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JOURNAL OF NEW ZEALAND ART,
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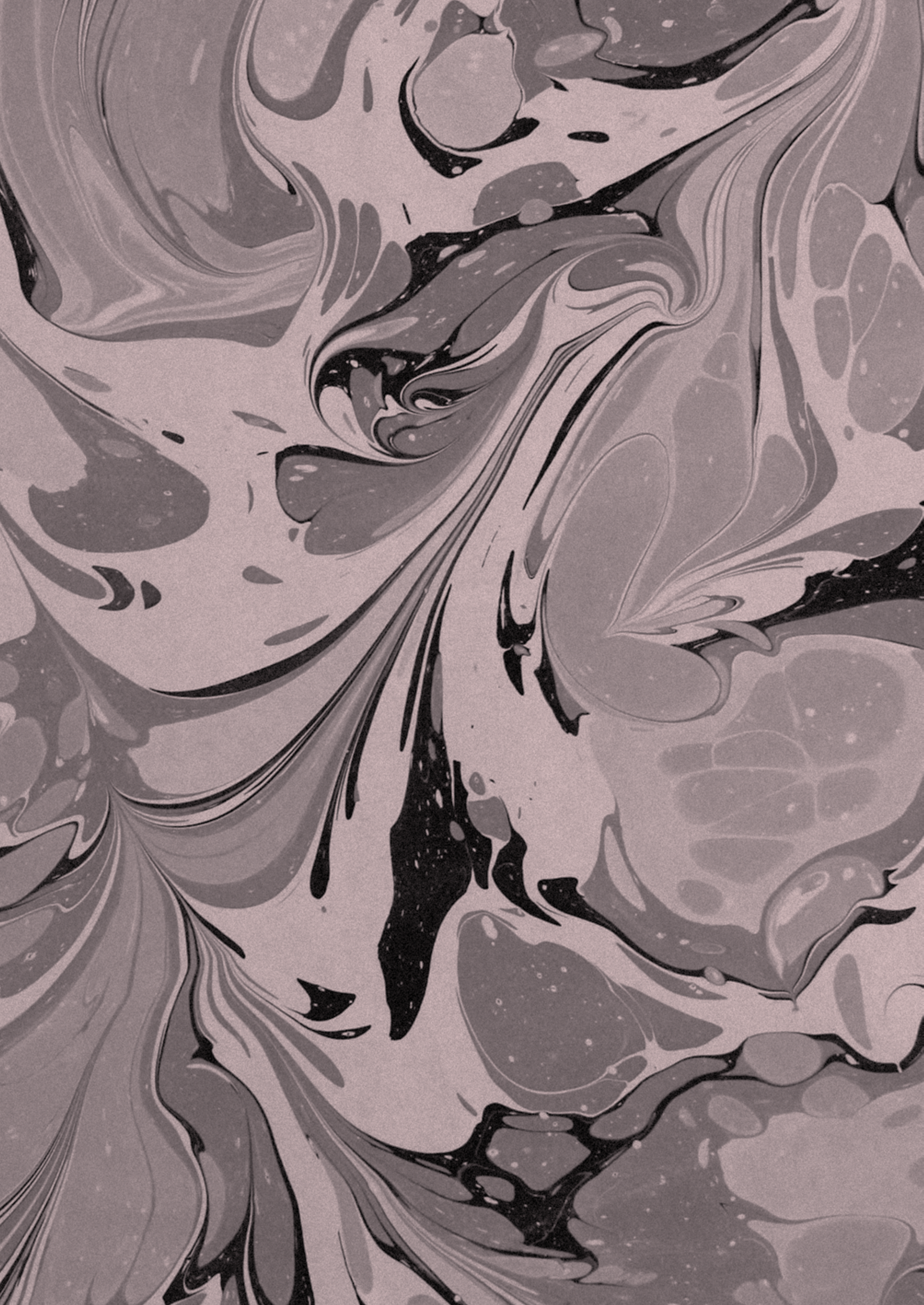


BACK STORY

5

JOURNAL OF NEW ZEALAND ART, MEDIA & DESIGN HISTORY

Editorial

Kia ora and welcome to the fifth issue of Backstory. We have finished 2018 with a varied collection of articles on topics that range from a Māori mobile phone game to urban art in post-earthquake Christchurch via risqué cabarets in London during the early 1940s. The history of New Zealand's art, media, and design is full of surprising and untold stories that illuminate the country's past from new and revealing perspectives. This issue of Backstory gives an idea of the range of this research.

Photography in New Zealand goes back to at least 1848 when the first daguerreotypes were made and photography shops were established in Auckland and Wellington. Athol McCredie analyses the history and role of the photograph book, or 'photobook' in New Zealand. Not to be confused with an album stuffed full of random snaps, McCredie discusses the idea of the photobook as an ordered narrative that is quite different from a book of photographs. He traces a prehistory of the photobook in New Zealand before the modern usage of the term and analyses examples and case studies to illustrate how the photobook has been part of New Zealand's photographic history.

Photographs, drawings, and illustrations have been integral to the New Zealand School Journal since it was launched in 1907. Many famous local artists and artists have contributed to the NZSJ over fifty years or so. This piece highlights the sheer variety of the forms, styles, and material found in the NZSJ as it reflects the vast and ongoing social and cultural changes since the 1960s.

That infamous decade, the 1960s, is often regarded as a watershed for revolutionary changes to ideas about gender and sexuality. But Alan Cocker's article complicates this sometime simplistic narrative by looking further back to the careers of Huia and Desiree Cooper in the cabarets and nude-revues of wartime London. Originally from Eltham, the successful careers of the Cooper sisters reflected cultural shifts in ideas about gender and the growth of media influence that had occurred in the years following World War One.

The Cooper girls were reported on proudly in Taranaki as local girls who made it on the London stage. New Zealand has not always been so proud of local culture especially its popular music. For many years local music fans and institutions often seemed slightly embarrassed by New Zealand popular music. This changed during the late 1980s. Matt Mollgaard traces this birth of the cool for New Zealand pop music as it was written in print publications from John Dix's Stranded in Paradise (1988) to Chris Bourke's Blue Smoke (2010). He explores how this new enthusiasm for local music involved government policy, global culture industries, and the rise of the creative industries as modes of national branding and promotion.

The videogames market generates more money than music and films combined and New Zealanders are developing and using this media in complex ways. Huni Mancini discusses a te reo Māori mobile game, Māori Pā Wars (2017), which draws on history and kaupapa Māori methodology to impart mātauranga Māori by immersing the player in the past and the present. Mancini situates the fluidity of Indigenous 'authenticity' in time and place when ideas about binaries such as local/global and reality/virtual are rapidly changing and complicating.

Reuben Woods brings us back from the virtual and global to the very real and local situation of post-earthquake Christchurch and its urban art landscapes. Connecting post-quake conditions to Christchurch's history of (or lack of) street culture, Woods examines the many roles of art in reconstituting the city and how these are contested. The fluid nature of the art itself (graffiti, murals, etc.) and the rebuilding of the cityscape raise issues of memory, history, ownership and control. The future roles of urban art in the city remain open ended.

The editors of Backstory hope that you enjoy this new issue and that it stimulates more research and excavation into the rich histories of New Zealand's media, design, and art. We also wish our readers a happy 2019.

Peter Hoar
On behalf of the BackStory editorial team

Pictures on a Page: Towards a History of the Photobook in New Zealand

Athol McCredie

Keywords: #photobook #New Zealand #photography book #photography album #beautiful New Zealand book #picture book

The term 'photobook' is very recent, yet numerous studies now survey histories of its development right back to the invention of photography. This article examines photographic books in New Zealand up to 1970 and concurrently explores definitions of the 'photobook' and whether, or to what extent, they can be applied to any of these publications. It considers nineteenth century albums, early scientific publications, and in particular, the books of scenery that have become such a stock item of New Zealand photographic book production. It also looks at a handful of books in the 1950s and 1960s that reacted against the scenic, as well as books of the 1960s inspired by photojournalism.

The term 'photobook' is commonplace in photographic art discourse today yet is absent from standard dictionaries. As an easy contraction of 'photography book' it is difficult to pinpoint when it was originally coined and by whom, but its first use in a title is *Children of the World: A Photobook* by Sam Waagenaar in 1959.[1] However, the expression did not seem to catch on; few other books incorporated it in their titles over the next four decades and it appears nowhere in the text of the first international survey of photographic books, *The Book of 101 Books: Seminal Photographic Books of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Andrew Roth in 2001.

Common use of the term photobook dates from the 2000s, and was undoubtedly popularised by Gerry Badger and Martin Parr's three volume *The Photobook: A History*, the first instalment of which was published in 2004. This was a period when small run, often self-published photography books began to appear in significant numbers. These were a photographic form of the artist's book. Badger and Parr seem to have borrowed the term in this sense and applied it retrospectively to a history of photography books, following photography writer and curator David Campany's observation that the "nifty little invention" of the compound noun photobook turns "an infinite field (books with photographs in them) into something much more definable".[2]

Badger and Parr have effectively devised a new history of photography via the photobook that "embraces the aesthetic and the technical, the art and the mass medium, [one that] has hardly been considered by historians".[3] It clearly leaves out many types of photography, such as the snapshot, commercial portraiture, advertising and news photography, but it also highlights an overlooked way in which photographs have been disseminated and how we often experience them. It further foregrounds an issue that has received little critical attention: rather than how photographs work as single images, how they operate together. As David Campany observes:

> For over a century nearly all photographic culture – from mainstream magazine photo-essays to independent books and website presentations – has involved the ordering of *bodies* of images. 'Composition' is not confined to the rectangle of the viewfinder; it is also a matter of the composition of the set, series, suite, typology, archive, album, sequence, slideshow, story and so forth.[4]

It seems, then, that it would be useful to begin thinking about

a history of photography books in New Zealand, and seeing how many might belong to that narrower field termed the photobook – a form whose definition I will explore by way of examples as we go.

To begin, what is a book? The *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary* defines it as "a written or printed work consisting of pages glued or sewn together along one side and bound in covers". In turn, a photobook, for Wikipedia, is "a book in which photographs make a significant contribution to the overall content".[5] Badger and Parr's opening definition is of a book where the "primary message is conveyed by photographs".[6] Neither this nor Wikipedia' explanation takes us much beyond an intuitive notion of a photography book, let alone its subset, the photobook. However, Di Bello and Zamir more usefully add that in the photobook the photographs "are integral and essential, and not merely supplemental" in producing the book's overall meaning.[7]

The first potential photobook candidates in New Zealand are nineteenth-century photographic albums. These could be family albums of studio portraits, precursors to the snapshot album; or the albums of scenic views, forerunner of printed books of scenery. Reproduction on the printed page wasn't technically possibly in any practicable way until the late 1880s at best, so photographs were in the form of original photographic prints in these earliest instances of photographic books.

Such albums are by definition photographic, and materially they are books, but they don't quite match our notion of a book's conceptual nature. They are termed albums for a reason: they are collections, compilations, where one photograph is commonly added after another according to when it was taken or acquired by the compiler. In this respect they lack a coherent logic, an organised form, qualities we expect of a book. They typically trail off towards the end, where the compiler lacked sufficient photographs to match the number of pages, or simply lost interest in continuing.

The albums rarely have a visual narrative – a criterion used for contemporary photobooks in the 2017 New Zealand Photobook of the Year Awards.[8] There may be narratives within the albums, but these tend to be ones personally conveyed by compilers to friends or relatives in intimate settings: "this is Aunty Violet and she was married to Uncle Jim"; "that is where we stayed on our honeymoon".

The visual narrative requirement is quite a restrictive one, however. What about photobooks that operate poetically, where the individual images still compound but without a linear story? In a taxonomy of the photobook Jörg M Colberg identifies the 'poetic' and 'elliptical' photobook, under a heading of the 'lyrical' form.[9] Badger

and Parr also suggest that a photobook is a type of photography book that has a "particular subject – a specific theme".[10] The photobook, they assert, "should be an extended essay in photographs", and...follow its theme with "intention, logic, continuity, climax, sense and perfection, as Lincoln Kirstein put it".[11] This is primarily achieved by making the images work together, with "each image placed so as to resonate with its fellows as the pages are turned". The result makes "the collective meaning more important than the images' individual meanings...the sum, by definition, is greater than the parts".[12]

The early albums might have a specific subject (portraits or scenic views usually), but rarely were their images marshalled together into a larger theme. Another limitation is that they were generally not published. Badger and Parr are ambivalent on whether publication – making a book available to the public for a price – is a necessary criterion for a photobook. They include Anna Atkins' *Photographs of British Algae* (1843–53) in their selection of featured photobooks but note that Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* (1844–46) would be considered by many as the first photobook because it was produced and sold in some numbers, whereas Atkins distributed her slightly earlier *Photographs of British Algae* to only a few friends. We intuitively think of a book as something published, but the dictionary definition noted above does not require this at all.[13]

Nevertheless, some hand-compiled albums of pre-selected albumen print images *were* produced and sold by New Zealand photographic firms. These had no empty pages, and tended to focus on the scenic wonders of New Zealand. An example is *New Zealand: Land of Loveliness* produced by the Dunedin studio of the Burton Brothers in the 1880s.[14] It was much smaller and lighter than regular nineteenth-century albums and came in a number of subject matter variations. It was explicitly marketed for sending overseas to the "dear old folks at home" as a "Christmas present [of] Views of the Land we live in"[15] but could equally have served as a readily portable souvenir of New Zealand for tourists.

One of the most impressive studio-compiled albums is James Bragge's *Wellington to the Wairarapa* of the mid-1870s.[16] It consists of a series of 40 to 45 (there are slight variations from copy to copy) albumen prints made from 10 x 12 inch negatives. The photographs are shots taken along the road from Wellington and over the Remutaka Range into the Wairarapa, so this album does have a definite narrative sequence. It is not clear how many albums Bragge produced but at least six survive today.

James Bragge, Featherston side of the Remutaka Hill, from the cutting at Cave's Bridge, NZ, from the photographic album, *Wellington to the Wairarapa*, mid-1870s, Te Papa, O.032442

Vying with Bragge's album for status as New Zealand's first photobook, insofar as it is on a single subject and conceived as an integrated whole, is Daniel Mundy's 1875 *Rotomahana and the Boiling Springs of New Zealand: A Photographic Series of Sixteen Views*. It takes the form of a conventional book, with a lavish, gold embossed cover and images of the Pink and White Terraces and other thermal features around Lake Rotomahana. Each photograph is on its own leaf, and these are interspersed with printed texts by the eminent German-Austrian geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter, who had visited the area in 1859. The book was published in London, which was not unusual for New Zealand books for many decades, and produced in a run of 250 copies. The beautifully toned photographs, perfectly preserved today, are credited in the book as reproduced by the autotype process. This was apparently a proprietary form of carbon printing and suggests that the photographs were individually hand printed.

Another focussed topic book of this time, and definitely hand produced, was Herbert Dobbie's cyanotype (blueprint) book *New Zealand Ferns: 148 Varieties* (1880). It was produced in several versions and in editions of perhaps up to 50 copies each. It consisted of photograms of ferns, made by exposing fern specimens against sensitised photographic paper to produce white silhouettes, just as Anna Atkins had done 37 years earlier. This was a cheap and easy way to produce a fern identification guide, although a reviewer of the time suggested they were not entirely satisfactory for this purpose and might better serve as a 'handsome ornament for the drawing room'.[17]

Herbert Dobbie, Nephrodium hispidum, Hunua, from the photographic book, *New Zealand Ferns: 148 Varieties*, 1880, p. 83, Te Papa, O.039653

Dobbie made no apparent attempt to structure his books, for the ferns are sequenced randomly without regard to genus and locality. Some might consider that the images are not photographs because they were made by direct contact printing of ferns upon photographic paper, without the use of a camera at all, thereby disqualifying the work as a photobook on this ground alone, but this seems a fine point.

The development of photomechanical printing from the 1880s enabled scholarly publications to be photographically illustrated. Most lavish amongst them was Augustus Hamilton's *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand* (often known simply as *Maori Art*) published between 1896 and 1901 in five parts. When bound as a single volume, the total of 278 set a record for the number of photographs reproduced in a New Zealand book that probably lasted at least a century. However, it is difficult to see it as a photobook, for it works primarily as a catalogue – of the varieties of taonga Māori – and in this sense its images are simply illustrative. They visually describe

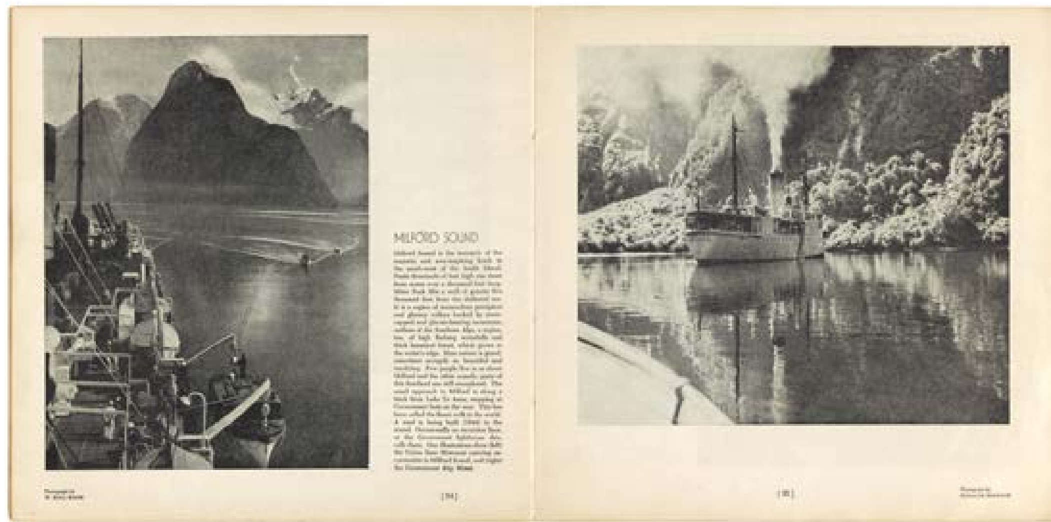
objects, but it is the objects that are of concern, not the qualities of the photographs; nor is the whole greater than the sum of its parts.

Much the same could be said for another substantially illustrated scientific book of the period, the two-volume *The Rocks of the Cape Colville Peninsula, Auckland, New Zealand* of 1905–1906 by WJ Sollas and the government geologist Alexander McKay. This includes 32 landscape views and 177 full-page photographs of thin sections (photomicrographs), all taken by McKay.

Photomechanical half-tone printing saw the nineteenth century scenic album gradually supplanted by booklets, postcards and illustrated magazines. The 30-page booklet *Album of New Zealand Scenery: The Maori at Home and the Thermal Springs of the North Island* published by Muir & Moodie in 1903 is a case in point. It uses photographs mostly taken by the Burton Brothers studio two decades earlier and is essentially a scenic album of the sort they once compiled, but now turned into print and reduced drastically in size. More substantial scenic books were not produced until the 1920s, perhaps because the lavish Christmas issues of magazines with picturesque imagery such as the *New Zealand Graphic*, *Auckland Weekly News and Otago Witness*, as well as *Brett's Christmas Annual*, filled a similar market in the early twentieth century.

Tourists were always a market for scenic publications and the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, set up by government in 1901 to better co-ordinate the growing tourism industry, was active in the field from at least 1917. Its productions were still thin enough to be considered booklets, but grew in format to the 240 x 210 mm *New Zealand: Paradise of the Pacific* (1928) and the larger 295 x 230 mm (approximately A4) *New Zealand: Scenic Playground of the Pacific* (1933 and 1936).

Other publishers produced more lavish versions. They include *Pictorial New Zealand: Photographic Studies*, published by Whitcombe and Tombs in the 1940s and *New Zealand Railways Illustrated* (1937, 1938). The former was perhaps not specifically designed to stimulate tourism – though it includes numerous images of tourists and tourism sites – but more as a commercial picture book proposition in its own right. It is well designed and illustrated 'with the best examples of the photographer's art'.[18] These included work by many of the notable names of the period, including George Chance, Thelma Kent, Ellis Dudgeon, Leonard Casbolt and William Hall Raine. The images are excellently reproduced in soft, warm-toned letterpress, suitably matching their pictorialist tendency.



