Liking rock and roll, despite the assumptions of provincial journalists, was not a necessary indicator of criminality. The Bodgie, then, seems one figure in a long sequence of gang icons emerging from ephemeral, loose and stylistic subcultures, most having little in common with the formalized and hyper-masculine hierarchy of the motorcycle club. Indeed, the recurrent threatening characteristic of musically defined networks subsequent to the Bodgie (all of which reached a wider cross-section of youth than did the outlaw gangs) lay in their blurring of gender distinctions, especially in androgynous dress codes, but probably also in quotidian normative structure.

Some three decades before Manning's work on New Zealand Bodgies, Frederick Thrasher had surveyed 1313 Chicago gangs for his breathtaking 1926 book *The Gang*. The empirical reach of this Chicago research cannot be matched by ethnographic fieldwork, even though Thrasher, like others associated with the Chicago School of Sociology, wanted to see the world from his subjects' viewpoint. Gilbert makes passing and potentially illuminating use of Thrasher's work. But the Chicago School insisted on a stable framework for analysis. And like others in Chicago, Thrasher was aware of the tension between the gang as a neighbourhood, street-based network and the criminal opportunities opened up by motorized mobility. Gilbert does touch on these issues but the defining characteristic of the patched bkie – the motorcycle itself – needs to play a greater role in this story. It is mobility that most clearly distinguishes the motorcycle club from localized and informal gang-like networks. Patched, then, is a timely account of current and recent aspects of one type of gang formation within legal and media contexts. It does resist any complete descent into the sort of pop sensationalism that often dissipates faux histories of sports, music and youth cultures. But the newspapers and manuscripts of New Zealand, both before and after 1950, contain tales of gangs in multiple guises, none of which have been reflected on here.

There remains scope for a more chronologically extended and more broadly focused history, rather than sociology, of New Zealand's gangs.

CHRIS MCCONVILLE

Victoria University, Melbourne

Destiny – The Life and Times of a Self-Made Apostle. By Peter Lineham. Penguin Group, Auckland, 2013. 304pp. NZ price: \$38.00. ISBN 9780143568919.

As the Salvation Army Officer in Rotorua in 2000–2001, I found the rapidly growing Lake City Church, and its later manifestation as Destiny Church, very hard to ignore. Stories about the church varied, from remarkable tales of former gang members coming to salvation and turning their lives around to members turning up to request Salvation Army foodbank assistance after ten per cent of their gross salary was siphoned into church coffers. In the years since I left the Rotorua ministry, newspaper headlines, television news features and the efforts of investigative journalists have meant that lurid tales swirled around Destiny, detailing the extravagant lifestyle of the leadership and hinting at financial irregularities and cult-like excesses. Much of the substance of these rumours owes its existence to the behaviour and teachings of Destiny's larger-than-life church leaders and to the speculation of bewildered outsiders looking in at a uniquely New Zealand church phenomenon.

Destiny burst into national prominence with the black-shirted 'Enough is Enough!' march through the streets of Central Wellington in August 2003, led by a well-dressed kapa haka party and the Harley Davidson-riding church leader, Pastor Brian Tamaki. Regular broadcasts of slickly presented, tightly edited church services on national television; the 2004 declaration by Mark Vrankovich's Cultwatch that Destiny was on his radar; features on TVNZ One's *Sunday* programme; a brash (and ultimately doomed) attempt to launch the Destiny Party in the 2005 general election; and a recent announcement that a Destiny City was planned for South Auckland – all have ensured that Destiny remains a controversial topic of conversation. But what is Destiny Church, and who is Brian Tamaki?

The Destiny Church phenomenon is hard to pigeonhole and most attempts to do so rely on 'sound bite' journalism lacking analysis or fairness. The stories of ex-cons, former drunkards and prostitutes turning their lives around to become useful members of society and reconnect with family and culture are as true as the legends of the rich, over-the-top lifestyles of church founders Bishop Brian Tamaki and his wife Hannah. Alongside tales of Hannah Tamaki's manipulative attempt to subvert the electoral processes of the Māori Women's Welfare League, there are social, educational and cultural programmes which are assessed by their government departmental funders to be resounding successes, offering rigorous social and financial systems to support them. Which facet of Destiny is the real church?

To answer these questions, Penguin commissioned the New Zealander most qualified to properly investigate and write about Destiny Church: Massey University's Peter Lineham. A widely published Christian historian, Lineham wrote *Destiny* after being provided with an unprecedented level of access to the Tamakis and to past and present church members, pastors and administrators. In *Destiny*, he details the early life of the charismatic Brian Tamaki, his conversion from a tough, hard-living lifestyle, his determination to construct a church that reflected his passion for an old style of religion, and finally his most recent incarnation as 'the Bishop', an authoritarian, my-word-or-the-highway autocrat. The debates around early slips and successes, personality clashes and financial errors are covered, together with more recent controversies such as the covenant oath