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*The koru and the unconscious:
an articulation of national identity in
Aotearoa New Zealand*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

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in
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Penelope (Penny) Anne Lysnar
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Abstract

This thesis pursues an understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand that extends existing academic commentaries in this subject area. As such, it looks to the unconscious and aesthetic realms as productive forms of knowledge. By taking these and existing academic forms of knowledge into account, this thesis enables a fuller understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. It also highlights how personal and subjective experiences of national identity provide a productive and extended way of thinking about and understanding national identity. In this regard this thesis refers to the work of Christopher Bollas, a psychoanalytic practitioner and theorist, and Fredric Jameson, a cultural critic and post-Marxist theorist. Elements of these theorists' work are melded together to form a methodology. Here, Bollas' three orders of knowing (i.e. the maternal order, paternal order, and order of the infant) and his concept of the 'evocative' object are considered in conjunction with Jameson's conceptualisation that the 'energy' found in objects of mass culture represents a collective form of unconscious desire or utopian fantasy. Jameson argues that this fantasy functions as a response to the restrictions placed upon citizens by the politically and ideologically dominant forces of the society in which those citizens live. Employing images of the koru motif, a ubiquitous signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, as the primary research data, reveals that the compelling or captivating nature of this motif represents a collective unconscious desire within mainstream society, for the maternal order to operate as a valued form of thinking and knowing. This unconscious desire is a response to the ideologically dominant function of the paternal order of thinking and knowing in contemporary mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand, which represses other forms of knowledge.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to provide an understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand¹ that extends existing academic commentaries on the subject. In particular, I pursue a line of inquiry that addresses the unconscious and aesthetic² realms as productive forms of knowledge. While recognising the value of existing understandings of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, I argue that an understanding of identity based on the unconscious and aesthetic realms, not only promotes a fuller understanding of individual and collective forms of identity, but also provides a way of thinking within academia that extends beyond predominant forms of accepted knowledge.

¹ My preference for the term ‘Aotearoa New Zealand’ rather than ‘New Zealand’ reflects my support of a post-colonial identity in this country that, following Fleras and Spoonley (1999), upholds a multicultural agenda within a bi-national constitution (i.e. recognises Māori and Pākehā sovereignty). However, in instances where the author/s that I refer to, use the terms ‘New Zealand’, ‘Aotearoa’ or ‘Aotearoa/New Zealand’, I use these terms as a means of more accurately reflecting the nature of their commentary. Despite my preference for the term ‘Aotearoa New Zealander’, I have found the term ‘Aotearoa New Zealander’ somewhat clumsy, and so have used the more commonly used term ‘New Zealander’ when referring to myself, and others who regard New Zealand, Aotearoa or Aotearoa/New Zealand as their home.

² The Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, Donald W Crawford defines the term ‘aesthetic’ as “the attempt to understand our experiences of and the concepts we use to talk about objects that we find perceptually interesting and attractive” (Crawford 1991:18). It is this understanding of the term that I employ in this thesis, and associate with Christopher Bollas’ concept of the ‘evocative object’ and Fredric Jameson’s similar idea that refers to the ‘energy’ of objects of mass culture.

The reason for seeking out an understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, that is based on the unconscious and aesthetic realm, is due to the failure of existing academic commentaries to reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense of what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, or the types of experiences that *speak to me* about my ‘New Zealandness’. While acknowledging the subjective nature of such feelings and experiences, and my own subject position as a middle-class Pākehā³ woman¹, I nevertheless contend that there are aesthetic and unconscious experiences that many New Zealanders share, regardless of their class, gender or ethnicity. In this thesis, I look to the koru motif⁴ as a way of exploring these aesthetic and unconscious experiences.

In order to explore how unconscious and aesthetic experiences inform our sense of identity I have primarily drawn on the work of two theorists. The first of these is Christopher Bollas, a psychoanalytic practitioner and theorist, based in the United Kingdom. The second is Fredric Jameson, a cultural critic and post-Marxist

³ While Elaine Webster notes that what ‘being Pākehā’ means is continually changing and contested (2007:146), it is the definition of the historian, Michael King, as follows, that reflects my use of the term in this thesis: “[D]enoting people and influences that derive originally from Europe but which are no longer ‘European’. Pākehā is an indigenous expression to describe New Zealand people and expressions of culture that are not Māori (King 1999:10). As stated earlier in this chapter, it is also a term I use to more specifically define my identity as a New Zealander.

As per the orthographic conventions developed by Te Taura Whiri /The Māori Language Commission in 1987, the use of macrons over the vowels ā ē ī ō ū in Māori words (e.g. Māori and Pākehā) denotes a long vowel (i.e. pronounced Māāori rather than Maori, and Pāākehāā rather than Pakeha). The macron also distinguishes between words that not only sound different but which have different meanings, such as the words keke, kēkē and kekē (the word ‘keke’ means ‘cake’ or ‘obstinate’, the word ‘kēkē’ can mean ‘armpits’, ‘quack’, ‘different’ or ‘in another line’, whereas the word ‘kekē’ means a creak, or cracking noise (Ryan, 1995:93)). For the sake of consistency I have applied macrons to all applicable Māori words, even though the author/s I am referring may not have done so.

⁴ In the final section of this introduction I provide a brief discussion of the koru motif regarding its use by non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

theorist of late capitalism and postmodernity, who lives in the United States of America. I employ Bollas' argument that the core of our mental functioning comprises three unconscious orders or ways of knowing. These orders consist of the maternal order, paternal order and order of the infant⁵, and offer three different ways of knowing and thinking about ourselves, and the world around us. Bollas also states that in the course of our everyday lives we come across objects that we connect with on an unconscious level, and which compel us to shift or change our way of thinking. Bollas terms these objects, 'evocative objects', and refers to a person's unconscious connection with these objects as a form of 'subjective rapport' or 'psychic identification'. It is the key ideas of the evocative object, and the three orders of knowing that I utilise from Bollas' work, as a means of informing my own research into the topic of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In particular, I look to Bollas' work as a means of investigating how personal experiences of connectedness to Aotearoa New Zealand can further our understanding about national identity in general.

The work of Jameson plays as crucial a role in this thesis as that of Bollas'. As with Bollas, but in a distinctly different manner, Jameson too explores the role of aesthetics and the unconscious in his work. Possibly Jameson's most well-known publication is *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991) which explores the subject of postmodernism and late capitalism, from a post-Marxist perspective. However, it is not these aspects of Jameson's work that I draw on in this thesis. Instead, I look to the methodology that he has formulated to investigate his topics of interest, as a means of investigating the subject area of this thesis. Jameson's methodology, which he refers to as a 'metacommentary', is based on a Freudian interpretive framework. For the purposes of this thesis I have

⁵ Bollas links the order of the infant to ways of knowing that includes dreaming, the imagination and visual imagery. In turn, he links the maternal order (or order of the mother) to ways of knowing that are internal, associative and receptive. In contrast, the paternal order (or order of the father) reflects a way of knowing that is interpretative, external and separate from the connection between the order of the infant and the order of mother.

formulated a similar methodology that investigates the manifest, latent and unconscious meanings that appear in the research data that has been gathered for this thesis. Like Bollas, Jameson looks to the objects around us, and argues that certain objects have an ‘energy’ to them. Jameson argues that this energy can be understood as a form of unconscious desire or utopian fantasy that informs various objects of mass culture. Such objects, which Jameson refers to as ‘cultural objects’, may consist of buildings, movies, books, popular art, and any other number of items found in our midst. Jameson argues that there is not necessarily an intention by the authors or creators of these works to inform these objects with this type of energy or desire. Nevertheless, those objects, entities or items that we come across, and which we feel captured or captivated by in some way, speak to our unconscious desire for a way of life or way of being that our current society does not provide.

The argument

It is the understandings of the unconscious and aesthetic realms, described above, that I draw on in this thesis to inform the examination of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in particular, how the koru motif operates as a signifier of national identity in this country. More specifically, I argue that the well-recognised and ubiquitous koru motif, commonly understood and represented as an unfurling fern frond (i.e. ☯), and an icon of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, is primarily informed by the maternal order. In this regard, the koru motif, with its captivating and compelling form, offers many New Zealanders a sense of subjective rapport or psychic identification. Thus, the koru motif can be understood in Bollasian terms, as an evocative object that compels us to think in a different way (i.e. in a way that accords with the maternal order). Furthermore, this sense of subjective rapport or psychic identification can also be understood, in Jamesonian terms, as a type of energy that is informed by an unconscious desire or utopian fantasy for the maternal order to operate as a valid and legitimate form of thinking and knowing within society. This unconscious desire arises in response to the paternal order that operates as the ideologically dominant order, or way of knowing in contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the following

section I outline the structure of this thesis, and how each chapter is directed towards supporting this argument, and providing an extended understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Thesis structure

The purpose of both Chapters Two and Three is to provide background material relating to the subject of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, and identity in general. In this regard, Chapter Two outlines the work of three well known and regarded academics who have written extensively on the subject of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The work of these academics, Keith Sinclair, Claudia Bell, and Paul Spoonley, provide three exemplars that chart the primary ways in which national identity has been addressed in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this regard the historian, Keith Sinclair, discusses how key national, international, geopolitical, environmental and economic factors have influenced the formation and development of national identity. In turn, the work of the sociologist, Claudia Bell, challenges accepted narratives of national identity put forward by the likes of Sinclair. In doing so, Bell highlights the fictive nature of many narratives, and the way in which these disguise pressing social and environmental issues. In comparison, the work of Paul Spoonley, also a sociologist, exemplifies an increasingly prevalent way in which national identity is explained and understood in Aotearoa New Zealand; via the positions of different ethnic identities and groups including Māori⁶, Pākehā, Pacific peoples, and those from South East Asia. As mentioned, the work of all three scholars is well regarded, and their three commentaries provide an apposite representation of the key ways in which national identity is presently thought about and understood in Aotearoa New Zealand.

⁶ Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. John Wilson (2009) reports that the original Polynesian settlers discovered the country on voyages of exploration, and some time later, the first small groups arrived from Polynesia, around 1300 AD. Wilson also states “Now known as Māori, these tribes did not identify themselves by a collective name until the arrival of Europeans when, to mark their distinction, the name Māori, meaning ‘ordinary’, came into use” (Wilson 2009).

Chapter Three draws heavily on a book chapter written by the cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall titled 'The Question of Cultural Identity' (1992). In this chapter Hall addresses the 'crisis in identity' debate and the argument that old identities which stabilised the social world have given rise to new identities which, in turn, have fragmented previously understood notions of the unified subject and nation. In this regard, Chapter Three acts as a hinge between the preceding and following chapters. In doing so it situates the accounts of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, as discussed in Chapter Two, within the wider field of debates and theories about national identity. It then provides a broad outline of how self identity has been theorised. This sets the scene for Chapter Four, which outlines Bollas' theory of self identity. As such, Chapter Three provides a fuller and more in-depth understanding of topics discussed in the chapters it proceeds (Chapter Two) and precedes (Chapter Four).

Chapter Four introduces the work of Bollas, and the psychoanalytic theories that inform this thesis. In particular, this chapter discusses Bollas' conceptualisation of the three orders of knowledge, and the evocative object. Just as Bollas argues that a truly creative formulation of theory must combine the virtues of all three orders of knowing (Bollas 1999:46), I argue that a fuller and more creative understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand entails viewing the topic via all three orders. This involves understanding the topic via the paternal order; exemplified in Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley's work, via the maternal order; exemplified in this thesis by the consideration of what it 'feels' like to be a New Zealander, and also via the order of the infant; exemplified in this thesis by consideration of the visual and aesthetic aspects of identity.

As stated above, existing academic commentaries fail to reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense that *this* is what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, or that *these* are the types of experiences that *speak to me* about my sense of 'New Zealandness'. In this regard the commentaries of Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley provide not only fitting exemplars of what has been written about national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand; they also reflect the way in which academia

predominantly addresses fields of interest via a paternal form of knowledge or way of knowing. As such I look to Bollas' notion of the evocative object as a form of knowledge that *does* articulate or reflect back to me, those experiences or feelings that convey a sense of 'New Zealandness'. In particular, I argue that the koru motif operates as an evocative object in which the viewers (i.e. myself, and other New Zealanders) experience a sense of connectedness or subjective rapport with the koru motif. To this end, the koru motif forms the primary data component of this thesis, as discussed in Chapter Six.

In Chapter Five I introduce the work of Jameson and bring to the fore aspects of his work that extend the explanatory power of Bollas' work in this thesis. Jameson approaches his writing with a mass of theoretical and intellectual horse power. However, my utilisation of his work does not extend to his uniquely post-Marxist stance or his deeply theoretical and inspired explanations of postmodernity and late capitalism. Instead, I address his unique form of methodology or metacommentary, and notion of unconscious desire. This chapter also contrasts Bollas' and Jameson's viewpoints and concepts, and outlines how the melding of their ideas provides a productive way of extending the understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In Chapter Six I draw from Jameson's metacommentary to construct the methodological framework for this thesis. Thus, the metacommentary/ methodology in this thesis establishes the analytical framework and methods which demonstrate *how*, and in *what way*, the koru motif operates as a collective and unconscious signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. I begin by reconstructing Jameson's metacommentary into a three-staged approach for examining the data component of the thesis. These three stages consist of examining the manifest content and meanings, latent content and function, and unconscious meanings of the data presented in Chapters Nine and Ten. I also outline how Bollas' three orders of knowledge and concept of the evocative object fit within this framework. This chapter also discusses the selection of data, how

the data were obtained, and the manner in which the data are presented in this thesis.

As with Chapters Two and Three, Chapters Seven and Eight provide background material for the proceeding chapters. In this regard Chapter Seven provides a brief visual essay on the use of spiral and koru-like motifs beyond Aotearoa New Zealand. Here, I present illustrations of spiral and koru-like motifs that are found in the natural environment, mathematics, art and religious symbolism. The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a visual rather than written commentary of the prevalence of koru-like motifs, across time and space. In this regard it reflects a way of knowing that accords with Bollas' order of the infant. In contrast, Chapter Eight provides a both a written and visual commentary of the koru motif in customary and contemporary Māori culture. This locates the use of the koru motif in contemporary mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand, against the vital and dynamic backdrop of Māori art and design. As such, I discuss the prevalence of spiral-like motifs in te ana tuhituhi (rock drawing, rock painting and rock carving), whakairo (woodcarving), ta moko (permanent skin marking) and kowhaiwhai (painted scroll patterns). I also provide an outline of the understandings of the spiral and koru motif put forward by well-known and regarded commentators on Māori art and design: Hirini Moko Mead (also known as Sir Sidney Mead), Julie Paama-Pengelly, Arthur Gordon Tovey, David Simmons, Roger Neich, Rawinia Higgins, and Allan Hanson. This chapter also provides illustrations of customary Māori art and design throughout the chapter, and ends with examples of the koru motif seen in the illustrations of contemporary artists that I particularly enjoy, that of Reuben Paterson (Ngati Rangitihi/ Ngai Tuhoe): Shane Hansen (Tainui – Ngati Hine, Ngati Mahunga), and the tattoo artist Te Rangitu Netana Ngapuhi, Ngati Wai, Te Arawa).

Chapter Nine introduces both the data component of the thesis (part one), and the first stage of data analysis (part two). The data component includes the presentation of ten image sets of the koru motif with accompanying text which provides information about the use and meaning of the koru motif in each image

set. The analysis undertaken in this chapter consists of an examination of the manifest meaning of the image sets and accompanying text. Here I listed, categorised and sorted all the meanings which have been ascribed to the koru motif in the accompanying text. The findings from this analysis are presented in part two of the chapter, whereas the analysis itself, including data tables, is placed in Appendix I.

Chapter Ten is structured similarly to Chapter Nine. Here, a further ten image sets of the koru motif are presented, though without accompanying text. The image sets in this chapter include a wider cross-section of koru motifs, in comparison to Chapter Nine, where koru motifs specific to national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand were presented. Nevertheless, the images in Chapter Ten illustrate the prevalence of the koru motif as a signifier of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand in local, regional and national contexts. Part two of the chapter presents the findings from the second stage of analysis which examines the latent content and function of the koru motif. As with the first stage of analysis, the analysis, including data tables is placed in an appendix (Appendix II).

Chapter Eleven summarises the findings from stage one and stage two of the analysis, and discusses these in light of the third stage of analysis; that of unconscious meaning. Here, I re-introduce the reader to Jameson's understanding of unconscious desire, and put forward the argument, provided above, that the koru motif is informed by an unconscious desire for the maternal order to operate as a valid and accepted form of thinking and knowing within society. This unconscious desire represents what Jameson refers to as a 'utopian fantasy' that emerges in response to the paternal order that operates as the ideologically dominant order, or way of knowing in contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand, and represses other forms of knowledge and thinking.

In the final chapter, Chapter Twelve, I synthesise the findings of this thesis, and its aims and objectives. I posit that thinking about national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand from the perspective of the unconscious and aesthetic realms demonstrates that it is possible to think about identity in a way that not only

further our understanding of identity, but also that of Aotearoa New Zealand. In light of the melding together of Bollas' and Jameson's ideas, I also put forward the view that, within the confines of orthodox academic requirements, this thesis can be understood as an unconscious form of desire to realise ways of thinking in the social sciences that promote the maternal order (i.e. associative/internal) and order of the infant (i.e. visual/imaginary) as productive and legitimate ways of knowing. This unconscious desire can be understood as a response to the ideologically dominant paternal order (i.e. interpretive/external) that operates within the social sciences, and which silences other forms of knowledge and ways of thinking.

Use of the koru motif

Unlike much other material that has been written about the koru motif, this thesis does not address in any length, the debates concerning the wrongful appropriation and exploitation of the koru motif by Pākehā and other non-Māori, nor the state of play between Māori and Pākehā relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. While these are important topics, they are well-trodden ground in social sciences literature, and they lie outside the areas of consideration in this thesis. I do, however, acknowledge that there are instances where misappropriation and exploitation of the koru motif has taken place, and continues to take place, and I do not condone this practice. Nevertheless, I do not hold to the view that the koru motif should not be employed or enjoyed by non-Māori. Instead I support the view held by the graphic designer Michael Smythe (2007) that the use of koru motif requires care and respect, and where necessary consultation with iwi (tribes).

My interest and fascination with the koru motif is not novel. Nicholas Thomas, Professor of Historical Anthropology, indicates that western interest in the koru motif dates back to the first voyage of Captain Cook between 1769 and 1770. He states:

European commentators have generally found Polynesian art provoking; the complex curvilinear patterns of Maori carving and painting, were for participants in Captain James Cook's voyages among others, not simply

ethnographically interesting but remarkable and unsettling. One style of Maori carving seemed ‘truly’, as Joseph Banks wrote in 1770, ‘like nothing but itself’.

(Thomas 1995:93)

Thomas also notes that

In book designs, on banknotes, stamps and official documents, in buildings, and on china, kowhaiwhai [a pattern primarily consisting of repeated koru designs] became something other than a Māori art form, though the curvilinear bulbs always conveyed a Māori or a national signature A link between motifs and personal if not collective identities thus has a history in New Zealand, though it must be one which we take to open rather than resolve questions about whether personhood, identities, or groups could really be ‘represented’ by motifs.

(Thomas 1995:94)⁷

Indeed, the link between the koru and ‘personal if not collective identities’ forms a key area of inquiry in this thesis, via the melding together of conceptual ideas from the work of Bollas and Jameson. In this regard I have been inspired by the ideas of two well-regarded Māori academics in the field of anthropology (Lily George - Te Kapotai, Ngāti Hine, Ngāpuhi descent) and indigenous development (Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal - Ngāti Raukawa, Marutūahu, Ngā Puhi descent). In her PhD titled *Tradition, Invention and Innovation: multiple reflections of an urban marae*’ (2010) George points out that the renaissance of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) has undergone the three stages of resistance, reclamation and rejuvenation. In turn, Royal, in his 2011 inaugural professorial lecture, titled *The*

⁷ Unless stated otherwise, the use of italics or bold text within a quote, are those of the quoted author/s. In accordance with the American Psychological Association (APA) reference system, three spaced ellipsis points (i.e. ...) within a quote indicates omitted material from the original source, while four ellipsis points indicates omission of material between the two quoted sentences. Text placed within square brackets (i.e. []) within a quote denotes material that is not the work of the quoted author.

Creative Potential of Māori Communities, discusses these stages in terms of a focus on social justice, cultural revitalisation and, more recently, the engagement by Māori communities with creativity and innovation (Royal 2011). Thus, I take my cue from George and Royal that, while social justice, and cultural reclamation and revitalisation remain important steps in the road to cultural knowledge, there is also the scope to think about cultural objects, such as the koru motif, in innovative and creative ways. In this thesis I set about providing an innovative and creative way of thinking about the koru motif and national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, in a way that challenges current academic commentaries on both these topics.

ⁱ If I were to posit how my individual identity relates to a broader cultural identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, I would describe myself not only as a middle-class Pākehā woman as mentioned above, but also an urban-based person who grew up in a rural environment. The historian Keith Sinclair argues that New Zealanders have retained a ‘rural state of mind’ (Sinclair, 1990:5) and although much of my life has been lived within the urban environment, as I write this, I regard my rural upbringing as a defining aspect of my identity. Although I spent a year at university in my late teens (studying for a diploma in agriculture) it was not until my thirties that I enrolled for a bachelor in arts and became interested in sociology as a means of understanding the world around me, and my position within it. As a grand-daughter of English migrants on my mother’s side of the family, and a fourth generation New Zealander on my father’s side, I was fascinated by what it meant to be Pākehā and, in turn, how that differed from Māori notions of identity.

However, as I argue in this thesis, despite the many ways that ‘being Pākehā’ or a ‘New Zealander’ is explained or described by academic commentators, I am left with the sense that these explanations don’t quite ‘nail it’ for me. Having said that, Sinclair’s argument that the identity of New Zealanders has been moulded by the physical environment and an internalisation of the geography or landscape in which we live, has some resonance with my subjective experiences of identity. In this regard, my decision to study the koru fern as a signifier of national identity is perhaps not a surprising one, given its connection to the natural environment (though I do not recall seeing the fern within the physical environment I grew up in). It was the need to search for further understandings of identity, at both the individual and collective level that underpin the subject of this thesis. Thus, I found Bollas’ understanding of the self as an *unconscious* self that finds expression via object relating, offered both a way of

understanding my own sense of individual identity and cultural identity, and furthered the explanations of existing commentaries of national identity in Aotearoa Zealand.

Describing how my individual identity relates to a broader cultural identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, via Bollas' notion of the unconscious self is not a straightforward task, given that Bollas views subjectivity as something beyond our consciousness. Nevertheless, he argues that three orders or authorities constitute the core of our self and mental functioning. Referring to these as the order of the infant, order of the mother and order of the father, Bollas links the order of the infant with dreaming and imagery, the order of the mother to association and the capability of evoking states of solitude and relatedness, and the order of the father to interpretations that account for the knowing of the world. In this regard, Bollas highlights that we are part of both our personal history and a universal order. In terms of how these three orders constitute my own self; this thesis reflects the order of the infant via my choices of imagery contained in the pages of this thesis. The order of the mother is reflected via my association of the koru motif as something beyond myself. In turn, the order of the father is demonstrated via my interpretation of how images of the koru can be understood in a wider theoretical context. Beyond that, I am as mystifying to consciousness as the next person (Bollas, 1992:51) and it is for the reader rather than myself to determine whether, in the pages of this thesis, I have been successful in relating my subject position or individual identity to a broader cultural identity.

Chapter Two

Exemplars of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand

Introduction

In this chapter I introduce and outline the work of three key academic commentators who have written on the subject of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The purpose of this is to provide an understanding of the major ways in which national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand is posited and understood within the social sciences community. This provides a platform for further chapters where I discuss the topic of identity from other angles and perspectives. One of the primary aims of this thesis is to provide a means of understanding collective forms identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, from a perspective that is distinct from current literature on the topic. However, there is no doubt that the work of the three authors, addressed in this chapter, provides valuable and productive ways of understanding national identity from a social science perspective.

I begin my discussion by outlining how the historian, Keith Sinclair, has written about national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Sinclair's work predominantly addresses the way in which a sense of national identity has formed and developed over time. In comparison, the imperative of the sociologist, Claudia Bell, is to highlight the mythologised and commercialised manner in which national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand has been posited. Although Bell does not directly challenge Sinclair's understanding, her ideas contest the widely accepted way in which viewpoints, such as Sinclair's, have dominated literature on the topic. The work of the third commentator which I have chosen to include is that of another sociologist, Paul Spoonley. The manner in which Spoonley addresses the topic

mirrors his interest in the area of ethnicity and social relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. This reflects a growing emphasis on this sphere of national identity, exemplified by the publication of an edited book titled *New Zealand Identities – Departures and Destinations* (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh & Teaiwa 2005) where the vast majority of the 17 contributing essays addressed the issue of national identity via the lens of ethnicity. At the conclusion of this chapter I present the argument that, while Sinclair, Spoonley and Bell provide broad and illuminating understandings of identity, there is one aspect of identity which they fail to expand on, and which provides the rationale for this thesis. This relates to the way in which national identity is experienced in an aesthetic sense. One aspect of this is the compelling nature and effect of various elements or objects that denote or signify national identity. These are matters which I examine in further chapters. For now I turn to a discussion of those elements of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand that have already been fruitfully examined.

Keith Sinclair

If the writing of a nation's history is one of the surest ways towards national identity, few can claim to have done as much for emergent New Zealand identity as Professor Sir Keith Sinclair. Since its first publication in 1959, his *History of New Zealand* has been, perhaps, the most common access point to a sense of our own past that New Zealanders have had.

(Davis, in foreword to Sinclair's *The Native Born*, 1986a)

Davis' introduction is no exaggeration. Revised publications of *A History of New Zealand* (Sinclair 1980, 1988 and 1991) continued until Keith Sinclair's death in 1993 (aged 70 years) and a posthumous publication followed in 2000. Other strings in Sinclair's bow include a CBE, professorship at the University of Auckland, founder of the *New Zealand Journal of History*, commentator on public affairs, a literary career as a poet, writer of children's literature and a brief stint (three weeks) as Member of Parliament. In his book, *A Destiny Apart*:

New Zealand's Search for National Identity (Sinclair 1986b) and other publications (1952, 1961, 1982, 1986a, 1990, 1993), Sinclair comprehensively outlines what he regards as having constituted and influenced New Zealanders' sense of identity.

Declaring that "Holding up a nation for scrutiny is like picking up a jelly-fish" Sinclair (1986b:3) draws on the notions of nationalism and nationhood as a framework for his discussion of national identity. Inferring that nationhood emerges from nationalism, Sinclair defines nationalism as "possession of a country" (Sinclair 1986a:2). In comparison, nationhood occurs when a people come to feel as if their existence differs from that of other peoples "as if it were set apart" (Sinclair 1990:4). Sinclair dates interest in a New Zealand nation back to Governor Sir George Grey's prophecy of 'a great nation' in 1853, and also a 1854 publication by Christchurch pioneer Thomas Cholmondeley, which noted the American precedents for New Zealand nationalism (Sinclair 1986a:1).

Sinclair (1986b:3) also points to American nationalism as a means of understanding nationalism in New Zealand, in contrast to the European ideals of nationalism which emerged from the French Revolution and the 1769 Declaration of the Rights of Man (where it is stated that 'the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation'). Sinclair emphasises that from the time of the American Revolution in 1776 Americans were asserting that they belonged to a nation and were not British but American. In South America too, many local-born Europeans (Creoles) were boasting that the New World, rather than Spain was their homeland, and they were therefore Americans rather than Spaniards (1986b:4). In contrast, it was widely held in Europe that to be regarded as a nation a people should not only share a common language and culture but also a long history; a model of nationhood which did not reflect the situation in New Zealand. Instead, Sinclair asserts that New Zealand was an example of creole or colonial nationalism where people in settlement colonies were becoming a new nation. Here Sinclair (1986b:4-7) names Edith Searle Grossman as an early proponent of a creole nationalism. Grossman, a feminist reformer and novelist writing in the early 20th century, argued it is the experience of growing up in a particular country that

moulds identity (ibid). This perspective has also been expressed by other writers from Aotearoa New Zealand who have written on the topic of national identity (e.g. William Pember Reeves, Charles Brasch, John Mulgan, and Michael King).

Sinclair also draws on Ernest Gellner's idea that nations are invented. Gellner, a philosopher, social anthropologist and author of *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), argues that: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist" (Gellner in Sinclair, 1986b:13). He contrasts this with the belief of European nationalists that nations were natural divisions of humanity:

No one supposes that the Malaysian or Indonesian nations, for instance, already existed in 1945. The later 'Indonesians' lived on numerous islands and spoke several languages. The nation had to be invented. A sense of communal unity, of community, *came after the idea*.

(Sinclair, 1986b:13, italics added)

One aspect where New Zealand nationalism differs from that of American nationalism, Sinclair notes, is in the domain of patriotic celebrations, especially that of flag-raising and flag-waving and the relatively few displays of national feeling in New Zealand compared to that of the United States of America (USA). He regards this as being due to 'European New Zealanders' being a sufficiently homogeneous group of English-speakers in contrast to that of the larger mix of people in the USA (Sinclair 1986b:13).

Sinclair also notes the repeated attempts to 'invent' a united nation of Pākehā and Māori, despite the land wars, confiscation of Māori land in the 1860s and other significant injustices directed towards Māori. At the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Governor Hobson declared 'He iwi kotahi tatou' ('We are one people'). Various commentators and politicians have since supported and repeated Hobson's words. However, Sinclair notes that many remain unconvinced by such a claim and in this regard the distinct language,

culture, traditions and history of Māori make the term ‘colonial nationalism’ rather problematical (Sinclair 1986b:13).

Having established Sinclair’s use of the terms ‘nationalism’ and ‘nationhood’ I now turn to Sinclair’s use of the term ‘identity’. One on hand Sinclair differentiates between self identity and collective identity. He describes self identity in psychological terms; as being about the id, or inner core of personality. This stands in contrast to collective identity which he views as being moulded by events, social processes and history. He then connects these notions of self and collective identity by drawing from the work of Karl Marx, stating that “man’s consciousness is determined by his social being” (Sinclair 1990:4). Thus he declares that identity is not just a personal history but a social history (ibid). Sinclair also notes the plurality of identity with regard to the many social groups we identify ourselves with.

We may think ourselves as possessing a series of identities, like overlapping circles; as occupying a series of spaces. A person may find significance in belonging to a family, to a church, to a team, to a party, to a gender group, to a city or province, and finally, to a nation. From all of these identities arises a sense of belonging, and of self-esteem. Without an identity we are lost.

(Sinclair, 1990:4)

Sinclair also writes that:

A sense of identity is a feeling of oneness with, a feeling of belonging to, a place or a group of people. A person may identify with a class, a tribe, a gender, a family, a race. Most of us probably have several identities, or an identity made up of several elements. There can be little doubt that the most common way of identifying people in the past century, and especially since two world wars destroyed the great empires, has been by reference to their nation.

(Sinclair, 1986a:1)

The fact that the 1886 census revealed that the majority of Europeans living in New Zealand had been born in New Zealand is one piece of evidence Sinclair uses to support his view that by the late 19th century many Europeans were beginning to regard themselves as ‘New Zealanders’ (a term that previously referred to Māori) and that a sense of national feeling was beginning to develop (Sinclair 1986a:2). The establishment of national organisations, including the first political party, Farmers’ Union, National Council of Women, and Rugby Union during the same time period reinforces his argument. Sinclair further supports his argument by noting that the process of centralisation and moderation further laid the basis for a national community. This included the establishment of a country-wide post office and installation of electric telegraph poles and telephones, and the building of roads and railway. Citing the act of migration as another contributing factor, Sinclair argues that this involved a degree of turning one’s back on an old identity and turning to the new country to discover a new identity. In this regard Sinclair points out that both Pākehā and Māori developed a powerful sense of identification with the land and environment (Sinclair 1990:4-5).

For Pākehā breaking in land and struggling with the environment was regarded as a heroic task that established the characteristics of strength and determination. This, they believed, marked them out as ‘superior’; something the Australian and Canadian citizens also looked to for the source of their ‘real identity’ (Sinclair 1990:5). In a related vein, Sinclair argues that New Zealanders have retained a ‘rural state of mind’. Although New Zealand has been a highly urbanised country for a long period of time, he is of the view that many New Zealanders identify with country values. For Sinclair, “Footrot Flats is somewhere near Ellerslie⁸” (Sinclair 1990:5) where he grew up gathering mushrooms in nearby fields, feeding chooks in the backyard and watched horses and carts pass by on a daily basis (ibid).

⁸ *Footrot Flats* is a well-known cartoon series that developed into a book, animated feature film and musical, which humorously depicts rural life in Aotearoa New Zealand. In comparison, Ellerslie is now an urban area close to the commercial centre of Auckland.

Emphasising that national feeling is shaped by certain events and that every nation has a glorious past, “whether real or invented”, Sinclair posits that the glorified events of New Zealand’s past have been that of war and sport (Sinclair 1990:8). With regard to war, Sinclair highlights how shared grief for the soldiers who were killed, and the shared pride of their heroism, inspired national identity.

The war gave us a national day of mourning, Anzac Day ... The war also gave us our national monuments, the cenotaphs (empty tombs), the obelisks, arches and other memorials to the dead which were erected in almost every city, town and in numerous country districts.

(Sinclair, 1986a:5)

Moreover, the shared experiences of soldiers who were sent overseas to fight (firstly in 1899-1902 in the Boer War, and then in 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 during the First and Second World Wars) heightened their sense of national identity. Not only did their badges label them as New Zealanders, they spoke and felt differently from other English speakers. Sinclair relays his own experiences in the Navy during World War Two to describe a sense of shared identity:

Often I saw no or few Kiwis⁹ for long periods. Of course I was friendly with British and other servicemen. But when New Zealanders met up it was quite different, like a family reunion. *That is what identity is. our feeling of identity with other New Zealanders and with our country was extraordinarily powerful.*

(Sinclair 1990:8, italics added)

Such was the strength of national identity created during wartime it became accepted wisdom that New Zealand arose as a nation somewhere between Gallipoli and the Somme (Sinclair 1990:8). Sinclair also notes the connection

⁹ The term ‘Kiwi’ is an informal term for ‘New Zealander’, and is an especially popular way of referring to fellow New Zealanders living or travelling overseas. The term more formally refers to the flightless bird that is indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand, and which carries the status of a national symbol.

between war and sport was widely appreciated, with rugby seen as either as a preparation or substitute for war. “The Gallipoli of New Zealand sport was the famous rugby game against Wales in 1905 ... a major episode in the mythology of New Zealandism” (Sinclair 1986b:17). Rugby stimulated national pride and feeling by bringing the nation together and providing a focus for a feeling of unity. It brought Māori and Pākehā together, including many keen female spectators and supporters (ibid:152). The apotheosis of New Zealand rugby, Sinclair states, came in 1924 when the All Blacks travelled ‘Home’ to Great Britain with a stuffed and mounted kiwi as a mascot and a special haka that was composed during the voyage. The team won every game and was welcomed back home to New Zealand by crowds, a procession, a jazz ball and a parliamentary banquet (ibid). Revealing his passion for the game Sinclair claims:

The point need not be elaborated that the role of sport in the community was not only a stimulus to competitiveness and a source of national pride in international success. Rugby provided the biggest public rituals and celebrations. Played at its best it aspired to art, if not religion¹⁰.

(Sinclair 1986b:153)

Alongside Sinclair’s emphasis on shared characteristics of New Zealanders is his stress on ‘otherness’ as a means of highlighting what it means to be a New Zealander. He notes how international travel often results in a greater reflection and analysis of ‘who am I?’ by those travelling overseas, including soldiers, artists and politicians. In terms of otherness within New Zealand, Sinclair draws attention to the different backgrounds, experiences and values between Māori and Pākehā, and men and women. He acknowledges the strongly masculine way in which New Zealand identity has been posited, as well as the call for an autonomous Māori nation. Although disheartened by the Māori call for sovereignty Sinclair nevertheless notes that Māori are perhaps best described as “a submerged nationality, imperfectly integrated into a predominantly European

¹⁰ This outburst of national pride was repeated in 2011 when the New Zealand All Blacks won the Rugby World Cup which was hosted in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is commented upon further in Chapters Nine and Eleven.

nation” (Sinclair 1990:10). Sinclair was writing at the time New Zealand court judges raised the issue of the principles of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi/ The Treaty of Waitangi, defining ‘partnership’ to mean “the Crown must act toward the Māori partner “with the utmost good faith” (Sinclair 1990:10). Here Sinclair expresses the opinion that such a judgement by the courts had led to unrealistic expectations and absurd assertions “including the idea that the two races must share power fifty-fifty” (ibid). Instead, Sinclair argues that:

The British Government and the missionaries hoped, when Waitangi was signed, that the guaranteeing of Māori rights and the granting to Māoris of the rights of British citizens would mark a new beginning in the history of colonisation. They hoped that a peaceful bi-racial community would arise. And, after years of strife, it did. Our bi-cultural heritage is what is most distinctive about us. I imagine that few people would disagree with me in believing that the most distinctive elements in our culture, for instance in the arts, are Māori. We should, then, rejoice in our bi-cultural heritage, without cluttering it up with myths or false history.

(Sinclair 1990:12)

Sinclair also suggests there is much to be celebrated with regard to women in New Zealand. While accepting his discussion of New Zealand identity has been male-oriented, Sinclair notes this was the nature of society itself during the 19th century and that the events that first stimulated strong national feeling (international sport and imperial war) concerned men more immediately than women (Sinclair 1986a:11). Sinclair goes on to note that the women’s movement of the 1970s was a potent instrument of change that gave many women in New Zealand a new confidence, new roles and a new sense of identity. It also led to an alteration in the way men perceived women, although Sinclair is of the view that there “was always much equality in the relations between men and women in this country” (Sinclair 1990:13).

Despite grounding his understanding of New Zealand identity in a strongly historical fashion Sinclair is careful not to set that understanding in concrete. He acknowledges the changing and evolving nature of identity and remarks that the New Zealand nation which more recently (1985) banned the entry of nuclear powered or armed vessels into its waters is not the same nation that voted in favour of peacetime conscription in 1949 (Sinclair 1986a:13). Sinclair regards the modern self-image of New Zealanders to be less militaristic, less puritanical, less spartan and less male centred. He views the increased awareness amongst New Zealanders of their compatriots' achievements in literature, painting, acting and singing to have resulted in a less harsh sense of identity. "It retains a physical stress, but it has an intellectual and artistic dimension. Our self-image is fuller and more sensitive than it used to be." (Sinclair 1986a:13).

This is as far as Sinclair goes in terms of defining a *specific* New Zealand identity. He argues the malleable, plastic and evolving nature of identity prevents a more definitive account and wonders whether the rapidly changing world has created a mild identity crisis amongst New Zealanders. "Our morale is shaken as unemployment increases and our position on the table of rich nations declines" (Sinclair 1990:3). He notes that the period in which he published his book, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Sinclair 1986b), was without precedence given that three other books addressing aspects of New Zealand identity were also published during that time. These were *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story* by Christopher Pugsley (1984), *Being Pākehā* by Michael King (1985), and *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pākehā Male: A History* by Jock Phillips (1987). Sinclair argues that all writers, scholars, fiction writers, and artists who explore and interpret identity all enrich the identity of New Zealanders and contribute to an onward-going debate (Sinclair 1990:14).

In concluding this discussion of Sinclair's contribution to the topic of New Zealand identity, it can be seen that he posits a New Zealand sense of national identity as having been formed by a number of social and historical events and processes. Scattered lightly throughout his work is recognition of the

invented, mythological, perceived or conjured nature of New Zealand identity (Sinclair 1990, 1986a, 1986b). He also acknowledges the plural and changing nature of identity, and the masculinist focus of his work including the emphasis on war and rugby. He also points to how the identity of New Zealanders is viewed as having been moulded via the physical environment and their internalisation of the geography or landscape in which they live. Sinclair also grapples with the issue of Māori and Pākehā relations; referring to Māori as a ‘submerged nationality’, yet reluctant to embrace the call for tino rangatiratanga (tribal sovereignty). Many of these aspects of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand are also addressed by the sociologist Claudia Bell to whose work I now turn.

Claudia Bell

As a senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Auckland, Claudia Bell’s research interests include cultural studies, sociology of the arts and environmental issues (University of Auckland, 2011). Her 1996 book *Inventing New Zealand – Everyday Myths of New Zealand Identity* is the primary focus of this discussion and remains an influential book in shaping discussions of New Zealand identity since its publication 16 years ago. Like Sinclair, Bell outlines how various features such as the physical environment, sport, national parades, and immigration have created a New Zealand sense of identity. However she draws on a markedly different framework to explain how this has occurred. This consists of a strong focus on the invented, mythologised, romanticised, nostalgic and commodified constructions of key aspects of New Zealand identity. While Bell does not directly address Sinclair’s work she opposes many of his explanations and reasoning about the construction of a New Zealand national identity. For Instance, Sinclair outlines the various ways in which the natural environment has impacted on the lives and identities of Pākehā New Zealanders (i.e. the temperate climate, the untouched nature of particular landscapes, the continued ‘rural state of mind’ and the strenuous outdoor work performed by pioneers, farmers and labourers). In contrast, Bell is at pains to point out the mythologised aspects of the natural environment, such as the construction of a ‘clean and green’ New Zealand that is ‘sold’ to New Zealanders and overseas tourists alike.

The documenting of the sighting of ‘Staten Landt’ by Abel Tasman in 1642, Captain Cook’s arrival in 1769 and the entry of British settlers in the 1800s is, according to Bell, the beginning of various ‘inventions’ of New Zealand (Bell 1996:3-4). Noting that Tasman was recorded as ‘discovering’ the landmass and Cook later ‘discovered’ the flora and fauna of the same land (which he named New Zealand), Bell draws attention to the fact that such ‘inventions’ evade the fact that the land was already occupied by Māori. Further ‘inventions’ of New Zealand by British settler agencies were required to convince potential settlers that a long journey by sea offered a glorious future to those who made the trip (1996:3-4).

Bell also makes it clear that ‘New Zealand identity’ is really about ‘Pākehā identity’ and unhesitatingly points out the dominating and exploitive nature of Pākehā identity in relation to other New Zealand cultural identities, and Māori in particular. While Sinclair proclaims his desire for a harmonious and unified nation of Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders, Bell underscores the degree to which such harmony and unification is not only imagined but sentimentalised and glossed over. Bell also demonstrates how other ethnic groups in New Zealand are overlooked when describing New Zealand identity (1996:7, 136,15-7,168-9).

Nostalgia is another concept Bell uses to address how instances of New Zealand’s past have become romanticised; taking on meanings over and above those of their actual existence. In an essay ‘Kiwiana Revisited’ published in 2004, Bell identifies kiwiana as “particular artefacts and images that have been adopted as symbols of our nation” such as the Buzzy-bee, hokey pokey ice-cream, Vegemite and jandals (Bell 2004). She critiques this phenomenon in light of its “dominant and recurring motif in popular nostalgia and national mythology” which “creates a fictive cultural history” (2004:175). Here she stresses how the sentimental nostalgia of a generation of New Zealand baby boomers ultimately excludes newcomers and reasserts Pākehā primacy (2004:175). Moreover, Bell brings to light the fundamentally capitalist commodification of kiwiana that aims to induce the ‘warm fuzzies’ amongst sections of New Zealand society despite the fact that many of these commodities are produced by, and profit, overseas companies.

This highlights one area where the views of Sinclair and Bell concur; that radical economic and political changes in New Zealand during the 1980s and 1990s have resulted in a difficult time of self-examination for New Zealanders (Bell: 1996, 1997, 2004, 2005, 2006 and Sinclair: 1986b, 1990, 1993). For Bell this is over and above New Zealanders usual national preoccupation with identity and the constant need to tell themselves, and ask others, who they are (Bell, 1996:1). Bell links these political and economic changes to those aspects of New Zealand identity that create value in the international and national market place. Whether it be sporting events such as the America's Cup and Rugby World Cup, attempts by residents of small New Zealand towns to 'put themselves on the map', the mythology of rural New Zealand, the desire to show visitors the sights of the South Island, or gifting a Buzzy-bee toy to a toddler, Bell highlights how such events and actions promote the marketing of a particular 'brand New Zealand' that aims to project New Zealand in a certain light to both 'New Zealanders' and non-New Zealanders.

It is also evident that Bell views the idea of nationhood in a less favourable manner than Sinclair, stressing that the building of a nation is about:

[T]he politics that enables one culture to obliterate or assimilate another, through processes such as colonisation, genocide and immigration policies. We can add to this list the forms of 'social engineering' that take place within a nation, the political processes that bring about divisions in society between ethnic groups, classes and gender, and economic divisions: the divisions that split groups.

(Bell 1996:8)

In a sociological fashion, Bell advises that the connection between nature and nationality (i.e. that one is 'naturally' a New Zealander through being born in New Zealand) is brought about by the socialisation mechanisms that guide citizens. Constantly present devices such as language, education and the media result in the population's unconscious absorption of values and assumptions

relating to their identity as New Zealanders. Such values are then regarded as 'natural' or 'common sense' and imply an implicit connection between nation and nature. What we often fail to recognise, Bell stresses, is the deeply political motivations behind the many inventions of New Zealand identity and values which foster "a fake unity expressed in terms like, 'in the nation's interests'" (1996:8).

Bell also draws on the political scientist, Benedict Anderson, and his acclaimed book *Imagined Communities* (1983) to emphasise that while most fellow-nationals will never meet or know about one another, "in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson in Bell 1996:9). As such, a level of shared imagination is required to produce a consciousness amongst people in a way that the space they occupy is affiliated to that of a nation (Bell 1996:9). In a similar fashion Bell regards the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi as 'the founding myth of New Zealand'; one which has become mythologised as the founding of a harmonious bicultural New Zealand. This serves the purpose of creating an international image of New Zealand as a place of good race relations while glossing over past wars, bloodshed and injustices (ibid).

National museums also invite individuals to see themselves as part of a wider collective and shared history, and contribute to the process of myth-making. In her explanation of how this occurs Bell emphasises the covert and selective nature of identity construction:

Through the museum the nation is covertly articulated; an identity where people look backwards to the controllable and uncontroversial past, rather than forward to uncertainty Drawing from the past means reconstructing past events, policies and attitudes – from whatever is known, selecting, decontextualising, recombining, and inevitably distorting. Hence museums add to the process of national myth-making.

(Bell 1996:80-81)

Bell highlights further aspects of New Zealand identity that remain largely unchallenged and unquestioned. In her chapter titled, 'Clean, green and beautiful – the nature myth', Bell comments that:

The dramatic natural landscape, varied and picturesque, is a source of national pride. Unique flora and fauna feature as the dominant motifs in identity imagery. While most New Zealanders are urban dwellers, the experience of growing up here includes the experience of physical landscape and familiarity with distinctive birds, imprinted on perception and memory. We can also remember that our awareness of nature was always present ... As one grows up, a sense of identity is drawn at least in part from nature. An individual is familiar with local land and plant forms and local climate. Particular nature is understood as part of 'home' ... Investigation of our collective appreciation of nature helps us to understand its role in national identity formation and patriotism.

(Bell 1996:28-29)

Bell also makes the point that for New Zealanders, nature represents pre-colonial history. Furthermore, in discourses on the development of a nation's identity, nature often substitutes or stands in for the past. In search for the root of identity she argues that a turn to nature is one way of accounting for a distinctive identity and in this respect New Zealand as a nation can claim itself to be unique purely for its natural landscape and the plant and animal species endemic to the country. In turn, two versions of romanticised landscape have been created: landscape is either beautiful but potentially dangerous, or it is beautiful and beautifully cultivated; a tribute to both nature itself and to the efforts of human labour. Bell regards both these versions of nature as having contributed to national identity myths. The first version she links to the publically paraded notion that New Zealand is a country that is one with nature and history, and which supports Māori indigeneity and culture. The second version is the promotion of the belief that the land-use practices brought to New Zealand by British migrants have

resulted in New Zealand being one of the most productive countries the world (Bell 1996:2-30).

Bell also draws on the work of historian Miles Fairburn (1989) to emphasise the importance of nature to the development of national identity in New Zealand. She comments that Fairburn views the romanticisation of the development of the pioneer family, and their life in nature, as a foundational theme in modern New Zealand society. Bell also refers to Sinclair's work and outlines his argument that the physical efforts of the pioneers were central to the process of building a nation.

Harsh, tough and lonely, it was believed that breaking in the land required superhuman effort which formed national character. The climate (mild compared to that of Britain) facilitated year-round outdoor work, and values of outdoor life found their expression in terms such as 'honest toil', 'taking the wilderness', 'living off the land', and so on. Sinclair concluded that New Zealanders look to the historic relationship with nature for their roots.

(Bell 1996:35-36)

However, Bell also notes that because much of the land was already occupied by Māori, and Māori and nature were intrinsically connected, the destruction of indigenous culture along, with nature, was viewed as 'progress' that necessitated the conquering of both Māori and the bush. Thus the mastery of nature (and Māori) resulted in economic success and farms carved out of bush were testament to hard work and the emerging New Zealand 'character'. For Bell, this interaction of 'man' with the environment implied a close relationship with nature, resulting in the fundamental ideology of the development of national identity in New Zealand; that of a land of bountiful natural resources where the inhabitants were closely in tune with nature. Alongside this was a Christian drive to civilise the pagan and the sense of pride and achievement in conquering the physical environment. These shared experiences of early rural pioneers not only unified settlers but contributed

to the development of a sense of national pride and nationhood unified (Bell 1996:36-37). Referencing the historian Jock Philips and his book *A Man's Country* (1987) Bell states:

The New Zealander was not defined as an intellectual, or by spiritual or political characteristics, but by the physical and the masculine: man against the elements, man transforming nature into nation.

(Bell 1996:37)

The role of indigenous flora and fauna in further romanticising and mythologising nature as a crucial component of national identity is another aspect that Bell highlights. One of the reasons flora and fauna is ascribed with such considerable symbolic value lies in its history. The more ancient the history of the claimed symbol, she argues, the more firmly it is claimed as a permanent feature of national identity (Bell 1996:37). The kiwi and the silver fern are two well known symbols that Bell describes as having been exploited in efforts to claim a national symbol. Drawing on the work of the art commentator Richard Wolfe (1989, 1991) Bell stresses the “array of attempts to claim from nature a symbol to represent New Zealand, and the persistence of successful symbols” (1996:38). For further support Bell looks to the work of political scientist Matthew Hirshberg (1993) and notes that, unlike the United States of America, national icons in New Zealand symbolise the natural environment rather than the political or social components of the environment (Bell 1996:38).

Bell documents a number of other facets of ‘the nature myth’ in her chapter including the nostalgia for nature. She states how memories of idealised previous times and childhood continue to retrospectively validate the nature myth and also how nostalgia for the past and the romanticisation of nature are entwined (Bell 1996:39). Bell also alerts the reader to the classic nature myth of human ‘badness’ against the ‘goodness’ of untouched nature, seen in the longing for when the “good, wild and sacred will be one again” (ibid). This assumes pre-industrial nature was in ecological harmony and not used in an exploitative manner. In this

regard Bell remarks that in the face of human abuse of nature we have managed to romantically invest in early humankind an innate respect for nature; an assumption which underpins the nature myth. At the same time we look to nature as a site for the indulgence of our dreams of mastery over the earth (Bell 1996:39-40).

In linking nature, identity and tourism Bell highlights how eco-tourism, adventure tourism and green tourism inform not only tourists understanding of New Zealand, but the identity of New Zealanders themselves. Quoting tourism analyst Dean MacCannell (1992) she stresses that tourism is not just a commercial enterprise but an “ideological framing of history, nature and tradition, a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own ends” (Bell 1996:40). In this regard tourism builds on existing myths and generates and sells new ones; a process that Bell views as a manipulation of nationalist ideology. Using the semiotician Roland Barthes’ explanation of myths as “systems of communications, containing meaning, concept and sign” (1996:48) Bell again stresses how certain myths serve ideological purposes and mask existing and ongoing inequalities in society. She notes that not only have nature and landscape become powerful identity myths in New Zealand, so too has the notion of ‘green New Zealand’. Not only do New Zealanders sell this myth to tourists, Bell argues, they end up half-believing it themselves. As a result the status of nature within the notion of national identity renews their sense of pride in their nation and the nature myth goes unchallenged (ibid).