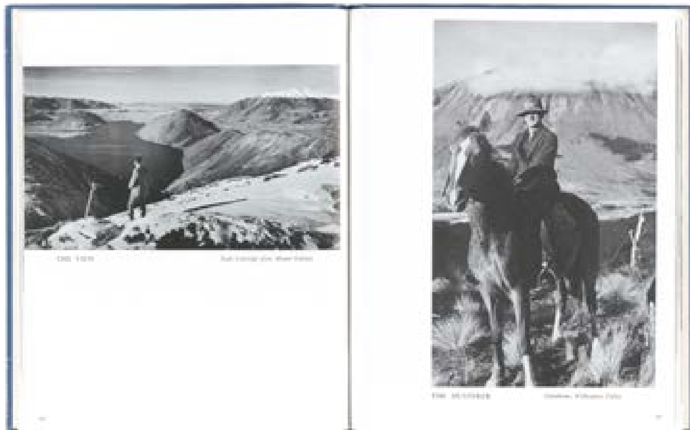
Pictorial New Zealand: Photographic Studies, c. 1944, pp.54-55. Collection of the author.

New Zealand Railways Illustrated, 1937, p.45.
Te Papa Collection.

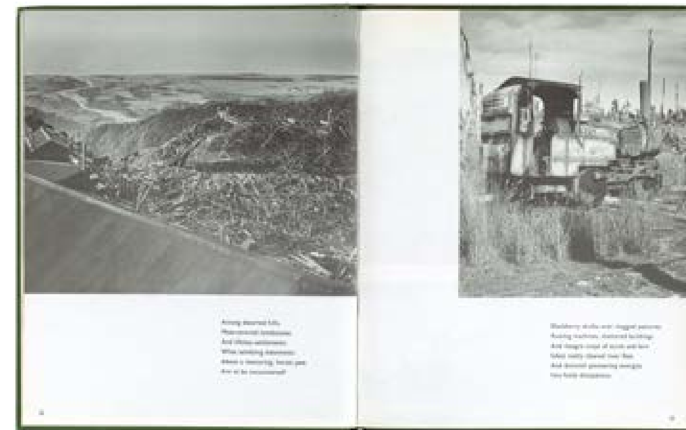
Rather a contrast in production values is *New Zealand Railways Illustrated*. Published by the New Zealand Railways Department to promote rail tourism, this thicker publication consists of 80 hand-coloured scenic images, many featuring trains. The colouring is crude and lurid, but has a charm of its own in today's eyes.

These, and a few other books, established what can be termed the 'beautiful New Zealand' genre of photography book.[19] This developed to another level in the 1960s and has become a stock item for publishers ever since. The two significant publications in the 1960s were Kenneth and Jean Bigwood's *New Zealand* of 1963 and Brian Brake and Maurice Shadbolt's *New Zealand: Gift of the Sea* of the same year. The Bigwood's effort was a substantial volume with an essay by Monte Holcroft and tipped-in calendar-style colour images. Although the production quality was considerably higher than any earlier scenic publication, there was no conceptual advance on the early album approach of one unrelated image after another. Such was definitely not the case with *Gift of the Sea*, however. Brake applied the experience he had gained overseas as a photojournalist and illustrative photographer, as well as an understanding of editing from his time as a film maker with the National Film Unit. He paid a great deal of attention to sequence and juxtaposition and his layout leaves no page spread looking the same as another, with images sometimes full spread, other times sliced and butted across the page, and every option in between. It is undoubtedly the most sophisticated photography book published in New Zealand to this point and certainly allows us to call it a photobook for the way it 'works' images, treating them as components of a larger entity, like sentences or paragraphs in a book.

Brian Brake and Maurice Shadbolt, *New Zealand: Gift of the Sea*, 1963, pp. 72–73.
Te Papa Collection.



John Pascoe, *The Mountains, the Bush and the Sea: A Photographic Report*, 1950, pp.30–31. Te Papa Collection.



Les Cleveland, *The Silent Land*, 1966, pp. 22–23. Te Papa Collection.

New Zealand and *Gift of the Sea* sold well through the 1960s. Clearly there was now a market beyond tourists for picture books on New Zealand. Perhaps this had to do with an emerging nationalism in the wake of WWII, as ties with Britain were gradually severed. Perhaps it was because the increasing use of colour printing made photographic books more attractive. The Bigwoods capitalised on the new trend with six titles alone: *New Zealand in Colour* (vols 1, 1961; vol 2, 1962), *The New Zealand Maori in Colour* (1963), *New Zealand's South Island in Colour* (1966), *The New Zealanders in Colour* (1965) and *New Zealand Farming in Colour* (1967) – all, it has to be said, staid and unimaginative efforts. In the 1970s and 1980s other players entered the market and books by Eric Taylor, James Siers, Martin Barriball, Warren Jacobs, Robin Smith, Phillip Temple, and Robin Morrison all demanded a section of their own in bookstores.

There was also a counter trend to the scenic, touristic view of New Zealand landscape, beginning with John Pascoe's *The Mountains, the Bush and the Sea: A Photographic Report in 1950.* Pascoe wrote in his introduction: "My first aim in this photographic report is to relate mountain, forest and coastline environment to the lives of people". For Pascoe the cities were occupied by "stuffed shirts". The real New Zealanders were found exploring or living in the backcountry, and in this book he placed them in or against images of this environment. Though rather unsophisticated both in its images and design, this was one of the first books in New Zealand where the photographs worked together to develop an argument and convey a personal vision. It was also the first to begin to meet a criterion formulated by photographer John Gossage for great photobooks: that the photographs should "function as a concise world within the book itself".[20]

A handful of other books of the 1950s and 60s also turned their back on tourist imagery to make more personal observations with black and white photographs. Each, coincidentally, focussed on the West Coast of the South Island. In *Westland's Wealth* (1959) photographer John Johns and writer CGR Chavasse argued against the squandering of the forest resource through poor management practices. VC Browne's *The Coast* used mainly aerial photographs to find a stark beauty in coastlines, rugged mountains, winding rivers and street grids of small towns. Whites Aviation had published a book of aerial views across the whole of New Zealand in 1952 (*Whites Pictorial Reference of New Zealand*) but *The Coast* was a more aesthetically based collection compared with the catalogue-like nature of the Whites publication.

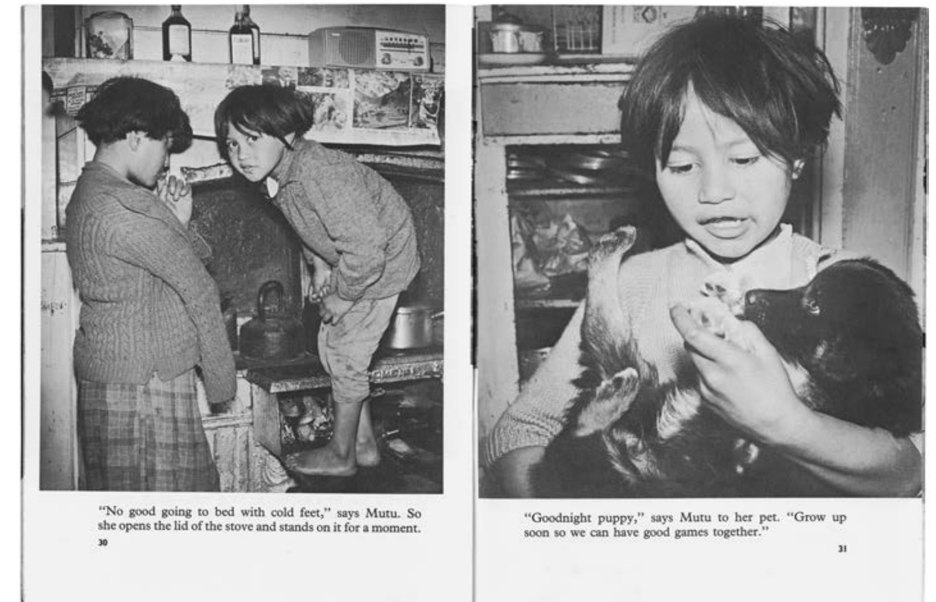
Most personal of all was Les Cleveland's *The Silent Land* of 1966. This book concentrated on the landscape and people of Westland and the echoes of failed nineteenth-century dreams of progress Cleveland found in decaying buildings and abandoned ventures. Accompanying the photographs is a long prose poem by Cleveland that helps structure the photographs into a narrative and bring out their intended meaning. As noted by Di Bello and Zamir, as well as Campany,[21] the interaction of text and photographs is not covered in Badger and Parr's definition of a photobook as one in which the primary message is conveyed by photographs. But many well-known photobooks are exactly works

where word and image mutually support each other, with neither subservient to the other – including *Land of the Free* (1938) by Archibald MacLeish, that was a model for Cleveland.

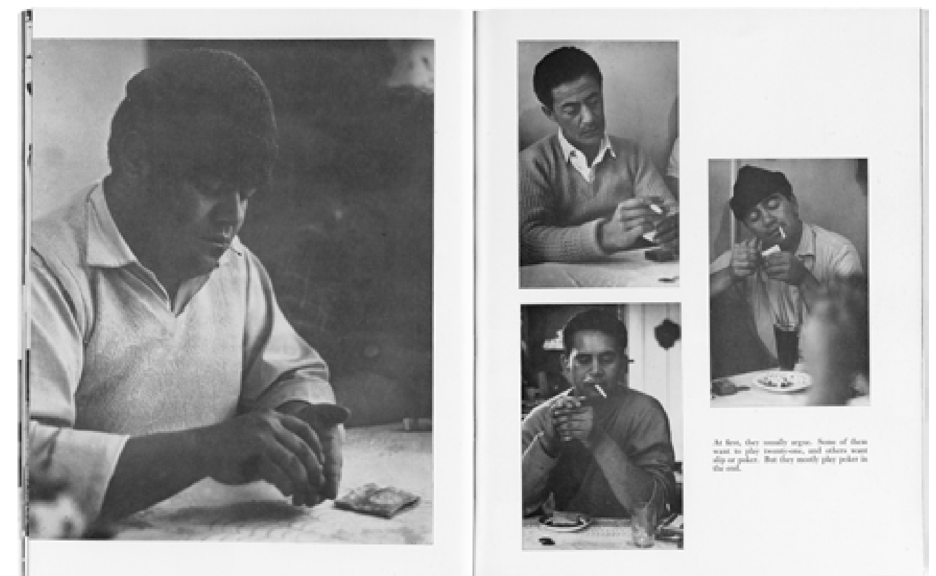
The Silent Land was not the only book in the 1960s that integrated text and photographs. A group of small 'how others live' books for and about children all appeared at the beginning of the decade. These took their lead from the photojournalism of major international picture magazines like *Life* and *Picture Post* that featured photo essays supported with text. Each contained a story told by photographs and words together, and would have been intended as 'readers', books where the pictures could help guide children through text. In this respect the extent to which either images or texts carry the story depends on the age of the reader. As adults we might even entirely dispense with the text.

Hey Boy! (1962) was the first of these books, and it followed the daily life of a Hawaiian-Māori boy and his family in urban Auckland, with photographs by Bernie Hill and text by his wife Anne. In 1964 a quartet of further books or booklets appeared. Ans Westra's *Washday at the Pa* is the best known, largely for the controversy that surrounded its publication by the Department of Education where complaints that the images represented Māori as stereotypically living in poverty caused it to be withdrawn from circulation in schools and copies destroyed. *Washday* was conceived by Westra on the spot while she spent a day photographing a Māori family in rural Ruatōria, and she later wrote a text to hold the photographs together. National Publicity Studios photographer Gregory Reithmaier followed a similar conceptual format but with a rather more stilted result when he covered a day in the life of a Māori teenager in Rotorua with *Rebecca and the Maoris*. Gay and Georg Kohlap traced the farm life of a boy in *David: Boy of the High Country* and Westra followed a Tongan boy in another Department of Education booklet, *Viliami of the Friendly Islands*. Each of these books drew on the photo essay form, with images laid out in deliberate sequences that paid attention to the spaces between them and how each spoke to the other to create a narrative whole.

Westra continued with further photo and text booklets for schools and families in the 1960s, though in each case others wrote the text. She also published her magnum opus,



Ans Westra, Washday at the Pa, 1964, pp. 30–31. Te Papa Collection.

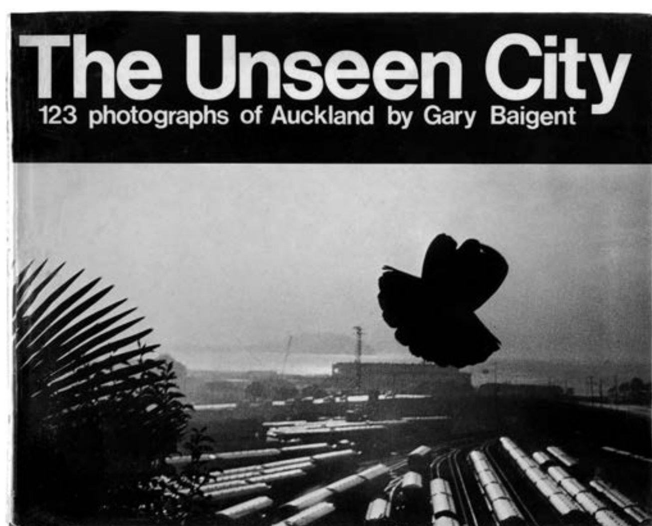


Bernie Hill and Anne Hill, Hey Boy!, 1961 [unpaginated, pp. 53–54]. Te Papa Collection.

Maori, in 1967. Here the text – a series of essays by James Ritchie and short pieces by Māori writers – operated independently of the photographs, complementing them, as had been the case with Maurice Shadbolt's text for *Gift of the Sea*. Also like *Gift of the Sea*, the book was finely printed in gravure and skillfully, if rather more soberly, designed. It was broadly structured on a theme of the cycle of life and death (inspired by the 1955 Museum of Modern Art *Family of Man* exhibition and catalogue) but otherwise without an explicit narrative.

1967 was also the year Gary Baigent's *The Unseen City: One Hundred and Twenty-Three Photographs of Auckland* was published. Like Pascoe, Cleveland, Johns and Browne's books it was not intended to present a view of its subject that would appeal to the tourist. It depicted an image of Auckland which civic boosters would have found displeasing: run-down student flats, backyard parties, late night street life, boozy public bars, and waterside labouring. The rough life styles it depicted were matched by the rough photography (intentionally, with a shot-from-the-hip look to many images) and rough printing (not so intentional). In its downbeat subject matter, subjective approach and stream of consciousness nature, *The Unseen City* looks like it was inspired by Robert Frank's 1959 *The Americans,* but Baigent did not see this book until some years later.

There is no clear narrative in the sequencing of images in *The Unseen City* and few distinctive images, but as a whole the book was a highly personal enterprise. It was marked by auteurship, for although



Gary Baigent, *The Unseen City: 123 Photographs of Auckland*, 1967, cover. Te Papa Collection.

documentary, its lack of narrative pointed the reader inwards, to Baigent's vision. Here it departed from the subject focus of Westra, Hill, Kohlap and others considered earlier. And as such it signalled the beginning of contemporary art photography in New Zealand.

The art photography movement resulted in an upsurge in photographic publishing of photographs made with expressive intent, but surprisingly few of these could be called photobooks, for they tended to function as catalogues of work. These include group exhibition catalogues such as *Three New Zealand Photographers: Gary Baigent, Richard Collins, John Fields* (1973), *The Active Eye: Contemporary New Zealand Photography (1975), Fragments of a World: A Collection of Photographs by New Zealand Women Photographers* (1976) and *Views/Exposures: 10 Contemporary New Zealand Photographers* (1982); but also monographs, such as *Second Nature: Peter Peryer, Photographer, New Zealand* (1995) and *Anne Noble: States of Grace* (2001). The monographs situated the work as belonging to a world outside of the book in which they were published, rather than using it to construct a world within the book.

Nevertheless, a growing audience for contemporary photography also enabled a much smaller number of New Zealand photobooks such as Anne Noble's *The Wanganui* (1982), Terry O'Connor's *All Good Children: Life in a New Zealand Children's Health Camp* (1983) and Glenn Jowitt's *Race Day* (1983). More mainstream were Ans Westra's *Notes on the Country I Live In* (1972), Marti Friedlander's *Larks in a Paradise: New Zealand Portraits* (1974) and Robin Morrison's *The South Island of New Zealand from the Road* (1981) – each a development of the *New Zealand: Gift of the Sea* model into more overtly subjective territory. Combined with the popular *Working Men* by Glenn Busch (1984) that combined interview texts with contextual portraits, the success of these books suggests that general readers were also ready to accept that a photography book could be a personal and creative enterprise in itself.

Examination of these and more recent developments since *The Unseen City* are beyond the scope of this article, but I hope I have shown that there is a prehistory – however imperfectly formed – of New Zealand photobooks before the contemporary photography era in which the very concept was invented, and that photographic meaning can lie in how images are arranged together, not just in the single image that is so favoured by the museum and the collector.

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14. Three such albums are held in the Hocken Library at the University of Otago and two by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.
15. Advertisement, *Star*, 30 October 1884, p. 2.
16. Copies are held by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (AL.244 and AL.215); Hocken Library, University of Otago (P1990-015/17); and Wellington Museum.
17. JD Mccraw, "The 'Blue Books' of H.B. Dobbie and Eric Craig," p. 351.
18. *Pictorial New Zealand*, c.1944, p. 5.
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The Showgirls from Eltham, the Windmill Theatre and the V2 Rocket: One family's experience as a window on aspects of interwar cultural life.

Alan Cocker

Keywords: #The 'It' girl #radical bohemianism #body culture #Windmill Theatre #Revudebelles #glamour photography #male gaze

The journey of the Cooper family from small town New Zealand in the early 1920s to Sydney, and then to London, where they arrived in May 1935, provides a frame to look at aspects of social change in the interwar period. Their story, which sees the two daughters of the family appearing in the risqué nude revues at London's Windmill Theatre in the early years of the Second World War, could be viewed as exotic and atypical but does provide a vehicle to look at aspects of cultural change and media influence during a time when "modern women understood self-display to be part of the quest for mobility, self-determination, and sexual identity".[1]

At the end of the First World War Jack Cooper, as a young serviceman, returned to New Zealand with his English wife Ethel to set up a business and settle into family life in the small Taranaki town of Eltham. Their story would be a familiar one common to many returned soldiers but for the intriguing journey the family was to take in the interwar years. By 1935, after spending some years in Eltham, New Plymouth and Sydney, they had returned to England with their four children. In 1940 their two daughters, Huia and Desiree, were appearing in the famous 'Revudeville' nude revues at the Windmill Theatre, London. Huia was to appear at the Windmill as a chorus girl through the war years and Desiree established herself as a nude model, showgirl and actress. Their careers were supported by their parents, and the family lived together until their father Jack Cooper was killed in a V2 rocket blast which destroyed their home in Kew in September 1944.[2] This was a singular journey but its unfolding narrative provides an opportunity to reflect on some of the interwar cultural and media inspired movements which, particularly for women, have been characterised as helping to form a new 'modern' identity.

BRITAIN OR THE UNITED STATES: CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN POST-WW1 NEW ZEALAND

In March 1919, Jack and Ethel Cooper embarked for New Zealand from Plymouth on the steamer 'Tainui'.[3] Jack had met his wife during a period away from the Western Front when he worked at a convalescent hospital in Hornchurch. They married in June 1918 and later that year he nursed her after she contracted Spanish flu. Although serving in the New Zealand army, Jack (John Henry) Cooper was born in Aldgate, London in 1893 of German parents. His father, who had owned a Butcher's shop, was found dead on the banks of the Thames at Woolwich in September 1896 in mysterious circumstances. After sixteen years of marriage Jack's mother Catarina (Kate) was a widow with five children and pregnant with a sixth. In December 1902 she married Reginald Cooper and the family moved to become licensees of the 'Princess of Prussia', a public house in Prescot Street, Whitechapel. Although Reginald and Kate separated before the outbreak of World War One, she continued as the licensee and ran the 'pub' into the 1930s.

Leaving a poor childhood and constrained opportunities Jack migrated to New Zealand in 1911 and at the outbreak of war in 1914

From a story in the Picture Post, 19 October, 1940. Desiree (second left) and Huia (R) in the basement of the Windmill Theatre during the Blitz. Photo courtesy of www.arthurlloyd.co.uk

Jack (John Henry) Cooper, 1917.
Photo courtesy of the family.

was working in Eltham, Taranaki for a local painter. He enlisted in the New Zealand Army in August 1914 and was among the first dozen to leave Eltham for war service. As a member of No.2 New Zealand Field Ambulance he saw service with the unit in Egypt, the Dardanelles and later on the Western Front.

