BACK STORY 10

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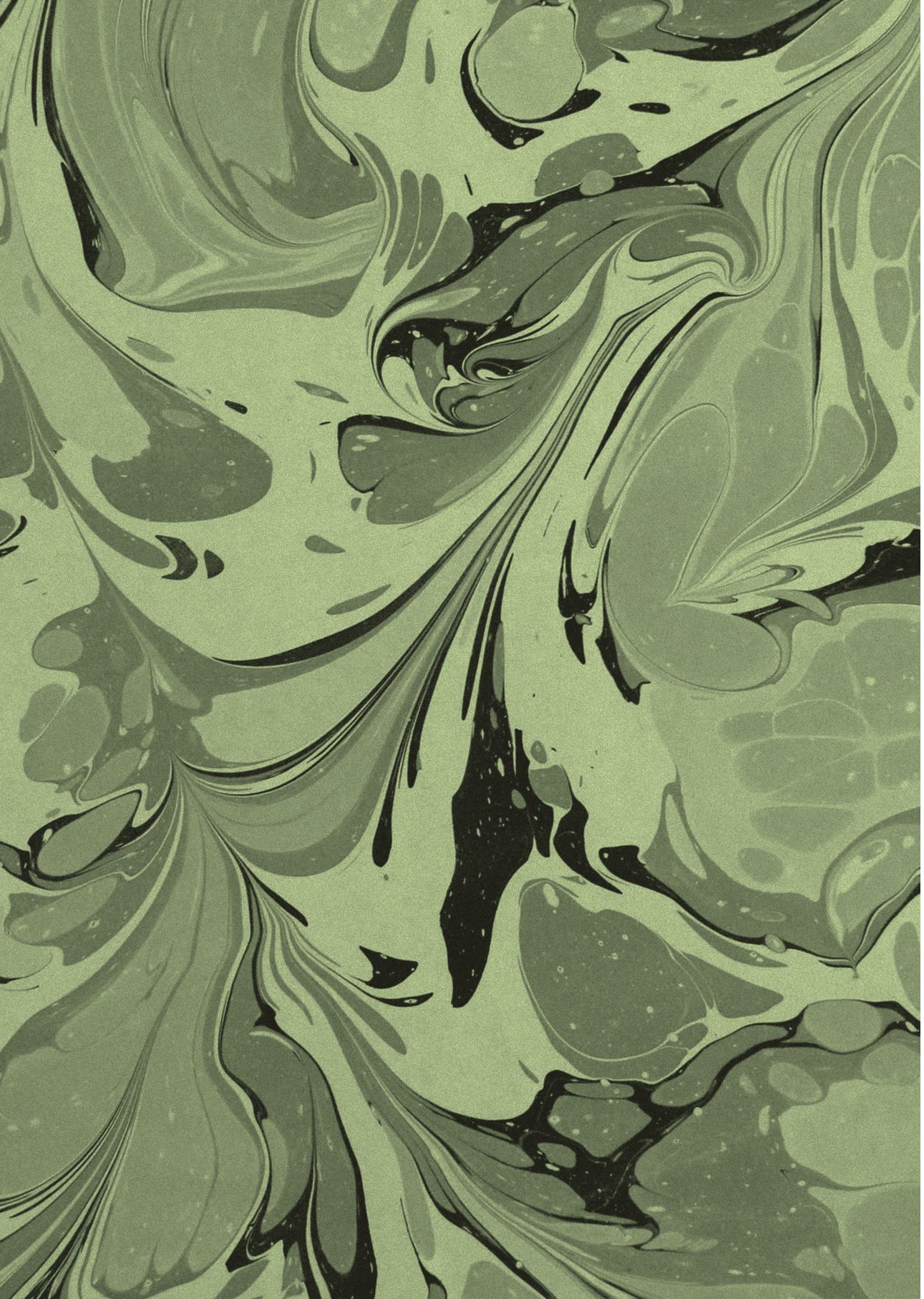

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By Alan Cocker

A voice speaking with the lived experience of more than ninety years can provide anchoring insight in the uncertain times of a pandemic. Emeritus Professor Jack Woodward in the Auckland University publication *Ingenio* writes that infectious diseases are part of our lives. He recounts that in 1937 his wife Mary drove with her family from Kaitaia to their new home in Invercargill during one of the polio epidemics, a trip complicated by travel restrictions. As in present times schools and cinemas were closed. Around 700 young people were paralysed in New Zealand that year from polio and 46 died. Regular epidemics of the disease persisted until an oral polio vaccine became available in 1961.

In our current pandemic governments battle misinformation spread by 'social media' and a reductive 'infotainment' focus on 'victims and villains' by ratings-driven traditional media. However, one positive feature of media coverage has been a return to the health expert for their advice on disease control and vaccination. During the Second World War the government and the Health Department used radio to promote health. In this issue, Claire Macindoe outlines how radio was seen as 'a cultural phenomenon' and the most effective option to specifically target adults nationwide and educate them on health. Dr. Harold Turbott was introduced as the 'radio doctor', and the medium of radio became a trusted source of information.

Although radio culture in this country developed distinctive local forms, film by and large followed the lead of Hollywood. Brendan Sheridan looks at the genre of the American 'Western' with its "clearly established conventions spanning settlers, journeys and ranching to gunfights and 'Indian Wars'" and examines two New Zealand films that he argues are 'Westerns'. These films are Rudall Hayward's *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) and Geoff Murphy's *Utu* (1983). Although Sheridan acknowledges that the 'Western' can often romanticize the past, recent 'post-modern' westerns have challenged the preconceptions of history.

Challenging architectural monumentalism, New Zealand architect and landscape architect Harry Turbott sought to celebrate our dynamic landscape and not impose his structures on it. This is the view of his friend, fellow architect and Auckland University Emeritus Professor Tony Watkins. He writes a personal reflection on the work of Harry Turbott (son of the radio doctor Harold Turbott), in the context of the wider global environmental crisis. Watkins draws a distinction between architecture as a noun and as a verb. As a noun it is about objects, as a verb it is about a process. He says that for Harry Turbott that process was about learning from the natural world and making a broken world whole again.

There is a somewhat seamless segue to our next article by Jessica Agoston who argues that in Aotearoa New Zealand there exists a tangible connection to the natural world and complex layers of history. She writes that when the green spaces of public parks become the location for temporary public art exhibitions, "the power of art and landscape is amplified". She looks at the biennial New Zealand Sculpture OnShore (NZSoS) event held on Auckland's North Shore to "examine the potential of temporary public art to meaningfully represent people and place".

In a recent book[1] Adam Tooze argues that the Covid 19 pandemic has meant that in all polities, public policy has become more difficult with underlying anxiety unsettling the system and we have witnessed other issues flaring. A prime example of this has been the Black Lives Matter movement and the associated attack on monuments of colonial figures. In our final contribution Alanna O'Riley asks why in our current climate is there a deafening silence about Michael Parekowhai's statue of Captain James Cook in *The Lighthouse* on Queens Wharf in Auckland. She concludes that "Parekowhai's *The Lighthouse* illustrates that monuments to complex figures and histories can be used in a way that is productive, one that challenges accepted historical narratives and creates new discourse around our history and society. All we need to do is start the conversation".

BackStory Issue 10 thus embraces the stories of the use of radio to disseminate health messages, 'Western' film-making in New Zealand, architecture as a verb, how art and landscape can powerfully amplify both, and a monument of a colonial figure that, in the words of a reviewer, cultivates ambiguity and irony as strategies for encouraging conversation about our past.

[1] Tooze, Adam. (2021) *Shutdown: How Covid shook the world's economy. London: Allen Lane.*

Mothers Need To Know Better: Radio, the Department of Health, and improving the Nation

CLAIRE MACINDOE

When radio broadcasting first crackled onto the airwaves it was met with great enthusiasm from the wider public. Although we may now associate it more with late night talk-back sessions and music's top forty, educational broadcasting was a key feature of early radio and helped to establish a deeply ingrained listening culture within New Zealand. Educational broadcasts helped to legitimise radio as more than just a source of light entertainment. Women were a key target for many radio-based educational efforts, viewed as both the main consumers of broadcast content and in the greatest need of instruction within the domestic sphere. Health and the idea of 'scientific motherhood' were a key component of these efforts. When World War Two required the Department of Health to adopt new methods of connecting with the public, radio was deemed the most effective option. Women were responsible for the health of the family, and there was already a well-established culture of educating women within the domestic sphere via the radio.

KEYWORDS # World War Two # Radio # Adult Education # Health # Scientific Motherhood# Domesticity # Radio Doctor # Audience

“A year or two ago writers on scientific subjects were dreaming about these things; to-day they are a reality. Wireless telephony has ceased to be a toy for the amateur, it is no longer a laboratory experiment; it has become a practical utility, and will soon be a necessity.”

“Wonders of the Wireless Telephone,”
Waipawa Mail, 7 October 1921, 4.

Radio was still in its infancy when the *Waipawa Mail* printed this prediction, yet they could not have foreseen just how rapidly their classification of radio as a ‘necessity’ would become a reality. The Government had only legalised non-governmental radio broadcasting and receiving the year before, and listening licences numbered a scant 300.[1] There were no real stations to tune in to, broadcasts were sporadic at best, and entertainment programming was yet to exist. Despite this, radio was already beginning to capture the minds and ears of the population. With radio stations and regular broadcasting established from 1922, licence numbers steadily grew before exploding in the 1930s. Radio was a cultural phenomenon. It was found in homes, hotels, hospitals and community halls, filling spaces with noise and keeping listeners entertained with a variety of different musical genres and short talks.[2] Radio dramas, a precursor to television’s popular soap opera genre, helped to create a growing sense of national identity across the country, with listeners sharing the experience of hearing a story develop.[3] Magazines and newspapers discussed the latest in broadcast programming. Popular broadcasters became notable public figures, such as ZB’s Maud Basham, otherwise known as the loveable ‘Aunt Daisy’.[4] Radio culture was thriving.

So how did a medium usually associated with music and light entertainment become one of New Zealand’s longest running sources of health information? Educational broadcasting played a significant contributing factor to the success and culture of early radio. A wide variety of educational talks, also known as lecturettes, were provided by the various radio stations, with subject matter influenced by the time of day and perceived audience.[5] These broadcasts were a key feature of radio’s development in New Zealand throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Listeners were keen to learn, and the government promoted the use of radio for personal improvement. Women found themselves the intended target of many attempts to encourage better domesticity and motherhood, particularly during the daytime when they were considered the key consumers of content. It was in this context that, when faced with challenges on how to educate the population on matters of health during the war, the Department of Health turned to radio

The outbreak of World War Two placed New Zealand’s health under an unwelcome spotlight. Pre-war concerns regarding nutrition and childhood disease were now given greater urgency, as rationing removed traditional food sources and mothers found themselves facing solo-parenting. The war also caused fuel and paper to be rationed, meaning that the usual methods of educating the public on matters of health, such as pamphlets and posters, were no longer viable. Radio, however, continued to broadcast unhindered. With an already established culture of radio being used to educate women within the home, it made sense for the Department of Health to shift towards broadcasting as a means to educate the public on matters of health. Women were the keepers of the nation’s health, feeding the family and raising children, therefore they needed to be educated on how to best maintain health during the war. An additional benefit of radio was the ability to cross the urban-rural divide, reflecting the widely dispersed, and sometimes geographically isolated, population of New Zealand. Broadcasting health information into the home also allowed for difficult matters to be addressed, without embarrassment, and remind women that it was their war duty to protect the nation’s health.

LEARNING TOGETHER, SEPARATELY: THE ROLE OF EARLY EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING IN RADIO’S DEVELOPMENT

“This year has had its share of spectacular successes in programmes and also of programmes of real solid worth apart from musical entertainment, as, for instance, in the talks to farmers, the home science dialogues and the W.E.A. lecturettes.”

The New Zealand Radio Guide and Call Book, 1931[6]

Radio’s early popularity in New Zealand was owed, in large part, to female listeners. Relegated to the domestic sphere, women found radio to be an excellent tool for entertainment and education. Initially considered a masculine, scientific invention, the domestication of radio through physical design and female-focused daytime content made the radio a domestic tool and an integral part of a modern home.[7]

The friendly voices of broadcasters acted as company for housewives, while music could help to liven the domestic chores. Educational lecturettes on household matters provided suggestions for increased efficiency and helped women to conform to societal expectations placed upon them by scientific domesticity. These lecturettes were crucial in helping to develop a culture of radio being viewed as a reliable source of information and legitimised for educational purposes.

During the first few years of broadcasting, transmission was limited to evening hours only, however the growing popularity of the medium caused broadcasting hours to be extended throughout the 1920s and 1930s in response to consumer demand. Radio broadcasting was strictly controlled by the Government during the interwar period, despite the existence of a dual system of broadcasters: the publicly funded National (YA) radio stations and privately operated Commercial (ZB) stations.[8] In 1925 the Government mandated that all stations were required to broadcast a minimum twelve hours per-week, excluding Sunday.[9] Although a seemingly small requirement, this was significant as it indicated that there was a certain standard expected of broadcasting stations. Individual stations began to lengthen their evening output, before daytime broadcasting hours across New Zealand were officially extended during 1927.[10] The acceptability and popularity of radio was ever increasing.

A new 3 – 5pm session was developed by the Radio Broadcasting Company for all National stations, aimed predominantly at female listeners, although it was not initially advertised as a women's session. Assessing the content broadcast during this time slot reveals a clear gendered intention regarding who was perceived to be the listening audience. 'Suitable' topics were discussed, often relating to the domestic realm, such as informative talks on cookery or sewing, and broadcasting "afternoon tea" music.[11] There was a growing perception by broadcasters and advertisers that women were the main consumers of radio content due to their role within the home, creating the idea of a 'domestic' audience.[12] This would eventually extend to the creation of a dedicated 'Women's Hour' programme in the 1930s.[13]

Radio did not threaten the societal expectation that a women's role was in the home, as it did not hamper their traditional work. Instead, it promoted it. Informative talks on household matters advocated for improved domestic skills, encouraging women to educate themselves in modern housekeeping methods, and reinforced the ideal of the housewife or mother within the home and upholding family values. Some housewives shifted their daily routines in

FIGURE 1. Photographer Samuel G. Firth, "Robert Emirali and teddy bear listen to a crystal set, 1928," Sir George Grey Special Collections, 1043-9712, Auckland City Libraries – Tāmaki Pātaka Kōrero, Auckland, New Zealand.

order to be at home to listen to specific broadcasts – such was their popularity and the believed value of radio.[14] These afternoon lecturettes were some of the first purposeful educational content to be broadcast, along with 'interesting' evening talks of a longer length. While modern listeners might associate radio more closely with music, educational or informative talks were a key feature of radio from its initial development, and were an important facet of developing New Zealand's radio culture and establishing broadcasting patterns. Early governmental debates regarding radio had always indicated that it should serve some form of

educational role, presenting information to the public and fostering societal improvement.[15] While the implementation of these initial lecturettes on the National YA channels was at the impetus of government influence, educational and domestic programming also appeared on the Commercial ZB channels. This suggests that there was a market for these talks more broadly. Listeners paid a licencing fee of £1.10s per year to own a radio set, as well as often making donations to their local Commercial ZB station, therefore it was a consumer item and the interests of the listener had to be considered when deciding upon programming.[16] If there was not some degree of popularity for these educational lecturettes, it is unlikely that they would have been replicated by the Commercial ZB channels.

Over the course of radio's first decade there was a growing acknowledgement that radio could be considered a reliable source of information. Increased broadcasting hours allowed for a growing number of educational talks to be provided over the air. With a culture of listening to the radio for information and education beginning to be well established, adult education providers grew increasingly interested in the potential of radio. At this point educational content, such as the afternoon lecturettes, was generally provided by people who worked for the station, or by a variety of specialists who were invited to speak. The Home Economics Association helped to facilitate some lecturettes on the Christchurch-based National 3YA channel, but there was no marked reoccurring involvement from any educational institutions on a national level.[17] By the end of the 1920s, however, adult education providers were beginning to take advantage of the broad reach and appeal of radio. The University of Otago Home Science Extension Service (HSES) was the first organisation to use the radio to broadcast nationwide talks aimed at women at home, particularly those who lived rurally.[18] Prior to engaging with radio, those interested in an educational subject would have attended lectures at a public venue, such as a church or town hall, or had to rely on written sources. These options were not always available to all, especially rural or remotely located individuals and families. Māori would have also had difficulty accessing these educational opportunities for similar reasons. Harnessing radio broadcasting would enable a far greater proportion of the population to engage with what these education institutions had to offer, shifting education from the public to the domestic sphere.

Based in Dunedin, the HSES had been restricted in their impact due to a limited geographical reach, however, they used radio to far more success.[19] Beginning in 1929,

their 15-minute talks were written by university professors from the Home Science Department and discussed scientific and modern approaches to domestic duties, including aspects of health.[20] Women were the clear target of these talks, reflecting the perception that modern women needed to be educated on the best way to keep their homes and feed their families. Rural women were a particular focus of HSES efforts, due to a pervasive belief that they were less likely to adapt to modern housekeeping methods than their urban counterparts. Professor Ann Strong, Dean of the Home Science Department during this period, believed that rural women were the backbone of the country, and that with correct teaching they could help raise a healthy and strong nation.[21] Originally from America, Professor Strong was aware of successful efforts by American universities running extension programmes via the radio. By the 1930s, radio was viewed in several western countries as a successful way to educate women in the home, on domestic matters.[22] The HSES radio talks provided education on a variety of areas such as sewing, cooking, parenting and healthcare, including how to prevent dental cavities and avoid goitre – both public health issues.[23] Professor Strong questioned the relevance of new medical and nutritional knowledge to the general public if it was not put into practice. Practical advice and application of knowledge was key to many of the HSES's efforts under Professor Strong's leadership.[24]

The Workers Education Association (WEA) also saw the potential benefits of using radio broadcasting to supplement their already extensive education schemes, broadcasting from 1927/28 - 1934.[25] For the WEA, radio was viewed as a way to reach rural workers in particular, as they believed that those people missed out on the same educational opportunities as urban dwelling workers. Educating rural adults was also an opportunity to "modernise the countryside,"[26] particularly within the domestic realm, and enhance rural living by providing interests outside of the farm and home – but still within the rural setting.[27] Through broadcasting, the WEA created the ability to teach adult education within the home without the time and travel commitments that would otherwise be required.[28] Radio talks allowed the WEA to extend the reach of their educational directive through a variety of single lectures that covered a broad range of topics. During 1934 around 288 lectures were broadcast, covering a wide range of topics, including art, history and biography, economics and science.[29] A March 1933 edition of *The New Zealand Radio Record and Home Journal* indicates just how broad the range could be, with talks on "Banking in New Zealand," "Southern Whales and Antarctic Whaling," "Giants of

FIGURE 2. S. P. Andrew Photographer, "Maud Ruby Basham (Aunt Daisy) (left), and Elizabeth Barr," S P Andrew Ltd: Portrait negatives, Ref: 1/2-043465-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

German Music – Wagner," "The Middle Ages and Ourselves – Religious and Philosophic Thought," and "Birds of a Feather and Human Groupings" broadcast across the nation within the same week.[30] Topics were only limited by those willing to contribute.[31] Lectures were generally presented by academics or specialists, with the WEA receiving wide support from various tertiary providers.