In 2006 Bell addresses the ‘branding’ and national ‘greenwash’ of identity in New Zealand, this time within the framework of the homogenising effects of globalisation. Here she argues that the terms ‘clean and green’ and ‘100% Pure’ “divert us from unpicking attitudes to environmental damage in favour of supporting promotional campaigns and commercial interests” (Bell 2006:13).

In summary, Bell’s attention to the topic of New Zealand identity does much to question, challenge, dispel and problematise many of the accepted notions and understandings of New Zealand identity. She draws the reader’s attention to particular myths that hide or conveniently gloss over past or current actions,

injustices and inequalities, many of which reverberate throughout the nation today. She also highlights how matters of political expediency, dominant ideology and commercial gain underpin many of the prevailing myths. She ends her 1996 publication with the following question and statement:

As we near the year 2000, is there any chance of a place for new images that show hybridity rather than Pākehā purity? Or are we stuck with this predictable and oppressive consensuality, which insists on a single set of images, a single national character, and a single version of history? ... The idea of nation supposedly engenders a sense of community across a large number of people. But the representations and symbols of national identity counter this sense of 'one big happy family' by omitting so many sectors ... As larger numbers of New Zealanders grow increasingly disillusioned with their society, the myths become transparent. There must be potential for more progressive and inclusive representations.

(Bell 1996:195)

It appears that at Massey University in Palmerston North and later at the Albany campus of the same university Professor Paul Spoonley was asking similar questions. In the following section I outline the manner in which he addresses these questions.

Paul Spoonley

As a sociologist who has been with Massey University since 1979, Spoonley's research interests include immigration and settlement practices, ethnic policies and identities, political extremism (e.g. neo-fascism), the labour market in New Zealand, and contemporary employment policies (Massey University, 2011). Much of his work reflects an interest in ethnicity and social relations and he remains a prolific writer and publisher of academic material in this area. He has published articles on Pasifika identities (2001) and more recently that of 'new New Zealanders' such as Chinese and Korean immigrants (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008). An abiding focus of his work has been that of immigration (1980, 1982,

1985, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010). Another major aspect of his work has been the subject of ethnicity, and the social relations between Māori and Pākehā which I turn to in the discussion below. This discussion of Spoonley's work has a different focus to the preceding outlines of Sinclair and Bell's work. Whereas the discussions of Sinclair and Bell's work provide a broad picture of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, Spoonley's work more specifically addresses the subject ethnicity and social relations. Thus I begin by outlining Spoonley's work on indigenous politics and relations in Aotearoa New Zealand (Spoonley & Fleras 1999) before outlining his perspective on Pākehā identity and the argument that such an identity has moved from a mode of oppression to a mode of being (Spoonley 1995). Finally I refer to a more recent publication (Spoonley 2005) where he discusses Pākehā identity within the context of globalisation.

In 1999 Spoonley co-authored a book with fellow sociologist, Augie Fleras, titled *Recalling Aotearoa – Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*. Here Spoonley and Fleras undertook a “reviewing of the past and rethinking of the present” (Spoonley & Fleras 1999:v). In a similar vein to Bell they hold up to the light various rose-tinted myths of New Zealand identity and find them wanting. In particular they examine the discontent of Māori with respect to land ownership, identity and culture; something they view as bubbling beneath the glossy New Zealand ethos of egalitarianism and ‘He iwi kotahi tatou’ (‘We are one people’). Via discussions of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi, cultural politics, and the case for a reconstruction of state policy in terms of Māori affairs, Fleras and Spoonley argue for a bi-national constitution in Aotearoa/New Zealand¹¹ that also upholds a multicultural agenda within a bi-national framework (1999).

¹¹ In most instances Fleras and Spoonley refer to ‘New Zealand’, however, they also refer to ‘Aotearoa/New Zealand’ particularly in instances when they are discussing the contemporary and future aspects of nationhood.

Spoonley also writes on the topic of Pākehā identity and social and cultural relations within the broader context of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand (1995, 2005, 2007). In his essay on Pākehā identity (Spoonley, 1995) uses a post-colonial framework to position his argument. Drawing from the post-colonial theorist Kendall Thomas (1993) he argues that 'post' does not mean 'after' but refers to a continuous engagement with the effects of colonial occupation (Spoonley 1995:97). He also points to the work of Mason Durie (a prominent commentator on Māori social and political life) to promote a 'discursive politics' whereby New Zealand comes to know itself in Māori terms. This leads Spoonley to describe the dominance of a 'bifurcatory politics' in Aotearoa New Zealand. Here issues as wide ranging as feminism, nationalism and national identity, the distribution of economic resources and matters of local or national politics inevitably diverge with respect to how such issues affect Māori and Pākehā (1995:98).

Acknowledging that the use of the term 'Pākehā' has racial connotations (e.g. some regard the term as synonymous with 'whiteness') and that elements of an earlier racist discourse still exist, Spoonley nevertheless favours the use of this term and its link to progressive notions of post-colonialism. Such a post-colonialism, he contends, can be found in early expressions of cultural nationalism evident in literature from the 1940s onwards, and which took a more concrete form in the 1970s and 1980s (Spoonley 1995:99-100). He also notes how the increasingly urban location of Māori, ongoing damage to the reproduction of Māori language and cultural practices, and an ever-present economic marginalisation combined to encourage a new set of Māori politics in the 1970s, which openly confronted Pākehā and the State. For instance the 1975 Māori Land March (hikoī) and the 1977-78 Māori occupation of Bastion Point acted as key events which brought Māori concerns over land, language and cultural identity to the national limelight. Referring to Hauraki Greenland's discussion of 'Māori Ethnicity as Ideology' (1991) Spoonley remarks that:

The mythology of the immediate post-war decades that ‘race relations’ were harmonious was quickly dispelled, and issues such as the alienation of Māori land provided the basis for a powerful moral and political critique.

(Spoonley, 1995:100)

The 1980s heralded another divergence between Māori and Pākehā including the 1981 protests against a tour of a South African rugby team to New Zealand. With a certain degree of scorn Māori protesters pointed to the fact that Pākehā were all for protesting about the racism in South Africa but were blind to the racism in their own back yard. A further hikoī to Waitangi in 1984 excluded many Pākehā who had previously protested alongside Māori. In Spoonley’s view this sped the process of a critical self-reflection amongst a number of Pākehā. Interestingly these Pākehā were defined not only in counterpoint to the new political identity of Māori, but also in opposition to those in the Pākehā community who identified with the national and populist nationalism of the National government leader Robert Muldoon (whose populist catch cry announced ‘We’re all New Zealanders’) and also to socially liberal politics of the Labour government (Spoonley 1995:101). Spoonley goes on to argue that:

The themes of New Zealanders at war or the taming of a hostile landscape by Pākehā colonists were replaced by the anti-war sentiments and green politics of the 1980s of an educated and a politically liberal middle-class baby-boomer generation that was seeking a post-colonial identity. Out of this emerged a new conception of what being Pākehā meant.

(Spoonley 1995:101)

Spoonley cites the publication of Michael King’s ethnic autobiography *Being Pākehā* (1985) as an early and enduring contribution to what defined Pākehā during this period and out of which grew the call to acknowledge Māori as te tangata whenua (people of the land). This growing moral and political commitment to biculturalism resulted in significant changes in legislation

(although these were later undermined by the Court of Appeal) and heralded fresh ambitions by iwi to establish an effective tino rangatiratanga or tribal autonomy (Spoonley 1995:102).

Spoonley also highlights that the emergence of this post-colonial Pākehā identity has not been without its critics and that the politics and commitments underpinning it have been treated with suspicion by various media commentators, politicians and academics¹².

While such media commentators and politicians argue that post-colonial Pākehā are merely ‘guilty liberals’, criticism from academics includes accusations of dogma and an inevitable reification and privileging of cultural politics¹³. Others within academia argue that Pākehā do not exist as an ethnic community with a sense of solidarity (Pearson, 1989, 1990). In a similar fashion Nash (1990) points out that the term ‘Pākehā’ is often objected to by New Zealanders of European descent and that Pākehā “rarely organise themselves as an ethnic community for economic or political purposes” and it is therefore not possible to sustain an analysis of Pākehā culture in a materialist sense (Spoonley, 1995:104).

Despite this, Spoonley argues that the question of how to construct a convincing analysis of identity politics is a question of epistemology. Here he draws on Etienne Balibar’s analysis that acknowledges both the agency and the transformative potential of non-economic relations and conflicts, and his critique that highlights the tendency of materialist analyses to impose a uniform and global approach to localised social relations and conflict. In this respect, Spoonley declares:

¹² This includes media commentators such as Caroll Wall (now Caroll du Chateau) and Frank Haden, politicians such as the National MP John Carter and the leader of the New Zealand First Party, Winston Peter. Academics critical of this post-colonial stance include Keith Sinclair, CK Stead, David Pearson and Roy Nash.

¹³ This includes a concern raised by Keith Sinclair regarding the development of a liberal version of apartheid.

I want to argue that the progressive political position adopted by many of those who identify themselves as Pākehā can be understood as the exercise of agency with a goal of social and economic transformation New social movements of contemporary politics are fundamentally different from the class-based and work-focussed politics of industrial society. Non-class ideologies and non-economic forms of resistance and mobilisation have played a much more critical role, and have gained a new status as a basis for political action. In this context, culture can be defined as a product of the imagined communities which share experiences, lifestyles and knowledge.

(Spoonley 1995:104)

Spoonley therefore argues that self-identification as Pākehā constitutes individuals as political beings. Furthermore, Pākehā identity is typically associated with other political identities at the liberal/radical end of the spectrum, and implies a shared set of experiences or commitments.

It is an identity informed by an understanding of both iwi histories and a self-aware and self-critical appreciation of the ethnic history of Pākehā. The significance of this position is that it affirms the centrality of biculturalism and the ambition of tino rangatiratanga for iwi. It reflects a post-colonial position that privileges equity in terms of biculturalism.

(Spoonley 1995:105)

Spoonley's statement does not come without caveats. He points out that a parallel set of feminist-centred politics also deploys the term Pākehā, and that such groups have also played an important role in post-colonial debates and the construction of new identities. In this regard it is important to understand that Pākehā political identities are not unified and are in fact highly fragmented. The actual influence of Pākehā must also be considered. Here Spoonley notes the contradictory and countervailing forces of the 1980s and 1990s. At this time the 1984-1990 Labour government was prepared on the one hand to implement a liberal position on

matters such as the reintegration of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi into New Zealand law. On the other hand it was notable for its radical monetarist policies and economic neo-liberalism; the latter resulting in further marginalisation of Māori in the formal economy. Spoonley also acknowledges that many of those who self-identify as Pākehā and affirm the centrality of biculturalism are largely confined, in a political sense, to the middle class and middle-aged; a group which, one could argue, is in the relatively privileged position of having the luxury of self-reflection and the economic resources to consider a redistribution of economic resources to iwi. Furthermore, such a group, according to the leftist political commentator Chris Trotter (1992), can be considered to be fundamentally divided between 'intellectuals' who have retained a commitment to traditional egalitarian ideals, and 'glossy reactionaries' who seek to reduce spending, increase efficiency and focus on their own material self-interest (in Spoonley 1995:104-6). Spoonley also warns of an emerging neo-racism that is couched in terms of an economic nationalism that denies the cultural and economic marginalisation of Māori. His fear is that self-identification as Pākehā may transform from a relatively liberal form of bicultural identity to a regressive and exclusive nationalism (Spoonley 1995:108-109).

In concluding his essay, Spoonley argues for the claiming of Pākehā identity as a political label which represents an important 'fictive ethnicity' or 'imagined community' that stands in a particular relation to tangata whenua, affirms the centrality of justice as defined by Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi and emphasises commitment to a bicultural society. This Pākehā identity, he argues, moves beyond a 'mode of oppression' to a 'mode of being' and is celebrated as having its own history and contribution. In claiming the above identity, Spoonley acknowledges the label 'Pākehā' is an ambiguous ideological product with tentative and problematical political and cultural understandings. Despite this he argues the claiming of Pākehā identity promises to forge important concessions with regard to biculturalism (Spoonley 1995:113).

A decade later (2005) Spoonley addresses the notion of Pākehā identity in the wider context of globalisation¹⁴. In an essay titled ‘Becoming Pākehā: Majority Group Identity in a Globalizing World’, Spoonley (2005) discusses not only the notion of Pākehā identity but the wider issue of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand in the context of globalisation. Here he addresses the internal developments of decolonisation and post-colonial politics, critiques of the historical constructions of the nation, the privileging of the majority by the activities and institutions of the State, and the increasing importance of claims from both indigenous and ethnic communities. His aim is to examine whether ‘the intensification of global connections and the impact of global forms of influence and consumption reduces and homogenises local cultural identity’ (Spoonley 2005:97).

Drawing on Lie (1997), Spoonley defines globalisation in general terms as “the political and economic connections of large-scale systems” (Spoonley 2005:97). He also notes Giddens’ (1990) four elements of globalisation (the world capitalist system, the nation-state, the world military order and the international division of labour). More specifically Spoonley describes globalisation in terms of the current alteration, intensification and impact of “information technologies and internationalisation of trade and travel, with the effect that global systems of ownership, production and consumption compete with local control” (Spoonley 2005: 97). In this sense he views the transnational networks of people, organisations and firms as being increasingly significant in defining the nature of community and identity (ibid).

Spoonley also notes the shift from the historical conception of ‘nation-state’ (based on a relatively autonomous national culture) to one of ‘nation’ whereby the territorial entity encompassed by the state becomes more detached from the idea of nationhood.

¹⁴ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Claudia Bell also re-addresses the issue of New Zealand identity within the context of globalisation in her 2006 publication ‘Branding New Zealand: the National Green-wash’.

Given that majority national groups typically were most clearly associated with nation-building projects and in constructing a sense of nationhood that reflected their ambitions and values, contemporary globalisation has represented a challenging period in the way in which these majority groups see themselves, how they see others, and the nature of the society they have historically dominated.

(Spoonley, 2005:98)

From here Spoonley outlines how the notion of what it means to be a 'New Zealander' has developed over time. In a similar fashion to Sinclair he argues that New Zealand's international involvement in war and sport (particularly rugby) contributed to the construction of national identity at the end of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century. He also describes how local political leadership built a degree of economic independence that contributed to the imagining of a nation, despite strong cultural, economic and political connections with Britain. The expansion of state institutions, including welfare, by the 1935 Labour Government, added to this growth of a New Zealand identity, along with a 'New Zealand voice' that was evident in literature from the 1930s and which explored the topics of the local landscape, the process of settlement and relations between Māori and Pākehā (Spoonley 2005:98-99).

Spoonley then turns to the events of the 1970s and 1980s. Here he outlines the emergence of the Māori renaissance, the steps made towards biculturalism and the radical moves of both the Labour and National governments towards a neo-liberalist economy (also mentioned in his 1995 publication). He also highlights the increased arrival of Pacific peoples to meet labour market demands in New Zealand, the country's declining reliance on the United Kingdom as an economic market for its primary produce (due to the United Kingdom's entry into the European Economic Community in the early 1970s) and other international events such as the oil shock of 1973 which forced New Zealand to diversify its reliance on a small range of agricultural products and a single market (Spoonley 2005:99). The 1990s heralded further changes to New Zealand's political, cultural

and economic landscape, particularly in relation to immigration. Spoonley reports that by 1990 the number of Pacific people born in New Zealand exceeded those who had arrived from the Pacific Islands in the previous two decades.

By the late 1990s, their presence was being felt in a much more obvious way in national sports teams, politics, the public service and the arts. Demographic growth of these communities has been rapid and, in many cases, they are significantly larger than the societies of origin in the Pacific – a language like Samoan is now one of the most widely spoken in New Zealand. Bicultural issues have been supplemented by multicultural ones.

(Spoonley 2005:105)

The issue of multiculturalism was brought to further attention with changes to New Zealand's immigration policy that resulted in the significant arrival of Asian migrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea between 1990 and 1996, and the further arrival of migrants from China and India from the late 1990s. Spoonley is of the view that New Zealand is now faced with a 'problematizing' of the nation in terms of the increased political assertiveness of Māori and increasingly culturally diverse immigrant and immigrant-descended populations. This has important implications for notions of citizenship and nationality, and Pākehā identity in general. Rather than cultural homogenisation, New Zealand is experiencing a fragmentation of nationality and increasingly diverse and hybridised identities. While in some instances it has resulted in the 'politics of rejection' by Pākehā, Spoonley concludes that globalisation has added a new impetus to debates about nationality and nation-state, and has reinvigorated the cultural attachments and expressions of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Spoonley 2005:109).

Spoonley has continued to explore these issues in his research surrounding recent immigrants. His interest in issues of ethnicity and social relations is also shared by other authors who address the topic of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, in a recent publication about identity in

New Zealand, *New Zealand Identities – Departures and Destinations* (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh & Teaiwa 2005), the vast majority of the 17 contributing essays address the issue of identity in New Zealand via the lens of ethnicity. Spoonley's work is also notable for the way it draws on perspectives put forward by the likes of Sinclair and Bell, while also providing a forward looking perspective for the future of national identity and social relations in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the topic of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand via the work of three key academic commentators Keith Sinclair, Claudia Bell and Paul Spoonley. The relevance of their work to this thesis has been to establish a broad picture of how the subject of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand is posited within the social sciences. In particular, Sinclair's work demonstrates how key international, geopolitical, environmental and economic factors have influenced the formation and development of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The publication of Sinclair's work spans half a century and remains a well regarded and accepted record and depiction of the events and elements that have moulded the psyche of many New Zealanders.

Both the work of Sinclair and Bell is relevant in that they both draw attention to the relationship between the natural environment and national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is an area I return to in later chapters where I present my research findings. Bell's approach to the topic of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand also challenges the accepted understandings of national identity put forward by the likes of Sinclair. Instead, Bell highlights how various accepted narratives are, in fact, fictive histories. For Bell, these disguise pressing social and environmental issues, and evade the way in which the dominant group, Pākehā, have exploited other groups (particularly Māori) and the nation's natural resources. In this respect, Bell's work is of relevance to this thesis, in that it challenges the accepted, even dominant ideologies, about national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is one of the aims of this thesis, and while the manner in

which this thesis challenges existing ideologies is distinct from Bell's approach, her work nevertheless sets a precedent.

The relevance of Spoonley's work to this thesis relates to the way in which his work exemplifies an increasingly prevalent way in which national identity is explained and understood in Aotearoa; via the positions of different ethnic identities and groups including Māori, Pākehā, Pacific peoples, and those from South East Asia. Spoonley and Bell's work is also notable for the manner in which it refers to globalisation as influencing national identity. In the following chapter I reintroduce this link between globalisation and identity via the theorist Stuart Hall. I also discuss how other theorists already mentioned in this chapter, including Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner, further illuminate our understanding of national identity.

Finally, I draw attention to the key element that neither Sinclair, nor Bell, nor Spoonley address in their work, and which provides the motivation for this thesis. Here I refer to the way in which national identity is experienced in an aesthetic sense. In this regard, the commentaries of Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley, do not reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense that *this* is what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, and *these* are the types of experiences that speak to me about being a New Zealander. Although Bell addresses the issue of aestheticisation, she does so from a perspective that highlights themes such as consumerism, commodification and capitalism. One of the aims of this thesis is to address aesthetic experiences of national identity from an alternative perspective, including the work of Christopher Bollas and Fredric Jameson, which I discuss in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. In the following chapter I turn to a more general discussion of identity, and how the cultural theorist, Stuart Hall, describes the way in which understandings of both self and collective identity have changed over time. This provides a springboard for further chapters which examine the topic of identity, and aestheticisation, in greater detail.

Chapter Three

National and self identity: Stuart Hall

Introduction

This chapter draws heavily on an article written by the cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall, titled 'The Question of Cultural Identity' (1992). In this article Hall addresses the 'crisis in identity' debate and the argument that old identities which stabilised the social world have given rise to new identities which, in turn, have fragmented previously understood notions of the unified subject and nation. My discussion of Hall's article is divided into two sections which act as a hinge between Chapter Two and Chapter Four. As such, section one situates the accounts of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, as discussed in the previous chapter, within the wider field of debates and theories about national identity, that are traversed in this chapter. Here I refer to the ideas of national cultures as 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) as mentioned by Claudia Bell (Chapter Two), and the various narratives, inventions of tradition, and foundational myths that national identities are based upon.

In section two I address another aspect of identity which Hall considers: self identity. Here I outline Hall's view that three primary historical stages denote different ways in which the individual self or subject has been theorised (as a subject of the Enlightenment, as a sociological subject, and as a postmodern subject). I follow this with a discussion of Hall's argument that five more recent shifts in thinking and theory have further challenged and destabilised earlier understandings of a unified self (these shifts are the revision of the ideas put forward by Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud and Ferdinand de Saussure, the development of feminist theory and activism in the 1960s, and the work of Michel Foucault).

While section one locates the subject matter of Chapter Two within the broader discussions of national identity, section two provides a broad outline of how self identity has been theorised over time. This sets the scene for the discussion of Christopher Bollas' theory of self identity which follows in Chapter Four. The purpose of this current chapter, therefore, is to provide a fuller and more in-depth understanding of topics discussed in the chapters it proceeds and precedes.

Before elaborating on Hall's discussion of national and self identity, it is important to note Hall's point that he has over-simplified his explanations for the purposes of his discussion. Of equal importance is the fact he does not articulate his own theoretical position in his article. He merely states he has written "from a position basically sympathetic to the claim that modern identities are being 'de-centred'; that is, dislocated or fragmented" and his intention to explore this claim (Hall 1992:274). I now outline the manner in which this position influences the understanding of national identities.

Section one National identities

National cultures as 'imagined communities'

Hall claims that modern identities are becoming de-centered, dislocated and/or fragmented as a result of a distinctive type of structural change (late modernity) that has been transforming societies for the past several decades. He states that:

This is fragmenting the cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and nationality which gave us firm locations as social individuals.

(Hall 1992:275)

These modern and late-modern shifts in the conception of identity (discussed in further detail in section two) draws him to consider the place of the fragmented subject, in relation to cultural identity, and to national identity in particular.

In the modern world, the national cultures into which we are born are one of the principal sources of cultural identity. In defining ourselves we sometimes say we are English or Welsh or Indian or Jamaican. Of course, this is to speak metaphorically. These identities are not literally imprinted in our genes. However, we do think of them as if they are part of our essential nature.

(Hall 1992:291)

Hall puts forward the argument that we are not born with national identities but that they are formed and transformed in relation to 'representation'. "We only know what it is to be 'English' because of the way 'Englishness' has come to be represented, as a set of meanings" (Hall 1992:292). In this regard, a nation is not just a political entity but a system of 'cultural representation' whereby people participate in the idea of the nation or a symbolic community. The emergence of these 'national cultures' in modern times replaces pre-modern or traditional societies where the allegiances and identifications with tribal, religious and regional clusters were subsumed by the nation-state (ibid).

In turn, national culture becomes a key feature of industrialisation and modernity along with the creation of cultural institutions (e.g. museums, schools and hospitals), and often a single language as a dominant means of communication. Likewise, national cultures are composed of symbols and representations. This reflects the concept of national culture as a 'discourse' in which constructions of meaning organise and influence not only our actions but also the way we understand ourselves (Hall 1992: 292-293).

National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it.

(Hall 1992:293)

In this respect, the previously mentioned Irish political scientist Benedict Anderson speaks of ‘imagined communities’, and argues that the differences between nations lie in the different ways they are imagined (Hall 1992:293). Likewise, the Indian born critical theorist Homi Bhabha (b.1949) argues that, like narratives, nations “lose their origins in the myths of time and only full realize their horizons in the mind’s eye” (Bhabha 1990:1 in Hall 1992:293). Hall builds on Anderson and Bhabha’s statements by describing key ways in which narratives of national culture are told, as outlined below.

Narratives in national history, literature, the media and popular culture

These provide a set of stories, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, or *represent*, the shared experiences, sorrows and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation. As members of such an ‘imagined community’, we see ourselves in our mind’s eye sharing in this narrative.

(Hall 1992:293)

An example of this type of narrative is the shared understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand as a country of scenic landscapes, fresh green pastures, quarter acre sections, wooden weatherboard homes and backyard vegetable gardens. Traditional rituals such as the Anzac Day parades and dawn services also provide a shared narrative, along with celebrations of significant sporting events such as the Rugby World Cup, as outlined in the previous chapter.

Primordial narratives

An essential element of primordial narratives which relates to national identity is the sense that the nation has remained unchanged from its ‘birth’, and is therefore unified and continuous (Hall 1992:294). Here Hall draws on the Parisian born philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner (1925-1995) (whom Sinclair refers to in his discussion of New Zealand nationalism) and his poetic reference to the primordial narrative of the nation as something that is:

... there, in the very nature of things, sometimes slumbering, but ever ready to be awoken from its long, persistent and mysterious somnolence.

(Gellner 1983:48, in Hall 1992:294)

Thus national identity is posited in terms of origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness. In Aotearoa New Zealand the utilisation of indigenous flora and fauna as symbols of national identity can be understood as a form of primordial narrative. This includes references to trees including the Kauri, Pohutukawa, and Kowhai, birds such as Kiwi, Kereru, Kea, Kōkako and Takahē, and the Tuatura, a reptile that existed during the time of the dinosaurs over 65 million years ago. These flora and fauna, which pre-date human settlement, underscore a sense of the timelessness of the origins of the country; despite the fact Aotearoa New Zealand is fairly 'young' in terms of human settlement (approximately 1300 to 1500 years).

Narratives and the invention of tradition

The narratives mentioned above involve repeated practices of a ritualistic or symbolic nature that celebrate particular values and behaviour that imply continuity with our historical past. In Aotearoa New Zealand today, the Anzac Day services invoke an increasing sense of tradition with growing numbers attending dawn vigils and memorial services around the country. However, the current popularity of these commemorations is in stark contrast to the 1950s, 60s and 70s, which marked firstly indifference and later on controversy around Anzac Day, as a result of protests against Vietnam War and the fight for women's rights. The meaning of Anzac Day has changed over time. Initially, it marked the anniversary of major military action by New Zealand and Australia in World War I and the landing and losses of the Anzacs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) in Gallipoli during April 1916. However, Anzac Day now formally commemorates all New Zealanders and Australians who have lost their lives in military service, although more recently the focus has returned to the events and loss of lives at Gallipoli. The last two decades has seen an increasing number of

commercial travel operators arranging 'package deals' for the growing number of New Zealanders who make the pilgrimage to Gallipoli. Here, via ritualised ceremonies, they commemorate the 2721 New Zealand soldiers who lost their lives in the battle.

The foundational myth

Hall describes the foundational myth as "a story which locates the origin of the nation, the people and their national character so early that they are lost in the mists of, not 'real', but 'mythic' time" (Hall 1992:294-295). This type of invented tradition has the effect of smoothing the confusions, disasters and disarray of history into an intelligible sense of 'community' (ibid). Hall also comments that these foundational myths provide an alternative history or counter-narrative that pre-dates the ruptures of colonisation.

New nations are then founded on these myths. (I say 'myths' because, as was the case with many African nations which emerged after decolonization, what preceded colonization was not 'one nation, one people', but many different tribal cultures and societies.)

(Hall 1992:295)

Likewise in Aotearoa New Zealand the creation myth(s) of Papatūānuku and Ranginui supports the idea that, prior to colonisation, Māori existed as one foundational group, rather than a differing array of iwi and hapu. Thus, national identity is often symbolically grounded on the idea of a pure, original people. However, as Hall points out, in the realities of national development, it is rarely this primordial people who persist or hold power (Hall 1992:295). As the example above illustrates, commonly held understandings of pre-colonised Māori, portray, a set of shared and homogenous values and practices, rather than the varied values and practices which existed amongst different iwi and hapu.

In this regard, the modern discourses of national culture are often ambiguously constructed in times of past former glories. Hall recalls the rhetoric of

Thatcherism during the 1980s which looked back to the past imperial glories of Victorian values while “simultaneously undertaking a kind of modernization in preparation for a new stage of global capitalist competition” (Hall 1992:295). Likewise, in Aotearoa New Zealand, the current understandings of the values held, and the sacrifices made by the ‘community’ of Anzac soldiers, can be regarded as important and necessary attributes in today’s rapidly changing environment.

By outlining the manner in which national cultures and identities are ‘imagined’, Hall highlights the discrepancies and cracks that lie beneath the surface veneer of our so-called unified national identities. Most modern nations, he notes, consist of a number of disparate cultures, united only by lengthy processes of violent conquest and the forcible suppression of cultural difference (Hall 1992:296). Nations are also divided by different social classes, ethnic groups and gender. In this regard, Aotearoa New Zealand promotes itself as an egalitarian and classless society, in comparison to countries such as the United Kingdom. This is despite the wide gaps in education, income and health statistics between the diverse ethnic groups within Aotearoa New Zealand. Likewise, discourse surrounding national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand is typically masculine (as pointed out by Keith Sinclair, and mentioned in Chapter Two). Cultural heroes such as the Anzacs, Sir Edmund Hillary, Sir Peter Blake and the all-important All Blacks, along with the traditional image of a hardworking ‘bloke’ wearing gumboots, a black singlet, and a ‘she’ll be right’ attitude, all combine to promote an especially masculine feel to national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In this respect various ‘discursive devices’ attempt to subsume internal divisions, contradictions and cross-cutting allegiances into one ‘national culture’. National culture is never simply about allegiance, bonding and symbolic identification but a structure of cultural power (Hall 1992:296). For example, British culture does not consist of an equal partnership between the component cultures of the Scottish, Welsh, Irish and English, Hall argues, but of an effective hegemony of the southern-based English culture which is represented as the essential British culture (ibid). Likewise, national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand is not represented in

terms of its increasingly multicultural components including Māori, Pākehā, Pacific and Asian peoples, but primarily in terms of a hegemonic Pākehā culture. Despite this, national identities are represented as unified in a manner comparable to the ‘fantasy of the whole self’ noted by the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (ibid:297).

Hall’s description of imagined communities, shared and invented narratives, primordial and foundations myths, as posited by various theorists, usefully illustrates the manner in which national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand can be, and has been understood. Indeed, the manner in which Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley discuss the matter of national identity reflects and draws on the work of theorists such as Anderson, Gellner, Bhabha, and Hall.

Globalisation is one further ingredient which has a bearing on social and national forms of identity. This has been identified by Bell and Spoonley, in their examination of national identity, discussed in Chapter Two. In Chapter Five I outline how globalisation plays a significant role in the formation of Fredric Jameson’s conceptualisations of the political unconscious; which I draw on in my methodology for this thesis. In this final part of this section I discuss Hall’s explanation of how globalisation has influenced both local and national forms of identity.

Globalisation

Hall refers to ‘globalisation’ in terms of:

[T]hose processes, operating on a global scale, which cut across national boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organizations in new space-time combinations, making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected.

(Hall 1992:299)

Since the 1970s this scope and pace of global integration has accelerated the flows and linkages between nations (Hall 1992:299). Hall notes that this has the effect of

impacting on cultural identities in different ways. One on hand, this may lead to the erosion of national identities, due to the growth of cultural homogenisation and 'the global post-modern'. On the other hand, however, there is the possibility of strengthening national and other 'local' or particularistic identities a result of resistance to globalisation. Yet a further effect is the claiming of new identities of hybridity which result in the decline of national identities (ibid:300).

Hall also notes how these particular aspects of globalisation fundamentally affect systems of representation. In this regard the classical sociological idea of 'society' as a well bound system has been replaced by a focus on the compression of distances and timescales (Hall 1992:301). Every medium of representation (e.g. writing, drawing, painting, photography, telecommunication systems) ultimately translates its subject into spatial and temporal dimensions. Therefore, Hall states:

[T]he shaping and reshaping of time-space relationships within different systems of representation have profound effects on how identities are located and represented ... All identities are located in symbolic space and time. They have what Edward Said calls their 'imaginary geographies' (Said, 1990): their characteristic 'landscapes', their sense of 'place', 'home' ... and in the narratives of the nation which connect the individual to larger, more significant national historic events.

(Hall 1992: 301)

Drawing from Giddens (1990), Hall then highlights the separation of space from place:

'Place' is specific, concrete, known, familiar, bounded: the site of specific social practices which have shaped and formed us, and with which our identities are closely bound up ... Places remain fixed; they are where we have 'roots'. Yet space can be 'crossed' in the twinkling of an eye – by jet, fax or satellite.

(Hall 1992:303)

In the twenty years since Hall's publication, this crossing of space has become intensified with increased use of air travel, mobile phones, and the growth of the internet. For Aotearoa New Zealand, another element of globalisation has been the introduction of new immigration policies, which have actively encouraged immigrants from both western and non-western nations, and added further questions about what it means to be a New Zealander.

However, while there is evidence of a loosening of strong national identities and the strengthening of other cultural ties both within and beyond the nation-state, Hall states that national identity remains strong with regard to legal and citizenship rights (Hall 1992:302). In this regard, Hall argues that local, community, regional and global identities have become more significant (ibid). He states that:

Cultural flows and global consumerism between nations create the possibilities of 'shared identities' – as 'customers' for the same goods, 'clients' for the same services, 'audiences' for the same messages and images – between people who are far removed from one another in time and space.

(Hall 1992:303)

As a result, national cultures become increasingly exposed to outside influences and risk the weakening of cultural identities through cultural bombardment and infiltration. Such 'cultural homogenisation' arises from the global marketing of styles, places and images, international travel and globally networked communication systems. As a consequence, our identities become detached and dis-embedded from specific times, places, histories and traditions (Hall 1992:303). Hall also notes that the 'jeans and trainers' uniform of the young in Western culture is as prevalent in non-Western countries, a result of both world-wide marketing and the fact that these items are often produced in non-Western countries (1992:302). In this discourse of global consumerism and the resulting 'cultural supermarket', it seems possible to choose from a range of different identities to please different parts of ourselves.

[D]ifferences and cultural distinctions which hitherto defined *identity* become reducible to a sort of international *lingua franca* or global currency into which all specific traditions and distinct identities can be translated.

(Hall 1992:303)

Such transformations of identity present a tension between the 'global versus local' or 'universal versus particularistic'. Here national identities and their attachment to particular places, events, symbols and histories represent a local or particularistic form of belonging. On the other hand, universalistic identifications reflect an interest in global or world-wide issues concerning humanity or the planet in general. Hall points out how these tensions have persisted with the growth of nation-states, national economies and national cultures providing a focus for local identities and the expansion of the world market as a global system providing a focus for global identities (1992:304).

For those who regard globalisation as a threat to national cultures and identities, Hall responds with three counter-arguments. Drawing from Kevin Robin (1991), Hall firstly puts forward the argument that alongside the growth of cultural homogenisation is the fascination with 'difference' and the marketing of ethnicity and 'otherness'. Here globalisation, in the form of 'niche' marketing and specialisation, both promotes and exploits local difference.

Thus, instead of thinking of the global replacing the local, it would be more accurate to think of a new articulation between 'the global' and 'the local' ... [the local] operates within the logic of globalization.

(Hall 1992: 304)

Drawing from Doreen Massey's (1991) work, Hall puts forward the idea of 'power geometry' and argues that not only is globalisation unevenly distributed around the globe and between different regions and strata of the population, its processes affect various groups and places in different ways (Hall 1992:304-305).

This relates to Hall's third point, that the unequal relations of cultural power between 'the West' and 'the Rest' means that global capitalism is essentially a Western phenomenon. Not only is the proliferation of identity choices more extensive at the 'centre' of the global system than at its peripheries, global capitalism is primarily about the export of western commodities, values, priorities and ways of life. In this regard, Hall is of the opinion that globalisation is impacting everywhere, but the 'periphery' is experiencing its pluralising impact at a slower and more uneven pace (Hall 1992: 305). However, Hall also points out how the phenomenon of migration has seen a momentous movement of peoples from the peripheries to the centre:

[L]arge numbers of the poorer peoples of the globe have taken the 'message' of global consumerism at face value, and moved towards the places where 'the goodies' come from and where the chances of survival are higher. In the era of global communications, the West is only a one-way airline charter ticket away ... This formation of ethnic-minority 'enclaves' within the nation-states of the West has led to a 'pluralization' of national cultures and national identities.

(Hall 1992:306-307)

In Britain, Hall reports how the migration of large numbers of people from ex-colonies, such as Pakistan, India and the West Indies, has resulted in a contestation of British national identity and its exposure to the pressures of difference, 'otherness' and cultural identity. As with other Western nations where the same thing is happening in varying degrees, the issue of national identity and the 'cultural centredness' of the West is increasingly being brought into the open (1992:307). As mentioned above, in Aotearoa New Zealand, an increase in the number of migrants from such countries as China, South Korea and India, since the 1990s, has drawn greater attention to what it means to be a 'New Zealander' or 'Kiwi' in an increasingly multicultural society.

Changes in migration have not only triggered a widening field of identities, and the growth of new identity-positions, but also a degree of polarisation amongst them. This relates to Hall's point that globalisation can lead to the strengthening of local identities. This is seen in the defensive reaction of some members of dominant ethnic groups who feel threatened by the presence of new cultures. In response, minority cultural groups may take up a defensive position with the construction of a strong re-identification with their culture of origin, including the revival of cultural traditionalism, religious orthodoxy or political separatism (Hall 1992:308). This is demonstrated in Aotearoa New Zealand, by the existence of groups such as the New Zealand National Front and Right Wing Resistance (predominantly members of the dominant cultural group, Pākehā), who protest against the presence non-European migrants to New Zealand.

In instances such as these Hall would argue that globalisation has the effect of contesting and dislocating the centred and previously 'closed' identities of a national culture. Its pluralising effect on identities produces a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification and makes identities more positional, political, plural and diverse. Nevertheless, its impact is contradictory. While some identities gravitate towards 'tradition' and the restoration of 'purity', unity and certainty, others move towards 'translation' and the play of history, politics, representation, and difference (Hall 1992:309).

Writing nearly a decade before the 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States, Hall notes the rise of fundamentalist Islamic movements and their return to orthodoxy. In this sense 'global homogenisation' is matched by a powerfully mobilising and binding political and ideological force.

The resurgence of nationalism and other forms of particularism at the end of the twentieth century, alongside and intimately linked to globalization, is of course a remarkable reversal, a most unexpected turn of events ... globalization seems to be producing neither simply the triumph of 'the global' nor the persistence, in its old nationalistic form of 'the local'.

(Hall 1992:314)

As such, Hall argues that the displacements and distractions of globalisation are more varied and contradictory than either its protagonists or opponents suggest (Hall 1992:314). Furthermore:

[T]hough powered in many ways by the West, globalization may turn out to be part of that slow and uneven but continuing story of the de-centring of the West.

(Hall 1992:314)

This reiterates Hall's overall argument that identities are becoming de-centred, dislocated and/or fragmented as a result of structural changes that have been transforming societies for the past several decades. I now turn from the discussion of national identities to one of self identity. I begin by taking a step back from the current diagnoses of de-centered identities and describe how self identity has been theorised over the past several centuries.

Section two Self identity

The purpose of this section is to set the scene for the discussion of Christopher Bollas' theory of self identity which follows in Chapter Four. Although Bollas' notion of identity does not sit neatly within the following categorisations, this current discussion nevertheless allows Bollas' particular notion of identity to be located within the broader understandings of self identity.

Hall distinguishes three conceptions of identity: the Enlightenment subject¹⁵, the sociological subject and the post-modern subject. Hall points out that these are somewhat simplified categorisations, and it would be simplistic to argue that we have gone from fully unified and coherent subjects to totally dislocated subjects. Nevertheless, he posits that there have been three strategic points during modernity in which the conceptualisation of the subject has changed and which warrant our attention (Hall 1992:277-281).

Since the modern subject emerged at a particular time (its 'birth') and has a history, it follows that it can also change, and indeed, that under certain circumstances we can even contemplate its 'death'.

(Hall 1992:281)

The Enlightenment subject and sovereign individual

The Enlightenment subject or sovereign individual is based on the conception of a person as a fully centred and unified entity endowed with the capacities of reason, consciousness and action. One's centredness emerges at birth and consists of an inner core which unfolds (although remaining essentially unchanged) throughout the person's existence (Hall 1992:275). Hall places the birth of this 'sovereign

¹⁵ Hall uses the term 'subject' to denote how an individual or self is both the 'subject of' and 'subject to' the practices of their era, such as the Enlightenment era and current postmodern era (Hall 1992:282-283).

individual' between the Renaissance humanism of the sixteenth century and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century.

The pre-sovereign (or feudal) individual's experience of subjecthood was starkly different, notes Hall (1992:281). During this time the status, rank and position of subjects in society were regarded as part of the divine and secular order and therefore not open to fundamental change (ibid). However, a number of movements in Western thought and culture challenged these beliefs. Hall views the Protestant Reformation as significant in terms of freeing the individual's conscience from the religious institutions of the Church, and instead, emphasising the subject's individual relation to God. Further cultural and educational strides during the period of Renaissance humanism created a focus on the inquiry and investigation of Nature, while the Enlightenment period and its greater focus on rational and scientific thought held the promise of freedom from dogma and intolerance (ibid).

Hall credits the French philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650) with formulating and refining the concept of the individual as a rational, cogitative and conscious subject at the centre of knowledge.

At the centre of 'mind' he placed the individual subject, constituted by its capacity to reason and think. 'Cogito, ergo sum' was Descartes' watchword: 'I think, therefore I am' ... Ever since ... known as 'the Cartesian subject'.

(Hall 1992:282)

A later philosopher, the Englishman John Locke (1632-1704), defined the individual in terms of an identity that remains the same and is continuous with its subject. This is the 'sovereign individual' Hall refers to; a subject of modernity that is the 'subject of' reason, knowledge and its practices, as well as being 'subjected to' the consequences of such practices (1992:282-283) such as individual property rights and ownership and the developing field of medicine.

Hall notes that while it was “just possible” in the eighteenth century to imagine life as centred upon the individual subject-of-reason (1992:283), modern societies steadily acquired a more collective and social form and grew more complex. The accompanying structures of modern democracy, the nation-state, and political economy all contributed to a more social conception of the subject (1992:284), as discussed below.

The sociological subject

Two major developments contributed to articulating a broader set of conceptual foundations for the modern subject. The first was Darwinian biology. The human subject was ‘biologized’ – reason was given a basis in Nature, and mind a ‘ground’ in the physical development of the human brain.

(Hall 1992:284)

Hall credits the development of the sociological subject to the rise of new social sciences and the setting in motion of a number of uneven transformations. While the ‘sovereign individual’ and ‘his’ wants and needs stayed central in discourses of modern economics and the law, the Cartesian dualism of ‘mind’ and ‘matter’ became evident through a split in the social sciences. Here psychology took over the study of the individual and its mental processes whereas sociology critiqued the rational and individual Cartesian subject and developed an account of subjectivity which addressed the relationship between the subject and their social environment (Hall 1992:284).

Hall links this ‘sociological subject’ to the work of sociologists such as George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), Charles Cooley (1864-1929) and other symbolic interaction theorists who elaborated on the ‘interactive’ conception of identity and the self. Such theorists argued that the ‘inner core’ of the subject was not autonomous or self-sufficient but was formed in relation to ‘significant others’ who mediated to the subject the values, meanings, symbols and other cultural

understandings of the world she or he inhabited. This understanding bridged the gap between personal and public domains and reflected the growing complexity of the modern world.

The fact that we project 'ourselves' into these cultural identities, at the same time internalizing their meanings and values, making them 'part of us', helps to align our subjective feelings with the objective places we occupy in the social and cultural world. Identity thus stitches (or, to use a current medial metaphor, 'sutures') the subject into the structure. It stabilizes both subjects and the cultural worlds they inhabit, making both reciprocally more unified and predictable.

(Hall 1992:276)

Later theorists, such as the Canadian Erving Goffman (1922-1982), highlighted the way in which 'the self' is presented in different social situations and the resultant conflicts and negotiations that occur. At the macro level the American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) studied the 'fit' between the self and the social system. It is this interactive sociological model and the relationship between the 'inside' and 'outside' that Hall regards as the main product of the social sciences during the first half of the twentieth century (1992:284-285). At the same time, however, Hall notes a more disturbing picture of the subject and identity which emerged in the aesthetic and intellectual movements associated with the rise of Modernism. He refers to the French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) and the German-language novelist Franz Kafka (1883-1924) who describe estranged and fugitive-like subjects in their work, and images of a faceless bureaucracy. Hall finds this prophetic in terms of the befalling of the Cartesian and sociological subjects in late modernity (1992:285).

The post-modern or de-centred subject

As Hall points out, the processes of identification through which we project our selves onto our cultural identities have become more open-ended, variable and problematic. As a result, the subject previously regarded as having a unified, stable and singular identity has become fragmented and composed of plural and sometimes contradictory or unresolved identities. As post-modern subjects we are conceptualised as having no fixed, essential identity and instead we are continually formed and transformed in relation to the cultural systems that surround us. As the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted with the bewildering and fleeting multiplicity of possible identities:

If we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or ‘narrative of the self’ about ourselves (see Hall, 1990). The fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy.

(Hall 1992:277)

Drawing from the work of British sociologist Anthony Giddens (b.1938) and his distinction between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ societies, allows Hall to draw attention to the manner in which individual identity is affected by societal change and globalisation. Giddens notes that the values and symbols of the past are honoured in traditional societies as a means of perpetuating the experience of generations. In contrast modernity is regarded not only as “the experience of living with rapid, extensive and continuous change” (Hall 1992:278), but as a highly reflexive form of life in which “social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character” (Giddens 1990:37-38 in Hall 1992:278).

Employing the work and terminology of Argentinean political theorist Ernesto Laclau, Hall draws attention to the plurality of power centres; the dislocated structures of modernist societies; and the continual manner in which such societies

are de-centred by forces outside themselves. Laclau therefore argues that the articulation of identities is only ever partial and that the structure of identity remains open. While this has the unsettling effect of dislocation, Laclau also stresses the possibility of the forging of new identities and the production of new subjects (Laclau 1990:40 in Hall 1992 278-279).

While Giddens and Laclau offer somewhat different readings of the post-modern world, Hall highlights their joint emphasis on discontinuity, fragmentation, rupture and dislocation. With these concepts in mind, Hall outlines five advances in social theory and the human sciences since the mid twentieth century (the period of late modernity) that have de-centred the Cartesian subject. These five advances consist of: (1) the recovering and reworking of Marxist thinking in the 1960s; (2) the impact of the ‘father of psychology’ Sigmund Freud (Austria, 1856-1939); (3) the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913); (4) the work of the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and (5) the theoretical critique and social movement of feminism. In the following chapter (Chapter Four) I address how Freud’s understanding of the unconscious has influenced the psychoanalytic theory of Christopher Bollas. In the chapter which follows Chapter Four I discuss how the cultural theorist, Fredric Jameson, has utilised Marxian ideas in his consideration of cultural objects.

The recovering and reworking of Marxist thinking

Although Karl Marx (1818-1883) developed his socio-political thinking during the 1840s to the 1880s, his views regarding the nature of modernity and its “constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbances of all social relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation” (Marx & Engels 1888/1973:70) were revived and reworked a century later by the likes of the post-Marxist theorist Louis Althusser (1918-1989). Marx’s argument that ‘men (sic) make history, but only on the basis of conditions which are not of their own making’ (1852) was re-thought by 20th century theorists who argued against notions of individual agency. Marx’s argument about the making of history reinforced their claims that individuals were not in any meaningful sense the ‘authors’ or ‘agents’ of history, but instead could

only act on the basis of the historical conditions made by others and into which they were born (Hall 1992:286). In particular, Althusser regarded Marx as having displaced two key propositions of modern philosophy: that there is a universal essence of man and that this essence is the attribute of ‘each single individual’ (ibid). In Chapter Five I discuss the manner in which the theorist, Fredric Jameson, reconstructs these two propositions.

The influence of psychology and unconscious thought

Hall notes that Freud’s ‘discovery’ of the unconscious and his theories about identity and sexuality have played havoc with the logic of reason and the concept of the knowing and rational Cartesian subject with a fixed and unified identity (Hall 1992:286). Freud argues that subjectivity is the product of unconscious psychic and symbolic processes, and that individuals are therefore structured on the basis of these unconscious processes. This has had a profound bearing on modern thought and psychoanalytic theorists such as the Frenchman Jacques Lacan. From his reading of Freud, Lacan takes the view that the image of the self as ‘whole’ and unified is something the infant only gradually and partially learns via complex unconscious psychic negotiations in early childhood, which include powerful fantasies of its parental figures (Hall 1992:287). In particular, Lacan regards the ‘mirror phase’ of an infant’s development as integral to forming the child’s entry into various systems of symbolic representation including language, culture and sexual difference. Hall describes Lacan’s mirror phase as follows:

[T]he infant who is not yet coordinated, and possesses no self image as a ‘whole’ person, sees or ‘imagines’ itself reflected – either literally in the mirror, or figuratively, in the ‘mirror’ of the other’s look – as a ‘whole person’ ... This formation of the self in the ‘look’ of the Other ... opens the child’s relation with symbolic systems outside of itself.

(Hall 1992:287)

However, this entry into the symbolic system is not straightforward and leaves the subject divided or split:

The contradictory and unresolved feelings which accompany this difficult entry – the splitting of love and hate for the father, the conflict between the wish to please and the impulse to reject the mother, the divisions of the self into its ‘good’ and ‘bad’ parts, the disavowal of the masculine/feminine parts of oneself, and so on - which are key aspects of this ‘unconscious formation of the subject’ and which leave the subject ‘divided’, remain with one for life.

(Hall 1992:287)

However, despite this division the subject experiences their identity as unified. This is a result from their fantasy as a unified person, which developed during the mirror phase. Hall notes that these contradictory origins of identity are formed via unconscious processes over time, rather than being innate in consciousness at birth.

There is always something ‘imaginary’ or fantasized about its unity. It always remains incomplete, is always ‘in process’, always ‘being formed’.

(Hall 1992:287)

In this regard we should not understand ‘identity as a finished process’, but rather as an ongoing process of ‘identification’. As such our continual search for identity, and the construction of biographies to knit the different parts of ourselves into a whole, can be understood, in psychoanalytic terms, as the need to recapture the fantasized pleasure of fullness and plenitude (Hall 1992:287-288).

While Hall notes that much psychoanalytic thinking is widely contested, due in part to the fact that unconscious processes cannot be seen, it has nevertheless challenged the idea of a rational subject with a fixed and stable identity (Hall 1992:288). In the following chapter, I introduce the psychoanalytic theorist,

Christopher Bollas and his interpretation of Freud's work. Bollas' identity of the self and subjectivity shares similar elements to those described above, and provides the platform for how identity is posited in this thesis.

The work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure

The third de-centring of the subject that Hall notes, is the work of the structural linguist de Saussure, and his argument that language pre-exists our subjectivity. De Saussure is regarded as one of the key theorists whose work contributed to the 'linguistic turn'; which posits language as a structuring agent that constitutes our reality. As such, de Saussure views language as a social rather than individual system, which Hall explains as follows:

To speak a language is not only to express our innermost thoughts, it is also to activate the vast range of meanings which are already embedded in our language and cultural systems.

(Hall 1992:288)

Added to this is de Saussure's contention that the meanings of words are not fixed, but arise in relation to the similarities and differences to other words in the language code. We know what 'cold' is because it is not 'hot'. Here Hall points out the analogy between language and identity. For instance, I know who 'I' am in relation to who I am not (e.g. my father). De Saussure's work has been key to the development of poststructuralist theorists including Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), well known for his work as a deconstructionist. Derrida argues that despite our best efforts, we cannot ultimately fix meaning, including the meaning of our identity. While we aim for closure, meaning (and identity) is inherently unstable, constantly disrupted, and therefore ultimately eludes us (Hall 1992:288).

Words are 'multi-accentual'. They always carry echoes of other meanings which they trigger off, despite one's best efforts to close meaning down. Our statements are underpinned by propositions and premises of which we are not aware, but which are, so to speak, carried along in the

bloodstream of our language. Everything we say has a 'before' and an 'after' – a margin in which others may write.

(Hall 1992:288)

This is a position which Christopher Bollas partly shares, as does the cultural theorist, Fredric Jameson, whose work I discuss in Chapter Five. Jameson, in particular, dispels notions of self agency in favour of a self that is structured not so much by language, but by economic and political structures that regulate the manner and means of generating and distributing wealth.