In Eltham, Jack and Ethel established a café which they called 'The Missouri Bar'[4] and also catered for local functions, particularly at the Eltham Town Hall. Outside of running the new business with his wife, Jack had two strong interests. As a young man growing up in the East End of London he showed promise as a boxer and sparred with Gershon Mendeloff, who boxed as Ted 'Kid' Lewis and later became world welter weight champion.[5] Jack was to adopt the moniker 'Kid' Cooper in competitive bouts around South Taranaki. His other passion was Music Hall variety shows and this had been sparked during his childhood in London's East End where he had attended them regularly, observing the singers, dancers and comics with a critical eye. According to his grandson he also wrote down the jokes and was able to readily recreate dance steps he had seen on stage. Items in the local Taranaki papers mention some of Jack's performances, such as performing in an Eltham amateur theatrical show with an amusing 'eccentric' dance routine in August 1921.[6] His choice of 'eccentric' dancing, which developed in American vaudeville and was a very free form style

borrowing from the influence of African and traditional forms such as clog and tap dancing, and the name he chose for his café shows an awareness of American culture. James Belich in his book *Paradise Reforged* identifies movies, and from 1922, radio, along with the gramophone and the motor vehicle, as "the potential vectors of an 'invasion' by American popular culture".[7] In his view they mounted a threat to both moral harmony and the cultural 'recolonisation' of the country by mother England after the First World War. He characterises New Zealand as a 'tight' society that handled the moral problem posed by these new media forms with ease citing heavy-handed film censorship and strong radio regulations outlawing radio programmes of a controversial nature.

Jack Cooper's interests appear to be well catered for in Eltham. It was not a provincial backwater barren of arts and entertainment. Although it was a small rural service town with a population of 2,022 at the 1921 Census,[8] it had a lively arts and cultural life. The Eltham Town Hall boasted the second largest full stage and fly tower in the province[9] and a two tier auditorium with a fine dress circle. Completed in May 1911 the hall was used for many purposes including theatre, musicals, movies and opera. A local history[10] states that Eltham could provide an orchestra of eighteen players. Although Jack's involvement in music and dance remained at the amateur level, he was able to pursue his interests and gained some local acknowledgement of his talent.

Film was the most popular medium of the age and the Eltham Town Hall was a popular venue. From September 1920 children were admitted to the movies there for free, and ten years later the first full-length local picture *Devil May Care* was shown at the hall.[11] Although conceding the American film industry's dominance in the local market Belich still concluded that overall "recolonization did win the round on points".[12] This appears to underestimate the power of the Hollywood movie in New Zealand in the interwar period. By the end of the 1920s New Zealand had 612 picture theatres throughout the country[13]and film audiences in New Zealand grew from just over half a million in 1917 to over 30 million people in 1939.[14] Motion pictures became a significant component of social life to people of all ages, but particularly women. The films, pre-dominantly from Hollywood,[15] "instructed viewers about current fashions in clothing, dancing, and, most important of all, personal conduct".[16] And it was not just the impact of the movies themselves, the visual culture of Hollywood was circulated through press coverage, magazines, advertisements and consumer products.

The movies "constituted a crucial aspect in the formation of the modern feminine ideal of the 1920s".[17] Shelley Stamp writes that at the movies women saw "'flapper' stars like Clara Bow and Joan Crawford embodying daring new modes of femininity".[18] The film *It* (1927), starring Bow, is identified as having a strong impact on women's cultural identities. A romantic comedy about a shop assistant who bowls over the store's wealthy owner, the character played by Bow is said to say something important about the nature of the 1920s woman precisely because she "is able to look, desire, and pursue without being punished or condemned."[19] The concept of a mysterious quality known as 'It' embodies a willingness of the 'It girl' to ignore convention and succeed and this "provided an opportunity for women to fantasize about engaging in rule-shattering behaviour".[20]

It is not possible to ascertain to what degree, if any, that Jack and Ethell Cooper were influenced by these cultural influences and yet there is Jack's adoption of current musical and dance forms and his challenging of authority and rules. The picture the family paints of Jack is of a man who, although just five foot seven inches tall and of slight build, was confident of his abilities as a boxer; a person who would stand his ground in the face of a challenge and may well have been quite aggressive if provoked. He was said "to have scant respect for authority and was quite prepared to bend or break the rules, particularly when confident that he couldn't be found out".[21] His later active encouragement of his daughters when they sought fame on the stage or through nude modelling indicated that he had few qualms in adhering to conservative conventions in this regard.

Birgitte Soland argues that the cinema constituted a crucial aspect in the formation of the modern feminine ideal of the 1920s. It was the "combination of a healthy, active, and energetic body and an exuberant personality (expressed by the movie star) that constituted a 'modern' female style."[22] This new idealised femininity of the 1920s embodied notions of beauty and fame. The beauty contest emerged in the 1920s with close links to the film industry. Caroline Daley writes that the female form became a newly packaged commodity and a form of leisure. "In one short generation people had experienced a seismic shift in their everyday attitudes to displaying women's bodies".[23] The first Miss New Zealand pageants (1926 and 1927) offered Hollywood screen tests to the winners and the "public was captivated by the prospect of one of its 'daughters' finding success in the American film industry".[24] In 1927, Dale Austen from Dunedin set off for Hollywood having won the Miss New Zealand title. She was to have minor roles in

a few movies before returning to this country and appearing in films by local film-maker Rudall Hayward. The sheer mass of imported American entertainment consumed in New Zealand led writer and future film censor Gordon Mirams to comment in 1945: "If there is any such thing as a 'New Zealand culture' it is to a large extent the creation of Hollywood."[25]

While in Eltham Ethel Cooper had a son John Keith (known as Keith) in 1920, and a daughter, Desiree, in 1922. Although in Eltham for only a few years, the New Zealand media were later to hail Desiree's success as a local woman who found fame on the London stage.[26] Although the town provided for Jack's stage and boxing interests, his business struggled. An initial post-war boom with high wartime prices for New Zealand's primary produce turned in 1920/21 as overseas prices for these products fell dramatically, bringing harder times with them.[27] The Coopers decided to sell the Missouri Bar in 1923 and move to New Plymouth. There Ethel was to have a second daughter, Huia born in 1924, and a second son Elsley (Bo), born in 1926. Although prices for primary produce rallied to some degree between 1923 and 1925, 1926 economically "was a bad year all round".[28] In his *A History of New Zealand,* Keith Sinclair states that "wherever one looks at life in New Zealand during the 1920s there is evidence of a loss of confidence, hesitancy, and disillusionment".[29] Jack found it difficult to find sufficient work to support a growing family and so decided to try a larger city. In October 1927 the family left for Sydney.

SYDNEY AND THE WORKERS' ART CLUB

On arrival in Sydney, Jack obtained work as a carpenter with the Sydney City Council Electrical Department where he stayed until 1935. The family found a house in aptly named Cooper Street in working-class Paddington. Jack and his family were keen attendees at concerts at the Workers' Art Club and he encouraged his children to sing and dance. They occasionally appeared onstage as amateurs at the Club and at the Maccabean Hall. Jack saw that his daughter Huia had a particular aptitude for dance and enrolled her at the Lew Dunn Dance School. The Lew Dunn dancers were noted for their tap and 'eccentric' dancing.[30]

There was considerable cultural affinity between New Zealand and Australia. American film was similarly dominant in Australia and the advent of the talkies served to further strengthen their stranglehold.

The "arrival of talking pictures made the English-speaking markets even more important to Hollywood"[31] and Hollywood had "ultimate control of Australian cinema".[32] However what was different in the Australian cities, and which Jack was to come in contact with, was what one writer has described as 'radical bohemianism',[33] a moment when the coming together of left-wing politics and the avant-garde provided "models for a radical left-wing artistic practice".[34] The late 1920s and early 1930s have been characterised as a time when progressive ideas jostled with reactionary positions in the arts in Australia.[35]

While living in New Plymouth, Jack had contacts with the Labour Party and local leader Walter Nash, and when he left for Sydney, Nash wrote him a reference. The family state that he did not join the Australian Labor Party as he believed they were not sufficiently left-wing. However, they also feel that he may also have been fearful of repercussions for his employment if his political sympathies were widely known. Yet his involvement with the Workers' Art Club meant that he joined a group "with the object of bringing within reach of the working classes various advantages in the way of lectures, musical recitals, art classes, and exhibitions of pictures".[36] The club also published the small magazine *Masses* which stated as part of its logo, "Art is a weapon".[37] *Masses* was one of a number of small and mostly short-lived magazines published in Australian cities in the late 1920s and early 1930s by left-wing art groups. Another associated journal was *Stream*, which published three issues in 1931/32. The cover it used for its first two issues features a wasp-waisted, naked female figure, holding a copy of poems by T.S.Eliot and a paintbrush. The figure is set against a background of gear wheels above which are skyscrapers and factory chimneys. The whole effect signifies modernity. The artist was Jack Maughan who was a communist and a founding member of the Workers' Art Club.[38]

The content of *Stream* is interesting as an example of the challenge to mainstream artistic and literary practices at a time when Australia "had arguably the severest censorship laws of any democratic country".[39] In the first issue of *Stream* in July 1931, there is a four page review of D.H. Lawrence's Lady Chatterley's Lover. At that time, the book was banned from sale in Australia and other English-speaking countries. The writer notes that because of four or five proscribed monosyllables that appear in it, "this truly great book has been relegated to the literary underworld".[40] The book is praised as being "the healthiest sex book ever written" and the reviewer states that by the time the reader has finished it the offending "little words have acquired an entirely new significance – a significance almost lyrical , and entirely

purged of the obscene".[41] These attitudes questioned censorial positions on nudity, sex and language found in Australian society and the mainstream arts community.

The workers' art groups in Australia at this time were modelled on similar organisations in Europe and the United States. They undertook a wide range of activities aimed at bringing art, performance and literature to the service of workers and encouraged them to take part in artistic activities. They held to an understanding of the radical democracy of modernity where "every person could be an artist"[42] and what they had at hand could be the materials of their art. Depression and the rise of fascism fuelled these groups which sought "to draw together workers and 'progressive' members of the 'bourgeosie'".[43]

The search for regeneration in the face of anxiety about global events and the direction of the nation saw not only new thinking about the arts and culture but 'body culture' as well. An Australian 'type' was proposed in the 1930s – a white Australian drawn from British stock, but with an outdoors athleticism honed in the Australian sun and surf. This was also the case in Britain where a number of activities "which had formerly been relegated to the world of foreigners and health cranks began taking on a mass popularity – sunbathing and tanning, hiking, dieting and slimming".[44] For women these elements of physical culture "were celebrated as emblems of modernity, and women who cultivated their bodies in the pursuit of beauty, health and fitness represented civic virtue".[45] The same physical culture trends were apparent in New Zealand where Daley writes that like their counterparts elsewhere, "New Zealanders were trying to cope with the transition from traditional to modern society. Modern society offered unparalleled freedoms".[46]

Jack Cooper's own physical well-being suffered a significant setback when he had an accident while working on the site of the Bunnerong Power Station. He had a serious fall and broke both legs with his injuries leaving him with a permanent limp. The Sydney Council continued his employment until he was granted early retirement due to ill-health as a result of a diagnosis of 'neurasthenia'. The family is sceptical of any diagnosis intimating 'shell shock' despite Jack's First World War experiences.[47] His son relates an incident when they were walking home during the blitz in London. As bombs began to fall he ducked for cover, but Jack calmly informed him that if a bomb landed near them hiding behind a bush would not do much good. The family believe that this may be another instance where Jack 'bent the rules' as they had decided to return to Britain and his retirement settlement was just enough to pay the family fares back to England.

Stream magazine, August 1931 edition, cover by Jack Maughan.

Huia , Unknown male & Desiree in a shipboard revue on the 1935 trip back to England from Sydney. Photo courtesy of the Cooper family.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO THE BODY

In May 1935 the Cooper family arrived in England to a social environment that had undergone considerable change since 1919 when Jack and Ethel had left for New Zealand. The interwar years have been variously categorised by social historians: one familiar trope was that after the horrors of the First World War there was a hedonistic 'live for the day' attitude in the 1920s. The 'roaring twenties' were then followed by the 'anxious thirties', as gloom once more descended with the rise of fascism and the Great Depression. Richard Overy, drawing on the words of prominent politicians, academics, scientists and writers, identifies a language of menacing catastrophe and pronounces it "the morbid age".[48] He states that this was not merely the view of an educated elite but "flourished in the first real age of mass communication".[49]

Yet Overy's view has been challenged as top-heavy and lop-sided as he has little to say about women that "felt emancipated from Victorianism or whose world - however temporarily – expanded".[50] Other writers on the interwar women's movements have identified their effectiveness in campaigning for reform whilst others have "highlighted the significance of changes in social opportunities, leisure activities and dress codes of the young women of this period."[51] There is also the challenge to Overy's contention that mass communication, and

he was highlighting the press and radio, were echoing the concerns of the elite. Women were influenced by the movies and Hollywood film offered an escapist world when compared to Britain's press and BBC radio. Recent studies of young people in this period have noted their changing expectations and self-conscious 'modernity'. Films, women's magazines and advertising provided a repository of images encouraging new aspirations and expectations. During the interwar period "the taboo of bodily exposure had been swept away by its redefinition as an acceptable part of the new cult of health and efficiency".[52]

On the voyage back to London Jack arranged a ship-board show which featured his two daughters, and after finishing their schooling in London both girls were to embark on stage careers. For Desiree, winning a beauty contest held by the Lyons teashops in July 1939[53] led to a suggestion by one of the judges that she could have a career as a model, a proposition which she actively pursued. At sixteen Huia became subject to war-time labour controls and was directed to work in a factory making goggles for flight crew. This was a job she hated but was not permitted to leave. Jack advised her to feign ill-health and to eat soap prior to visiting a doctor. It was believed that ingesting soap caused heart palpitations, and in any event she was certified as unfit for further factory work and instead joined the chorus line at the Windmill Theatre. This would have needed her parent's consent and her family supported her and signed the consent form. She then assisted her sister Desiree getting work there as a Revudebelle and her younger brother Elsley (Bo), a temporary job at the Victoria Palace Theatre as a junior stage hand.

Both the chorus girls and the Revudebelles, who were the tableaux nudes and fan dancers, were members of the British Actors' Equity Association and had signed Equity contracts where clause 8(a) stated that the artist "has witnessed a show of the production and agrees to pose in the nude if called upon by the Manager and to be photographed for the Manager's publicity purposes only."[54] Both Huia and Desiree were to feature in stories about the Windmill Theatre during the war, particularly in the illustrated magazine The Picture Post.[55]

During the war Jack, as a former carpenter, was drafted into the Heavy Rescue Section of the ARP (Air Raid Precautions) organisation. Their role was to make structures safe and dig people out from the rubble. The Cooper family's own house at Burnaby Gardens, Chiswick was bombed in the Blitz in October 1940. Desiree and Huia were at the Windmill and Jack was on duty. Although two elderly women died in a neighbouring house, his wife Ethel and their two

1942 Windmill Theatre 'Revudebelles'. From the Left: Joan Jay, Desiree Cooper, Margaret McGrath and Margot Harris. Photo courtesy of Arthur Lloyd, the Music Hall and Theatre History Site. www.arthurlloyd.co.uk

sons Keith and Bo emerged unscathed from a shelter which Jack had made himself using railway sleepers. He had drawn on his experience constructing bomb proof structures for dressing stations during WW1. The family moved across the Thames to a home at 46 West Park Avenue, Kew just across the road from the British assembly plant of Chrysler Motors. Through the war Huia continued at the Windmill Theatre whilst Desiree modelled for photographers and appeared in a number of West End productions.[56] Both girls also toured Britain with troupes entertaining allied forces.

Desiree became one of the leading nude models of the war years.[57] The photographer Horace Narbeth, who photographed under the name Roye and claimed to have signed her on an exclusive contract,[58] published a book of nude photographs of her in 1942 entitled *Desiree*. Roye was one of a number of photographers in Britain[59] who, from the 1930s took advantage of the growth of the nudist or naturist movement to photograph for their publications and to sell as 'art nudes' photographs of women who were part of the movement or were professional models.[60] The genre was deemed artistic because it borrowed from the presentation of the nude in western art. The photographers often reinforced this association by giving their nudes classical titles such as 'Aphrodite', 'Naiad' or 'Pandora'. However, by the advent of the Second World War the term glamour photography was more commonly used for a practice which more accurately was composed to satisfy what John Berger and Laura Mulvey have described as the 'male gaze',[61] a depiction of the female from a perspective that

A photo of Desiree by the photographer Roye. It was taken in his garden and featured in the book Desiree.

presents women as sexual objects for the pleasure of the male viewer. In the 1930s the meaning of the word glamour was changing and was widely used to describe fashions and a particular kind of feminine appeal. The catalyst here was the cinema, as the fledgling modernity of the 'It' girl was superseded by the 'glamour' of the iconic screen goddesses of 1930s Hollywood.[62]

As the war entered its final phase in Europe after the fall of Paris, Hitler deployed his latest weapon, the V2 rocket. On the 3 September, 1944, the mobile rocket launchers were moved into the suburbs of The Hague in the Netherlands in readiness for strikes on London. On 8 September the first fatal V2 blast hit Chiswick. Four days later on the 12th just after 6am, a V2 hit West Park Avenue, causing severe damage to the Chrysler plant and destroying six houses, including number 46. Ten people lost their lives, including Jack Cooper. Jack and Ethel were buried in the rubble of their house and they talked to each other until he died. The house's airing cupboard was located in the bedroom shared by Desiree and Huia, and this included the main hot-water cylinder. When the house collapsed the water cylinder burst and damped down much of the usual dust that may otherwise have asphyxiated Ethel, Huia, Desiree and Keith, who were all at home at the time of the attack. Bo was away in the army.

At the end of the war both Desiree and Huia married American servicemen and moved to the United States. They did not continue

with their stage or modelling careers. Desiree, who after she won the Lyons beauty contest just before the war stated that "Englishmen leave me cold";[63] met and married American Air Force Brigadier General Harold Huglin. On her death in 2006 she was buried beside him at the Arlington National War Cemetery, just across the Potomac River from Washington D.C. Her life appears to have many analogies with the 'It' girl who ignores conventional behaviour and is successful in winning the heart of a powerful man.

CONCLUSION

The path of Jack Cooper and his family is set in the context of social change in the interwar years. In recent years social histories have recognised the impact of media on attitudes, dress, manners and social behaviour and the role of popular Hollywood films as the paramount medium of the period. British, Australian and, "in spite of their geographical isolation, New Zealand women, fashioned their modern identity through the mass media and consumer culture".[64] The degree to which the Cooper family were influenced by film, other media and 'radical bohemian' ideas is unknowable. Correspondence with the family indicates that there was never any negative comment about the careers of Desiree and Huia and the family view was that they "were fortunate to be talented enough to earn a living in the performing arts" and "what they did on stage never appeared to be an issue".[65] However, the trajectory of their lives meant that they were part of activities on the stage and in photography which challenged conventional and traditional attitudes concerning women's behaviour. Unquestionably the motivation by Hollywood, other media producers and photographers was to exploit these changes for commercial profit, but even at the time commentators "praised the modern woman as bored by the decorum, ridiculous suppressions and false modesties of (their) grandmothers".[66] There is no question that the Cooper family were exceptional in the course their life took but by 1940, when the two daughters were on the stage at the Windmill Theatre, their lives could be viewed as successful and glamorous because of the cultural shift that had occurred since 1919.