While the HSES and WEA were not the only institutions to take advantage of broadcasting, they best exemplify how an established programme was modified to take advantage of radio very early on. Adults were also not alone in being targeted for educational broadcasting. Government and broadcasting officials discussed the possibility of airing educational material for school children as early as 1926, with the suggestion made that broadcasts could be used to supplement both rural and urban school curriculums, and Correspondence School materials.[32] Rural and Correspondence School children were considered the most likely to benefit from educational broadcasting, providing 'improvement of instruction' through access to specialty teaching.[33] Financial issues ended up delaying the implementation of broadcasting for school children until April 1931. By 1936, 576 schools were using these broadcasts as a teaching resource, as well as the Correspondence School and students learning from home.[34] As children were considered part of the domestic

realm, this solidified the idea that the home was in need of educational outreach and helped establish an ongoing culture of trusting the radio for information and education.

By the end of the 1930s, less than two decades after public broadcasting began, radio was arguably New Zealand's favourite medium. A radio broadcasting system was well established across the country, with recognised advantages for reaching the wider public, and broadcast hours now covered from morning till night, allowing for continuous access to entertainment, information, and education. Organisations focused on adult education enjoyed increased funding in the wake of their radio efforts. Almost 350,000 radio licences issued indicated a wide appeal, placing New Zealand in the rank of fourth highest radio ownership by percentage of population globally.[35] Radio was a cultural icon and a well trusted source of information.

BROADCASTING HEALTH INTO THE HOME: THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH'S FIRST FORAY INTO RADIO

With radio holding an important cultural role in New Zealand, and completely legitimised as a source of information and education, it was only natural that the government would choose to announce New Zealand's entry into World War Two (WWII) over the airwaves. Choosing to broadcast showed the significance and urgency of the event, while also allowing for both the urban and rural populations to hear the news at the same time. For those who lived rurally, relying on the newspaper could sometimes mean delays in receiving information. The war had a tangible impact on New Zealand's Home Front. Men left to fight overseas, women were manpowered into the essential industries, and rationing was gradually implemented for an increasing variety of goods. For the Department of Health, the war placed a growing urgency on health concerns that had come to light during the 1930s. The nation needed to be healthy if they were going to win the war. While it was every civilian's patriotic duty to strive for excellent health, they needed to be provided with the tools and education to do so, but rationing meant that many of the usual methods were no longer viable. Paper restrictions, first introduced in 1940, impacted the Department's ability to distribute pamphlets and posters.[36] Attendance at agricultural events was also no longer possible, due to fuel rationing or postponement for the duration, further diminishing the Department of Health's ability to connect with the rural population.[37]

In light of these new challenges, new methods of promoting health education needed to be found. Director-General of Health Michael Watt had already demonstrated a long-term interest in trying to encourage a greater emphasis on health education for the public across all health departments. Traveling through America and Australia pre-war, Watt had been impressed by the American State Health Department's use of radio to provide health advice, and nutritional broadcasts in Queensland, Australia.[38] In New Zealand, health and the domestic sciences had been a feature of educational lecturettes since the early years of radio broadcasting, but without any overt involvement or control from the Department of Health.[39] While these lecturettes had proven helpful, they lacked any consistency and there was no singularly authoritative source to rely on. Multiple broadcasters touching on health issues held the potential for misinformation, or contradictory information, to be broadcast.

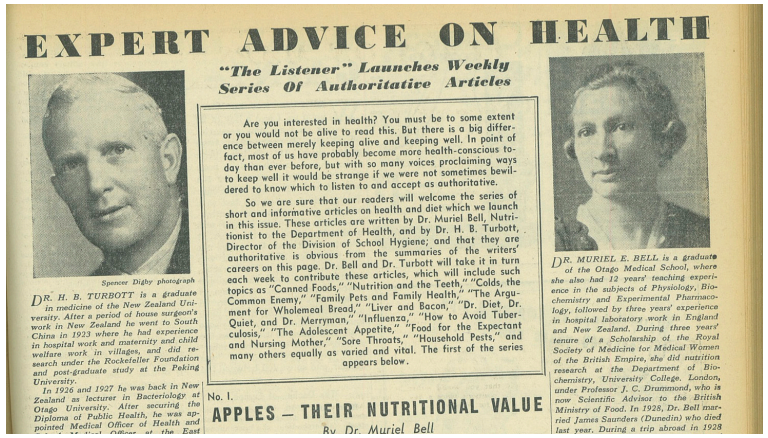
Beginning in 1941, the Department of Health took the unprecedented step of actively using radio broadcasting to promote health.[40] A series of radio talks were created as a direct response to the challenges created by WWII and a continuation of the Labour Government's push to expand their broadcasting presence in the home and support the creation of the ideal family unit. The Department of Health's radio talks were the first concerted effort made by the government to specifically target adults nationwide and educate them on health. As the government continued to control all broadcasting during the war, due in part to the increased need for censorship, the Department of Health was able to easily take advantage of broadcasting as a medium for mass communication.

The Department of Health's first radio venture, *Health in the Home,* was an effort to reduce the spread of misinformation and ensure public health during a period of war. A number of Departmental staff contributed to these broadcasts, providing content and crosschecking for *Health in the Home* before it was broadcast.[41] Complied by Eric Marris, a Health Department staff writer, and anonymously presented by Dr Denham of Wellington Public Hospital, *Health in the Home* was broadcast weekly on the National YA channels.[42] Each of the four main stations would broadcast on a different day, cycling through the produced content. These early talks proved popular with listeners, leading to a continued run throughout the course of the war. Topics covered included a wide variety of medical issues, public health advice, nutritional information, and childhood developmental disorders. *The Listener* published a health advice column in conjunction to the talks, beginning 9 May 1941, written

by New Zealand's first State Nutritionist, Dr Muriel Bell, and the Director of the Division of School Hygiene, Dr H. B. Turbott. Turbott and Bell were espoused by the magazine as authoritative sources of health information for readers who did not know who "to listen to and accept" during a period when there were "so many voices proclaiming ways to keep well."[43] A physical column enabled listeners to have a more permanent copy of advice already heard over the radio.

Although popular, broadcasting once a week was not enough to be effective. In June 1943 a second opportunity arose for the Department of Health to expand their broadcasting outreach. Charismatic radio personality Colin 'Uncle Scrim' Scrimgeour was fired from his role as Controller of the Commercial Channels, losing his highly sought-after early morning broadcast slot on the ZB channels.[44] Scrimgeour had filled his session with a variety of items, including health advice. Initially his efforts had been applauded, given his large audience reach, and the Department of Health had been happy to provide Scrimgeour with information and scripts. However the relationship was terminated when Scrimgeour knowingly chose to broadcast contentious health information about alternative medicines.[45] Not only did these broadcasts go against official public health advice, some of the information had the potential to be outright harmful. Seeing the opportunity to take over a timeslot already established for health broadcasting, and with a much broader appeal, the Department decided to establish a second series of educational health broadcasts.[46]

A new radio venture to educate the public on health issues required an appropriate person to lend their voice to the initiative. The ZB commercial channels were well known for their range of broadcasting personalities, most using the title of 'aunt' or 'uncle', creating a sense of family and unity.[47] Despite a lack of practical broadcasting experience, Dr H. B. Turbott was chosen to represent the Department of Health over the radio. Initially the offer was only temporary, with the idea that Turbott would fill in for a few months, but a replacement was never found.[48] Turbott's personal background made him an excellent choice for the role. He had spent many years training in public health, showing an enthusiasm for tackling difficult issues, and was exposed to a variety of cultural backgrounds and practices. Turbott's work with Māori, specifically researching the issue of tuberculosis, provided him with insight into Māori health problems.[49] This work had earned him a level of respect from prominent Māori leaders. Appointed to the Department of Health's head office in 1940, his role as Director of the Division of School Hygiene made Turbott keenly aware of health issues facing



EXPERT ADVICE ON HEALTH

"The Listener" Launches Weekly Series Of Authoritative Articles

Are you interested in health? You must be to some extent or you would not be alive to read this. But there is a big difference between merely keeping alive and keeping well. In point of fact, most of us have probably become more health-conscious today than ever before, but with so many voices proclaiming ways to keep well it would be strange if we were not sometimes bewildered to know which to listen to and accept as authoritative.

So we are sure that our readers will welcome the series of short and informative articles on health and diet which we launch in this issue. These articles are written by Dr. Muriel Bell, Nutritionist to the Department of Health, and by Dr. H. B. Turbott, Director of the Division of School Hygiene; and that they are authoritative is obvious from the summaries of the writers' careers on this page. Dr. Bell and Dr. Turbott will take it in turn each week to contribute these articles, which will include such topics as "Canned Foods," "Nutrition and the Teeth," "Colds, the Common Enemy," "Family Pets and Family Health," "The Argument for Wholemeal Bread," "Liver and Bacon," "Dr. Diet, Dr. Quiet, and Dr. Merryman," "Influenza," "How to Avoid Tuberculosis," "The Adolescent Appetite," "Food for the Expectant and Nursing Mother," "Sore Throats," "Household Pests," and many others equally as varied and vital. The first of the series appears below.

Spencer Digby photograph

DR. H. B. TURBOTT is a graduate in medicine of the New Zealand University. After a period of house surgeon's work in New Zealand he went to South China in 1923 where he had experience in hospital work and maternity and child welfare work in villages, and did research under the Rockefeller Foundation and post-graduate study at the Peking University.

In 1926 and 1927 he was back in New Zealand as lecturer in Bacteriology at Otago University. After securing the Diploma of Public Health, he was appointed Medical Officer of Health and

DR. MURIEL E. BELL is a graduate of the Otago Medical School, where she also had 12 years' teaching experience in the subjects of Physiology, Biochemistry and Experimental Pharmacology, followed by three years' experience in hospital laboratory work in England and New Zealand. During three years' tenure of a Scholarship of the Royal Society of Medicine for Medical Women of the British Empire, she did nutrition research at the Department of Biochemistry, University College, London, under Professor J. C. Drummond, who is now Scientific Advisor to the British Ministry of Food. In 1928, Dr. Bell married James Saunders (Dunedin) who died last year. During a trip abroad in 1928

No. 1.

APPLES — THEIR NUTRITIONAL VALUE

By Dr. Muriel Bell

FIGURE 3. Announcement of Dr Turbott's "Health Talks", with Dr Bell, "Expert Advice on Health," New Zealand Listener, 9 May 1941, 9.

school-aged children in New Zealand. As Director, there had been an increasing focus on the role of health education within schools.[50] Turbott's view of education as important to prevention also aligned with Director-General of Health Michael Watt's push for greater health education measures.

From June 1943 to June 1946, Turbott's voice was broadcast into homes across the nation, every morning at 7:30am, except Sunday. Simply listed as "Health Talks" in *The Listener's* broadcasting guide, usually with little other information provided, Turbott's talks covered a broad scope of topics. Unlike the YA *Health in the Home* broadcasts, which were kept "impersonal" and not attached to any names, Dr Turbott was introduced as the 'Radio Doctor'. [51] The personal association provided a warmth and friendliness, much like the 'Aunts' and 'Uncles' that were prominent on the ZB channels, while Dr Turbott's position within the Department of Health gave the talks authority. As a male, his gender further added to his authority and gravitas when broadcasting.[52] Female presenters were generally limited to less serious subjects of conversation, such as domestic topics, since radio executives believed that was what their home-based female audience would appreciate.[53] It was not until the 1950s that women were able to discuss more serious or controversial

topics on air, during the unscripted 'Women's Hour' sessions.[54] Male doctors were also the societal norm, as women represented a small minority of medical practitioners in New Zealand in the 1940s.[55] Dr Turbott characterised the medical professionals that listeners were likely to come into contact with at the doctor's office, providing a sense of familiarity.

TUNING IN: WHO IS LISTENING?

Identifying who was the listening audience for Dr Turbott's broadcasts can be difficult, but by analysing the content, and perceptions regarding listening audiences, we can interpret who the intended audience was perceived to be. Over the last sixteen years women had been repeatedly targeted by radio lecturettes discussing domestic topics, as there was an ongoing belief that women needed to be educated on how to 'properly' raise children and run the home. Scientific motherhood, a dominant ideology during the interwar period, acknowledged women as controlling the domestic sphere, yet also questioned their ability to do so.[56] Institutions promoting this ideology implied that women inherently needed guidance and education to properly fulfil their role.[57] Dr H.B. Turbott's radio talks can be interpreted as a continuation of the idea that women needed to be actively educated in scientific motherhood. Mothers and wives were viewed as key to tackling some of the wider health issues that faced the population, despite being placed under increased stress due to the war. If women were educated on how to prevent illness and treat minor injury then the overall health of the nation would improve.

The "Radio Doctor" talks instructed women on the responsibilities of motherhood, such as food preparation and nutrition, as well as how to deal with common childhood ailments and provided information on 'correct' parenting techniques. Nutritional issues were a key subject, reflecting the impact of rationing and unresolved pre-war concerns. Scripts for these nutritionally focused talks were provided by Dr Muriel Bell, who focused on practical advice – much like Professor Anne Strong of the HSES did. Cooking advice, simple explanations about vitamins and deficiency, and easy replacements for rationed or out-of-season goods were key elements of Bell's talks, aimed at helping the housewife navigate these issues. Housewives were expected to feed the family a nutritionally balanced meal. Not doing so could result in developmental defects for their children, which could in turn impact their ability to become a contributing citizen in the future. Medical and public health issues were

addressed, of course, covering a number of major and minor ailments. From athlete's foot through to cancer, diphtheria immunisation to diagnosing appendicitis, even knowing when – and how – to call the doctor was discussed. Oral health was featured with surprising frequency, including in talks on nutrition and childrearing. Mothers were encouraged to breastfeed their babies to help them develop jaw strength and appropriate spacing for new teeth. Calcium rich foods were important for strong teeth and bones, while children were not to be trusted to buy their own lunches at the school tuck shop due to their propensity for choosing sugary treats. Parenting and child development were also frequently discussed, providing support for mothers who were facing the difficult task of child rearing with a reduced support system, given that many men had left to fight. Although arguably outside what might be considered public health, children were the future generation of soldiers, workers and mothers, therefore there was concern regarding appropriate mental and physical development. A new social focus on the quality of childhood and psychological development of the child had emerged during the interwar period. Mothers were now expected to invest more time and energy into their children to ensure that they not only had the best start to life, but also developed appropriately.[58] Rural mothers were publicly critiqued for not dedicating themselves enough to their children's needs, ignoring that many of them played a key role in running and maintaining the farm on top of their domestic chores. While mothers were the key audience for these talks, fathers were often mentioned or spoken to within Turbott's discussions.[59]

From these factors we can see that women, particularly mothers, were perceived to be the key demographic for Dr Turbott's talks. They represented a continuation of educational efforts established during radio's early years and were believed to be for the betterment of New Zealand as a whole. Radio was deemed the best way to reach women as it didn't disrupt their domestic lives. Although the Department may have broadcast the talks with a specific audience in mind, radio was accessible to anyone with a licence and a receiver. Archival files with fan mail to Dr Turbott reveal that there was broad public appeal for these talks. While mothers were listening, they were joined by young teenagers wanting to know how to rid themselves of pimples, old men asking how to reverse their balding crowns, and the odd businessman who wanted a copy of talks on occupational health for his workers.[60] Turbott's listeners were varied, but all shared the same concern for their health and those who surrounded them.

FIGURE 4. "Lock Away Danger In Your Home," AAFB 24223 W2555 Box 7, Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington.

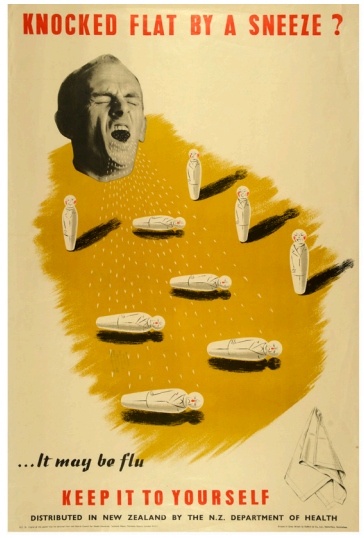


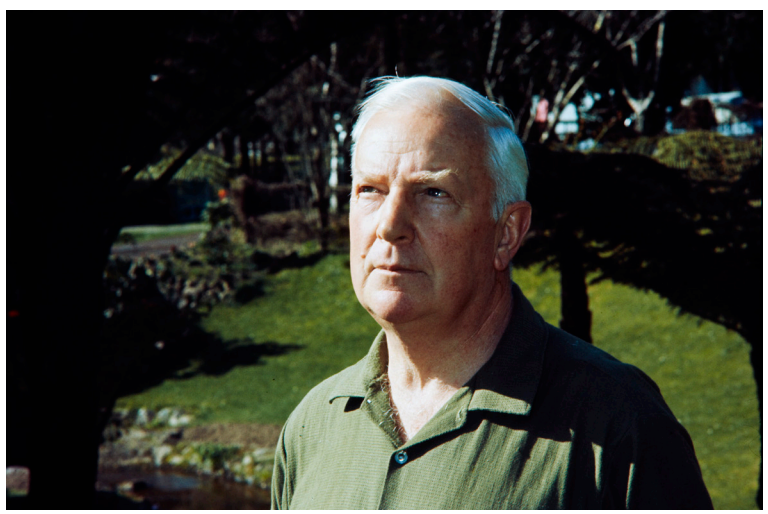
FIGURE 5. "Knocked Flat By A Sneeze," AAFB 24223 W2555 Box 3/ DC.35, Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington.

FIGURE 6. "Why Make An Old Soak Out Of Me?" AAFB 24223 W2555 Box 39/39c A57, Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington.

LEGACY

Dr Turbott's health talks were seemingly popular and effective, however a post-war return to normality meant that he could leave the airwaves in 1946 to return to other Department of Health work. This would not be the end of the 'Radio Doctor' though. Turbott returned in 1952, as New Zealand faced a wave of poliomyelitis sweeping the country. His job was to reassure and educate the public, encouraging healthy habits such as handwashing and covering coughs and sneezes. Radio ownership had continued to expand, and a post-war economic boom allowed for an increasing number of portable transistor radios, and cars with radios installed, to flood the market. The Department of Health still considered the radio an effective method of educating the public, allowing Dr Turbott into the intimate sphere of the home. Broadcasting allowed the listeners to feel as though Dr Turbott was talking directly to them, which in turn enabled difficult conversations to take place. Between 1952 and 1984, when Dr Turbott gave his final radio broadcasts, discussions were held on alcoholism, drugs, contraception, abortion and AIDS. This continuation of broadcasting was enabled by radio's longstanding role as a source of education and information, and the deeply embedded listening culture that remained pervasive throughout New Zealand.

FIGURE 7. Portrait of Dr Harold Turbott in retirement, Bill Beavis Photographer. Photo Courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand.



CONCLUSION

From the first few years of radio's development, a culture of using the radio to broadcast educational information began to exist. Women were targeted as they were viewed as both the main consumers of radio content and in the greatest need of instruction within the domestic sphere. These talks helped to legitimise radio as more than just a source for light entertainment. At the outbreak of World War Two the Department of Health needed to find a new way to educate the public on keeping healthy. The health of the family was considered a woman's responsibility to ensure, therefore it was crucial that they be reached. A long-established culture of listening to the radio for educational and informative content made broadcasting the obvious choice for the Department of Health. Through their various talks they were able to connect with women within the domestic sphere and reinforce perceptions that women required to be guided in how best to care for their families.