Michel Foucault

The highly influential work of the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault includes his formulation of the 'genealogy of the modern subject'. Here Foucault isolates a type of 'disciplinary power' that evolved during the 19th century, and which became fully developed in the 20th century (Hall 1992:289). Such power is concerned not only with the regulation, surveillance and governance of the population at large, but also with the individual and their body. Foucault finds disciplinary power in the likes of institutions including schools, prisons and hospitals which 'police' us. The aim, he argues, is to bring the joys, miseries, activities, work, lives and deaths of individuals under control, including our moral and physical health, sexual practices and family life. As such, the administrative regimes, with their professional 'experts' and knowledge of the social science 'disciplines', are brought to bear on individuals and in effect produce a 'docile body' (Hall 1992:289).

Hall sees Foucault's disciplinary power in the new large-scale collective institutions of late modernity, whose applications of power and knowledge further 'individualises' us as subjects. Although Hall does not agree with all the details of the disciplinary regimes which Foucault describes, he nevertheless supports the paradox that:

[T]he more collective and organized is the nature of the institutions of late-modernity, the greater the isolation, surveillance and individuation of the individual subject.

(Hall 1992: 289-290)

Foucault's ideas are not reflected in Sinclair, Bell or Spoonley's discussions of national identity presented in Chapter Two, nor in Bolla or Jameson's work which follows in Chapter Four and Five respectively. Nevertheless, it is important not to underestimate the wide impact that Foucault's ideas have had in the social sciences during the past several decades.

The theoretical critique and social movement of feminism

The feminist movement was one of many of social movements which surfaced during the 1960s and were part of what Hall describes as "the great watershed of late-modernity" (Hall 1992:290). A number of ideas were common to the feminist movement, anti-war and counter-cultural youth movements, the civil rights struggles, third-world revolutionary movements and peace movements. This included opposition to the corporate liberal politics of the West and Stalinist politics of the East, affirmation of the subjective as well as the objective dimensions of politics, a suspicion of bureaucratic forms of organisation, a weakening or breaking up of class politics and associated mass political organisations, a powerful 'cultural' emphasis, and lastly, an appeal to the social identity of its supporters (Hall 1992:290). The latter refers to the appeal of feminism to women, sexual politics to gays and lesbians, racial struggles to ethnic minorities, and the anti-war faction to peaceniks. Hall refers to these radical developments as leading to the historical birth of 'identity politics'; one identity per movement (ibid).

Further to these developments were the feminist challenges to the Cartesian and sociological subject. Hall describes these challenges as denoting a questioning of the classic distinction between private and public; hence the feminist slogan "the

personal is political". Added to this was the opening up to political contestation areas of social life such as the family, sexuality, housework and the domestic division of labour. Questions around how we are formed and produced as gendered subjects, and our politicised identity as women/men, mothers/fathers, daughters/sons was also given political and social exposure. This included challenging social positions which led to the formation of sexual and gendered identities, and the replacement of the notion that men and women were of part of 'mankind', with the question of 'sexual difference' (Hall 1992:290).

Thus Hall maps the conceptual shifts which have challenged the fixed and stable identity of the Enlightenment subject with that of a de-centred, contradictory, unfinished, fragmented post-modern subject. Hall notes that while many social scientists and intellectuals may not agree with or accept these developments in modern thought, they would nevertheless concede that such ideas have had a deeply unsettling effect on how the issue of identity has come to be conceptualised (1992:291).

In the following chapter, I revisit the topic of gendered identities and outline Bollas' view that the core of our mental functioning is constituted by three orders of knowledge: the maternal order, the paternal order and the order of the infant. Although the maternal and paternal orders reflect aspects of our gendered identities, of greater interest to Bollas is the manner in which these orders (including the order of the infant) reflect certain styles of knowledge and ways of thinking, irrespective of gender.

Summary

This brings to an end the discussion of Hall's description of the changes and challenges to understandings of both self and national identity over the past few hundred years. This second section has outlined Hall's review of the historical shifts and challenges that have changed the way we think about the self. The topic of 'self' identity may seem immaterial to the topic of this thesis, however, in the following chapter I discuss Bollas' argument that particular forms of collective and

cultural identity emerge as a result of our early self experiences of identity. This second section also locates Bollas' work within the wider understandings of the self, and draws attention to the manner in which Freud's work has influenced Bollas.

Section one referred to Hall's discussion of national identity, in a way that situates Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley's accounts of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand (Chapter Two), within the broader field of literature that addresses this topic. Having touched on the work of key theorists within this field, such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, and Homi Bhabha, it is possible to see how Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley's work mirror the arguments put forward by these theorists. In this regard it can be seen that Hall's overall position that modern identities are being 'de-centred'; dislocated or fragmented is reflected in Spoonley's work. Likewise, Bell's work emphasises the 'mythologised' and 'invented' nature of national identity, put forward by Anderson and Bhabha, while Sinclair draws from Gellner's work on nationalism. This chapter has therefore provided a broader and more general understanding of identity, to support the discussion of national identity that took place in Chapter Two, and to underpin the discussion of self identity which follows in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four

Self and collective identity: Christopher Bollas

Introduction

On the one hand, this chapter provides a continuation of the discussion of self identity which was introduced in the previous chapter. In this sense, it extends the discussion of the Freudian unconscious which was raised in the previous chapter. On the other hand, and more importantly, it marks a shift, from discussions which provide background information about the general topic of this thesis, to discussions which directly address the subject matter of this thesis. As such, this chapter introduces the psychoanalytic theorist, Christopher Bollas, whose work I draw on, to a significant degree in this thesis. In particular, Bollas' conceptualisation of the three orders of knowledge, and the evocative object, outlined below, form key components of the methodology (Chapter Six) for this thesis. The remaining components of this methodology are drawn from the work of Fredric Jameson, which I address in the following chapter (Chapter Five).

Other elements of Bollas' work, which I outline below, help to illustrate how the wider aims of this thesis can be understood. However, rather than breaking the flow of Bollas' ideas with frequent explanations as to how these ideas are pertinent to the methodology or wider aims of the thesis, I confine most of these points to the end of each section, and in the case of key points, to the conclusion of this chapter.

As a means of positioning Bollas' work within the broader Freudian and post-Freudian fields of inquiry, I begin with an outline of the different schools of thought that comprise this field, including American ego psychology, British object relations theory, Kleinian theory, Lacanian and

post-Lacanian theory. I then provide a brief biography of Bollas, before outlining his critique of Freud, and his argument that different models and understandings of the unconscious all provide important forms of perception. This constitutes the first section of this chapter. In the second section I outline Bollas' 'three orders of knowledge' and the manner in which these three orders structure not only the core of our mental functioning, but also the different psychoanalytic schools of thought. In section three I outline Bollas' theory of the self which reflects his object relations approach to psychoanalytic thought. This leads to a discussion of Bollas' view that objects can operate as transformational and evocative objects that are capable of transforming the way we think. I then discuss how Bollas' understanding of the self sits between categorizations of an essential and postmodern self, which were outlined in the previous chapter. In the concluding section, I review the key understandings of Bollas' work which I put to work in this thesis.

Section one

Positioning Bollas within the Freudian and post-Freudian fields

A fitting way of situating Bollas' psychoanalytic ideas within the wider field of psychoanalytic theory can be found in Stephen Elliot's book on psychoanalytic theory published in 2002. Here Elliot examines the core premises of Freudian psychoanalysis, ego psychology, object relations theory, Kleinian theory, and Lacanian and post-Lacanian theory. In a way that is not dissimilar to how Stuart Hall frames 'The Question of Cultural Identity (1992)', Bollas frames his examination of these areas of thought by looking at the interconnections between selfhood and culture, personal meanings and the contemporary world, and the way in which these standpoints connect with contemporary social theory and cultural criticism.

Elliot discusses the revision of Freud's atomistic and mechanistic language in light of the psychological dynamics of selfhood that depend on mutually engaged subjects (2002:26). Within classical Freudian thought, he explains how the synthesizing capacity of the ego is understood as being continually outstripped by psychic reality (the unconscious) and external reality (society). Thus, the ego attempts to negotiate some sort of balance between inner desire and external necessity (2002:27). In this regard, the American post-Freudian tradition and British school of object relations theory share the belief that classical Freudian meta-psychology does not adequately comprehend the nature of human motivation, problems of selfhood and contemporary difficulties in living (2002:26).

However there are fundamental differences in the manner in which the American and British schools of thought have responded to classical Freudian thought (Elliot 2002:26). The American tradition is divided into two schools of thought comprising ego psychology and the interpersonal or culturalist model of psychoanalysis. Key figures within ego psychology include Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann, Ernest Kris, RM Lowenstein, Erik H Erickson and David Rapaport. Within this school of thought there is a focus on the genesis, development and adaptive capacities of the ego. The steering capacity of the ego is shifted up a gear into full blown self mastery, and there is an emphasis on the masterful and rational action of the ego (ibid). While the interpersonal and or culturalist tradition share with ego psychology a focus on the rational aspects of selfhood, Elliot also notes its emphasis on the place of social and cultural conditions that constitute selfhood (ibid). Key figures within this tradition include Erich Fromm, Harry Stack Sullivan, Karen Horney and Clara Thomson (ibid:26-27).

In contrast, the British school of object relations theory focuses on the dynamics and structures of intersubjectivity, and the complex emotional links between the self and other people. Here, figures such as WRD Fairbairn, Harry Guntrip, Melanie Klein, DW Winnicott, John Bowlby and Michael Balint are regarded as key proponents of this line of thinking. In broad terms, Elliot describes object relations theorists as viewing the self in emotional dialogue with others, and the

internal structuring of the psyche as an outcome of interpersonal activity, reciprocity and emotional exchange. Relations with other people, particularly the mother, become part of the psychical economy of the self and emotional need for connection and recognition leads to the psychic incorporation of representations of otherness into the self. These representations of the other are regarded as essential to the formation of the self's psychical structure (Elliot: 2002:28).

The other side of the coin, notes Elliot, is that interpersonal distortions or pathologies become built into the structure of the self (2002:29). Thus, socially destructive capacities in the social world pervert the self's capacities for relating to other people. In this regard, cultural conditions are seen as underpinning the nature of the psychic structure. This theoretical premise underscores not only a fundamental re-evaluation of the nature of psychic structure, but also how the self is constituted. In this regard, Michael Balint views psychical life as characterised by a search for 'primary object love' (ibid).

In turn, WRD Fairbairn, a pioneering analyst of the British object relations school, argues that the self is 'object seeking' rather than 'pleasure seeking', and unconscious enjoyment is the means of achieving emotional connection with others (Elliot, 2002:29). Fairbairn and other object relations theorists view the starting point for the constitution of the self in the maturational environment, specifically between the quality of maternal care experienced by the infant. Here the earliest months of life are characterised by the total merging between the infant and mother, referred to as 'primary identification'. This primordial unit at the centre of psychical life provides the basis for genuine interactions between the self and other people, and from which self organisation becomes more or less integrated (2002:29-30).

From this angle, Elliot argues that object relations theory holds the promise of enriching our critical understanding of the interpersonal processes involved in the constitution of the self, and illuminates the subtle and profoundly important interpersonal mechanisms which suggestively reconfigure relations between the self and social context (2002:30). Not only does the pre-Oedipal focus on the

mother and child provide a corrective to classical Freudian theory, it also directs our attention to important changes affecting social relations. In this regard, Fairbairn and Balint view the late modern age as creating severe disturbances in object relating and impacting on the nurturing bond of the mother and infant in a way that prevents the establishment of a core sense of self and trust in human relationships. In social terms, this can result in a lifelong search for primary love through substitute fantasy objects (ibid).

However, for Elliot the difficulties of object relations theory, lies in its fundamental principle that the ego is bound up with objects from birth, meaning that disturbances in object relating are first and foremost interpersonal problems. Thus, the argument for a timeless core of personal unity means that the social, cultural and political possibilities for transforming the self are acutely limited. (2002:30-31).

In contrast, DW Winnicott's version of object relations theory argues that other people play a facilitating role in the construction of the self. In particular, Winnicott emphasises how the newborn infant's ability to develop a sense of self from an original state of 'unintegration' centres on the quality of object relations between the infant and mother and a state of 'primary maternal preoccupation'.

Through such preoccupation, the mother offers a special sort of presence, or devotion, which allows the child to experience itself as omnipotent and self-identical. The mother thus objectively provides support for connection with external reality, while at that moment the child is free to create a 'representational' world.

(Elliot, 2002:31)

Thus, the mother is not only responsive but non-intrusive and allows the infant to freely create, imagine and desire. This leads the child to a positive experience of aloneness and establishment of a basis for 'going-on-being' in the world. Elliot regards Winnicott's portrait of the self as underscoring a key paradox at the centre of human development, as follows:

The emergence of a stable core of selfhood, according to Winnicott, depends upon establishing the kind of relationship that is at once liberating *and* supportive, creative *and* dependent, defined *and* formless ... it is within this interplay of integration and separation that Winnicott locates the roots of authentic selfhood, creativity, and the process of symbolization, as well as social relations and culture.

(Elliot, 2002:31-32).

Despite this, Elliot argues that Winnicott's model of development overlooks intensity of passion, emotional fracturing, aggression and destructiveness. For Melanie Klein, these elements function in the form of fantasy, and it is between the continual shuttling of the inner fantasy world and outer world that a sense of self emerges. Thus, the self is not only originally caught up in and dispersed within a world of part objects such as the maternal breast, but our tendencies towards destruction and aggression are projected on to these early objects. As such, the infant splits the mother (or breast) into good and bad objects, in an effort to displace the pain of destructive unconscious fantasy (Elliot, 2002:32).

Klein refers to the splitting of world into good and bad as the 'paranoid-schizoid' position. In order to move beyond these poles of paranoid displacement and projective idealization, the infant needs to integrate these split representations and the conflicting feelings underlying them, and accept the mother as an independent and separate person. The stumbling block to this is the infant's fear that it has injured the loved object due to its violent fantasies of the maternal body. To move beyond this it is necessary for the infant to 'make reparation' through the experience of guilt and ambivalence; an act Klein refers to as the 'depressive position' (Elliot, 2002:32).

Elliot regards this negotiation of depressive feelings in the Kleinian framework, from which the creative and stable self emerges, as carrying positive value. Though the paranoid-schizoid mechanisms continually resurface in our personal and social lives, it is the interplay between destructive expression and creative reparation that

gives the Kleinian perspective a powerful critical edge for the analysis of self-identity and modern culture (2002:32-33).

In defining how object relations theory and Kleinian theory is positioned in terms of the social world, Elliot states that object relations theory views the emergence of selfhood as tied to the development of interpersonal relations. In this regard object relations theory tends to understand contemporary social experience as both danger and opportunity. Thus, it recognizes both the affirmative and destructive dimensions of modern life, and their impact upon the cultural sense of self.

To the extent that contemporary culture restricts human relations, the object relations perspective argues that self-organisation is stunted. Where this occurs, life becomes drained, society is experienced as dislocating, and superficial narcissistic relationships tends to dominate.

(Elliot, 2002:33)

From a Kleinian perspective, however, our contemporary social experiences are understood not in terms of relationships, but of 'loaded internal objects'. It is the interplay of paranoid anger and personal despair that permeates our day-to-day social life, that interests Kleinian theorists, and the extent to which modern culture provides opportunities for communal reparation and creative living (Elliot, 2002:33).

To the extent that cultural displacement swallows up personal strength, Kleinian theorists emphasize that self and world become disconnected, as paranoid anxieties prevail.

(Elliot, 2002:33)

For Elliot, the psychoanalytic perspectives presented above, are all premised upon the guiding ethos of autonomous selfhood. In classical psychoanalysis such autonomy is conceived in terms of a self emancipated from distorting unconscious passions. From an object relations perspective, the autonomous self emerges from

the reconstruction of emotional links with other people, bringing human relationships to the fore. Elliot reports that our capacity for interpersonal relationships may depend variously on:

[T]he rational mastery of inner drives (Hartmann), stable internal objects (Fairbairn), creative human relations (Winnicott), or reparation (Klein).

(Elliot, 2002:33-34)

However, in psychoanalytic theories derived from semiotics, postmodernism and poststructuralism, Elliot reports on the radical break with this search for self coherence and autonomy (2002:34). Instead, there is sustained critique on the notion of the 'selfhood' and 'subjectivity' and the modernist belief in the autonomy of the self is rendered as no more than ideological fantasy. In this regard the modernist notions of rationality, emancipation, autonomy and revolution are dismissed in favour of the postmodern notions of contingency and ambivalence, and the attempt to come to terms with the fractured and problematical nature of contemporary social experience (ibid).

Linked to this is the poststructural emphasis on surfaces, images and fragments, which more recent psychoanalytic theories look to, and which regard the de-centred self at one with postmodern accounts of a fictive, imaginary or illusory notion of self-identity (Elliot, 2002:34). For the poststructuralist theorist, Jacques Lacan, these narcissistic illusions of selfhood can be traced back to an early stage in life which he refers as the 'mirror stage'.

This stage of human development comes about when the small infant, previously unintegrated and uncoordinated, finds its bodily image reflected in a mirror. Whether the mirror stage is understood literally or metaphorically, the crucial point for Lacan is that the small infant is led to *misrecognize* and *misperceive* itself. According to Lacan, the mirror provides an illusory apprehension of self-unity that has not been objectively achieved. That is to say, the creation of an 'ideal self' – the self as it would like to be,

self-sufficient and unified – is an imaginary construct, wish-fulfilment pure and simple.

(Elliot, 2002:35)

Elliot reports that the implications of this understanding of the self are far-reaching, in that the distortions and traps of this imaginary self shape all our interactions with others (2002:35). In order to speak meaningfully about ‘self-knowledge’ Lacan shifts from the illusion of the ego, to the individual subject’s entry into the ‘symbolic’. This order represents the “cultural plane of received social meanings, differentiation and individuation” (ibid) and above all, language. In this regard, Lacan argues that the unconscious is structured like a language and that “social, linguistic processes and the inner depths of the psyche are intertwined” (ibid). It is via this symbolic order that our subject position in terms of the social conditions of culture, sexual difference and ideology can be understood (ibid).

By taking up the argument that the imaginary and symbolic dimensions of psychological life are ideological carriers of culture and history, Elliot argues that social theorists, literary analysts, and media and cultural critics have discovered a powerful account of the organisation of the psyche (2002:35). Not only does the emphasis on the de-centred subject highlight the inherent difficulties of selfhood in late modernity, but the portrait of the human subject caught between the narcissistic traps of the imaginary and the socio-symbolic orders, offers a fitting characterization of how our personal lives are globally outstripped by social, political and economic mechanisms (ibid).

For the social theorists Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Lacan’s binding of unconscious desire to the social order provides an ideological position that allows both traditional and Lacanian psychoanalytic theory to be understood as politically reactionary. Though they view the psychoanalytic privileging of Oedipal identity or the Lacanian ‘Law of the Father’ in terms of an imposed repressive discourse in relation to the free flow of desire, they also emphasise the positive aspects of

unconscious desire and its potential for revolutionary action. In arguing for a primary desire that is resistant to closure, Deleuze and Guattari look to its potential to be ideologically positioned to overcome the repressive constraints of modernity (Elliot, 2002:36).

As with Lacan, the French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, views discourse through the structuring force of the symbolic order. Unlike Lacan, however, Lyotard regards the unconscious as a libidinal band of pure traces, intensities and forms, rather than being structured like a language. Analysing the production of culture through this lens demonstrates a further way in which psychoanalytic theory informs our understanding of the self and the social world (Elliot, 2002:36).

In this regard, Elliot notes that psychoanalytic discourse could be construed as a repressive component of contemporary society (2002:36). In this sense, psychoanalysis can be seen as no more than a rigid set of binary codes (i.e. conscious/unconscious, pleasure/reality, love/hate, primary/secondary) that impose an unyielding theoretical grid upon our human existence. Furthermore, postmodernist perspectives of psychoanalysis are charged with “violently homogenizing the complexities and differences of social experience in terms of concepts such as the unconscious, castration anxiety, Oedipus and the like” (ibid). In this regard the postmodern sociologist, Jean Baudrillard, views psychoanalysis as functioning as a ‘mirror desire’ that projects its terms and concepts on to human subjects, in the process constituting the unconscious and its effects (ibid).

On the other hand, and despite French anti-psychoanalytic claims that the intellectual interest in Freudian theory has passed, Elliot argues that psychoanalytic critique is developing at a faster rate than ever (2002:37). In particular, he points to the post-Lacanian current of psychoanalytic discourses, which involve:

[T]he re-evaluation of the creative power of the imagination; the rejection of a monolithic symbolic Law; a profound questioning of the phallic, patriarchal order of modern societies, together with a stress on the immanent possibilities for alternative gender relations and a peculiar

concern with social and political interests as the product of contingency, lack and uncertainty.

(Elliot, 2002:37)

In particular post-Lacanian ideas have attracted strong interest in feminist quarters, including the work of Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray, and provided a reconfiguration of the feminine body and feminine sexuality, and alternative feminist visions of social relations (Elliot, 2002:37). Elliot also highlights the impact that post-Lacanian theory has had on rethinking human subjectivity, and engagement in the psychoanalysis of cultural objects as a means of showing how we project desire into the social fabric of society (ibid).

In the discussion that follows, it is clear that while Bollas fits within the object relations school of thought in many respects, he advocates a pluralist stance towards psychoanalytic theory in general, and is an advocate of aspects of classical Freudian theory, as well as post-Freudian and post-Lacanian theory. Thus, Bollas views different psychoanalytic theories as offering various ‘forms of perception’ that support our understanding of unconscious processes and content, the self and our social world. It is only by looking or listening to material through different models, Bollas contends, that we can see and hear things differently, and extend our intellectual frameworks (Bollas, 2007:77).

Bollas’ critique of the Freudian unconscious

A biography

Christopher Bollas was born in 1943 in Washington DC. At the age of eight, he moved with his family to Laguna Beach, an artists’ colony on the coast of California. Arne Jemstedt reports that Laguna Beach figures prominently in Bollas’ writing and clearly influenced his sense “of the environment’s evocative play upon self-experiencing” (Jemstedt in Bollas 2011:xiii). After graduating from high school Bollas studied political theory and constitutional law at the University of Virginia and became involved in the civil rights movement. He later transferred to the

University of California and majored in American History (ibid:xiv). In an interview with Anthony Molino in 1995 Bollas also mentions studying literature at the University of Buffalo in the 1960s (Molino 1997:47).

While a student at the University of California Jemstedt describes Bollas as undergoing life-changing psychotherapy with a psychoanalyst from Berkeley (Jemstedt in Bollas 2011:xiv), an event that turned his attention towards the study of psychoanalysis. During this time (1967-1969) Bollas was working with autistic and schizophrenic children, as well as reading the work of object relation theorists Guntrip, Winnicott, Fairburn and Klein. Their work opened up entirely new ways of thinking about the children he was working with and this encouraged Bollas to train as a psychoanalyst. In 1972 he was accepted into the Institute of Psychoanalysis and the British Psychoanalytical Society in London where he was struck by the spontaneous, imaginative and freewheeling, though decidedly eccentric British analysts (Jemstedt in Bollas 2011:xiv-xv).

Despite the free-thinking writings of British analysts Bollas was struck by the lack of tolerance for differences of opinion, particularly among the Kleinian analysts. As a result he spent significant amounts of time developing his career outside of the British Society, including stints as a Professor of English at the University of Massachusetts; as a visiting Professor of Psychoanalysis at the University of Rome; as well as teaching and establishing psychoanalytic conferences and workshops throughout Europe, North and South America, Australia and Asia (Jemstedt in Bollas 2011:xv-xvi). The time Bollas spent immersed in other schools of thought and knowledge may explain his contention that psychoanalysis will only grow and develop by bridging the various psychoanalytic schools (Molino 2002: 221).

Bollas, Freud and the post-Freudians

In some respects Bollas' psychoanalytic position is something of a 'return to Freud'. While he does not hold back in his criticism of aspects of Freud's work, he is still more critical of the post-Freudian positions that have been established since Freud's time. This is despite (or arguably, because of) the fact that his own

development as a psychoanalyst came about through his intellectual and practical immersion in ego psychology in the United States and the Kleinian and object relational schools in England. On the one hand, Bollas argues that there has been a failure on all our parts to fully recognise the extraordinary 'Freudian moment' that heralded the arrival of psychoanalysis:

Massacio and other Renaissance painters discovered how to represent three-dimensional perspective. Visual images of our world and ourselves would change forever.

Shakespeare dramatized the human mind and human relations in a way that changed the way we think. So has Freud.

(Bollas 2007:2)

Bollas regards the Freudian moment as an evolutionary accomplishment. Arriving not long after the discovery of mass armaments that would kill tens of thousands of people, Bollas argues that psychoanalysis provided (and still provides) us with the best means of thinking about our destructive processes (Bollas 2007:2-3).

On the other hand, Bollas notes the Freudian moment was immediately obscured by Freud's narcissism, the grandiose exultations of the early analysts, and public excitement over its more titillating features, such as the theory of infantile sexuality. To make matters worse, Bollas views the current psychoanalytic movements as further impeding thought. While the writings of Klein, Lacan, Bion and Winnicott are invaluable, Bollas regards their ideas as too often being used as weapons in a psychoanalytic war rather than for the purpose of intellectual development (2007:3).

[W]hen we use ideas as intellectual objects we are going to subjectify them. This is part of the creative clash of ideas. Too many psychoanalytical movements, however, are allied to the death instinct. Instead of a clash of ideas there is 'intellectual genocide' (Bollas, 1992). One group falsifies another's ideas and engages in a type of clan warfare.

(Bollas 2007:4)

As such, Bollas contends that significant psychoanalytic ideas cease to be signifiers and instead become signs that are used as things-in-themselves in such warfare. As a sign, signifiers become stripped of their meaning and are no longer useful (Bollas 2007:4)¹⁶. Drawing from Lacan, Bollas states:

When we examine the major movements of psychoanalysis we can see how such movements privilege specific terms – now signs – and in my view such collapsing of the Symbolic order into the Real destroys thinking.

(Bollas 2007:4)

If psychoanalysis is to serve the crisis of our times and be politically effective, states Bollas, then attention needs to be brought to its own political realm and the destructive behaviour amongst analysts and analytical groups (Bollas 2007:4). Bollas therefore argues for a pluralist position. Rather than viewing this as an ecumenical approach or a ‘politics of inclusion’ which waters down the core truths of psychoanalysis, Bollas claims that such an approach increases one’s perceptual capabilities.

[F]or me pluralism is, in its core, a theory of perception, and to say that one must become a Kleinian or a Lacanian, to the exclusion of the other theories is ... absurd ... If we develop new theories we enhance our perceptual capability. Freud had *at least* three significant models of the mind ... [as such] one has more ways of seeing mental life and human behaviour.

¹⁶ In this regard I favour the term ‘signifier’ rather than ‘sign’ or ‘symbol’ in my discussions and analysis of the koru motif which takes place further on in this thesis. In Chapter Eight I outline various ‘symbolic’ understandings of koru-lie spirals. However, my argument that the koru motif operates as an unconscious articulation of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, is based on the understanding of the koru motif as a signifier rather than something more fixed.

(Bollas 2007:5-7)

Acknowledging he is more schooled in some theorists than others, Bollas nevertheless contends it is possible to grasp the basic models that various psychoanalytic schools use and thereby gain new insight into one's own work (Bollas 2007:6).

In light of Bollas' argument that we gain new insight into our work by looking at other models of thought, this thesis supports the argument that existing commentaries, such as those provided by Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley, provide valuable ways of understanding national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the same light, I argue that it is possible to gain new insights about the nature of national identity in Aotearoa by looking at other theories or understandings, such as the psychoanalytic model put forward by Bollas.

The Bollasian unconscious and forms of perception

Even though the psychoanalyst can only ever know unconscious expression through its effects (or derivatives), these complex articulations are the matrix of our being. As psychoanalytic theories are, among other things, forms of perception, each will inevitably be of some use in helping us to unconsciously perceive unconscious processes and their content.

(Bollas 2007:83)

Although Freud was clear there were two forms of unconscious: unconscious *process* and unconscious *content* Bollas is of the view that his failure to keep this distinction in mind has created confusion about what Freud actually meant when he was referring to *the* unconscious. The problem does not stop there. Bollas draws attention to the understanding that unconscious processes are not restricted to repressing unwanted ideas, since there are also non-repressed unconscious contents. This means there are unconscious processes that do not operate to

repress contents but form contents for other reasons (Bollas 2007:72). Despite this, Bollas contends that there has been a focus on the repressed unconscious to the exclusion of the non-repressed unconscious, with the latter mischaracterised as the 'descriptive unconscious'. This has resulted in the misapprehension that the non-repressed unconscious is not dynamically organised and is therefore inert. As such unconscious memories may simply be regarded as part of a descriptive and non-repressed unconscious (Bollas 2007:72). Added to this is the classical psychoanalytical understanding of the dynamic unconscious, that is, the repression of sexual and aggressive drives which seek to return to consciousness in an acceptable form.

This unconscious is, by definition, drive-like; it is a pulsion seeking discharge any way it can and when it ropes in thinking it does so rather expeditiously.

(Bollas 2007:72)

Bollas compares this repressed unconscious to Freud's dream work model where the unconscious is posited as an intelligence of form. It is not only capable of registering 'psychically valuable' experiences of the day, it also organises thousands of thoughts that arrive through our lived experiences and draws from both these elements to create our dreamworld. Bollas (2007:72-73) regards this not only as a remarkable aesthetic accomplishment but as the most sophisticated form of thinking that we have.

In light of this intelligence of form, Bollas expresses his astonishment that Freud never constructed an explicit theory of unconscious perception, or expounded upon the way in which the ego operates as the vehicle of unconscious organisation. Here Bollas (2007:73) describes the ego as the *process* of our mind which is partly formed during the self's relation to the mother within the maternal order.

The mother *welcomes* the infant into mental life. Banishment of the forbidden is a long way off. Indeed, *this unconscious process* is a long period of fulfilling needs and wishes.

(Bollas 2007:73)

Although a fuller discussion of the maternal order takes place in the following section, the excerpt above provides context to Bollas' view that Freud repressed knowledge of the maternal order. This was as a result of his focus on the paternal order and the repressed unconscious, which ironically, banishes unwanted ideas. In doing so, Freud 'forgot' that part of our unconscious "that creatively fulfils our desires all the time, in daydreams, conversations, relations, creative activities, and whatnot." (Bollas 2007:73).

Bollas points to evidence of Freud's awareness that the ego was mostly unconscious *and* created the dream, the symptom and all works of creativity. However, Freud's failure to make this explicit 'dumbed down' his structural model of the unconscious and muddled his earlier topographic model of the mind. As a result, subsequent generations have failed to fully comprehend unconscious thinking as a highly sophisticated form of thought (Bollas 2007:73-74).

From this angle, Freud's inability to fully appreciate the sophisticated nature of the unconscious can be understood as a failure to reconcile the primitive aspects of the unconscious (as the source of the drives and container of infantile sexual fantasies), with the intelligence of the dream. Bollas resolves this incongruity by explaining that the form and the contents of the infant's unconscious (i.e. its process and its productions) are both primitive to begin with. It is only over the course of time that the ego's unconscious processing of the contents becomes increasingly sophisticated. While the primitive elements of the unconscious such as the drives, infantile fantasies, envy and greed do not cease to exist, the receptive unconscious develops into a highly dynamic process (Bollas 2007:74-75).

In this respect Bollas raises an important point concerning the limits of theory formation. On the one hand it is possible to appreciate Freud's topographic model as the best way to conceptualise repression and illustrate how a repressed idea gathers other repressed ideas into mental clusters, and returns those ideas to consciousness. On the other hand the model fails to conceptualise the receptive unconscious. Nevertheless, Bollas submits that we still do not have a better set of metaphors to conceptualise mental intensity.

I do not care that Freud's metaphors are hydraulic or electric anymore than I care that the Klein-Bion model of ingestion, digestion, and metabolization is alimentary. The point is, does one understand what the metaphor conveys?¹⁷ *This is the definition of metaphor. It is a mental representation system.* So, does it tell us what it intends to convey or doesn't it?

(Bollas 2007:75)

Returning to the subject of Freud, Bollas states that although Freud developed the structural model after his topographic model, its creation failed to shed further light on unconscious form and content. Instead, it brought to light other important features such as the play between the drives and the psychodynamics of certain parts of the mind (Bollas 2007:75-76). The point that Bollas makes here, is that we risk thinking of 'newer' models of the mind as advances in the wrong sort of way: while newer models often increase our understanding, they should not necessarily replace prior models despite their shortcomings. Bollas views this in terms of a skewed modernist bias whereby every intellectual development is regarded as inevitably improving on existing views and premised on the abandonment of prior understandings (2007:75-76).

¹⁷ At the end of this section I draw on the metaphor of an intellectual house, put forward by the philosopher, Simon Blackwell (discussed below), as a means of explaining the methodological framework of this thesis.

Instead we would do better to heed the images that come with Freud's topographic *and* structural models. Such images help us to understand the meaning of the models and to more easily internalise what are highly complex matters. Here Bollas notes:

An image, worth a thousand words, serves unconscious purposes. Like a condensed dream fragment it is rather ready-made for the unconscious.

(Bollas 2007:76-77)

Likewise Bollas points out that Klein's paranoid-schizoid and depressive position theory comes with an image of arrows to signify movement between the positions. Having internalised this image one can better comprehend the concepts and perspective. Similarly while Lacan does not provide an image of the three orders of the Symbolic, Imaginary and the Real, once we have visualised or 'imagined' this tripartite model in our mind, it is not difficult for us to understand the interplay between the three orders (Bollas 2007:77).

Bollas views these psychoanalytic images, models and theories as 'forms of perception'. As such, different understandings of psychoanalytical experience constitute different perceptual categories. By looking or listening to material through different models we see and hear things differently. Here Bollas draws from the British philosopher Simon Blackburn and his explanation that:

A system of thought is something we live in ... just as much as a house, and if our intellectual house is cramped and confined, we need to know what better structures are available.

(Blackburn 1999:10-11 in Bollas 2007:77)

Bollas also notes:

Blackburn terms such building 'conceptual engineering' (*ibid*, p.11) and I think this is a good way to describe the acquisition of psychoanalytical

perspectives. As theories are forms of perception, if we settle with just one or two theories we live in a confined intellectual house.

(Bollas 2007:77)

Just as importantly, Bollas argues that psychoanalytic perspectives only become useful when they have entered our receptive unconscious. Bollas notes that this reverses Freud's view, that it is the movement from unconsciousness to consciousness that is therapeutically efficacious. Conceding Freud's point that this is true in many situations, Bollas nevertheless argues that the greater part of psychic change occurs unconsciously and need not enter consciousness (Bollas 2007:80). As such, Bollas underscores the importance of immersing oneself in the theoretical orientation of the major schools of psychoanalysis. To do so increases one's perceptual ability, expands one's mind and invokes a wisdom "that can only be realized by passage through difference" (Bollas 2007:82).

Further to this, Bollas points out that however much a theory presumes to tell us something about a person, its actual function is less in what it discovers than in how it sees:

Klein's theory of what takes place in the first year of life is less significant than the allegoric perceptual structure that permits us to imagine infancy. Lacan's theory of the subject's instantiation through the chain of signifiers is less a theory of found unconscious meanings than a portal to entering a world of linguistic relations.

(Bollas 2007:83)

Importantly, these ways of seeing allow us insight into the "complex articulations that are the matrix of our being" (Bollas 2007:83).

Three key points emerge from this discussion of Bollas' critique of the unconscious. The first relates to Bollas' claim that while newer models often increase our understanding, they should not necessarily replace prior models,

despite the latter's shortcomings. In section three below this point is discussed in relation to Bollas' view that earlier understandings of the self also considered the self as multiple and fragmented. This stands in contrast to the postmodern understandings of the self (outlined in the previous chapter) that claim the multiple and fragmented self has emerged as a result of globalisation and other aspects of late modernity and postmodernism.

The second point relates to Bollas' argument that unconscious processes are not merely concerned with the repression of sexual and aggressive drives. Instead Bollas highlights the dynamic and non-repressed processes of the unconscious, which are capable of registering 'psychically valuable' experiences of the day, and organising the thousands of thoughts that arrive through our lived experiences. Bollas does not only regard these processes of the unconscious, and our subsequent dreamworld, as a remarkable aesthetic accomplishment, he views the unconscious as the most sophisticated form of thinking that we have (Bollas 2007:72-73). It is this understanding of the unconscious that I promote in this thesis (specifically in Chapter Six and Chapter Eleven), and by doing so, bring to light fresh understandings of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The third key point refers to the point made by Bollas regarding the ability of metaphors to provide mental representations of thought, which enable us to increase our forms of perception. Bollas borrows from Blackburn, the term 'conceptual engineering', to explain that by looking or listening to material through different models, we see and hear things differently (Bollas 2007:77). By settling with just one or two theories, Bollas reasons that we live in a confined 'intellectual house' (ibid). This metaphor of conceptually 'engineering' an intellectual 'house' also provides a means of explaining one of the prime goals of this thesis: to extend current forms of perception regarding the subject of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. At the risk of over-using Blackburn's metaphor, the goal here is not to merely 'weld' an additional interpretation of national identity (via Bollas) alongside existing understandings of this topic. Instead the goal is to 'conceptually engineer' together elements of Bollas' work outlined in this chapter, with further

elements from the work of cultural theorist, Fredric Jameson, outlined in the following chapter. This enables the construction of an intellectual house or structure which provides the framework for the methodological component of this thesis (outlined in Chapter Six). In section two which follows, I outline Bollas' conceptualisation of the three orders of knowledge, which becomes a key element of this methodology.

Section Two

The three orders of knowing

The triad seeking truth

In his book, *The Mystery of Things* (1999), Bollas outlines the non-dialectical relation between several ways of knowing. Referring to these ways of knowing in terms of dreaming, associating and interpreting, Bollas states that each renders our lived experience in different ways, and has its own truths (Bollas 1999:37). Not only are these ways of knowing vital to the function of our human personality; they also reflect the three different psychic positions in the Oedipal triangle:

[J]ust as the Oedipal complex involves three distinctive yet overlapping persons – the mother, the child, the father – so these processes derive from the members of this triangle.

(Bollas 1999:37)

As such, each psychoanalytic way of knowing is an essential element of the ‘triad seeking truth’, via three authors: the infant, the mother and the father. Bollas links the infant’s ways of knowing to dreaming (an intense hallucinatory imagery that conjures a reality), the mother’s ways of knowing to association (the reverential presence of an ‘other’ who evokes differing states of solitude and relatedness) and the father’s way of knowing to interpretation (via the self who accounts for its knowing of the world via penetrating insights) (Bollas 1997:37).

In the table below I list various functions and qualities that Bollas uses when referring to each of these orders.

Table 4.1: Bollas' Three Orders of Knowledge - functions and qualities

The Order of the Infant	The Order of the Mother/ The Maternal Order	The Order of the Father/ The Paternal Order
Dreaming	Associating	Interpreting
The pure hallucination of reality	Associative remarks bear less expectation and demand, and sustain the stream of consciousness essential to unconscious collaboration	An interpretive other who brings one to thoughtful account for what one is doing in the now
Psychic intensity	A sentiently welcoming other who shares the swing from quiet to intense experience	The duty bound part of the mind that brings the self to account through the interpretive grasp of the truth
The image, dream or dense inner experience	Supports the dreamy and sentient production of unconscious material	A self who accounts for its knowing of the internal world via penetrating insights
Participation in the mother's way of knowing	One who is quiet, waits, appreciates the nuances of developing meaning and contributes to the flow of life existing between oneself and the other	A bearer of laws and prohibitions essential to thinking and establishing one's being in the social world
Non-verbal	Receptive	Talkative

Daydreams and mental contents that emerge while lost in thought	Privileges the moment of the barely articulate, allusive or elliptical	A different frame of mind, more focal, more intense, more accountable
Producer of vivid ideas and memories	The world pregnant with meanings yet to come	The interruption of the flow of associations with interpretations that bear psychic changes
	The reverentially sentient receptive order; subjective	Ultimate arbiter of the outside world; objective
	Receptive to the flow of unconscious communicating that is beyond words alone	The outsider who breaks the unhindered movement of desire and defence
	Facilitates unconscious freedom – a primary process	Creative intervention – a secondary process
	The reverential presence of an other who evokes differing states of solitude and relatedness	Interpretation an implicit act of confrontation
	To bear a not-knowing of what is taking place – and a profound mulling over	A search for the truth that calls for judgment

Summarised from *The Mystery of Things* (Bollas 1999:37-46)

Bollas regards these orders as an essential *family* of authors and argues that no single one of them is capable of establishing any ultimate truth. Instead “as time passes, each form of knowledge finds itself in a family of truth seekers and

narrators” (1999:37). He also explains that the order of the mother and the order of father can be regarded as sets of functions which engage and process the order of the infant (Bollas 1999:37). Bollas presents important qualifiers to his use of the terms ‘infant’, ‘mother’ and ‘father’. Firstly, he states that by placing certain attributes under the name of the father (i.e. interpretation) or mother (i.e. association or reverie) he is not arguing that the father is incapable of reverie or that the mother is without interpretation. Secondly, he emphasises that these orders are not descriptions of how all mothers or fathers behave, “but of processes associated with and usually conducted by the mother or the father, who assume differing forms of significance for the developing infant and child” (1999:38). As such the mother performs paternal functions and the father acts within the maternal order (ibid).

Favoured orders of knowing

If one of the three members of the above triad becomes too influential, or if one function is eliminated completely, Bollas argues that full knowing is not possible, and undermines the structure of knowledge derived from psychoanalytic thinking. Bollas also contends that far too much psychoanalytic writing favours one or another of these structures of knowing. For instance, he argues that Winnicott emphasises the dreamy free associative state, at the expense of the function of interpretation. On the other hand, Kleinian writing consistently stresses the interpretive work of the analyst (that reflects the paternal order of knowledge) while disapproving of the function of holding and the generative work of silence (that reflects the maternal order of knowledge) (Bollas 1999:38).

Bollas views this exclusion of the mother or father, in terms of an Oedipal debate, and demonstrated by the separate schools of psychoanalysis (Bollas 1999:38). Deliberations and disputes regarding interpretation versus holding, nature versus nurture, or the internal world versus the external world, inevitably favour one Oedipal object over another. Not only do psychoanalytic conferences and essays operate around these Oedipal divisions, contends Bollas, but entire regions or cities appear to have marginalised one parent and appropriated the other:

Thus the breasts seem to have become the intellectual property of the British to be found in London, while the phallus resides in Paris as the intellectual property of the Lacanians. Psychoanalytic groups continue to appropriate treasured parts of one or another parent's bodies – breast, penis, womb – or to appropriate attributes in an Oedipal manner ... 'We can tell you about envy and destruction'; 'We know about empathy'; 'We have potential space in our house'; 'We have language and the name of the father!'

(Bollas 1999:39)

Likewise, clinical material which favours the maternal order often suggests looking to the pre-Oedipal elements in order to get closer to the truth. In a similar vein, proponents of the paternal order imply that a pre-Oedipal focus denies the problematic of sexuality. As such, important parts of human life have been singled out as flag-bearers of entire psychoanalytical schools such as *self* psychology, *intersubjective* theory and *relational* theory. It is not a matter of restoring 'one happy family' Bollas argues, but of avoiding the politically-driven dismantling of psychoanalytic theory (Bollas 1999:39-40). In this regard, he views the models held by Freud and the early group of analysts as being cannibalised by Freud's analytical children:

The primal horde of brothers who devour the body of the father is an inadequate account of the origins of humankind, but at times it is all too apt a myth for the nature of the psychoanalytic movement.

(Bollas 1999:40)

In order for a fuller psychoanalytic knowing to take place, Bollas is of the view that the field of psychoanalysis needs to objectify and resolve its own Oedipal complex. Interestingly, Bollas notes that a similar situation arose with Freud and Jung, whereby Jung embodied the maternal and feminine qualities that Freud both admired and feared. By wishing to keep these qualities outside of his affiliation to

the father, Bollas contends that Freud also expelled consideration of matters such as aesthetics, philosophy and music. Here Bollas suggests that in Freud's mind such matters "may have felt like the wish(y) wash(y) world of maternal knowledge" (Bollas 1999:40). Likewise, many Freudian analysts regard Jung's work as "flaky, impressionistic, otherworldly, or lacking in rigour" (ibid). Bollas is of the view that these analysts are unaware of the contempt they express towards the maternal order (ibid).

The Oedipal struggle continues with the great thinkers of psychoanalysis including Klein, Lacan, Kohut, Winnicott and Bion; each favouring one parental member of the triangle over another. Bollas places these thinkers in the same camp as Freud in terms of their unconscious opposition to the full and cognisant inclusion of all three members of the Oedipal family (Bollas 1999:40).

Intriguingly, the discipline that founded the concept of the Oedipus complex and that prides itself on insight into its unconscious appearances has yet to objectify the anti-Oedipal dimensions of its own formations.

(Bollas 1999:40-41)

Affiliations to the maternal or paternal order

Bollas reasons the long-standing split and divide between the analysts of different schools of thought pivots around whether the analyst chooses to affiliate with the mother's or the father's way of being. On one hand there is the privileging of the maternal order: the [m]other who is quiet, waits, appreciates the nuance of developing meaning and contributes to the flow of life existing between the two. On the other hand is the privileging of the paternal order: of an interpretive other who brings their patient to thoughtful account for what they are doing in the now (Bollas 1999:41).

In this regard, Bollas contends that important theoretical differences between analysts partly derive from 'the order' of their speech. For example, while Kohut operates from the maternal order, and is sometimes simplistically viewed as

cossetting, Kernberg writes from the paternal order, and has been criticised as too confronting. Although Bollas argues that different analytical positions speak in the name of the father or the mother, he also notes that the attitude of the opposite parent is still enacted. In this regard, while both members of the parental couple may be present, one partner is forced into a silent role. Despite his belief that both positions are essential to full psychoanalytic understanding, Bollas asserts the privileging of one order of knowing at the expense and silencing of the other is what has occurred during the evolution of psychoanalysis (Bollas 1999:42).

Not forgetting the third position of the infant or child, Bollas argues that an ideal series of psychoanalytic sessions would be authored by the three different orders of the infantile or childish, the maternal and the paternal. Just as each of the three ways of knowing are experienced and live on in us as functions, each is a different type of authority (Bollas 1992:43). Promoting each as a legitimate form of knowledge Bollas states:

Who is to say that the dream or the image or the psychic intensity or the affect is to be privileged over all else? To do so would be to cosset the infant and worship him yet again. Who is to say that the reverentially sentient receptive order, the world pregnant with meanings yet to come, is the sacred author of knowledge? To do so would be to worship the Madonna of silence and being. Who is to say that until the duty-bound part of the mind brings the self to account through interpretive grasp of the truth, that all the above may be nice but is meaningless?

(Bollas 1999:43)

The way forward for psychoanalysis

Turning his attention to the psychoanalytic treatment of patients, Bollas states that, while one of the most important psychoanalytic tasks is the deconstruction and working through of symptoms, pathological structures and character ailments,

of equal importance is the development of a psychoanalytic attitude and the capacity to operate according to the three elements of knowledge (Bollas 1999:44).

The role of the analyst regarding these different forms of knowledge includes sustaining both the maternal and paternal orders. The presence of a quiet reverie is essential for the constant flow of unconscious communicating that is beyond words (the maternal order). Acknowledging the analyst is not there to simply act as a holding environment or to celebrate the analysand's capacity, she or he must interrupt the flow of associations with interpretations that bear psychic change (the paternal order). Of even more importance is the understanding that psychoanalytic sessions do not operate on the basis of the analyst acting like a mother or a father or because the patient acts as an infant or a child, but because the psychic structures that typify these orders constitute the very core of mental functioning (Bollas 1999:44-45).

Bollas acknowledges that some will find the terms 'maternal order' and 'paternal order' arbitrary and typecast.

Surely *the* mother and *the* father are not to be so clearly defined. We know that both share qualities of the opposite sex. Am I not allegorising where abstract terms would do us better?

(Bollas 1999:45)

This may be so, declares (Bollas 1999:45). Nevertheless, he prefers the strength of these terms and argues that the terms 'primary process' and 'secondary process' do not have the same life to them. Furthermore the 'maternal' and 'paternal' orders reflect Bollas' belief that:

[O]ur constitutions derive from our inherited form and its transformation not only by two unique but distinct persons with particular attributes but by two persons who have come to embody quite different ways of thinking and being ... if we think of the mother and the father we

simultaneously evoke our own precise histories with these persons and structures; shared in common between all people.

(Bollas, 1999:45)

This highlights the point that we are part of both our personal history *and* a universal order. We all have *our* mother and *our* father, at the same time as participating in the psychic orders under the name of the mother and the father. Our adult self is the outcome of these functions and is capable of generating inspired ideas and a complex range of processes (Bollas 1999:45-46).

Bollas holds the same hope for the psychoanalytic movement as a whole, rather than the current situation which he views in terms of an Oedipal violence that has cannibalised “parts of the body, elements of the self, dimensions of the other” (Bollas 1999:46). As a result, psychoanalytic schools have treated parts of the overall theory of psychoanalytic thinking as sufficient grounds of knowledge upon which to base their own theory and analysis. For a truly creative formulation of theory Bollas asserts that the psychoanalytic movement must combine the virtues of all three orders of knowing (1999:46).

Three key ideas have been raised in this section. The first relates to Bollas’ view that three orders of knowing constitute the core of our mental functioning. These orders consist of the order of the infant, the order of the mother and the order of the father. Bollas explains that the order of the mother and the order of father can be regarded as sets of functions which engage and process the order of the infant (Bollas 1999:37). The maternal order performs this in a way which favours associative and non-verbal forms of knowledge and communication. In contrast, the paternal order operates according to a style of knowledge that promotes interpretation, and consideration of the external social world. This point connects to the second and third points below, which I revisited at the conclusion of this chapter.

The second point refers to Bollas' argument that within the psychoanalytic movement, individual psychoanalytic schools favour either the order of the mother, or the order of the father, as a form of knowledge and way of thinking. At the conclusion of this chapter I suggest that that existing commentaries of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand reflect a paternal order of knowing, in the sense that the external, material and objective world is given consideration at the expense of internal, aesthetic and subjective considerations which reflect the maternal order.

The third point relates to Bollas' argument that for a truly creative formulation of theory, the psychoanalytic movement must combine the virtues of all three orders of knowing (Bollas 1999:46). I return to this argument at the end of this chapter where I outline how the analysis of the visual data, presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten of this thesis, incorporates these three orders of knowing.

In section three, below, I outline Bollas' description of how the role of the infant, the mother and the father, operate in the material world, and how these operations are reflected in the collective and cultural identifications we form throughout our lives.

Section Three

The Bollasian self and object relations

The idiomatic self

Bollas regards the 'self' as constituted via a blend of nature and nurture, form and fragmentation, idiom and object relating, aesthetics and illusion. Aware that his position as a theorist contains substantial contradictions he states:

How are we to reconcile that paradox that part of the core of us is an apparently absent presence rather than an articulate, active subject?

I think I know.

I believe that each of us begins life as a peculiar but unrealized idiom of being, and in a lifetime transforms that idiom into sensibility and personal reality. Our idiom is an aesthetic of being driven by an urge to articulate its theory of form by selecting and using objects so as to give them form.

(Bollas 1995:151)

Bollas' understanding of the self has been strongly influenced by the object relations theorist Donald Winnicott. In this regard Bollas' draws on Winnicott's understanding of the 'true self'. As one unfurls Winnicott and Bollas' notions of the self, it becomes clear that any 'true' or 'core' self is more closely aligned to a potential or conceptual entity, rather than something that is fixed. At the other end of the spectrum, Bollas acknowledges the influence of Jacques Derrida on his work and other postmodernist thinkers that he encountered at the University of Buffalo in the 1960s while he was studying literature (Molino 1997:47). Nevertheless, Bollas' description of the self sits more comfortably within the field of object relations than it does with Derridian thought.

A genetically biased set of dispositions, the true self exists before object relating. It is only a potential, however, because it depends on maternal care for its evolution.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:12)

Although completely reliant on others for its development, Bollas argues that a 'core self' must exist to begin with. How else is it, he asks, (in Molino 1997:12) that each infant is so different from any other infant?