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END NOTES

1. Liz Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), p.29. Conor argues that the importance of the association of feminine visibility with agency cannot be overestimated.
2. The story of the family is the result of correspondence with Elsley (Bo) Cooper, the surviving son of Jack and Ethel Cooper and Edward (Ted) J Cooper, the son of Elsley and grandson of Jack.
3. John (Jack) Henry Coopers WW1 military records can be accessed at https://www.archway.archives.govt.nz/ViewFullItem.do?code=21897247&digital=yes Accessed 15 May, 2018.
4. The name was chosen after the state another of his brothers had taken up residence. It is also interesting he called his café, which did not have a licence to sell liquor, a 'bar'. The advent of Prohibition in the United States led to a number of former 'bars' reopening as cafes.
5. See http://www.jewishsports.net/BioPages/TedLewis.htm Accessed 17/09/2018
6. *Hawera & Normanby Star,* Issue XLI, 6 August, 1921.
7. James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000 (*Auckland: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2001), p.247.
8. From G.I. Rawson, "The Evolution of the Rural Settlement Pattern of Lowland South Taranaki 1860-1920", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury (1967), p.66. https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/12951/Rawson_thesis.pdf?sequence=1 Accessed 19/09/2018. The population of Eltham in 2006 was 1,980.
9. See http://www.stuff.co.nz/taranaki-daily-news/lifestyle/2584982/On-the-set Article about Eltham's historic buildings. The provinces largest full stage is the New Plymouth Opera House. Accessed 14/08/2018.
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11. See http://pukeariki.com/Learning-Research/Taranaki-Research-Centre/Taranaki-Stories/Taranaki-Story/id/430/title/eltham-town-hall-has-good-friends
12. Belich, p. 247.
13. Figures from Wayne Brittenden, *The Celluloid Circus: The heyday of the New Zealand Picture Theatre* (Auckland: Godwit, 2008), p.11.
14. Belich, p.254.
15. Apart from a handful of New Zealand, Australian and British films, Hollywood dominated the box office in New Zealand in the interwar years. Even with a quota for British films they still at their peak accounted for only 20% of the films shown in New Zealand in 1940. See Wayne Brittenden, *The Celluloid Circus: The heyday of the New Zealand Picture Theatre* (Auckland: Godwit, 2008), p.124.
16. Kathleen Drowne and Patrick Huber, *The 1920s* (Westpoint, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), p.42.
17. Jeanette Hoorn and Michelle Smith, "Rudall Hayward's Democratic Cinema and the 'Civilising Mission' in the 'Land of the Long White Cloud'" pp. 65-81 in Alistair Fox, Barry Keith Grant & Hilary Radner (eds.) *New Zealand Cinema: Interpreting the Past* (Bristol: Intellect, 2011), p.75
18. Shelley Stamp, "Women and the Silent Screen", Chapter 7 in *The Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film* edited by Cynthia Lucia, Roy Grundmann and Art Simon (London: Blackwell, 2012), p.2.
19. Marsha Orgeron, "Making *It* in Hollywood: Clara Bow, Fandom, and Consumer Culture", *Cinema Journal,* 42, no.4 (Summer, 2003): 87.
20. Ibid, p.89.
21. Correspondence from E.J. (Ted) Cooper, received on 12 September, 2018.
22. Birgitte Soland, *Becoming Modern: Young Women and the Reconstruction of Womanhood in the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p.60.
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24. Sandra Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women since they won the Vote* (Auckland: Penguin, 1993), p.146.

25 Gordon Mirams, *Speaking Candidly: Films and People in New Zealand* (Hamilton: Pauls, 1945), p.5.
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42 David Carter, *A Career in Writing,* p.32.
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44 Jill Julius Matthews, "They had Such a lot of Fun: The Women's League of Health and Beauty between the Wars", *History Workshop Journal* Vol.30, No.1, (October 1990):p.26.
45 Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, "The Making of a Modern Female Body; Beauty, health and fitness in interwar Britain", *Women's History Review,* Vol.20, Issue 2, (March 2011): p.299.
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47 This information comes from Jack's grandson Ted Cooper who has looked at his Sydney Council employment records.
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51 Adrian Bingham "'An Era of Domesticity'? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain", *Cultural and Social History,* 1 (2004), p.225.
52 C.Horwood, "'Girls Who Arouse Dangerous Passions': Women and Bathing, 1900-1939", *Women's History Review,* 9 (2000), p.662.
53 Reported with photograph in the *N.Z.Herald,* Vol.LXXVI, Issue 23399, 15 July 1939, p.3.
54 Jill Millard Shapiro, *Remembering Revudeville: A souvenir of the Windmill Theatre 1932-1964* (Milton Keynes: Obscurity Press, 2014), p.111.
55 See the *Picture Post,* 'BackStage: 1940', 19 October, 1940.
56 Apart from her appearances at the Windmill Theatre, Desiree also appeared in *Strike up the Music* at the London Coliseum and *Black Vanities* at the Victoria Palace in 1941, *Wild Rose* at Prices Theatre in 1942, *Looking for a Melody* in 1943 and in *Phyllis Dixey's Peek-a-boo* at the Whitehall Theatre in 1945 and 1946.
57 Her brother Elsley Cooper recalls her appearing in *Lilliput* and *Men Only.* Correspondence 14 June, 2018.
58 Roye, *Nude Ego*(London: Hutchinson, 1955), p.136. He states: "Desiree posed for me more than any other girl". He describes her as "the photographer's dream-model come to life" and having a "fascinating dual personality, an amazing blend of ingenuousness and sophistication". However, the contract does not appear to have been exclusive as Desiree was photographed by at least one other photographer ('Jason' in a book entitled *Blonde and Brunette: Thirty-two studies in the nude* published by Chapman and Hall, 1941.
59 Photographers such as John Everard, Bertram Park, Yvonne Gregory and Walter Bird. Bird, Everard and Roye in 1939 set up a joint company to sell their work called Photo Centre Ltd. They also published two books containing work by the three partners, *Eves Without Leaves* and *More Eves Without Leaves.* See Roye's biography: Roye, *Nude Ego* (London: Hutchinson, 1955), pp.151-152.
60 Desiree appeared, for example, on the cover of *Health & Efficiency* (a British naturist magazine) in February 1944 (Vol.14, No.2).
61 John Berger in the 1972 Television series *Ways of Seeing* broadcast by the BBC and in the 1972 book of the same name published by Penguin, London. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." In *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings,* edited by Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford, 1999), pp.833-844.
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63 For example, in the *Bay of PlentyTimes*, 6 July, 1939. 'Bathing Beauty: fame comes to young waitress', p.2.
64 Caroline Daley, *Leisure and Pleasure: Reshaping and Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), p.262.
65 Correspondence with Ted Cooper, 12 September, 2018.
66 Liz Conor, *The Spectacular Modern Woman: Feminine Visibility in the 1920s.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), p.30. Conor is quoting from the magazine *Society*, 1 November, 1925, p. 16.

New Zealand School Journals, 1960s-70s

Commentary by Tina White

In this commentary, Tina White draws on her collection of the New Zealand School Journal to illustrate how by the 1960s and 1970s the Journal commissioned content from some of the country's best writers, illustrators and photographers. Founded in 1907 with the high-minded aim to develop among New Zealand schoolchildren an "appreciation of the higher literature", it is believed to be the longest running serial publication for children in the world with around 750,000 copies published annually in four parts. Athol McCredie, who writes on the New Zealand photobook in this issue, once described the New Zealand School Journal as an element of New Zealanders' cultural consciousness – "remembered as evocatively as the smell of stale school milk, the feel of chalk and finger paint, and the steamy atmosphere of a classroom of wet bodies on a rainy day".

Say 'School Journal' to most New Zealand adults and children, and most will nod and recall stories they read or pictures they remember, whether years ago or yesterday. The *New Zealand School Journal*, now approaching its 112th year, is an icon in the educational history of this country. George Hogben, Inspector-General of Schools, became its 'father', so to speak, when he launched it on May 9, 1907.

The journal was free, and its contents included information about geography, history and civic life; its major advantage was that it was cheaper to produce than publishing separate textbooks. That first issue was very British, patriotic of 'Home' and formal in style, but it was also the first schoolbook published in New Zealand for New Zealand children. For its first 33 years the Journal's articles, stories and illustrations were culled from overseas sources, but this began to change around 1940. The circumstances of World War II left a vacuum into which this country's artists and writers were able to pour their talents. E. (Ernest) Mervyn Taylor, who was art editor and illustrator for the school publications branch of the Department of Education from 1944 to 1946, introduced Maori mythology and culture into the Journal, as well as his own impressive woodblock engravings of Maori life, including *Life in the Pa* which featured over 150 pictures by Taylor and Russell Clark over three issues of the 1948 issue.

Within 10 years, everything in the quarterly Journal was locally inspired, and by the 1960s young readers (in four age groups) could finally see who was behind the stories and pictures, as bylines were introduced. The list of journal contributors was becoming what today reads like a 'Who's Who' of New Zealand writing and illustration. Photographers such as Warwick Teague, Gordon Burns, Robin Robilliard and others. The entire blue-tinted journal Number Five (part 2) of 1969 was a delightful photo essay by Robilliard entitled *Children of Golden Bay*. Michael, Sally and Timothy, all under eight, are followed through the summer holidays in Golden Bay ("two hours' drive from Nelson, our nearest city."). Conrad Frieboe, who worked for the Department of Education on many publications from the 1950s to the 1970s, drew characters such as Stephen, the greedy boy of *Windfall* a story in the green-themed journal of 1968 (Part Two, Number 4); *The Breakfast Table* (Part Two, Number 2, about how eggs, bacon, milk and bread are produced) and *The Mouse, the Frog and the Little Red Hen* in the same issue.

The 1970s and the rise of new technology saw artwork bursting with more vibrant colour which brought the stories and features to vivid life. Nina Stutz, a frequent illustrator, contributed a cover with a

A Night Out' by Frances Cherry

Murray Grimsdale illustration for: "You Really Saw My Father?" 1976

Cover art by Nins Stutz, 1976

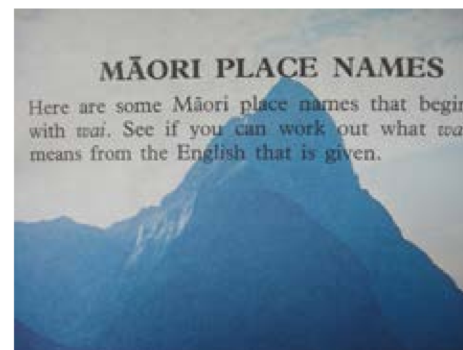
slightly psychedelic feel for the Part Three, Number One journal of 1976, whilst in the same issue the characters in Margaret Mahy's story *The New House Villain* were portrayed in glowing primary shades by fellow regular illustrator Deirdre Gardiner. Frances Cherry's story, A Night Out, in the Part Three Number 4 journal (1977), was paired with a whole series of colourful pictures, although this time with no illustrator's credit. Dick Frizzell illustrated Joy Cowley's story *Sloshabout* in 1975 and Conrad Frieboe drew a merry-looking mermaid in a wheelbarrow for Margaret Mahy's tale *Mr Murgatroyd's Lodgers* in 1969. (Some of Mahy's stories are still being reprinted in current Journals.)

Writers Patricia Grace, Jack Lasenby, Elsie Locke, Janet Frame and Alistair Campbell added their flair to the content and James K. Baxter contributed several poems. The orange-cover Journal of 1968 (Part Two, Number 3) contained two: *The Elephant* which starts: "The elephant is huge and round / and when he walks he shakes the ground" and The Mermaid: "Mermaid, mermaid, why do you swim / where the high green breakers come thundering in?" Denis Glover wrote: "The gentle rain, the gentle rain / falls upon the streets again..." (Part Two, Number 3, 1970).

Elsie Locke, New Zealand writer, historian, feminist and peace activist, added *To Climb the Mountain* about a grandfather who walks up a hill with his little granddaughter: "...she had climbed the mountain and even more! She had gone right over the mountain..." And Noel Hilliard wrote about electricity in the pictorial essay, *Power from Maraetai*, with photos by Ans Westra (Part Two, Number 2, 1968.)

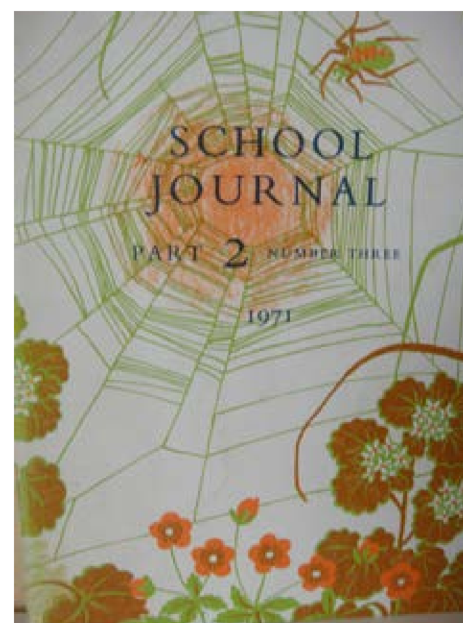
Popular recurring characters appeared from time to time, such as Rene Thomas' Piri,, a mischievous little Maori boy, illustrated by Clare Bowes; and Margaret Mahy's Tai Taylor, illustrated by Jill McDonald. This series starts in 1970 (Part Two, Number 1), when Tai Taylor is born. He is a baby like no other, who uses a ship's anchor for a teething ring and says: "My father is Captain Taylor – salt as bacon, tough as timber; but I'm twice as salt and twice as tough, or I will be soon. Half of me's brown and half of me's white – I'm a bit of the best of both." True to the Journal's seeming mandate to include a bit of everything to intrigue and amuse its readers, this issue has a grid of 12 miniature birds and animals on each of the front and back covers. A note on the inside explains: "This cover is from a wood-engraving made by an unknown artist about 200 years ago from a child's reading book."

Pasifika stories were being featured, as in *Island Foods in Auckland* and also *The Story of the Winds*, or *Taro Matagi* (1970) a story set on Niue - with an end note reading: "Niue is pronounced 'new-way'


MĀORI PLACE NAMES

Here are some Māori place names that begin with *wai*. See if you can work out what *wai* means from the English that is given.

Page featuring Maori place names starting with "Wai", Part 2, No. 4: 1971



Barbara Swiderska School Journal cover, Part 2 Number 3, 1971

Illustration by Clare Bowes for "Piri Saves The Day," 1970

"Children of Golden Bay", Photos by Robin Robilliard

- and *Pekalo the Demon* (a folk story of Tonga, illustrated by Roger Hart in Part Two, Number 1, 1972). Non-New Zealand authors and poets are featured in the Part Two Number 2 issue: *The Pelican Chorus* by Edward Lear, *Winter* by Christina Rossetti and *Armies in the Fire* by Robert Louis Stevenson. The variety of reading material was (and still is) surprising: from stories and poems, photos, documentaries, travelogues and songs to playlets and pantomimes.

Children with disabilities were beginning to be seen, like the little girl with legs that 'don't work' in *To School in the Pram* by Alison Greenwood, illustrated by Graham Percy, (Part Two, Number 3). Real-life family situations were also appearing in storylines. Women were still portrayed primarily as mothers in aprons, but some stories were mentioning working mums. A poignant story by Mona Williams: *You really saw my father?* (Part 3, Number One, 1976) features a black family whose husband and father has, seemingly, abandoned them. The two children miss their father. They live with their mother and grandmother, who run a cake shop. When a visitor says he has seen their father in England, the brother and sister are wild to find out anything about him. They can't understand why their mother is so angry at this, but gradually come to realise how hard she must work to support them.

The New Zealand School Journal is still very much alive, and still enjoyed by a new generation of schoolchildren. The books are grouped into age levels: 7-8 years, 8-9 years, 9-11 years and 11-14 years. Since 2013 it has been published by Lift Education for its client the Ministry of Education, in addition to Ready to Read and Connected. Contributors still include well-known New Zealand authors, illustrators and photographers.

School Journal Part 2, No. 8: Conrad Frieboe, illustration for Hazel Hill's story: "Windfall." 1968

School Journal Part 2, No. 2, 1969: Trevor Plaisted cover illustration of Captain Cook

Photo essay: "Power from Maraetai" School Journal Pt 2, Number 2, 1968. Photos by Ans Westra, story by Noel Hilliard

New Zealand Music in the Popular Imagination 1988-2010: Revisiting a Moment for 'Our Music'.

Matt Mollgaard

Keywords: # New Zealand music # national popular music # New Zealand on Air #music culture

From the late 1980s until around 2010 a new type of national conversation arose around music created in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. This conversation was played out in popular literature, public forums, academic research and ultimately in government policy outputs. This period of energy and enthusiasm for claiming a unique musical heritage and in developing the cultural, social and economic potential of this music was brief, but notable. Looking back, we can clean interesting insights into a period of real enthusiasm for New Zealand music as an important signifier of what it meant to be 'from New Zealand' through books about New Zealand music aimed at mainstream audiences. This interest in discussing New Zealand music in new ways was also reflected in the academy, with attempts to deconstruct the popularity of New Zealand music and government involvement in it being published around the same time. This article is by no means an exhaustive history of this period in New Zealand music literature, but a review of key books and the common themes that strung them together in what represents not a canon, but a moment in New Zealand music that captured the popular imagination and was celebrated in print as well as discussed in broader academic forums too. This moment can be critiqued as gendered – dominated by male writers and therefore male perspectives,

but that is not the purpose of this article. This flurry of publishing is cast here as a reaction to popular culture that was very much of its time and the wider contexts of New Zealand's socio-political culture during that period. It is argued that ultimately, this rash of books about New Zealand music reflected an energy around trying to connect New Zealand music to the wider work of identifying and celebrating a maturing and definitive understanding of what it meant to be from New Zealand. This fed a wider interest in New Zealand music as significant inside the academy and also within government agencies charged with supporting cultural work.

SITUATING POPULAR MUSIC IN THE NATIONAL IMAGINATION

Landmark popular studies of New Zealand music such as John Dix's *Stranded in Paradise,* Bryan Staff and Sheran Ashley's *For the Record* and David Eggleton's *Learning to Fly* celebrated a sense of cultural uniqueness driven by geographic as well as social quirkiness that supposedly created a New Zealand 'sound' that was both stylistically and culturally remarkable and distinctly 'of New Zealand', like no other music was - or could be. Thematic narratives emerged and coalesced into ideas such as 'Noisy Land', a 'Dunedin Sound' and 'Urban Pacific' styles that spoke of a musical place like nowhere else.

Multiple contested discourses emerged during this period that contrasted passion and love for New Zealand music with the competitive market realities of the global media and music industries. This demonstrates difficulties in nurturing 'national' popular music in neo-liberal environments, such as the laissez-faire environment of post-deregulation New Zealand. Love, passion and care for that culture can also become conduits for corporate capture of the unique movements and moments encapsulated in the idea of 'our music'. This article explores the narratives of New Zealand music during this period and how they attempted to describe and engage with New Zealand music as culture and as a signifier of national independence, pride and achievement.

NATION MUSIC AS CONTESTED CULTURE

Notions of 'national' musical culture are complex, as they must define what 'national' is as a starting point. This is especially complex in the face of globalization, trans-national cultural moments and movements and the ongoing 'shrinkage' of the world due to rapidly spreading worldwide communication networks. What 'national' is has become defined by what it is not, rather than by a geographical place, a set of common values and norms and a common culture, in the face of an intrusive international culture which is understood as globalization. New Zealand faces the same pressures and problems as other open economies and internationally-connected nation states with relatively open borders - both physical and cultural – in identifying 'national' music as distinct from anything else.

Motti Regev examined the global music industries as notions of globalization began to emerge in public discourse during the late 1980s and early 1990s. For Regev, the global music industry was creating audiences of "reflexive communities focusing their sense of identity and difference around particular mixes of cultural materials".[1] Further to this, Regev argued for a global rock music aesthetic that had created "a common reference point for musicians and listeners around the world" – a construction understood by audiences as "modern-universal, and local or national".[2] Regev unpacked a 'cultural logic' of globalization in that "fields of production expand into webs of local and global positions", meaning that "local styles of music become part of one history, variations on one cultural form – without necessarily losing a sense of difference".[3]

David Hendy notably examined the interaction of the global music industry with local music and radio, stating that "the global and local are entwined by radio" as audiences are now situated in a global culture as "communities of interest linked around the globe", rather than finding commonalities in a geographical place.[4] Hybridity becomes possible and even the norm in this new globalized environment, as the local and transnational entwine in Hendy's formulation.

Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights interrogated a trend in popular music studies to study the influence of notions of place on local and national music, calling these studies of style, identification, ethnicity, genre and location "cartographies of music".[5] This "tendency to foreground micro-communities and their local engagements" is seen as usurping the dominance of national music narratives as streets, towns, cities and areas are connected to particular styles and genres

in these studies. The "idealization of place", while "methodologically extraordinarily productive", can result in "romanticization of the local as inherently 'subversive', 'oppositional' and 'authentic'", while music that is not somehow grounded in locality becomes inauthentic and artificial.[6] Biddle and Knights argue for "re-encountering the national" to "uncover" the national as a "mediator in the global/local syllogism".[7] Critical to this work is:

> The large and complex history of the encounter between popular music, nations and nationalisms [that reveals] an extraordinary tension between the centralized cultural policies of nation-states and the 'local' or more distributed practices of popular musicians.[8]

They conclude that popular music offers a way to "open out the national", beyond a place with a located ideology, but also as a "territory that has symbolic force beyond its parochial-political needs''.[9] There is now an obvious site of contestation to grapple with as the fluid and unstable nature of the nation-state encountering the nationalistic, the local and the global presents new ways to understand the production and reception of music as "demonstrating the national as a liminal or interstitial space" that situates the mutuality of local and global exchanges.[10] Ultimately then, popular music can be heard as both from and from beyond the nation it originated from - resonating with the place it is created in and inflected with global musical cultures. This does not 'remove' the national from the music created in a place but does allow for a more nuanced understanding of what 'national' music is. This was reflected in writing about New Zealand music at the time, although to varying degrees and with sometimes with mixed messages about the efficacy of arguing for a unique musical heritage.