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ENDNOTES

1. Patrick Day, The Radio Years – A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994), 36.

2. For a better indication of where public radios were found, see The Star (Christchurch), “Notes of the Day,” 26 August 1927: 8.

3. Benedict Anderson’s conceptual framework of ‘imagined communities’ can be applied to radio broadcasting, particularly in the early 20th century when there were fewer options to tune in to. Listeners across the country were assure a shared experience, while the nature of programming and specific time slots allowed for ritualistic listening patterns to be formed. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, revised edition (London: Verso, 2006), 35.

4. For example: Northern Advocate, “Aunt Daisy in “Good Morning Everybody”,” 24 December 1938: 14; Thames Star, ““Aunt Daisy.” Returns From Trip Abroad,” 1 April 1935: 2; Franklin Times, ““On The Friendly Road.’ New Zealand’s Great Talkie. Also “Aunt Daisy” In Person.,” 12 October 1936: 4.

5. Lecturettes, otherwise known as “little lectures,” was the title given to many of these adult education talks by the Radio Record when publishing the schedule. Talks on domestic or feminine subjects were frequently given this title.

6. The New Zealand Radio Guide and Call Book 1931 – Published by the “Radio Record” (Wellington: Radio Publishing Company of New Zealand Ltd., 1931), 16.

7. Louis Caralat, ““A Cleanser for the Mind”: Marketing Radio Receivers for the American Home, 1922 – 1932,” in His and Hers – Gender, Consumption and Technology, ed. Roger Horowitz and Armen Mohun (Virginia, USA: The University Press of Virginia, 1998), 121, 123 – 124.

8. The National YA stations were generally considered to be more highbrow, and were influenced by the governmental ideal of radio as a means of improving the population. Commerical ZB stations were thought of as lowbrow, instead catering more directly to their local listeners, which gave them a level of popularity. Without this popularity they would have most likely not survived, as their income was largely reliant on listener donations.

9. Day, The Radio Years, 60-61; Peter Hoar, The World’s Din: Listening to Records, Radio and Films in New Zealand, 1880-1940 (Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press, 2018), 121.

10. Day, The Radio Years, 238 – 239.

11. For an example of the types of talks given see: “2YA Features – Sir Truby King – Infant Welfare,” The New Zealand Radio Record, Vol. 1, No. 15, 28 October 1927; “ “Cookery Talk” by Miss M. Puechegud,” The New Zealand Radio Record, Vol. 1, No. 2, Friday 29 July 1927: 10; “Afternoon tea music from the Savoy,” The New Zealand Radio Record, Vol. 1, No. 4, 12 August 1927: 10. The regularity of informative ‘domestic’ talks depended on which station/s you listened to, but there were generally at least two of a distinctly domestic or feminine nature each week.

12. This is at least the perception for daytime broadcasting. Day, The Radio Years, 238 – 239.

13. Ibid.

14. Barbara Brookes, A History of New Zealand Woman (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 302; Derek Valliant, ““Your Voice Came in Last Night…But I Thought it Sounded a Little Scared,”: Rural Radio Listening and “Talking Back” During the Progressive Era in Wisconsin, 1920 – 1932,” In Radio Reader – Essays in the Cultural History of Radio, ed. Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio (New York: Routledge, 2002), 80.

15. Day, The Radio Years, 90.

16. Day, The Radio Years, 60.

17. Evidenced by the transmission schedules printed in The New Zealand Radio Record in 1927-1928.

18. The Workers Educational Association also became involved in radio broadcasting around the same time, however their broadcast schedule appears to be sparser and less dedicated in frequency. I have also found no evidence to suggest that there was a nationwide schedule or circulated talks, with each region varying in broadcast content depending on who was willing to speak.

19. Katherine Clarke, “The University of Otago’s Home Science Extension Service, 1929-1954” (Honours diss., University of Otago, 2003), 35, 38.

20. Clarke, 38-39.

21. Clarke, 8, 21-22.

22. See Steve Craig, Out of the Dark, A History of Radio and Rural America (Tuscaloosa, Alabama; The University of Alabama Press, 2009), or Maggie Andrews, Domesticating the Airwaves – Broadcasting, Domesticity and Femininity (London: Continuum Publishing, 2012).

23. Clarke, 20, 35.

24. Clarke, 20, 33.

25. While Roy Shucker’s official history of the Workers’ Education Association (WEA) in New Zealand claims that initial experimentation with radio broadcasting began in 1928, primary source evidence from The New Zealand Radio Record shows that there were intermittent WEA talks given during 1927, broadcasting from Dunedin.

26. Rachael Bell, “Keeping It In The Country – Modernity, Urban Drift and Adult Education in Rural New Zealand,” New Zealand Between the Wars, ed. Rachael Bell (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017), 214.

27. Bell, 214, 219.

28. Roy Shucker, Educating the Workers? A History of the Worker’s Education Association in New Zealand (Palmerston North, New Zealand: The Dunmore Press,1984), 67. Radio also allowed the institution to overcome the intense regionalism that was created due to there being no national governing body when the WEA was first established. This regionalism caused issues with consistency of content and

funding opportunities. Caroline Daley, "Modernity, Consumption and Leisure," in The New Oxford History of New Zealand, ed. Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), 439.

29. Shuker, 96.

30. The New Zealand. Radio Record and Home Journal, Vol. VI., No. 36., (Friday, March 17, 1933): 10 - 16.

31. Day, The Radio Years, 192.

32. Day, The Radio Years, 84-85.

33. Day, The Radio Years, 85.

34. New Zealand Broadcasting Board Annual Report, Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1936 in Day, The Radio Years, 171.

35. Day, 207, appendix one.

36. Nancy Taylor, The New Zealand People At War – The Home Front, Vol 2 (Wellington: V.R. Ward, Government Printer, 1986), 755 – 757.

37. Taylor, Vol. 2, 742 – 744; Honor Anderson, "Hydatids: A Disease of Human Carelessness in New Zealand" (M.A. Diss., The University of Otago, 1997), 32.

38. Derek A. Dow, Safeguarding the Public Health– A History of the New Zealand Department of Health (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995), 144.

39. The employees from the Department of Health did provide some material to various stations or radio personalities, but this was uncreditted.

40. This is opposed to passively using radio as part of their broader advertising scheme. I did not find any archival evidence of radio advertising predating these talks, but this may have been due to my search parameters.

41. Dr H. B. Turbott was a key contributor, having previously provided some one-off scripts to both the National Broadcasting Service and the Director of Education, under his role of Director of the Division of School Hygiene. Health Education and Publicity – Radio, 1940 – 1976, 34/2, AAFB W4914 632 Box 213, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

42. Dr H.B. Turbott to Dr M. Bell, 14 July 1941, Health Education and Publicity – Radio, 1940 – 1976, 34/2, AAFB W4914 632 Box 213, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

43. The Listener, "Expert Advice on Health – "The Listener" Launches Weekly Series of Authoritative Articles," 9 May 1941: 9.

44. William Renwick, Scrim: The Man with a Mike (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011), 203, 205.

45. Dr H.B. Turbott to Dr M. Bell, March 1941, Health Education and Publicity – Radio, 1940 – 1976, 34/2, AAFB W4914 632 Box 213, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; Dr H.B. Turbott to Mr. Colin Scrimgeour, 4th April 1941, Health Education and Publicity – Radio, 1940 – 1976, 34/2, AAFB W4914 632 Box 213, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; Mr Colin Scrimgeour to Dr H.B. Turbott, 17 April 1941, Health Education and Publicity – Radio, 1940 – 1976, 34/2, AAFB W4914 632 Box 213, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

46. Overseas, the BBC had started broadcasting a 'Radio Doctor' piece during their "Kitchen Front" segment, from 2 May 1942. It is possible that the New Zealand Department of Health may have been aware of this, as the National Broadcasting Service was still modelling itself on the BBC and replaying sixteen hours of BBC content each week – despite the war. Asa Briggs, The BBC – The First Fifty Years (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 192, 227.

47. 'Aunts' and 'Uncles' generally fronted shows aimed at children, although there were exceptions such as Aunt Daisy, who spoke to woman.

48. Turbott claims in his autobiography that Prime Minister Peter Fraser personally asked for him to fill the role, but I cannot find any archival evidence to support this claim. H. B. Turbott, "A N.Z. Doctor – Peripatetic," unpublished autobiography, c.1984 (author's own collection), 55.

49. H.B. Turbott, Tuberculosis in the Maori, East Coast, New Zealand (Wellington: G. H. Loney, Government Printer, 1935).

50. Dow, 129.

51. Although Dr Bell had written to Dr Turbott to encourage anonymity for the Health in the Home radio series, historian Patrick Day notes that the YA style of broadcasting tended to choose anonymity regardless. Dr M. Bell to Dr H.B. Turbott, 16 July 1941, Health Education and Publicity – Radio, 1940 – 1976, 34/2, AAFB W4914 632 Box 213, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; Patrick Day, The Radio Years – A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994), 188.

52. Day, The Radio Years, 238.

53. Day, The Radio Years, 239, 241.

54. Day, The Radio Years, 290.

55. The number of women in medicine remained small until the 1970s. Brookes, A History of New Zealand Women, 416, 419-420.

56. Rima Apple, ""They Need It Now" Science, Advertising and Vitamins, 1925 – 1940," Journal of Popular Culture Vol. 22, No. 3 (1988): 71.

57. Ibid.

58. Erik Olssen, "Women, Work and Family: 1880-1926," in Women in New Zealand Society, ed. Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), 178 – 179.

59. All most all transcripts can be found in the holdings of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Series 1 Radio talks, speech and lecture notes. MS-Group-1875. Turbott, Harold Bertram, 1899 – 1988 : Papers. 1901 – 1983 [Collection]. Series-4895. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.

60. Health Education and Publicity – Fan mail re broadcast talks. 1944 – 1945, 34/2/4, H1 Box 1391, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

The Western and the New Zealand Wars

BRENDAN D SHERIDAN

There are multiple parallels between the 19th Century migrations into indigenous lands in the American West and Aotearoa. These include conflicts over land between incoming Europeans and indigenous nations, the complicated loyalties that arose during these conflicts, and later romanticisation of the time period. This paper examines two films set during the New Zealand Wars and compares these films to the American Western genre, in particular through the lenses of historical fiction and historiographic metafiction. These approaches provide insight into how the films depict events and why the way they are depicted is dependent upon historical context. These films, *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) and *Utu* (1983), engage with similar subject matter and depict the same time period but portray history in radically different tones.

KEYWORDS # Western # New Zealand Wars # Colonial Films # utu # Te Kooti

There are several representations of the New Zealand Wars (particularly the period of 1863-1870) in New Zealand cinema: Rewi's Last Stand (1925), The Te Kooti Trail (1927), The Last Stand (1940), Pictures (1980), Utu (1983), and River Queen (2005). This paper examines the two films that are Westerns, Rudall Hayward's The Te Kooti Trail (1927) and Geoff Murphy's Utu (1983). These films were chosen as they both draw inspiration from similar historical events and persons, as well as the written histories of James Cowan. Furthermore, these films can be examined through the lenses of historical fiction and what Linda Hutcheon terms historiographic metafiction.

Historical fiction and historiographic metafiction are two different methods for viewing the past. Historical fiction depicts the past according to a fixed historiography (though often according to a range of stereotypic narratives). Meanwhile, historiographic metafiction emerged from the postcolonial movement and reassesses previous conceptions of the past, as well as the impact of past events upon the present. The Te Kooti Trail stands as an example of historical fiction and Utu as an example of historiographic metafiction, in addition to both being Westerns.

The Western is a genre with clearly established conventions spanning settlers, journeys, and ranching to gunfights and "Indian wars". Many Westerns draw on the legacy of James Fenimore Cooper and his stories set in the frontier of the United States. Douglas Pye argues that in Cooper:

> A current of romantic narrative, capable of inflection in more than one direction, meets other currents of thought associated particularly with the idea of the West and its significance for America, and this conjunction of romantic mode and complex thematic gave a shape to the western".

The American Old West has many parallels with the European (and predominantly Anglo-Protestant) settlement of Aotearoa, including contact with indigenous peoples and the conflicts which emerged. Kynan Gentry, Andrew Thompson, and John M. MacKenzie argue that the European settler battles against the Plains Indians were not dissimilar to the New Zealand Wars.

Unsurprisingly, there is a continuation of the Western's ideas in the films The Te Kooti Trail and Utu. While Aotearoa was not directionally focused, like the West, the romanticised un-Europeanised lands held appeal. That said, the conventions and ideas of such frontiers have varying

FIGURE 1. Dean Martin starred in *Rough Night in Jericho(1967)*. The advertising campaign for this movie asked the question: "Who says they don't make Westerns like they used to?" Film still from a private collection ARC.

interpretations, as Pye also notes: “The life of the frontier was both enobling, because it was close to nature, and primitive, at the farthest remove from civilization. The Indian could be both a child of nature, primitive but innocent, and the naked savage.” The dichotomy of the friendly natives and villainous savages was a commonly understood trope, as was the desire to turn Aotearoa into a ‘Pastoral Paradise’. Though the Western is a broad genre, it is in the sensationalist Westerns that the greatest influence on New Zealand popular culture is felt. Many of the Western ideas were disseminated in the form of novels in New Zealand, often featuring ‘Boys Own’ narratives featuring young men involved in exciting and dangerous experiences, extending later into film.

HISTORICAL FICTION WESTERNS

The sensationalism of wild west dime novels is where the New Zealand Western finds most commonality with the American embellished reality of the frontier, at least with regard to the New Zealand Wars.

In dime novels the western became increasingly extravagant and fantastic, although it was fed by actual events—the Indian wars, the adventures of outlaws and lawmen, the cattle drivers. Actual people became the basis of heroes of dime-novel sagas in a constant process of romanticizing actuality in the service of sentimental fiction and the adventure story.

The use of actual historical characters and specific events, either outright depictions or acting as inspiration, in New Zealand Wars Western Films reinforces the parallels with the American Western. However, while the American Western Film can feature wholly invented characters and plots, the New Zealand Wars Western Film is more akin to historical fiction.

Linda Hutcheon describes historical fiction as “that which is modelled on historiography to the extent that it is motivated and made operative by a notion of history as a shaping force”. This definition implies that for a work to be classified as historical fiction it must also be tied to historiography. In this sense some of the early twentieth century films by Rudall Hayward are historical fiction due to their adherence to James Cowan’s histories *The New Zealand Wars* volumes 1 and 2. Hayward’s later film The Last Stand (1940) even credited Cowan as that film’s “official historian” and uses a copy of Cowan’s history as a framing device.

This adherence to Cowan’s work is apparent in The Te

FIGURE 2. Detail from a poster for Rudall Hayward’s 1927 film *The Te Kooti Trail*. The Te Kooti Trail (1927) P03841. Poster Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision. Production Company: Whakatane Films.

Kooti Trail. The main plot of the film transpires during the Colonial Government's pursuit of Te Kooti, the Māori dissident and prophet of the Ringatū movement. While colonial troops pursued Te Kooti across the Bay of Plenty in 1869, the prophet's forces besieged a mill operated by a French settler, Jean Guerrin, and his Māori wife Erihapeti. On taking the mill following Guerrin's death, Te Kooti has Erihapeti remarried to one of his followers, while a young Māori woman who was defiant towards Te Kooti is executed. Captain Gilbert Mair, on hearing of the attack rushes to free the mill, however he arrives too late. The film subsequently depicts Mair's later command of colonial forces in the pursuit of the prophet, including killing Peka te Makarini (Te Kooti's lieutenant) in battle.

The events of The Te Kooti Trail are directly discussed in Cowan's history, specifically chapter 30 of *The New Zealand Wars* volume 2, dubbed *The Hauhau Wars* (1864-1872). While the film does show some fictionalised situations, as noted below, it focuses on historical figures who were in the area at the time. Jean Guerrin, Te Kooti, Peka te Makarini, Gilbert Mair, and even the tragically fated young woman Monika, sister of Erihapeti, are based upon genuine historical figures.

The predominantly fictional figures included by Hayward are his "lost legion" of an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Frenchman serving under Mair's command. The love story between Monika and a warrior called Taranahi is also considered an addition by Hayward. Regardless, Hayward follows the events of Cowan's account quite accurately. The loss of the mill, the forced marriage between Guerrin's widow and Te Kooti's follower Rangihiroa and the killing of Monika are all events recorded by Cowan. The film is a direct representation of an historical account, framed by the perspective of a Pākehā historian, though it has been adapted into the form of a Western.

The Western is quite formulaic in its construction and its plots. David Lusted argues that there are seven basic Western Genre plots, though more than one can feature in a single narrative. For The Te Kooti Trail the plots of "The Cavalry (cavalry vs. indians)" and "The Marshal (lawman vs. outlaws)" clearly feature. In the film, Gilbert Mair is quite clearly the Marshal, while Te Kooti and his followers are outlaws. Westerns also include many standard character types in addition to the Marshal (two examples are friendly Natives, and the indigenous maiden), including different types of villains. "Villainy became as central as heroism…the worst villainy of all is overwhelmingly represented by savage Indians." However, for the New Zealand Wars Western these character types are reinterpreted to suit the setting,

for example the villains are clearly Māori, taking the place of Native Americans. Also, given the period of the New Zealand Wars depicted, it is not sufficient to only show some Māori as friendly natives, but also Māori who actively fight alongside the settlers and military.

Native allies of settlers are not without precedent in the American Western either. Such representation appeared in the American Western about 10 years prior to The Te Kooti Trail with William S Hart's The Silent Man (1917). In this film:

> Although the Cheyenne are the villains… the Pawnee scouts are cited as friendly Indians…they even replace the more conventional cavalry as the last-minute rescuers of the railroad folk from the final mass attack of the Cheyenne

There is a very similar scene shown in The Te Kooti Trail with the Arawa men rallied by Gilbert Mair to battle against Te Kooti and his Ngai Tūhoe followers. To fit the time period, Māori are depicted simultaneously in the film as the indigenous villains and the cavalry.

The Te Kooti Trail is notably the first on-screen representation of Māori allied to the Crown during the New Zealand Wars. As stated above, they are the "cavalry" rallied by Gilbert Mair in the desperate attempt to save Guerrin's mill. The role the allied Māori play here is quite clear cut. As Alistair Fox describes the attack:

> Te Kooti's attack on Geurrin's mill is modelled closely on the Indian attacks in Griffith's westerns, as is the pursuit of Taranahi when he rides off to seek help, and the suspense as to whether the colonial forces (the equivalent of the cavalry) will arrive in time to rescue the besieged defenders of the mill.

The scene is potentially a homage to The Silent Man with its similar scene where the Pawnee come racing to aid the beleaguered railway folk from the Cheyenne. However, in place of the Pawnee the soldiers are implied to be Ngāti Pukeko and in place of the Cheyenne are followers of Te Kooti.

Ngāti Pukeko's role in the film is the heroic cavalry riding (or in this case running) to the rescue. Given the nature of the film, it is unsurprising that they are reduced to background figures, as they fulfil the sole role of the cavalry. Typically, in Westerns the cavalry has little characterisation among the rank and file. However, often historiography omits details of

active participants, such as Māori allied with the Crown. Until the late 20th century, analysis of their service and motives outside of one or two individuals, was sparse.