I think there is something psychically and irreducibly different about each newborn as the irreducible difference of a fingerprint. And because I don't know where this intuition comes from, I rest back in the area of genetic predisposition.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:12)

As such, this core self is influenced both genetically and environmentally.

Already then the 'something' that we are is in the beginning of a process of fragmentation, of a creative fragmentation that depends on both its own creativity, as well as on the mother's and the father's medium of care: on whether objects are provided for the infant and child to use and through which to disseminate themselves.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:12)

Importantly, Bollas contends that the infant does not evolve unconsciously, rather the self *is* unconscious: an inner presence that finds expression through object relating. As such, Bollas assigns subjectivity to something *beyond* our consciousness. If this sounds mysterious, states Bollas, so be it, "we are that mystifying to consciousness" (1992:51). As much as we all share elements of personality, these elements do not describe us as human subjects. They may address our human subjectivity, but they are unable to convey the precise organisation or idiomatic processing of the self (Bollas, 1989:109-110). However,

something that may shed some light on the mysteriousness of our human subjectivity, is the understanding that alongside our sense of ‘oneness’ sits our multiplicity.

We are ‘selves’ because in the course of time, of a human lifetime, this self that we are has many representations of itself, along with many representations of the object. In one day alone we go through many different self states, which by itself implies a plurality to our experience of our own being. And it’s not an occasional plurality: it’s a structure. We’re fated to be multiple; to have, in a sense, a multitude of self and object representations. At the same time, I believe that all of us have – if we’re fortunate enough – a feeling of unity: a feeling of there being one ‘self’, even if we were to argue against that possibility... we are both multiple and one at the same time.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:29)

Although some may believe the core self or that ‘something’ that drives and predisposes us is God, Bollas is of the view that we may never know or be able to accurately name that something. Nevertheless, he argues that alongside our plural structure and multiple selves we have a sense of a nucleus that gives rise to our particular aesthetic being and a sense of self authorship (Bollas, in Molino 1997:29-30).

In the first years of our life this “unique idiom of psychic organization” (Bollas 1992:51) absorbs the unconscious and relational intelligence of the family’s way of being. Here, Bollas refers to our ‘fated futures’, stating that:

For a black child living in Detroit, in a large family without a father present, and with a mother overwhelmed, perhaps on dope, seeing twenty-year-old blacks being killed, and few surviving into their thirties ... One would say there’s very little in that child’s future. There’s very little in what he or she can imagine about a future that will facilitate the radical

imagining of a self: this is essential, in my view, for any person's envisioning or appropriation of a future, and for its use as an object.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:31)

It is not a clinical psychoanalytic solution that is required in the above instance, notes Bollas, but a political solution to a political problem. On the other hand, Bollas also notes that each of us become "stuck at various moments in life" due to psychological, familial or cultural circumstances (Bollas 1989:109). However if we are fortunate to experience a 'good enough' parent, discussed below, then our future is decidedly brighter. Bollas states:

A person who meets up with a parent who is a good enough transformational object will have a sense of hope built into object use, as the paradigm-forming early object relations have resulted in important transformations in the infant's state.

(Bollas 1989:112)

This excerpt reflects Bollas' utilisation of object relations theory as a basis for his theory of the self and identity. In the following discussion I turn my attention to a specific object relation that interests Bollas. This is the 'transformational object' which he began writing about in the late 1970s. He has since built on this notion and developed the concept of the 'evocative object', which I discuss further on in this section. Bollas' notion of the transformational object is particularly relevant to this discussion as it provides a link between the 'idiomatic' self discussed above, the importance of the maternal role in the constitution of the self, and the manner in which the wider culture and society (the paternal role) brings the self into play.

The transformational object

As mentioned above, Bollas regards the maternal and paternal roles and functions as fundamental to the constitution of the self during infancy. In particular, Bollas maintains that the role of the mother, or maternal function, acts as the first

transformational object for the infant. The excerpts below from *The Shadow of the Object* (Bollas 1987) outline key aspects of Bollas' transformational object:

We know that because of the considerable prematurity of human birth the infant depends on the mother for survival

[A]s the infant's 'other' self, the mother transforms the baby's internal and external environment

As the mother helps to integrate the infant's being (instinctual, cognitive, affective, environmental), the rhythms of this process ... informs the nature of this 'object' relation

[S]he both sustains the baby's life and transmits to the infant ... an aesthetic of being that becomes a feature of the infant's self

[T]he mother is less significant and identifiable as an object than as a process that is identified with cumulative internal and external transformations

Not yet fully identified as an other, the mother is experienced as a process of transformation, and this feature of early existence lives on in certain forms of object seeking in adult life when the object is sought for its function as a signifier of transformation.

(Bollas, 1987:13-14)

Importantly, Bollas states that the infant does not internalise the mother as a person, but internalises the maternal process. As mentioned earlier, in his use of the term 'mother', Bollas emphasises he is referring to the maternal 'role' or 'function' of caring for an infant, and those "processes associated with and usually conducted by the mother" (Bollas 1999:38). While the mother and father assume different forms of significance for the developing infant, Bollas also observes that the mother performs paternal functions as much as the father acts within the maternal role (ibid)

Another qualifier to Bollas' reference to the mother, and parenting in general, is his reliance on Winnicott's concept of the 'ordinary devoted mother' who is able to provide a 'good-enough', or facilitating environment, for the infant (Winnicott 1975). Should a breakdown in the early mother/infant relationship occur, Bollas argues that this is not to say the mother fails the infant as "many things can go wrong from the infant's side of the equation that make it impossible for any mother to effectively hold the child" (Bollas, in Molino 1997:38). Assuming the infant *does* experience the mother as a 'good-enough' transformational object; such experiences generate a sense of hope, confidence and vision. Bollas contends that the memory of these experiences manifest themselves in adult life as we continue the search for further objects to again transform our self/selves. As the original transformation via the mother occurs before cognitive or mental representation has developed in the infant, Bollas is of the view that in further transformational experiences we undergo a sense of the uncanny or a "psychosomatic sense of fusion" that reflects our unconscious recollection of the original transformational object (Bollas 1987:17).

Bollas also describes how the anticipation of being transformed inspires us with a reverential attitude toward the object. Although the transformation does not take place on the scale reached during infancy, in adult life we tend to nominate such objects as sacred. Here our search for symbolic equivalents to our original transformational object and experiences is found in objects such as other people, places, events, landscapes, ideologies, poems, paintings or arias (Bollas 1987: 14-17).

Of particular note is Bollas' contention that:

[W]e have failed to take notice of the phenomenon in adult life of the wide-ranging collective search for an object that is identified with the metamorphosis of the self.

In many religious faiths, for example, when the subject believes in the deity's actual potential to transform the total environment ...

In secular worlds, we see how hope invested in various objects (a new job, a move to another country, a vacation, a change of relationship) may ... represent a request for a transformational experience ...

We know that the advertising world makes its living on the trace of this object: the advertised product usually promises to alter the subject's external environment and hence change internal mood.

(Bollas 1987:15-16)

Equally, our collective search for transformational experiences may be re-enacted in aesthetic experiences via a wide range of culturally dreamed of transformational objects such as new cars, homes, job and holidays. We may also re-enact our aesthetic experiences in the arts, when the artist both remembers for us and delivers to us, symbolic equivalents to our earlier transformational experiences. As such, our cultural experiences are embodied in moments which allow us a deep subjective rapport with objects (Bollas 1987:28-29).

These collective searches may also take place at the psychopathological level. In these instances we may seek out a revolutionary ideology or fanatical attachment to an extreme political movement as a means of transformation. Bollas notes that what is at work in these situations is not so much the extremists' desire or longing for change, but the certainty that the object/ideology will deliver us from the gamut of personal, familial, economic, social and moral faults (Bollas 1987:27-28). Similarly, at an individual level the gambler may seek out a transformational object (e.g. a casino) that will metamorphose her or his entire internal and external world. In other instances, a criminal may seek the perfect crime to transform their self, both internally and externally, bringing wealth and happiness (1987:17-18). Bollas also remarks that aesthetic moments may not necessarily be beautiful or wonderful, but ugly or terrifying. Nevertheless, such moments unconsciously enact pre-verbal and aesthetic memories, and we feel a deep subjective rapport and uncanny fusion with an object (ibid).

In the above discussion I have outlined the relationship between the transformational object and the maternal function. In further work, Bollas has directed his attention towards the objects themselves, and has formulated the notion of an ‘evocative object’ world, where objects have a specific integrity or structure to them. He writes about how we experience such objects, how they can be understood as ‘psychic genera’, and the way in which they are processed via dream work. These ideas form a significant component of the findings of this thesis, where I argue that the koru motif (which forms the visual data component of this thesis), operates as an evocative object in Aotearoa New Zealand. I revisit this argument at the conclusion of this chapter.

The evocative object

The object world – its ‘thing-ness’ – is crucial to our use of it. As we move about, we live in an evocative object world that is only so because objects have an integrity of their own.

This integrity of an object – the character of its thingness – has an evocative processional potential. Upon use by the self, it may – or may not – put the individual through a complex psychosomatic experience.

(Bollas 2009:50)

As we come across natural, man-made, material or mental objects our unconscious does not differentiate between them, Bollas declares, as they are all equally capable of putting us through complex inner experiences (Bollas 2009:50). In terms of the evocative potential of objects Bollas notes some objects operate at the level of nostalgia, evoking memories embedded in the object.

Nostalgia is the emotion of love lost, grief sustained and gratitude for the evocative power of memory that allows us to hold on to the lost object.

(Bollas 2009:50)

However, the nostalgic (or mnemonic) object is but one element of the evocative object which interests Bollas. What he regards with greater interest is the way in which evocative objects operate as ‘a way of thinking’. Bollas explains:

Transference is a form of thinking through enactment. Another way of thinking is via our engagement with actual objects in the world, through the way we both use and are used by them. We come upon an object that evokes thought within us because of its integrity, so the object and the thought arising become inseparable from one another.

(Bollas 2009:52)

An encounter with a powerful evocative object forces us to think and think again declares Bollas (2009:54). Referring to Herman Melville’s novel *Moby Dick* (1851) as an example, Bollas notes that what is an apparently simple tale of whaling turns out to be something much more challenging for the reader. Not only does it change our way of thinking about whaling, it also pushes our mind to think in a different manner. As such, we become processed by an object (the novel) and our mental life is changed (ibid).

Bollas regards this type of thinking as existential, and quite different from cognitive thought. As such, we are unconsciously pushed to thought by the arrival of objects. Alternatively, we may seek out objects to use as a form of thinking. In selecting objects, Bollas contends we are “unconsciously grazing: finding food for thought that only retrospectively could be seen to have a logic” (Bollas 2009:59).

An evocative object may present itself by chance; something Bollas refers to as an encounter with an ‘aleatory object’. He notes that in these instances, we are played upon by the inspiring arrival of the unselected, which often yields a pleasurable surprise:

It opens us up, liberating an area like a key fitting a lock. In such moments we can say that objects use us, in respect of that inevitable two-way interplay between self and object world and between desire and surprise.

(Bollas1992:37)

The integral object

Bollas refers to a 'lexicon of objects': the way an object may be used or experienced sensorially, conceptually, mnemically, projectively or structurally (Bollas 1992:38). In this regard, our use of an object conjures different self experiences, as its plays upon the various somatic senses and mental faculties that constitute our psychic structure. However, it is the structural integrity of the object that is of utmost interest to Bollas. In his introduction to his book, *Being A Character* (1992), he remarks that he has found it rather surprising that very little thought is given to the distinct structure of the object within object relations theory (1992:4). Instead, objects tend to be seen as containers for the individual's projections. By expanding on existing understandings of objects and object use, Bollas argues that psychoanalysis and other disciplines can be enriched by the development of a philosophy of the object's integrity (1992:5). He provides the example of musical experiences and literary processes that have their own 'processional potential' and which involve us in different forms of subjective transformation, depending on the integrity of their structure (ibid).

This 'integrity' of an object refers to the structure it possesses. For example, Bollas notes that as an object, Mozart's 40th Symphony has a recognisable integrity to its structure that is different from Mozart's 25th Symphony, or a symphony by Bruckner. Although the structures of these symphonies may be interpreted differently by different conductors, they nevertheless have a reliable integrity to them. As such when we choose an object:

[W]e very often pick something that will process us, and the integrity of the object is an important part of the gain to be derived from that object's selection when we make use of objects, when we select a book to read, or a novelist to explore, we're going to be processed by the integrity offered to us by that object: namely, by its structure, which differs from that of other objects.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:45)

Bollas regards the ‘structural integrity’ of the object as being partly derived from its atomic specificity, and its specific use potential. As an example, he notes that a bicycle is structurally different from a basketball, each promoting different inner experiences. Likewise as an ‘experience-structure’, a swing promotes “an inner self episode specific to the process of “swinging” (Bollas 1992:35).

In a further passage, Bollas asserts that in our encounters with the object world we are internally transformed or “substantially metamorphosed” by the structure of objects, whether it be a musical structure, a novel or a person (Bollas 1992:59). He explains this internal transformation in terms of an elaboration of each person’s unique idiom.

If idiom is, then, the it with which we are born, and if its pleasure is to elaborate itself through the choice of objects, one that is an intelligence of form rather than an expression of inner content, its work collides with the structure of objects that transform it This collisional dialectic between the human’s form and the object’s structure is, in the best of times, a joy of living, and one is nourished by the encounter.

(Bollas 1992:59-60)

In this ‘collisional dialectic’ we oscillate between thinking our self out through our selection of object, and ‘being thought out’ by the object or environment that plays upon our self; both of which promote inner experiences. In such instances, Bollas notes that it is all very well to address the likes of projective identification and other pathological models, however, “the intriguing mental processes involved in the subjectification of an object world invite us to emphasize its positive aspects” (Bollas 1992:22).

This emphasis on the positive aspects of object relations was brought to the fore in Molino’s interview with Bollas in 1995, subsequently published in *Freely Associated* (1997). Molino asks of Bollas:

But in a culture where bombarding images mediate, and often condition and define the experience of objects, can we still speak of their integrity? I'm thinking, at a very basic level, of how Madison Avenue manipulates our desire, and through its selling of sex, for instance, can distort, thwart, or even pervert our expectations – indeed, our experience – of the opposite sex.

(Molino 1997:45)

In response, Bollas acknowledges that our experience and use of objects is always vulnerable to the interpretive appropriation of objects by powerful movements, or authorities (Bollas, in Molino 1997:45). Nevertheless, he does not regard the likes of Madison Avenue's interpretation of sexual objects as any more oppressive than interpretations given in the 17th century by a church minister, for example, who would also have 'guided' his parishioners as to how they were to interpret their environment or their desires (ibid). While Bollas agrees there is a mentality in these forces that makes our life different, restricts us and should be rightly opposed, he nevertheless does not regard such forces as ending people's subjectivities. Nor will such forces "stop people from reading, from writing music, from painting", he states, adding that "[w]e have been here before, and we will be here again" (Bollas, in Molino 1997:46).

Psychic genera

Another concept that sheds light on Bollas' particular take on objects and the evocative object world is that of 'psychic genera'; perhaps best understood in terms of its opposite: trauma. To distinguish genera from trauma Bollas explains:

[O]ne must ask only if the individual is free to organize the data of life into new visions that change the meaning of existence, a continuing process of discovering, or, as in the case of trauma, whether the person is organizing the material of life in a repetitive way, one aim of which is to denude the ego of creative play upon the stuff of existence.

(Bollas 1992:79-80)

This is not to say that genera do not result from the transformation of psychic pain or traumatic perspectives, or that they have any moral value. Indeed, Bollas notes that a person could cultivate inner psychic structures that others would find aesthetically, politically or socially repellent (Bollas 1992:79). Nevertheless, an individual who contributes to genera appears to have a different 'psychic library' derived from the creative effort of thought (1992:81). This applies to those working on scientific, artistic or vocational problems and tasks, in which the internal work of genera often result in important new ways of seeing the world (1992:75).

As mentioned above, the formation of genera can be born of conflict and may promote emotional turbulence. However, Bollas does not regard such formations as pathological. Instead he invites an emphasis on the positive aspects of our mental processes. In this respect, he contends there is much value to be gained from a "theory of psychic work that is distinctive from exclusively pathological models" (1992:75).

Dream work

A dream can think hundreds of thoughts in a few seconds, its sheer efficiency breathtaking. It can think past, present, and imagined future in one single image and it can assemble the total range of implicit affects within the day's experience, including all ramifying lines of thought that derive from those experiences.

(Bollas 2007:72-73)

A further aspect of Bollas' work that is closely connected to his evocative object world is that of dream work. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Bollas regards the unconscious as a remarkable aesthetic accomplishment and capable of sophisticated forms of thinking (Bollas 2007:73-73). It not only registers our 'psychically valuable' experiences of the day, it also organises the thousands of

thoughts that arrive through our lived experiences, and draws from both these elements to create our dreamworld (ibid).

We dream ourself into being by using objects to stimulate our idiom, to release it into lived expression. We do not think about it at all while doing it. We are just inside something – our dream work – that is itself a pleasure.

(Bollas 1992:53)

Emphasising once more the non-pathological aspects of object relating, and a focus on the unrepresed unconscious, rather than the repressed unconscious, Bollas notes the “true joy” in finding an object that bears an experience we find transformational (Bollas 1992:53-54). It is via our dream work that these transformations take place: an intermediate space we enter into, and which changes the nature of our perception. Not only is our subjectivity scattered and disseminated into the object world, Bollas states, but our inner contents are changed by the history of the encounter (1992:60).

We imagine, dream, abstract, select objects before we know why and even then knowing so little.

(Bollas 1992:51)

Noting that our waking life differs from our dream life, Bollas nevertheless regards our movements during the day as constituting as form of ‘day dreaming’; a field of intermediate experience that possesses its own intrinsic temporal structure (Bollas 1992:23). As we mature into more sophisticated creatures, and add new psychic structures that make us more complex, we increase our capacity for dream work. However, in doing so we problematise the sense we have of an established reality and a knowable, unified self.

The brings to an end the discussion of the interconnected relationship between the self and the object world, and a return to Bollas’ contradictory notion that part

of our core self is an “absent presence” (Bollas 1995:151), as posited at the beginning of this section.

An essential but fragmented self

Decentred by experience, radically historicised, not given integrating memories neatly unifying the nature of life, we are nonetheless inhabited by the revenants of the dream work of life, thousands of inner constellations of psychic realities, each conjurable by name or memory, even if few are truly intelligible.

(Bollas 1992:60)

This excerpt illustrates Bollas’ point that the containment of multiple and semi-autonomous psychic workings, may well be the reason writers or philosophers are disenchanted with the notion of a unified self (Bollas 1992:87). However, Bollas notes that the current disenchantment with the notion of a unified self is not simply a postmodern position (Bollas 1992:87). To demonstrate his point, Bollas quotes the work of the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), published in 1915:

I feel multiple. I am like a room with innumerable fantastic mirrors that distort by false reflections one single pre-existing reality which is not there in any of them and is there in them all.

(Pessoa 1915, cited in Bollas 1992:87)

Thus, Bollas argues that the recognition of multiple selves is not as contemporary a phenomenon as some maintain. In doing so, Bollas describes Jacques Derrida and other postmodern thinkers as his ‘cousins’.

[A]lthough I can understand why I’m seen as a postmodernist writer in some ways, I would also say that I’m an essentialist in others; hence I could not say of Derrida or of someone such as he, that he is a brother.

But I can see that he is a cousin! There are familial connections, although not always direct ones.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:47)

In this regard, Bollas' position does not fit neatly into Hall's (admittedly simplified) categorisations of the self, outlined in the previous chapter. However, it does illustrate Bollas' argument, raised in the first section of this chapter, that while newer models of thinking (such as the postmodern self) may increase our understanding, they should not necessarily replace earlier models (such as the essential self) despite their shortcomings (Bollas 2007:75-76). Rather than abandoning prior understandings or models, Bollas argues we would do better to heed the understandings of multiple models in order to comprehend what are highly complex matters (ibid).

In the concluding section of this chapter below, I review the key ideas raised in this chapter, and outline how I employ these ideas in this thesis.

Conclusion

Each of the three sections above addressed key ways in which Bollas posits the self. Section one outlined Bollas' argument that different models of the unconscious provide different forms of perception, which allow us to understand the unconscious (and other ideas) from different perspectives, and therefore provide a fuller understanding of the topic. In this regard, consideration of Freud's two models of the unconscious, led Bollas to posit the unconscious as a dynamic and creative intelligence of form, as well as a sophisticated form of thinking. Section two discussed the three orders of knowledge which Bollas views as constituting the core of our mental functioning, and which he sees reflected in favoured orders of knowing within the separate schools of the psychoanalytic movement. Section three outlined the nature of the transformational object and evocative object, which explains for Bollas, our wide ranging and collective search for the metamorphosis of the self and which, in turn, explains our identification

with various objects, ideas, events, and landscapes. This section also discussed the notion of ‘psychic genera’ which mirrors Bollas’ non-pathological emphasis and approach to the self and individual and collective forms of identity and identification. In all, these notions of the dynamic unconscious, the three orders of knowledge, and the psychic genera that enable the metamorphosis of the self through transformational and evocative objects, form Bollas’ key understandings of the self, and how and why it is that we form identifications, as individuals and collectives.

The dynamic unconscious

Bollas’ understanding of the unconscious downplays Freud’s emphasis on the repression of sexual and aggressive drives and contents. Instead, he highlights the dynamic and creative nature of the unconscious which he regards as the most sophisticated form of thinking we have. Reminding us of the adage that a picture or image is worth a thousand words, Bollas portrays the rich imagery and dreamworld of the unconscious, and its aesthetic capabilities. It is in these ways that the unconscious registers psychically valuable experiences of the day, and organises the thousands of thoughts that arrive through our lived experiences. Bollas regards these complex articulations as forming the matrix of our being (2007:72-83) and contends that the self does not evolve unconsciously, but *is* unconscious (Bollas 1992:51).

Three orders of knowledge

Acknowledging we can only ever know the unconscious through its effects or derivatives, Bollas nevertheless contends that three orders or authorities constitute the core of our self and our mental functioning. In section two I outlined the functions and qualities Bollas ascribes to each order. By naming these authorities ‘the order of the infant’, ‘the order of the mother’ (or maternal order), and ‘order of the father’ (or paternal order), Bollas highlights that we are part of both our personal history *and* a universal order. Bollas also refers to the three orders as an

essential family of authors, in which no single author is capable of establishing any ultimate truth (Bollas 1999:37).

With regard to the particular functions and qualities of each order, Bollas links the order of the infant to dreaming (and imagery), the order of the mother to association (that is capable of evoking states of solitude and relatedness), and the order of the father to interpretation (that accounts for the knowing of the world). Bollas also explains that the maternal order and paternal order can be viewed as sets of functions which engage and process the order of the infant (1999:37).

Bollas presents a number of qualifiers to his use of the terms infant, maternal, paternal, and the order of the mother and the order of the father. He emphasises these are not descriptions of all mothers or fathers, and how they behave, but of processes that are associated with and usually conducted by the mother or the father, and which assume different forms of significance for the infant or (Bollas 1999:38). In this regard, the mother performs paternal functions just as the father acts within the maternal order (*ibid*).

As well as regarding these three orders as constituting the core of our self and our mental functioning, Bollas refers to these orders in two further ways. In the first instance, he contends that the psychoanalytic movement is politically split into separate psychoanalytic schools, which favour either the maternal order, or paternal order, as a way of thinking about, and understanding the self. In the second instance, Bollas draws on the three orders to describe particular functions and roles of the infant, mother and father in the external world. In particular, Bollas describes the maternal relationship with the infant, whereby the maternal process transforms the infant in a way that allow the metamorphosis of the infant's self. Bollas claims that the infant's experience of these early processes, are echoed throughout the life of the adult self, via the wide-ranging and collective search for further objects and experiences that further transform and metamorphosise the self. I review this claim below.

The idiomatic self and transformational object

Bollas is of the view that we have failed to take notice of the wide-ranging collective search, in our adult life, for objects through which to metamorphosise our self (Bollas 1987:15-16). His formulation of the transformational object and evocative object is a result of his belief that each one of us begins life as unrealised idiom, which over a lifetime, is transformed into a sensibility and personal reality. In particular he regards our idiom as an 'aesthetic of being' that is driven by an urge to articulate its 'theory of form' through the selection of objects (Bollas 1995:151). Bollas also refers to the idiom as a genetically biased set of dispositions. This is the 'true self' that exists before object relating takes place. However, he regards this 'true self' only in terms of a potential, given that it relies on maternal care for its evolution (Bollas, in Molino 1997:12). In this sense, the core self which Bollas refers to is influenced by genetics and the environment. Bollas also contends that the infant does not evolve unconsciously, but that the self *is* unconscious: an inner presence that finds expression through object relating. This means that Bollas also assigns subjectivity to *beyond* our consciousness (Bollas 1992:51).

In the first years of our life, Bollas states our "unique idiom of psychic organization" (Bollas 1992:51) absorbs the unconscious and relational intelligence of the family's way of being. If the infant meets up with a parent who is a good enough transformational object, the infant will have a sense of hope, confidence and vision built into object use, as the paradigm-forming early object relations have resulted in important transformations in the infant's state (Bollas 1989:112). Crucially, the memories of these experiences manifest themselves in adult life, as we continue the search for further objects to again transform our self/selves. Because the original transformational experiences occur before cognitive or mental representation, Bollas is of the view that in further transformational experiences we undergo a sense of the uncanny or a "psychosomatic sense of fusion" that reflects our unconscious recollection of the original transformational object (Bollas 1987:17).

While Bollas regards both the maternal and paternal roles and functions as fundamental to the constitution of the self during infancy, he maintains that maternal function, acts as the first transformational object for the infant. Importantly, Bollas emphasises that he is referring to the maternal 'role' or 'function' of caring for an infant, and the processes usually associated with and conducted by the mother, rather than the mother herself (Bollas 1999:38). In this regard, Bollas observes that the mother performs paternal functions just as the father acts within the maternal role (ibid).

In our search for the symbolic equivalents to our original transformational object and experiences, we look to objects including other people, places, events, landscapes, ideologies, poems, paintings or arias (Bollas 1987: 14-17). In the secular world, Bollas notes that hope is invested in objects such as a new job, a move to another country, a vacation, or a change of relationship. Likewise, the advertising world makes its living on the promise that the advertised product will alter the subject's external environment and internal mood (Bollas 1987:15-16). We may also re-enact our aesthetic experiences in the arts, where the artist delivers to us the symbolic equivalent of our earlier transformational experiences. It is cultural experiences such as these that allow us a deep subjective rapport with objects (Bollas 1987:28-29).

Bollas also notes that these collective searches can also take place at the psychopathological level, and we may seek out a revolutionary ideology or fanatical attachment to an extreme political movement as a means of transformation. Bollas also notes that aesthetic moments may not necessarily be beautiful or wonderful, but ugly or terrifying. Nevertheless, such moments unconsciously re-enact our pre-verbal and aesthetic memories, and provide us with what Bollas refers to as a deep subjective rapport or uncanny fusion with an object (1987:28-29).

From the transformative to the evocative

While the transformational object mirrors the transformational relationship between the object and the maternal function, Bollas' formulation of the evocative object directs attention towards the objects themselves. The potential of some evocative objects lies in their potential to evoke memories. However, Bollas is most interested in evocative objects which put the individual through a complex psychosomatic experience. Such objects have a structure or integrity to them that force the individual to think differently (Bollas 2009:54). Because of the object's integrity, the object and the thought arising from it become inseparable (Bollas 2009:52). In this regard Bollas states that we both *use* and are *used by* such objects. The unconscious does not distinguish between natural, man-made, material or mental objects, Bollas states, as they are all equally capable of putting us through complex inner experiences (Bollas 2009:50). Bollas also contends that an evocative object may present itself by chance; something he refers to as an encounter with an 'aleatory object'. On the other hand, we may seek out objects to use as a form of thinking. Bollas regards this as an existential rather than cognitive type of thinking, where we are unconsciously pushed to thought by the object. Examples of the structure or integrity of objects vary from a basketball to a Mozart symphony, each capable of transforming the way we think.

Psychic genera

While Bollas does not discount the relevance of pathological models such as projective identification and transference, he nevertheless finds a number of positive aspects in the mental processes involved in the subjectification of the object world, which he regards as warranting attention (Bollas 1992:22). In this respect, he regards the self as capable of generating inspired ideas and a complex range of processes, due in no small part, to the dynamic, creative and sophisticated nature of the unconscious. In the Molino interview, he was questioned about the integrity of objects in a culture that manipulates our desire in so many ways. In response, he acknowledges our use of objects is always vulnerable to the interpretive appropriation of objects by powerful movements, or authorities

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:45). This is a position which Michel Foucault, mentioned in the previous chapter, would support. However, as mentioned in section three above, while Bollas agrees there is a mentality in these forces that makes our life different, restricts us, and should be rightly opposed, he does not regard such forces as our subjectivities (Bollas, in Molino 1997:46).

Bollas' point that the our subjectivities are not overridden, or a mere reflection of the wider social and economic times in which we live, highlights a key point of difference between Bollas' line of reasoning, and that of Fredric Jameson's, which I outline in the following chapter. However, before turning to this chapter, I outline the specific ways in which I utilise Bollas' model of the three orders of knowledge, and the evocative object, in this thesis.

The evocative object at work

At the conclusion of my discussion of Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley's commentaries of national identity, in Chapter Two, I stated that these commentaries fail to reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense that *this* is what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, or that *these* are the types of experiences that *speak to me* about my New Zealandness. However, I find that Bollas' notion of the evocative object *does* articulate or reflect back to me, those feelings and experiences. Particular occasions and objects that *speak to me*, mostly pertain to the sense of recognition and delight that I feel when I come across particular, and well-recognised symbols or icons of New Zealand identity, such as the koru motif. In this thesis, I argue that the koru motif operates as an evocative object whereby the viewer experiences a form of metamorphosis or 'psychic identification'. To this end, I have selected the koru motif as an object of analysis in this thesis. In particular, the data component of this thesis comprises of various visual images of the koru motif which I analyse. While the wider methodological framework in which this analysis takes place is primarily based on Fredric Jameson's metacommentary, I utilise Bollas' three orders of knowing as a form of analysis within this framework. In the discussion below I outline how this takes place.

The three orders as an analytical approach

Bollas states that a truly creative formulation of theory must combine the virtues of all three orders of knowing (Bollas 1999:46). Bollas makes this statement within the context of the separate psychoanalytic schools, that tend to favour the either the paternal order or maternal in their consideration and treatment of the patient. Bollas' three orders of understanding also provide a productive way of understanding and approaching several aspects of this thesis. The first aspect, as mentioned above, relates to the utilisation of the three orders of knowledge as a form of analysis, which is undertaken in Chapter Ten of this thesis. In this chapter, I consider the presence of the maternal and paternal orders of knowledge within images of the koru motif. Here, I draw on Bollas' description of the order of the mother and the order of father as sets of functions which engage and process the order of the infant (Bollas 1999:37). As such, the use of images reflects the order of the infant as a form of knowledge. This accords with Bollas' description of the order in infant, in which the image and imagery form particular characteristics or features (Bollas 1997:37). While I discuss the outcome of this analysis in Chapter Ten, I now turn to a discussion of the further ways in which Bollas' three orders of knowledge, is of productive use in this thesis. Namely, I address how the paternal order of knowledge is more apparent than the maternal order in the work of some authors outlined in this thesis, and vice versa.

In the first instance, I argue that, the commentaries of national identity authored by Keith Sinclair, Claudia Bell and Paul Spoonley, all favour the paternal order of knowledge as a means of articulating the nature of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is made apparent by the exclusive consideration they give to the external world of social, economic and political processes and factors which they view as shaping and moulding the national identity of New Zealanders.

In Sinclair's commentary of national identity, the paternal order is also illustrated in the way he describes various events, such as World War I and World War II, the 'breaking in' on the land, and the success of the early All Blacks rugby tours, as major factors that formed the psyche of New Zealanders. Sinclair also points out

the masculine nature of many these experiences. In Claudia Bell's commentary of national identity, a recurring theme that runs through her work is the way in which the economic imperatives of capitalism underpin many of the narratives about national identity. For instance, Bell views cultural icons and objects such as the Buzzy-bee toy, and hokey pokey ice-cream, as commodities that are sold to New Zealanders and tourists alike, to provide a feel-good factor, in exchange for money. In turn, Spoonley looks to the cultural identities of different ethnic groups within Aotearoa New Zealand and the manner in which the social, economic and political policies of the dominant cultural group, Pākehā, override the cultural rights and aspirations of the other groups. As previously mentioned in this thesis, these commentaries provide us with valuable understandings of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Nevertheless, they reflect a paternal order of knowledge in the way their exclusive consideration of external social, political and economic processes and events, that they regard as having shaped and moulded the psyche of the nation's citizens.

In contrast to Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley's paternal lens, is that of Bollas, who despite his valiant attempts to promote all three orders of knowing, as a means of considering and understanding the subject, primarily views the subject through the maternal lens. In particular, Bollas views the collective ongoing search for metamorphosis and identification, as being based on the constitutive and transformational processes, functions and role of the mother. Bollas does not silence the role of the father; however, he does regard the maternal role as constitutive of the self and identity. In this sense, he views the internal relationship between the mother and infant as the primary explanation for individual and collective forms of identity and identification, rather than the external events of the social, economic and political world.

However, if Bollas' advice is to be followed, *all* three orders of knowledge are to be equally promoted. Hence, the examination of the koru motif as an articulation of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand requires an investigation that extends Bollas' maternal approach, which focuses on the internal relationship

between the mother and infant. As such, a paternal viewpoint is required; one which considers factors external to the relationship between the infant and mother. Here I turn to the work of Fredric Jameson, which promotes a distinctively different viewpoint from that of Bollas, and a strong focus on the external social, economic and political world in which we live. There are, however, two points of interest that Bollas and Jameson share in their work: the function of objects, and the relevance of the unconscious. In the following chapter (Chapter Five) I discuss these elements of Jameson's work, within the broad milieu of his writing. Drawing on Blackburn's metaphors of 'conceptual engineering' and 'intellectual house building', mentioned in section one above, I proceed, in Chapter Six, to engineer elements of Bollas and Jameson's work to create the methodological framework for this thesis. In the next chapter I examine the wider context of Jameson's work.

Chapter Five

The unconscious life of cultural objects: Fredric Jameson

Introduction

This chapter introduces the work of the cultural critic Fredric Jameson and brings to the fore aspects of his work that extend the explanatory power of Christopher Bollas' 'evocative object'. The key areas of Jameson's work which I discuss in this chapter relate to the formation of his metacommentary, and his conceptualisation of the political unconscious. I utilise Jameson's metacommentary to construct the methodological framework for this thesis, which I outline in the following chapter (Chapter Six). There I also address how Bollas' three orders of knowledge fit within the methodological framework. However, in this chapter I provide a more general outline of Jameson's work. I begin by providing a brief biography of Jameson, before charting the key theories and theorists who have influenced him, and the wide field of topics that interest him. This forms the first section of the chapter, and not only locates his post-Marxist position, but demonstrates the general width and depth of his intellectual interests. In this regard, Jameson approaches his writing with a mass of theoretical and intellectual horse power. However, my utilisation of his work does not extend to his uniquely post-Marxist stance or his deeply theoretical and inspired explanations of postmodernity and late capitalism. Instead, my interest lies in his unique form of metacommentary, and his concept of the political unconscious. Thus, in section two and three I outline these two areas of his work. In section two I discuss Jameson's metacommentary within the context of his dialectical approach, while in section three I provide three illustrations of Jameson's concept of the political unconscious. As in sections one and two, I note the relationship between Bollas'

and Jameson's ideas, which I address in the concluding section (section four). Here I discuss the similarities and differences in Bollas' and Jameson's work, and outline the way in which I draw from elements of both these theorists work to examine the way in which the koru motif operates as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Worth noting at this point is the difficulty of Jameson's writing style. In *The Jameson Reader* (2000) the editors Michael Hardt and Kathi Weeks note:

We should recognise straight away that Jameson's writing presents numerous difficulties for readers, not only because he draws on various disciplines, cites such a wide range of sources, and deals with abstract concepts, but also because his sentences themselves are so complex. A typical Jamesonian sentence may be interrupted by a long parenthetical clause that points to a parallel example in a very different context and may then conclude with a hypothesis contrary to the primary clause that puts it in question and points toward a new proposition. He is aware of the difficulty of his prose and aware too that many authors he admires, particularly the German philosophers, have been vilified for the impenetrability of their writing.

Jameson suggests, however, that the mandate against a complex writing style may itself be ideological, that is, it may be used to prevent a certain kind of thinking.

(Hardt & Weeks 2000:7)

They quote Jameson as follows:

What if ... in this period of the overproduction of printed matter and the proliferation of methods of quick reading, they [the ideals of clarity and simplicity] were intended to speed the reader across a sentence in such a way that he [sic] can salute a readymade idea effortlessly in passing, without suspecting that real thought demands a descent into the

materiality of language and a consent to time itself in the form of the sentence.

(Jameson cited in Hardt & Weeks 2000:7)

In my endeavour to more fully understand Jameson's ideas and arguments I have looked to a number of commentators on Jameson's work including Michael Hardt and Kathi Weeks (2000), Douglas Kellner (2004) and Sean Homer (2004, 1998). However, for the most part I have drawn from the work of Ian Buchanan; a self-described 'Fred-head' (Buchanan 2006:ix) and author of *Fredric Jameson – Live Theory* (2006) and editor of *Jameson on Jameson: Conversations on Cultural Marxism* (2007). In the following discussion I refer to both Buchanan and Jameson as a means of providing greater clarity to my discussion. Rather than alternating between Jameson's ideas, and my utilisation of these ideas, I instead place a footnote to indicate specific points or ideas I return to in the concluding section, where I present a fuller discussion of the productivity of aspects of both Jameson's and Bollas' work for this thesis.

Section One

Foregrounding Fredric Jameson

Variably described as America's leading Marxist critic, 'theorist supreme' of postmodernism (Hardt & Weeks, 2000:1) and 'probably the most important cultural critic writing in English today' (MacCabe cited in Homer, 1998:1) Fredric Jameson has left few stones unturned in his wide ranging analyses of both contemporary and non-contemporary society. Born in 1934 and raised in Cleveland, Ohio, Jameson studied French and German at college and earned his PhD in 1959 from Yale University, studying the work of French philosopher Jean-Paul-Sartre (Hardt & Weeks, 2000:5, Roberts, 2000:2). In an interview with Ian Buchanan in 2006, Jameson registers his intellectual formation as being not only Eurocentric, in terms of his affinity to France and Germany, but also based on an early engagement with the Third World including Mexico in the 1950s, and the

Islamic world extending from North Africa to Indonesia (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:120). He also describes himself as “a person of the 1950s rather than the 1960s”, remarking that the most exciting and radical political event for a white student, such as himself, during the 1950s was the business of McCarthyism and the Army/McCarthy hearings (ibid).

In this respect, Jameson regards his first book *Marxism and Form* (1971), as introducing to the United States audience, the topic of a western Marxist tradition. This included an introduction to authors such as Theodor Adorno, Ernst Bloch, Walter Benjamin and Jean-Paul Sartre. Jameson’s intent was also to devise a new kind of literary criticism and method that provided a specific twist and innovation in traditional Marxist criticism (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:120-121). His interest, he remarks, was not in examining the ideological affinities of particular writers, but “to see how the works of conservative or reactionary writers held features that could be considered progressive” (ibid:121). His approach widened with the arrival of French, structuralist and post-structuralist theory which he mined for its potential to create new Marxist theorisations (ibid).

In naming his intellectual mentors Jameson notes his ‘shock of recognition’ with Sartre’s work:

There was in Sartre the possibility (that many people in that generation [also in France] felt) that suddenly you had a mode of analysis, of theorizing, of philosophizing, which could really philosophize about everything from daily life and existential experience all the way to politics and history.

(Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:121-122)

The discovery of Sigmund Freud’s work also had the effect of intensifying for Jameson, “the feeling that everyday life was itself philosophical and that one could grasp it immanently” (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:122). Via Theodor Adorno, he came to understand a system of thinking in the German tradition that was more overtly dialectical, in comparison to the overtly political thinking that reflected the

French tradition. Jameson is of the view that both these traditions influenced American thinking in the 1960s. However, he also notes that the presence in the United States of the Frankfurt School theorist, Herbert Marcuse, has resulted in a greater influence of the German tradition, amongst the American New Left (ibid).

Jameson also notes that in the United States, it was the French rather than English university departments, where the most contemporary texts of left wing writers were being read during the 1950s. The influence of his Yale teacher, Erich Auerbach, who stressed the intimate relationship of the individual text and its style and words, to movements and historical context, also paved the way for Jameson's growing interest in theory. Following on from this, the structural anthropology, and myth criticism of Levi-Strauss, and Roland Barthes notion of ideology also influenced Jameson's thinking.

[I]t was really the opening up of much larger questions about the relationship of something called language and textuality to something called the social and the whole notion of how narrative functions in the world of the social and the ideological fully as much as in literature This was the first really pioneering mission that we may have derived through the synthesis in French structuralism of linguistics and anthropology and Marxism. It was really a whole new revolution in method that was being pioneered in the humanities and gradually over a long period of time having its ultimate impact on the other disciplines.

(Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:123-124)

Jameson's training in the style-studies tradition of Leo Spitzer and Auerbach, the modern literary essays of Sartre, and reading of literary history in Barthes *Writing Degree Zero* all influenced Jameson's idea that it was possible to "philosophize about everything from daily life and existential experience all the way to politics and history" (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:121-122).

Linked to this, in a somewhat paradoxical fashion, was his interest in utopianism and the notion that "ideologies insofar as they draw on a whole set of collective

desires, are somehow also collective and thus harbour deep within themselves a kind of utopian impulse”¹⁸ (ibid). This suggested to Jameson a fresh revision of the older Marxist methodological agenda (ibid).

Through his search for both progressive elements and utopian elements within texts, Jameson developed the view that even apolitical and liberal works, providing they had sufficient ‘energy’ to them, contained an ‘informing drive’ or ‘utopian fantasy’. Jameson was interested in identifying these collective ideas and reflecting on the ways in which they are made available: culturally, socially and politically.¹⁹ This led him to look beyond the classifications of right and left thinking that dominated the political thinking in literary and cultural studies (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:125). This extended vision led Jameson to view texts as ‘libidinal apparatus’²⁰, invested with a number of forces and meanings. Such texts are open to identification with multiple ideologies, as well as “investment by a whole range of other levels of desire, and of what one could call ideological orientation”, including the likes of gender, race, and national situations (ibid: 125-126). In this sense Jameson supported a “multiple determination of the text” (ibid: 126) and shifted his focus from the analysis of specific texts to the analysis of postmodern formations. This led Jameson to posit that objects of analysis “no longer function as an expression of an individual subjectivity, but participate in some larger

¹⁸ In the final section of this chapter I contrast Bollas’ notion of psychic genera, with Jameson’s notion of utopianism.

¹⁹ In section four I discuss how Bollas’ concept of the ‘evocative object’ is not dissimilar to the ‘energy’, ‘informing drive, and ‘utopian impulse’ that Jameson refers to.

²⁰ Jameson borrows this term from Herbert Marcuse (Jameson 1988:15). In *Eros and Civilization* (1955) Marcuse proposes a "libidinal rationality" whereby reason acts in harmony with the senses, and takes into account the cultivation and enhancement of sensuality. In Chapter Six I address how the koru motif can be understood in terms of Bollas’ ‘evocative object’ and Jameson’s ‘libidinal apparatus’.

movement of the cultural production of late capitalism or postmodernity”²¹ (ibid:127).

Here Jameson called upon a structural Marxist dialectical criticism that emphasises the system as a whole, and points to the politics of consumerism and commodification. With reference to the cultural dimension of capitalism, he argues that “we are now, with globalization and postmodernity, in a moment in which these cultural issues become absolutely central” (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:128). Furthermore, the successful application of the dialectic offers us a shock or glimpse of the Real. Drawing from Sartre, Heidegger and Lacan he formulated the idea that:

[W]e’re never in the truth, we’re always in error, *méconnaissance*, various ideology, illusions of all kinds and the truth is not a place that we can remain in ... [however] every so often we can have fitful glimpses of that truth and try to hold on to a moment of authenticity that’s constantly slipping away, imperilled on all sides, and necessarily condemned to disappear into ideology and reification”²²

(Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:131)

Despite Jameson’s contention that we are always ‘in ideology’, he nevertheless regards a Marxian interpretive framework as *the* framework that subsumes all other interpretive frameworks. Thus, Jameson views Marxism not as a rival of other frameworks, such as structuralism, post-structuralism or deconstruction, but as their ‘condition of possibility’ (Buchanan 2006:27). In *The Political Unconscious* (1981) Jameson notes the plurality of other interpretive methods within the ‘intellectual marketplace’ including the ethical, the psychoanalytic, the myth-critical, the semiotic, the structural and the theological (Jameson 1981:10). Rather

²¹ Jameson’s contention that objects of analysis do not function as an expression of an individual subjectivity, but are part of cultural production of late capitalism or postmodernity, stands in contrast to Bollas’ viewpoint, and is discussed in section four of this chapter.

²² I discuss how Bollas and Jameson’s viewpoints differ regarding matters of truth in the final section of this chapter.

than defending Marxism as a substitute for these methods, he allows that the authority of such methods springs from their consonance with the various local laws of a fragmented social life, and within subsystems of a complex and mushrooming cultural superstructure. Instead of dismissing these methods outright Jameson allows that:

In the spirit of a more authentic dialectical tradition, Marxism is here conceived as that ‘untranscendable horizon’ that subsumes such apparently antagonistic or incommensurable critical operations, assigning them an undoubted sectoral validity within itself, and thus at once cancelling and preserving them.²³

(Jameson 1981:10)

Section Two

Jameson’s dialectical approach and metacommentary

Buchanan (2006:53) notes that Jameson’s dialectical approach can be found in the combined forces of his ‘metacommentary’ (published in an essay of the same title in 1971), and his concept of ‘the political unconscious’ (published in a book of the same title in 1981). In this section I discuss Jameson’s dialectical approach, and metacommentary, and address the concept of the political unconscious in section three below.

In general terms Jameson states that:

The dialectic is not a thing of the past, but rather a speculative account of some thinking of the future which has not yet been realised; an unfinished

²³ In this regard, Jameson would likely consider Bollas’ psychoanalytic theory as having ‘sectoral validity’. Similarly, in the context of this thesis, I recognise that Jameson’s post-Marxist viewpoint, and the lens through which he view the cultural logic of late capitalism or postmodernity has a certain ‘sectoral validity’. However it is not via this lens that I use to examine the nature of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

project, as Habermas might put it; a way of grasping situations and events that does not yet exist as a collective habit because the concrete form of social life to which it corresponds has not yet come into being.

(Jameson, in Buchanan 2007:x)

In more specific terms, Jameson characterises the dialectic in terms of (1) reflexivity: a necessary second-guessing or reconsideration of the very terms and concepts of one's analytic apparatus; (2) a problematisation of causality and historical narrative, and (3) the production of contradiction (Jameson, in Buchanan 2007:xi)²⁴. It is the latter characteristic that Buchanan argues is the most developed in Jameson's metacommentary (Buchanan 2007:xv). Jameson bases the structure of his metacommentary on the model of Freud's interpretive structure: the distinction between the symptom and the repressed idea, manifest and latent content, and disguise and the message disguised (Jameson 1988:13). Buchanan remarks that it is not the 'deep reservoir of secret meaning' that interests Jameson, but the 'cultural logic' of the political unconscious. In this regard, Jameson's aim is not to redeem or restore the suppressed content, but to uncover the logic of its suppression (Buchanan 2007:xiii).²⁵ The nature of the suppressed message is therefore not a matter of private fetishes and fantasies for Jameson, but to do with public or collective anxiety of the nature and quality of lived experience (2007:xiv). If private fantasies and fetishes are to be examined, they should be understood as:

[S]ymptomal responses to the deeper realities of ... the mode of production and need to be interpreted in terms of the privations of history rather than the psychopathologies of sexual dysfunction. More pointedly, they express in their own perverse way a longing for an altered form of

²⁴ In this regard, the methodological approach taken in this thesis is dialectical, in that it utilises aspects of Jameson's metacommentary and political unconscious, which form the basis of Jameson's dialectical approach. However it is not my intention to undertake a dialectical approach in accordance with these three characteristics of Jameson's approach.

²⁵ Here, Buchanan lists the key elements of Jameson's metacommentary, which I discuss in further detail in section four, and reformulate in Chapter Six.

life, one in which certain satisfactions are readily supplied and do not suffer the proscriptions of our own moralizing universe, and can in this sense be seen as utopian.

(Buchanan 2007: xiv)

It is in this light that Jameson views the raw material or latent content of the suppressed message as consisting of the “very components of our concrete social life: words, thoughts, objects, desires, people, places, activities” (Jameson 1988:14). This content is hugely meaningful to Jameson, just as sentences in a conversation, or gestures in a particular situation are meaningful (ibid)²⁶. He therefore argues against the ‘renunciation of content’ that is apparent in 20th century literature and philosophy, including logical positivism, pragmatism, existentialism, Russian formalism and structuralism. In fact, Jameson spends much of his essay, ‘Metacommentary’, addressing the shortcomings of such modes of thinking. In particular he holds up Susan Sontag’s book *Against Interpretation* (1966) as a prime example in which ‘meaning’ has been left out of the equation in preference for a type of formalism which substitutes method for the metaphysical (Jameson 1988:3). Illustrating his point via Sontag’s essay on science fiction titled “The Imagination of Disaster” (1965), Jameson describes how she reconstructs the basic paradigm of the science fiction movie as an expression of our deepest anxieties about contemporary existence, physical disaster, the prospect of universal mutilation and annihilation, and more importantly, the condition of the individual psyche. Although Jameson agrees with Sontag’s account, he nevertheless argues that she takes the materials of science fiction on its own terms. Instead, Jameson states, one should be asking if the manifest content of those terms are but a disguise that serves to mask and distract us from some more basic satisfaction at

²⁶ This quote from Buchanan invites a further comparison between Bollas and Jameson’s viewpoints, regarding the suppressed or repressed nature of the unconscious, which I discuss in section four below.

work (Jameson 1988:14)²⁷. With the heyday of such movies belonging to the post war/1950s period, he alerts us to the ‘mystique of the scientist’ that existed at that time:

[A] kind of collective folk dream about the condition of the scientist himself – he does not do ‘real’ work, yet he has power and crucial significance; his remuneration is not monetary, or at the very least money seems no object; there is something fascinating about his laboratory (the home workshop magnified into institutional status, a combination of factory and clinic), about the way he works nights (he is not bound by routine or by the eight-hour day ...[There is] the suggestion of a return to older modes of work organisation, to the more personal and psychologically satisfying world of the guilds

(Jameson 1988:15)

None of this has anything to do with science fiction Jameson argues; instead it is a distorted reflection of 1950s male feelings and dreams about work: “it is a wish fulfilment that takes as its object a vision of ideal work, or what Marcuse would call *libidinally gratifying* work” (Jameson 1988:15). It is also a peculiar type of wish fulfilment, in that it does not deal with a direct and open kind of psychic identification, but via a symbolic gratification that conceals its own presence. The wish fulfilment is not found in the plot, or the events of the story of the science fiction movie, but is disguised in the framework of the story²⁸ (the universe of science, the splitting of the atom, the astronomer’s gaze into outer space, a

²⁷ This passage, as with the passage mentioned in the previous footnote, highlights Jameson’s emphasis on repressed or hidden messages, which contrasts with Bollas’ approach that accentuates open psychic identifications and intensities.

²⁸ This passage also draws attention Jameson’s emphasis on the hidden, concealed and censored nature of messages. In section four I compare Bollas’ notion of the integrity of the structure, with the ‘frameworks’ that Jameson views as disguising or concealing wish fulfilments.

patriarchal guild system). Jameson also identifies the presence of another wish fulfilment or fantasy in the work:

[O]ne which deals with collective life, and which uses the cosmic emergencies of science fiction as a way of reliving a kind of war-time togetherness and morale, a kind of drawing together among survivors, which is itself merely a distorted dream of a more humane collectivity and social organisation. In this sense, the surface violence of the work is doubly motivated, for it can now be seen as a breaking of the routine boredom of middle-class existence as well, and may contain within itself impulses of resentment and vengeance at the nonrealization of the unconscious fantasy thus awakened.