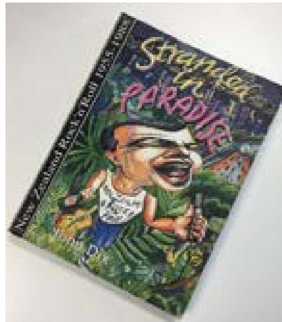
NEW ZEALAND MUSIC 'COMES OF AGE'

Towards the end of the 20th and into the 21st century, there was a rash of publications that were popular histories and critiques of New Zealand music by New Zealanders. Authors such as Chris Bourke, Nick Bollinger, Grant Smithies, Gareth Shute, David Eggleton, John Dix, Bryan Staff and Sheran Ashley produced fine-grain studies of music in New Zealand as popular histories of genres, periods and industry developments.

There were also popular publications that were annotated lists of top music selections from established music critics such as Nick Bollinger and Grant Smithies. These publications are replete with detailed accounts from musicians, industry players and audiences as well as glossy, rarely seen and often spectacular photography. These are very much 'national' narratives, aimed at broad, fan-based, but also, layman audiences and focus on the adaptation of international styles and the influence of locality, distance, spaces and indigenous influences on New Zealand music. These are worth explication here, as they help to situate New Zealand music cultures in broader notions of 'New Zealand-ness'. The books discussed here are not a complete bibliography of all writing about New Zealand music at the time but have been chosen for their popular significance – they can still be found in public library catalogues and they stood out to the author as an interested professional as signifying an important shift in publishing on New Zealand music. The eight books discussed here are therefore symbolic of a wider expansion in the discussion of what New Zealand music meant at the time of publishing - a moment that saw these volumes published between 1988 and 2010.

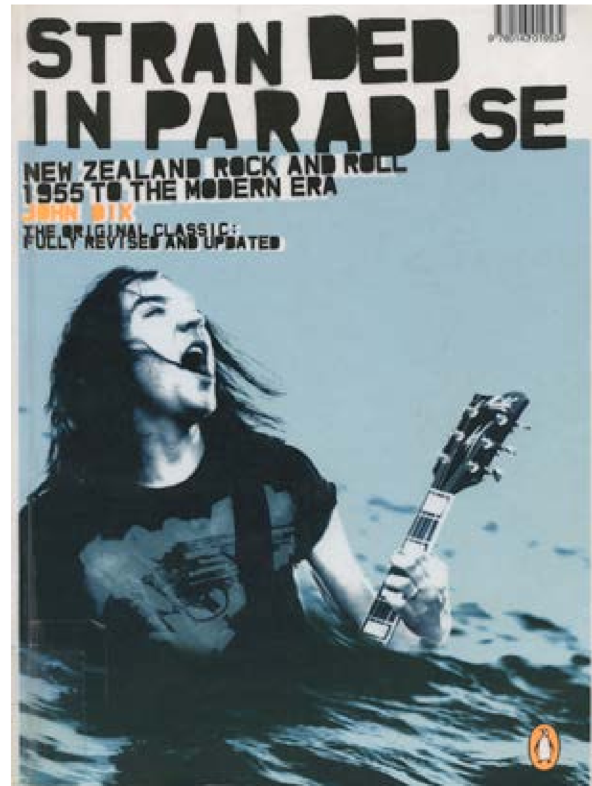
POPULAR NEW ZEALAND MUSIC IN PRINT

Jon Dix (2005) began this recent revisiting of New Zealand as a place with a unique musical heritage with a detailed and extensive discussion of 'New Zealand rock and roll' from 1955 to 1988 (revised and updated in 2005) in the book *Stranded in Paradise*. Dix deftly traces the roots of 'modern era' popular New Zealand music from post-war community hall dances and early recordings to a vibrant, diverse and viable local music industry by stringing together the artists that gained national (and sometimes international) acclaim, as well as the various influences of overseas popular culture arriving in New Zealand, the local influences of the indigenous Māori people, the development of a local recording industry and the influence of international and local independent record labels on music made in New Zealand. Dix focuses significantly on commercially successful New Zealand bands and the tone of the book is decidedly celebratory, even deferential throughout, with Dix declaring "I never fancied myself as an historian and I've always thought that there are people better placed than me to take it upon themselves to chronicle the New Zealand music industry".[11]



Stranded in Paradise, 1988

For the Record, 2002



Stranded in Paradise, 2005

Stranded in Paradise is more an enthusiast's account of the social and cultural development of popular New Zealand music, deeply infused with passion for the topic. That said, it is important here as it marks a change in attitudes of writers, publishers and audiences towards New Zealand music as something worthy of discussion and celebration from the mid-1980s onwards.

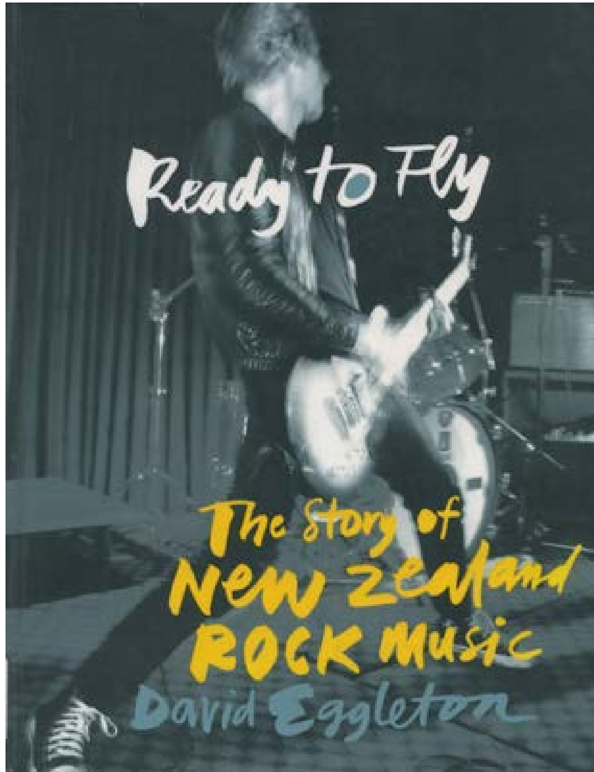
The two versions of *Stranded in Paradise* are also significant in demonstrating changes in the New Zealand music scene brought about by the formation of New Zealand on Air and its legislative responsibility to "get more New Zealand music on New Zealand radio", enacted in 1989. Dix is able to chart the shift in attitudes of governments, the international and local music industry, musicians, the media and audiences to music made in New Zealand between the first and second editions of the book, concluding "it's a much healthier industry",[12] that New Zealand radio had "embraced Kiwi Rock"[13] and that New

Zealand popular music was "plugged directly into the international marketing grid yet remained resolutely indigenous".[14] While the title of *Stranded in Paradise* suggests a music scene removed and remote from international popular music, the realities of the world in New Zealand as well as New Zealand in the world are key features of these volumes.

Bryan Staff and Sheran Ashley (2002) also explored notions of a unique New Zealand musical culture in their detailed study of the recording industry in New Zealand from 1940-2000 in the book *For the Record: A History of the Recording Industry in New Zealand*. Their aim was to "celebrate the New Zealanders which contributed towards our recorded music and consequently our culture when one of our major leisure activities in New Zealand was playing records".[15] Covering more than 60 years of the history of New Zealand record labels, their artists and the technology that was used by both the recording industry and audiences, Staff and Ashley present New Zealand as a place connected to the contemporary music industry as much as any Western country. As well as detailed histories of all the major (and many minor) recording labels and their various successes, failures and owners, Staff and Ashley explore how musicians combined the international popular music that influenced them with their own influences at home. Staff and Ashley focus on the influence of British and American music for the most part, downplaying the influences of Māori, whose strong and unique tradition of music was also influential on 20th century popular music made in New Zealand.[16]

The foreword to another extensive popular history of New Zealand music poses an interesting question – "Why are we so creative?"[17] David Eggleton's 2003 attempt to construct a coherent narrative about 50 years of New Zealand rock music begins with one doyen of New Zealand music, Martin Phillips, positing that "ancestors who escaped various forms of tyranny ... had fire in their hearts, and that spark still survives as a fearsome independence and creative drive in many of us".[18] *Ready to Fly: The Story of New Zealand Rock Music* covers much of the same ground as the *Stranded in Paradise* volumes but is notably more concerned with creating a sense of New Zealand music as unique, special and specific. Eggleton argues that:

> The beginning of rock and roll in this country was undoubtedly derivative, imitative and generic, but it also had some recognizable local features – echoes of our sea shanty and bush ballad traditions, along with unmistakable Polynesian harmonies and rhythms.[19]



Ready to Fly, 2003

Further to this, Eggleton claims that New Zealand music is essential to understanding what it is to be a 'New Zealander', in that "our sense of national identity began to register in this new cultural form"[20] and that New Zealand music would be recognizable anywhere in the world as it:

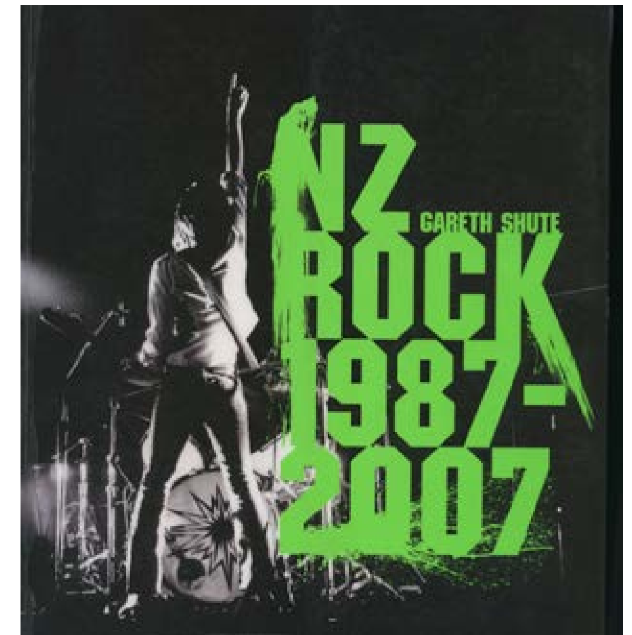
> Will inevitably have something of the raw and the strident, the gothic and the dark, the lilt and the breeziness of Noisyland, deep in the Pacific of bass.[21]

This is quite a remarkable claim to make, considering Eggleton's other claims about the universality of 'rock' music made in *Ready to Fly*. He is particular in pointing out that New Zealand musicians were following their counterparts worldwide in reconstructing rock music as "the raging primal potency of rock and roll is always being reinvented and restated in ever adjusting formats",[22] and that "rock music endures through constant revisionism".[23] Eggleton somewhat downplays the influence of government intervention in popular music via New Zealand on Air from 1989, preferring for the most part to lump its work in with "the rebranding of New Zealand's economic identity".[24] This is a flaw in *Ready to Fly*, as there are strong arguments to make about the privileging of the type of New Zealand music that is selected for funding, promotion and air play that has heavily influenced what is considered 'New Zealand' music.[25] There is a missed opportunity here to explore the influence of key tastemakers in government departments, the media and in the New Zealand music industry over what is considered 'popular' and by extension, economically viable music worthy of support.

Ready to Fly is notably nationalistic and unashamedly uncritical – as it is aimed at a broad popular market, perhaps to cash in on the end of the 'cultural cringe' posited by Neill (2005) and Dix (2005) earlier. However, *Ready to Fly* does serve to again demonstrate a new eagerness to discuss the construction of new narratives about what New Zealand music means to New Zealanders and about the power of the popular music to influence not just the media, audiences and the music industry, but also governments and policy makers.

During this period, Gareth Shute produced two comprehensive studies of music in New Zealand, one genre specific, *Hip Hop Music in Aotearoa* (2004), and a broader work *NZ Rock 1987-2007* (2008).

Hip Hop Music in Aoteroa, 2004



Hip Hop Music in Aoteroa, 2004

Shute is both a musician and a writer and manages to capture New Zealand music scenes from the perspective of a practitioner, fan and a popular historian. *Hip Hop Music in Aotearoa* is a detailed exploration of the roots of the form in New Zealand, tracing and connecting a lineage from Māori waiata (song) and Pacific music styles through international black music movements such as reggae and the early New York developments of Hip Hop as a style that also contained social and political critiques that resonated with disaffected and marginalized Māori and Pacific Island youth in New Zealand.[26] *Hip Hop Music in Aotearoa* is important in that it opens a narrative previously side-lined by the 'bigger' story of New Zealand music as an amorphous and overarching system, with little variation or internal dissent apparent. Shute instead argued that the diversion of talented Māori and other Polynesian musicians away from the overwhelmingly 'white' culture of the New Zealand music and broadcasting establishment was social, political, economic and ultimately redemptive for those involved, who are quoted extensively throughout the work. Again, Shute mixed the international with the local, arguing for a form of hybrid Hip Hop culture developing in New Zealand that was both easily recognizable to outsiders, but also unique to New Zealand as a South Pacific nation.

Shute's 2008 book takes a broader view of a period in New Zealand music that was driven by a change in direction brought about by the advent of New Zealand on Air. *NZ Rock 1987-2007* is a comprehensive look at the major success stories of the era, with some fine grain detail added by exploring lesser known artists and their struggles to either fit into the economic structures of the New Zealand music industry or to survive and thrive outside of it. Here too there is considerable detail added by the artists themselves, as they remember those struggles and triumphs, but also the very real change in the status, economics and recognition of New Zealand music as government policies began to influence the music industry, the media and audiences in New Zealand, and abroad. Shute argues that political pressure over introducing New Zealand music quotas, a commercial-free, publicly funded Youth Radio Network and growing confidence among artists served to push policy makers into developing a more comprehensive strategy for music that also included the development of associated industries such as professional music management, recording and marketing. This worked alongside the New Zealand on Air funding system to energize the music industry and the broadcasting industry into a remarkably cooperative period that was mutually beneficial over the 20-year period described.[27] Shute also notes that "all

of this goodwill would have been nothing without the songs" and pays particular attention to successful artists who were 'groomed' carefully by both government agencies and record companies working in close partnership.[28] Ultimately, *NZ Rock 1987-2007* is, like its predecessors mentioned here, celebratory and largely uncritical. It is however a fascinating documentation of a quite remarkable period of growth, success and development in New Zealand popular culture that shows that deliberate, carefully planned and orchestrated government intervention can make a significant difference to a cultural sector.

Soundtrack: 118 Great New Zealand Albums, 2007

100 Essential New Zealand Albums, 2009

Blue Smoke, 2010

CRITICS AND THE 'BEST OFS'

Another notable trend in writing on New Zealand music of the time is 'best of' compilations of favourite albums, produced by well-known New Zealand music critics. The first of these is *Soundtrack: 118 Great New Zealand Albums* by Grant Smithies (2007), an established critic for Fairfax Media (NZ) publications at the time. Smithies claimed some disdain for the format, stating "I've never been a fan of those facile 'Best New Zealand Single Ever' lists that crop up from time to time" as "culture is not a horse race" and therefore somewhat subverts the typical 'best of' structure.[29] *Soundtrack* begins with the premise that it is "crammed with blind prejudices, foggy memories, rash declarations, unsubstantiated assertions and, quite probably, lies".[30] That said, it also offers potted histories of all 118 albums covered, partly to "address a historical injustice" Smithies sees in the hyping of commercially success, rather than unique, emotive and generally more artfully conceived albums made in New Zealand.[31] Part of what *Soundtrack* is about is Smithies' ongoing discussion in his reviews and columns about what music means to a society, and how to write about it. Smithies discusses the complex role of musicians and music through examining their artefacts and the effect of those on society. Interestingly, he lets others take over the narrative from time to time, to reinforce this complexity as musicians, other critics and sundry others from a cricket historian to a film director discuss their affinity with certain albums, artists and scenes. *Soundtrack* may be "proudly subjective … and by no means exhaustive or definitive", but it is also intelligent, thoughtful and ultimately, revealingly complex.[32] Significantly, Smithies makes no claims for a unique New Zealand music, or for an isolated music industry at the end of the world. He does however treat music as of a place, claiming:

> There are extra layers of meaning to be gleaned from art made somewhere just up the road, by someone who has grown up with a similar bunch of cultural references to yourself, eating similar tucker, moving through the same landscapes, watching the same crappy ads on the telly.[33]

In many ways *Soundtrack* goes far beyond the earlier trend of writing detailed and celebratory histories of New Zealand music and is more critical – teasing out the influences of place, policy and power on music made in New Zealand.

Nick Bollinger managed to follow the format in *100 Essential NZ Albums* (2009). Bollinger was a long-standing music critic for the public radio broadcaster, Radio New Zealand and the culture and current affairs weekly publication *The New Zealand Listener*. Bollinger is also a musician and producer and brings those perspectives to his popular critiques. *100 Essential NZ Albums* is mainly concerned with popular New Zealand music that has had a measure of commercial and/or critical success and does not delve as deeply or widely as *Soundtrack* does. Bollinger claims digital technology such as easy home recording, drum machines and 'auto-tune' systems means that finding more recent music that is truly special is getting harder. Arguing that "more than ever, it has become necessary to seek out and celebrate originals, the singers and bands who come up with something unpredictable and beautiful", Bollinger made no claims for a unique New Zealand music, but chooses the 100 albums by the criteria of them being made by New Zealanders, anywhere in the world and by them "speaking to me today".[34] Bollinger admitted that "some undoubted milestones have dated so badly" they were left out, claiming that "that is the nature of most pop – it is built to last only until the next thing comes along".[35] *What 100 Essential NZ Albums* offers is a critique of significant moments in music made by New Zealanders, spanning 60 years, and still resonating today in discussions of what is unique or special about popular music made by New Zealanders. Bollinger generally avoids politics and economics in his critique, focusing instead on the musicality, unique sensibilities and ongoing influence of the albums chosen. To this end, *100 Essential NZ Albums* can be seen as part of the construction of myths around the 'New Zealand-ness' of music made by New Zealanders, more so than Smithies but not to the extent of others mentioned here. This is important as part of the wider narrative about the 'value' of New Zealand music and how that value is traded upon by artists, businesses and governments to create music, make money or to win votes.

Chris Bourke (2010) forefronts the influence and success of Māori music in an exhaustive study of a vibrant period in New Zealand's musical heritage in *Blue Smoke*, named after the first record to be completely made in New Zealand, from composition, to recording, to pressing, in 1949. Bourke mixes stories of the local songs, bands and record companies with the arrival of music from the United Kingdom at first, and increasingly the United States from 1918 onwards. *Blue Smoke* again shows the tendency of New Zealand musicians to view themselves as part of a wider culture of music as they borrowed liberally from

overseas while adapting Māori musical forms such as waiata (song) to new instruments, recording techniques and performance styles from international popular music culture. These bands then took this adaptation with them on tours to Australia, the Pacific Islands, Europe and the United States, both mimicking and reinventing a common popular music culture that transcended national borders. Bourke argues that "music, like a virus, respects no borders" and combined with the rapid technological change of the 20th century "popular music was a conspicuous example" of the disruption, innovation and cross-pollination of international cultures interacting with national cultures.[36] What is remarkable is the 'ordinariness' of transcribing, reconfiguring and borrowing musical styles in New Zealand – making it a place very geographically isolated, yet very much part of a trans-national Western musical culture.