Bruce Babington notes this lack of attention: “Mair’s kūpapa are, except for Taranahi, faceless”. These men are ignored in terms of characterisation, so context is required for the depiction of these characters. Babington uses the word kūpapa to describe these Māori allies, which is a term that has a complicated history. Danny Keenan notes that:

> These days, amongst Māori, the connotation ‘kupapa’ is used in different contexts, and its meaning varies greatly, from ‘one who does not rise to the debate or fray’ (a neutral) to ‘one who crawls on all fours’ (a traitor).

The term’s varied usage can depend on regional location of Māori, and upon their hapū’s or iwi’s political stance during the New Zealand Wars, or even the speaker’s own perspective on Māori allying with settlers. These particular Māori soldiers, depicted later in the film, have received some scholarly attention in recent years, in particular in *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* (2014) and in Ron Crosby’s *Kūpapa* (2015).

These soldiers are of the Te Arawa iwi who occupy areas of Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty with a history of supporting the Crown during the New Zealand Wars. They are a significant group as of all the allied Māori in the late stages of the New Zealand Wars (from 1868 to 1872), this unit were commanded by Pākehā officers. Te Arawa had supported the Crown ever since the Waikato campaign, but it was later from 1870 that they truly became distinctive from other allied Māori with the Arawa Flying Columns.

Following the battle of Ohinemutu in 1870, Donald McLean, the Native Affairs Minister, was convinced of their capability but had a differing approach to previous allied Māori divisions. In Kūpapa, Crosby explains:

> McLean had also seen repeated reports of the difficulty Pākehā officers had had with more senior Te Arawa rangatira in particular. However, the performance of the young Te Arawa men in the field had been exemplary under two young Pākehā officers who were fluent in te reo, and who were able to inspire their men into amazing acts of courage and resilience.

The solution seemed to McLean to be to separate the younger fighting men of Te Arawa from their rangatira, and to have them led by those two young Pākehā officers. This was unusual as typically allied Māori incorporated their own traditional leadership structures. The two officers who had so impressed McLean were George Preece and Gilbert Mair, the impressively bearded officer of The Te Kooti Trail. The Arawa men were organised into mobile flying columns of 80-90 men, better kitted out than larger units of allied Māori, and with more modern weaponry.

While Ngāti Pukeko wear traditional dress in the rushed mobilization race to save Guerrin’s Mill, a later scene shows Te Arawa soldiers dressed in their recognisable attire of militia coats, caps, and kilts. The careful use of material culture is understandable given Hayward’s endeavour to provide a visual record of Aotearoa New Zealand’s past on screen, providing further historiography to the historical fiction. Even so, despite the effort at historical accuracy, little time is spent on character. Though the Ngāti Pukeko ‘cavalry’ has some reasoning under the conventions of genre, the same cannot be said for Te Arawa. Most of what the audience sees of the Arawa Flying Column in the Te Kooti Trail is of silent soldiers happy to follow Gilbert Mair into battle. Little is spent examining their own ideas or motivations, such as the difference of opinion among Te Arawa themselves on fighting alongside the Crown.

Keenan argues that participation of allied Māori “were probably only understood by those who participated.” In this sense, Hayward’s lack of character development is not unexpected considering the source material, James Cowan’s histories. As argued by Alistair Fox, Keith Grant and Hilary Radner: “In Cowan’s *The New Zealand Wars*...he reproduces the discourse of colonial imperialism, including its Darwinian assumption that colonisation entailed an inevitable march of progress towards civilisation”. It suits Hayward to simply present Te Arawa as being motivated by the ‘civilising’ goal of the colonial government. For allied Māori to have more nuanced motives in regards to their involvement, such as tribal prosperity or historical grudges, would complicate and potentially disrupt the historical narrative to which Hayward adhered.

In sum, the historical fiction Western is concerned with accuracy or at least presenting itself as accurate. The Te Kooti Trail links directly to historical events and to a noted historian. Even so, the narrative being presented is still highly slanted. While there was some small input from Māori involved in the Te Kooti Trail’s production and a preliminary screening was offered to Tūhoe elders to avoid offence,

their voices were still subject to Hayward and, by extension, Cowan. The depiction of Ngāti Pukeko, Ngai Tūhoe, and Te Arawa are narrowed by a predominantly Eurocentric view of history. Hayward adhered to the nation-making narratives of the early 20th century westerns, so it is unsurprising that in the 1980s Geoff Murphy instead followed the example of the post-modern western.

POST-MODERN WESTERNS

Following Hayward there were no cinematic depictions of the New Zealand Wars until the 1980s, potentially due to the availability of film funding. Because of a number of historical and social factors, the style of the Western that emerged shifted from being historical fiction to historiographic metafiction. Examples of these influential social events are the Māori Land March, the Māori Renaissance, the emergence of postmodern discourse, as well as international film trends such as the postmodern Western. These events challenged preconceived narratives in historical discourse, which coincided with the development of the historiographic metafiction model.

Historiographic metafiction is a postmodern approach to depictions of history. Hutcheon states that it "represents a challenging of the (related) conventional forms of fiction and history writing through its acknowledgement of their inescapable textuality". This idea is apparent in on-screen representations of history which abandon direct depictions of events as they are, in favour of creating representations that are inspired by specific historical events. Such representations are arguably less interested in a historical truth and instead express a desire to present an ideological truth. They are also less likely to adhere to single overriding sources like Hayward did with Cowan. Hutcheon argues that:

> Historiographic metafiction shows fiction to be historically conditioned and history to be discursively structured, and in the process manages to broaden the debate about the ideological implications of the Foucaldian conjunction of power and knowledge—for readers and for history itself as a discipline.

Such films are more likely to challenge previously pervasive ideas surrounding the New Zealand Wars, especially colonial constructs of European dominance and "civilising" influence on Māori. Previous narratives were challenged

through a greater nuance towards indigenous groups as represented on screen, a more prevalent use of non-European languages, and a further incorporation of indigenous cultures and practices on screen. They also offer a greater visibility of European women on screen or even depicting European officers in a different light to how they were previously portrayed.

This is not to say that the historiographic metafiction is an outright rejection of previous works, instead it reassesses existing conventions. As Hutcheon states: "Historiographic metafiction appears, then, willing to draw upon any signifying practices it can find operative in a society. It wants to challenge those discourses and yet to use them, even to milk them for all they are worth". Therefore, even when aspects of the New Zealand Wars and Hayward's depictions are being challenged, many features of the productions are maintained. Both Murphy and Hayward orientate their films around the same dynamic figures of Gilbert Mair and Te Kooti, as well as events in their lives. Cowan's histories lead to Hayward's films. Murphy then approaches the same source material as Hayward at a later stage, but incorporating the nuance offered by his Māori collaborators.

A key feature of this New Zealand Wars metafiction is the composite nature of events and characters, which is a departure from Hayward's reliance in the historical record. The blending can be seen as a contrast between realist historiography and the more postmodern historiographic metafiction. Amy J. Elias explains:

> Realist historiography desires a historical truth that is not Truth but that is still binding, a pragmatist, robust history of reasonable belief. Radical postmodernist historiography desires a Dionysian playground of language and a historical ground from which to declare the end of historical grounds.

The postmodern does not have the desire of its predecessors to show the events as they happened. Instead, such representations gauge the feeling of the period by commingling and blending key historical figures and events together.

Geoff Murphy produced just such a Dionysian playground of language and history in the 1983 film Utu. It is an anarchic, borderline parodic, nuanced Western. The film presents a greater degree of characterisation for Māori, likely as a result of many Māori having key positions in the production. Activist and director Merata Mita was appointed casting director, Pita Turei as stunt coordinator, Lee

Tamahori as second unit director, and the film had a kaumatua on site with Joe Malcom. The film also featured a widespread use of spoken Te Reo (by both Māori and Pākehā characters) joined with subtitles.

The film follows Te Wheke, a scout for the colonial troops, who arrives at his home village to find them slaughtered by cavalry in a raid, whereupon he swears vengeance. This leads to Te Wheke gathering a following to resist colonial rule, all the while pursued by the colonial militia under the command of the racist Colonel Elliot. His immediate pursuers, however, are the contemplative Lieutenant Scott and the erudite Corporal Wiremu. Following various engagements, including a settler's own vendetta against Te Wheke, the film ends with a trial in the bush by firelight where European protocol and tikanga are debated to determine who should execute Te Wheke for his crimes in pursuit of revenge.

In contrast to Hayward, Murphy does not base Utu around a single historical event, instead he is inspired by several. Most significantly are Rangiaowhia (1864), the killing of the missionary Carl Volkner by Kereopa Te Rau (1865), and the Bush Trial of Wi Heretaunga (1870), and most importantly the Pursuit of Te Kooti (1868-1872). Murphy's depiction of the New Zealand Wars also adds an additional Western plot: "The Revenge (the wronged man vs. the truly guilty)". In this case Te Kooti is the wronged man and Colonel Eliot is the truly guilty. The plot is obvious from the title, the Māori word "utu". In certain contexts, this word means revenge, vengeance, retaliation, payback, retribution, though it can also mean cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity. Thus, a close reading of these definitions implies that the film is about revenge, but also the price of colonisation.

As mentioned above, Te Wheke and his quest for vengeance is inspired by Te Kooti, Kereopa Te Rau, and Wi Heretaunga. Meanwhile, in place of the middle aged and bearded Gilbert Mair of Hayward, there is the young, idealistic, and clean-shaven Lieutenant Scott (not unlike the treatment Disney gave John Smith in their 1995 film Pocahontas). Murphy is also willing to draw inspiration from the larger-than-life, but still historical officers G. S. Whitmore and Thomas McDonnell, whose accurate egocentrism construct Colonel Elliot. Through Elliot, the film introduces the bigoted officer character, a popular villain of post-Vietnam Westerns. The composite character of Colonel Eliot is particularly reminiscent of Richard Mulligan's bombastic performance as General Custer in Little Big Man (1970). As much as Elliot appears a caricature, his classism, paranoia, egotism and apoplexy all are qualities seen in either McDonnell or Whitmore. McDonnell displayed a melodramatic attitude while campaigning and Whitmore was noted for a casual classist attitude.

As the depiction of colonial officers shows, Murphy's difference from Hayward is most apparent in tone. The tonal difference is especially acute towards Māori allied with the Crown. A poignant scene depicting the complicated circumstances of allied Māori and even the entire colonial experiment is presented beside a river while Te Wheke's pursuers are taking rest. A soldier, Henare, asks Wiremu: "Why do we fight tribe against tribe?...On and on it goes, and always the Pākehā sides with the ones who best advance his cause." Henare reflects on the conflict, seeing it as settlers taking advantage of internal disagreements. There is also a fatalistic view towards the conflict, because when Wiremu tells Henare to stop he simply responds "āpōpō" (tomorrow, at sometime in the future. The cynical impression of the conflict is also reflected in Wiremu's exchange with Scott: "Sir will these help to make a better world?" "[I doubt it]" "Then does it matter which side we're on?" The soldiers involved in the fighting are weary, under no illusions over who it benefits, but can see no other path. This is a significant departure from the smiling, affable Arawa Flying Column depicted by Hayward. Murphy instead presents the New Zealand Wars as a time of moral ambiguity, where soldiers expressed uncertainty over the rightness of their actions.

While the allied Māori in Utu are not identified as a specific historical group, their uniforms and location of action and the placement as serving under Pākehā officers also shows a clear evocation of the Arawa Flying Column. Three characters in the film exhibit a fuller elaboration of what it meant to be seen as kūpapa. Te Wheke, Henare, and Wiremu. Te Wheke is the ultimate disillusioned allied Māori. In the opening of the film, he is a scout for the militia, but the slaughter of his village turns him against the Crown. Henare is a character who openly questions his role in fighting alongside Pākehā and is disillusioned with his role in aiding the colonial experiment, questioning the nature of the fight of tribe against tribe. Wiremu is perhaps the most compelling figure, as when openly confronted about his role as a corporal in the flying column he acknowledges the damage done to his people but responds that he swore an oath of loyalty.

Murphy's difference in tone from Hayward does not change the fact that he too draws from James Cowan's works. The entire final scene of Utu is a reworking of Cowan's story of The Bush Trial, which inspired the film. The film shows familiar points, while also defying their prior depictions. This creates what Hutcheon terms an "attraction/repulsion" with convention in the film.

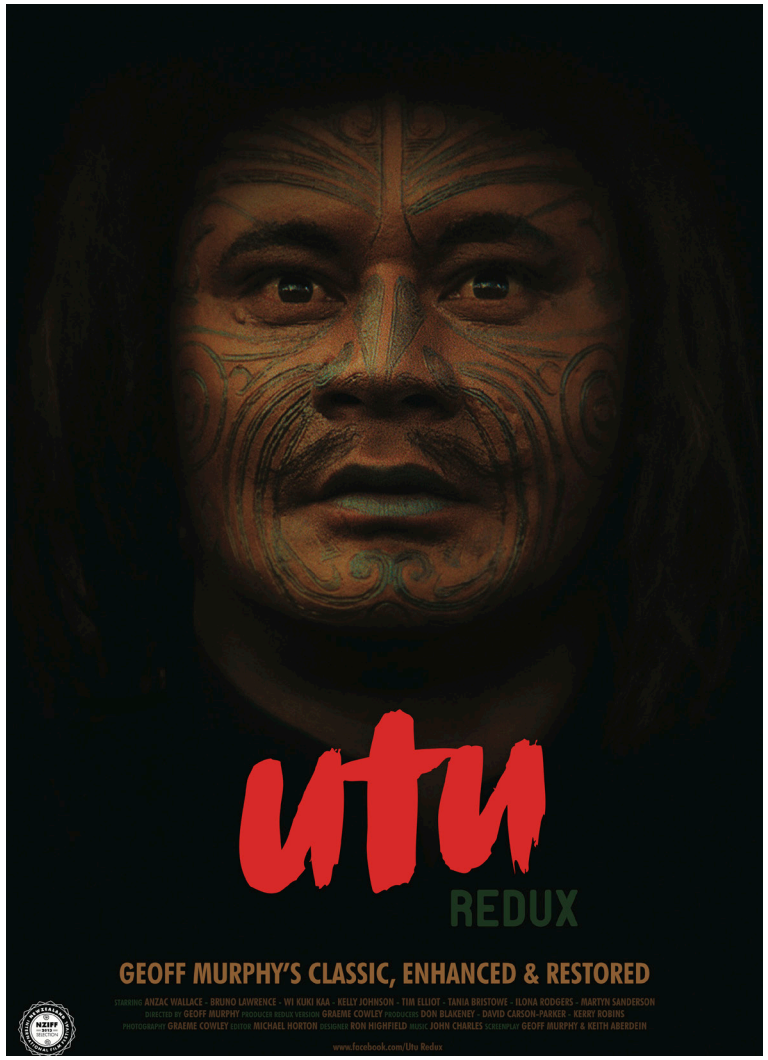

FIGURE 3. Utu Redux poster image courtesy of the Aotearoa New Zealand Film Heritage trust. Utu Redux Poster (2013) P234170. Poster Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision. Production Company: Kiwi Film Productions Ltd

Perhaps this contradictory attraction/repulsion to structure and pattern explains the predominance of the parodic use of certain familiar and overtly conventionally plotted forms in American fiction, for instance that of the Western: Little Big Man.

The repulsion of typical narratives is also demonstrated by Utu's liberal use of parody. Dramatic lines and actions by the cultured and destructive revenger Te Wheke are often undercut by comments from his men. In particular is the scene where Te Wheke and his men capture a supply wagon. While digging through the goods, one of Te Wheke's men cuts open a sack of flour, buries his face in it and exclaims "Look! I'm a Pākehā!"

The film strikes a balance between humour and drama. As noted above, multiple features enable comparison between Murphy's film and Little Big Man. There is the idealistic culturally aware young man who is serving in the colonial forces under a bigoted and moronic commanding officer. Additionally, the portrayal of indigenous peoples is far more complex and sympathetic than earlier Westerns in the 20th Century. The humour and parody on display in both films are part of the goal to reassess previous historical narratives. Hutcheon argues that:

> Historiographic metafictions...use parody not only to restore history and memory in the face of distortions of the "history of forgetting", but also, at the same time, to put into question the authority of any act of writing by locating the discourses of both history and fiction within an ever-expanding intertextual network that mocks any notion of either single origin or simple causality.

Restoring history and engaging with intertextuality is of particular relevance in examining Utu through the lens of the historiographic metafiction. While any film is a product of its time, and the stylistic and narrative choices of Hayward do reflect the 1920s, Utu is also actively aware of its time of construction.

The struggle over the land is an ongoing issue within Aotearoa, something which historiographic metafiction asserts. Merata Mita stated in an interview: "What's manifested in this film is what's happening today." Utu actively highlights the struggle for land in the film, a subject that is absent in The Te Kooti Trail. Te Wheke's declarative statement "This is our land" echoes the comparatively recent events of Dame Whina Cooper's Land Hikoi (1975) and

the occupation of Bastion Point (1977). His line: “Could we put 10000 warriors on the streets of Auckland for just one hour?” is also reminiscent of the protests endemic during the period. The film’s discourse is not just located in the past, like the Te Kooti Trail, but also in its present. It acknowledges the struggle for Māori as an ongoing issue to be addressed and confronted, rather than something to be consigned to history.

CONCLUSION

The representation of the Western in relation to the New Zealand Wars bears close parallels to the depiction of the West in American cinema. Whether it is the early twentieth century narratives of nation making or late twentieth century post-modern and post-colonial representations reassessing interpretations of the past. Films like The Te Kooti Trail are westerns depicting colonisation as a bold enterprise with villainous opponents, that exemplify civilising lands perceived as untamed. Meanwhile Utu pays closer attention to the cost of colonisation and the “civilising” enterprise, noting the divisions it creates and the damage inflicted on indigenous peoples.

With both films showing ties to trends in American Westerns, a possible future Western set during the New Zealand Wars might follow suit. Though what form it might take is difficult to predict. Westerns typically still adhere to the post-modern ideas that emerged in the 1970s, though there is still space in the New Zealand Wars Westerns to better represent women as active agents and not passive participants in the period. Historical figures such as Hēni Te Kiri Karamū would be ideal inspiration for a heroine in a future revisiting of the period. While the Western is a genre that can often romanticise the past, ever since the 1960s it has also challenged preconceptions of history. The genre can better reach audiences than dusty tomes, and there are still many prevalent ideas of Aotearoa New Zealand history that deserve to be challenged.

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2. Hutcheon, 129.

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9. Hutcheon, 113.

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12. It almost sounds like the start to a joke, an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Frenchman all walk into a colonial campaign, though accounts do confirm settlers from across Europe fought in the New Zealand Wars. Page 238 of Belich's The New Zealand Wars also notes the presence of Americans, Greeks, and even Ghurkas.

13. Cowan, The New Zealand Wars, 318-319.

14. David Lusted, The Western, (London: Routledge, 2003), 25.

15. Lusted, The Western, 49.

16. Lusted, The Western, 139

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29. Hutcheon, Poetics of Postmodernism, 129.

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33. Murphy, 220-222.

34. Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index, ed. John C. Moorfield, 3rd ed. (Auckland: Longman/Pearson Education New Zealand, 2011), s.v. "Utu."

35. Mike Gabriel and Eric Goldberg, Pocahontas, (1995; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Pictures, 1995), VHS.

36. Arthur Penn, Little Big Man, (1970; Los Angeles, CA: Cinema Center Films, 2000), DVD.

37. McDonnell's paranoia and melodramatic behaviour is clearly noted in the writing of James Belich, as is the classist and egocentric nature of Whitmore.

38. Crosby notes on page 327 in Kūpapa that McDonnell once kissed his sword by moonlight swearing vengeance against the Ngāti Ruahine leader Riwha Titokowaru.

39. On page 239 of The New Zealand Wars, Belich diplomatically describes him as a man of "unattractive character".

40. Geoff Murphy, Utu, (1983; Auckland: Utu Productions, 1990), VHS.

41. Tomorrow, meaning in the future.

42. Utu.

43. Utu.

44. Utu.

45. Utu.

46. Hutcheon, Poetics of Postmodernism, 133.

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Harry Turbott in the Wide World[1]

A REFLECTION BY TONY WATKINS

Harry Turbott (1930-2016) was much more than an architect and a landscape architect. In his self-effacing, humble, bare-foot,[2] New Zealand way he challenged both the creeping gentrification of an increasingly passive society and the morphing of the built-environment into a threat to the future of a planet he both loved and respected. In this reflection Tony Watkins weaves relationships between Harry's story and the story of the global environmental movement. At this time of environmental crisis looking back suggests how we might move forward.

Harry's Arataki Visitor Centre is but a pause on Tiriwa's journey. If you do not know the story you cannot understand the architecture. Tiriwa, with powerful incantations, lifted Rangitoto, the mountain that blocked the view to the south from Te Ahuahu to the entrance of the Manukau, onto his shoulders. He strode across the Waitakeres and walked out across the Waitemata. When the cold water hit his loins he dropped his burden, and that is where you find Rangitoto today.

Of course before Tiriwa came along the land had already been telling other stories since the dawn of time. The eruption of Rangitoto is but a recent chapter. In an earlier chapter the enormous volcano which once stood off Ahuahu had almost completely eroded away. In a dynamic, constantly changing world Geology is more story-telling than science. Volcanos appear and disappear. With a little imagination you could say they move. It is a mistake to dismiss Tiriwa's journey as nothing more than a myth.

However there are myths that do need to be dismissed. In our own time most human activity is driven by three great myths. It would be more correct to call them marketing lies, but they are so ingrained in our society, our bureaucracies, and our neoliberal economy that they seem to be beyond question. In endless strategic reports they form the foundation for a vision of a paradise that remains always just beyond reach, and prevents us from seeing the paradise we already possess.[3]

The first myth is the anthropocentric view that human beings are the centre of the universe. The second myth is that we can "manage" at least the planet, if not the cosmos. The third myth is that with a static built environment we can make certain the uncertainties of a dynamic world.

All the frozen, dead architecture now being built by "developers"[4] gives form to these illusions. It not only cashes up our inheritance but also attempts to still the story of an earth coming into being. Our cities are full of award-winning empty carcasses waiting only to be cast out onto the dung heap, because they have no story to pass on that might be of interest to future generations. Architecture that forgets that life is about continuity, connections, and relationships destroys rather than develops.[5]

Equally all the frozen, dead plans now being imposed on society by "planners" give form to these illusions.[6] What we now are beginning to call "spatial" planning is little more than reductionist thinking empowering "developers", and disempowering everyone else.[7] Stories don't need plans to keep them under control. Stories open up possibilities. Replacing one plan with another plan will do nothing to solve any environmental problems.[8] Winston Churchill wisely said:

FIGURE 1. Harry Turbott. Photograph by Tony Watkins.

"Plans are of little importance, but planning is essential."[9]

All architecture exploits and damages the natural world. Architects dig it up, cut it down, or use vast amounts of energy to transform nature into another lesser reality. The first question we all need to ask is whether our architecture is going to leave the world a little richer or a little poorer.

Gardeners in contrast have a different worldview. They plant, they propagate, they graft, and they enrich the soil. They walk away and leave a garden behind, bursting with blossoms and flowers.

Harry was a landscape architect. Harry's architecture caught the energy of an earth coming into being, and delighted in the sheer joy of being alive. He carried the story of creation forward without seeking to control where it might be taking him. With joy and delight Arataki celebrates the dynamic landscape. The Waitakeres are not a backdrop to the building. They are the reason for the building. The architecture invites us to experience the Waitakeres more intensely than we would ever have thought possible. As with any good story we find ourselves saying, "Yes, yes, it is so, but I have never been able to put it so clearly". Papatuanuku. Tiriwa.

FIGURE 2. The Arataki Visitors Centre, Waitakere Ranges. Photograph by Tony Watkins.

KAITIAKITANGA

An anthropocentric worldview sees human beings as the focus of everything. Everything is measured in human terms. We are sitting in the cockpit of planet earth, making decisions with ourselves in command. We are free to manage the planet to satisfy our own whims and desires.[10] We feel benevolent if we save an occasional kiwi or a kakapo. An anthropocentric view fails to recognise that the planet has no need of us, and will go on living long after we have destroyed ourselves. Sadly it might be more correct to say that what we have not destroyed will go on living. History will not remember our generation kindly, but it will remember Harry.

In contrast kaitiakitanga recognises that we are part of the natural world. Beyond recognising that we need air to breathe, water to drink, or the sun to keep us warm, kaitiakitanga assumes that we also need a healthy planet before we can say that we are healthy. Maori have always said that the individual cannot be healthy if the whanau is not healthy. Kaitiakitanga means that we feel the pain of every carbon-offset tree that is chain-sawed down in Auckland. When every kiwi or kakapo dies we die too. Kaitiakitanga however is positive rather than negative. It means that we delight in every flower that blooms, and relish the joy of every beautiful sunrise. Kaitiakitanga is about being fully alive.

Histories easily become more concerned with asserting values than exploring the truth. Anthropocentric histories are common enough. Genesis was anthropocentric. Fuelled by arrogance it asserted the myth that man was created in the image of god, and given dominion over the earth.[11] It was, of course, very reassuring for humans to know that they were free to play with the planet. A few thousand years later the Greek philosopher Protagoras said “Man is the measure of all things”. [12] Again it was very reassuring to know that humans could ignore the consequences of their actions. More recently the United Nations still persists in using the term “shelter” to describe architecture.[13] Anyone who wants to be fully alive should embrace life rather than shelter from it. Comfort fuels a passive society.[14] In our time it is common to misquote “He tangata, he tangata, he tangata”, with a glib translation that “it is people, it is people, it is people” that are important, not realising that this Te Aupouri phrase was actually a warning to people who were about to become food in a hangi.[15] It is so easy for truth to be “Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools.”[16]

A closer reading of our own time might suggest that the Renaissance introduced the idea that science would make it possible for human beings to control the universe.[17] You could then move quickly on, to say that Rachel Carson’s “Silent Spring”, in 1961, pointed out that human beings were not necessarily benevolent.[18] Selfishness, greed and the lust for power opened up the possibility of human beings destroying the planet. From 1961 to 1991 there were 30 good years with kaitiakitanga in ascendancy.

The 1991 Resource Management Act[19] came at the end of this time and introduced Kaitiakitanga into New Zealand law.[20] It was the first time that an indigenous term had been used in British law. After intense debate the Select Committee acknowledged that kaitiakitanga could not be translated into English. “Guardianship” and “stewardship” were anthropocentric terms.

Harry was part of all this story. If you called in to visit Harry at his house in Karekare he would always insist that before any korero you should take a long walk along the beach or through the bush. It was a necessary preparation. Only when you had felt the west coast salt in your hair could you catch the flavour of hot soup, or feel the warmth of an open fire. Shelter for Harry was nothing more than a pause on a journey. The experience of being outside was a necessary preparation for the experience of being inside. For Harry landscape informed architecture.[21]

The Arataki Visitors Centre was built in 1992. It was a celebration of the golden years. The woodbutcher’s art at a grand scale. Kawarau a Maki finding a place in the sun. People belonging in place. Tangata whenua. The pou lifted out of the bush with karakia, but then returning to the bush to nourish new life. Another pou. Another story. Life moving on. People rising up above the canopy of ferns so that they might see beyond the horizon.

FIGURE 3. A window in Harry Turbott's home looking down on Karekare Beach. Photograph by Tony Watkins.

FIGURE 4. Karekare Beach looking towards Paratahi Island. Photograph by Tara Jahn-Werner.

With the first images of earth taken from space in 1968 a new chapter in the human story began.[22] The era when "You could enlarge the world simply by sailing in a new direction" was over.[23] The planet was suddenly not as large as we had always assumed. We realised that we had already passed the carrying capacity of the earth. Our language moved beyond "the wise use of resources" and "conservation" to "tipping points" and irreversible "climate change".[24] We had run out of more planet to exploit with our architecture. The cost of our built environment had become more than the planet could afford. Life as we had known it was beginning to break down. We had reached limits and gone beyond them into unknown territory. The sixth great era of extinctions was well on the way.

The first United Nations global environmental conference was in Stockholm in 1972.[25] At the beginning it was assumed that technical, scientific solutions could be found to fix environmental problems. A filter could deal with smoke pollution. It was however quickly recognised that our political structures could not deal with the questions being asked. An understanding of 'gaia' followed, as it was recognised that everything was interconnected. The fourth phase was the realisation that the questions were spiritual.[26] The residue of all these unresolved ideological struggles continues, but that is another story.

A further series of conferences dealt with critical issues, such as population, which had been seen as likely to derail the main agenda at Stockholm.[27] This first series of United Nations environmental conferences then concluded with consideration of the built environment, at Habitat 1 in Vancouver in 1976. The call went out to NGOs (Non Government Organisations) to bring a chainsaw to the parallel NGO Forum. The local beaches were strewn with logs. At the end of the first day Wellington architect Ian Athfield and the New Zealand team had finished their building and headed off to the pub. Other countries were still planning what they would do, and finalising their designs. Ian understood that building was a verb.[28] It is tragic that critics and authors have tried to turn Ian's own house into a noun.

One reading of history would be that of the struggle between empowering and disempowering.[29] The idea that disempowered people escaped to New Zealand to be free. When you build you empower yourself. You discover limits and possibilities. You can make ethical choices. You tell your own story. The Habitat 1 NGO Forum was a challenge to the concentration of political power. After a week the

focus of Habitat 1 had moved down to the Forum. Margaret Mead famously announced “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it’s the only thing that ever has.”[30]

Harry built his own house at Karekare. There was nothing unusual in that. New Zealanders once assumed that if you needed a house you simply built it. Most architects built their own homes. Stories abound of the Surf Club helping to carry timber up the hill to Harry’s house.[31] When you build a house yourself the stories of the doing are as important as the structure.[32]

The story of Harry’s rebirth of Trounson Kauri Park is more important than the buildings or boardwalks. The architecture merely gave form to the building of the community. Harry lifted people up so that they might see beyond their horizons. The almost forgotten park became the largest employer in the north. The new nursery reversed assumptions by supplying seedlings to Waipoua. Pride replaced subservience.

When, with Harry’s guidance, we were rebuilding the Para-o-Tane Palace in Rarotonga, we set up forms in front of the building, and the women gathered to tell stories. Not only of place and culture, but also of Polynesian navigation and the wider Pacific.[33] In the remembering of traditional stories life was breathed into the spirit of the building. Each year for four years Harry took a group of 15 or 20 students from the University of Auckland to spend a month in Rarotonga. It was total immersion in a culture, a place, and building as a verb. Harry believed in education rather than teaching.

Like Arataki the palace was a pause on another journey. The back verandah, with the gods carved into the posts looked up to the mysterious dynamic volcano. The front Colonial verandah looked out to the cricket pitch and the great white ships that had brought salvation. The Queen planted a coconut in the middle of the pitch to stop people playing cricket.

Back in Auckland the students were being taught about architectural objects, not architecture. Building as a noun is very different from building as a verb. There was a presumption in the University that architects needed to be trained to build award-winning monuments. The history of architecture was concerned with Egyptian pyramids, Greek temples, or Palladian villas. Architectural objects left behind by barely remembered civilisations.[34] In their time they had attempted to provide certainty in an uncertain world, just as most architects do today.

In a market-driven consumer society a building becomes nothing more than just another consumer product, to be bought, sold, and traded for a profit. You can throw the

FIGURE 5. Para-O-Tane, Rarotonga. Photograph by Garth Falconer.

architecture away when you tire of it, because it never did mean anything to you. The need to save “heritage” buildings is symptomatic of a dysfunctional society.

The story of design as a noun focuses on the design of things. Perhaps well designed objects, but nevertheless objects. Products. Design as a verb is concerned with process. For Harry the process of healing a broken world and making it whole again. The current environmental crisis is a design issue. We need to learn from the natural world.

The result of design as a verb does not need to be a product. Lion Breweries sought advice from Harry about the design of a resort at Mimiwhangata. Harry convinced the board that any architecture would degrade a magnificent site. Today Mimiwhangata is a farm park for all the enjoy. The only truly sustainable building is the one you do not build.

When the bush at Big Muddy Creek, linking Arataki to the Manukau, was to be subdivided, Harry worked with us to reverse the decision. It was a close call. The answer to an architectural question is not necessarily a building.

INTEGRITY IS ALWAYS THREATENING

John Scott's Aniwaniwa Visitors Centre was one of New Zealand's best buildings. Like Arataki it was concerned with the story of Tuhoe written on the land. John was concerned about the forest, not the building. A window at your feet focused your eye on the moss, the ferns and the understory, preparing you for the experience of moving outside the building. There was no need for any clutter of human interpretation, which only got in the way.

The Department of Conservation (DoC) did not understand. The building was enlarged so that more clutter could be fitted in. Finally, at the time the Ruatoki raids were closing a culture down, the building was also closed down to take away the threat of its way of seeing the world. Eventually it was demolished, just as Rua's settlement had been. Great architecture challenges the way of seeing of those who want power over the earth. People who love power find humility unbearable.

Harry added another chapter to John Scott's Waitangi Visitors Centre. However the two architects respect for each other, and for place, was eventually overcome by the architecture of others. Arataki is now suffering from Tiriwa's story being obscured by interpretation. Seeing is not the same as understanding. Sometimes you only need to know how little you know.

The golden era of the global environmental movement seemed to be too good to be true[35], and it was. Many people felt threatened by the idea of putting the planet ahead of profit. The United Nations UNCED Conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 moved the world from the golden age of the Holocene to the Anthropocene. The language of the "Brundtland Report" was anthropocentric. Rio changed the meaning of development. The architects exploiting the world rejoiced. Once again it was business as usual, with no concern for a dying planet.

The IPCC (United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) reports began making it very clear that the extinction of the human race was just around the corner, but for politicians it was all too hard. A passive society obsessed with hedonistic comfort was never going to vote for a government to make changes they were not willing to make for themselves. From 1991 to 2021 we have had 30 lean years, with the avaricious making money from "development". In the next 30 years humans will determine the future of the planet. Growing out of our dilemma is not an option.

Harry never embraced any of the new greenwash fads. He realised that focusing on "zero-carbon architecture" or "resilience" was just an avoidance tactic for not dealing with the real issues. Architecture is only timeless when it is at one with the earth.

FIGURE 6. Harry Turbott's place looking down on Karekare beach. Photograph by Tony Watkins.

TIMELESS VERNACULAR

Bernard Rudofsky's exhibition "Architecture without architects", in 1965, was a revelation to the anthropocentric architects of New York.[36] There was a brief pause, with time to admire the images, but the idea that design belonged in place, culture and time was too great a challenge to the idea of design as an intellectual activity. [37]

Indigenous cultures have always quietly got on with life, with a close relationship to the earth. Aborigines did less damage to Australia in 60,000 years than Europeans have done in last 200 years. Vernacular architecture simply belongs.[38]

Harry's architecture also simply belonged. The Glasgow house wraps around a pohutukawa in the same way that a pohutukawa wraps around an eroding cliff.[39] Harry loved pohutukawa, as he loved life. His life was as natural as the Karekare salt air. You feel the presence of Harry when you breathe deeply.

There will be volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, floods and bushfires. The city of Auckland will pass away. The stories of Harry and Tiriwa will remain.[40]

ENDNOTES

Even the endnotes tell stories.

1. In A Micronaut in the Wide World, the imaginative life and times of Graham Percy, Auckland University Press, 2011, Gregory O'Brien told the story of another New Zealander who led a simple life of relevance to the whole world.

2. Behind every word there is a story. There were many Maori pathways in Auckland that had been in use for centuries. When Europeans in boots began using them they turned to mud. Hence barefoot has the architectural connotation of what Australian architect Glen Murcutt would call "touching the earth lightly". Touch this earth lightly, Glenn Murcurtt in his own words Philip Drew, Duffy & Snellgrove, Sydney, 1999. Doing the least possible damage.

3. The Climate Change Commission's 2021 Advice to Government CCC-ADVICE-TO-GOVT-31-JAN-2021-pdf, began with a vision of a neoliberal consumer paradise rather than any evaluation of current realities or possibilities. The Advice then failed to explain how we might get from a growth economy to the CCC vision, even if we wanted to. In contrast IPCC reports focus on current realities and inevitable consequences.

4. The word "development", with a completely new meaning, was introduced into the United Nations lexicon at Rio de Janeiro in 1992, at a conference called UNCED, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. The move away from the concerns of Stockholm resulted in environmental goals being replaced by development goals.

5. The architects of world signed the "Declaration of Interdependence" in Chicago in 1993. This was a New Zealand and Australian initiative, taken to the International Union of Architects by Graeme Robertson and Alan Rodger.

6. Auckland's "Unitary Plan" has nothing to do with planning. It is an attempt to define what "developers" will be encouraged to build to achieve the Council "planners" vision of urban form. The reductionist thinking in the idea of uniformity is contrary to the declared diversity agenda.

7. The Natural and Built Environment Act 2021 seeks to impose a Spatial Plan over all of New Zealand. The idea of zoning was introduced into New Zealand in the 1953 Planning Act. This introduced our transport problem as it was then necessary to drive from one zone to another. Zoning has passed its use-by date, but it is simplistic enough to be within the understanding of planners and politicians.

8. Declaring that our forebears have made mistakes is no foundation for any presumption that we will do better. We need to learn from the past, not condemn it. Maori look back to move forward.

9. Churchill in Quotes, Ammonite Press, 2011, p136.

10. The purpose of the Natural and Built Environment Act 2021 is a quotation from Our Common Future, Oxford University Press, 1987, p43. "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." This is a nonsense statement that assumes infinite growth is possible on a finite planet. Long ago when I coined the term "sustainability", along with Stewart Brand and Allan Rodger, we meant sustaining the life of the planet. The word since then has been captured to mean sustaining everything except the life of the planet. In 1995 at WSSD in Copenhagen Gro Harland Brundtland agreed with Tony Watkins that the phrase, and the way in which it was being used, was unfortunate.

11. "Be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth and conquer it, Be masters of the fish of the sea, the birds of heaven and all living animals on the earth." The Jerusalem Bible, Darton, Longman & Todd, 1966, Genesis 1.