(Jameson 1988:15-16)

For Jameson, the key to the disguise of this deep content lies in the nature of the fantasy itself, namely, its thematical attachment to the idea of work satisfaction. In this regard, Jameson views the work of art as uniting “a lived experience of some kind, as its content, with an implied question as to the very possibilities of Experience itself, as its form” (Jameson 1988:16). In doing so, it preserves our contact with life and serves as a repository for ‘that mutilated fragment of Experience’ that we treasure. Moreover, it functions as a censor that both secures us against the awareness of the resulting impoverishment, and prevents us from identifying the connection between our social system and that impoverishment (ibid).

Whether it is science fiction, official literature or popular culture, the basic structure of Jameson’s metacommentary remains the same. Such a structure not only allows one to see in the original content of the work a greater degree of conscious and unconscious artistic elaboration, it also traces:

[T]he logic of the censorship itself and of the situation from which it springs: a language that hides what it displays beneath its own reality as

language, a glance that designates, through the very process of avoiding, the object forbidden.²⁹

(Jameson 1988:16)

This opens the way to a discussion of Jameson's 'political unconscious' where he highlights the twin capacities of ideological function and utopian fantasy, and in doing so, argues that "there is nothing that is not social and historical – indeed, that everything is 'in the last analysis' political" (Jameson 1981:20).

Section Three

The political unconscious at work

[T]he concept of the 'political unconscious' and the complex, multilayered interpretive apparatus associated with it ... should be regarded as the apotheosis and completion of the programme to develop a new form of dialectical criticism Jameson started to develop a decade earlier under the rubric of 'metacommentary'. It takes on board all the lessons learned over the years from numerous interlocutors (particularly Sartre, Adorno, Brecht and Barthes) ... and then raises it all to a higher power

(Buchanan 2006:53)

As with Jameson's metacommentary, the exploration of the 'political unconscious' entails exploring multiple paths, which ultimately lead to the "unmasking of cultural artifacts as socially symbolic acts" (Jameson 1981:20). Below is an illustration of how Jameson reveals the political unconscious at work in a non-capitalist context.

In Levi-Strauss' essay *The Structural Study of Myth* (1955) Jameson turns his attention to one of Levi-Strauss' most dramatic analyses: the interpretation of the unique facial decorations of the Mbayá tribe (also referred to as the Guaycurú or

²⁹ This passage of text invites a comparison between Bollas and Jameson's interpretation of Freud's work, and is elaborated on in section four below.

Caduveo). Via Levi-Strauss' study, Jameson points out that the "the individual narrative, or the individual formal structure, is to be grasped as the imaginary resolution of a real contradiction" (Jameson 1981:77). Levi-Strauss describes the Mbayá as a hierarchal society, organised into three endogamous groups or castes, which reflect various relations of domination. These include the inferior status of women, the subordination of youth to elders, and the development of a hereditary aristocracy. Although the formal structures of neighbouring tribes (the Guana and Bororo) are similar, Levi-Strauss notes that the structures of the Guana and Bororo tribes importantly cut across the hierarchy and inequality of the three groups mentioned above (Levi-Strauss 1973:254-256). This provides an element of compensation and balance to their otherwise asymmetric class structure (ibid).

However, this is not the case with the Mbayá. Levi-Strauss reports that early accounts showed they were paralysed by a fear of losing face and not living up to their rank. More importantly, they feared marrying below their rank:

The danger present in a society of this kind was therefore segregation. Either through choice or necessity, each caste tended to shut itself upon itself, thus impairing the cohesion of the social body as a whole. In particular, the inbreeding practised by the caste and the ever-increasing graduations in the hierarchy must have made it more difficult to have marriages that corresponded to the concrete necessities of collective life. This alone can explain the paradox of a society being opposed to procreation and, in order to safeguard itself against the danger of improper alliances within the group, having recourse to a form of inverted racialism through the systematic adoption of enemies or foreigners.

(Levi-Strauss 1973:254)

While the Guana and Bororo tribes succeeded in resolving (or at least concealing) these contradictions within their social structures, such a solution did not exist among the Mbayá. Levi-Strauss argues that it is likely that they were unable to

resolve these contradictions due to their fanaticism.³⁰ However, the remedy that they failed to use at a social level could not elude them completely, and haunted them in a more subtle form. Since they could not become conscious of such a remedy and live it out in reality Levi-Strauss argues they began to dream about it:

Not in a direct form, which would have clashed with their prejudices, but in a transposed, and seemingly innocuous form: in their art. If my analysis is correct, in the last resort the graphic art of the Caduveo women is to be interpreted, and its mysterious appeal and seemingly gratuitous complexity to be explained, as the phantasm of a society ardently and insatiably seeking a means of expressing symbolically the institutions it might have, if its interests and superstitions did not stand in the way. In this charming civilization, the female beauties trace the outlines of the collective dream with their make-up; their patterns are hieroglyphics describing an inaccessible golden age, which they extol in their ornamentation, since they have no code in which to express it...

(Levi-Strauss 1973:256)

³⁰ Just as Levi-Strauss notes the fanaticism of the Mbayá prevented them resolving the contradictions within their social structures, Bollas notes that fanatical ideologies are notable, not for the member desire for change, but for their certainty that their ideology will deliver them from the gamut of personal, familial, economic, social and moral faults (Bollas 1987:27-28).

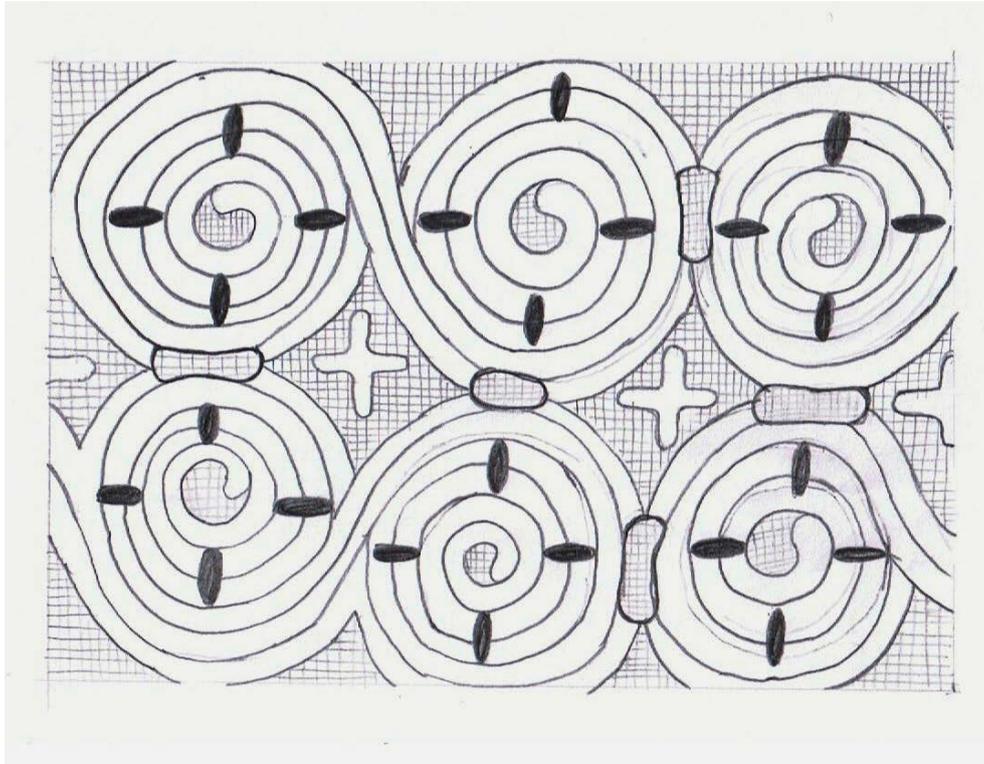


Figure 5.1 Motifs used in Caduveo body painting³¹, after Levi-Strauss (1973), drawn by Kyung Hwa Kang.

For both Levi-Strauss and Jameson, the visual texts of Caduveo facial art constitute a symbolic act, whereby real and insurmountable social contradictions find a formal resolution in the aesthetic realm (Jameson 1981:79). Here, the depiction of the aesthetic peculiarities of Caduveo Indian body art represents a symbolic enactment of the ‘social’ (ibid). Jameson points out that it is of little consequence whether or not these acts are intentional (1981:20). Of greater relevance, is the manner in which the relationship between ideology and cultural texts is conditioned by the political and historical horizons in which they are made

³¹ It is interesting to note the carved patterns used by the Mbayá are not dissimilar to the koru motif used in Māori carving, painting and tattoo work. In particular Levi-Strauss mentions the use of complex designs including spirals and S-shapes, the meanings of which had been passed down from generation to generation (1973:243). In Chapter Eight I explore the presence, and possible meanings, of the koru motif in customary and contemporary Māori design work.

(1981:79). In this regard, he argues that ideology should not be understood as something that merely informs or invests symbolic production, but rather that the aesthetic act is itself ideological in its own right “with the function of inventing imaginary or formal ‘solutions’ to unresolvable social conditions” (1981:79).³²

Thus, Jameson demonstrates his notion of the political unconscious via Levi-Strauss’ description of the tension faced by so-called primitive peoples, in relation to the dynamics and contradictions of their relatively simple forms of tribal organisation. Here, the collective and ‘political unconscious’ of the Mbayá is embodied in the patterns they inscribe upon themselves, and provide an ornate resolution to the issues they find themselves unable to articulate in a conscious form. Lest we regard Levi-Strauss’ anthropological findings a poor corollary to the postmodern present, Jameson asserts if pre-capitalist societies find themselves in bewildering situations, it is much more true for citizens of our now global village (Jameson 1981:79-80).

It does not, indeed, seem particularly farfetched to suggest that these texts of history, with their fantasmatic collective “actants”, their narrative organization, and their immense charge of anxiety and libidinal investment, are lived by the contemporary subject as a genuine politico-historical *pensee sauvage* which necessarily informs all of our cultural artefacts, from the literary institutions of high modernism to the products of mass culture.

(Jameson 1981:80)

Two more recent examples where Jameson discovers the political unconscious are discussed below. In these instances, Buchanan notes how Jameson brings to light ‘political allegories’ that can be seen at play in contemporary narratives.

³² Here, Jameson’s claim that the aesthetic act is ideological and functions to invent imaginary or formal solutions to social conditions, raises the question of to what extent Bollas’ ‘evocative object’ can be considered in the same light. I return to this point in section four.

The place where this process of working out symbolic solutions to real problems is most visible in contemporary aesthetic production is political allegory, the operation of which Jameson is able to discover in the most surprising of places.

(Buchanan 2006:59-60)

One such place is in one of the most commercially successful movies of its time, 'Jaws' (1975), directed by Steven Spielberg. Jameson presents his reading of this movie in his essay '*Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture*' (1979), which was later reproduced in his book *Signatures of the Visible* (1992). Jameson firstly notes that most critique and discussion of the movie has centred on the 'manifest' content of the shark and what it represents. This includes speculation ranging from psychoanalytic and historical anxieties about the Other that menaces American society (e.g. Communist conspiracy or the Third World), to internal fears about the unreality of daily life in America. In these critiques, the Nantucket beaches in the movie represent consumer society, with its glossy and commodified images of gratification, and a suppressed sense of its own possible mortality (Jameson 1992:26).

While Jameson does not regard these readings as wrong, he argues that the multiplicity of readings suggests the vocation of the symbol (the killer shark) lies in its capacity to absorb and organise a number of distinct anxieties:

As a symbolic vehicle, then, the shark must be understood in terms of its essentially polysemous function rather than any particular content attributable to it by this or that spectator. Yet it is the polysemousness which is profoundly ideological, insofar as it allows essentially social and historical anxieties to be folded back into apparently "natural" ones, both to express and to be recontained in what looks like a conflict with other forms of biological existence.

(Jameson 1992:26-27)

Here the varied readings of the shark can be regarded as types of myth criticism, where the shark is taken to be the embodiment of an archetypal struggle with evil. For Jameson, this rewriting of the film in terms of myth emphasises its utopian dimension, and the ritual celebration of the renewal of social order and its salvation (Jameson 1992:27). Such a reading also shifts attention to the hero or heroes whose task it is to rid the civilised world of the archetypal monster. In this regard, Jameson lists the three main characters of the movie as Hooper: a technocratic whiz-kid and good natured creature of grants, foundations and scientific know-how; Brody: a retired cop from New York city who has relocated to Nantucket in an effort to flee the hassle of urban crime, race war and ghettoization; and Quint: defined as the locus of old-fashioned private enterprise, individual entrepreneurship and local business, and reminiscences of World War II and the Pacific campaign (1992:27-28).

Jameson reads the death of Quint as the twofold symbolic destruction of an older America of small business, and the crusade against Nazism, the depression, the war and the heyday of classical liberalism (Jameson 1992:28-29). In contrast, Jameson specifies the partnership between Hooper and Brody, as a social and political allegory of an alliance between the forces of law and order, and the new technocracy of multinational corporations (ibid).

It is via this reading that Jameson regards 'Jaws' as a prime example of ideological manipulation. However, he also adds a second step to this model of manipulation, by stating that it is not possible to do justice to the ideological function of such works, unless we are also willing to concede a more positive or utopian presence within them.

At this point in the argument, then, the hypothesis is that the works of mass culture cannot be ideological without at one and the same time being implicitly or explicitly Utopian as well: they cannot manipulate unless they offer some genuine shred of content as a fantasy bribe to the public about to be so manipulated. Even the 'false consciousness' of so monstrous a

phenomenon of Nazism was nourished by collective fantasies of a Utopian type, in 'socialist' as well as in nationalist guises.

(Jameson 1992:29-30)

Jameson then turns his attention to another movie of the same period, 'The Godfather' (1972), directed by Francis Ford Coppola, and finds a further manifestation of the political unconscious at work.

When indeed we reflect on an organized conspiracy against the public, one which reaches into every corner of our daily lives and our political structures to exercise a wanton ecocidal and genocidal violence at the behest of distant decision-makers and in the name of an abstract conception of profit – surely it is not about the Mafia, but rather about American business itself we are thinking, American capitalism in its most systematized and computerized, dehumanized, “multinational” and corporate form.

(Jameson 1992:31)

Here Jameson reads the ideological function of the Mafia as the substitution of crime for big business. Linked to this is the conviction that the deterioration of daily life in the United States is an ethical, rather than economic matter. Thus, the movie portrays an omnipresent moral corruption, whose source lies in the evil of the Mafiosi (Jameson 1992:32). With regard to the transcendent or utopian function of 'The Godfather', we need only to look to the family as a figure of collectivity and object of utopian longing, if not envy. Here, Jameson contends that ethnic groups in the United States are objects of both prejudice and envy; two impulses which are deeply intermingled and reinforce each other mutually (ibid). At a time when the disintegration of dominant white middle-class groups is persistently explained in terms of deterioration of the family, the growth of permissiveness, and the loss of authority of the father, Jameson illustrates how the tightly knit bonds of the Mafia family, and the protective security of the godfather and his omnipresent authority, offer us a utopian fantasy (1992:33).

The drawing power of a mass cultural artefact like ‘The Godfather’ may thus be measured by its twin capacity to perform an urgent ideological function at the same time it provides the vehicle for the investment of a desperate Utopian fantasy.

(Jameson 1992:33)

These twin capacities of ideological function and utopian fantasy underpin the key elements of Jameson’s political unconscious. They also add force to his fundamental argument, mentioned above, that:

[T]here is nothing that is not social and historical – indeed, that everything is ‘in the last analysis’ political.

The assertion of a political unconscious proposes that we undertake just such a final analysis and explore the multiple paths that lead to the unmasking of cultural artifacts as socially symbolic acts.

(Jameson 1981:20)

Here, Buchanan points out Jameson’s endorsement of Deleuze and Guattori’s slogan ‘Don’t ask what it means, ask how it works’ (Deleuze & Guattori, 1972, cited in Buchanan 2006:61), a point I return to at the completion of this chapter. Before doing so, however, I return to several points made in the two quotes of Jameson above. The first point is Jameson’s assertion that the mass drawing power or popularity of ‘The Godfather’ movie, relates to the twin capacities of ideological function and utopian fantasy, which operate within the movie’s storyline or framework. These dual functions also operate in the two previous illustrations of the political unconscious provided above; namely, in the Mbayá tribe of South America, and in the blockbuster movie ‘Jaws’. In the following chapter (Chapter Six), which outlines the methodological framework for this thesis, I draw on the operation of these dual functions or twin capacities as a way of examining the existence of a political or collective unconscious at work in the koru motif within Aotearoa New Zealand.

In the final quote above, Jameson asserts that in the last analysis, *everything* is political, and that in analysing texts, cultural objects and so forth, the assertion of a political unconscious leads to the “unmasking of cultural artefacts as socially symbolic acts” (Jameson 1981:20). This argument demonstrates one of the key differences between Jameson and Bollas’ work, which I discuss in the final section below.

Section Four

Comparing Bollas’ and Jameson’s approaches

In this final section, I revisit those aspects of Jameson’s work which I identified in footnotes throughout this chapter, and note the similarities and differences between Bollas’ and Jameson’s ideas and viewpoints. The purpose of this discussion is to examine which elements of each theorist’s work provide the most productive components to form a methodological approach for the examination of the data (primarily the koru motif) presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten. I begin with a discussion of the less significant similarities and differences between Bollas’ and Jameson’s work, which contributes to the more significant points which I refer to at the end of this section and chapter.

Aesthetic experiences and libidinal gratifications

In section one I noted Jameson’s statement that collective desires harbour a type of utopian impulse. My interest here lies in comparing Jameson’s utopian impulse, with Bollas’ notion of the transformational and evocative object. The similarity between these ideas lies in the way Jameson and Bollas both emphasise the aesthetic or libidinally gratifying experiences or aspects of various cultural objects. Bollas refers to the psychosomatic fusion we experience via transformational objects, and the generation of hope, confidence and vision that results from this fusion. Similarly, he notes that evocative objects can be understood as a form of ‘psychic genera’ which result in a new way of seeing the world (Bollas 1992:75). Likewise, the libidinal investment and utopian impulse that Jameson finds in

cultural objects, expresses a collective and unconscious desire for an altered world or reality. Webster's Dictionary provides the following definitions for utopia, and utopianism:

Utopia/Utopian:

An imaginary island described by Sir Thomas More in a work of the same title published in 1516, in which the inhabitants lived in the enjoyment of social and political perfection.

Any place or state ideally perfect, whether real or imaginary

Ideal, chimerical; fanciful; not well founded; most excellent, but existing only in fancy or theory.

One who favours or forms schemes for ideal happiness, the perfection of mankind, etc; an impractical reformer; an optimist.

(Webster 1947:1892)

The fact that Jameson refers to the term Utopia rather than utopia in his writing, suggests that he has in mind More's *Utopia* (1516), a fictional, and therefore unattainable reality. This stands in contrast to Bollas' transformational and evocative objects where the individual *does* experiences a sense of transformation or metamorphosis, though it may be a momentary, rather than lasting experience. Thus, the similarity between Bollas' and Jameson's forms of psychic identification is found in the way these experiences occur at an aesthetic or libidinal level. On the other hand, the difference between Bollas' and Jameson's approach is found in the way that Jameson describes these experiences as reflecting a collective, rather than individual desire, that is unattainable, and provided in a hidden rather than open form of psychic identification. Conversely, Bollas describes the aesthetic experience as an open form of psychic identification, that while reflecting collective and culturally accepted desires and forms of transformation, is nevertheless grounded in the individual self's drive to metamorphosise itself.

Informing drives

A further point raised in section one, overlaps with the abovementioned comparison of Bollas' and Jameson's work. This concerns Jameson's view that many kinds of political or apolitical works, providing they have sufficient 'energy' to them, contain an 'informing drive'; another term Jameson uses to describe the utopian impulse, or utopian fantasy. As mentioned above, it is possible to see the link between the psychic energy contained in objects, which Bollas refers to, and the energy, or informing drive that Jameson describes. The informing drive of Bollas' transformational and evocative objects can be understood in two ways. Firstly, the object is 'informed' by the self's drive to metamorphosise itself. Secondly, this metamorphosis is 'informed' by the maternal process, where the unique idiom of the pre-verbal and pre-cognitive infant self was transformed and metamorphosed by the maternal process. It is the memory of these aesthetic and libidinal experiences, Bollas contends, that informs our psychic identification with the cultural object.

The key point here, and a key difference between Bollas' and Jameson's approach, is that for Bollas, our early experiences of the maternal process informs or accounts for the 'psychic energy' or 'subjective rapport' that we experience in cultural objects. On the other hand, there does not appear to be any originary source to the 'informing drive' or 'energy' that Jameson refers to. In fact Jameson states that it is not an expression of individual subjectivity that one should be looking to, but something related to the "larger movement of the cultural production of late capitalism or postmodernity" (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:127).

Subjective truths

A further comparison of the 'informing drive' and 'energy' that Bollas and Jameson refer to is exemplified in Jameson's statement about truth. As mentioned in section one, Jameson states that 'we're never in the truth' but in various illusions or ideologies. Every so often, however, we have fitful glimpses of authentic truth that we try to hold on to, before they disappear into ideology and

reification (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:131). For Jameson these glimpses of ‘truth’ and ‘authenticity’ can be seen or felt in cultural objects that have an energy or informing drive to them. Furthermore, it is likely that Bollas would also see a moment of truth in those same works or objects. However, the *shape* of that truth, takes a different form for Bollas. The energy that Bollas sees, takes the form of a “collisional dialectic between the human’s form and the object’s structure” (Bollas 1992:59); a nourishing elaboration of the idiom via the object, or perhaps a cultural experience embodied in a deep subjective rapport with the object (Bollas 1987:29). In comparison, Jameson would not see any form or expression of individual subjectivity, but the expression of a socially symbolic act, with a particular cultural logic, that reflects the movement of late capitalism or postmodernity (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:127). Should an individual be concerned about their private fetishes or fantasies, a Jamesonian approach would reassure them that it is not a psychopathological sexual dysfunction that afflicts them, but a symptomatic response to the deeper realities of late capitalism and the particular deprivations of the society in which they live (Buchanan 2007: xiv). On the other hand, a Bollasian approach would involve a response that acknowledges the societal forces that restrict the individual and make their life different. However, these forces would not be regarded as cancelling the individual’s subjectivity, or annulling the aesthetic pleasures of reading, writing, painting, listening to music, or pushing a child on a swing (Bollas, in Molino 1997:46).

Pluralist approaches

A further point that was noted in section one was Jameson’s (qualified) support of a “multiple determination” of the text (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:127). In this regard, it could be assumed that both Jameson and Bollas support a pluralist approach. For example, Bollas (2007:77) asserts that different models and theories of thought provide us with important ‘forms of perception’, that allow us to see and hear things differently. In turn, Jameson acknowledges that texts are open to identification with other ideological orientations such as gender, race, and national situations (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:125-126). In a similar fashion, he

acknowledges the variety of interpretive methods that exist within the 'intellectual marketplace, including ethical, psychoanalytic, myth-critical, semiotic, structural and theological approaches (Jameson 1981:10). Jameson assigns a 'sectoral validity' to these methods, stating that these ideological orientations and interpretive methods have a certain validity. However, Jameson's pluralist stance performs something of a transformation at this point and takes the form of a hierarchical structure. Here, a Marxian interpretive method becomes the 'untranscendable horizon' which subsumes all other interpretive approaches (Jameson 1981:10). In comparison; Jameson's pluralistic stance is less hierarchical, even if his favouring of a maternal rather than paternal order of knowledge is somewhat unspoken.

Psychic structures and censored storylines

Section two discussed the formation of Jameson's metacommentary, a lens he employs to reveal the abovementioned 'glimpses of truth', and which alongside his concept of the political unconscious, forms his dialectical approach. As mentioned, Jameson bases his metacommentary on Freud's interpretive structure; the distinction between the symptom and the repressed idea, manifest and latent content, and disguise and the message disguised (Jameson 1988:13). In Chapter Six I utilise a modified version of Jameson's metacommentary, as the analytic framework for the research component of this thesis. In the meantime, however, I turn to a discussion of the different ways in which Jameson and Bollas draw on Freud's notion of the unconscious. Jameson's metacommentary reflects Freud's focus on the repressed unconscious (an important aspect of Freud's structural model of the mind). For example, Jameson refers to the symptom and the 'repressed idea' and the 'disguised' nature of the hidden message (ibid). The repressed aspect of the unconscious also comes to the fore in Jameson's concept of the political unconscious, where he illustrates how our psychic identifications are not direct or open, but 'concealed'. He also employs his metacommentary to trace the logic of 'censorship'.

In comparison, Bollas downplays the repressed nature of the unconscious, and directs his attention to the highly dynamic capabilities of the receptive

unconscious (Bollas 2007:75). However, in his account of the evocative object, Bollas states that the transformational or processional potential of the object lies in its structure. As noted in Chapter Four, he explains that:

[W]hen we make use of objects, when we select a book to read, or a novelist to explore, we're going to be processed by the integrity offered to us by that object: namely, by its structure, which differs from that of other objects.

(Bollas, in Molino 1997:45)

Bollas regards the 'structural integrity' of the object as being partly derived from its atomic specificity, and its specific use potential. For example, a bicycle, basketball, and swing all offer different 'experience-structures' (Bollas 1992:35). Likewise, Bollas describes how we become internally transformed or 'substantially metamorphosed' by the structure of objects, such as a musical structure, a novel or a person (Bollas 1992:59).

What strikes me here is that despite Bollas' emphasis on the non-repressed nature of psychic genera (and the unconscious in general), he regards the transformational aspect of the object as being located in the 'structure' of the object. In this regard, the structure may be hidden or concealed by the more manifest or obvious aspects of the object. This can be likened to Jameson's view, that the wish fulfilment or utopian desire is not found in the plot, or the events of the story, but disguised in the framework of the story (Jameson 1988:15-16). Bollas regards the evocative object as more than a 'wish fulfilment', and an open rather than hidden psychic identification. However, the possibility that the transformational experience, which Bollas refers to, is hidden or disguised within the structure or framework of the 'evocative object', offers an extended understanding of the evocative object. As such, it is possible that the function of Bollas' evocative object operates not only to metamorphosise the idiom of the self, but also functions at another level.

The political unconscious as an aesthetic act

A further way of considering how Bollas' understanding of the evocative object may be extended, can be found by looking at the way Bollas and Jameson describe the relationship between the aesthetic experience or act, and wider society or culture. On the one hand, Bollas states that our search for transformational experiences may be re-enacted in aesthetic experiences via a wide range of culturally dreamed of transformational objects (Bollas 1987:28). On the other hand, Jameson states that the aesthetic act is ideological in its own right and functions as an imaginary or formal solution to unresolvable social conditions (Jameson 1981:79). Thus, it becomes possible to consider that the evocative object not only operates at the level of the individual, but that the aesthetic experience or act operates at an ideological level, and therefore articulates more than the metamorphosis of just the individual.

These ways of considering the function of the evocative object, offer a more expansive way of thinking about the operation and function of the koru motif, as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Thus, in the following chapter where I outline the methodology for the research component of this thesis, I draw on this extended understanding of the evocative object, as a means of examining the data which is presented in Chapter Nine and Ten. This examination forms a focal point for my discussion in the final stage of analysis of the data, which takes places in Chapter Eleven.

This comparison of Bollas' and Jameson's approaches has demonstrated how Jameson's ideas offer an alternative way of thinking about the function of the evocative object. In the final comparison of their approaches below, I outline how Bollas' understanding of the self and subjectivity, productively informs Jameson's view of the postmodern self.

The absent presence of the subject

A key point of difference between Bollas' and Jameson's viewpoints is seen in the way they approach the self and subjectivity. In this regard, Bollas theorises the self,

and describes how the adult self transforms itself via psychic identifications, often found in various cultural objects and experiences. In contrast, Jameson's theorises the nature of late capitalism and postmodernity, and describes the way in which our subjectivities are produced as a result of the logic of these structures. It is interesting to note that Jameson states that Freud's work intensified for him the feeling that everyday life was philosophical and "that one could grasp it immanently" (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:122). However, the subject or self that was the focus of Freud's work, exists in Jameson's work as a de-centred and agent-less echo of post modernity. Bollas' theory of the self introduces the subject back into Jameson's work, and addresses the role of the self (albeit an unconscious self), in light of Jameson's references to informing drive, utopian impulse, aesthetic acts, and libidinal gratification.

In this regard, it is not only Bollas' theory of the self that I draw on to develop Jameson's view of the postmodern self, but the wider argument that Bollas puts forward, as outlined in Chapter Four. Here I discussed Bollas' view that we risk thinking of 'newer' models of thinking as advances in the wrong sort of way. While newer models often increase our understanding, Bollas asserts that they should not necessarily replace prior models, despite the latter's shortcomings. Bollas views this in terms of a skewed bias whereby every intellectual development is regarded as inevitably improving on existing views, and is premised on the abandonment of prior understandings (Bollas 2007:75-76). As an example, he maintains we would do better to heed the images that come with Freud's topographic *and* structural models of the mind. Such images help us to understand the meaning of both models and to more easily internalise what are highly complex matters (ibid).

This argument also applies to essentialist and postmodern standpoints. Here Bollas notes that while he is a postmodernist writer in some respects, he holds an essentialist point of view in other respects (Bollas, in Molino 1997:47). My key point here is that the abandoning of essentialist or modernist understandings of the self, in favour of postmodern understandings, has resulted in the baby being

thrown out with the bathwater. Indeed, for Bollas, this would be a particularly fitting metaphor. The net result is that theories, such as Jameson's, provide a reduced way of thinking about the self and subjectivity.

More specifically, from the perspective of an individual self (in this case, myself), Jameson's theorisations of the cultural logic of late capitalism, do little to advance the understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, beyond the commentaries provided by Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley, as discussed in Chapter Two. As already mentioned, Sinclair's, Bell's and Spoonley's commentaries do not articulate for me, as a New Zealander, the sense that *this* is what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, and *these* are the types of experiences that speak to me about my 'New Zealandness'. However, as pointed out in Chapter Three, Bollas' concept of the evocative object *does* articulate those aesthetic experiences, that convey, for me, a sense of 'New Zealandness'. In particular the concept of the evocative object describes the sense of enjoyment and identification that I experience when I come across particular symbols or icons of New Zealand identity, such as the koru motif. While Jameson might argue otherwise, these subjective aesthetic experiences do not prevent my awareness that these experiences are exploited by outside forces such as the advertising industry, or the state, for various purposes. In this regard I posit that the koru motif operates as an evocative object, whereby the viewer experiences a form of metamorphosis or 'psychic identification'. As mentioned above, Jameson's concept of the political unconscious productively extends Bollas' notion of the evocative object. However, it does not cancel out the understanding of the evocative object which Bollas advances.

Notwithstanding the limited function of the Jamesonian self, this chapter has outlined other aspects and elements of Jameson's work that provide especially productive and meaningful ways of examining the topic of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this regard, there is much to be gained from utilising aspects of both Bollas' and Jameson's work, in this thesis. It also productively extends Deleuze and Guattari's slogan 'Don't ask what it means, ask how it works' (1972). Thus the amalgamation of aspects of Bollas' and Jameson's work

allow the research data (primarily visual images of the koru motif) to be discussed in terms of not only '*how* it works', but also in terms of '*what* it means'. In the following chapter, I outline how Bollas' and Jameson's work enables this discussion through the formation of a methodological approach which provides the means to utilising their work in an innovative and dynamic manner.

Chapter Six

Methodology

Introduction

The wider objective of this thesis is to address the topic of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, with a particular focus on the aesthetic and unconscious realms. In this regard I look to the ubiquitous presence of the koru motif as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand and bring to light the operation of a collective and unconscious form of identity at work in the koru motif. Within this broad treatise lies the purpose of this chapter: to provide a methodology which establishes the analytical framework and methods required to demonstrate *how*, and in *what* way, the koru motif operates as a collective and unconscious form of national identity.

To this end the current chapter is presented in five sections. To begin with I provide an overview of how I have reconstructed Jameson's 'metacommentary' as an analytical framework and three-staged approach for examining the data that has been gathered for this thesis. These three stages consist of examining the manifest content and meanings, latent content and function, and unconscious desire of the data, presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten. Section one outlines the first stage of analysis in the metacommentary; a consideration of the data in terms of manifest content and meaning. The second step of the metacommentary is discussed in section two. Here I explain how I have utilised Bollas' 'three orders of knowledge' and his concept of the 'evocative object' to examine the latent content and latent function at work within the koru motif. Section three outlines the third and final step of the metacommentary; a consideration of 'unconscious desire'. Here I draw on Jameson's notion of the 'political unconscious' and the dual capacities of ideological function and utopian fantasy. In section four I discuss the

selection of data, how the data was obtained, and the manner in which it is presented it in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten. This is followed by a concluding section which briefly summaries the methodology, and introduces the chapter which follows. Figure 6.1 below outlines the sections and sequence of the methodological analysis.

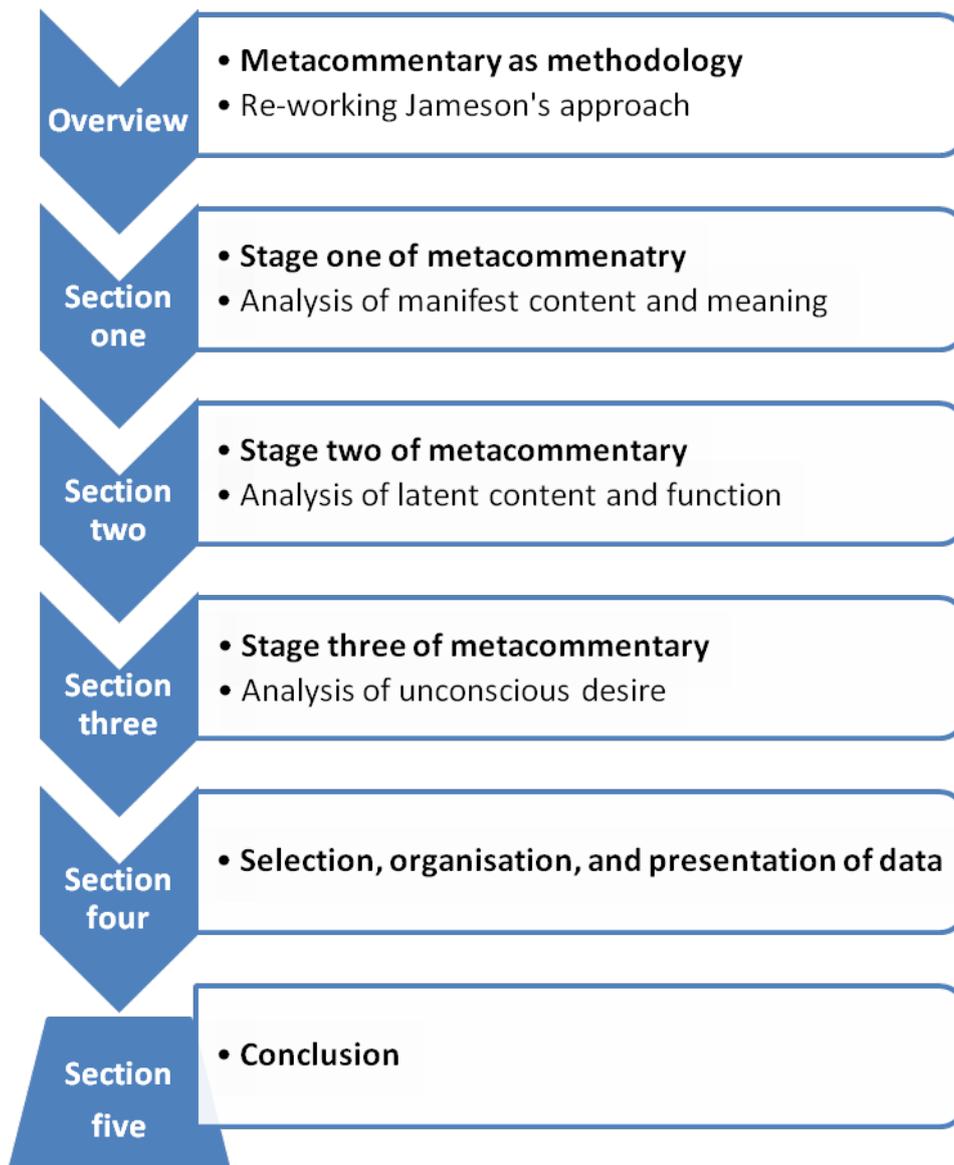


Figure 6.1 Section headings and stages of analysis

Overview Metacommentary as methodology

It might seem that Jameson's post-Marxist position and focus on postmodernity and/or late capitalism, offers limited potential for a thesis that neither explicitly nor implicitly addresses these concerns. However, in the following discussion I illustrate how Jameson's metacommentary and concept of the political unconscious provide a productive way of considering the unconscious life of the koru motif in Aotearoa New Zealand, without recourse to his 'untranscendable' Marxist horizon.

The conceptual apparatus of Jameson's 'metacommentary' is based on Freud's interpretive model, and functions as one of two arms which support the wider framework of Jameson's dialectical approach (Buchanan 2006:53). The second arm is Jameson's conceptualisation of the political unconscious. Jameson defines Freud's interpretive model as the distinction between the symptom and the repressed idea, between manifest and latent content, and between disguise and the message disguised (Jameson, 1988:13). It is via this metacommentary that Jameson brings to light the suppressed content, that he views as a form of public or collective anxiety about the nature and quality of lived experience, and which enables him to demonstrate the cultural logic of the political unconscious (Buchanan 2007:xiii).

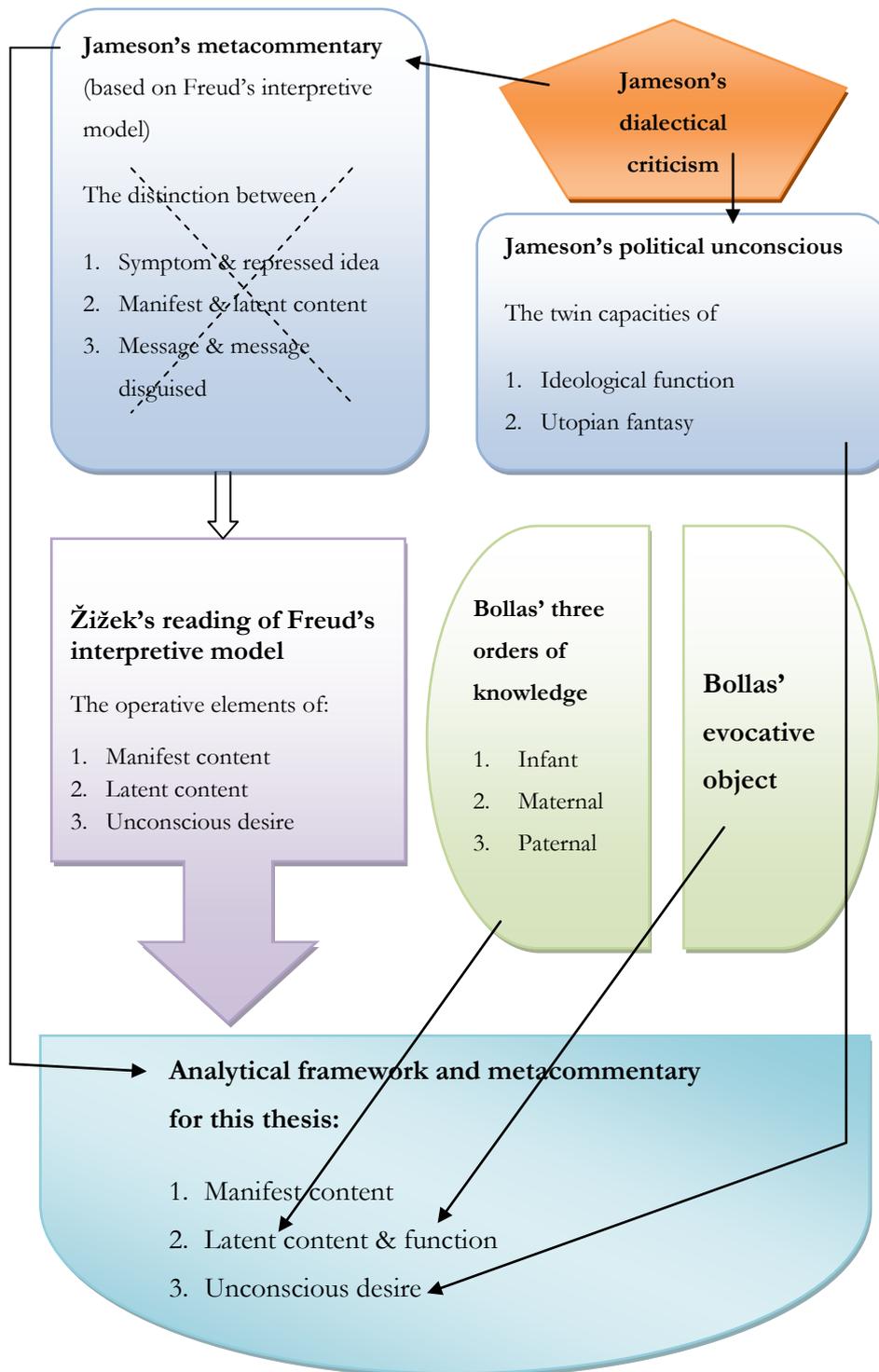
As much as Buchanan regards the development of dialectical criticism as Jameson's "supreme achievement" he nevertheless insists "we should not expect it to take the form of self-contained or scholastic doctrine" (Buchanan 2007:x). Likewise, he points out that we should be careful not to employ Jameson's metacommentary in too rigid a manner, but instead adapt and alter it according to the demands of the specific case at hand" (Buchanan, 2007:xi). As with Marxism and dialectical criticism, in general, it is important to understand that metacommentary comes in the form of a correction of other positions (ibid).

In this regard I have not strictly followed Jameson's interpretation of the Freudian interpretive model, upon which he bases his metacommentary. Instead I have

relied on Slavoj Žižek's reading of Freud's model. In his book *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (1989) Žižek interprets Freud's model as consisting of three operative elements; that of (1) manifest content; (2) latent content; and (3) unconscious desire (Žižek, cited in Buchanan, 2007:xiii). Thus I have reformulated the metacommentary for this thesis into a three stage analytical approach, drawn from Žižek's interpretation of Freud's model. Stage one of the metacommentary therefore analyses the manifest content and meaning of the data, stage two analyses the latent content (and function) of the data, and stage three analyses the unconscious meaning or desire of the data. In stage two I utilise Bollas' three orders of knowledge, and concept of the evocative object to further analyse the data, and in stage three I employ Jameson's notion of the political unconscious, as discussed below.

Commentators, such as Buchanan, may argue that the levels of distinction provided by Jameson's metacommentary (i.e. between the symptom and repressed idea, manifest and latent content, and message and message disguised) offer a greater level of analysis, in comparison to the three elements noted by Žižek. However, for the purpose of this research, these three elements allow a more straightforward means of analysing the data. The need for this more clear-cut approach becomes more apparent in stage two of the metacommentary where I introduce two Bollas' three orders of knowledge, and his concept of the evocative object as tools of analysis. Similarly, in stage three I introduce Jameson's notion of the twin capacities of ideological function and utopian fantasy, which underpin his conceptualisation of the political unconscious, to analyse the data. Figure 6.2 below provides a diagrammatic illustration of this methodological framework. Following on from the diagram is a discussion of the first stage of the analysis, which describes the manifest content of visual and textual data presented in Chapter Nine.

Figure 6.2 Development of methodological framework



Section one

Stage one Analysis of manifest content

Unlike stage two and three of the metacommentary, the first stage of analysis is not underpinned with additional elements of Jameson or Bollas' analytical apparatus. Instead a comparatively straightforward analysis of the manifest content of the data is undertaken, relying on a definition of 'manifest' from Webster's Dictionary as follows:

Manifest: Plain; open; clearly visible to the eye or obvious to the understanding; not obscure or difficult to be seen or understood.

(Webster 1947:1030)

This first stage of analysis also differs from stage two and three of the metacommentary, with regard to the type of data which is examined. Although the majority of the data presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten comprises visual images of the koru motif, the data in Chapter Nine also contains written material that refers to the context in which the koru motif has been used. In analysing the manifest content of the data, particular consideration has been given to the written data as a means of ascertaining the manifest meanings and associations linked to the koru motif. This stage of the analysis involves the creation of data tables (assigned to Appendix I) where the data is progressively categorised and grouped, as a means of highlighting commonly occurring meanings and associations of the koru motif. Although distinct from the analysis undertaken in stage two and stage three of this metacommentary, this first stage of the analysis provides relevant material for the following stages of analysis.

Section two

Stage two Analysis of latent content and latent function

Latent: To lie hidden or conceal, to lurk. Hidden: concealed; secret, not seen; not visible or apparent.

(Webster 1947:968)

As discussed in Chapter Four, Bollas argues that three orders of knowledge constitute the core of our mental functioning (Bollas 1999:45). As we are not usually conscious of the operation of these three orders, they can be understood as a latent form of knowledge. In the discussion below I describe how I examine the data presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten, and categorise it according to each of these three orders.

As well as referring to the three types of knowledge as orders, Bollas also describes these three orders as ‘authorities’, ‘structures’, ‘ways of knowing’ or ‘ways of thinking’. Each order has its own truths, renders our lived experiences in different ways (Bollas 1999:37). In Table 4.1 in Chapter Four, I listed the various functions and qualities that Bollas equates with each of these orders. I also noted Bollas’ clarification that the orders of the infant, the mother, and the father do not represent the actual infant, mother or father, but the processes, roles, qualities or functions that are associated with them (Bollas 1999:38).

In order to analyse the data presented in Chapter Nine and Ten, via Bollas’ three order, I consider whether the maternal order and paternal order appear to exist as ‘authorities’, ‘structures’, ‘ways of knowing’ or ‘ways of thinking’ within the data. In this regard, I rely on Bollas’ view that the maternal order and paternal order can be regarded as sets of functions which engage and process the order of the infant (Bollas 1999:37). I therefore posit that the visual images, or data, presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten, represent the order of the infant. This is supported by Bollas’ association of order of the infant with the image (Bollas

1999:43). As an interesting aside, some koru images are very embryonic-like, as illustrated in the image below.



Figure 6.3 Unfurling tree fern leaves – ‘Koru pattern’, Wellington, New Zealand. Image supplied with permission from Rob Suisted/naturespic.com

In order to establish a link between the visual features of the data, and the maternal and paternal orders as described by Bollas, I looked to visual associations and representations of the mother/maternal/feminine, and the father/paternal/masculine. In this regard, Carl Jung’s maternal and paternal archetypes, as described by the British Professor of Psychology, David Fontana provide a fitting link to Bollas’ maternal and paternal orders.

Fontana regards archetypes in terms of the instinctive patterns of thought and behaviour of the human psyche, that have been shaped by millennia of human experience, into what we now recognise as emotions and values (Fontana 2003:14). He states that these form primordial images, which can only be examined in symbolic form:

... personalised as men or women, or as images projected by our minds onto the outside world. Jung called these primordial symbols 'archetypes' and saw them as the common inheritance of humankind.

(Fontana 2003:15)

Like Bollas, Fontana addresses Freud's break with Jung. Fontana regards this break as being largely due their different ideas about symbolism.

Freud also attached great importance to the use of symbols in understanding the human mind, but took them to represent repressed sexuality or other definitive mental content. For example, anything that is erect or can be erected, or can penetrate, is regarded in Freudian theory as a symbol of the male sex organ, while anything that can be entered or penetrated is a symbol of the female. To use Jung's terminology, Freud saw symbols only as signs – concrete expressions of a known reality. However, to Jung, male and female sexuality were themselves only expressions of deeper creative forces. Even when the intellect tells us that a symbol is manifestly sexual, it is possible to go beyond this interpretation and discover a further breadth of diversity and implication, and a metaphoric and enigmatic portrayal of psychic forces.

(Fontana 2003:17).

Fontana also notes the powerful processes that are at work in such archetypes. In a similar fashion to Bollas' order of the mother, he describes the mother archetype as representing the nurturing, caring side of human nature, which expresses itself from birth in a child's suckling and attachment behaviour (i.e. the primary process). In contrast, the father archetype emerges later (i.e. the secondary process), and is described as:

“[T]he lord over the material, temporal world, while the mother is the ruler of the unseen world of emotions and feelings. In its positive aspect

the father archetype is the protective presence, the wise king of legend, the just lawgiver and judge.

(Fontana 2003:21-22)

Fontana’s description of the archetype of the mother and father supports Bollas’ description of the order of the mother (or maternal order) and order of the father (or paternal order). In Table 6.1 below I have condensed Bollas’ descriptions of the three orders of knowledge listed in Table 4.1 in Chapter Four, and added archetypal associations and representations of each order.

Table 6.1 Extending Bollas’ three orders of knowledge

1. The Infantile Order/ The Order of the Infant	The image, dreaming, non-verbal, vivid ideas, dense inner experiences, maternal connection, hallucination of reality, psychic intensity
2. Archetypal associations and representations of the infant	Requiring protection, embryonic, growth, potential, unfurling
3. The Maternal Order/ The Order of the Mother	Associative, receptive, unconscious freedom, silence, beyond words, unconscious collaboration, containment, dreamy, waiting, allusive, internal elliptical, pregnant with meanings, sentient, facilitating, primary
4. Archetypal associations and representations of the mother/maternal/ Feminine	Nurturing, soft, caring, curvaceous, rounded, receptive, natural environment, earthy, protective, lightness
5. The Paternal Order/ The Order of the Father	Interpretive, verbal, creative intervention, confrontation, interruption, judgment, focal, intense, penetrating, duty bound, a bearer of laws, psychic change, arbiter of the outside world, secondary
6. Archetypal associations and representations of the father/paternal/Masculine	Strong, bold, decisive, linear, phallic, vibrant, darkness, built environment

The shaded elements in this Table have been summarised from *The Mystery of Things* (Bollas 1999:37-46).

Incorporating Jung's archetypal descriptions with Bollas' conceptualisation of the three orders of knowledge supports the analysis of the visual data presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten. The findings from this analysis are presented in the concluding sections of these respective chapters. In the paragraphs below I discuss a further step of analysis that takes place within this second stage of metacommentary, that of latent 'function'.

The evocative object as latent function

In both Chapter Four and Chapter Five I discussed Bollas' concepts of the transformational object and evocative object. Here I outlined Bollas' argument that our individual and collective searches for transformational experiences reflect our infantile and pre-cognitive experiences of being transformed by the maternal process. Bollas argues that, as adults, we continue to re-enact these aesthetic experiences via a wide range of culturally dreamed of transformational objects such as new cars, homes, job and holidays. We may also re-enact these experiences via the arts, where we discover symbolic equivalents to our earlier transformational experiences. Just as our early transformational experiences as an infant enable the metamorphosis of our self, Bollas states that various cultural experiences and objects are capable of performing a similar type of metamorphosis (Bollas 1987:28-29). In particular, Bollas points to the 'evocative object' through which we experience a psychic identification or deep subject rapport. Bollas argues that such objects have a specific 'integrity' or 'structure' to them. It is this 'structural integrity', 'use potential' or 'processional potential' of objects that propels us to 'think' through such objects, and which Bollas regards as a type of existential or experiential thinking rather than a cognitive form of thinking (Bollas 2009:50-59).

Thus, in the second stage of the analysis which examines the latent aspects of the visual data, I consider not only Bollas' three orders of knowledge, but also his concept of the evocative object. In doing so, I argue that it is not only latent 'content' that is worthy of consideration but also latent 'function'. As such, I submit that the koru motif (a cultural object) operates as an evocative object, and in this light, examine the 'structural integrity' or 'use-potential' of the koru motif.

As stated in Chapter Five, I also extend Bollas' notion of the evocative object by drawing on Jameson's view that cultural objects or artefacts which contain a psychic or libidinal energy, are informed by the twin capacities of ideological function and utopian fantasy. In the third and final stage of the methodological analysis I examine this possibility via an analysis of unconscious desire, as discussed in section three which follows.