ATTEMPTING TO CONTEXTUALISE NEW ZEALAND MUSIC: VIEWS FROM THE ACADEMY

While the eight books discussed here were efforts to place popular New Zealand music in 'mainstream' or 'accessible' formats and frames, this moment also created new interest from academics. This reinforces the significance of this period in publishing about New Zealand music and broadens the discussion of what it meant. Roy Shuker and Michael Pickering began to explore the relationship between popular music and cultural identity in New Zealand in 1994. Noticing "a series of high points", which included the publishing of *Stranded in Paradise*, a successful convention about New Zealand music and a significant increase in New Zealand songs in the charts among positive signals, Shuker and Pickering asked if the New Zealand music industry was "in good heart".[37] They concluded that "the vital signs are in fact mixed"[38] in that a general lack of support from the media, a lack of professional music management skills, underfunding of promotional campaigns, the focus of international record labels on developing only artists that could fit international markets, and a need for more government engagement in popular music as critical. Shuker and Pickering focused on the debate around imposing legal quotas on radio to play New Zealand music, and problematized the notion of what New Zealand music means, in terms of how it sounds, the lyrics, the commercial potential (or otherwise) of local music scenes, the influence of international labels on artists, the dominance of Anglo-American youth culture in a globalised world and the production techniques and standards used. They argued that the New Zealand music industry was a "useful example of the tensions that exist between the core and the periphery in the global music industry"[39] and that "questions of the relationship between popular music, local cultural identity, and the internationalisation of the music industry are strongly present in New Zealand".[40]

Shuker and Pickering go beyond arguments for cultural imperialism and essentialist notions that New Zealand musicians "embody and support a local cultural nationalism in their work".[41] They argued that there is very little evidence for unique, culturally specific New Zealand music and that "what counts as popular music has been identified with a particular imported form, the result of the dominance of American radio formats, music videos, and production values", meaning that "local product is often qualitatively indistinct from its overseas counterparts", which would make arguments for a radio quota because of the value of supporting unique, binding and 'national' music that reflect New Zealand culture untenable.[42] Instead, Shuker and Pickering made an economic argument for airplay quotas, noting that New Zealand musicians were marginalised in their own country by international music and that the most successful had moved to larger markets overseas. The introduction of a quota would assumedly increase exposure and sales of New Zealand music, helping more artists to make a living off music in New Zealand. Ultimately, Shuker and Pickering were early exponents of interrogating the interplay of local/international in New Zealand music in the global age and argued for a better mix of policies that would reflect this in terms of the economics of New Zealand music.

Shuker (2008) revisited the New Zealand popular music scene 14 years later to examine the impact on popular culture of the interventions of New Zealand on Air. Shuker noted "impressive growth" and that New Zealand's popular music industry had matured to the point that it was "poised to make a significant international impact".[43] This he attributed to strong government support, the well thought out and incremental interventions of New Zealand on Air, and the close and cooperative relationships that had developed between government agencies, the music industry and the broadcasting industries. Shuker also describes the emergence of two significant musical movements that had flourished with targeted government support or by building strong local audiences, an independent business plan and by utilising

local and global networks to create touring and sales opportunities. 'Indie' and 'garage rock' and 'New Zealand urban Polynesian sounds' are interrogated as demonstrating the complex interplay between local and global cultures. Shuker claimed that indie and garage rock artists from New Zealand, while interesting, popular and born of "long, honourable tradition in New Zealand", have nothing "distinctively local about their music", even though it was eligible for New Zealand on Air support.[44] The growing popularity locally and internationally of a New Zealand-based, pan-Polynesian sound, significantly influenced by Bob Marley and other reggae artists, as well as Polynesian and Māori spirituality – which privilege a sense of connectedness to the land, sea, place and one's ancestors – are characterised by Shuker as "local inflections of imported musical styles", which strongly resonated with young Māori and Polynesian music consumers in the most Polynesian place in the world.[45] Shuker reasserted that popular music made in New Zealand reflected the "transformation of the global circulation of cultural forms", creating "new lines of influence and solidarity, which are not bounded by geographically defined cultures".[46] Shuker notes that the "local and the foreign… are not binary categories but exist in complex interrelationship' which makes it makes it necessary to distinguish between local music and locally made music.[47] Further, Shuker argued that while the government still used the rhetoric of culture and local identity to justify spending on locally made popular music, it's "pragmatic concern" was the "economic value of the industry", which displaced notions of the value of national musical culture.[48]

Tony Mitchell (2011) offered 'place-based' and 'locative approaches' to understanding music in New Zealand, that are both genre-based but also significantly concerned with the places such as towns and cities that music is made in.[49] Mitchell cited one such study in the biggest New Zealand city – Auckland – exploring the changing dynamics of its musical culture through periods, venues and demographic upheavals that shape a new 'multicultural' music climate, while more traditional forms of rock and other popular music continue to emerge from the diverse urban environment of a city increasingly influenced by peoples of the Southern Pacific, but also connected to the major global music movements of the time. Mitchell's study of Auckland music revealed the politics of musical identity through songs made in a young city geographically removed from the major centres of Western music but collecting international cultural moments and mixing them with the landscape, places and peoples in what he describes as an "Auckland poetics of place". [50]

Michael Scott (2008) added complexity to this focus on place by exploring notions of the 'network state' in relation to "a period of unprecedented audibility and visibility' for New Zealand music".[51] Arguing that the 'pop renaissance' was a result of "partnership between the state, via NZOA, and commercial radio" which delivered appropriate product to commercial radio to fulfil its own 'voluntary quota', Scott demonstrated that New Zealand on Air had invested in particular artists and genres as a "calculated state investment conditioned by the economic and cultural logics of the commercial broadcasting field", which effectively overturned the freedom of artists to 'create' in favour of conforming to radio's format conventions.[52] Scott called radio "a central institution in New Zealand's pop renaissance" that "plays a pivotal role in breaking new acts and the success of new ones", noting that the head of music for New Zealand on Air was unequivocal about this in stating "we are not actually in the music business, we are in the airplay business".[53] While there was rhetoric from state agencies about national culture and identity, the networked state now chiefly linked "cultural and economic aspirations" as New Zealand on Air "developed an entrepreneurial role" that facilitated creating highly commercial radio-friendly music. Scott argued that "the success of the programme is based upon state agents developing an institutional isomorphism with existing music industry practices" that joined up New Zealand-made, commercially focused pop music with New Zealand commercial radio.[54]

Scott, in conjunction with David Craig (2012), then took the active involvement of the New Zealand government further by interrogating the 'promotional state'. Scott and Craig, in response to Simon Frith and Neil Cloonan's call to "analyse more closely the ideologies of governance that undergird music policy",[55] question the legacy of neo-liberalism and attempts by New Zealand's fifth Labour government to distance itself from the upheaval and turmoil of the neo-liberal 80s and 90s in New Zealand by becoming more interventionist in the cultural sector.

Acknowledging the complex interactions and the "plurality of domains and fields" of governance as it is "constituted through a complex assemblage of relations comprising institutions, apparatuses and organisations, and state and non-state actors each with specific know-hows",[56] Scott and Craig characterise Labour's interventions in popular music as characteristic of the promotional state "which designs policies and programmes to support the audibility and visibility of domestic sounds".[57] Further to this are attempts by the state to weave popular music through "heterogeneous economic, social and

cultural goals" along with its susceptibility to "incorporation into social welfare policies and programmes" as music is located primarily in youth culture, problematizes the place of popular music as representative of national culture.[58]

The election of the fifth Labour government on a platform of healing social rifts that emerged during the neo-liberal experiment of the 80s and 90s[59] is important to the new visibility of New Zealand music in print and elsewhere during this period. Local popular music was to play a prominent part in the 'healing' and 'state enablement of the market' was seen as part of a new era of 'after neo-liberalism' intervention in the economic, cultural and social spheres of New Zealander's lives.[60] Scott and Craig included the theoretical insights of New Institutional Economics (NIE) in their examination of this new interventionism, which analysed interactions between firms, governments, policies, economic interactions and "the market dimensionalities of public and private institutions" in order to 'reduce transaction costs' and improve efficiencies by deliberate intervention, rather than relying on the neo-classical laissez-faire economic approach with its lack of regard for the people involved in transactions, the social contexts they operate in, the changing behaviours of actors, institutional configurations and the ongoing development of institutions.[61] This resonates with the experience of New Zealand on Air intervening in the popular music market and the broadcast media on behalf of the state in that "the high degree of social connectivity and conviviality needed to create commercially successful artists" was beyond neo-liberal positions of market-centric production.[62]

The place of national culture in this reconfiguration is unclear. The 'promotional state' privileged commercially viable forms of music culture in New Zealand, meaning its efforts to create institutions, policies and opportunities to monetise New Zealand music reinforced the rigidity of commercial radio format requirements. While it can be argued that state intervention via the construct of 'after neo-liberalism' had created a vastly different music system in New Zealand that launched and sustained many successful careers, there is an argument to be made for it also creating 'churn' in artists, songs, styles and fads as the reorientation of popular music has seen "new acts endlessly shuffling through" funding and programmes that are designed to reach government economic goals.[63] This system allows no room to long-term artistic endeavour, to slow growth and to notions of music as of a place and reflective of that. Instead, it facilitates conduits and connections between the local and international music industry, commercial

broadcasting and particular artists and government agencies in order to create new markets for musical 'products', with the added benefits of supposed "opportunity, empowerment social inclusion and new institutional thought".[64]

Scott and Craig ultimately argued that the 'promotional state' analysis could go beyond the supportive subsidy and quota interpretations, narratives of interventions in the market or discursive analysis of policy formation, to consider more closely how "ideologies of governance can affect conduct on the ground".[65] To that end, the 'promotional state' in New Zealand is embodied in New Zealand on Air and its contention that it is 'in the airplay business', and not the business of creating culture. Scott and Craig argue that the promotional state as created by the fifth Labour government showed "how the ideological legacy of neo-liberalism and its emphasis on markets, competition and the gain spirit continued to influence Labour's 'after neo-liberal' polices" that supported New Zealand music. Concerns about national culture were in effect subsumed by market-driven realities and economic thinking, albeit in a different, friendlier guise.[66]

The short, but notable period of enthusiasm around New Zealand music that produced a relatively significant amount of popular literature about it was important in that it reflected a surge in national pride around music made in New Zealand. Ultimately, that pride and activity was to be subsumed by the hard contingencies of competition with a global music market that was played out in government policy settings that were designed to bring that music to the market, rather than reinforce notions of a national music culture that was worthwhile in and of itself.

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Mā te rongo ka mohio: Māori Pā Wars and Kaupapa Māori Methodology at the Interface of Video Games

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This essay reviews *Māori Pā Wars* (2017), a te reo Māori mobile game developed for mobile devices by independent Māori-led video game company Metia Interactive. Through consideration of the historical struggle for cultural and te reo Māori revitalisation, this essay discusses the use of kaupapa Māori methodology to activate mātauranga Māori through gameplay. Situated within a wider global shift towards 'indie' game development and more pertinently 'Indigenous game development,' *Māori Pā Wars* is one of the first games to bring kaupapa Māori methodology to the interface of video game technology. Through analysis of game development methodology, mechanics, game design and the ubiquitous mobile medium, this essay outlines the ways *Māori Pā Wars* challenges a 'literature of dominance.' It concludes that the game borrows from remix and convergence cultures inherent to indie game development, thereby *reflecting* the way Māori technologies, social and political systems continue to adapt to a changing technological landscape.

Figure 1. Metia Interactive, *Māori Pā Wars* title screen: te reo Māori interface.

INTRODUCTION

Video games are everywhere, from the very simple and highly addictive like *Candy Crush* to the more complex and immersive open worlds of *Minecraft* and *Counter Strike*. Defined as interactive media developed for console, computer and mobile devices, video games come in a variety of genres. 'Indigenous games' are those made by a developer or team of developers with Indigenous heritage and use game design, mechanics and methodology to draw on their heritage. Rather than a genre in themselves, Indigenous games are often classified under 'Serious' and 'World' games categories. More recently the term 'Kaupapa Māori games' describes efforts to reinvigorate links to mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and te reo Māori (Māori language) through the digital interactivity of games. *Among the first kaupapa* Māori video *games, Māori Pā Wars* demonstrates te reo Māori learning at the interface of virtual technology that combines play and the everyday.[1, 2]

Kaupapa Māori is both a theoretical framework and praxis rooted in tikanga Māori, the set of beliefs associated with Māori practices and procedures established by whakapapa (ancestors) over time.[3, 4] More than simply legitimating the Māori way of doing things, kaupapa Māori establishes the conditions which allow Māori to assert greater cultural, political, social, emotional and spiritual control over their lives.[5] Stemming from The Treaty of Waitangi / Te Tiriti o Waitangi,[6] rights to sovereignty and ownership continue to be a source of struggle for Māori. However some progress has been made under direction of The Waitangi Tribunal. Established under The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 the Tribunal addressed a number of inquiries into Māori claims alleging breaches of the principles of the Treaty by the Crown dating back to 1840.[7] One such claim known as 'WAI 262' advocated greater Māori control of intellectual and cultural property rights.[8, 9] Nevertheless, mainstream attitudes towards Māori throughout the 20th century remained overwhelmingly negative with media reflecting popular assumptions that Māori did not fit into the modern agenda of New Zealand, often resulting in harmful, essentialising images.[10, 11]

The discussion of kaupapa Māori game development reveals ongoing struggles for Māori to assert intellectual and property rights. Central to this conversation is the ongoing appropriation of Indigenous cultures by big game studios which use Indigenous motifs, language and narratives without the consent of the communities they belong to. Occurring within exotic fantasy and 'open-world' military genres, these games reinforce the "literature of dominance," a term used by game developer and academic Dr Elizabeth LaPensée (Anishinaabe/Métis) to describe Western efforts to essentialise Indigenous peoples within a 'traditional vs. modern' binary.[12] Academic Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, "At the heart of such a view of authenticity is a belief that indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves and still claim to be indigenous."[13] This 'literature of dominance' within the domain of video games enhances the view that Indigenous peoples are static, relics of the past. The immersion of video games suggests this harmful narrative can become entrenched in players over time.

Indigenous game development is situated within a wider global surge of independent game development, a movement that is notorious for pushing boundaries and deconstructing narratives of dominance. This is famously exemplified by the 2014 #GamerGate controversy that surrounded indie developer Zoë Quinn and her game *Depression Quest* (2013). Quinn was subjected to extensive harassment resulting in widespread recognition of sexism in gaming.[14, 15] LaPensée was also recently targeted for abuse after being labeled an 'eco-terrorist' by Minnesota state representatives for her game *Thunderbird Strike* (2017).[16] Yet the benefit of Indigenous development exceeds those harmful narratives. LaPensée's games *Gathering Native Foods* (2014), *Honour Water* (2016) and *We Sing For Healing* (2015) activate Anishinaabe worldviews through gameplay that expresses nonlinear journeying patterned after Anishinaabe storytelling.[17] The commercially successful *Iñupiat* game *Never Alone / Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* (2014) released by Cook Inlet Tribal Council is also notable for the use of Indigenous methodology and game design.

This essay focuses on aspects of game design in *Māori Pā Wars* developed from a kaupapa Māori perspective, and considers how game mechanics are used to reclaim use of te reo Māori. The first section speaks to kaupapa Māori game development methodology, while the second looks at iwi warfare and the strategy mechanic. The third section discusses the te reo Māori to English user interface. The last two sections consider Ngā Atua and tipua character design, and discuss the advantages of mobile technology.

The methodology for this essay draws on the author's audio recordings of two symposia held by New Zealand Game Developers Association (NZGDA) titled 'Indigenous Representation in Games' (2017) and 'Māori Games' (2018), which on both occasions were attended in person. These symposia were free, open to the public and advertised online. Maru Nihoniho, Director of Metia Interactive, spoke on the panel at both symposiums, and the audio from these hour-long discussions were recorded on mobile phone by the author and subsequently transcribed. The conclusions drawn in this essay are the result of the author's own analysis based on gameplay, attendance of the symposiums and research, including academic research conducted as part of the author's Masters qualification. The author would like to acknowledge and thank all of the First Nations tribal communities discussed in this essay. The title of this essay, 'Mā te rongo ka mohio' meaning 'Through perception comes awareness,' is borrowed from a Māori proverb highlighted by graphic artist Zak Waipara.[18] Special acknowledgements are extended towards Maru Nihoniho, Dr Elizabeth LaPensée and Eric Rangi Hillman for their contributions to this area of research. Mālō 'aupito.

KAUPAPA MĀORI GAME DEVELOPMENT METHODOLOGY

Maru Nihoniho (Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu) is the founder and director of Metia Interactive whose games includes *Cube* (2007), released by Playstation Portable and *Sparx* (2009), made in conjunction with The University of Auckland for youth diagnosed with mild depression. Nihoniho's concerns for turning Māori representation from weakness to strength is reflected in 14 years of game development. Working from a kaupapa Māori framework is central to her practice as it safeguards the knowledge she shares in games.

She explains in one of the NZGDA panel discussions,

> Being Maori and working with this content I have to be careful on how I use it and portray it. So I try not to make mistakes myself, and I do my best to talk with elders or people who are quite knowledgeable in different areas.[19]

While developing Māori Pā Wars (*MPW)* Nihoniho consulted with Māori to ensure correct representation of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). Rather than consulting with kaumatua (elders) she sought advice from professionals with specialised knowledge and skills, such as Bradley Walker (Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Te Whakatōhea) who is Managing Director at Adrenalin Group, and te reo Māori author Scotty Morrison (*Ngāti* Whakaue).[20] Nihoniho says a degree of 'creative license' is needed to find the right balance between delivering mātauranga Māori on a fun and engaging platform, and upholding tikanga Māori.[21, 22]

Ongoing appropriation of Indigenous cultures motivates a need to control access to mātauranga Māori in this domain. Academic Dr Dean Mahuta (Ngāti Mahuta) has discussed the importance for Māori to start occupying game development, referencing games *The Mark of Kri* (2002) and *Brink* (2011) for their use of tā moko designs, Māori names and terms like 'Rongo,' 'kirituhi' and 'taiaha,' without including any Māori in the process.[23] Scholars have also recorded a number of games using the appropriation aesthetic, including *Far Cry 4* (2014), *Crysis* (2007), *Dead Island* (2011), *Custer's Revenge* (1982), *Turok: Dinosaur Hunter* (1998) and *Assassin's Creed III* (2012).[24, 25]

To counteract the "literature of dominance" Dr Elizabeth LaPensée advocates for 'Reciprocal development methodology', a process of game development that includes a genuine community of collaborators. This methodology ensures meaningful contribution to games with Indigenous content while also supporting social and/or economic renewal for those communities.[26, 27] The *Iñupiat game* Never Alone/Kisima Inŋitchuŋa *(2014) is an example of* this method. Led by Cook Inlet Tribal Council (CITC) in collaboration with *Iñupiat* community and storytellers, the game drawing out a range of *Iñupiat* voices to tell the traditional story of Kunuuksaayuka (endless blizzard tale). Amy Fredeen of CITC explained at one NZGDA panel discussion, "We knew if we did it wrong, we would be dishonouring our elders and our ancestors, and then giving our youth the wrong perspective and wisdom to bring forward."[28]

Figure 2. Metia Interactive, *Māori Pā Wars* gameplay

IWI WARFARE AND THE STRATEGY MECHANIC

Game design is a broad term that includes skillsets drawn from computer science, creative writing and graphic design to bring narrative, characters, gameplay, interfaces, and environments to life. Game mechanics are constructs of rules or methods designed for interaction with the game.[29] As a 'tower defence' game, a sub-category of the 'strategy' genre, *MPW* draws on 'strategy' game mechanics. Like the popular real-time strategy game *Clash of Clans* (2012), *MPW* requires players to combine quick thinking with strategic planning and fast fingers to take down enemies. The goal is to set up defences by building *Pā (forts)* on hills in village settings in order to train warriors to fight and throw spears and stones at enemy invaders.

The emphasis on strategy within gameplay mirrors the long history of iwi warfare that is rooted in the relationship to *whenua* (land).[30] *To begin the player* sets up defences by strategically placing a combination of different *Pā* sites and tools in their village, which in the right combination can serve to block, impede, attack or destroy enemies. This is in keeping with Walker's accounts of Māori defensive positions that "were so well chosen to take advantage of natural landforms, and reinforced with palisades, ring ditches and fighting stages, that they were difficult to take with weapons of the stone age."[31]

The game's strategy mechanics demonstrate how difficult it can be to employ skill, strategy and quick reflexes in a way that upholds the village. The game reproduces the basic strategies in traditional *Pā* warfare which "relied on surprise attacks, feint assaults

and mock retreats to lure the defenders out into the open."[32] Despite its isometric 2D design the game is no easy feat and quick execution is a must. Walker reveals the preference in the conduct of war was to rely on subtlety instead of force, for example where the prowess of the enemy was respected and revered, and discovering his strength, neutralising it and attacking him at his weak point was a tactic relied on in war.[33] The game conveys this in instances where an enemy can be approached differently, such as manu (birds) who must be whittled down with spears.

