‘HE IWI TAHI TATOU’
A RE-BALANCING ACT: CULTURAL PIONEERING IN NEW ZEALAND

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‘WE ARE ONE’

• Reeling in the aftermath of the world’s first live-streamed mass murder of Muslims in Christchurch in March 2019, Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern gave utterance to the grief stricken shock of New Zealanders globally with the unifying mantra ‘We Are One.’

• Ironically, the phrase echoes the speech given in 1840 by British Imperial Navy Officer and New Zealand’s first Governor, William Hobson, who announced to the assembled Maori chiefs ‘He Iwi tahi tatou’ as they signed the infamous Treaty of Waitangi.

• From thenceforth, ‘we are one people.’
RESEARCH SUBJECT

• **New Zealand is unique.**
• **It is the youngest country in the world.**
• **It was the last landmass to be discovered by both ‘native’ and ‘settler’ populations, and the last to be fully colonised.**
• **It did not share the ‘penal’ identity of Britain’s other colonies.**
• **It sits on its own micro continent.**
• **It is geologically volatile and is a very, very long way from just about everywhere else on the planet.** ([Mein Smith, 2005, p. 2](http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/new-zealand-coat-arms-1911-1956))
He īwi tahi tatou

Treaty of Waitangi, 1840
THE NEW ZEALAND CITIZEN

-Written by the government’s inspector of schools, E K Muglan and later updated by his son, newspaper editor Alan Mulgan.

-It was a response to Australia’s plan to create a Federation of Greater Australia, including New Zealand, in 1901.

-Became the definitive text of cultural identity for children, in print for nearly 40 years.

-First step in government attempts to inculcate a sense of New Zealand identity.
BRAND ‘NEW ZEALAND’

• **Holt (The Principles of Cultural Branding, 2004)** argues that brands emerge through a **Story Telling** process which fills the brand with meaning.

• **In the first half of 20th century**, this was achieved for ‘Brand New Zealand’ through a wide range of government and corporate sponsored ‘Creative Communications’ including:
  
  • Government Information Films
  • Advertising
  • Journalism, magazines and commentary
  • Fiction films focusing on the ‘New Zealand’ experience
  • Poetry, Novels and short stories

NZ IDENTITY OVERSEAS

• In 1901, the liberal government established a ‘Tourism and Publicity Department’ said to be the first such institution in the world.

• Most of the publicity activity was focused on London.

• “Tourism’ appears to have functioned as a proxy and focus for a much wider and more significant type of national self promotion.” (Belich, p82)

• New Zealanders travelling to Great Britain were given ‘literature’ about New Zealand “likely to assist them in disseminating useful information” about the country. (Ibid)

• Between 1920 and 1926, New Zealand’s High Commission in London sponsored over 800 lectures and 47 exhibitions and shopping days.
INTERNAL PERSUASION

- The New Zealand government maintained a parliamentary press core to inform the public of its mandate through journalism.

- It became the first country to set up an official government press bench and the functions of its Tourism and Publicity Department were handed over to Public Relations veteran Leo Fanning and Photographer Arthur Herbert Messenger to manage.

- The government were so concerned to create a national literature for New Zealand that they even had:
  - State organised and funded Author’s Weeks from 1936
  - Staff in the Prime Minister’s Office dedicated to enhancing cultural communication
  - State sponsored magazines that promoted and published poems and short stories by New Zealand writers
  - Overseen by the Minister of Internal Affairs, a state literary fund to encourage young writers to play their part in shaping and reflecting a cultural identity for New Zealand. ([Hilliard, 2006, p. 24])

HOW NEW ZEALAND’S 1930’S MEN OF LETTERS RESPONDED...

• As a small country, New Zealand relied on small cadre of multi-skilled academics, writers and professionals to spearhead this project – its ‘Men of Letters.’

• As it transitioned from colony to dominion to nation during the first half of the twentieth century, the task of
  • inculcating a sense of imagined community
  • explaining New Zealand’s new economic socialism
  • educating the population about the nation’s responsibilities in an increasingly threatening international sphere

fell heavily on the shoulders of these writers and communicators.