Section three

Stage three An analysis of unconscious desire

As pointed out in Chapter Five, Jameson argues that "the works of mass culture cannot be ideological without at one and the same time being implicitly or explicitly Utopian as well" (Jameson 1992:29-30). Thus, the twin capacities of ideological function, and utopian fantasy, form the key elements of Jameson's political unconscious. For Jameson, this also forms the basis for his argument that "there is nothing that is not social and historical – indeed, that everything is 'in the last analysis' political" (Jameson 1981:20).

In this regard, the third stage of analysis of the methodological procedure for this thesis examines the findings from stage one (manifest content and meaning) and stage two (latent content and function) of the analysis in light of the political unconscious. Here, I consider the way in which the koru motif operates or performs at the level of ideological function, and utopian desire. For Jameson the term 'ideological function' involves deliberating on the many and varied ways that late capitalism operates as the dominant ideological mode of production. However, in this thesis I base my analysis on a more general, rather than economic, definition of 'ideology' as follows:

Ideology: [A] mode of thinking or interpreting, a method of observing, or a scheme of attitudes, especially in reference to social phenomena.

(Webster 1947:855)

While holding to a more general understanding of ideology than Jameson, I more closely follow his understanding of ‘Utopian fantasy’, with regard to the repressed and disguised nature of this form of desire. As such, Chapter Eleven, following the presentation of data, and findings from stage one and stage two of the analysis in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten, I turn my attention to discussing how the koru motif, as a signifier of national identity, operates not only as an evocative object, as understood by Bollas, but also as another type of cultural object, that performs a socially symbolic act, as well as an individual act.

Section four Selection and organisation of data

This section outlines how the data was selected, obtained, organised and presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten. I begin by discussing how the data was chosen, before explaining why I chose the koru motif as an object analysis, rather than other well-known and popular signifiers of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. I then describe how I obtained visual images of the koru motif, and the permission I sought from copyright owners. Finally I describe how the data has been organised and presented in Chapters Nine and Ten.

Selection of the data

During the initial stages of this research project, I collected a large array of both written and visual material that pertained to national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. As outlined in Chapter Two, it became apparent that while commentaries about national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, written from within the academic community of the social sciences, provided informative and valuable accounts of the topic, they did not reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense that *this* is what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, and *these* are the types of experiences that speak to me about being a New Zealander. As such, I was motivated to seek instances which did reflect those feelings or experiences for me. To begin with my collection of visual material consisted of various greeting cards that I had been given over the past several years. I had saved these cards because the aesthetic nature of the images articulated a ‘New Zealandness’ that appealed to

me. This included Christmas cards with Pohutukawa tree blossoms, birthday cards with close-up images of the colours and patterns found in paua shells, and postcards with images of the koru fern. Below are six images of pohutukawa blossom, paua shell, and the koru fern, which made up the early part of my collection of visual images.



Figure 6.4 Pohutukawa triptych. Image supplied with permission from Peter Latham, fine art photographer and visual artist, New Zealand.

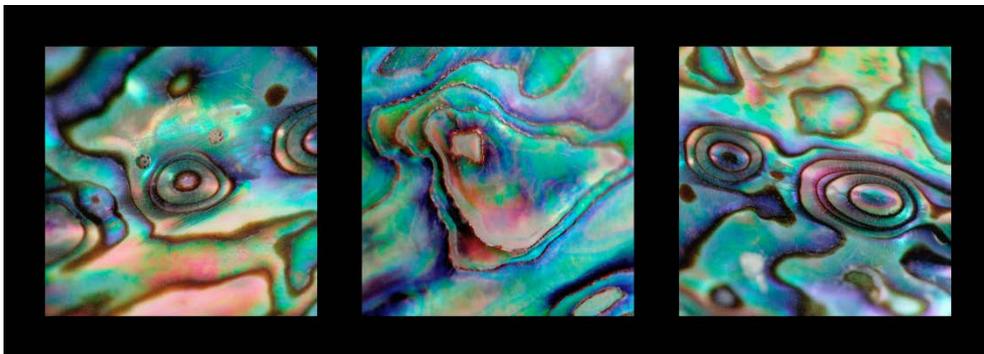


Figure 6.5 Paua triptych. Image supplied with permission from Peter Latham, fine art photographer and visual artist, New Zealand.

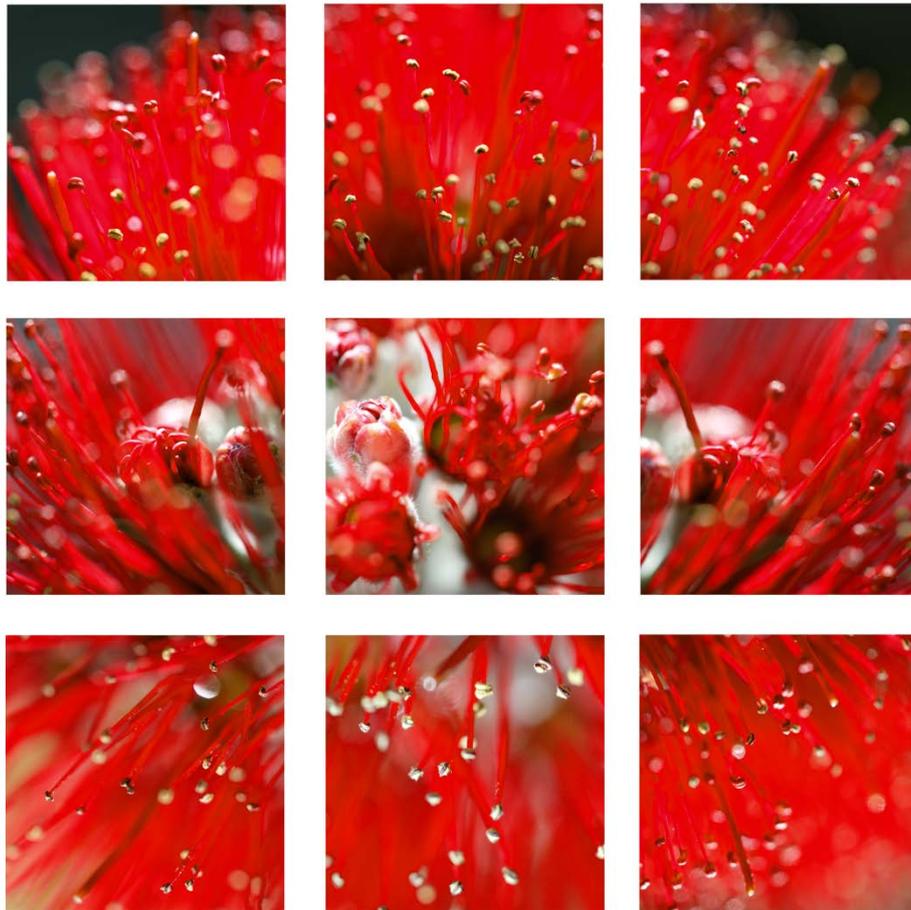


Figure 6.6 Pohutukawa panels. Image supplied with permission from Peter Latham, fine art photographer and visual artist, New Zealand.



Figure 6.7 New tree fern/shoot opening – Koru pattern, New Zealand. Image supplied with permission from Rob Suisted/naturespic.com.

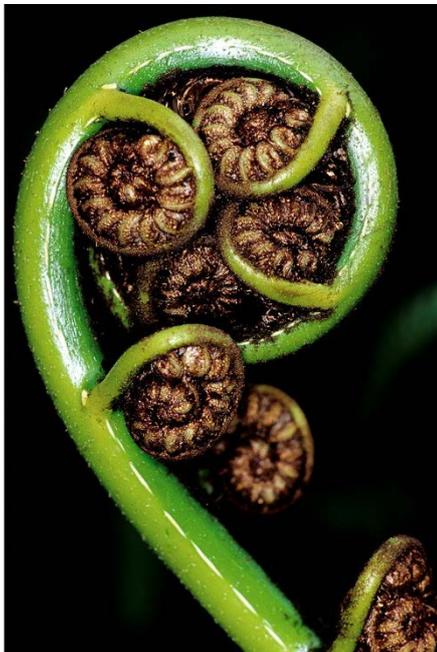


Figure 6.8 (left) and **Figure 6.9** (right), Young koru shoots unfurling – Mamaku or Black tree fern (*Cyathea medullaris*), Wellington, New Zealand. Images supplied with permission from Rob Suisted/naturespic.com.

Although I considered examining the Pohutukawa blossom, paua shell, *and* koru fern images, for this thesis, it became apparent that the koru motif occurred much more frequently as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, and across a broader range of contexts. For example, while Pohutukawa blossom, paua shell, and koru fern images are common items in gift and souvenir shops and catalogues, the koru fern is also found as a logo for a wide range of organisations and entities (as illustrated in Chapter Ten), and also within advertising material for a wide range of products that promote New Zealand or New Zealand made products. In this regard the koru motif stands apart from the Pohutukawa blossom and paua shell as a marker or signifier of national identity. As a result, I focussed my selection of data on the koru motif alone. Through my continued collection of visual images of the koru motif, it became evident that while the koru motif frequently represents or signifies ‘national identity’, it is also used to represent or identify organisations, groups, and individuals at a regional and local level. For example the koru motif is found as a logo in national organisations such as Air New Zealand, and various government organisations that operate at a national level (e.g. Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga), but it is also a popular logo in regional organisations such as Environment Canterbury Regional Council/Kaunihera Taiao ki Waitaha), and at the local level, such as Piopio College, which based in a small rural community in the King Country district, in central North Island.



Figure 6.10 and Figure 6.11 Air New Zealand logo, photographed by author, Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga logo, supplied with permission from Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga.

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:
<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/9/9b/LogoPiopioCollege.png>

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:
<http://ecan.govt.nz/Style%20Library/ECan/Images/ecan-logo.gif>

Figure 6.12 and Figure 6.13 Piopio College logo, and logo of Environment Canterbury Regional Council/Kaunihera Taiao ki Waitaha.

Thus, in Chapter Nine, I provide examples of the koru motif that specifically pertain to national identity, while in Chapter Ten I provide examples of the koru motif at the national, regional and local levels. Here I argue that images of the koru motif that identify non-national entities, nevertheless still operate as a signifier of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. As such, these images add to the ubiquitous presence of the koru motif, and increase the recognisability of the koru motif, as a signifier of national identity within Aotearoa New Zealand.

As well as being evident at the national, regional and local level, the koru is a central motif in both customary and contemporary Māori society, and denotes the earliest use of the koru motif in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this regard, Chapter Eight is dedicated to addressing the various understandings and functions of the koru motif within Māori art and design, and provides illustrations of the koru motif within both customary and contemporary settings. Chapter Eight also provides information that is fundamental to the analysis of the data that takes place in Chapter Nine, Chapter Ten, and Chapter Eleven. However, in an effort to provide visual data of the koru motif that represents not just Māori society, but the wider society of Aotearoa New Zealand, these three chapters do not include images of the koru motif that solely represent or identify Māori organisations, groups or individuals, as presented in Chapter Eight.

Obtaining the data

The ubiquitous presence of koru motif means that locating visual data for this thesis was a reasonably effortless task. A search of my own home yielded a number of items containing the koru motif, which had been gifted to me over the years. This included hand creme, coasters, a bowl, cheese knife, wine glasses and a gift card. Likewise, a walk around my neighbourhood revealed koru sculptures in neighbours' gardens, a koru mural at a local intersection, several more murals containing the koru motif at the local primary school, koru graphics on local buses, koru inspired business logos on shop-fronts at the local shopping centre, a koru inspired sculpture outside the local library, all of which are illustrated in Chapter Ten. Newspapers, magazines, newsletters and the internet provided another prolific source of koru images.

However, while locating koru images was unproblematic, obtaining quality images to include as visual data, was less straightforward. In some instances the quality of image, found in a newspaper for example, was not of sufficient size or quality to be effectively reproduced, and in other instances the cost of purchasing the right to reproduce an image was prohibitive. In instances where permission was required to use the image, multiple communications with the copyright owner of the image was sometimes necessary. As mentioned above, the visual data presented in Chapter Nine consists of koru images which provide explicit representations of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In these instances, written data was also sought as a means of providing background information about the use of the koru image in a national context. However, it was surprisingly difficult, in some instances, to locate written material about the use of the koru motif. As several of the examples provided in Chapter Nine indicate, the presence of publically available written text about the use or choice of the koru motif, a part of a national monument, appears to be non-existent.

Organisation and presentation of data

As noted above, the visual data presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten differ in that Chapter Nine provides both visual and written data that has a specifically national focus. In contrast, Chapter Ten provides illustrations of the koru motif in a wider range of contexts, and the illustrations are not supported by written data, apart from reference details. In Chapter Ten, ten sets of illustrations in which the koru motif is present, are provided. These regard:

1. Air New Zealand
2. Te Papa Tongarewa museum
3. An official New Zealand birth certificate
4. Archives New Zealand
5. Rugby World Cup 2011
6. New Zealand war memorial
7. Mt Erebus memorial
8. Suggested national flag designs
9. New Zealand Anthem poster
10. Gordon Walters' artwork

Chapter Nine provides a greater number and range of koru images. Here the visual data has been grouped according to the following categories:

1. Greeting cards
2. Wellington City
3. Magazine covers
4. Koru kids
5. Bay of Plenty district
6. Papakura and surrounds
7. Organisational logos
8. Advertising
9. Around home
10. Contemporary art

A further point of note regarding the presentation of visual data in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten, relates to the way in which the images are presented on the page without any accompanying descriptive text about the images. This is to encourage the images to be experienced in an aesthetic rather than cognitive manner.

Reference material for each image is therefore placed on the following page, or at the end of each category of visual data.

One final point of note relates to the assistance I was given by the professional artist, Stephanie Leeves of Saffron Photography & Graphic Design. As noted in the reference tables which accompany the visual data in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten, there are instances where the images have been photographed by the artist herself. The artist also grouped and displayed the images to their best advantage on a number of the pages presented in Chapter Nine and Ten³³.

Section five Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to outline the methodology which underpins the analytical framework and methods required to demonstrate *how*, and in *what* way, the koru motif operates as a collective and unconscious form of national identity. As such I have discussed the methodology used to examine and analyse the data that is presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten of this thesis. This methodology is based on Jameson's metacommentary which, in turn, is based on Jameson's reading of Freud's interpretive framework. In order to carry out a productive analysis of the data in this thesis, I have reformulated Jameson's metacommentary by drawing on Žižek's reading of Freud's interpretive framework. For Žižek, Freud's framework comprises three operative elements: (1) manifest content, (2) latent content, and (3) unconscious desire. In this regard, both Jameson's and Žižek's use of Freud's interpretive framework demonstrate the psychoanalytic nature of their approach, and this psychoanalytic approach is reflected in the methodology used in this thesis. This approach is particularly evident in the final stage of analysis which considers the koru motif from the perspective of 'unconscious desire' and Jameson's conceptualisation of the political unconscious.

A further methodological approach also informs the analysis that is undertaken in this thesis: the dialectical criticism which underpins both Jameson's

³³ This assistance was enabled by a Massey University research grant of \$1200.

metacommentary and political unconscious. In reformulating Jameson's metacommentary for this thesis, this dialectical approach has been diluted. Nevertheless aspects of this approach are utilised in the analysis of the data. In particular the examination of the meanings, associations and operations of the koru motif from the perspectives of manifest content, latent content (and function), and unconscious desire, reflects one of three characteristics of Jameson's dialectical approach; that of reflexivity, or the second-guessing or reconsideration of the terms and concepts of one's analytic apparatus. Two further characteristics of the dialectic that Jameson refers to are the problematisation of causality and historical narrative, and the production of contradiction (Jameson, in Buchanan 2007:xi). While it may be correct to say that these approaches are, to a lesser or greater degree, also evident in the analysis of the data that takes place in this thesis, it would be more correct to state that a psychoanalytic approach has been more purposefully pursued in this thesis, in comparison to Jameson's dialectical approach.

Despite the predominantly psychoanalytic approach used in the methodology for this thesis, a further type of dialectical approach is also evident in both the analysis of the data which takes place within the methodological framework (or metacommentary), and the findings that emerge from this analysis. Here, I refer to the dialectical way in which elements of Bollas' and Jameson's work have been utilised in the analytical process. This, in turn, provides an understanding of the koru motif, which extends beyond an understanding that their individual positions allow. This dialectical approach is not based on the characteristics which define Jameson's approach, but relies on an understanding of dialectical criticism or dialectical thinking outlined by Richard Paul from the Foundation for Critical Thinking. Paul defines a dialectical thinking in the following way:

When thinking dialectically, reasoners pit two or more opposing points of view in competition with each other, developing each by providing support, raising objections, countering those objections, raising further objections, and so on. Dialectical thinking or discussion can be conducted

so as to "win" by defeating the positions one disagrees with — using critical insight to support one's own view and pointing out flaws in other views (associated with critical thinking in the restricted or weak sense), or fairmindedly, by conceding points that don't stand up to critique, trying to integrate or incorporate strong points found in other views, and using critical insight to develop a fuller and more accurate view (associated with critical thinking in the fuller or strong sense).

(Paul, 1990: 546-547)

In this sense the discussion which took place in the latter section of Chapter Five, critiqued the work of both Bollas and Jameson, and extracted from their work, elements, which when combined, provided a hybrid way of considering and analysing the koru motif as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

However, in order to examine and analyse the meanings, associations, functions and operations of the koru motif within mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is important to provide an understanding of both the global and local contexts in which the koru motif is situated. Thus, in the following chapter (Chapter Seven) I provide illustrations of the various contexts in which spirals and koru-like motifs are evident in other parts of the world. In Chapter Eight I address the centrality of the koru motif in customary and contemporary Māori society, and discuss some of the understandings and functions of the koru motif within these settings. Thus, these two following chapters provide an essential backdrop for the analysis of the data that begins in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Seven

Spiral and koru-like designs and patterns beyond Aotearoa New Zealand

This chapter provides a brief and predominantly visual account of the existence of spiral and koru-life motif beyond Aotearoa New Zealand. It begins with a presentation of various historical and contemporary spiral signs, signifiers and symbols, followed by a short explanation on the following page about each icon. Next is a series of images that provide examples of the spiral shape in nature, from weather formations to wheel shells. This is followed by a group of images that demonstrate the use of spiral patterns in art, design and architecture, dating from 1600 – 1450 BC to contemporary fabric design. The final section lists a range of spirals studied in mathematics, including the wheel of Theodorus, the Archimedean spiral, Ulam spiral, Fermat's spiral, and spirals referred to as the golden ratio, golden mean, divine proportion or Fibonacci spiral which most closely resemble the form of the koru motif.

Unlike the following chapter which provides a detailed discussion of the use and meaning of koru motif within customary and contemporary Māori society, the prime objective of this chapter to merely bring to light some of the many ways in which the spiral and koru-life motif existed or exists in societies and cultures, and the sciences and environment, beyond Aotearoa New Zealand. The predominantly visual manner in which this information is presented, reflects Bollas' (visual) order of infant as means of knowledge, and demonstrates the effectiveness and pleasure that this order of knowing presents.

Signs, signifiers and symbols

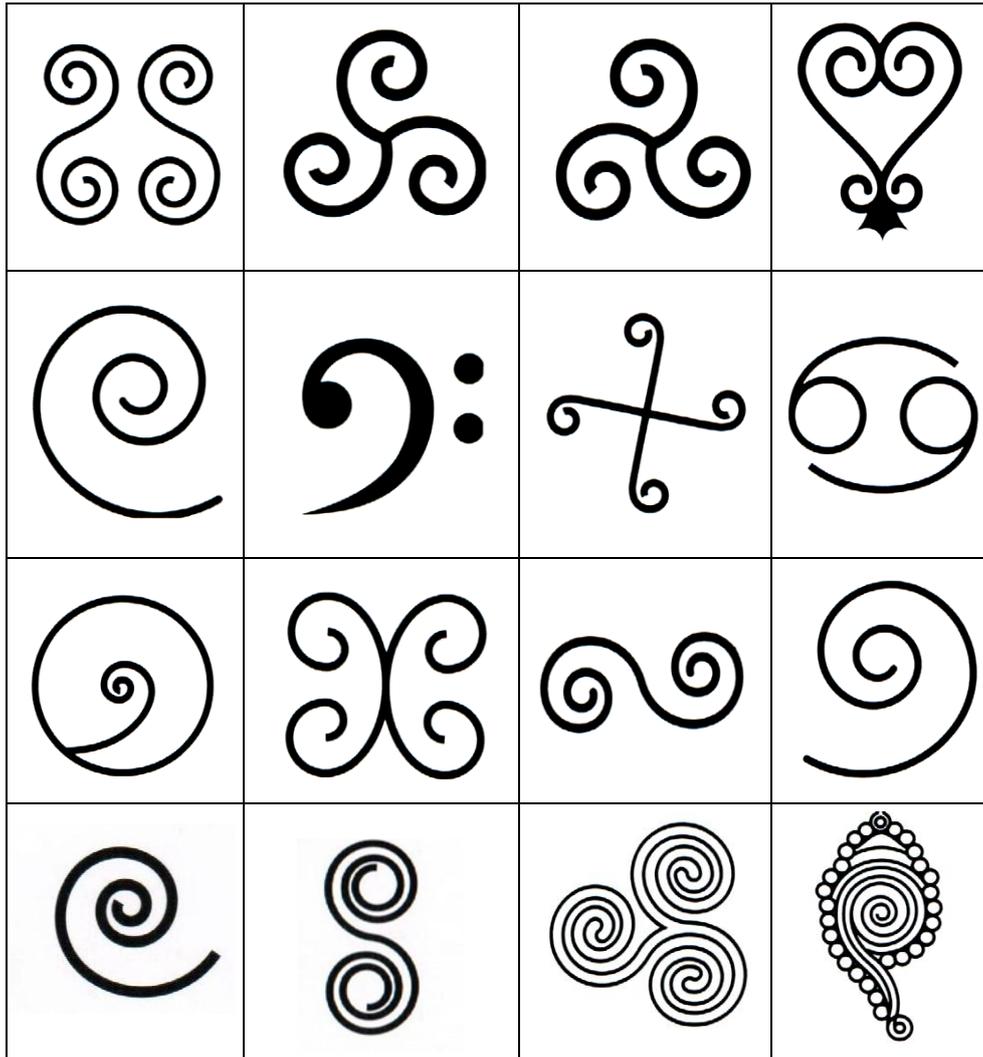


Figure 7.1 Sourced from *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Signs and Symbols* (2005), authored by Mark O'Connell and Raje Airey. Permission to reproduce images granted by Anness Publishing Ltd.

Signs, signifiers and symbols (from previous page)
explained

A sign for the Greek god Apollo based on the shape of the lyre. Also a sign of the Roman god Hermes.	Homecomings: A sign of the Hopi Indians. Also symbolises several returns or tribal migration.	Jeune Bretagne: Originally a Celtic symbol association with migration. Also a symbol for the Celtic separatist movement in Brittany, France.	Sanfoka: Ghanaian adinkra symbol meaning to 'return and get it', signifying the importance of learning from the past.
Anti-clockwise spiral: a dynamic symbol of cosmic and earthly life force.	Bass clef: musical notation.	Sauvastika: a reversed swastika, Greek variation from around 500 BC.	Cancer: zodiac sign.
Seed of the universe: a Tibetan sign for the origins of the universe, also found in the coat of arms of the Aztec god, Quetzalcoati.	Tartar: Alchemistic, also found on South American rock carvings.	Water sign: common in Greece as a decoration.	Clockwise spiral: starting from the middle; symbolises water, power, independent movement, and migration.
Fourth element of Western ideography, also depicted in reverse.	Fifth element of Western ideography, a variation on the spiral.	Spiral of life: found in the Bronze Age in Ireland; drawn in one single line without beginning or end	Conch shell: A ceremonial horn used by Buddhists, the Mayan and the Aztecs. In Hinduism it is an emblem of the god Vishnu.

Figure 7.2 Sourced from *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Signs and Symbols* (2005), authored by Mark O'Connell and Rajee Airey. Permission to reproduce images granted by Anness Publishing Ltd.

Spirals in nature



Figure 7.3 (top): Feather star (*Lamprometra* sp.) star fish. Photo credit: Nhobgood / CC-BY-SA-3.0, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

Figure 7.4 (bottom): Wheel shells (*Zethalia zealandica*; Trochidae: Umbroniinae). Photo reproduced with permission from Rob Suisted / www.naturespic.com



Figure 7.5 (top): Ram's horn shell buoyancy chambers from Ram's horn squid (*Spirula spirula*, Spirulidae). Photo reproduced with permission from Rob Suisted / www.naturespic.com

Figure 7.6 (bottom): Cat's eye shells (mollusc operculum or foot closure of a sea snail). Photo reproduced with permission from Rob Suisted / www.naturespic.com

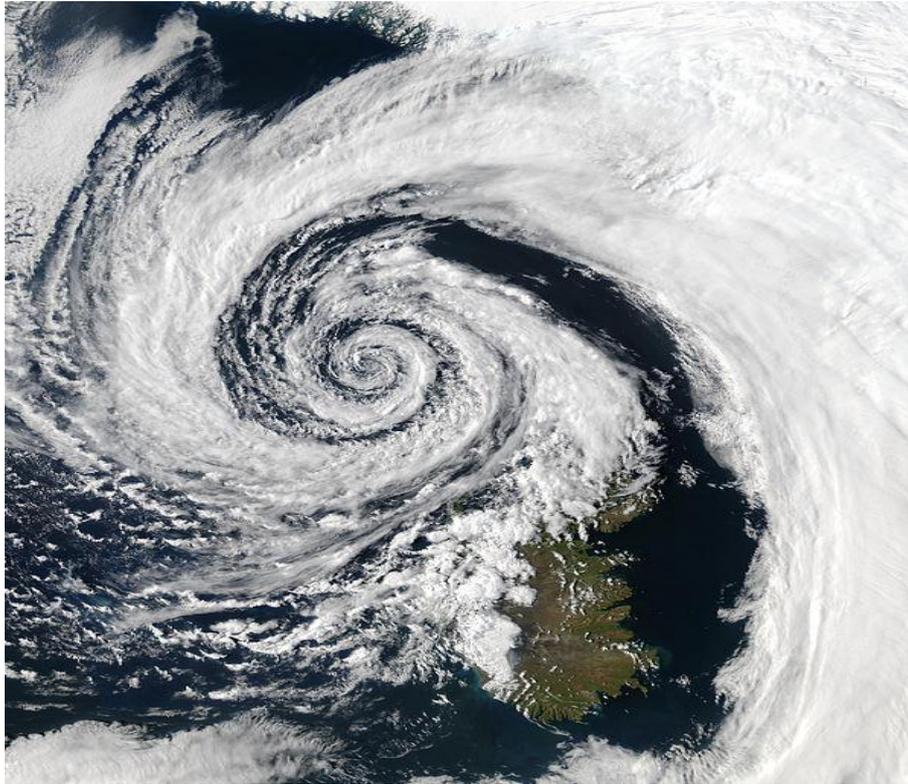


Figure 7.7 (top): Low pressure system over Iceland. Photo credit: NASA / placed in the public domain, source: http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/view_rec.php?id=6204

Figure 7.8 (bottom): Ring cowrie (*Monetaria annulus*) sea snail. Photo credit: Bin im Garten /CC-BY-SA-3.0, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>



Figure 7.9 (top): Chameleon, Madagascar. Photo credit: Hans Bernhard /CC-BY-SA-3.0, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/> **Figure 7.10** (bottom left): Ammonite fossil (ancient sea creature). Photo credit: Jonathunder /CC-BY-SA-3.0 **Figure 7.11** (bottom right): Giant land snail shells (*Powelliphanta* sp.) Photo reproduced with permission from Rob Suisted / www.naturespic.com

Spirals in art, design and architecture

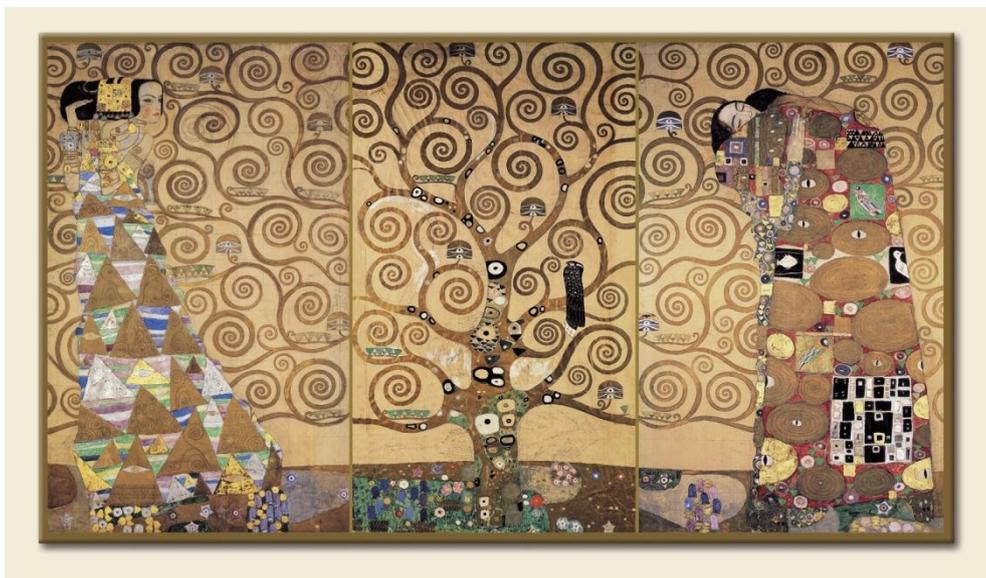


Figure 7.12 (top): Triumph of the Cross. Apsis mosaic from Basilica San Clemente in Rome, 12th century. Photo credit: Jastrow / released into the public domain, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Jastrow>

Figure 7.13 (bottom): *The Tree of Life*, painted by Gustav Klimt circa 1909, held in the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna, Austria, copyright expired.



Figure 7.14 (top): *The Starry Night*, painted by Vincent van Gogh in 1889, held in the the Museum of Modern Art, New York City since 1941, copyright expired.

Figure 7.15 (bottom): Ornamental detail on the Aghia Triada stone sarcophagus in Crete, Greece (1600 - 1450 B.C.). Photo credit: Wolfgang Sauber / CC-BY-SA-3.0, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

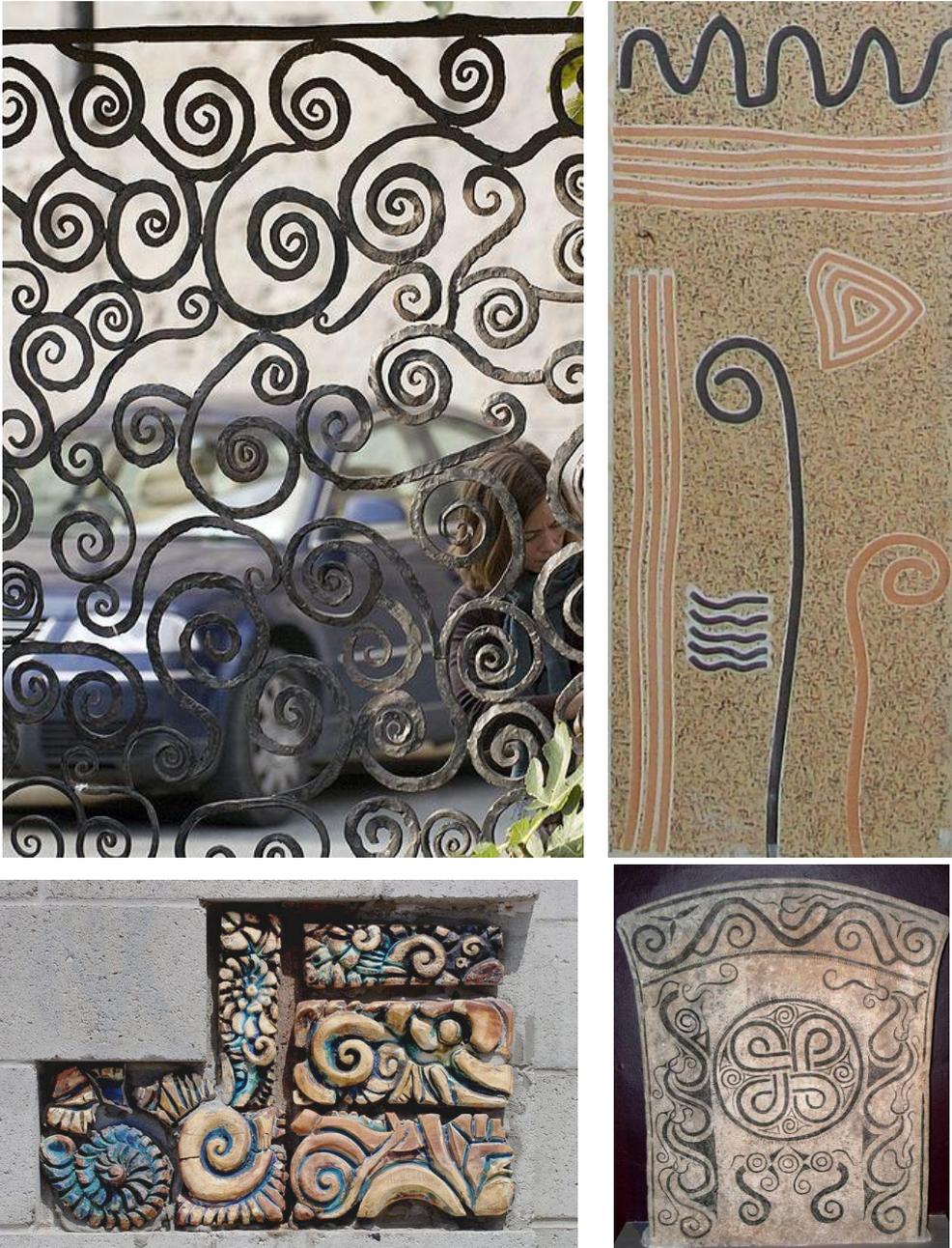


Figure 7.16 (top left): Iron spirals at Dublin Castle, Ireland (1204 AD). Photo credit: William Murphy / CC-BY-SA-2.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>

Figure 7.17 (top right): Contemporary tiled wall frieze in Mundax homestay, Kerala, India. Photo by author (2009). **Figure 7.18** (bottom left): Contemporary sculpted tiles on public bathroom facility in Venice Beach, California, USA. Photo credit: Ron Picket / CC-BY-

SA-3.0 **Figure 7.19** (bottom right): Picture stone with Bowen-knot (400-600 AD),

Fornsalen Museum, Visby, Gotland, Sweden. Photo credit: Wolfgang Sauber / CC-BY-SA-3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

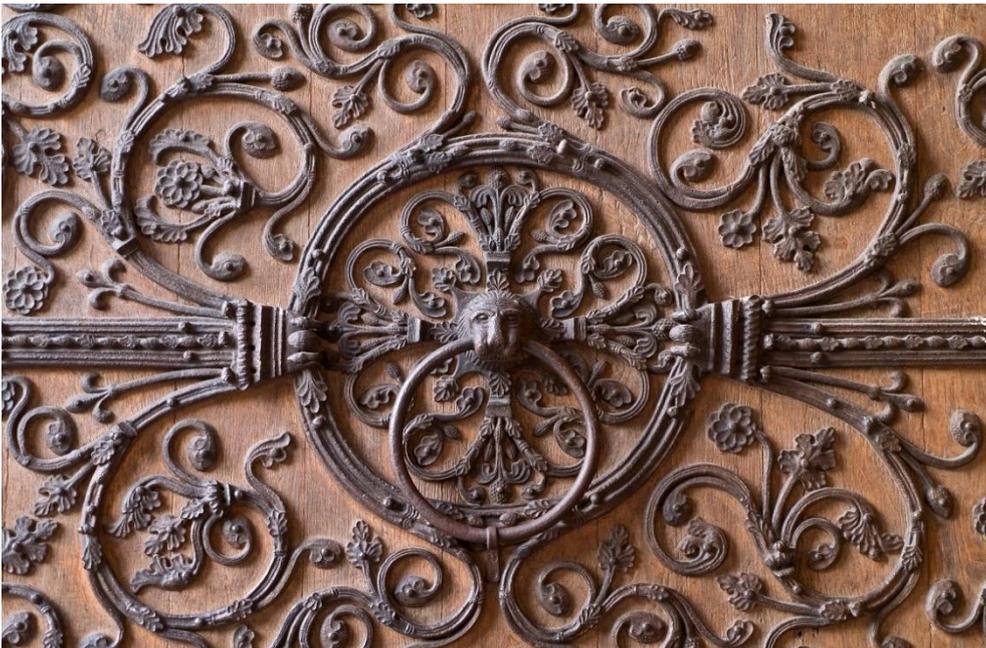
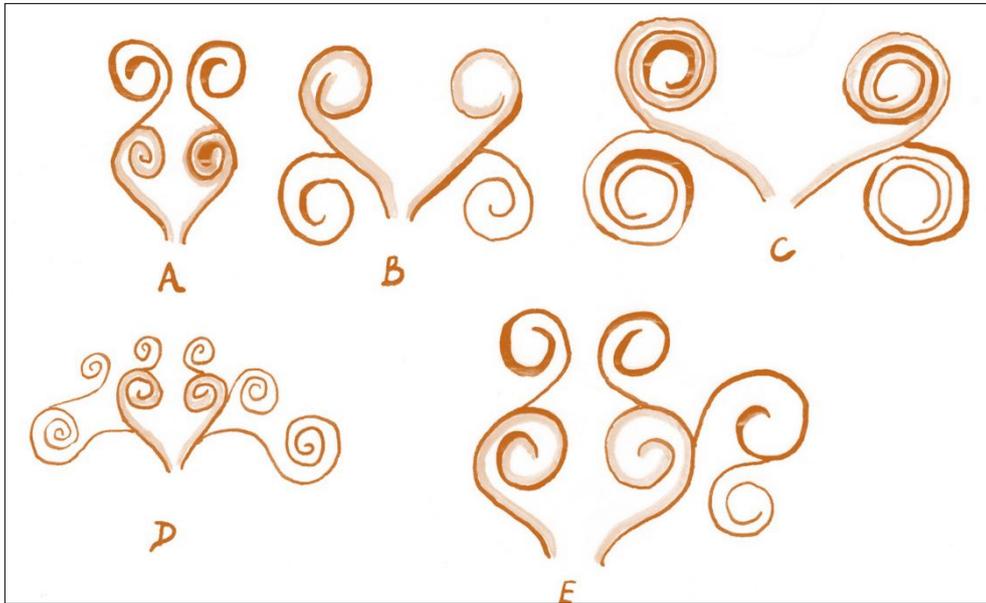


Figure 7.20 (top): Examples of the basic form of the European arabesque. Based on illustrations from *Byzantine Art* (1968) by David Talbot-Rice, plates 109-114. Shaded areas highlight core elements. Illustration by Lobsterthermidor, made available under CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication, <http://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/deed.en> **Figure 7.21** (bottom): Sanctuary ring on a door of the portal of the Virgin, on the western facade (1200 AD) of Notre-Dame de Paris, France. Photo credit: Myrabella / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-3.0 & GFDL, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Anneau_portail_de_la_Vierge_Notre-Dame_de_Paris.jpg

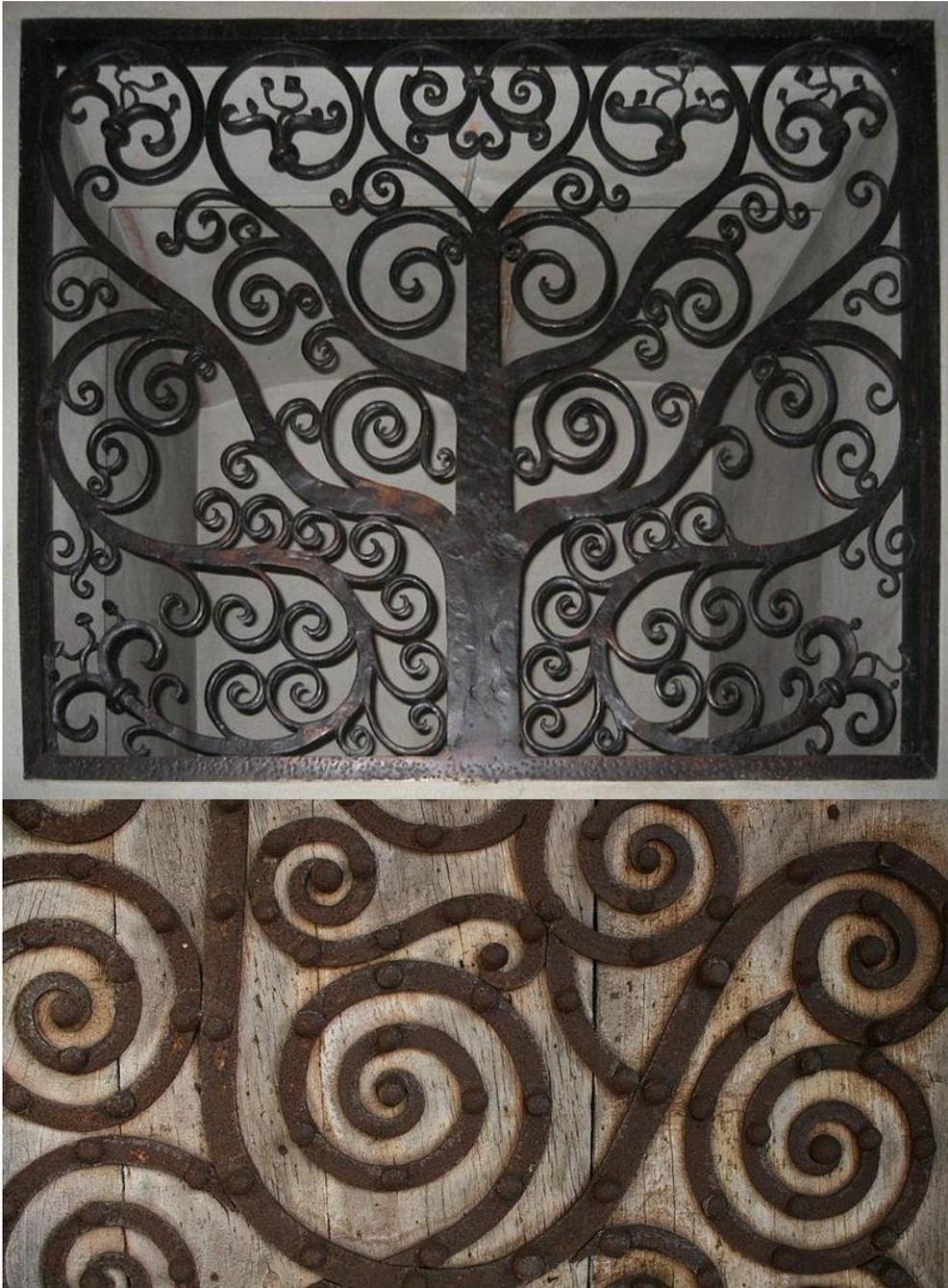
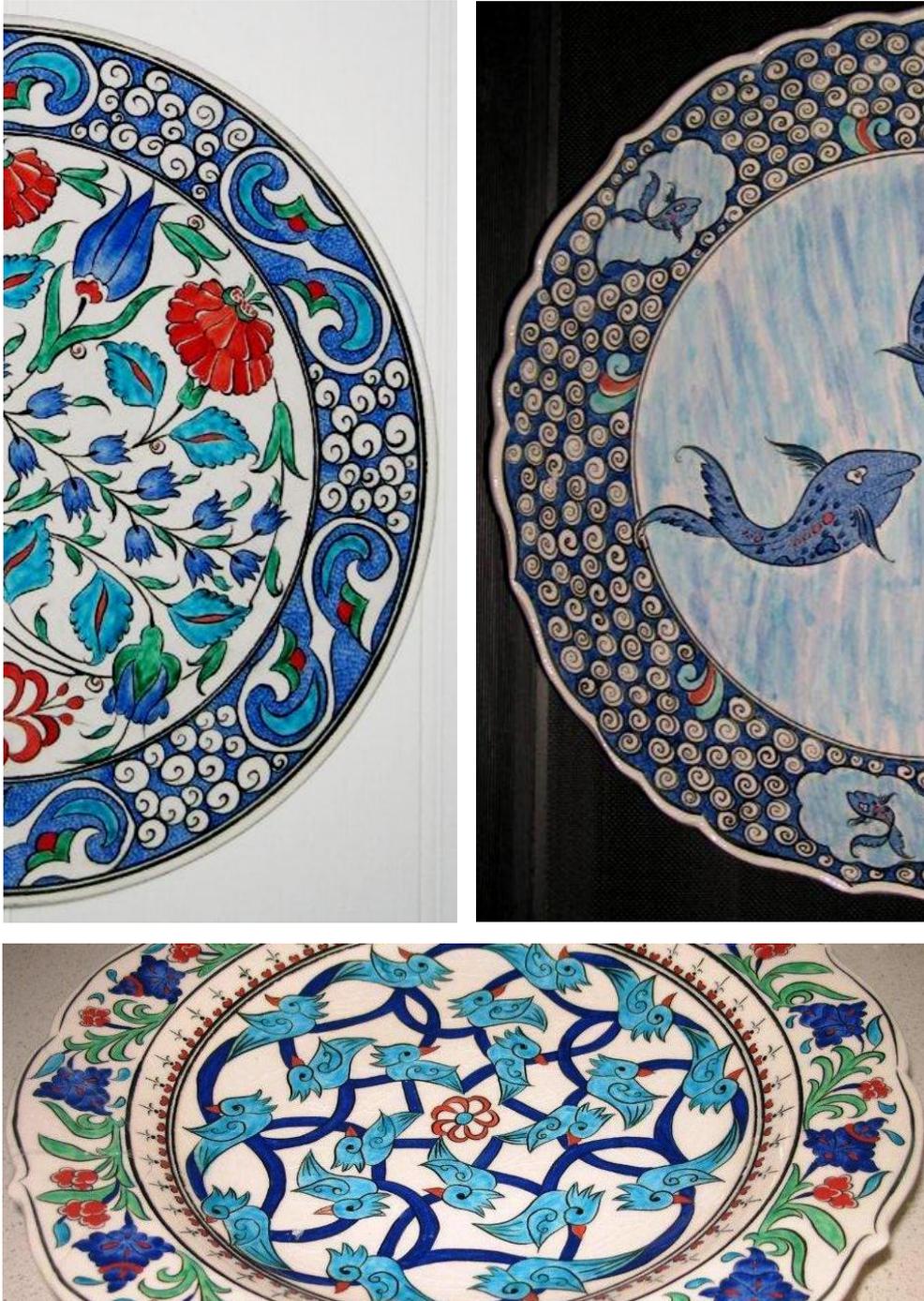


Figure 7.22 (top): Wrought iron grate in Hovedbygningen, Norwegian Institute of Technology, Gløshaugen, Trondheim, Norway, opened in 1910. Designed by architect Bredo Greve. Photo credit: Kjersti Lie / CC-BY-SA-3.0

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/> **Figure 7.23** (bottom): Romanesque door of parish church (1130 AD), Pürgg Styria, Austria. Photo credit: Marion Schneider & Christoph Aistleitner / released into the public domain, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Puegg_Styria_2.jpg



Figure 7.24 (top): Front hall, Bečov, Czech Republic (n.d.). Photo credit: released into the public domain by Bjirka at the Czech Wikipedia project, <http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:Bjirka?uselang=en-gb> **Figure 7.25** (bottom left): Ancient Anatolian stone carving from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, Turkey (n.d.). Photo credit: Nevit Dilmen / CC-BY-SA-3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/> **Figure 7.26** (bottom right): Constantine War Memorial (n.d.) in Cornwall, England with oblong spirals. Photo credit: released into the public domain by Vernon White, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:Vernon39>



Contemporary ornamental plates from Kütayha, Turkey circa 1990s.

Figure 7.27 (top left): Handmade by AS Gultehin, Kütayha. **Figure 7.28** (top right): Handmade 16th century design, from Goylar, Cini, Iznic. **Figure 7.29** (bottom): Handmade by S Salnin, Kütayha, Turkey. Photo reproduced with permission from Rose Panidis, Graceville, Brisbane.



Figure 7.30: Assorted contemporary fabric samples illustrating different spiral designs, including paisley patterns (top four designs). While the term ‘paisley’ originates from the town of the same name in Scotland where paisley shawls were woven during the 19th century, the designs are said to date back as far as 3000 years ago when it was regarded as symbol of renewal in Babylon (Reilly, 1987). Photo credit: Saffron Photography.