The strategy mechanic relates to tūrangawaewae (land as the basis of identity), whereby this sacred belief guides the practice of defending iwi boundary.[34,35] Crossing the territorial boundaries of other iwi was fraught with danger not only because of past hostilities but because of dangers from local demons and kaitiaki (guardian spirits). The tapu (sacredness) of territorial boundary was contained in the markers of prominent physical features such as mountains, rivers, lakes, streams or distinctive land forms, which came to symbolise the chief and their tribe.[36] In this sense *MPW* brings the concept of tangata whenua (people of the land) into the present through the competitive strategy game mechanic, and re-presents the ability and honour of defending one's place.

TE REO MĀORI TO ENGLISH USER INTERFACE

A key characteristic of the tower defence genre is the use of descriptive text instructions. These pieces of text describe the characters, Pā designs and tools available for the player to use or combine in order to reach victory, and occur in both English and te reo Māori. The game's user interface can switch between languages giving players the option to play as they see fit. While the text mainly occurs within instructions and title pages, they are central to playing the game and are further enhanced by a repetitive 'loop' mechanism that encourages learning through repetition.

The effects of colonisation for Māori has resulted in cultural discipline and language loss that was sanctioned by law to restrict, silence and suppress Māori ways of knowing. Currently te reo Māori is a minority language with about 157,000 speakers or 4.1 percent of the population, however data indicates its declining use among rangatahi (youth).[37, 38, 39] Recent studies show that in order for te reo Māori to

Figure 3. Metia Interactive, *Māori Pā Wars* menu – English interface.

become part of rangatahi identity and worldview it must become valued or imbued with a sense of ownership. A language only spoken in certain domains fails to grow and adapt to a changing world, and in order for it to survive it must be used normally across a range of natural situations.[40, 41] As mobile technologies offer a hybrid space that is simultaneously composed of digital and material objects, the mobile game space is simultaneously play and everyday life.[42] Activating te reo Māori within the mobile game space can counteract perceptions of a dormant language of the past.

Reclaiming a voice has therefore been about reconnecting and reordering those ways of knowing that were "submerged, hidden or driven underground."[43, 44, 45] The bilingual mechanism empowers te reo Māori revitalisation through freedom to engage with the language, symbolising freedom of choice obtained through greater access to both Māori and Pākehā knowledge forms.[46, 47]

The bilingual mechanic can be compared to the dual playable character feature of the Cook Inlet Tribal Council (CITC) platform game *Never Alone/Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* (2014) where character switching between Nuna and Fox achieves tasks and highlights the traditional *Iñupiat* value of interdependence. Platformer game *Adventures in Māoriland* (2017) by artist, designer and educator Johnson Witehira (Ngāti Hinekura, Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Haua) also forces the player to switch between playing the role of an early Māori settler who must club seals for survival, to playing a Pākehā Missionary who must attack Māori with the Bible and convert them to Christianity. This mechanic is used to convey Witehira's bi-cultural, Māori-Pākehā identity. However within

Māoriland the player is not given the choice to opt out of the mechanic without dying, and conveys Witehira's wish for the player to experience both positions equally.[48]

NGĀ ATUA AND TIPUA CHARACTER DESIGN

Metia Interactive's approach to character design reveals the difficulty of representing matauranga Māori using the mobile game medium. The game depicts Ngā Atua (the pantheon of Māori gods) including Tāwhirimātea, Tāne Mahuta, Whiro and Rūaumoko, opting for a pan-Māori rendition of atua (gods). This is not new in art and design; artist Robyn Kahukiwa for example personified atua in her works *Wāhine Toa: Women of Māori Myth* (1984) and *Taniwha* (1986).[49, 50] Certain design decisions do however reflect ongoing concerns with Indigenous content in games.

MPW incorporates a 'freemium' business model whereby atua can be purchased with 'Greenstone credit' to add extra killing power against enemies. This model mutually benefits the player while generating revenue for the developer. When atua are defeated a gravestone appears in their place, and this does not appear to capture the depth and richness of matauranga Māori in which atua are immanent, immortal, and highly revered. Tipua (demons) such as 'Ogre,' 'Traitor,' 'Healer,' 'Chief' and 'Spear Thrower,' are depicted somewhat generically and are unlocked to challenge the player as they progress through the levels. Perhaps their design could have benefited from iwi and hapū (sub-tribal) knowledge and specific tales of demons, for example Kopuwai (belly full of water, or water swallower), Te Ngārara Huarau (half-woman, half-lizard) and Ruruhikerepo (old witch-like woman).[51] Variations of tohunga (priests) also occur according to different iwi, for example giants and flying men.

Oversimplified characters are familiar and accessible to a youthful game market but tread closely to Indigenous stereotypes often found in games. However, activating individual narratives has potential to enrich games more so than layering simplified characters on top of an existing format. Nihoniho has spoken about the difficulty of representing Māori content,

> It's a lot of pressure, honestly as a Māori, because you not only have this thing about having to do it right, and I know if

Figure 4. Metia Interactive, *Māori Pā Wars* selecting atua – te reo Māori interface.

> I don't, it will affect me directly. You know, not being able to tell the story right, or get the content right. So, it is an added layer of pressure when developing Māori stories or games for Māori in particular.[52]

Given the multiple interpretations of matauranga for different iwi, Nihoniho believes a degree of 'creative license' is required in addition to the constant reminder to be "aware and be careful of what you're dealing with in terms of content."[53] In this sense the game draws on remix and convergence cultures inherent to indie game development, where elements of design are replicated in the interest of generating activity and participation.[54] This reflects the way in which Māori technologies, social and political systems continue to be adapted for a changing technological landscape.[55]

UBIQUITY, MOBILITY AND IMMERSION

The game's mobile medium itself challenges the view that Māori culture and peoples are static when, in reality, mobile devices are not a luxury but rather a fundamental service within the day-to-day lives of Māori communities. In Aotearoa rangatahi (Māori youth) are exceling in their use of mobiles and social media.[56] Statistics NZ 'Household Use of Information and Communication Technology: 2012' reported that 75 percent of Māori used social media compared with 61 percent of

Europeans.[57] Additionally, more Māori were also downloading media and using mobile phones to access the Internet than Europeans.[58] These statistics may be a reflection of the youthful Māori population, where the projected median age for Māori in 2021 is 26.8, compared with 39.8 for the country as a whole.[59] This usage pattern is echoed globally where First Nations peoples in the US and Canada are an integral part of the "mobile explosion" due to the geographic isolation of many tribal communities.[60]

Mobile technology has begun to support the learning and sharing of customary knowledge, while also providing tools for social and economic renewal.[61] A preference for mobile phones suggests that Indigenous-led mobile games and apps will continue to grow,[62] and *MPW* takes advantage of this trend. Free to download for Android and smartphone means the game is accessible. The privacy afforded by personal mobile devices gives te reo Māori learners opportunities to learn at their own pace, lessening the instance of whakamā (embarrassment). This type of learning contrasts with institutional learning, which is external to whānau spaces and the everyday experience of Māori communities. Furthermore, the ubiquity of mobiles allows users to weave in and out of learning amidst their day-to-day activities, allowing users to become "authors of their own ontological ground."[63]

The ubiquity and mobility of mobile devices allows for te reo Māori to be experienced within a hybrid space, activating it as a language of the present rather than a dormant language of the past. The affordable price and ability to connect anytime, anywhere, makes the mobile game a popular learning platform for rangatahi.

CONCLUSION

Māori Pā Wars brings the tradition of iwi warfare into the present through the immersive, immediate and interactive technology of the mobile game. It shares with players an ability to take greater control of their own history through immersion, play and the everyday, all without feeling like a history lesson. The game brings te reo Māori learning to the hybrid space of mobile phones, activating it as a language of the present rather than a dormant language of the past.

There are overlapping discourses and ways to approach game development. This essay offers a view of video games through the prism

of kaupapa Māori. We can see how Indigenous 'authenticity' is fluid rather than fixed. This comes at a time when boundaries between local and global, reality and virtual, are disappearing rapidly. In the words of graphic artist Zak Waipara:

> Culture is not static; it is part of a continuum, in the same way that whakapapa is. Think of an unending rope, where all the strands woven together provide strength. It recedes into the past, and proceeds into the future. If the rope is cut our connection to the past is lost. Where innovation is adopted, new strands must be woven into those that already exist, in such a way that the rope is strengthened, not weakened.[64]

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Ballerinas and Band Aids: The Performances of Urban Art in Post-Earthquake Christchurch

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Keywords: # Graffiti # Street Art # Christchurch earthquake # visual arts # large-scale murals # memorialisation # contemporary muralism

While graffiti and street art span generations and all corners of the globe, it was still unexpected when Christchurch, a New Zealand city identified by many as a colonial English transplant with a perceived conservative air, was positioned as an urban art 'destination' in the wake of the devastating cluster of earthquakes in 2010 and 2011.[1] Historically lacking a strong sense of street culture, such as that in New Orleans (which suffered similar devastation after Hurricane Katrina, 2005), Christchurch's post-quake landscape encouraged public discourses and as such required new approaches to shared space.[2] As public expressions with do-it-yourself qualities already predisposed to make use of the post-quake landscape, graffiti and street art proved fitting additions to this terrain. They signified life and rebirth, while also engaging with loss and change, revealing the structures of urban and suburban existence, and creating political discourses.

The terms 'graffiti' and 'street art' are increasingly difficult to define due to the growing complexities of diverse incarnations and approaches, as acknowledged by Rafael Schacter, Anna Waclawek and Cedar Lewisohn.[3] Here, drawing on the influence of such writers, graffiti refers to the signature-based writing culture emerging from Philadelphia and New York in the 1960s, while street art suggests the diverse practices of independent art-making in public space occurring since the 1970s, but popularised post-millennium, at times referred to as post-graffiti, a reference to the formative influence of, and divergence from, the writing culture.[4] While maintaining this distinction, the umbrella term urban art is also applied in recognition of its ability to capture the shared influence and broad spectrum of practices.[5] Utilising the growing field of urban art scholarship and a first-hand experience of graffiti and street art in post-quake Christchurch, from the uninvited to the commissioned, tiny interventions to massive murals, explicit quake references to open-ended readings, this article suggests how the rise of urban art in Christchurch has served to highlight the way these increasingly complex and globally ubiquitous tactics are able to reveal and explore the unique characteristics of an environment.[6]

AN UNEXPECTED SETTING

Cities such as New York, London, Berlin, Buenos Aires and Melbourne are entrenched as meccas of urban art, due to historical and cultural significance, population density and socio-spatial qualities. However, increasingly diverse locations have also emerged; Stavanger, a Norwegian township, Hawai'i and Tahiti all host well-known street art festivals, and intriguing examples of graffiti and street art have emerged in locations such as Egypt, Iran, Palestine and Athens in response to socio-political situations.[7] While these destinations reveal interesting and relevant juxtapositions between art and setting, the organic and sprawling nature of urban art's emergence in response to the specific issues facing post-quake Christchurch provides a unique insight into the multi-layered and transferable performances of a global phenomenon.

Pre-quake Christchurch was not known for urban art, even though it had been present, largely in more peripheral spaces and without fanfare, since the 1990s. Graffiti writing developed in Christchurch later than Aotearoa's other major urban centres Auckland and Wellington. There had long been 'graffiti' in Christchurch in the

form of political slogans, peace signs, swastikas, gang logos, and declarations of affection or dissent, but the name-based, stylistic focus of hip hop graffiti writing took longer to catch on. Upon relocating in the early 2000s, graffiti artist Pest5 noted the difference between his Christchurch roots and his new home in Auckland: "In Christchurch my generation were the ones who set it. In Auckland my generation is three generations deep – you've got an old school and a super-duper old school. There's so much tradition and history."[8] Christchurch's graffiti culture was small, responding to a distinct physical environment, and afflicted with the wider problem of artists leaving for more exciting pastures.[9]

Although relatively popular in Auckland and Wellington by the first decade of the new millennium (reflecting a growing global profile), street art was less prominent in Christchurch, lacking any artists with significant national profiles.[10] While tagging, throw-ups and larger graffiti pieces were well established in the city, a smaller selection of post-graffiti tactics, such as paste-ups, stencils and other forms of urban painting were evident.[11] While there was some social overlap between local graffiti and street artists, existing distinctions between the two remained. Lacking the more direct flow of influence and mentorship that is embedded within graffiti's crew-based culture, street artists shared a less defined sense of community.[12] Given street art's popularity with younger artists (aided by digital dissemination) and the number of visual arts institutions in Christchurch, the presence of fewer post-graffiti practices might be surprising. However, the more isolated location, defection to larger cities, and a lack of recognition by the city's art world, provide some explanation. In hindsight, this local history provided no suggestion that these marginalised, and often maligned forms would become revealing cultural contributions to the altered, almost unrecognisable post-quake city.

In the wake of the earthquakes the city became a setting of opportunity for intrepid artists. Graffiti writers were afforded new found visibility and spaces to occupy. Street artists found stimulation in the transformed terrain. New contributors, compelled by the prevailing atmosphere to leave their imprint, drew on the profile and tactics of urban art for inspiration. As a result, urban art's once peripheral profile became a visible element of the recovering landscape, and much like the literal fall of the bronze statue of Robert Godley in Cathedral Square had symbolically reflected a potential rupture to the city's colonial identity. The rise of graffiti and street art, amongst other approaches, suggested a range of new thinking around city-building.[13]

American art writer Carlo McCormick has noted how graffiti and street art reflect our shifting relationship to the urban experience, suggesting that we must understand the city as a muse in order to contextualise the responses it encourages. McCormick asserts that:

> Surely the rise of graffiti as a rigorous creative practice and codified language in the post-war era -when cities were subject to failing infrastructures, white flight, and major socioeconomic shifts downward as the suburbs became a new middle-class ideal- is no mere coincidence. Although it was widely regarded as part of the greater blight, looking back we can see how the more aesthetically ambitious graffiti might be seen, perhaps, as a reflexive beautification project.[14]

Through McCormick's suggestion, one can view the post-quake setting as the physical and conceptual muse for the creation and reception of the graffiti and street art that has appeared across the city's changing terrain. The editors of *Christchurch: The Transitional City, Pt. IV* noted that the scale of change, with over one thousand central city buildings eventually demolished, rendered post-quake central Christchurch "deeply disorientating".[15] A confusing environment overloaded with unavoidable signs of the quakes' impact, from the large military-patrolled cordon erected in the immediate wake of the February quake, to the missing or visibly damaged buildings, ubiquitous road cones, kilometres of hurricane fencing and abundant ordinance signs, Christchurch provided an inviting array of spatial, social and commercial relationships for graffiti and street artists to investigate, explore, populate, transform and manipulate. In doing so, urban art in post-quake Christchurch might be viewed as a microcosm of the global contemporary complexities of the field, highlighting the various ways artists can engage with specific urban terrains, as well as the complicated relationships evident in the simultaneous existence of subversive guerrilla interventions and commissioned projects that serve as cultural capital.

Figure 1. Wongi Wilson and Ikarus, with ROA, Jacob Yikes, Jungle, Sofles, Askew One and Thom Buchanan, Blackbook Wall (Detail), Colombo Street, 2013

Figure 3. Owen Dippie, Armagh Street, 2013

Figure 2. Anthony Lister, Cashel Street, 2013

TRANSFORMATION, DISTRACTION AND MARKING PLACE

Impressive large-scale murals have been the most prominent expression of Christchurch's post-quake affection for urban art, transforming the abundant vacant walls with an array of images by artists from around Aotearoa and the world. Yet, they present only a partial view of the performances of graffiti and street art in the post-quake city. Murals, produced both independently and as part of events such as *From the Ground Up* (2013), *Rise* (2013), *Spectrum* (2014 and 2016) and most recently *Street Prints Ōtautahi* (2017), have told an array of stories, both distracting from and creating juxtapositions with the surrounding environment throughout the drawn-out rebuild. Reflecting contemporary muralism's urban art lineage, the murals combine acts of beautification with subtle echoes of rebellion, in imagery, such as a collective graffiti 'blackbook' co-ordinated by local artists Wongi Wilson and Ikarus (Figure 1), as well as process, as in Anthony Lister's use of fire extinguishers filled with paint in his energetic seagull mural (Figure 2). Yet, they also represent the emergence of a new arm of urban art, as a sanctioned and supported form of public art, one that has an uneasy relationship with the subversive roots of graffiti and street art, bound by the contract of commission or permission. Ultimately, while they inherently represent different concerns from guerrilla interventions, murals still present a range of ideas to consider, especially within the post-quake terrain.

Outside of their transformative potential, murals also suggest a practicality in their scale and prominence. Owen Dippie's larger-than-life ballerina, on the rear of the Isaac Theatre Royal, was originally produced overlooking an all-too-familiar gravelly vacant lot (Figure 3). Dippie explained that the fallen dancer was about to rise: "[I]t's symbolic of the city because like the ballerina, the city has fallen and is about to rise into something beautiful."[16] The massive ballerina, visible from distance, importantly provided a distraction from the ubiquitous presence of cranes and almost interchangeable partially-demolished buildings and empty lots that dominated the setting, taking on the status of a marker of place. The erosion of familiar surroundings and altered routes of travel left the city a difficult place to navigate. The dancer became a landmark anchored to a specific place, a defining occupant by which a distinct part of the city could be recognised, and other locations placed comparatively. Geographers Leslie King and Reginald Golledge describe landmarks by their ability to aid the navigation of a city, as "the physical elements of the city that people use as reference points."[17] In post-quake central Christchurch, the clearing of the built environment necessitated the creation and recognition of new landmarks, and Dippie's ballerina, alongside other large-scale murals, such as Australian artist Numskull's *I Always Knew You Would Come Back* on Colombo Street, have served as such, even if they are ultimately temporary and constantly re-framed by the city's changing make-up (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Numskull, I Always Knew You Would Come Back, Colombo Street, 2016

Figure 5. Drypnz (attributed), central Christchuch, c.2012

EXPLORATION

Alongside the transformative place-making performance of larger murals, smaller and often uninvited graffiti and street art interventions across the city suggested a mobility and sense of exploration suited to the transitional landscape. These highly ephemeral forms are less concerned with marking specific places, and to adapt a phrase by McCormick, might be considered not as landmarks, but as "remarks".[18] These intimate interventions suggest and encourage exploration and investigation as a way of acknowledging the changed appearance and altered use of spaces, rather than purposeful navigation between places or by attempting to re-shape the landscape. They have engaged with the fractured mobility in the city, suggesting transgression and freedom of movement in a highly regulated, if still chaotic, setting. The invitation to explore the city's varied spaces and changing nature was evident in running shadow-like characters attributed to Drypnz (Figure 5). The faceless, silhouetted figures moved across the city like shadows caught mid-bound. They suggested the artist's mobility due to their repetition, but also invited the viewer to follow their intrepid lead as they traversed both the populated and the more peripheral spaces of the city.

PRESENCE AND RE-POPULATING THE CITY

Intimately tied to exploration, graffiti and street artists also performed an important role in re-populating the post-quake city, harnessing the declarative statement of presence inherent in urban art. While official events attempted to bring people back to the central city through welcoming and engaging public activities, graffiti and street art have represented an alternative, unofficial returning presence. Not only providing a presence through the representation of figures and faces, but also providing ephemeral traces of the presence of artists across the city. The occupation of spaces signified by the trace left behind was not just evident in de-facto characters, but also in written names, messages and questions.

If the fluorescent markings that covered the buildings checked by rescue teams signified the clearance of the city following the February quake, the last 'official' presence inside many of the damaged buildings before the red zone cordon was erected, the emerging presence of graffiti writing across the city suggested a returning presence, occupying empty buildings, rooftops and various spaces in between. Graffiti's use of names has always been related to the assertion of presence, and Christchurch's central city has proven an interesting, attractive and opportune site for writers to explore and leave their trace on the exposed walls and empty buildings.[19] Collectively, the cacophony of names serves as an ongoing urban discussion; some making their point through impressive size or style, others through persistent repetition.