• Many writers stepped up to the challenge – among them John Mulgan and Denis Glover.
A NEW EXCLUSIONARY IDENTITY

• At face value, this project looks like a laudable enough enterprise.

• The problem was, that the ‘identity’ the New Zealand government promoted excluded large sectors of this supposedly unified population.

• The New Zealand government’s state sponsored drive to create a culture of ‘arts and letters’ predicated masculine Pakeha superiority and encouraged the exclusion of everyone else through a narrative of cultural nationalism.

• It financially supported, sponsored and prioritised a New Zealand identity that was aggressively white, male and working class, creating an exclusionary narrative around New Zealand identity that has had devastating and deadly consequences.
INTERLOCKING CULTURES...

- ‘Cultural nationalism’ forms a central tenet of the historiography of national identity in New Zealand.
- It has created an orthodoxy in New Zealand culture which focuses on a specific group of white, male writers.
- Its predominance in New Zealand culture has underpinned a false concept of New Zealand identity which has contributed to social dysfunction, misogyny, racism and intolerance.
- Raymond Williams’ work on cultural materialism can help provide a theoretical framework to explain this phenomenon whereby ‘cultural nationalism’ is the product of simultaneously existing dominant, residual and emergent cultures.

https://www.culturematters.org.uk/index.php/culture/theory/raymondwilliams
INTERLOCKING CULTURES...

- **Crew culture** - writing about groups of itinerant men who undertake the physical work of cultivating a developing country, forming relationships and a sense of identity through their work.

- **Core culture** - writing about families who play a role in developing permanent settlements, towns and cities in the emerging nation, and their struggles to create identity in an ever changing social environment. Most writing that is rejected by the cultural nationalists rotates around this theme.

- **Counterdiscourse** - writing about those traditionally excluded from this new society, such as ethnic minorities, homosexuals and those viewed as insane, and the response of those who are marginalized by society as a result.
CREW CULTURE...

- Crew culture was, by its very definition, colonial.
- It was characterized by large groups of men who lived and worked in teams and, for the most part, did not marry or settle down and raise families.
- As such, they differed significantly from other sectors of New Zealand society and moved from place to place as dictated by the availability of work.
- The myth of these hard living, hard working pioneer men:
- … intended to indicate a set of firmly held convictions about the way life should be lived, which were widespread among the lower and lower middle classes of society. It vaguely imagined a community of the ‘common people,’ ultimately gendered, colloquialised and stereotyped into the ‘ordinary Kiwi bloke.’ (Belich, 2001, p. 21)
THE CULTURAL NATIONALISTS...

• The cultural nationalists of the 1930s glorified the crew culture of an earlier age, immortalising a new construction of New Zealand identity centred on the ‘Ordinary Kiwi Bloke’ and repudiating all other cultural constructions of New Zealand identity.

• Central to this construction was the experience of New Zealand men during the Great Depression of the 1920s and 30s.

• The male writers, journalists and critics who came to dominate the crew writing symptomatic of this new cultural formation frequently laid claim to ‘authenticity’ in their work, maintaining that theirs was the first ‘true’ voice of a distinct New Zealand identity.
THE EXEMPLARS...

• Both Maj. John Mulgan and L. C. Denis Glover were constructed as exemplars of New Zealand “popular masculinity” as much for their physical and military prowess as for their writing (Jensen, 1996, p. p. 8.).

• University educated first-class scholars, competitive, accomplished sportsmen, both men were campaigners for social equality through literature, journalism and commentary and subscribed to the political left, romanticizing the worker as the emblem of human dignity.

• They were highly educated, powerful, influential and with access to their own means of publication.
THE EXEMPLARS...

• Denis Glover also participated in mass observation film projects for the New Zealand Film Unit, writing the screen play for Cecil Holmes’ 1948 film ‘The Coaster;’ New Zealand’s version of “Night Train.” [https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/the-coaster-1948](https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/the-coaster-1948)

• Glover also commemorated the launch of Teal Air in 1957 (later to become Air New Zealand) with a spectacularly awful poetry collection about flying. Eg To the Plane:
  
  • Sky-rider, sweeping your wings against
  The cobweb cloud, asking the sun’s proximity, You intimate of thunder,
  What rich plunder
  Do your instruments pluck from the skies?
THE ‘MAN ALONE’

- **Jensen** argues that while Mulgan’s novel supplied the name ‘... the man alone was said to manifest himself in the drifting men of Sargeson’s stories [and] the solitary male figures in Glover’s poem sequences *Sings Harry and Arawata Bill...'* (Jensen, p65).