Spirals in mathematics

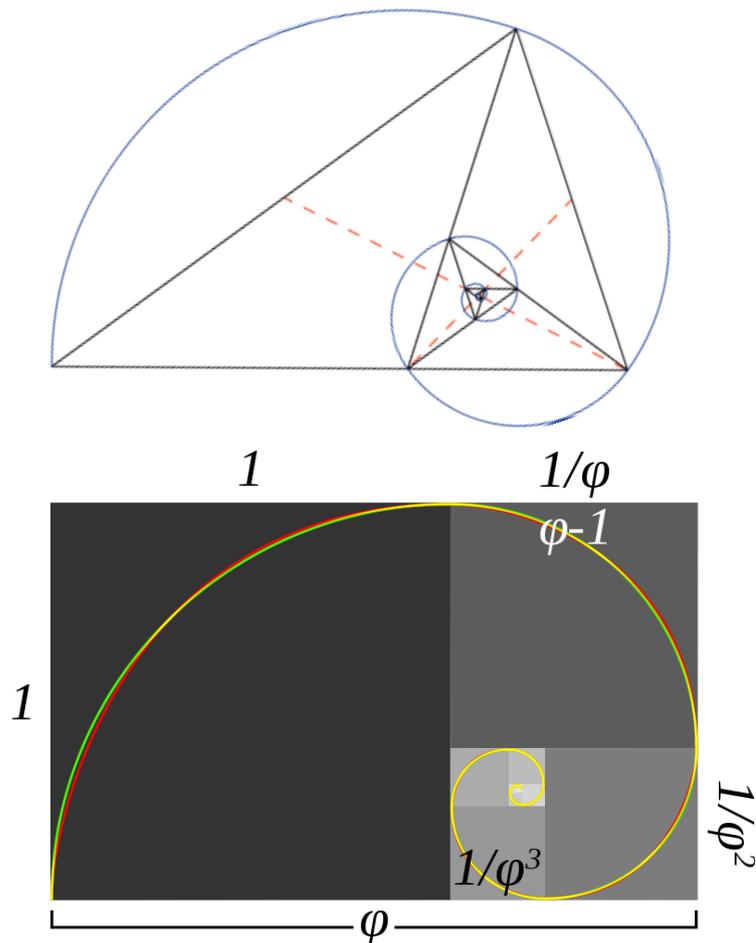


Figure 7.31 (top) and **Figure 7.32** (bottom): In mathematical terms the koru-like spiral is known as the golden ratio, golden mean, or divine proportion. Allison Hopper (Centre for Symbolic Studies, New York) reports that the simplest way to think about the golden mean is in terms of a rectangle with the shorter side equal to 1 and the longer side equal to the number φ (phi, also known as ϕ), which is approximated by the decimal 1.61803399. If you subdivide the rectangle into a square and another rectangle, the new, smaller rectangle will have the same proportions as the first rectangle. If you then divide the new rectangle in the same way, you will get a third rectangle with the same proportion as the first two, and so on. If you then draw a curved line connecting the division points of the rectangles, you get a particular kind of spiral, a logarithmic spiral, also known as a whirling square (Hopper, 2010). Image credits: (Top): Personline / http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Golden_triangle_and_Fibonacci_spiral.svg (Bottom): Pau / CC-BY-SA-3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

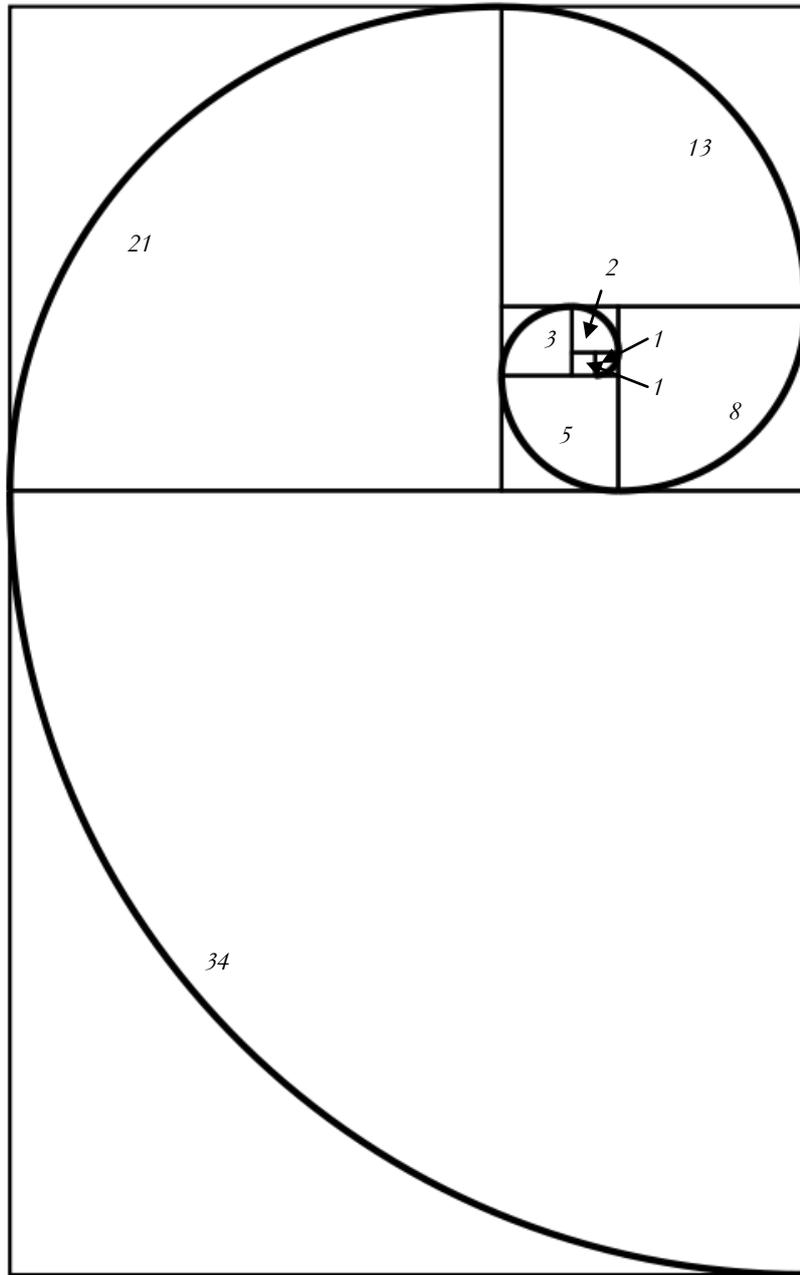


Figure 7.33 Fibonacci spiral: created by drawing circular arcs connecting the opposite corners of squares according to the integer sequence 0, 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, 89, 144 etc. This works by adding the two previous numbers to get the next number. Fibonacci (c. 1170 – c. 1250) was an Italian mathematician who introduced the Hindu–Arabic numeral system in Europe. Image credit (without figures): Dicklyon / public domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Fibonacci_spiral_34.svg

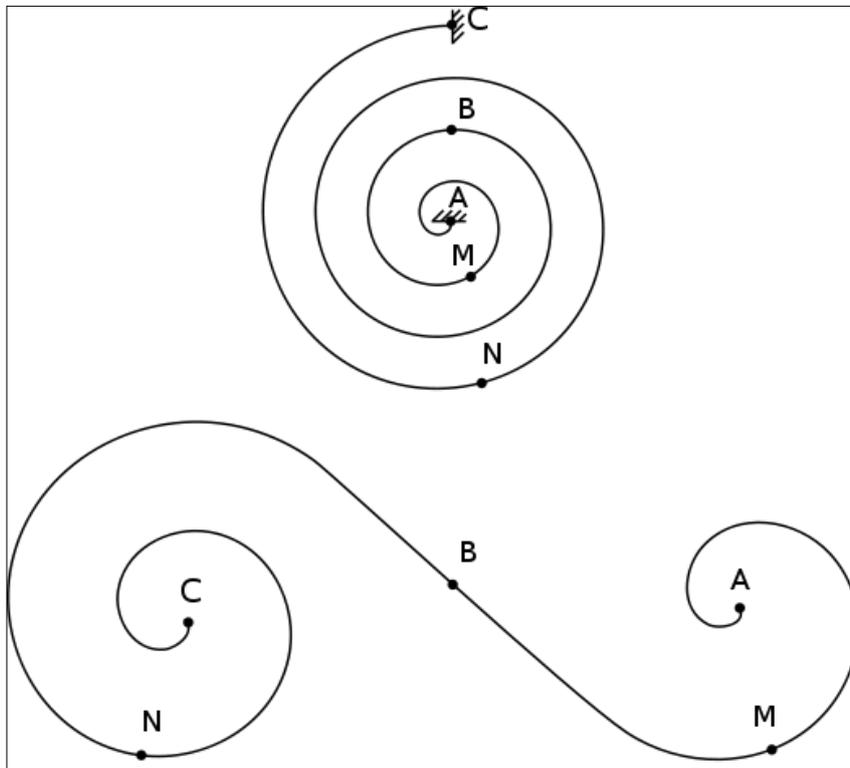
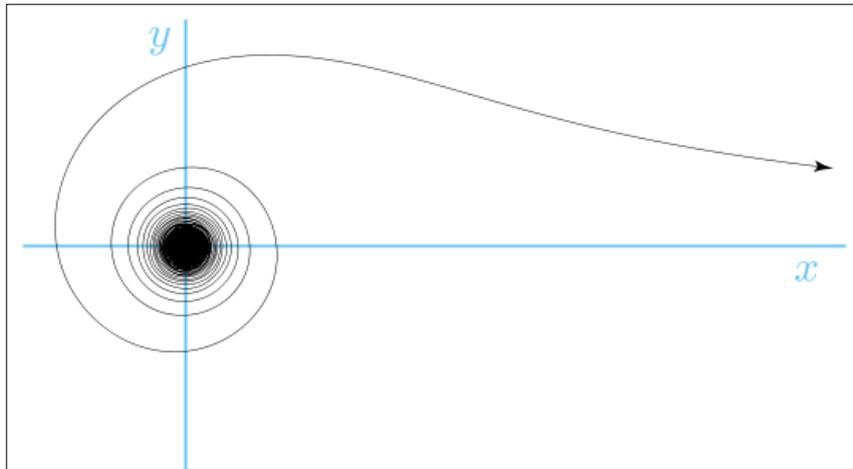


Figure 7.34 (top): A lituus spiral in which the angle is inversely proportional to the square of the radius (as expressed in polar coordinates). Image credit: Sakurambo / CC-BY-SA-3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

Figure 7.35 (bottom): Two spirals folded into one. Image credit: Gagea / released into the public domain, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spiral-edit.svg?uselang=en-gb>

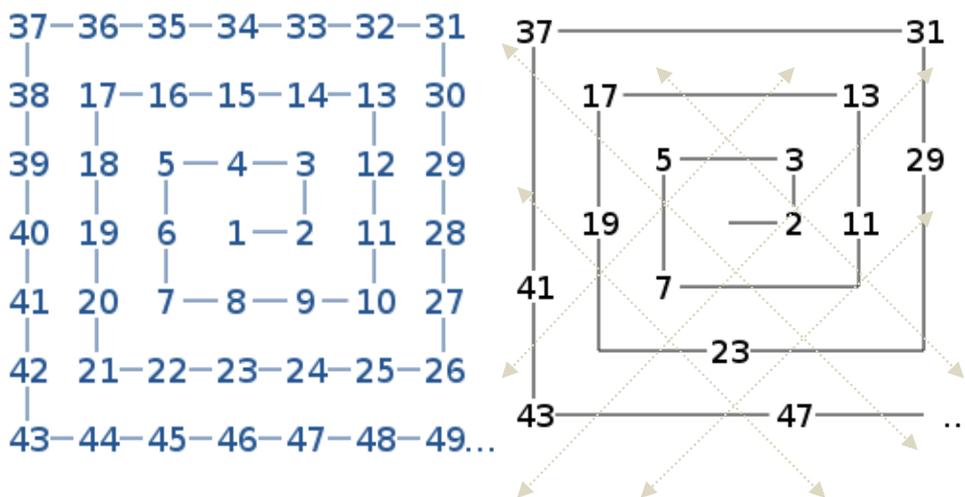
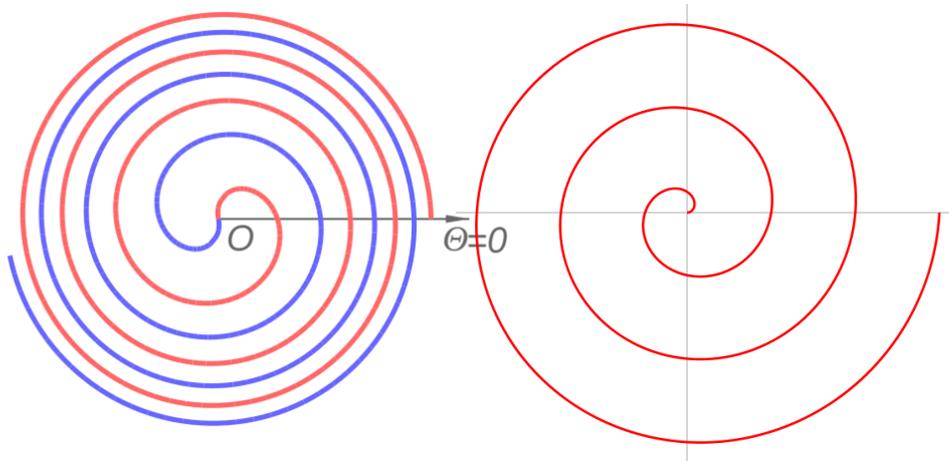


Figure 7.38 (top left): Fermat's spiral or a parabolic spiral; a type of Archimedean spiral. Image credit: Kaboldy / CC-BY-SA-3.0, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

Figure 7.39 (top right): Archimedean spiral or arithmetic spiral. This diagram illustrates three 360° turns of a one arm the Archimedean spiral which has the property that any ray from the origin intersects successive turnings of the spiral in points with a constant separation distance (equal to $2\pi b$ if θ is measured in radians). Image credit: Adijapan / CC-BY-SA-2.5, <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.5/deed.en>

Figure 7.40 and 4.1 (bottom left and right): A set of Ulam or Prime Number spirals, demonstrating the way prime numbers line up in diagonal lines (right hand image). Image credit: ownmywaybackhome / released into the public domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ulam_spiral_howto_all_numbers.svg and http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ulam_spiral_howto_primes_only.svg

Chapter Eight

The koru in context: art and symbolism in customary and contemporary Māori society

This chapter explores the use of spiral-like motifs such as the koru within traditional and contemporary Māori culture. In doing so, it places the use of the koru motif in contemporary mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand, against the vital and dynamic backdrop of Māori art. In section one I discuss the prevalence of spiral-like motifs across the spheres of te ana tuhituhi (rock drawing, rock painting and rock carving), whakairo (woodcarving), ta moko (permanent skin marking) and kowhaiwhai (painted scroll patterns). With the exception of te ana tuhituhi, these spheres span both pre-European and post-European contact periods. In section two I provide an outline of the understandings of the spiral and koru motif, put forward by the well regarded authors and authorities on Māori art: Hirini Moko Mead (also known as Sir Sidney Mead), Julie Paama-Pengelly, Arthur Gordon Tovey, David Simmons, Roger Neich, and Rawinia Higgins.

In section three I discuss an article written by the American anthropologist, Allan Hanson titled 'Art and the Maori Construction of Reality' (1983). It is worth noting here that Hanson's work fell out of out of favour with various academics, after the publication of his 1989 article 'The Making of the Māori: Culture Invention and its Logic'. Here, Hanson argued that Māori culture was 'invented' by the contributions of scholars, government officials and "Maoris themselves (including some Māori anthropologists)" (Hanson 1989: 890). In her PhD thesis *Tradition, Invention, and Innovation: Multiple Reflections of an Urban Marae* (2010) Lily George notes that, at a time when race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand were hotly contested, it was surprising "that Hanson could not at the time perceive that his critique of Māori 'cultural invention' would be incredibly insulting and hurtful

to Māori and other indigenous peoples” (George 2010:28). Notwithstanding the lack of insight displayed by Hanson in his 1989 article, the earlier article (1983) that he wrote, and which I discuss in section three of this chapter, is of interest to this thesis topic, in that it has some consonance with Bollas’ argument that our of experience cultural objects often relates to the structure of that object. Hanson’s work also reflects elements of Jameson’s reading of Levi-Strauss’ study of the Mbayá tribe, which was outlined in Chapter Five. Hanson does not go so far as to argue (like Jameson or Levi-Strauss) that Māori art provides a formal or unconscious resolution to the contradictions or insurmountable problems of society. However, he does argue that:

The things people do, see and use are ... messages about the nature of reality as it is construed in their culture; the world as experienced becomes literally a cultural artefact. Artists, magicians, priests and tellers of tales communicate information about that world.

(Hanson 1983:210-211)

As such Hanson provides a way of considering the role of the koru motif not only in customary and contemporary Māori society, but in ‘mainstream’ Aotearoa New Zealand. Section four provides a change in focus from sections one to three of this chapter, where the focus is primarily on customary Māori art, to a focus on Māori art in contemporary society. Here I provide illustrations of contemporary ta moko, and the work of contemporary Māori artists Shane Hansen and Reuben Paterson. This section provides a visual rather than written focus, and sets the trend for the two following chapters, which provide the visual research data for this thesis.

Section one

Evidence of the spiral and koru-motif in Māori art

Te ana tuhituhi (rock drawing, rock painting and rock carving)

Most archaeological evidence dates the presence of simple spirals and rudimentary koru forms in rock drawings in Aotearoa New Zealand to more than five hundred years ago (Paama-Pengelly 2010: 58). These drawings have been found in the southern part of Te Waipounamu (the South Island) around the limestone valleys of North Otago and South Canterbury (figures 8.1 and 8.2). With the Moahunter or Archaic period dating back to 1350 AD, it is thought the extinction of moa around 1500 AD forced early tribespeople to leave the inland and shift to coastal areas, thereby resulting in a decline in rock art (ibid). Roger Neich¹ reports that it was during the Classical period, several hundred years after the Archaic period, that spiral and koru-like motifs developed as part of a complex and systematic art form in Māori culture (Neich 1993:21).

Whakairo (woodcarving)

While acknowledging the similarities between Māori woodcarving and carving in other countries and cultures such as North American Indian carving, Hirini Moko Mead (also known as Sir Sidney Mead) identifies the highly stylised manaia figure (figures 8.3 and 8.8) and double spiral (figures 8.4 - 8.17) as particularly unique formations of Māori carving (Mead 1961:13).

The dominance of the spiral is found in the carving styles of the Rotorua, Ohinemutu, East Coast/Waiapu, Gisborne, Taraawhai and Wanganui areas (Mead

¹ Roger Neich was curator of ethnology at Auckland Museum from 1986 to 2009, and has written at least two definitive books on Māori art – *Painted histories: Early Māori figurative art* (1993) and *Carved histories: Rotorua Ngāti Tarawhai Woodcarving* (2001).



Figures 8.1 (top) and **Figure 8.2** (bottom) Māori rock drawings located at Monkey Face Reserve, South Canterbury, South Island. Photographed by Theo Schoon in 1948.ID: PA1-o-330-76 (top) and PA1-o-330-73 (bottom), reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

1961:17), where nearly fifty variations of spiral have been recorded on carved wooden figures:

... to decorate the shoulders, the thighs and [figure 8.4] sides of the mouth ... [they also] had a wide use on canoe prows (tauihu) [figure 8.16 and 8.17] and sterns (taurapa) [figures 8.11 – 8.14], and on door lintels (pare). Sometimes spirals were used to decorate the stylised hairknot (tikitiki) [figure 8.10] on top of the [carved] head or to suggest ears just below and to the outer sides of the eyes.

(Mead 1961:39)

Paama-Pengelly lists the main carved spiral elements as Rauru, Whakaironui, Maui, Takarangi and the Piko-o-Rauru, pungawerewere and ponahi (Paama-Pengelly 2010:130). She differentiates these from the koru and pitau design forms more common to kowhaiwhai (painted scroll patterns) (figures 8.26a) found on monuments, cenotaphs, mausoleums, gourds (calabash water vessels), paddles, the underside of canoe prows, pataka (storehouse) porches, meetinghouses (2010:63) and moko.

Kowhaiwhai (painted scroll patterns)

Mead describes the koru as a scroll (pitau) "which consists of a stem and a bulb" (Mead 1986:237). Others similarly describe it as a "curving stalk with a bulb at one end" (Phillips² 1960:7) and "a bulbed motif in carving and scroll painting" with the general meaning of folded, coiled or looped (Williams³ 1957:147) (figure 8.26a). Neich expands on these definitions, adding that it is the most basic design element of many kowhaiwhai patterns and painted on canoe panels (pre-European contact) meeting houses (post-European contact) and evident in other areas of

² WJ Phillips was an ethnologist for the Dominion Museum and an active fieldworker during 1940 -1950.

³ Archdeacon Herbert Williams documented traditional rafter kowhaiwhai patterns for Augustus Hamilton's book 'Māori Art' (1896)

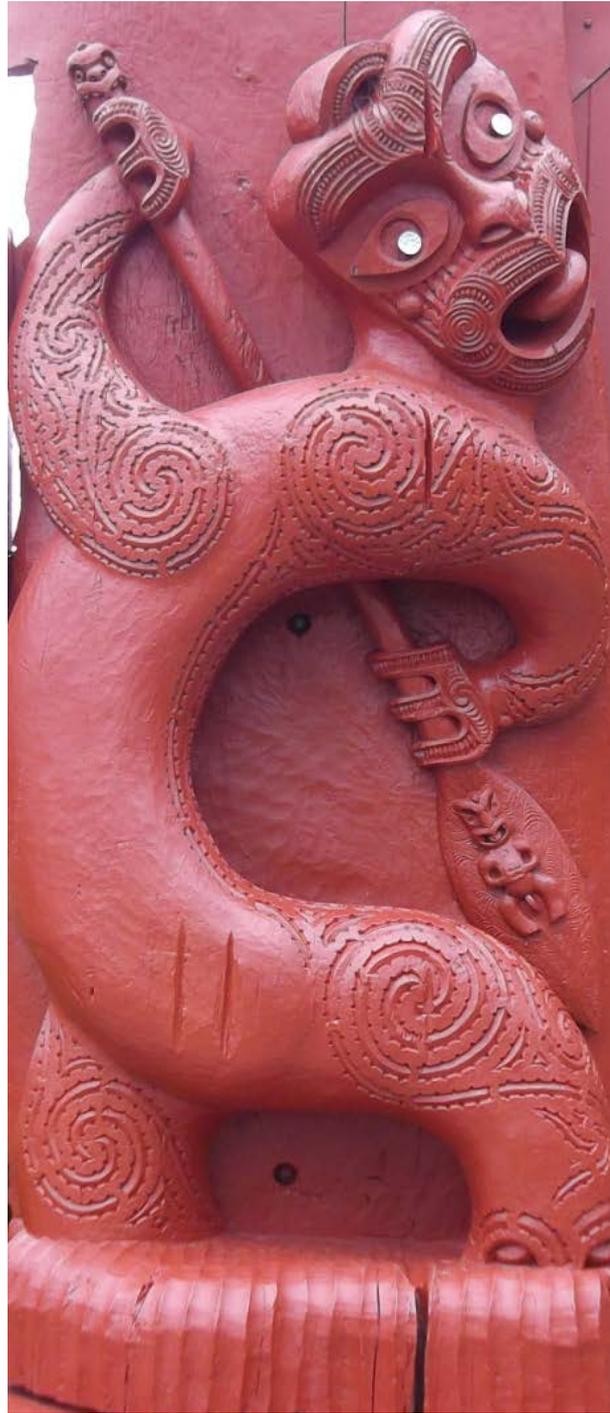


Figure 8.3 (left) Whakairo (carving) of manaia figure at entrance (lhs) to Papakura marae. **Figure 8.4** (right) Whakairo of Hoturoa (principal ancestor of Tainui) on left hand amo (carved upright post in front of meeting house) of Te Ngira meeting house, reproduced with permission from Tony Kake, **Papakura marae**.



Figure 8.5 Whakairo (carving) of manaia figure at entrance (rhs), reproduced with permission from Tony Kake, **Papakura marae**.



Figure 8.6 (top) Whakairo on left hand maihi (bargeboard) of Te Rangimarie
Figure 8.7 (middle) Double spiral whakairo in wharekai (eating house). **Figure 8.8** (bottom) Whakairo of manaia figure at entrance (lhs), reproduced with permission from Tony Kake, **Papakura marae**.



Figure 8.9 (left) Whakairo on right hand amou (carved upright post in front of meeting house) of Te Rangimarie, Papakura marae. **Figure 8.10** (right) Whakairo on right hand amou of Te Ngira, reproduced with permission from Tony Kake, Papakura marae.



Figure 8.11 (left) Taurapa (war canoe stern) Bay of Islands, circa 1847. **Figure 8.12** (right) Taurapa (war canoe stern) East Coast, circa 1850s. Reproduced with permission from the **British Museum**.

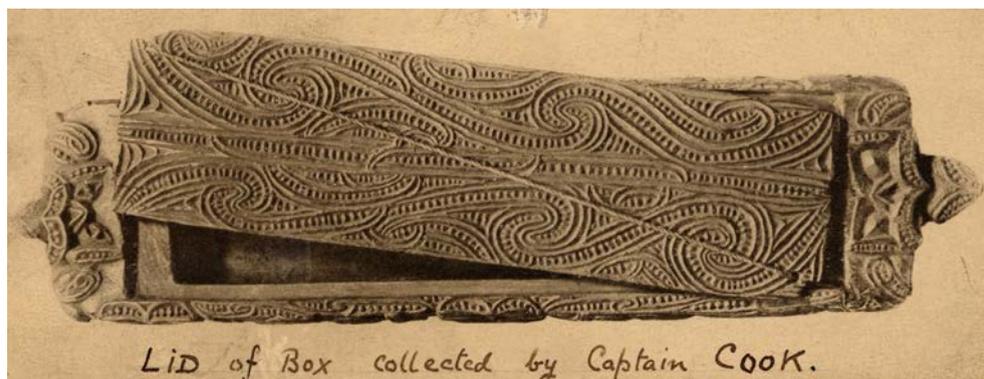


Figure 8.13 (top) Tauihu/pitau (war canoe stern) with rauponga spirals, East Coast, 1840-1860. **Figure 8.14** (middle) Tauihu (war canoe prow) with rauponga spiral carvings, Taranaki style, early 19th century. **Figure 8.15** (bottom) Wooden lid of a box (papahou) collected by Captain Cook. Reproduced with permission from the **British Museum**.



Figure 8.16 (top) Tauihu (war canoe prow) Continuous scroll pattern on central rib with plain interstitial rauponga spirals forward of rib, and rauponga spirals with diamond- shaped pakati behind rib. **Figure 8.17** (bottom) Tauihu (war canoe prow) Large takarangi spirals painted black, Waikato 1850-1880. Reproduced with permission from the **British Museum**.

Māori visual arts, including carving and tattooing (Neich 1993:33).

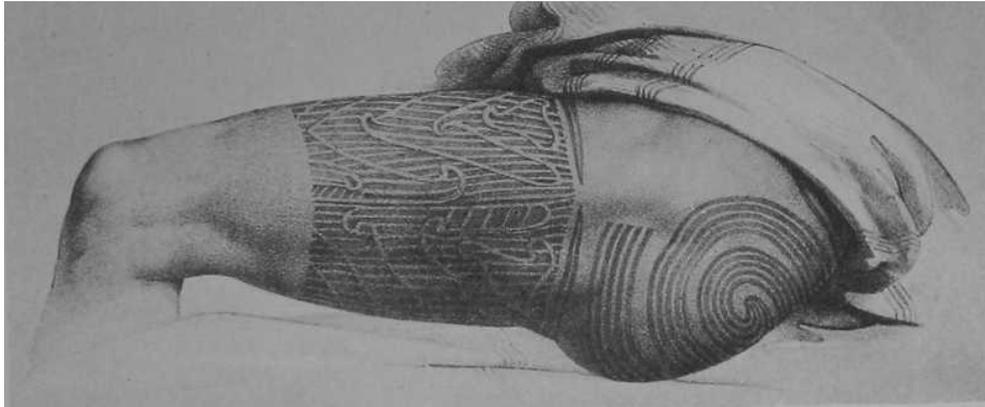
While in most instances 'koru' applies to a single scroll element within kowhaiwhai and 'pītau' to elaborate scroll compositions, Neich reports it has also come to mean 'perforated spiral carving' and extends to the figurehead of canoes ornamented with such carvings. A distinctive kowhaiwhai design called puhoro (particular to the Te Arawa tribe) is also tattooed on the thighs of men (Neich 1993:33-34; Paama-Pengelly 2010:77) and painted at the base of waka taua (Paama-Pengelly: *ibid*) (figures 8.18 – 8.25).

The educationalist Arthur Gordon Tovey⁴ categorised traditional kowhaiwhai as belonging to the pītau series, kape series or a combination of both. He describes the pītau series as having the scroll as its main motif which unfurls outwards and then folds back to its main line (Tovey 1961:43)(figures 8.26). The kape series has the crescent (kape) as its main motif with evenly placed circles placed within each motif. Motifs used in tattoo markings surrounding the eyes are also worked into these patterns (Tovey, 1961:43) and are also known as single or double browed kowhaiwhai (Neich 1993:41) (figures 8.28 – 8.29). The combination of the kape series and pītau series blends the scroll and crescent motifs and sometimes other motifs used in tattoo or carving such as the manaia figure (Tovey, 1961:43).

Ta Moko (permanent skin marking)

The drawings of the artist Sydney Parkinson who sailed with Captain Cook during his voyages between 1769 and 1775, and the writings and illustrations of Major General Horatio Robley published in his book 'Māori Tattooing' (Robley 1896/2003) have resulted in a number of well-known portraits of Māori women and men with traditional ta moko (figures 8.31 – 8.33).

⁴ During the 1970s Tovey's work had a considerable influence on Māori art and artists such as Arnold Wilson, Selwyn Muru and Cliff Whiting.



Puhoro designs: **Figure 8.18** (top) Sketch of tattoo design on thighs, from D'Urville's *Voyages*. **Figure 8.19** (middle) underside of waka taua, Rotorua. **Figure 8.20** (bottom left) tattoo design on thighs. **Figure 8.21** (bottom right) Central pou (upright) Te Rangimarie meeting house, reproduced with permission from Tony Kake, Papakura marae.



Figure 8.22 (left) **Figure 8.23** (middle) Puhoro style kowhaiwhai designs. By Herbert William (Bishop) (1860-1937). Painted in 1890, ID: E-331-f-022/024, **Figure 8.24** (right) Puhoro style kowhaiwhai design. By Albert Percy Godber (1875-1949), painted in 1939, ID: E-302-q-1-019/021 Reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

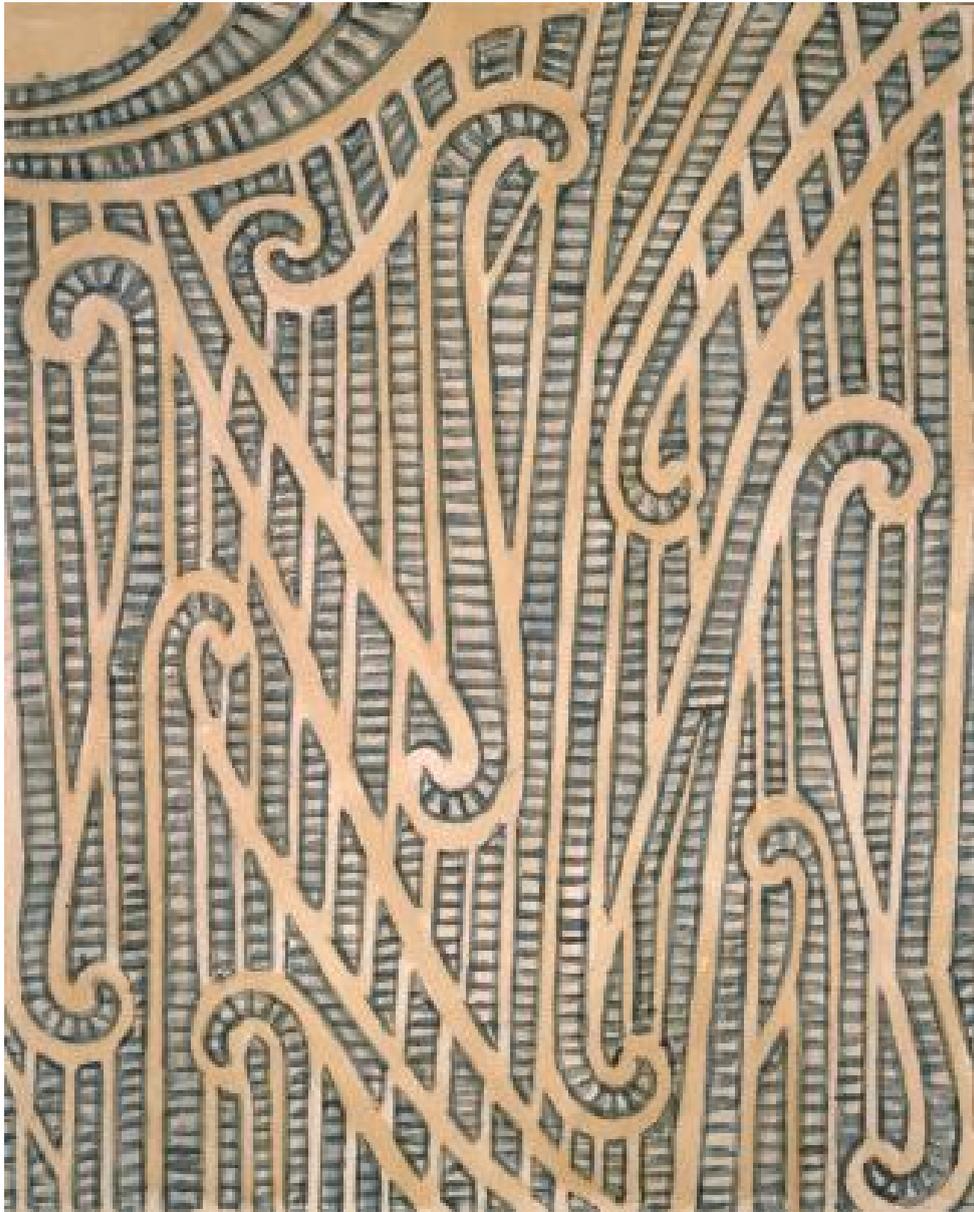


Figure 8.25 Sketch by Robley, Horatio Gordon 1840-1930. Tattoo on a left thigh (1863). ID: A-080-035, reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

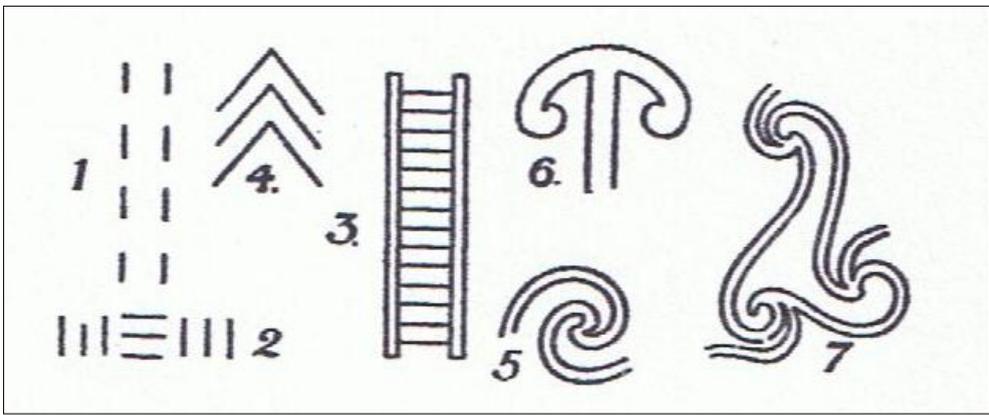
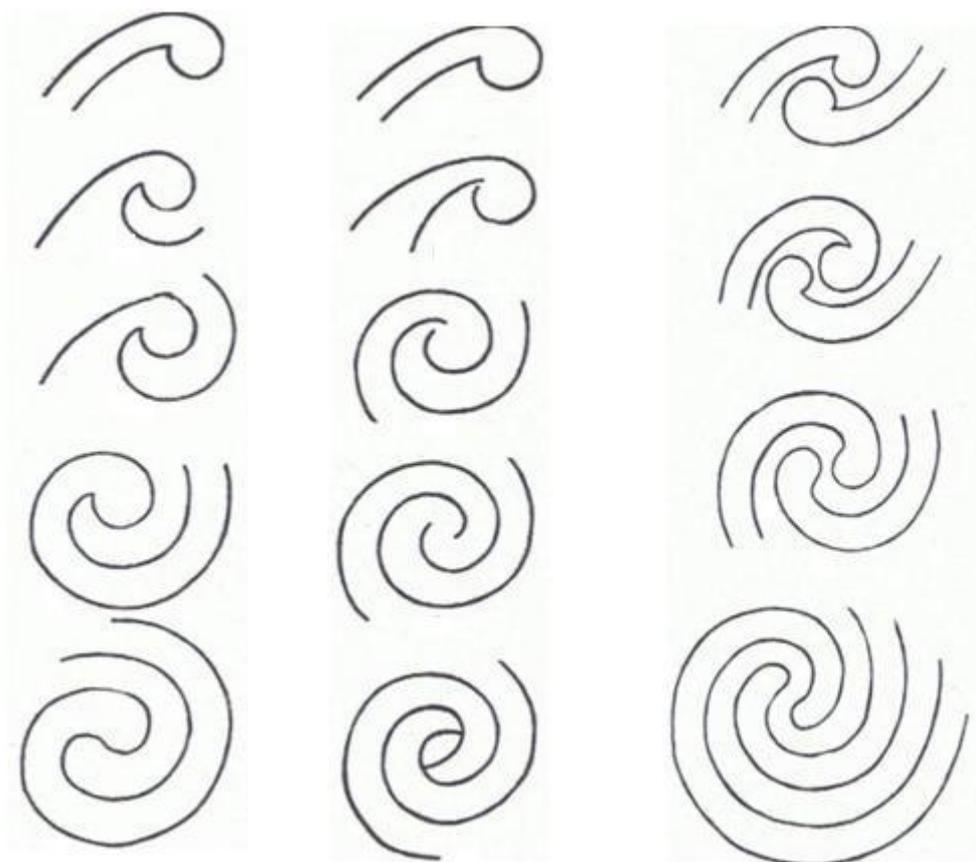


Figure 8.26a Relationship between the koru and double spirals, as illustrated by **WJ Phillipps** (1946).

Figure 8.26b Seven tattoo and moko patterns. Line of dots or strokes (1), mat or plait-work pattern (2), ladder pattern (3), chevron pattern (4), circinate coil (5), anchor (6), trilateral scroll (7), as described by **LH Roth** (1901).

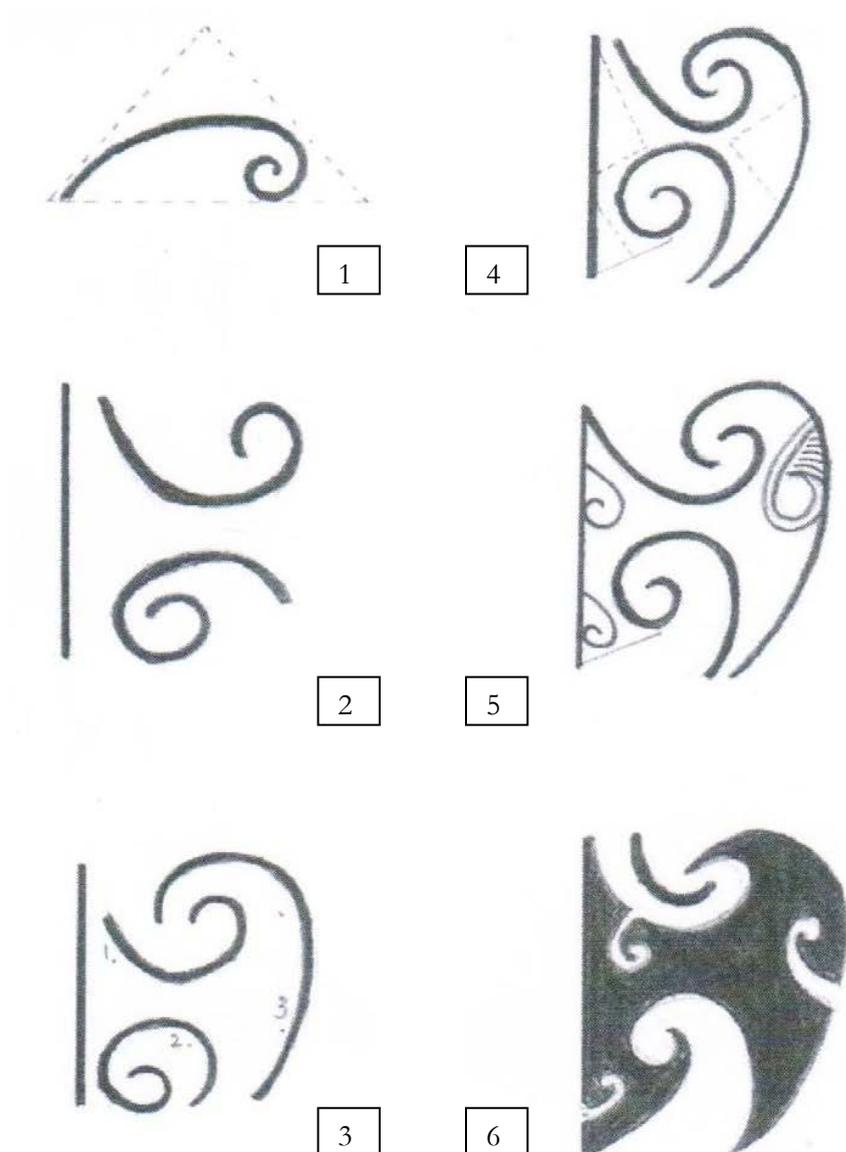


Figure 8.27 Creation of a moko pattern based on the koru motif (King, 1975).

1. The dimensions of the koru are bounded by an imaginary triangle.
2. The structure of a pattern can be built up by facing two koru in opposite directions, providing the fundamental design.
3. The addition of a third large koru forms a double spiral on top and defines the outside of the pattern.
4. Three triangular spaces inside allow the inclusion of a further koru for a more elaborate pattern.
5. Other koru may face different directions.
6. The final pattern makes up one half of a chin moko. The other half often reflects it symmetrically on the left hand side.

Hand drawn by Kyung Hwa Kang, after **King (1975)**.

From the account of his first voyage in 1769 Cook states:

The bodies and face are marked with black stains they call amoco – broad spirals on each buttock – the thighs of many were almost entirely black, the faces of the old men are almost covered The marks in general are spirals drawn with great nicety and even eloquence. One side corresponds with the other. The marks in the body resemble the foliage of old chased ornaments, convolutions of filigree work, but in these they have such a luxury of form that of a hundred which at first appeared exactly the same no two were formed alike on close examination.

(In 'Māori tattooing' by HG Robley 1896/2003:4)

Paama-Pengelly (2010: 75) reports that the basic moko kanohi (facial tattoo) consisted of a pair of large cheek spirals on each side with smaller spiral pairs executed on either side of the nose itself:

The large spirals had a series of lines, usually three, laid closely together ... The nose spirals are made by a tighter chisel line spiralling inwards, the basic pitau or koru element, laid out in differing arrangements, constituted the main areas of patterning on the forehead, from the cheek to the ears and jaw, on small areas between nose and mouth and on the chin Designs on either side of the face were predominantly symmetrical, but secondary areas of design might have individual marks that broke with the obvious symmetry.

(Paama-Pengelly 2010:75).

Common names for the koru and spiral moko kanohi include Paepae (large spirals on the cheek), Hupe (a scroll pattern just under the nose) and Kauwae or pukauwae (a scroll pattern on the chin) (Paama-Pengelly 2010:75-77). Figures 8. 26b, 8.27 and 8.30 illustrate further moko designs and terms described by Roth (1901) and King (1975). By the mid 1800s facial ta moko followed a particular design structure, and while the peha design (the combined covering of the lower

back, waist, hips, buttocks and upper legs) was common at the time of European contact, it became less visible with the increased popularity of European clothing (Roth 1901:72). Although the peha was generally individualised to the wearer, common elements included spirals on each buttock in a single spiral form or an s-styled interlocking double spiral referred to as rape o Mataora (the great spirals on the buttocks) (figure 8.18 and 8.62). As mentioned above, the puhoro design (seen on waka taua and kowhaiwhai painting) was also commonly applied to the thigh area and was recorded by Cook as ‘moko kiore’, and is also seen on the lower section of moko kanohi (face tattoo) (ibid:77).

More recent publications also give consideration to contemporary ta moko (King & Friedlander 1972, 1992, 2008; Neleman, Iti, Turei & MacDonald 1999; Te Awekotuku & Nikora 2007). Also of interest is the PhD thesis written by Rawinia Higgins (2004), which discusses the moko kauae amongst traditional and contemporary Māori women, as discussed further below.



Figure 8.28 Ngutukaka kowhaiwhai designs painted in watercolour by Albert Percy Godber (1875-1949), painted in 1939. ID: E-302-q-1-010, Reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.



Figure 8.29 Patiki (top), Ngutukaka (second from top) Kape rua (second from bottom, Mango-Tipi (bottom) kowhaiwhai designs painted in watercolour by Albert Percy Godber (1875-1949), painted in 1939.

ID: E-302-q-1-003/004/022/023, reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.



Figure 8.30 Moko pattern from Banks Peninsula, illustrated and described by Roth (1901) after Shortland (n.d.). Tiwhana: curved like a bow (1), Repa: belly of a shark (2), Ngu: cuttle fish (3), Pongianga: nostrils/to blow gently (4), Wakatara: waka = canoe, tatara = untied, loose (5), Kumikumi: beard under chin (6), Rerepihi: rere = waterfall, running of water. Pehi = to weigh down, press, lie down (7), Wero: to stab (8), Pukaru: pu = spot, mark, knob, karu = head or eye (9), Koroaha: koro = noose (11), Putaringa: above the ear (12), Kauwae: chin (13), Titi: a peg, pin or nail, bird (14) **LH Roth** (1901).

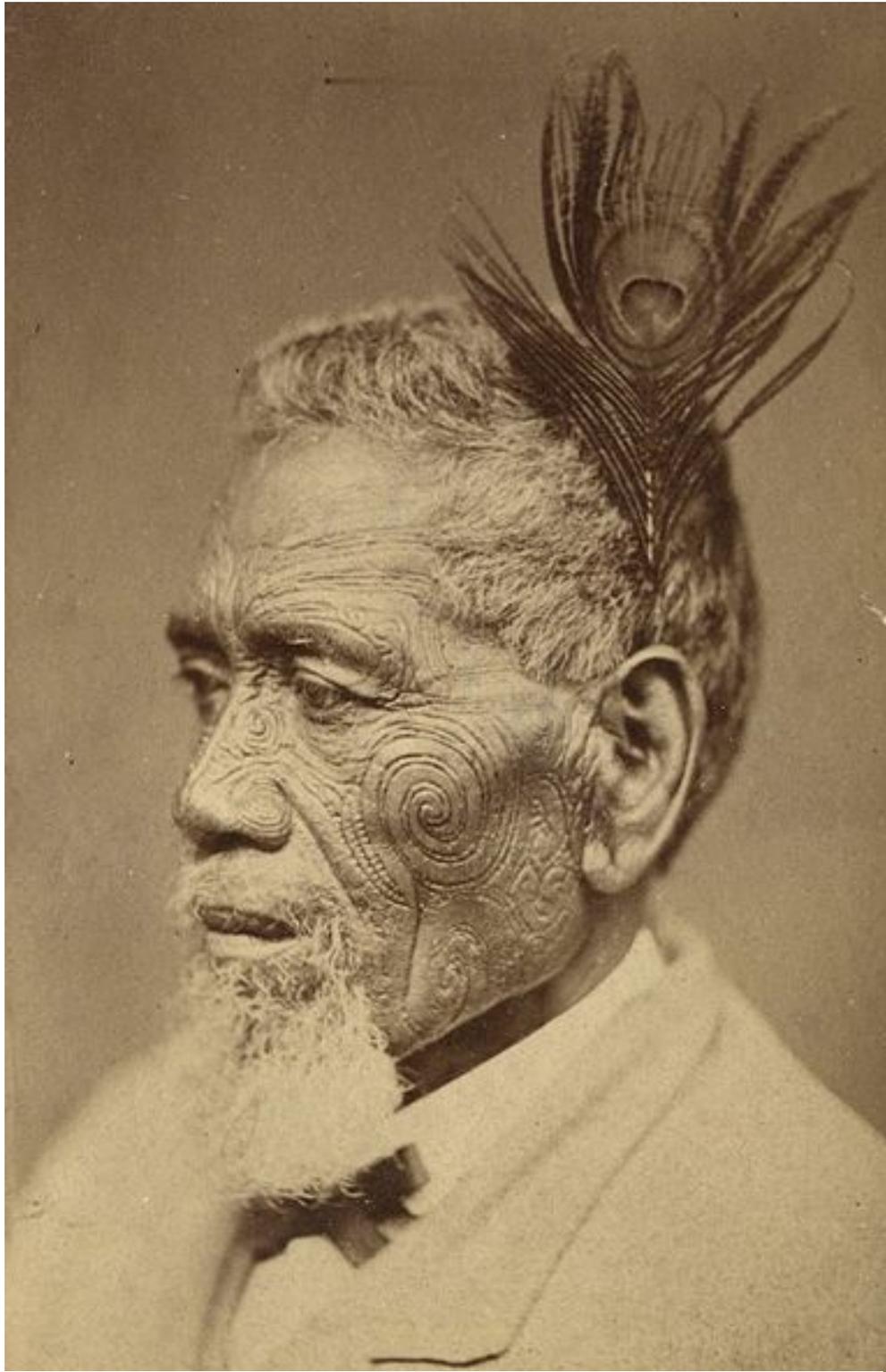


Figure 8.31 Photo of Māori chief with moko, Publication: Photothèque du Musée de l'Homme, 1860-1879, Ref 1998-23049-173, **French National Library**.

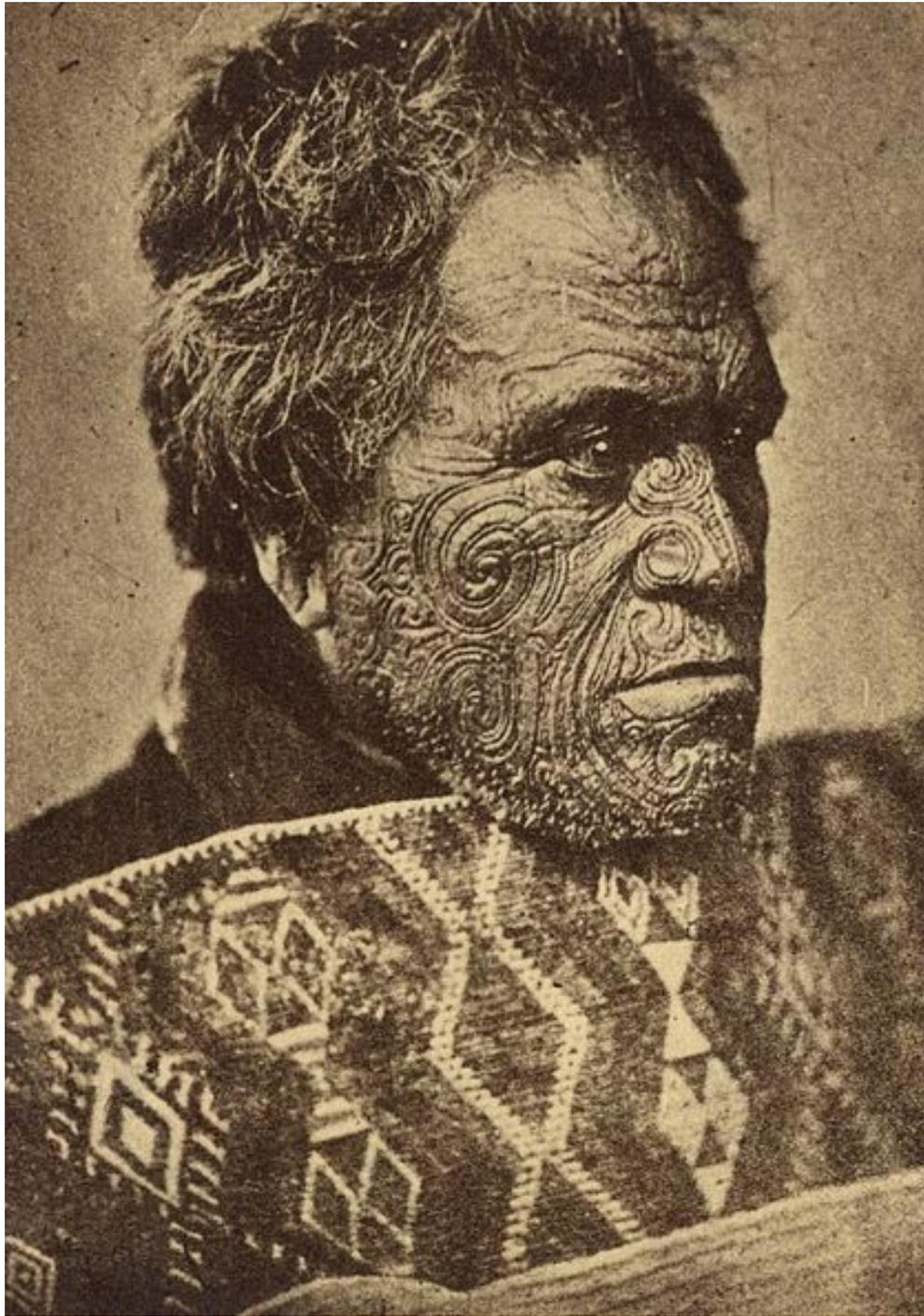


Figure 8.32 Tomika Te Mutu, Chief of Motuhoa Island. 1866 [or later]
HG Robley (1896/1987).