12. Protagoras c.481-411nBC Quoted by Plato in Theaetetus. The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations (2nd Ed). London: Oxford University Press, 1968 p402. Harry was very intolerant of academic pretentiousness. The fact that the Oxford University Press quotes Plato quoting Protagoras does not give the quote credibility. Repeating a lie often enough does not make it true. The Chicago citation only suggests that PBRF encourages the spreading of rumours.

13. NZIA Environmental Policy Position Paper 14, Farewell to "Shelter", Tony Watkins, 1992.

14. "Comfort is one of the greatest enemies of the planet. Comfort more than anything will destroy everything. It will destroy civilisation. Because comfort means people stop being alive." From https://culturalicons.co.nz›50-tony-watkins. An hour interview with John Walsh, author and NZIA Communications Manager. One episode of the Cultural Icons programme of The Depot, Devonport.

15. This would be New Zealand's most misquoted and misunderstood whakatauki. In the early 19th century Meri Ngaroto, a Te Aupouri wahine rangitira, made a plea for the lives of a group of manuhiri to her marae at Ohaki, upon hearing of the plans of her relatives to massacre these visitors, including her lover. The people, tangata, were about to become food in the hangi. Ngaroto was referring to whakapapa as the most important thing. Her successful plea and her mana are the reason that women now have speaking rights on both Te Aupouri and Te Rarawa marae. Tony Watkins is Te Rarawa, so that this is also his story. It's not the people but Kaupapa, Khylee Quince, Director of Maori and Pacific Advancement in the law school of Auckland University of Technology, updated 2020.

16. "If you can keep your head when all about you Are losing theirs and blaming it on you." From If (1895), Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), A choice of Kipling's verse, 1943.

17. Leonardo da Vinci, the true Renaissance man, delighted in discovery and invention. Like Harry, he was filled with joy at the wonders of the universe, and he understood that they would always be beyond his comprehension. He left his greatest work unfinished and was caught up in the excitement of a world coming into being. In the world around him the Medici wanted power and money, and sacrificed everything for the economy. We remember Leonardo da Vinci. Ralph Steadman does so in I Leonardo, Jonathan Cape, London, 1983. We will remember Harry. The economy will be forgotten.

18. Silent Spring, Rachel Carson, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1962.

19. NZIA Environmental Policy Position Paper 5, The Resource Management Act Tony Watkins, NZIA, Auckland, 1992.

20. "In achieving the purpose of this Act all persons shall have particular regard to Kaitiakitanga", Resource Management Act, 1991, Part II Section 7.

21. Harry Turbott, Garth Falconer, Blue Acres Publishing, 2020, p189, Tony Watkins.

22. One of the first colour images of Earth, a digital image mosaic taken in 1967 by the ATS-3 satellite, was used by Stewart Brand on the cover of the first Whole Earth Catalogue, 1968. In 1966 he had initiated a public campaign to have NASA release the then rumoured photo of the sphere of earth as seen from space. Earthrise, by William Anders, Apollo 8, 1968, was the cover photograph of the second and third editions. In his 2005 Stanford University Commencement Speech Steve Jobs said "When I was young there was an amazing publication called The Whole Earth Catalogue, which was one of the bibles of my generation… It was sort of like Google in paperback form, 35 years before Google came along. It was idealistic and overflowing with neat ideas, tools and great notions." At the end of his speech Jobs quoted the farewell message on the back cover of the last 1974 edition of the Catalogue, and made it his own final recommendation. "Stay hungry. Stay foolish."

23. "Simply by sailing in a new direction You could enlarge the world. You picked your captain, Keen on discoveries, tough enough to make them, Whatever vessels could be spared from other More urgent service for a year's adventure." From Landfall in Unknown Seas, Allen Curnow, 1942. The poem was commissioned by the Department of Internal Affairs to mark the tercentenary (13 December 1942) of Abel Tasman's arrival in New Zealand.

24. The media has adopted the term "climate change" because it leaves people dreaming of long hot summers at the beach. With different climate options available we have become accustomed to going somewhere else "for a change". We accept that the weather is unpredictable, but within limits. "Climate instability" is a more useful term. In ecological terms we are talking about "collapse". The term "climate change" stupefies people into inaction. Effect is disconnected from cause. Politicians love the term because they do not need to do anything more that write reports.

25. This was the first time that an NGO representative had sat on a government delegation. At a meeting of NGOs Tony Watkins nominated Simon Reeves.

26. "I used to think that the top global environmental problems were biodiversity loss, ecosystem collapse, and climate change. I thought that with 30 years of good science we could address these problems, but I was wrong. The top environmental problems are selfishness, greed and apathy, and to deal with these we need a spiritual and cultural transformation. And we scientists don't know how to do that." Gus Speth, a former Head of Yale University's School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, founder of the World Resources Council, and Head of the United Nations Development Programme 1993-1999, in a BBC radio programme in 2013.

27. The Climate Change Commission's 2021 Advice to Government completely ignored the population question, which seemed astonishing.

28. Amritsar, Portrait of a House, Simon Devitt, Balasoglou Books, Auckland, 2012.

29. NZIA Environmental Policy Position Paper 15, Agenda 21, Tony Watkins, NZIA, Auckland, 1991.

30. This Margaret Mead quotation is remembered by those at Habitat 1. Vancouver, 1974. However no written record seems to exist. Margaret Mead died in 1978. In 1982 the book "Earth at Omega: Passage to Planetization" by Donald Keys included the full modern translation, ascribed to Margaret Mead.

31. For more stories ask Terry Patterson, John Pezaro, John Morton or Bob Harvey. The oral tradition is often best enhanced by a little red wine, some French bread, and cheese.

32. The Human House, Tony Watkins, Karaka Bay Press, 2009, gathered together a collection of stories generated by building a house.

33. Videos of many of these stories are archived in the Auckland Maritime Museum.

34. "I met a traveller from an antique land who said - Two vast and trunkless legs of stone stand in the desert… Near them on the sand Half sunk a shattered visage lies, whose frown, And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command, Tell that its sculptor well those passions read Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things, The hand that mocked them, and the heart that fed: And on the pedestal these words appear: My name is Ozymandias, King of Kings; Look on my Works ye Mighty, and despair! Nothing beside remains. Round the decay Of that colossal Wreck, boundless and bare The lone and level sands stretch far away." Percy Bysshe Shelly, The Examiner of London 11 January 1818.

35. NZIA Environmental Policy Position Paper 10, Section 1, Chapter 7, Agenda 21, Tony Watkins, NZIA, Auckland, 1992.

36. Architecture without Architects, Bernard Rudofsky, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1965.

37. The Architect, Jean Jacques Loup, Jonathan Cape, London 1977.

38. Vernacular. An architecture for Agenda 21 and the Resource Management Act, Tony Watkins, Karaka Bay Press, Auckland, 1992.

39. Pohutukawa Architecture, Thinking it Through, Tony Watkins with photographs by Haruhiko Sameshima, Rim Books in association with Karaka Bay Press, Auckland, 2012, p66.

40. Just before she died Tony Watkins' mother gave him some bulbs. "Plant these" she said "and after I have gone they will bloom".

New Zealand Sculpture OnShore: Popular, Successful and Vitally Important

JESSICA AGOSTON

"The field of art...
a site of infinite crossings among languages."

Germano Celant[1]

As a result of not being subject to the same rules, regulations and public consultation requirements of permanent public artworks, temporary art occupies a privileged position. If a member of the public does not like what they see, they need not worry. The artwork in question will be gone soon enough. This position presents not only an opportunity for engagement with a large, diverse audience, but also, as will be suggested, the necessity for the temporary to engage meaningfully with the physical, historic, and cultural layers of the site on which it occurs. Taking the Auckland Council Public Art Policy as a point of departure, and using New Zealand Sculpture OnShore (NZ SoS) as a proxy for temporary public art exhibitions that co-opt public spaces, the complex matrix and inherently political nature of public art will be explored and examined. Specific attention is given to site, audience, time and space that combine create place. The theories of Lucy Lippard, Mary Jane Jacob, John Dewey and others inform the critical discussion. Interviews with multiple people who had significant roles in the development and creation of NZ SoS as it exists today offer deeper insights into the historical background, ideology and purpose that underpins the exhibition.

KEYWORDS # Temporary Public art #Place making # Identity # Art as experience # Cultural history # Site specific # Auckland # Outdoor exhibitions

Our modern cities no longer have dedicated town squares for public forums and discussions that were once common place. Yet, the need for such physical spaces within the public sphere is no less essential. Today, we often find that the open green spaces of parks morph back and forth between being a space of rest and respite, and the tangible place where diverse cultures and ideas or 'languages' might cross paths and converge. In such public spaces we find ourselves not only in direct relationship with one another, but also with time, space, and place. In addition, in Aotearoa New Zealand there exists a tangible connection to the natural landscape and complex layers of history. When these green spaces become the location for temporary public art exhibitions, the power of art and landscape is amplified. The exhibition itself is transformed into the fulcrum for 'infinite crossings among languages.'[2] It is here, at this unique ephemeral junction, that the potential for meaning, placemaking, representation and dialogue between diverse cultures resides, and the additional opportunity to address pressing social issues presents itself.

New Zealand Sculpture OnShore (NZ SoS) is one of the longest running temporary outdoor art exhibitions in Aotearoa. The now biennial fundraising event takes place over fourteen days in November at the stunningly beautiful, palimpsestuous site of O Peretu Fort Takapuna.[3] Owing to its long history and co-opting of a significant piece of public land, NZ SoS presents fertile ground from which to examine the potential of temporary public art to meaningfully represent people and place.

Founded in 1996 by Genevieve Becroft QSM, NZ SoS was originally conceived as a local community fundraiser for the New Zealand Women's Refuge. First held at the Mairangi Bay Arts centre, the inaugural exhibition raised $23,000. The following year, Becroft generously offered her own home and garden – a large, architectural award-winning property on the shores of Lake Pupuke – to host the event. By 2007, with over 5000 people streaming through her gates, winding their way through her beautifully manicured garden, and across her lawns, the beloved local fundraiser naturally had to find a new home – which it did, not far from Lake Pupuke, at O Peretu. The "stunning clifftop park with the backdrop of Rangitoto Island and the Hauraki Gulf lent itself perfectly to the staging of the country's largest exhibition of contemporary sculpture."[4]

Today, the now biennial event welcomes in excess of 20,000 visitors across fourteen days in November. Showcasing up to 100 works by established and emerging Aotearoa-based artists, whose practices span from

FIGURE 1. Aerial view of NZ Sculpture on Shore at O Peretu. Image reproduced with permission from the Sally Dewar, NZ Sculpture on the Shore Board Chair.

sculpture to sound art, it has established itself as one of the country's longest running and largest public art exhibitions. It is also the largest single donor for the New Zealand Women's Refuges, raising hundreds of thousands of dollars to support the work they do.

However, running through NZ SoS as it exists today is a complex matrix of intersecting points of tension: a palimpsest site history; the beauty of the natural landscape; social issues surfaced by fundraising for the Women's Refuge, and the public vs private debate. Given its complexity, NZ SoS demands critical attention. Nowhere else do we encounter the potential of reciprocal relationships between the public audience, temporary art and significant social issues of family violence; presented amidst a quintessentially Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) landscape, on a site steeped in layers of Māori, colonial, and military history.

THE ETERNAL PUBLIC VS PRIVATE DEBATE

One of the challenges that arises when analysing public art exhibitions from a critical perspective is the debate as to what exactly constitutes public space and public art. While some critics may suggest that events of the type and form of NZ SoS are not public, owing to the fact that they are organised by a private entity and entry is granted by way of invitation or purchasing a ticket, such a position runs counter to the definition of public art outlined in the Auckland Council Public Art Policy. Public art, or art in the public sphere as defined by the policy encompasses "...both the council's own public art activity as well as any arts activity in public places that is intended as public art and planned and delivered by external third parties."[5] Public place and public space, again defined by Auckland Council, is "...a place that is under the control of Auckland Council and CCOs (council-controlled organizations), and that is open to, or being used by, the public, whether or not there is a charge for admission."[6]

Sally Dewar, NZ SoS Board Chair similarly stated in a phone interview: "It is very much a public event. All 20,000 tickets are sold to the public."[7] Thus defined as a public event, it can be asserted that NZ SoS not only has the capacity, but also the obligation to "... celebrate the region's creativity, highlight Māori identity as Auckland's point of difference, reflect and express the diversity of Auckland's people, respond to our unique natural landscape and the special character of our built environment, generate pride and belonging, and transform Auckland's public places."[8]

Because all art in the public sphere is inevitably read as a cultural touchstone, as the preceding quote implies, at its most fully realised NZ SoS could become a tangible representation of 'us'. Public art is ideally the tangible expression of collective identity; it is what communities lean on to find a sense of grounding and place in amidst the liquefaction in uncertain times. The implication of this is that, in addition to being celebratory and responsive, exhibitions such as NZ SoS must also serve as the starting point for conversations, engage in representation, and meaningfully contribute to the role of placemaking.

HEADLANDS, PŌHUTUKAWA, AND THE WAITEMATĀ: THE INVISIBLE BACKGROUND OF BEAUTY AND VIOLENCE

American poet and transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson says, in his 1841 essay "Thoughts On Art," that art which finds itself "exalted by the beauty of sunlight, by the play of the clouds, by the landscape around it..."[9] becomes imbued with the physical and metaphysical transcendental qualities of nature itself. An encounter with art outdoors, therefore, presents an opportunity for a transformative experience. At an individual level, such an encounter might offer a subtle shift in perspective. Considered collectively, as part of a wider exhibition shared with others in a community across space and time, the potential for a larger transcendental experience that transforms a space into a place emerges. American artist and writer Lucy Lippard offers a related, contemporary take on Emerson's philosophy which speaks to the reciprocity and dialogue between people and the environment: "Places bear the records of hybrid culture, hybrid histories that must be woven into a new mainstream. They are our "background" in every sense... Space defines landscape, where space combined with memory defines place."[10] It is vital therefore, that the public art encountered in these outdoor public spaces "...ideally creates better places and provides enjoyment, insight, and maybe even hope to its participants, viewers, and users."[11]

Embracing these positions and applying them to NZ SoS, we see that the multidimensional layers of the site beyond its physical charm alone must be acknowledged. Standing on this elevated headland, gazing at military fortifications and ancient pōhutukawa in the foreground, Narrow Neck beach (a known taonga) below, and out across the harbour to Rangitoto in the distance, we absorb history. Not only aesthetically beautiful, O Peretu holds a special place

FIGURE 2. The Fort. Built in 1886-89. In addition to holding German prisoners of war, the fort was used to imprison Ngāti Pāoa men who refused conscription in 1918. It is now used by NZ SoS to host the school children's art exhibition that is part of their event. Photograph by Jessica Agoston.

in the narrative history of Ngāti Pāoa. In conversations with the author, George Kahi, Kaumatua of Ngāti Pāoa, speaks of the deep layers of history and stories of conflict, struggle and hope that his people experienced at and around O Peretu dating back to the 1300s. As one of the five iwi in Tāmaki Makaurau which trace their ancestry back to the Tainui Waka, Ngāti Pāoa have an ancestral and present day connection to this area that runs far deeper than what we see in front of us, or what we might find if we scratch the surface of the clay. Theirs is a history that stretches in all dimensions, which for the most part is rendered invisible at the site.

From a purely physical perspective, this headland was prized for its strategic central position between fertile North Shore maunga by all who have come to utilise this land over generations. Given its geographical advantages, it is not surprising that the headland became a strategic site for the New Zealand Navy during both the first and second World Wars after initially being built as a fort in response to the perceived Russian threat in the 1870s and 1880s. "In World War I the nucleus of a camp was built at Fort Takapuna as a training area for Māori and Cook Island reinforcements. In 1918 the camp accommodated German prisoners of war and in 1919 was used as a hospital for flu victims."[12] It is clear that bound within the sedimented layers, tree roots,

FIGURE 3. World War II era gun fortifications on the O Peretu headland facing towards Rangitoto. Photograph by Jessica Agoston.

concrete and timber structures at O Peretu lies the not always pleasant histories and memories of many.

In addition to the historic, metaphysical and spiritual properties of O Peretu, it is undeniable that it offers an exceptional outdoor stage for a temporary public art exhibition. In a NZ SoS promotional video, Becroft discusses the reason for selecting O Peretu as the new site: "Well I used to love walking around on that lovely headland... we all went and had a look, and yes! It was very good."[13] The question, however, is good for what purpose, and for whom? One could argue that as NZ SoS exists to raise funds to support the very necessary work of the Women's Refuge, the 'good' resides simultaneously in fundraising, and the presentation of art beyond the often intimidating white walls of a gallery proper. Both are very valid points. However, it is a well-known fact that Aotearoa has a disproportionally high rate of domestic violence, a fact that is brought to attention by the very raison d'etre of NZ SoS. According to Emma Gilbert, (Team Leader, Te Puaruruhau - Child Protection and Family Violence Intervention Team, Auckland District Health Board), "New Zealand police attend a family violence call out every four to six minutes in New Zealand. The police researchers estimate they are only seeing 18-20% of true family violence occurrences (because so many don't contact the police)."[14] These alarming statistics, together with the significance of

the site to Ngāti Pāoa, highlights the essential need for NZ SoS to give intentional consideration to these aspects, and actively endeavour to give these marginalized groups voices through embedding them into the thematic and curatorial mandate of their now significant and highly visible platform.

UNEARTHING PUBLIC ART REALITIES: A LACK OF CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Permanent public art works are generally analysed and considered from an art historical, critical, socio-political or cultural perspective. However, the same level of critical attention has not been afforded to temporary outdoor public art exhibitions. Often, the discussion of temporary art occurs within the echo chamber of news and popular media, together with the now ubiquitous social media platforms where the public themselves hold the court of opinion. The reason for this lack of critical attention is multifaceted and difficult to pinpoint. It is reasonable to assume that temporary exhibitions, such as NZ SoS (despite their large scale and high level of public visibility), are not held to the same artworld standards and expectations as a result of their being outside the artworld sphere of private galleries, public art institutions, and artist-led cooperatives. Additionally, as Shelley Chignell, NZ SoS board member points out, critical attention may also be lacking due to the exhibition being located beyond the Heart of the City arts precinct: "We're on the North Shore, which is art-world Siberia."[15]

An additional confounding factor which has contributed to NZ SoS being overlooked from a critical perspective is that it is unclear whether it is an exhibition or an event. Indeed, even on their own website these two words are used interchangeably. The not always cohesive and thematically disparate works on display, combined with the non-art focused accoutrements that go along with events – food vendors, port-a-loos and fencing for example (all of which are standard, unavoidable elements of large-scale anythings held in the public sphere), naturally makes an analysis and evaluation grounded in art historical criticism more challenging. Unsurprisingly, a concomitant level of disregard by the arts establishment persists. The discussion, now demoted to the realm of popular opinion, inevitably has a tendency to focus on the dichotomy of failure or success, and a judgement of 'good' or 'bad'.