- This ‘man alone’ was a white male, living an all but isolated existence in combat with an unwilling but beautiful natural environment he eventually masters.

- Mulgan and Glover’s work was presented to generations of school children and feted as the most significant tenet of New Zealand national identity, while the motif was used for decades in tourism advertising aimed at external audiences.

http://thenewzealandjournal.blogspot.com/2010_02_01_archive.html
1950'S RESURGENCE

- The government’s social experiment reached its zenith in the 1950s when New Zealand’s dominion status was ratified.
- Pakeha New Zealanders enjoyed a standard of living higher than any other country in the developed world.
- Air travel and immigration was booming
- New Zealand was viewed internationally as paradise re-forged (Belich, 2009).
A NEW IDENTITY FOR NEW ZEALAND

http://www.virtualoceania.net/newzealand/photos/maori/nz0219.shtml

THE ‘ORDINARY KIWI BLOKE’...

• The construction of masculinity depicted by crew culture continues to affect modern New Zealand society.

• As Alistair Fox argues, the Pakeha “Kiwi bloke” prevailing myth constructs the New Zealand man as:
  
  • Strong and tough, self-sufficient because of his pioneer heritage, a boozzer loyal to his mates, a rugby player in peace, a fearless soldier in war, decent, stoical, and a good provider for his wife and family (Fox, 2008, p. 11).

• Fox argues that such myths contribute to current day “dysfunctional behaviour” in modern day New Zealand such as domestic violence and very high rates of suicide, because “men are unable to embrace the identities that their … culture… seeks to impose on them” (Fox, 2008, p. 14)
COMPETING IDENTITIES

- **New, emergent representations have arisen to challenge the hegemony of the cultural nationalists, particularly in the case of indigenous narratives such as the Maori Renaissance which developed into a dominant culture in its own right in the 1970s and 80s.**

- **But because each of these narratives in turn are so predicated on race, they speak only to representatives of a single concept of identity — a Pakeha identity, a Maori identity. They are, in turn, essentially competing rather than complimentary identities.**

- **Such an antagonistic system of representation leaves little room for new constructions of identity, such as the Asian New Zealander, the Kiwi Muslim, the resettled African refugee.**
AN “ATMOSPHERE OF HATE”

• **The motif of the Pakeha ‘man alone’ is therefore still alive and kicking in New Zealand.**

• **Inculcated through years of government sponsorship, the ‘man alone’ places the lone, white, working class male at the heart of New Zealand identity.**

• **But whereas in the mid twentieth century his place in society was supreme, current demographic changes, globalisation and altered social consciousness have left him feeling marginalised.**

• **This is evident in the supremacist ideology shared online by white Pakeha males and the “atmosphere of hate” Muslim New Zealanders have been reporting again and again in recent years.**
CONCLUSIONS

- **Even now,** global tourism imagery represents New Zealand as there for the taking by the lone white male, dominating and enduring in an otherwise empty country.

- **Certainly,** New Zealand is no longer ‘a white man’s country,’ but then, as the Maori will tell you, it never was in the first place. And the ‘man alone’ was never a positive motif to build a myth of national identity around.

- **Back in the mid twentieth century** this exclusionary vision of identity manifested itself as misogyny and anti-Maori racism. In 21st century New Zealand, the marginalised ‘man alone’ has a new target.

CONCLUSIONS

• **New Zealand** is still perceived in terms of the white settlers who ‘founded’ it in the nineteenth century. On the other side of the coin, Maori’s have struggled against dispossession, discrimination and racism for over a century.

• And caught between these two competing identities are newly emerging formations and social groupings as the region reacts to changing Asian geopolitics and globalisation.

• The New Zealand social experiment in nation building was effective in defining an identity for the nation. But it did not represent **one** people; instead it excluded **some** people.

• Any identity for a nation must reflect that nation. **One** people must include **all** people.

• He Iwi Kotahi tatou.
REFERENCES

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