Similarly, the numerous faces, figures, animals, and creatures created by urban artists have provided a presence through their own life, actions and personalities, themselves actors in the experience of the inner city. The expressions and poses of these characters allowed people to engage with them personally, giving life to inanimate creations by constructing stories for their existence. Personalities ranged from menacing to mysterious, joyous to disinterested and stone-faced. Some were preoccupied with the surrounding landscape, others seeking the direct attention of passers-by, from the razor-like fangs of a large, green, amorphous creature suggesting a lurking sense of horror in damaged spaces, to a tiny giraffe grazing on a sprouting weed against a concrete wall. The changing appearance of the roving figure of Dr Suits, whose varied attire and facial hair between each appearance matched the changing state of the city, provided a combination of populating presence and inquisitive exploration.

Something of a modern day *flâneur* observing the city, rarely seen without a bow-tie and dress suit, his sartorial elegance a stark provided a stark contrast to the city's unofficial uniform of fluorescent vests and hard hats (Figure 6).

If these characters provided a figurative population of the central city, and graffiti monikers were a direct reference to occupation, the suggestion of presence was also evident in the visible text of messages, jokes and questions plastered on walls and urban fixtures. These text-based interventions, like an analogue social media, created an open, informal, reflective and mysterious exchange between artist and unsuspecting, often unexpecting audience. Contrasting with the official flow of information, these snippets of dialogue did not intend to control, but instead seemingly reflected the alienation often felt in the congestion of modern cities, a feeling exacerbated in post-quake Christchurch despite the pervasive emptiness. On the fringe of the central city, stencilled in white paint on a buckled footpath, a piece of prose referenced the impact of the change upon the city and its residents (Figure 7). The unexpected text provided a moment of reflection for any viewer who literally stumbled upon it, connecting the experience of the inner city's changing physical landscape with a social impact:

> On Peterborough Street the houses are wonky. The ground has been pulled out from underneath them. The trick worked and the houses stayed up, but they are wonky. If you lived in them you might become wonky too.

Intimate and informal conversations such as this, through their anonymous authorship, ask the viewer to contextualise the narrative within their experience of the surrounding, and as Waclawek suggests, "in the present moment".[20] Notably, in post-quake Christchurch, with change occurring quickly, the present moment also necessarily involved the past and future as the surroundings were entrenched in both deconstruction and reconstruction.

Figure 6. Dr Suits, St Asaph Street, 2012

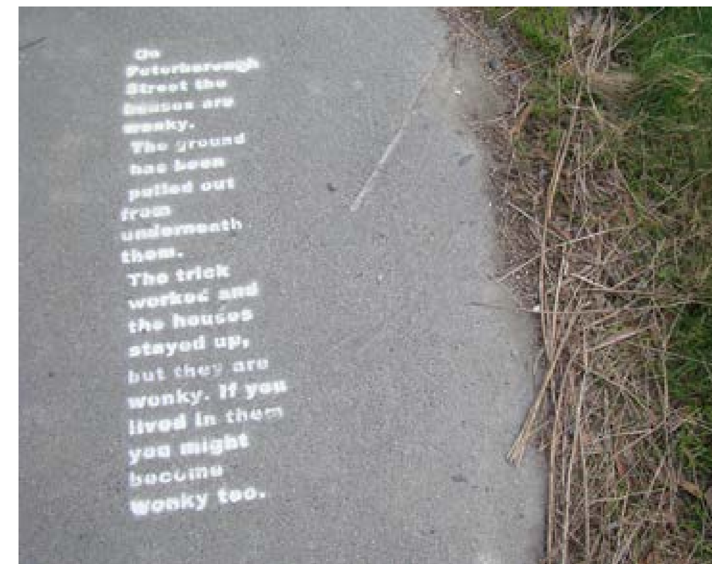

Figure 7. Unidentified artist, Peterborough Street, c.2012

RESPONDING TO CHANGE

While exploring and populating the city, urban artists also directly responded to a terrain that provided numerous potential discourses, including the opportunity to echo and critique the practical rebuild in ways distinct from the official decision makers, planners and designers. Some artists saw the city itself as a victim of the earthquakes, a wounded body in need of care. This personification was exemplified by the over-sized sticking plasters pasted on damaged buildings across the central city (Figure 8). The plasters, created and installed by guerrilla duo the Band-Aid Bandits, not only provided a knowingly futile attempt at healing, but also offers of comfort in accompanying speech-bubbled phrases such as 'I'll kiss it better'. Art writer Justin Paton noted the resonance of the symbolic gesture as both reassuring and uncertain:

> Transferring that gesture to a broken public wall is both tender and bitterly ironic. On one hand, it feels like an expression of genuine care, with the artist as a kind of urban physician, doctoring to the city's wounded spaces. But you can also see it as an expression of anxiety and frustration, as if the artist is wondering, in the face of all this damage, what anyone can actually *do*.[21]

The act of care represented by the plasters did extend a sense of humanity and expressed the importance of the recovery of the built environment for the city's collective well-being, while maintaining a playful sense of humour alongside the touching underlying sentiment. While the plasters represented an attempt at healing and therefore recovery, an additional discussion throughout post-quake Christchurch surrounded memorialising the event, and the role of memory in the experience of the city, both concepts urban artists have explored in varied ways.

MEMORIALISATION AND MEMORY

Exploring the concept of memorialisation and the role of memory in the experience of the city, artists undertook a variety of approaches. Still rattling with slowly diminishing aftershocks, damage more prominent than signs of renewal, the "...catharsis and 'closure'" of official

Figure 8. The Band-Aid Bandits, I'll Kiss It Better, Manchester Street, c.2011

monuments made little sense in Christchurch's more immediate post-quake environment. However, urban artists provided small, unofficial gestures of memorialisation.[22] While grand memorial monuments suggest finality, they also potentially remove the burden of active remembrance from a public audience. James Young has discussed the role of memory in the creation of monuments in the contemporary setting, drawing on Pierre Nora to suggest that instead of embodying memory, monuments may in fact displace memory and supplant the need to actively remember:

> For once we assign monumental form to memory, we have to some degree divested ourselves of the obligation to remember. In shouldering the memory-work, monuments may relieve viewers of their memory-burden.[23]

Memorials in this sense are detached from daily experience, accessible at convenience rather than providing a constant source of reflection, allowing us to forget when not obligated by some civic commemoration.[24] In Christchurch, urban art's informal acts of remembrance and ability to trigger reflection through unexpected engagement, encouraged a more active consideration.

Graffiti artists produced murals that dealt directly with the earthquake experience, acting as gestures of remembrance and memorialisation, yet still imbued with a sense of ephemerality that

a more official monument would inevitably lack. Graffiti artists have a long tradition of producing memorial murals that have honoured figures and events, from deceased graffiti writers and cultural pioneers to people from local and wider communities, often combining letter-form traditions with figurative work.[25] Explicit examples were found in the central city, Sydenham and Riccarton, and further afield in Rolleston (Figure 9). Imagery included a rising phoenix bird above crumbling stone graffiti pieces, depictions of USAR rescue crews, the shattered cathedral, and a memorial wreath, combining both explicit statements of memorialisation and suggested sentiments. While these memorial paintings served a noble purpose in the transitional cityscape, they were also aware of their role as temporary acknowledgements rather than final statements, fitting for the still changing landscape: aerosol paint fades, walls will be painted over, and cities will change.

Amongst these more overt memorials, a range of other interventions engaged with the post-quake landscape in more subtle ways, triggering memories and associations of place. At the edge of Cranmer Square, additions to a damaged heritage building presented a combination of personal and open associations, while performing a type of memorialisation. Mike Hewson's *Homage to Lost Spaces* reflected on the quakes' impact on memories of place (Figure 10). Hewson's intervention was a public expression of the personal experience of losing meaningful places, places which poet Jeffrey Paparoa Holman declared as "our external memory banks" but also sites of our "internal geography".[26] In April 2012, the boarded windows of the vacated 'Old Normal School' building in Cranmer Square were anonymously adorned with large photographs of various figures; in a shattered doorway a figure in a hard hat and hi-vis vest talked on a mobile phone, in another window a figure leapt over a desk. The images brought the doomed building to life, as if exposing new activity within its walls. The pictures were taken from Hewson's time working in a shared studio in the Government Life Building near Cathedral Square, itself doomed to demolition. As such they served as personal memories of a cherished time and place, abruptly interrupted by the earthquakes. While Hewson was celebrating a specific aspect of his own experience, the placement of the works on the exterior of a building with a layered history, both briefly rejuvenated the Normal School before its eventual demolition, and allowed the audience to draw their personal associations with the site through the reactivation. The unexplained nature of the images meant they could evoke some personal memory of the building itself, conjured up by the breath of life

Figure 9. Unidentified artist, Gone But Never Forgotten, Rolleston, c.2013

Figure 10. Mike Hewson, Homag to Lost Spaces (detail), Cranmer Square, 2012

given by their presence.[27] Hewson's interventions signified the ability of the unexpected additions to operate on multiple levels, to expose the impact of the quakes on the surrounding city and the meaningful connections people had made over time, through the encounter rather than providing an explicit narrative of memorialisation.

CRITIQUING CHANGE

In addition to reflecting on the emotional impact of deconstructing a city, the inevitable reconstruction allowed urban artists, and citizens, to consider and critique the rebuild. Often a post-disaster environment will unearth the power relations at play in a city, leaving people to question and challenge the perceptions of inequality and the process of recovery. Rebecca Solnit has argued that authority will often fear the potential of disasters to undermine their control:

> [A] power struggle often takes place in disaster- and real political and social change can result, from that struggle, or from the new sense of self and society that emerges.[28]

Christchurch's post-quake experience, including the decision-making processes surrounding the rebuild, the status of heritage buildings and protracted insurance issues, has awakened in many people the desire to have their voice heard.[29] The use of public space as a site for the dissemination of messages and images has been a common approach. Providing alternative public discourses, artists were able to criticise and often make fun of civic authorities and the control of the city. As Waclawek explains, regardless of the specific intent, making art in the streets without permission provides a form of "resistance to sanctioned imagery and the notion of public space", and in post-quake Christchurch, this approach afforded the opportunity to expose the complex relationships at play in rebuilding a city.[30]

While some examples avoided specific references, such as a remixed ordinance sign applied to a wall reading 'WAKE UP', seemingly a comment around the numbing effects of the cacophony of signs that signalled the highly controlled environment, others targeted political figures (Figure 11). Spread throughout the city, street artist Cubey pasted drawings of Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) head Roger Sutton, Central City Development Unit (CCDU) director

Figure 11. Unidentified artist, Wake Up, Gloucester Street, 2014

Figure 12. Cubey, Three Wise Men, central Christchurch, 2012

Warwick Isaacs and Earthquake Recovery Minister Gerry Brownlee, three of the most influential figures in post-quake Christchurch. Identified as "Roga, Waza and Geza", Sutton's mouth was covered by a sticking plaster, Isaac's hearing blocked by construction-site ear muffs, and Brownlee's vision obscured by a blindfold, the "Three Wise Men" were rendered as seeing, hearing, and speaking no truth (Figure 12).[31] Avoiding the potential censorship of commissioned projects, such commentaries provided pointed visual messages of frustration around the handling of the recovery. Notably, even interventions that were not overtly political in their content or message, when created without permission, automatically entered the discussion of the power structures of the recovery, existing and operating outside of the official process of the rebuild.

CONCLUSION

The continued prominence of urban art in Christchurch is uncertain. Unsanctioned interventions now find fewer spots to occupy as commercial activity has returned. Murals continue to mark the built environment as symbols of the recovery, but they also disappear as the cityscape evolves. The offering of contemporary muralism as definitive of 'street art' raises interesting questions about the control and complex evolving make-up of urban art, a wide-spread discussion not exclusive to Christchurch. However, the post-quake landscape has offered a vital contextual setting for reading the varied performances of graffiti and street art, illustrating the transferrable abilities of these forms, not just as urban patina, but as vehicles that can respond to specific environments. Urban artists' ability to engage with ideas involving transformation, place-making, exploration, presence, memory and the critique of authority, has ensured that their interventions have been meaningful additions to the transitional city, often in very different ways from other forms of public art and official flows of information. The question now remains, has the recognition of these abilities been enough to ensure that urban art remains a part of the city's creative fabric, even without such a specific lens?

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ENDNOTES

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2 The performances of street culture in post-Katrina New Orleans are discussed in numerous studies (Helen Taylor, 'After the Deluge: The Post-Katrina Cultural Revival of New Orleans', *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 44/no. 3, 2010, pp. 483-501; Richard Brent Turner, *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2009). A range of new approaches to public space in Christchurch have been explored in *Christchurch: The Transitional City, Pt. IV* (eds. Barnaby Bennett, Eugenio Boidi and Irene Boles, Christchurch, Freerange Press, 2012) and *Once in a Lifetime: City-building after Disaster in Christchurch* (eds. Bennett, James Dann, Emma Johnson and Ryan Reynolds, Christchurch, Freerange Press, 2014).

3 Schacter, *The World Atlas of Street Art and Graffiti*, Sydney, Newsouth Publishers, 2013; Waclawek, *Graffiti and Street Art*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2011; Lewisohn, *Street Art – The Graffiti Revolution*, London, Tate Publishing, 2008
4 Waclawek, p. 29.
5 Waclawek uses the term urban art interchangeably at times in *Graffiti and Street Art* (2011, p. 9.)
6 Although studies around various cultural and artistic responses to post-disaster environments have informed this study, the primary influence has been urban art scholarship, which is where this work seeks to be placed.
7 Don Stone and Basma Hamdy, *Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution*, Germany, From Here to Fame, 2014; Mia Gröndahl, *Gaza Graffiti: Messages of Love and Politics*, Cairo/New York, The American University in Cairo Press, 2009; William Parry, *Against the Wall: The Art of Resistance in Palestine*, London/Chicago, Lawrence Hill Books, 2010; Othon Alexanrakis, 'Indirect Activism: Graffiti and Political Possibility in Athens, Greece', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 31/no. 2, 2016, pp. 272-296. In New Zealand, towns and cities such as Dunedin, Hamilton, Tauranga, Napier and Mount Maunganui have all utilised urban art and mural festivals as tools of cultural identity building, establishing festivals and mural programs in recent years.
8 Elliot O'Donnell, *InForm: New Zealand Graffiti Artists Discuss Their Work*, Auckland, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2007, p. 123.
9 Uncredited, 'Ikarus and Dcypher', *Disrupt Magazine*, number 6, 2005, p. 86.
10 This is exemplified by the lack of any Christchurch artists in the New Zealand 'street art documentary' *Dregs* (dir. and prod. Karl Sheridan and Cinzah Merkens, Dregs Ltd, 2012)
11 Graffiti culture includes a hierarchy of single line 'tags', single colour-filled and outlined 'throw-ups', and more developed and detailed 'master*pieces*'. 'Paste-ups' refer to posters applied to walls with a traditionally homemade adhesive.
12 Waclawek, p. 26.
13 Bruce Ansley, *Christchurch Heritage: A Celebration of Lost Buildings & Streetscapes*, Auckland, Random House, 2011, p. 9.
14 Carlo McCormick, 'The Writing on the Wall', in Jeffrey Deitch, ed., *Art in the Streets*, New York, MoCA/Skira Rizzoli, 2011, pp. 19-25.
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23 James E. Young, 'The Counter-Monument: Memory against itself in Germany Today', in WJT Mitchell, ed., *Art & The Public Sphere*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1992, p. 55.
24 Ibid.
25 Joseph Sciorra and Martha Cooper, *R.I.P.: New York Spraycan Memorials*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2002
26 Jeffrey Paparoa Holman, *Shaken Down 6.3 – Poems from the second Christchurch earthquake, 22 February 2011*, Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2012, p.50.
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28 Rebecca Solnit, *A Paradise Built in Hell – The Extraordinary Communities that Arise in Disaster*, London, Penguin, 2010, p. 21.
29 Bennett, Dann, Johnson and Reynolds, eds., *Once in a Lifetime*, p. 177
30 Waclawek, p. 73.
31 Bennett, Boidi and Boles, eds., p. 254.

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

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> **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.

R: Porter, Bernard. "Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (2008): 101-17.

> **N:** Bernard Porter, "Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (2008): 102.

New Zealand Farmer Stock and Station Journal (Auckland), "Speed Mania," November 1903, Home and Household Supplement: iv.

Observer (Auckland), "Advertisements," December 27, 1902: 22.

[n.b. This newspaper referencing format has been adapted from Chicago to suit 'Papers Past' references.]

INTERVIEWS AND PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS
(normally only cited in endnotes).

John Key, interview by author, Wellington, April 1, 2015.

Andrew Little, e-mail message to the author, April 1, 2015.

WEBSITE REFERENCES
Statistics New Zealand. "Digital Yearbook Collection." (1893-2010). http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digital-yearbook-collection.aspx [accessed January 30, 2015].

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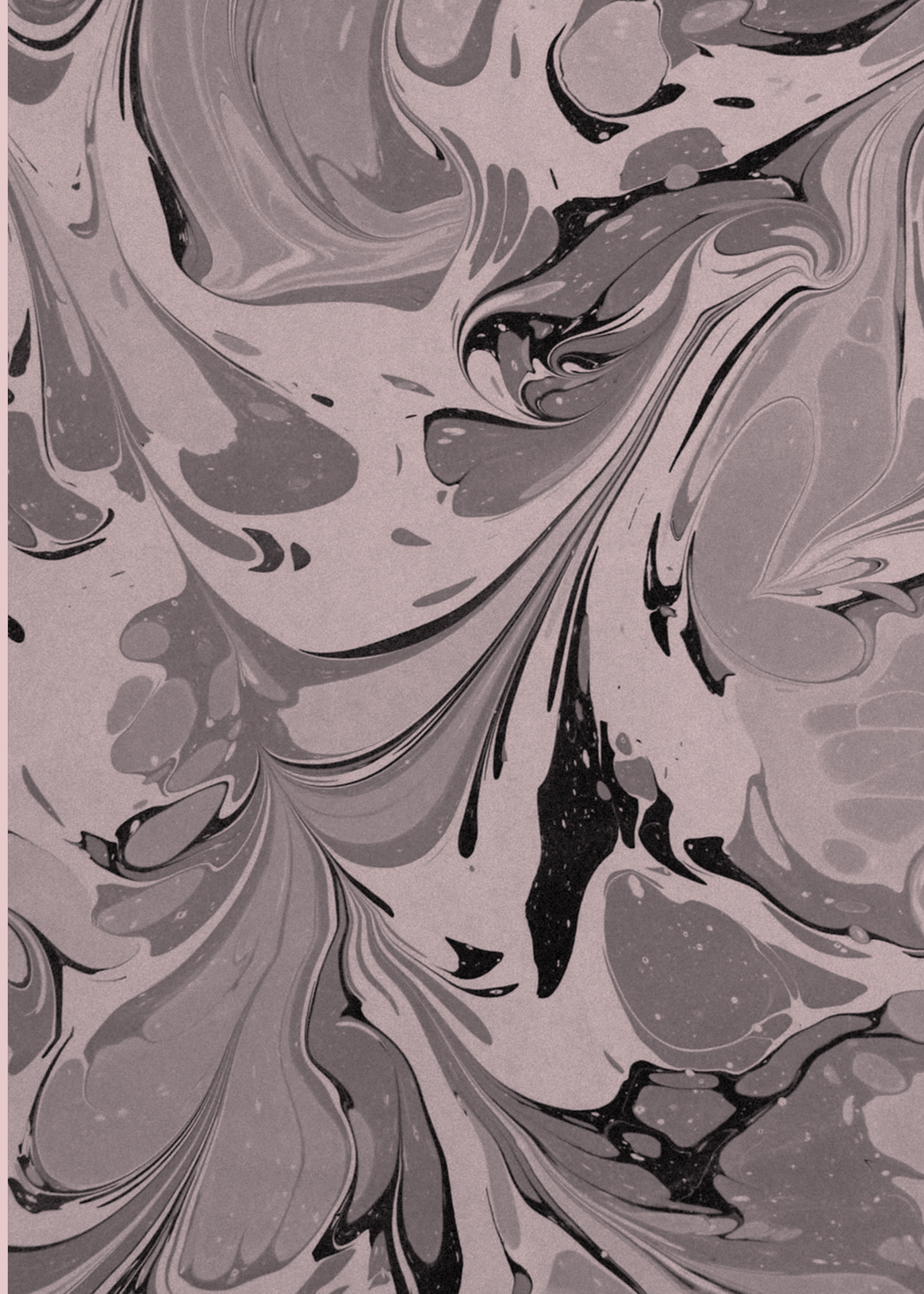

On
Peterborough
Street the
houses are
wonky.
The ground
has been
pulled out
from
underneath
them.
The trick
worked and
the houses
stayed up,
but they are
wonky. If you
lived in them
you might
become
wonky too.