What matters most, it seems, (and this is true for the vast majority of arts and cultural exhibitions and events in Aotearoa) is the number of people going through the gate;

the amount of money raised and the number of artworks sold. Very rarely does the discussion of temporary public art delve into broader philosophical thought or intellectual inquiry which considers the contribution that the temporary might make in terms of enriching the fabric of our society, and strengthening the increasingly tenuous ties that bind. Of course, the primary focus for NZ SoS is fundraising, so quantifiable measures of success are of vital importance. However, when the financial imperative is the primary deciding factor informing both creative curatorial decisions and critical assessment, the prospect of a genuinely site and socially responsive offering is diluted. It is diluted further still when the whole is transformed into a selfie-ground... – the place to be and be seen. From this point of understanding, it is very unlikely that NZ SoS would be described by the media, let alone the artworld, as an exhibition concerned with representation and imbued with meaning, much less a fully integrated transformative aesthetic experience of the type John Dewey outlines in his seminal text *Art as Experience*.

Perhaps this is where the potential of the ephemeral resides – in the experiential. We live in an experience-centric culture, "...dominated by the attention economy, the ultimate result of which is a scarcity of attention and thus lack of public engagement with issues of the day."[16] Through the temporary's ability to capture the attention of the public (a public whose attention is being pulled in multiple directions, numerous times a day by advertisers, social media, and the unrelenting pressures of a global pandemic and the far-reaching tendrils of its flow-on effects), exhibitions such as NZ SoS have the capacity to be a panacea. It can serve as entertainment, while simultaneously performing a vital role within our cultural and political ecosystem. Through becoming the locus for truly meaningful shared experiences which foster understanding and connection across cultures, languages, time and space, it could become a powerful cultural ally.

SHIFTING TIDES: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RESPONSIVE NEW GENRE

Over the past 30 years, temporary outdoor public art exhibitions have become increasingly popular and widespread. This is in part because of their ability to draw in and entertain the public, whilst simultaneously offering a site for the expression of pressing issues, which ideally leads to the manifestation of productive, fruitful encounters. Indeed, the temporary nature of these events reduces, to a degree, the

fear or anxiety which may be generated by the creation of permanent public artworks. The risk of public controversy, or negative criticism from the artworld (which often rains down on permanent public artworks) is largely evaporated when both the artists and exhibition organizers know that what they are creating is unlikely to become the subject of ongoing public scrutiny. Temporary public art, by virtue of its temporality, does not need to strive for universality or subscribe to populism. In a few days or weeks, it will have disappeared. When the constraints of permanence give way to the openness of the temporary, the opportunity for pure creativity, genuine engagement with issues, and the pushing of boundaries surfaces.

However, there is concomitant risk inherent in ephemerality. When the temporary exhibition becomes so large, so well attended, it often devolves into populism and the quest for mass appeal, rather than striving for genuine engagement with a community and the pursuit of placemaking. A vast variety of work may generate excitement, but ultimately it "is nothing more diverse than furniture scattered about the sidewalk waiting for the moving van. Yet order and serenity do not emerge when these things are forced together in the van."[17] Without a curated linking of artworks responding collectively to a theme, which then flows into the overall experience of the exhibition itself, the critical disregard may continue.

Viewed from this perspective, in tandem with the entwined threads of the social, political, and cultural issues that make up the fabric of NZ SoS in its entirety and the general lack of critical analysis of exhibitions of this nature, a challenge arises. How can a curatorial pathway be delineated within the exhibition itself so that it might be able to act as a powerful communication and placemaking tool, rather than an outdoor dealer gallery, or source of superficial entertainment? How does one avoid the mire of reducing the focus of analysis to specific individual artworks and their relative success, failure or quality? How can the trap of critiquing solely from the perspective of event-related qualities and functions, rather than through an art criticism and public art focused lens be avoided? The answer lies in critiquing NZ SoS as a whole, and placing it in the category American curator and writer Mary Jane Jacob refers to as "…"projects" and a new genre known as site exhibitions."[18] Considering NZ SoS in its entirety as a public art "project" lifts the discussion out of the popular event sphere and into the sphere of public art, thus making it possible to give meaningful consideration and "constructive reappraisal"[19] of the event in and of itself.

GROWTH, DEVELOPMENT AND MIXED MESSAGES: CAPITALISM AND THE OUTDOOR MUSEUM

In 2007, the founders of NZ SoS established The Friends of Women's Refuge Charitable Trust (FOWR) which wholly owns New Zealand Sculpture OnShore Limited (the company which runs the event on behalf of the FOWR Trust). Given the growth and relocation of the exhibition from a private garden to a significant public site, establishing a corporate structure was necessary in order to support the fundraising mandate of the trust. Today, as has always been the case, 100% of the profits from artwork, ticket, and booklet sales are donated to the Women's Refuge, via the FOWR. Certainly this formal structure has proved effective when considering the calculable facts and figures that create the all-important business return on investment. This evolution, however, ushered in a transition away from the original ethos of a volunteer group of philanthropically minded North Shore women, to that of a bureaucratic and rationalised institution akin to a museum.

Replete with a board of directors, paid positions including a general manager and professional curators, and an engrained methodology and expectation for the display and production of the exhibition, NZ SoS now finds itself facing both internal and external pressures that coincide with being a public icon. Appearing every other year, in the same location, NZ SoS has become a hybrid outdoor public gallery *and* a dealer showroom. On offer is a visual extravaganza for public enjoyment and enrichment, as well as an opportunity for art collectors to attend exclusive openings and buy highly desirable artworks by established artists, all whilst raising money for a worthy cause. The magnificent gala event is what all those who attend have come to expect, not least because this is the way the exhibition is promoted and advertised. Today, NZ SoS is practically and ideologically a long way away from the original event held in Becroft's garden on the shores of Lake Pupuke.

The institutional structure and commercially-focused attitude which now underscores NZ SoS, coexistent with the omnipresent challenges and competition for funding within our creative sector generates dualities of tension. As a result there is a trade-off between the exhibition and its populist role in the public sphere and the content of the exhibition itself. The artists, including the curators, find themselves walking the knife edge of creating works which need to function on multiple levels. From a curatorial perspective there is an urge to be genuinely site responsive, acknowledging the shifting expectations and roles of temporary art in the public sphere on the one hand, while on the other,

there is a realisation that the work presented must appeal not only to a broad public audience, but also to the high net worth individuals of the art market.

Perhaps this trade-off is inevitable when grassroots community initiatives become so popular and 'successful'. When the focus is on width rather than depth is there any meaningful space left for representation and placemaking? In a discussion with the author, Deborah White ONZM recalls the early days of the event: "We were all there, in Becroft's garden, having a glass of wine and canapes that she had probably made herself. Then a woman from the Refuge started to speak. We all stopped. It was just so moving and real. I'm pretty sure all the artwork sold that year because we all had a true sense of what it [the work of the Refuge and the reason for the exhibition] all meant."[20] Perhaps, when 20,000 people stream through the gate at a public park, and hospitality now comes after 'tapping and going' at an on-trend food truck *(hashtag Iloveartandculture. Prayer hands emoji,)* the distance between the human, and the number on the ticket or the price sticker, becomes so great that 'what it all meant' is distorted by the pursuit of increased return on investment and likes. It seems that even within temporary fundraising exhibitions, the omnipresent tension between art and finance casts its shadow.

By virtue of the fact that the primary objective of NZ SoS is commercial, albeit a philanthropic form of commercialism, there is a consequential restriction on the ability of the curator/s to fully inhabit their role, leading to a thwarting of NZ SoS contributing meaningfully to the dialogue of awareness raising and placemaking. It is open to conjecture that given this 'capitalist model', NZ SoS may be better located in a dedicated event centre. In such spaces, the social and cultural expectations and objectives of art events in the public sphere, particularly those which co-opt historically, culturally, and spiritually significant sites, are less likely to exert their critical gaze. In remaining at O Peretu, the challenge for the event organisers is to develop a shared common language to meet the needs of disparate groups. While satisfying the board, sponsors, and sybaritic art market buyers on the one hand, on the other it needs to balance the desires and core motivations of the artists – curators included – alongside the social needs and expectations of the Tāmaki Makaura community, and the many spirits present within the site itself.

MEETING WHERE WE STAND: A SUGGESTION FOR THE WAY FORWARD

In essence, the layers of tension present in NZ SoS symbolise those which have prevailed at O Peretu and across wider society for many hundreds of years. This presents a significant and confounding challenge for the professional curator/s whose task it is to stand within a centre that cannot hold in our current era and "moment of racial reckoning."[21] As the desire and need for places that truly represent the diversity that is 'us', grows, the weight that rests on the shoulders of temporary public art has increased. Yet this increased weight need not be a burden. In being a charitable organisation, not strictly an institution, NZ SoS possesses the gift of flexibility. It is capable of expanding its internal world view, and embracing the potential of ephemerality to become an event which is visually engaging and successful in terms of its self-determined quantifiable parameters, while simultaneously being a fully integrated transformative aesthetic experience which meaningfully responds to and creates place within the wider community. Perhaps the place to start for NZ SoS is exactly where it stands: outside the institution proper, investing financially and philosophically in the possibilities of genuinely engaged and site-responsive public art. From this location, it might be possible to foster reciprocal discussion, connection, representation, and ultimately create a sense of place. If this cannot transpire on a stunning headland such as O Peretu which is itself an infinite crossing of languages, where can it?

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The Colonial Elephant in the Room: Michael Parekōwhai's The Lighthouse and Captain James Cook.

ALANNA O'RILEY

Imperial rule has long been supported by the establishment of monuments. However, in our current climate of tumultuous politics and failing social systems, these monuments occupy increasingly shaky ground. Given a growing crusade against monumental statues the public silence on Michael Parekōwhai's statue of Captain James Cook in The Lighthouse (Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand, 2017) is deafening. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Captain James Cook is a familiar, albeit divisive, figure. To some, Cook is known as a British navigator, explorer, and cartographer; a founder of nations, friend to natives, with enlightened and scientific motivations. To indigenous communities, Cook was the thief, murderer, and kidnapper who knowingly spread disease when arriving in the Pacific with the intent to find ample land for the British Crown to colonise. This essay explores the significance of the statue of Cook within The Lighthouse, particularly in relation to the legacy of colonial monuments and memorialisation. In The Lighthouse, sculptor Michael Parekōwhai recasts Cook as a complex emblem of personal and collective identity, highlighting issues of place, legacy, and sovereignty. Parekōwhai revises the role of the colonial monument, reclaiming Cook as an instrument in the balancing of historical and national narratives.

KEYWORDS # Captain James Cook # Colonial monument # Colonisation # Michael Parekōwhai # The Lighthouse # Aotearoa New Zealand # Public art # Statue # Identity

"Public statues not only help to legitimate structures of authority and dominance but are also used to challenge and resist such structures and to cultivate alternative narratives of identity."[1]

Imperial rule has long been supported by the establishment of monuments. From the Emperor Augustus to Queen Victoria, conquerors have used monumental structures to communicate their authority and foster reverence. For centuries they have stood strong as proud products of imperialism. However, these monuments occupy increasingly shaky ground. Across the world, monumental statues of late and 'great' imperialists are being challenged. At the University of Oxford, England, students protested the presence of South African politician Cecil Rhodes's statue.[2] Long-growing tensions over statues of Confederate leader Robert E. Lee erupted into violence in Charlottesville, USA, leading to the death of one and injury of many.[3] The death of George Floyd and consequent global escalation of the Black Lives Matter movement brought urgency to the debate around colonial monuments, and saw many monuments topple.[4] In Aotearoa New Zealand, monuments to colonial figures such as Captain John Hamilton and Sir George Grey have increasingly become sites of protest.[5] A University of Otago (Ōtepoti, Dunedin) study found that of the 123 statues of historical figures on public land, nearly a quarter have been attacked at least once.[6] Given the growing crusade against imperial monuments, and what they represent, the public silence on Auckland's Captain James Cook sculpture is deafening.[7]

The representational figurative sculpture of Captain James Cook is part of *The Lighthouse*[8] a controversial work by the sculptor Michael Parekōwhai (Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, Ngāti Whakarongo, Rongowhakaata),[9] an artist renowned for his ground-breaking art that saw him represent Aotearoa in the 2011 Venice Biennale. One might be hard pressed to find an Aucklander who has not heard of this work, which was unveiled in February 2017 on Auckland City's prominent Queen's Wharf. Organised by Auckland Council, and funded principally by realtors Barfoot & Thompson, the 1.5 million-dollar sculpture is the largest gift of public art Tāmaki Makaurau has ever received.[10] From the outset the work was controversial: media and public attention has focused on the 1950s state-house exterior of the work, and what such an iconic structure represents.[11] However, if one peers inside the home, something even more intriguing is revealed. Among the colourful constellations that adorn the home's walls is a shiny, over-life-sized statue of Captain James Cook, captured in a moment of contemplation.[12]

FIGURE 1. The Lighthouse by Michael Parekōwhai. Photo Courtesy of the Auckland City Council. Photographer Jinki Cambronero.

While the irony of a real-estate company funding a million-dollar sculpture of a state-house (given the current housing crisis and historical failure of New Zealand's social housing system) has not been lost on many, discussion of Captain Cook's presence within the work has been notably absent. This essay addresses the situation by exploring the significance of the statue of Cook within *The Lighthouse*, particularly in relation to the legacy of colonial monuments and memorialisation. In *The Lighthouse*, sculptor Michael Parekōwhai recasts Cook as a complex emblem of personal and collective identity, highlighting issues of place, legacy, and sovereignty. Parekōwhai revises the role of the colonial monument, reclaiming Cook as an instrument in the balancing of historical and national narratives.

FIGURE 2. The Lighthouse by Michael Parekōwhai. Photo Courtesy of the Auckland City Council. Photographer Jinki Cambronero

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Captain James Cook is a familiar, albeit divisive, figure. In settler-based narratives, Cook is known as a British navigator, explorer, and cartographer; a founder of nations, friend to natives, with enlightened and scientific motivations. To Indigenous communities, Cook was the thief, murderer, and kidnapper who knowingly spread disease when arriving in the Pacific with the intent to find ample land for the British Crown to colonise. Upon the arrival of Cook and his company in New Zealand in October 1769, several events unfolded which have been described in a variety of ways – meetings, skirmishes, misunderstandings, and the ever-popular label, encounters.[13] Regardless of how the events are characterised, the outcome is the same: Rongowhakaata[14] Māori were raped, infected, kidnapped, murdered, and otherwise injured by those aboard Cook's ship, the *HMS Endeavour*. And these first 'encounters' were only the beginning. Cook's voyages to New Zealand laid the foundation for colonial expansion and marked the beginning of what was the attempted annihilation of the Māori culture and population which, even today, communities continue to battle against.

The actions and consequences of Cook's voyages in Aotearoa[15] are only just beginning to be openly discussed on the public stage, becoming a major topic of discussion with the advent of the *Tuia 250* celebrations in 2019, a commemoration of 250 years since Cook and his company landed on New Zealand soil.[16] Questions around the commemoration of a man largely responsible for unspeakable loss for the Rongowhakaata Māori and ongoing pain for Indigenous communities have started an important and necessary debate around monumentalising such a figure. Māori scholar Tina Ngata (Ngāti Porou), an important figure in the debates around *Tuia 250*, highlights that colonial power is ratified by Cook's memorialisation:

> 'If we accept that these commemorative events are one of those tools that sit alongside the statues and the memorial days that function to uphold colonisation then our participation becomes problematic, it becomes a kind of endorsement.'[17]

In New Zealand alone there are thirteen monuments to Cook, while more than one hundred exist around the globe.[18] The most notable monuments to Cook in New Zealand are two statues in Gisborne, both of which have been the objects of political resistance. The 'Crook Cook' statue on Kaiti Hill was recently relocated to the local Tairāwhiti Museum after years of vandalism, including being doused in red paint in 2016 as a symbol of Māori bloodshed.[19] Another Cook statue along the Gisborne (Tūranganui-a-Kiwa) riverside walkway has endured its own attacks, graffitied with the words 'Thief Pakeha'[20] and 'This is Our Land' during *Tuia 250* protests in 2019.[21] This statue was again graffitied in accordance with the worldwide Black Lives Matter protests in 2020: the paint read 'Black Lives Matter and so do Māori'.[22] The defacement of New Zealand's Cooks echoes the treatment of Cook monuments in Australia. At St Kilda, Melbourne in 2018 his statue was painted pink and scrawled with the words 'No Pride' written alongside the Aboriginal flag. Sydney's Hyde Park statue was defaced in 2017 with graffiti reading 'No Pride in Genocide' and 'Change the Date.' The Hyde Park[23] monument was defaced again during Black Lives Matter protests in 2020.[24]

On the surface, sustained attacks on statues of a fallen eighteenth-century navigator may appear futile. These statues are mere physical material, carved and cold: but they do not simply represent Captain James Cook. The commissioning and construction of monuments to Cook is a part of the

nation-building process, in which settlers impose authority by erecting images that embody both the past and present power of the state. Michael Billig labels this kind of nation-building 'banal nationalism' where the nation is reproduced through everyday reminders of nationality, including statues.[26] As Ngata states, these statues of Cook that depict him as a heroic peacemaker are, for Indigenous communities around the Pacific, indicative of the misremembering of colonial history and of their communities' present-day struggle against the colonial forces that Cook epitomises.[27] Just as Cook represents the power of colonisers, he also represents the ongoing struggle and pain of the colonised. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Cook is an ultimate monument to colonisation, representing both its actions and its consequences that have come to shape the country's current national identity. As art historian Nicholas Thomas states:

> 'Cook is never just a dead man: he is an emblem of a moment in history and, for many people, still a national founder figure. What is unavoidably celebrated, then, is not just Cook or Cook's response, but something of the nation that came after him.'[28]

In light of its central location in Auckland and significant media coverage of Michael Parekōwhai's *The Lighthouse*, one might have expected discussion of Cook to take centre stage or, at an extreme, that the work might experience an onslaught of vandalism. It might also have attracted a critique akin to that of other monuments to him, such as those in Gisborne and Australia. In fact, little attention has been paid to Cook's presence in Auckland's 'lighthouse'. Even the controversies of the *Tuia 250* celebrations did not generate any discourse around Parekōwhai's Cook. It would be too simple to suggest that people do not know that Cook is seated inside the edifice: he is a well-lit, over-life-size statue. And it would be equally unfair to assume that people choose not to consider the statue due to the ambiguous nature of the work. So why is it that Cook is not being discussed? Might it be that the statue has been neither significantly critiqued nor discussed because no one knows quite what to say? Auckland's Cook is unlike any Cook we have ever seen. This is not Cook as we have known him.

Parekōwhai's statue of Cook takes the popular historical representation of Cook (such as the Gisborne statues) and turns them on their head. The heroic, idealised and proud Cook is instead fashioned as a forlorn, flawed man. The usually active Cook, armed and primed for action is here

passive, slumped and defenseless, seated on a model-making table that he grips onto, as his legs dangle, like those of a child, not quite reaching the floor. The Cook we see is not the confident conqueror we have become accustomed to; he appears uncertain and pensive. It is as if we have peered inside his office and caught him before or after a battle, when all the guises of strength and sureness are stripped down and we are left simply with a man, one who is reflecting on the destruction left in his wake or considering what devastation may lay before him. Parekōwhai's new portrayal of Cook levels him, revealing Cook to be just a man, not the figurehead of colonial power that he has been constructed to be.

This is not Parekōwhai's first attempt at taking on a New Zealand icon. The artist has previously critiqued the work of renowned New Zealand painters Colin McCahon and Gordon Walters.[29] Both artists produced work that can be considered 'culturally complex' (to put it mildly) and for this have been both heroicised and villainised in the public eye, not unlike Cook. Just as he did with McCahon and Walters' work, Parekōwhai creates an inversion of Cook. The artist satirizes his subjects and in so doing strips them of their iconic status that has historically held them beyond judgement. He shows us James Cook the individual, with personal motives and justifications. Anthropologist Annette Hamilton suggests that in commemorative art there exists a hidden dialogue between viewer and monument, one that commands both remembrance and reverence.[30] The dialogue in this instance is unclear. Does Cook's simple humanity allow us to consider his actions from a more grounded standpoint? Is the traditional colonial authority of the figure diminished? Should we feel sympathy or resentment? The ambiguity allows us to create our own conclusions, offering a new pathway to viewing Cook. What is certain is that the separation of imperial ideology from the individual dismantles the iconic status paid to Cook, perhaps with the hope that this might enact a dismantling of the system he stands for.

What motivates Parekōwhai to use the largest public art commission in Auckland to critique a colonial figure? The answer is personal. Born in 1968 in Porirua, in the North Island of New Zealand, Michael Parekōwhai is half European and half Māori (Ngā Ariki Kaipūtahi, Ngāti Whakarongo, Rongowhakaata). As a Rongowhakaata Māori, Cook is a major part of the artist's history and whakapapa.[31] Yet Parekōwhai is also Pākehā, meaning his European ancestry is enabled by the colonisation of Aotearoa that followed Cook's voyages. Therefore, Cook is a complicated part of Parekōwhai's identity. Parekōwhai often uses his practice to explore notions of identity, into which he finds ways to

interrogate colonial histories by pushing against accepted beliefs and unchallenged narratives.[32] Therefore, his Captain Cook in *The Lighthouse* can be considered a continuation of Parekōwhai's wider practice and a work that holds immense significance for the artist.

While Parekōwhai's portrayal of Cook encourages us to consider his interiority, the sculpture's materiality implicates the work's surroundings. Instead of using bronze or marble to represent Cook – materials which are loaded with historical European concepts of aesthetics, beauty and authority – Parekōwhai casts his statue in stainless steel. The glossy, mirrored surface of the work is a nod to American artist Jeff Koons's work, imbuing the same quality of plasticity and playfulness.[33] The reflective surface of the work brings Cook into the modern world in a material way and also functionally in that the statue becomes a representation not only of Cook but also what he reflects. His surroundings become another actor in the work. Therefore, it is no surprise that Parekōwhai has carefully considered the work's surroundings. Inside *The Lighthouse*, Cook is dwarfed by an empty space. The gleaming white room appears evacuated, cleared out. However, the emptiness is interrupted by a mass of bright LED shapes and squiggles that cover the walls and windows of the house's interior. These lights represent the constellations around New Zealand, a navigational tool for both Māori and European explorers. Timed in a sequence, the lights move around Cook so that he is constantly encompassed by their glow, he is at their mercy. One final feature of the work is still to be installed: a neon matariki star cluster[34] including signatures from the Treaty of Waitangi,[35] which will add further to the layered meaning of the work.

Observing Cook from various standpoints around the lighthouse/state-house structure, his figure reflects off the ocean, as well as off Auckland's main street, Queen Street, and the viewers themselves. The work's location is vital to its meaning. Standing not on land but rather a wharf, the work projects into the Hauraki Gulf, which flows out to the ocean surrounding Aotearoa's shores, including the East Coast of the North Island where Cook and his company landed in 1769. *The Lighthouse* looks out towards Auckland's North Shore where Parekōwhai grew up and also to Bastion Point, land which was the focus of a long-running land dispute before being returned to Māori in the 1980s.[36] The artist states that the neon constellations invoke the concept of ahi kā,[37] the Māori notion that title to land has been won through whakapapa's continuous defence and occupation of the land, effectively keeping the home fires burning, the lights on. Ahi kā is Ngāti Whātua at Bastion Point, Rongowhakaata

FIGURE 3. Captain Cook in the interior of 'The Lighthouse' by Michael Parekōwhai. Photo courtesy of the Auckland City Council. Photographer David St George.

in Gisborne, and Māori across New Zealand who fight for decolonisation. Parekōwhai strengthens the significance of this idea by seating Cook in front of an empty fireplace, suggesting that while his fire has long burnt out, the fire of Māori communities continues to burn bright as they swirl around him in full technicolour. Furthermore, Parekōwhai's sculpture could be seen to be its own protest occupation, occupying a prime piece of real estate in Auckland's CBD, with Cook imprisoned within its walls.

Parekōwhai's portrait figure of Cook also exists independently of *The Lighthouse*, in a stand-alone version titled *The English Channel*. This statue has been exhibited extensively in Australia, most notably at QAGOMA[38] in Brisbane in 2011 and at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, where it was installed in 2015. These presentations of Parekōwhai's Captain Cook further illustrate the importance the artist places on the siting of the work and its environment. At the Art Gallery of New South Wales, The English Channel was displayed in front of a large window looking out to the harbor where Cook and his company landed in 1770. Four years earlier, the comprehensive exhibition of Parekōwhai's *oeuvre*, *The Promised Land* at Brisbane's QAGOMA in 2011, seems to have been a test kitchen for *The Lighthouse*. There, visitors were greeted to an installation

titled Memory Palace in which the statue of Cook sat within a coral-colored home which was based on those in Auckland's central suburb of Sandringham.[39] In this work, the constellations that we see in *The Lighthouse* were replaced by security guard figurines interspersed with bowler-hatted men. Like *The Lighthouse*, *Memory Palace* was redolent with symbolism and references to personal and collective identity: the suburb of Sandringham is a recently gentrified area of Auckland and the bowler hatted figures are a nod to the Belgian Surrealist Rene Magritte's iconic figures. Parekōwhai's security guard images are iterations of his *Kapa Haka* work which focuses on the artist's personal and cultural identity. The repeated figurative casts of *Kapa Haka* are based on Parekōwhai's older brother, Paratene, who is a security guard, and the work interrogates the dichotomous nature of the job. A security guard is a figure of authority, yet the role is often considered to be a lowly job, the domain of the disenfranchised, who in New Zealand are often those of Indigenous descent, a lasting consequence of Cook's arrival and what would follow.[40]

After trialing the concept in *Memory Palace*, Parekōwhai arrived at *The Lighthouse*. He changed the scattered men into neon lights, and the building evolved into a state-house, a more striking New Zealand icon than the coral Sandringham model. In his comprehensive article on *The Lighthouse*, arts commentator Anthony Byrt outlines the symbolic importance of the state-house in New Zealand:

> 'We still put our most vulnerable in the houses Parekōwhai's sculpture is modelled on, despite the fact that they were never really built to last this long; right now, there are resistance movements in Glen Innes against the eviction of longtime state house residents. History matters here, too: one of the champions of mass state housing, John A. Lee, also tried to evict Ngāti Whātua from Ōrākei in the 1930s – the same tribe that said enough was enough at Bastion Point 40 years later. There is also the colonial quirk that the state house, architecturally speaking, is a design modelled on the idealised English cottage and transplanted on the other side of the world.'[41]

Locked inside the state-house, Cook is inextricably implicated in the connotations that come with the structure. While the Englishman is caged inside the house's walls, the viewer is free to observe him from outside, moving around

and above the statue. Cook is imprisoned, fated to serve an infinite sentence of solitude. Cook's entrapment might be a symbolic gesture by the artist, but it may also serve a more functional purpose. With the vandalism and defacement of statuary monuments in mind, Parekōwhai may have shut the public out of the home for good measure. The structure may even enact a vandalism upon Cook's figure for us. The bright, blood-red panels on the house's windows and doors evoke tukutuku,[42] panels or warning signs, but could be alternatively viewed as a reference to the red paint used to deface monuments. In this way, the artist acknowledges the fraught history of colonial monuments while ensuring his work will stand the test of time, incorporating a symbol of resistance as a reminder of intent.

Cook absorbs significance from what is around him, the structure he is housed in and the location of the work. This also includes the viewer. As one looks at Cook, and all that he reflects, through the whirling light and colour, one inevitably finds themselves on his surface. Looking at ourselves reflected on the surface of this Englishman, we are forced to consider our position in relation to him and to the history of Aotearoa. To what extent might we be a complicit part of his legacy? Writer and architect Nathaniel Cheshire summarizes this by stating:

> 'This is not Captain Cook. Of course it's Captain Cook, but how do I know what that dead navigator looked like? Immediately I am certain that his huge face is just someone else's face, the butcher down the road, whatever. He might as well have been me. Or you. We are all implicated in this place. Don't you dare turn your back.'[43]

The Lighthouse takes on Cook, a figure both adulated and detested across New Zealand and around the Pacific, and creates an entirely new mode of representation. Many contemporary responses to monuments of authority propose that they should be taken down or that other structures should be erected that can work in conversation with them. In the USA, more than forty-five Confederate monuments have come down in at least twenty-seven cities across the country since the summer of 2020.[44] In New Zealand, in 2017, there were calls for a monument to Colonel Marmaduke Nixon in Otahuhu to be taken down: Nixon was the leader at the Battle of Rangiaowhia where Māori elders, women and children were slaughtered.[45] Slightly further south in the city of Hamilton, the statue of Captain John Hamilton was

finally removed from the Civic Square in 2020. After years of debate, the decision was triggered by Black Lives Matter.[46] However, in *The Lighthouse*, Parekōwhai illustrates that there is yet another path to challenging colonial monuments.

Challenging Cook head on, the artist completely shifts the portrayal from hero to human, using a reflective form to amplify the meaning of the figure. While the downtown Auckland work is a statue of Cook, it is also a figurehead of Māori resistance, New Zealand's housing crisis, Pacific and European navigation, the viewer, and the artist himself. Parekōwhai has taken the failing form of the colonial monument and created a piece of public art that conveys a narrative that is complex and involved, considering not only Cook's historical impact but New Zealanders own current endorsement of him through celebrations such as *Tuia 250*. Unlike the formal colonial monument that instructs with a clear narrative and directive, in *The Lighthouse* there is no informative plaque, there is not even a label to tell us what the work is called, let alone who we see when we peer through the windows of the house. Parekōwhai knowingly evades any set interpretation of his work by creating ideological obstacles, encouraging viewers to engage with the work and draw their own conclusions.[47] And it is the work's ambiguity that gives it impact. The artist explains:

> 'It is not the object that contains the importance, but how we see and interpret what the object contains, what exists around it, and the shadow that the object casts.'[48]

It is the role of public art to excite, start conversations, push the limits, question the unquestioned. As an artist who has been consistently cast in the role of a trickster,[49] in *The Lighthouse* Parekōwhai creates a work that evades explanation, stirring public discourse and challenging histories. He entices the viewer to contemplate and interrogate preconceived notions about art, history, legacy, and memorialisation. In a country with an abundance of symbols of colonial power, *The Lighthouse* is a timely reminder that official histories are constructed by the victor, but that there are always multiple viewpoints and stories to be recorded and considered. Parekōwhai's Captain Cook is a timely reminder, even before the surge in worldwide recognition of the Black Lives Matter movement, that monuments are living makers of meaning, meaning that stands to be dismantled in the face of continuing injustice.

The question remains: why has Parekōwhai's Cook been ignored? Global Black Lives Matter activism put colonial monuments – and the role they play in building and upholding prejudice – in the spotlight. So why do we ignore their critique on our soil? Majority politics have long held New Zealand above the discrimination and injustice taking place overseas, preferring instead to create a mythic image of Aotearoa as a clean, green, beautiful haven from all that is wicked. The ugly truth is that our country is built on systemic violence against Māori that began with Cook's arrival and has continued into the present day where Māori continue to face inequality and brutality. And if this makes us uncomfortable, it should. We should be ashamed, and many are. But rather than moving through this shame, towards knowledge and action, we sink into it. We overlook Cook, we dismiss decolonisation, we rebuff protest. Because we would much rather forget than reflect.

The Lighthouse is about reflection: the reflections that play off Cook and reflections on the history of Aotearoa New Zealand, Cook's place in New Zealanders' personal and collective identities, and the role of colonial monuments in modern art and discourse. A lighthouse is defined as a beacon of light, a force that both welcomes and warns. It also shows a way forward, signalling a new destination. Parekōwhai's *The Lighthouse* illustrates that monuments to complex figures and histories can be used in a way that is productive, one that challenges accepted historical narratives and creates new discourse around our history and society. All we need to do is start the conversation.

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ENDNOTES

1. Yvonne Whelan in Ewan Morris, “Men Alone, in Bronze and Stone: A Tale of Two Statues,” Journal of New Zealand Studies 13 (2012): 71.

2. Castle, “Debate Over Cecil Rhodes Statue at Oxford Gains Steam.”

3. Fortin, “The Statue at the Centre of the Charlottesville Storm.”

4. Grovier, “Black Lives Matter protests: Why are statues so powerful?”: The Bristol monument to Edward Colston, 18th century philanthropist involved in the Atlantic slave trade, was toppled in June 2020 while monuments to Christopher Columbus and other colonial figures were similarly defaced and removed throughout Europe and the United States.

5. Captain John Fane Charles Hamilton was a British Naval Commander who fought for the Crown during the New Zealand Land Wars. His monument in Hamilton was defaced with red paint and a hammer: Tarabay, “How Charlottesville’s Echoes Forced New Zealand to Confront Its History.” Sir George Grey was a British Colonial Administrator, serving as Governor and 11th Premier during the 19th centu-ry. His statue in Auckland CBD has faced numerous attacks: Phillips, “Memorials and monuments - Civilian memorials, 1900–1945.”

6. Leahy, “Black Lives Matter protests: The Kiwi coloni-al-era statues that pose some problems.”

7. Captain James Cook was a British explorer who is known for his three voyages to the Pacific where he was the first to make contact with eastern Australia and the Hawaiian Islands. Cook was also a skilled cartographer and navigator, and was responsible for the first recorded circum-navigation of New Zealand.

8. For images see https://ourauckland.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/articles/news/2017/02/the-lighthouse-michael-parekowhai/

9. Michael Parekowhai’s tribal (iwi) affiliations in parentheses.

10. Barfoot & Thompson funded the sculpture to commemorate its 90th year in business: “The Lighthouse lights up.” Our Auckland.

11. See Lana Lopesi’s excellent article on The Lighthouse, “An Homage, a Beacon: On Michael Parekowhai’s ‘The Lighthouse’.”

12. The seated statue is 2.57 metres high and fabricated in highly polished stainless steel.

13. Detailed information on the balanced and detailed re-visionist history of New Zealand can be found in books and articles by New Zealand historian Michael King.

14. Rongowhakaata is a Māori iwi (a Māori community or people) of the Gisborne region of New Zealand in the east of the North Island.

15. Aotearoa is the Māori name for New Zealand.

16. Tuia is the Māori word for ‘to weave or bind together.’ The Tuia 250 celebrations were named as such due to their intention to tell an integrated narrative of Cook’s voyages.

17. Ngata, “Capt. Cook: A genocidal murderer.”

18. Phillips, “Memorials and monuments - Civilian memorials, 1900–1945.”

19. Wallace, “Gisborne’s ‘Crook Cook’ – the story of the statue.”

20. Pakeha is the Māori term for a New Zealander of European descent.

21. Braae, “The Bulletin: Vandalised Captain Cook statue shows depth of wounds.”

22. “Captain James Cook statue defaced in Gisborne.” New Zealand Herald

23. “Captain Cook statue vandalised in Melbourne before Australia Day.” The Guardian; Knaus, “‘No pride in genocide’: vandals deface Captain Cook statue in Sydney’s Hyde Park.”

24. Sanda, “Captain Cook statue defaced in Sydney, Australia.”

25. Hamilton, “Monuments and memory,” 104-105.

26. Morris, “Men Alone, in Bronze and Stone: A Tale of Two Statues,” 71.

27. Ngata, "Toppling cook: On remembering vs misremem-bering," 46-47.

28. Thomas, “The uses of Captain Cook: early exploration in the public history of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia,” 149.

29. In The Indefinite Article, 1990, Parekowhai plays on Colin McCahon’s I Am, 1954. Parekowhai satirizes the work, using word-play to interrogate language, identity, and the ego-centricity of the artist: Leonard, “Michael Parekow-hai: Against Purity.” 2. In Kiss the Baby Goodbye, 1994, Parekowhai creates a kitset of Gordon Walter’s koru painting Kahukura, 1968, questioning the appropriation of Māori imagery whilst referencing the modernist aesthetic of the readymade: Leonard, “Michael Parekowhai: Kiss the Baby Goodbye.”

30. Hamilton, “Monuments and memory,” 105.

31. Whakapapa is the Māori term for a line of descent from one’s ancestors; genealogy.

32. See Michael Parekowhai’s On First Looking at Chapman’s Homer, 2011, his installation at the Venice Biennale or Ten Guitars, 2000.

33. Cheshire, “Opinion: Michael Parekowhai’s The Lighthouse.”

34. Matariki is the Māori name for the star cluster that is also known as the Pleiades.

35. The Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) is the treaty between the British Crown and Māori chiefs from the North Island of New Zealand, first signed on February 6, 1840.

36. “Bastion Point.” New Zealand History.

37. “The Lighthouse lights up.” Our Auckland.

38. The Queensland Art Gallery and Gallery of Modern Art.

39. Devenport, “Michael Parekowhai: The Promised Land,”; Leonard, “Michael Parekowhai: The Empire of Light,” 6.

40. Leonard, “Michael Parekowhai: Kapa Haka Pakaka,”

41. Byrt, “State house rules: Michael Parekowhai’s sculpture is Auckland's new best thing,” 6.

42. Tukutuku panelling is a traditional Māori art form of latticework used to decorate meeting houses.

43. Cheshire, “Opinion: Michael Parekowhai’s The Lighthouse.”

44. “Where do Confederate Monuments go after they come down?”

45. Forbes, “Call for Otahuhu colonial memorial to go.”

46. “Controversial statue of Captain John Hamilton has been removed.” Radio New Zealand.

47. Divett, “Movement from the margins: Identity issues in the art of Michael Parekowhai and Ani O’Neill.”

48. Michael Parekowhai in Divett, “Movement from the margins: Identity issues in the art of Michael Parekowhai and Ani O’Neill.”

49. Leonard, “Michael Parekowhai: Against Purity.” 2.

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS TO 'BACK STORY'

New contributions to the field are welcome.

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Not more than 5,000 words, fewer if accompanied by images

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Please submit by email to Dr Alan Cocker of Auckland University of Technology (alan.cocker@aut.ac.nz) by 10 April 2022 for our July 2022 edition.

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Articles should be written using Microsoft Word, 12 point Calibri, with single spacing.

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STANDARD REFERENCES

(Books and academic articles, newspaper and magazine sources)

R (references): Phillips, Jock, and Terry Hearn. Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008.

N (Notes/Endnotes): Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945 (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 2008), p.41.

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IMAGE REFERENCES
(normally only used in captions)

Burton Brothers, North Shore, Auckland, 1870s, Museum of New Zealand.

FORMATTING

Final formatting will be done by the editorial team, which reserves the right to adjust author formatting.

REFEREEING PROCESS

After consideration by the editorial team, the article will be blind-reviewed by two referees. If minor or major changes are recommended, it will be returned to the author to make those amendments. If the two referees are in significant disagreement, the editorial team will make the final decision.

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