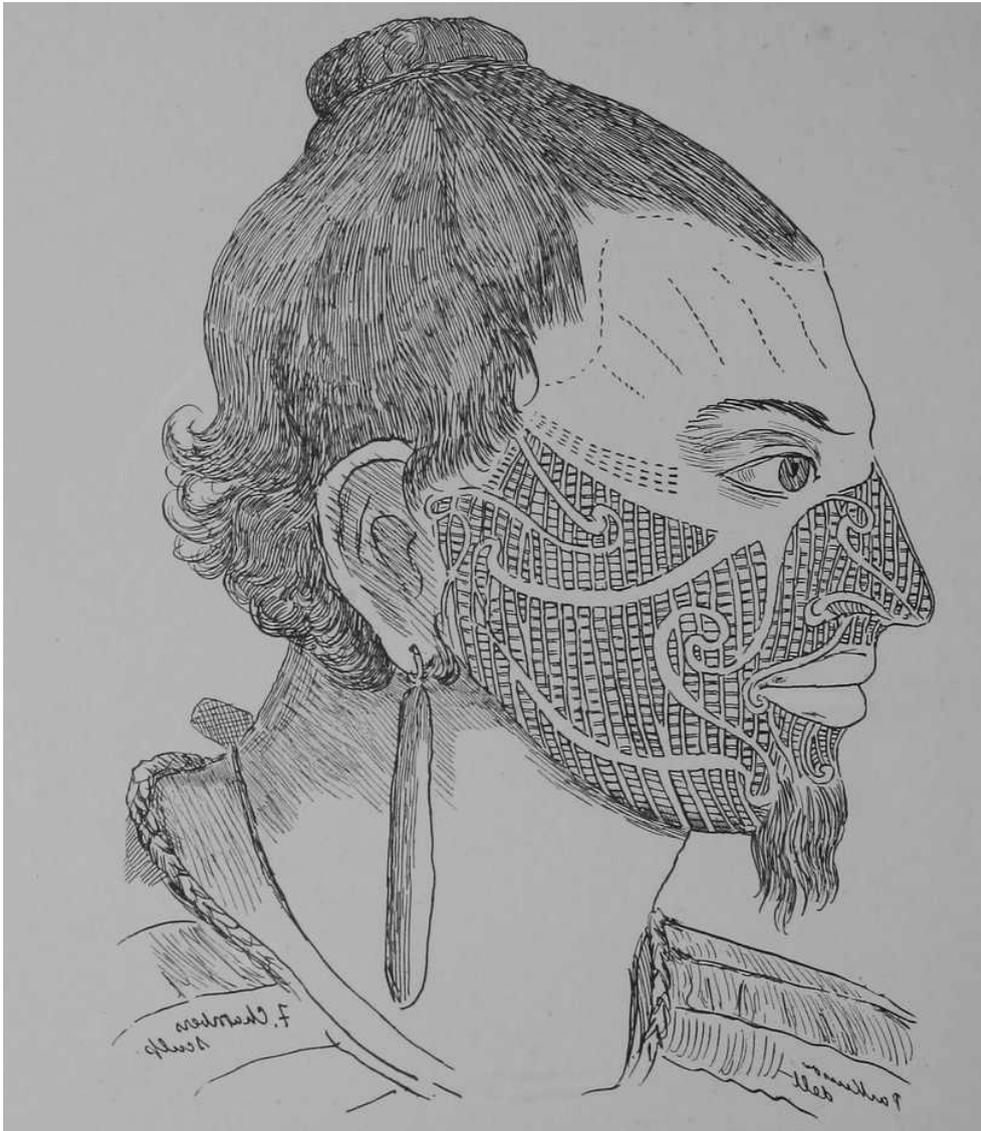


Figure 8.33 Moko design drawn by Sydney Parkinson between 1768-1771. One of the earliest known moko patterns **HG Robley** (1896/1987)



Figure 8.34 Facial tattoo of **Te Peri Kupe**, drawn by himself around 1826.
HG Robley (1896/1987).

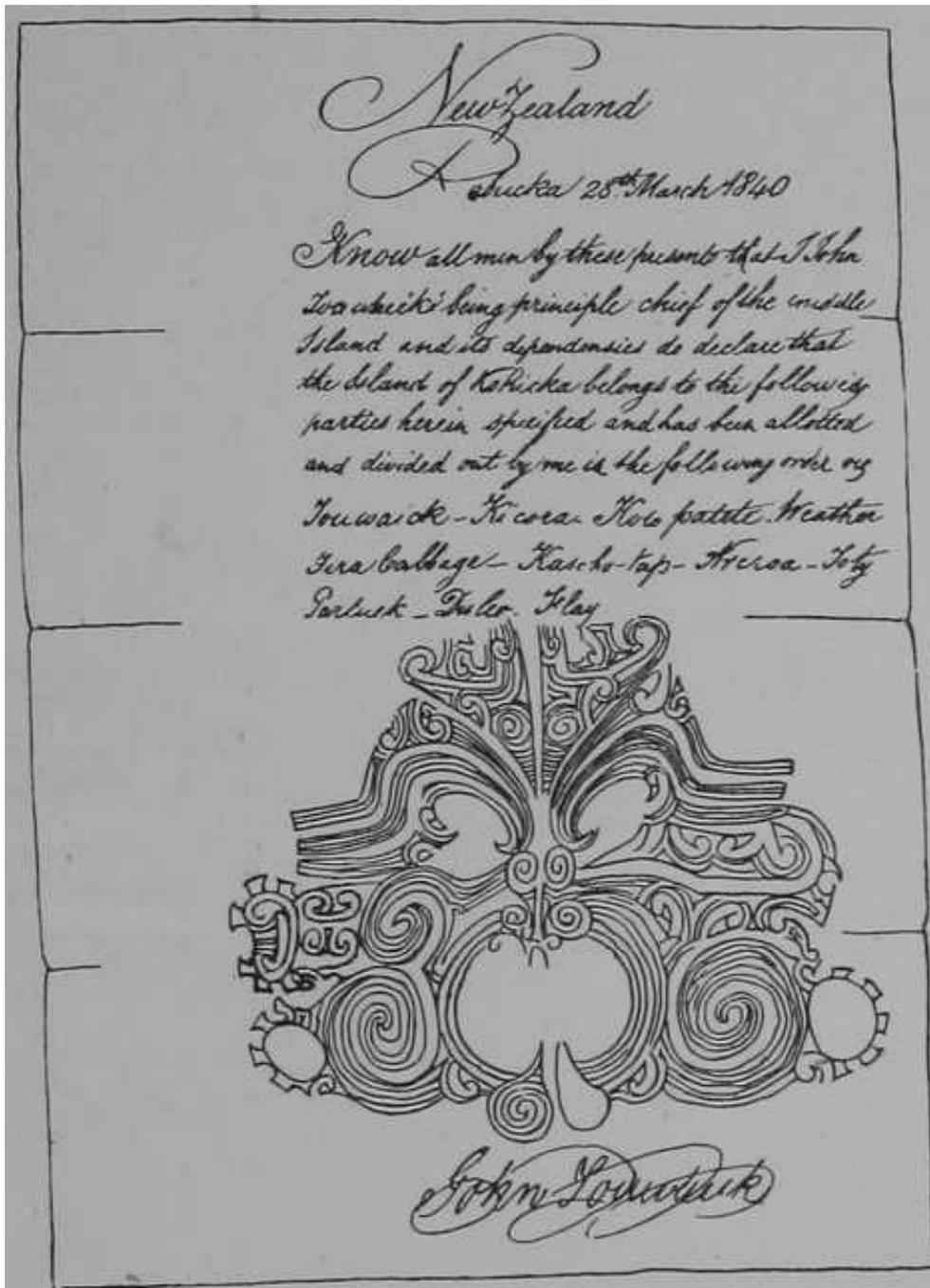
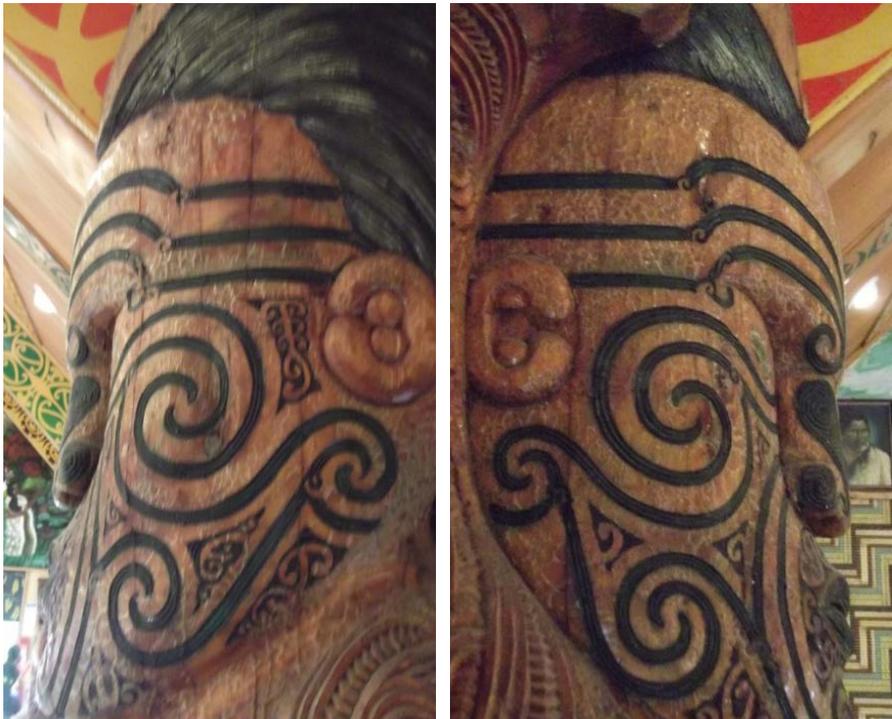
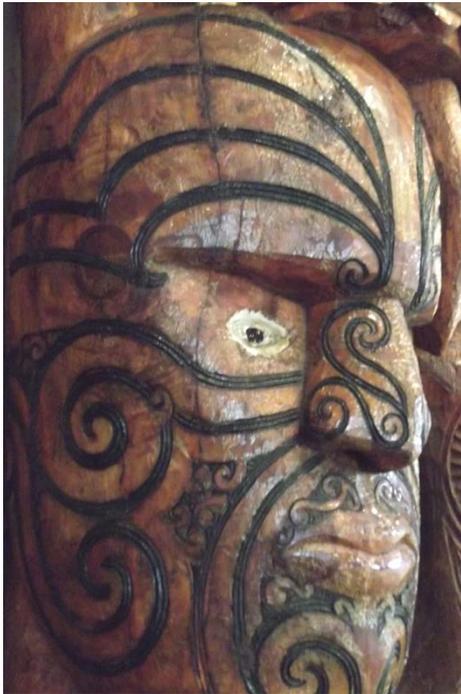
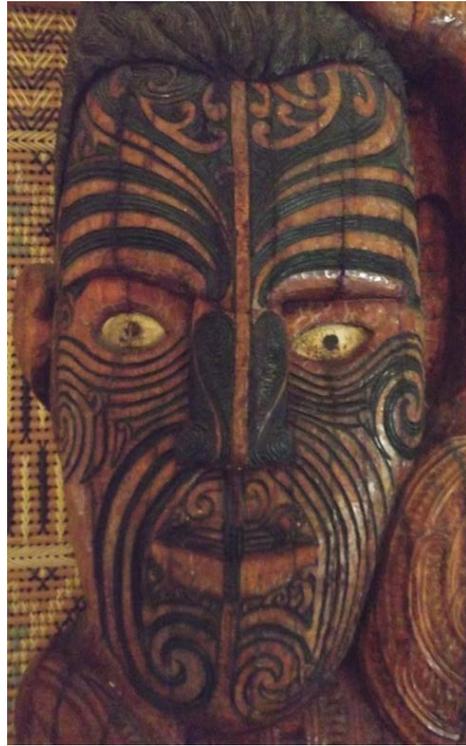
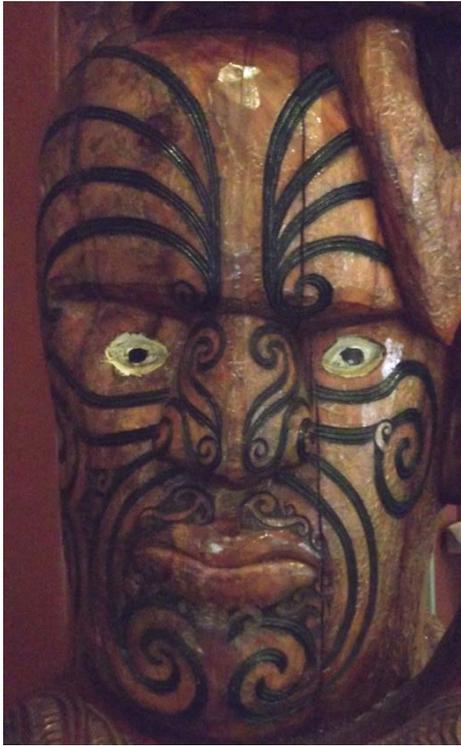


Figure 8.35 Moko signature on a land grant deed, signed by Tuawhaiki, a chief of Ngaitahu, dated 1840. **HG Robley** (1896/1987).



Figures 8.36, 8.37 and 8.38: Pou whakairo (carved post) of the Māori ancestor Pawa, inside Te Ngira meeting house, reproduced with permission from Tony Kake, Papakura marae.



Pou whakairo (carved post) of Māori ancestors inside Te Ngira meeting house Papakura marae. **Figure 8.39** (top left) Kiwa **Figure 8.40** (top right) Kurahaupo, **Figure 8.41a** and **8.41b** (bottom left and right) Kiwa, reproduced with permission from Tony Kake, **Papakura marae**.

Section two

Suggested meanings of the spiral and koru motif

Reminding us of the inseparability of art and culture, Robert Jahnke also warns of the incompatibility of Eurocentric terminology in capturing the essence of historical Māori visual culture:

From a Western perspective, design ‘refers to the process of bringing together independent elements in a coherent and functional manner’; from a Māori perspective, the meaning of design must be expanded so that *coherence* and *function* reflect the world view at the time the design was conceived and related.

(Jankhe, in Foreword to *Māori Art and Design* by Julie Paama-Pengelly 2010)

Paama-Pengelly also notes that while it is possible to present information about Māori motifs and meanings and their historical influences, this cannot replace the *reo* (language) of the artist and of the Māori people who give voice and meaning to their art (Paama-Pengelly 2010:11). With these points in mind, and acknowledging the Pākehā lens through which I am viewing this topic, the following section outlines the meanings that have been ascribed to the many spiral and koru-like designs and patterns seen in both traditional and contemporary Māori society and culture.

Hirini Moko Mead

A common approach, amongst those who have written on the meaning of the spiral and koru in traditional and contemporary Māori culture, is to present two levels of meaning. One level provides representative or functional types of meaning, while the second level refers to ontologically informed meanings including spiritual, mythical and unconscious meanings. For instance, in relation to woodcarving, Hirini Moko Mead states that carving satisfies a universal and

fundamental human need where “Man’s search for order and for truth has resulted in the creation of beautiful things in wood or in other material” (Mead 1961:9). However, in terms of actual carving designs, Mead provides mainly functionally related meanings, merely stating the koru or pitau (which he mainly refers to as a scroll) consists of a stem and bulb which are essential parts of surface decoration and consists of:

... the main motif in kowhaiwhai (rafter) patterns and in the tattoo designs of old. It is used in carving as a filling-in motif where a haehae and pakati combination is not suitable or practical and for long narrow border, around windows for example The crescent-like texturing in the spaces is very effective in carving as it can be made to emphasise rhythm or give a sense of movement. Usually the crescents are made to emphasise the roundness of the pitau bulb.

(Mead 1961:44)

Julie Paama-Pengelly

Paama-Pengelly similarly describes two levels of meaning when referring to the koru, pitau and spiral designs, though she often links these two levels of meanings. Broadly speaking, she is of the view that, traditionally, Māori did not separate art from other aspects of culture, and while taonga or taonga tuku iho (precious objects) could be admired as art:

...they also had a mauri (life force) and wairua (spirit) of their own which related to mana (prestige, authority, control, power, spiritual power) tapu (under religious instruction) and whakapapa (genealogy, lineage, descent).

(Paama-Pengelly 2010:11)

Likewise she notes that while the symbolism of kowhaiwhai is thought to be based on the lateral tendrils of the gourd plant. This provides a visual metaphor for whakapapa or generational descent:

This was also signified by the incising of kowhaiwhai patterns on hue, or water vessels, belonging to the highborn, while those belonging to commoners were left plain. Other gourds enhanced aesthetically with kowhaiwhai were cut lengthwise to form an open oval bowl called an ipu whenua and used to hold the afterbirth of a highborn baby.

(Paama-Pengelly 2010:64)

She refers to the koru bulb as being inspired by the pitau or shoot of the unfurling fern frond which produces diminishing fronds as it grows, as reflected in the koiri design within kowhaiwhai. Other kowhaiwhai designs such as the mangopare and its variations (mangotipi, mangoroa or mangoururoa) though comprised entirely of the koru or pitau design forms, are said to reflect the qualities of the mangopare or hammerhead shark: strength and persistence as required in the fighting qualities of a warrior. Another well known design, the kowhai ngutukaka (also known as the red kowhai, parrot's bill or kaka beak) alludes to the red drooping shrub with brilliant curved red flowers (the scarlet *Clianthus*). The puhoro design, well known in the Te Arawa region, and used in kowhaiwhai, ta moko and whakairo, has symbolic references to speed and dexterity (Paama-Pengelly 2010:67-69) (figures 8.18 – 8.25). These symbolic meanings of kowhaiwhai are further extended with an origin myth:

When Whiro, Haepuru and Haematua climbed up to the second heaven to obtain carvings for their house, they were told by one of the gods that the art of decorating houses with woodcarvings had already been taken away by their younger brothers. Whiro and his two friends complained to the god that they could not go begging to their younger brothers for the art, so the god showed them how to embellish a house with painted designs, 'painted it is said with red ochre, blue pigment, white clay and charcoal'. Whiro and the others then descended and adorned their own houses with painted designs.

(Te Rangi Hiroa⁵ 1949, in Paama-Pengelly 2010:64)

Interestingly Paama-Pengelly notes the colour combinations of blue and white, yellow and black, and white and red were commonly used colours for kowhaiwai (body painting, rather than tattooing) during Cook's time in Aotearoa New Zealand. The use of only red, black and white became common after the mid 19th century when red came to represent prosperity, and black adversity (2010:64). The Maui carved spiral design (figure 8.45 no.19 + 20) also references an origin myth:

The spiral called Maui refers to the demi-god by name and is distinctive in both kowhaiwhai and carving for its composition of double spiral elements that deflect outwards away from each other after their interlocking central rotation.

(Paama-Pengelly 2010:130)

The takarangi is a full double spiral with groups of pakati holding the spiralling ridges together and appear extensively on the tauihu and taurapa of waka taua (figures 8.17) and also pare above doorways. Significantly:

The word takarangi means to reel or stagger, symbolising the separation of Rangi and Papa, a time of chaos and confusion as Te Ao Marama, the world of light, heralds the emergence of knowledge into the world.

(Paama-Pengelly 2010:130)

Illustrating the changing nature of myths and meanings is the pitau-a-manaia design (figure 8.44 (1)) which has strong spiritual significance but also responds to the pressure of missionary contact:

Pitau-a-manaia first appeared in the Poverty Bay kowhaiwhai in 1842 in Te Hau Ki Turanga, and is said to have developed to disguise the manaia figure within the kowhaiwhai elements. As missionaries put more pressure

⁵ Also known as Sir Peter Buck.

on Māori to forgo their spiritual practices, ancestral carvings became unpopular and this type of kowhaiwhai hid the figurative intent⁶.

(Paama-Pengelly 2010:69).

Gordon Tovey

As mentioned above, Tovey categorises traditional kowhaiwhai as belonging to the pitau series, kape series or a combination of both (1961:43) (figures 8.28 – 8.29). He mentions how the blending of kowhaiwhai with the woven work of the tukutuku patterns enhances carvings in the meeting house and provides artistic satisfaction due to “the pleasing contrast it makes in colour, texture, and scale” (ibid). Kowhaiwhai also allowed the traditional Māori artist “to paint a wide diversity of designs of great interest and vitality” (ibid). At another level Tovey reports that most pitau designs flow along a continuous and undulating line, which symbolises for Māori “the mystery of the ever-developing and eternal life spirit of man” (ibid).

David Simmons

As with Mead’s account, the two levels of meaning provided by Simmons pertains specifically to whakairo (woodcarving). At one level, genealogical affiliations are provided, and denote specific tribal links, as follows:

Where the paramount descent line is through a male this is shown by a double spiral; where it is female a single spiral is used. On carved figures, the spirals are usually placed on the shoulders and buttocks. Important *ariki* (chiefs) have genealogical lines from more than one tribe, thus each will have a unique combination of tribal affiliations. Therefore, a carving may be identified genealogically to the point where only one named chief can be intended. This system is to be found on carvings made by *tobunga* (experts) trained in the whare wananga.

⁶ In contrast to Paama-Pengelly’s statement, the journals of the Archdeacon Herbert Williams’ (in Neich, 1993) suggest the Te Pitau-a-Manaia design was not introduced until 1849, during the construction of the Manutuke Church in Poverty Bay.

(Simmons 1985:17)

However, the second level of meaning relates to mythological thought and the way in which spiritual and material aspects of life are connected:

Mythological symbolism is less direct, as the ideas it conveys derive from the way in which Māori people see the world as a unified whole, the spiritual and material aspects of which are interwoven and dependent on each other. The mental landscape portrayed by the mythology is the essence of being Māori.

(Simmons 1985:17).

Roger Neich

Neich notes that the missionary and botanist William Colenso (1811–1899) was not only struck by the pure form and “desire and labour after the beautiful” in kowhaiwhai design, but was also mindful of its deeper cultural associations (Neich 1993:35). In this respect Neich draws on the work of Roland Barthes and the distinction between denotational and connotational meaning, to conceptualise two levels of meaning in Māori art and design as follows:

Māori art has limited denotative meaning but a wide, rich field of connotative meaning, which finds its reference in the total cultural ideology. Thus the signifieds of denotation are the few limited meanings that can be obtained by direct questioning, while the signifieds of connotation require a familiarity with the cultural ideology for their appreciation.

(Neich 1993:36)

In this regard, many early European commentators rarely penetrated the surface of denoted meanings. Neich (1993:36) reports that this was reinforced by the fact that connotative meanings were generally known unconsciously and taught only via the esoteric teachings of tohunga (priestly experts). However, in considering

the placement of kowhaiwhai within the overall scheme of the meeting house (figures 8.46 - 8.51), Neich views its chief connotation as relating to ideas of genealogy and descent as follows:

Kowhaiwhai is regularly painted along the ridgepole (tahu or tahuhu) and down the rafters (heke) In symbolic terms, the ridgepole, or tahu, is equated with the tahu of a tribal genealogy, which refers to the stock ancestors of a tribe, listed in a single main descent line beginning with the founding ancestor ... In symbolic terms, the rafter may be equated with lines of descent or with the migrations of ancestors, both recognised meanings of the work 'heke'. Therefore, in the total symbolic scheme of the house, the eponymous ancestor at the front apex is linked by unbroken lines of descent to the subsidiary ancestors lining the wall, via the direct line of the tahu and the branching lines of the heke, all painted with the continuously flowing curves of kowhaiwhai.

(Neich 1993:38)

In denotational terms Neich (1993:33) describes how the names of various kowhaiwhai designs describe features of flora and fauna such as the aotea (bird, species of thistle), atirere (a sea fish), hikuaua (herring tail), kowhai (tree of genus *Sophora* with yellow flowers, mangopare (hammerhead shark), patiki (flatfish or flounder), rautawa (leaf of tawa, a large forest tree) rengarenga (a species of lily with curved and hairy anthers) and pitau (a young shoot of a fern frond). Along with Paama-Pengelly (2010) he mentions the distinctive puhoro kowhaiwhai design particular to the Te Arawa tribe, also tattooed on the thighs of men and carved on the underside of waka taua. However, rather than associating puhoro with speed and dexterity as Paama-Pengelly does, Neich states it has been suggested the word 'puhoro' has maritime associations (bad weather, stormy, method of rolling sails) relating to its carved origin on the underside of war canoe prows.

Along with Paama-Pengelly, Neich also points out the mythological association of designs including te pitau-a-manaia and rauru. Although Paama-Pengelly references Neich's work, the latter provides a more extensive commentary, and argues that the small number of kowhaiwhai designs with mythological links including Mauipare (relating to Maui), Manamanaia (relating to Manaia) and Matauranga (relating to knowledge) are in contrast to the large number relating to the natural world. This, Neich contends, provides evidence of the ongoing elaboration of kowhaiwhai meanings in particular (1993:34).

In this regard neither denotational nor connotational meanings remain static, and both representational and symbolic meanings have changed as a result of new affiliations, ideologies and politics. Neich describes how from the late 1870s onwards the marae complex as a whole, including meeting houses, demonstrate a shift away from the architectural ordering of spatial relationships and symbolisation of the traditional Māori cosmos towards expressions of group identity based on a more recent past. Such expressions deal with the distinctions between local tribal identities, religious affiliations, identity in relation to Pākehā, and the activities of the Māori Land Court (1993:148). Likewise the denotational meaning of the individual design elements of kowhaiwhai has changed to the extent that the koru motif is increasingly associated with that of the pitau and the unfolding of plant growth, rather than flora and fauna such as birds, fish and other plants as mentioned above.

Rawinia Higgins

The manner in which social, political and religious change is reflected in Māori art is also considered by Higgins in her 2004 PhD thesis *The Identity Politics of Moko Kauae*⁷. Discussing the development of moko kauae, Higgins lists four time periods where moko kauae both influenced and were influenced by societal and technological change. Higgins views the political periods of 1840-1890 and the 1970s onwards as particularly significant in terms of Māori identity, resulting in the increased popularity of moko kauae (Higgins 2004:106).

⁷ Moko kauae refers to the chin tattoos of Māori women.

In particular, Higgins argues that the popularity of moko kauae is strongly linked with iwi who had their lands confiscated. Here she draws on the work of Michael King (1992) who interviewed elderly women from Waikato and Tuhoe, who shared a history of the devastating impacts of colonisation, including the confiscation of their tribal lands (Higgins 2004:106). The following table is reproduced from Higgins thesis (2004:105-106), and the moko kauae designs below from King's book titled *Moko: Maori tattooing in the 20th century* (1992).

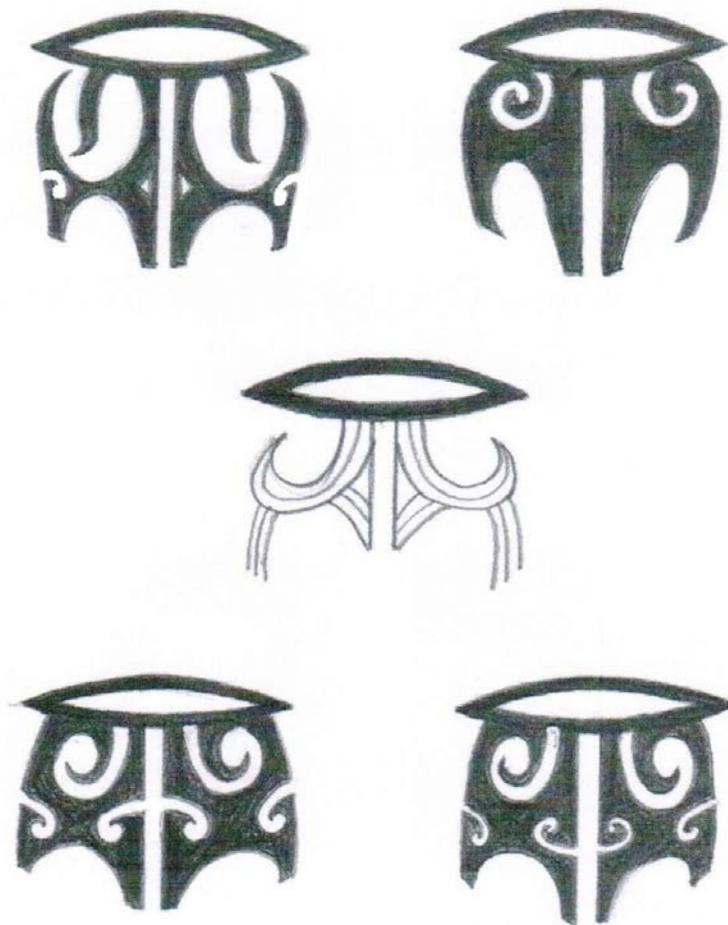


Figure 8.42 Five moko kauae designs recorded by Michael King (1992). Top left: Ngira design used by Taiwera in Te Urewera. Top right: A common pattern used by Raro Aterea of Tūhoe. Middle: A common uhi design used by Te Hokotahi of Tūhoe. Bottom left and right: Ngira design used in Te Urewera (and other places) showing a slight variation in the central design. Hand drawn by Kyung Hwa Kang, after King (1992).

Table 8.1 The influences of moko kauae development

	Up to circa 1830s	Circa 1840 - 1890s	Circa 1900s–1950s (Kuia moko period)	1970s - (Renaissance of moko kauae)
The influence of Pākehā culture				
Strength of moko kauae				
Societal changes	<p>Iwi autonomy with clearly defined land boundaries.</p> <p>Political structures focus on the hapū.</p> <p>Pakeha settlers begin their demands for land.</p>	<p>The Treaty of Waitangi is signed in 1840.</p> <p>Whānau, hapū and iwi structures are threatened with increased demands for land.</p> <p>A rise in Māori Nationalism is called for to address these demands with moves to unify tribes.</p> <p>Land alienation due to confiscation and the Land Court occurs.</p>	<p>Māori whānau, hapū and iwi continue fighting against the alienation of their land.</p> <p>These structures are threatened further with the rural-urban drift.</p> <p>This undermines the strength of hapū based Māori society as members move to the cities.</p> <p>For many Māori their link to their whānau, hapū and iwi are severed.</p>	<p>Whānau, hapū and iwi continue to have a place in Māori society.</p> <p>Birth of the Māori renaissance: raising of political consciousness through Māori political movements such as Nga Tama Toa, Māori Land March, 1987 Māori Language Act, establishment of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wananga</p> <p>The Waitangi Tribunal is introduced to hear grievances that occurred to Māori. However, all lands that were confiscated are not returned to the whānau, hapū or iwi.</p> <p>Urban Māori form an identity in the cities.</p>

Table continued over page

	Up to circa 1830s	Circa 1840 - 1890s	Circa 1900s–1950s (Kuia moko period)	1970s - (Renaissance of moko kauae)
The influence of Pākehā culture				
Strength of moko kauae				
Technological changes	Bone uhi	Bone and metal uhi	Metal uhi and needles	Tattoo machine
Design changes	Simple lines, including crosses	A defined design, basic moko kauae patterns emerges as a standard design	More defined design with experimental variations on the basic moko kauae pattern. A standardised pattern maintained.	Elaborate designs that have evolved from the basic moko kauae pattern used in the previous period. More Individuality
Reasons for moko kauae	An expression of a woman's status within her whānau, hapū and iwi. This excludes those women who were of the highest rank as they would be too tapu.	An expression of Māori identity in light of moves towards Māori nationalism.	A reclaimed expression of hapū identity as a means of retaining a unique Māori identity within a Pākehā society.	An expression identity as a means of reclaiming the past in a modern global society.

The above table has been reproduced (with permission) from Rawinia Higgins PhD thesis (2004), pages 104-105.

The above table illustrates how the two spheres of societal and technological change have influenced both the design and expression of moko kauae, and in turn how moko kauae has influenced societal and political change. This sociological approach provides an apt link between Neich's approach above and Allan Hanson's structural line of reasoning which follows.



Figure 8.43 Five kowhaiwhai designs, drawn in ink in 1890 by Herbert William (Bishop), 1860-1937. Published in *Māori Art* by Augustus Hamilton (1998/1898). Designs: Not named (22), Puhoro (23 & 24), Not named (28), Mangopare/Ngoru (29) (in Phillips 1960, Neich, 1996). ID E-331-f-022/023/024/028/029, Reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.



Figure 8.44 Twelve kowhaiwhai designs, drawn in ink in 1890 by Herbert William (Bishop), 1860-1937. Published in *Māori Art* by Augustus Hamilton (1998/1898). Designs: Te Pitau-a-Manaia (1), Puhoro? (2), Mangopare (3), Kowhaiwhai kape rua (4), Ngutukura (5), Mangotipi (6), Kowhai ngutukaka (7, 8 & 9), Patiki (10), Not named (11 & 12) (in Phillips 1960, Neich, 1996). ID E-331-f-001 – 012. Reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**,



Figure 8.45 Twelve kowhaiwhai designs, drawn in ink in 1890 by Herbert William (Bishop), 1860-1937. Published in *Māori Art* by Augustus Hamilton (1998/1898). Designs: Ngutukaka (13 & 14), Rautawa/Rauru (15), Koiri (16), Mangotipi/Mangoroa (17), Koiri (18), Maui (19 & 20), Not named (21), Mangopare (25), Ngutukura (26), Not named (27) (in Phillips 1960, Neich, 1996). ID E-331-f-013– 027, reproduced with permission: **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

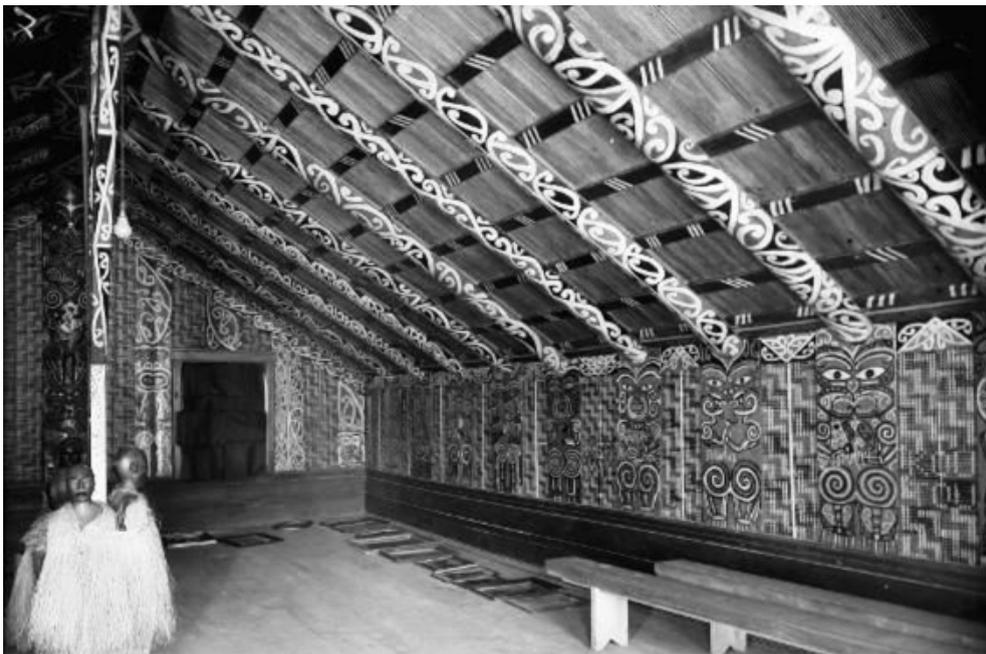


Figure 8.46 (top) Kowhaiwhai and carvings, Mana-o-Turanga meeting house on Manutuke Marae, at Manutuke, Gisborne area, taken in 1948, ID: 1/2-101018-G, **Figure 8.47** (bottom) Meeting house interior at Muriwai, Gisborne, showing kowhaiwhai, date of photograph and photographer unknown, possibly circa 1910, ID: 1/2-051480-G, reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

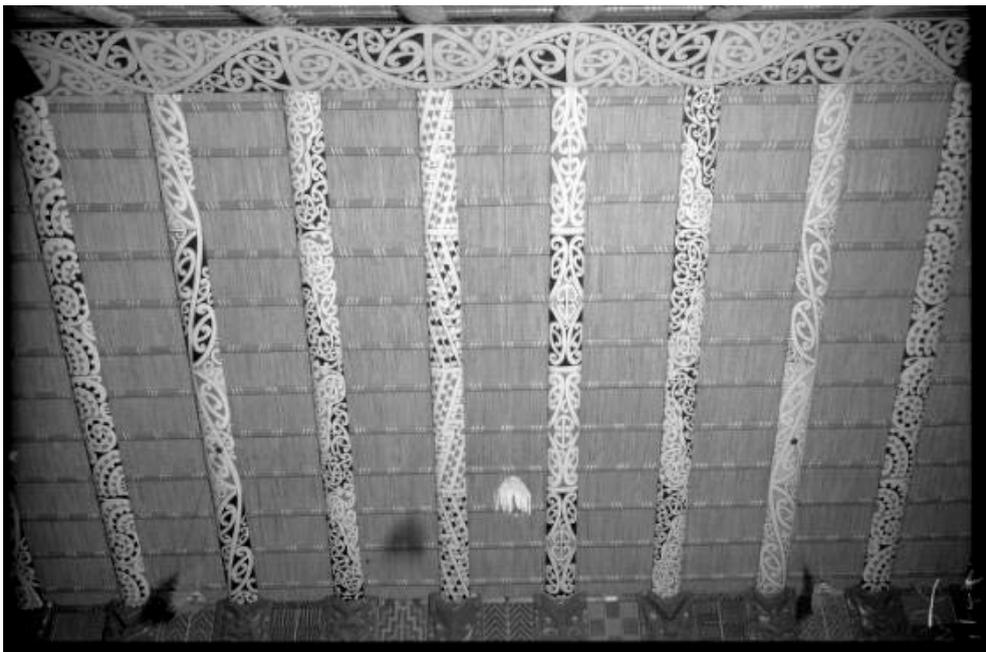


Figure 8.48 (top) Kowhaiwhai panels inside Te Rauru meeting house at Whakarewarewa. Taken by an unidentified photographer, circa 1910. ID: PAColl-5671-32. **Figure 8.49** (bottom) Kowhaiwhai panels on ceiling inside Takitimu meeting house in Wairoa, taken circa 1920s by an unidentified photographer, ID: 1/2-051517-G, reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

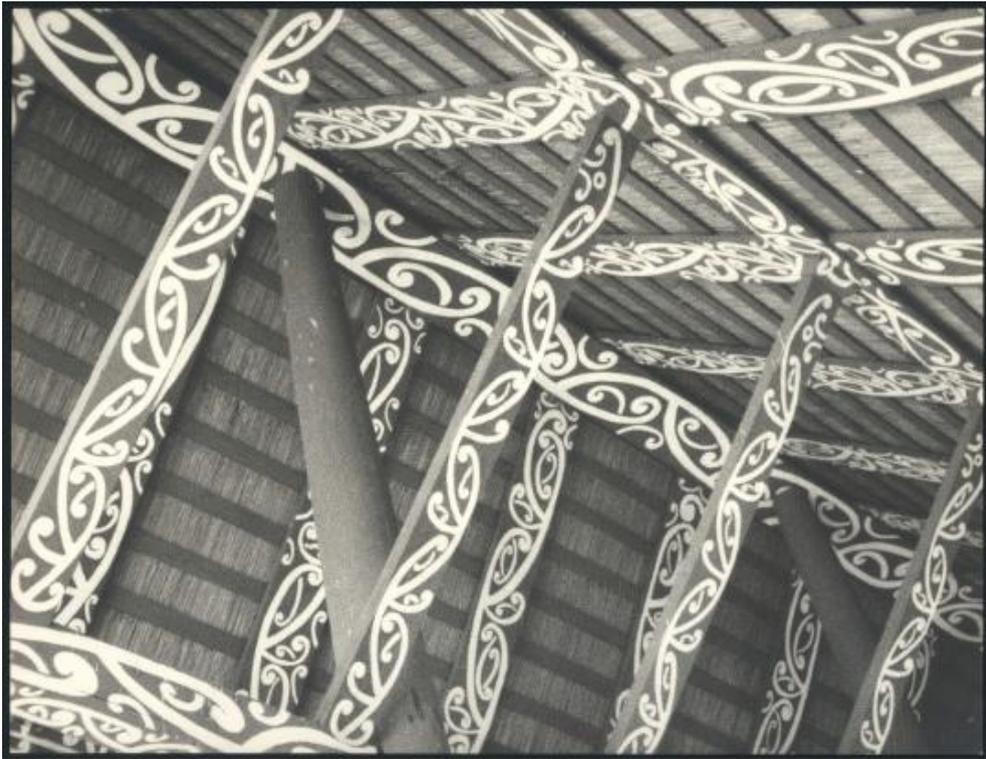


Figure 8.50 (top) Kowhaiwhai panels in an unidentified meeting house, photographed by Farmer McDonald circa 1940, ID: PAColl-9832-1-13. **Figure 8.51** (bottom) Kowhaiwhai panels on the rafters of Tamatekapua meeting house at Ohinemutu, circa 1940, photographed by John Dobree Pascoe, ID 1/4-001699-F. Reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

Section Three

Māori art as a construction of reality – Allan Hanson

Allan Hanson's 1983 article 'Art and the Māori Construction of Reality' is of particular significance to this discussion, as it reflects elements of both Bollas' and Jameson's work, outlined in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. Hanson does not refer to either Bollas or Jameson during this article, and his work does not align with either Bollas' or Jameson's interest in the 'unconscious life' of cultural objects or artefacts. Nevertheless, Hanson's argues that during the early European contact period, Māori art communicates messages about the quality of life and world, the symmetry and asymmetry of the overall structure of the artwork. This reflects both Bollas' and Jameson's attention to the structure of art and other cultural objects.

In this regard Hanson's article differs from the commentaries outlined in section one and two above, where the meaning of Māori art is posited in connotational and denotational terms. Instead, Hanson is of the view that the subject matter of Māori art is less significant than its formal organisation (Hanson 1983:213).

The messages it [Māori art] communicates are to be found in shapes or forms understood neither as esoteric symbols nor as pictures of things in the world outside art, but as creating through their juxtaposition certain formal structures ... The significance I will claim for these formal structures is that they shape the reality as it was known by the Māoris.

(Hanson 1983:213)

Drawing from the work of the British anthropologist Mary Douglas, Hanson argues that art and artists depict not simply 'the world' but a certain *image* of the world as defined by one's culture and self. Hanson also draws from Levi-Strauss' concept of bricolage, and looks at the way meaning is created through particular organisations and juxtapositions of everyday things and concepts. In doing so, Hanson emphasises, as Bollas and Jameson do, that art is capable not only of

communicating our culturally defined image of reality, but also the emotional aspects of such a reality; that is, how such a reality *feels* (Hanson 1983:211).

In considering the role of the artist, Hanson states that that the artist does not only reinforce received values and conventional views of the world, but also acts as an advocate of change (1984:211).

As Jean Duvignaud has said (p.29), art is not concerned exactly with the external world but with the world as 'it has been twice transformed – once by society and again by the artist'. If the artist did not accomplish the first transformation it is not likely that he would succeed in communicating to his audience. But there is no requirement that he endorse the culturally defined view of reality as established in the first transformation. The second transformation is the artist's personal commentary on the first transformation; it may be praise, selective and constructive criticism, ridicule, impassioned negation, or any number of other reactions. Hence, the artist's role in society is magnified.

(Hanson 1984:211)

As with Jameson, Hanson raises the possibility that the artist may not necessarily be aware of the meaning of their art. Hanson explains this in terms of the difference between the artist *knowing* the meaning of their work, and them *being able to verbally state* that meaning (Hanson 1983:223). Quoting the anthropologist Anthony Forge, Hanson writes:

If we allow art to be a communication system independent of words, indeed essentially separate from words, the inability or reluctance of our informants to verbalize about what they have produced becomes immediately understandable.

(Forge 1979, quoted in Hanson (1983:224)).

Here, Hanson clarifies the distinction between 'language' and 'code', made by Colin Cherry (1966). He posits that "a language is a vocabulary of signs and a set

of rules for their use, while a code is a transformation by which messages can be converted from one language to another” (Hanson 1983:223). Therefore, a message can be cast in a language (by the artist), and a code used to translate messages from one language to another (by someone such as Hanson). It is via Cherry’s distinction between language and code that Hanson examines Māori art of the late 18th century and early 19th century (during the early period of European contact) and puts forward the view that:

[A] recurrent formal structure in Māori art is bilateral symmetry broken by elements of asymmetry [this] broken bilateral symmetry is the ‘shape of reality’ as known by the traditional Maoris a language of form to communicate messages about the *quality* of life and the world [this] fundamental quality or reality is ambivalent tension – between identity and difference, attraction and repulsion, union and separation.

(Hanson 1983:215)

Hanson regards the kowhaiwhai pattern (which primarily comprises koru motifs) created during the European contact period, and shown in figure 8.52 and 8.53 as an especially eloquent statement of this tension. Viewed in terms of how the patterns organise space, Hanson draws attention to the way in which the patterns are studies in bilateral symmetry of virtually mathematical precision. While some patterns demonstrate mirror reflection across a longitudinal axis, latitudinal axis or both, (figures 8.52 a – c) other patterns manifest bi-fold rotation across one or more axes (figure 8.52 d). Other patterns are organised according to slide reflection where a form and its mirror image alternative along a line figure 8.53e-f).

The structure of the main umbrella-like motifs is slide reflection But in this case the small koru along the edges of the pattern do not fit that structure. They pass into each other with the operation of bifold rotation. Hence, no single analysis of the pattern is possible. Some parts of it create one structure and other parts of it another. This is the quality of ambivalent tension between identity and difference of union and

separation which I think characterises the Māori view of the world: things which are drawn together are also drawn apart. Indeed, they may diverge in some ways precisely *because* they merge in others.

(Hanson 1983:216)



Figure 8.52 Kowhaiwhai designs drawn in ink in 1890 by Herbert William (Bishop), 1860-1937. Published in *Māori Art* by Augustus Hamilton (1998/1898). Designs: Un-named (a), Pataki (b), Maui (c), Mangotipi (d). ID E-331-f-001 – 028, Reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.



Figure 8.53 Kowhaiwhai designs drawn in ink in 1890 by Herbert William (Bishop), 1860-1937. Published in *Māori Art* by Augustus Hamilton (1998/1898). Designs: Ngutukura (e), Un-named (f), Mangopare (g). ID E-331-f-001 – 028, Reproduced with permission from **Alexander Turnbull Library**.

Although the likes of stockade carvings, combs and hei tiki are mainly asymmetrical, Hanson argues the overwhelming majority of Māori art is structured in terms of bilateral symmetry. This includes ta moko, pare (carved door lintels), the thresholds and facades of pataka (carved storehouses), carved funnels, bailers and taiaha (clubs), feather cloaks, taniko weaving and tukutuku wall panel designs. Of particular significance, for Hanson, is the fact that the symmetry is disrupted in some way. For example, the symmetry of kowhaiwhai patterns may be broken by the non-symmetrical use of red and black, minute variations in the direction of a koru or the use small figures that randomly break the main outline of a kowhaiwhai pattern (Hanson 1983:214-215).

Likewise the symmetry in woodcarving is broken by the use of asymmetrical designs and interstitial carving where the main structure is symmetrical, just as the male facial moko is invariably asymmetrical in front of and below the ears and sometimes in the centre of the forehead and on the chin (Hanson 1983:215). As such, Hanson argues that the messages of Māori art are communicated by formal structures that reflect the shape of the world as they view it (ibid).

Asserting that art is merely one of the many institutions that communicate messages about a culture's image of reality, Hanson looks to mythology, songs and the relations between gender to strengthen his argument that an ambivalent tension between identity and difference characterised the worldview of Māori during the late 18th century and early 19th century. Interestingly, Hanson does not state if or how this worldview of Māori was altered or changed as a result of European contact. As he also studied the myths, gender relations, and songs of Māori, as well as their artwork, it is assumed that the formal structures that he notes preceded European contact, rather than being formed in response to European contact.

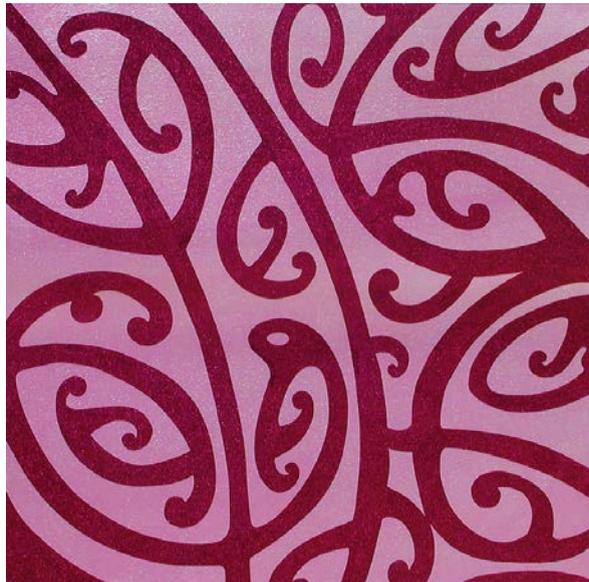
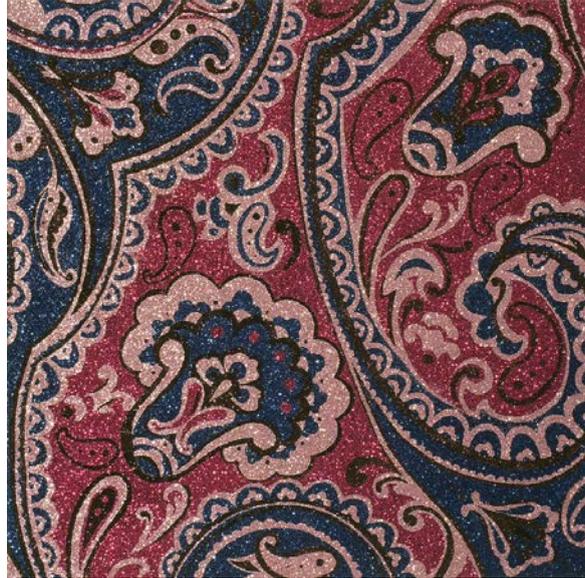
The key point that Hanson does put forward, however, is that works of art are a message about the nature of reality, and "one of the means whereby the world as it is construed in a particular culture is represented to members of society" (Hanson 1983:223). The argument put forward by Jameson and Levi-Strauss', regarding the

facial art of the Mbayá tribe, is not dissimilar to Hanson's argument, although unlike Jameson, Hanson does not suggest that such works are also capable of providing an ideological and utopian response to unresolved problems that such a society faces. Nor does Hanson follow Bollas' lead and suggest that Māori art or cultural objects function in a transformational or evocative object manner. However, Hanson's argument does share with Bollas and Jameson, the viewpoint that the structure, framework or formal organisation of an artwork or cultural object can be as significant, if not *more* significant, than the subject matter or contents of the artwork. Hanson also calls attention to the ability of art to communicate directly with the emotions, and therefore represent not only the culturally defined image of reality, but also how that reality *feels*.

My own response, to the many customary works of Māori art that I have viewed for the purpose of this thesis, is one of captivation. This is not dissimilar to the sense of enthrallment I *feel* towards the koru motif when displayed in a contemporary context. This is linked to Bollas' suggestion that certain objects function as evocative objects that induce a feeling of subjective rapport with the object, and that the structure of those objects compel the viewer to think about or see things in a different manner. My subjective response to these works of art can also be considered in light of Jameson's argument that images which have an 'energy' to them, harbour a utopian impulse or fantasy about an ideal society that satisfies us in a way that are prevented by the restrictions of our present society.

Hanson's argument, and the viewpoints put forward by Mead, Paama-Pengelly, Tovey, Simmons, Neich, and Higgins, all provide important material that relates to the use of the koru motif in customary Māori artwork. However, it is not my intention to make an argument about what the koru motif does and does not communicate within customary or contemporary Māori society. Thus, in the following section which provides illustrations of the koru motif in contemporary Māori artwork I do not provide any written commentary about the works in question, except for reference purposes. Instead, I leave the reader to enjoy the rich visual vitality of contemporary Māori art.

Section Four Contemporary Māori artists

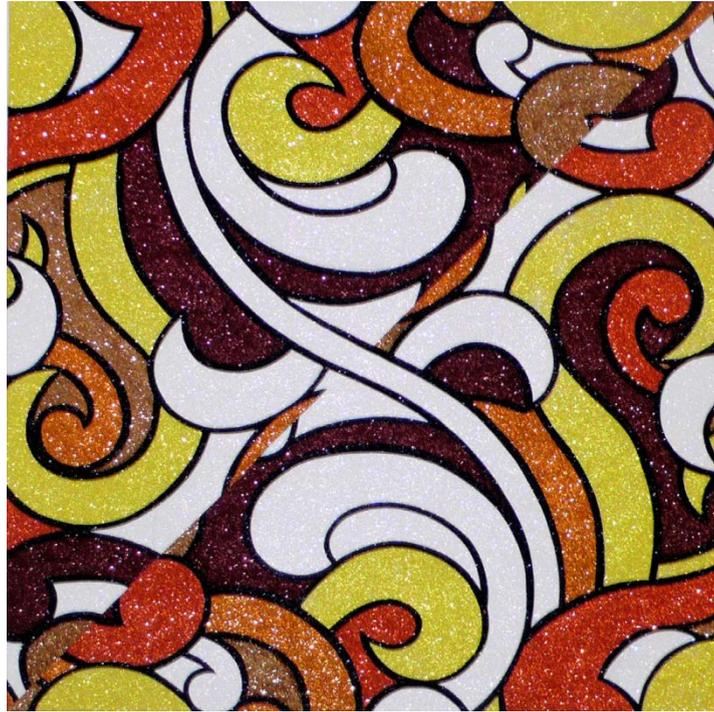


Artist: **Reuben Paterson** (Ngati Rangitihī/ Ngai Tuhoe)

Figure 8.54 (top) *I'm not from India but I'd love to go*, 2003, Glitter on canvas, 760 x 760 mm

Figure 8.55 (bottom): *The Kōkōwau and the Waipipiha*, 2001, Glitter on canvas, 1720 x 1720 mm

Reproduced with permission from the artist.

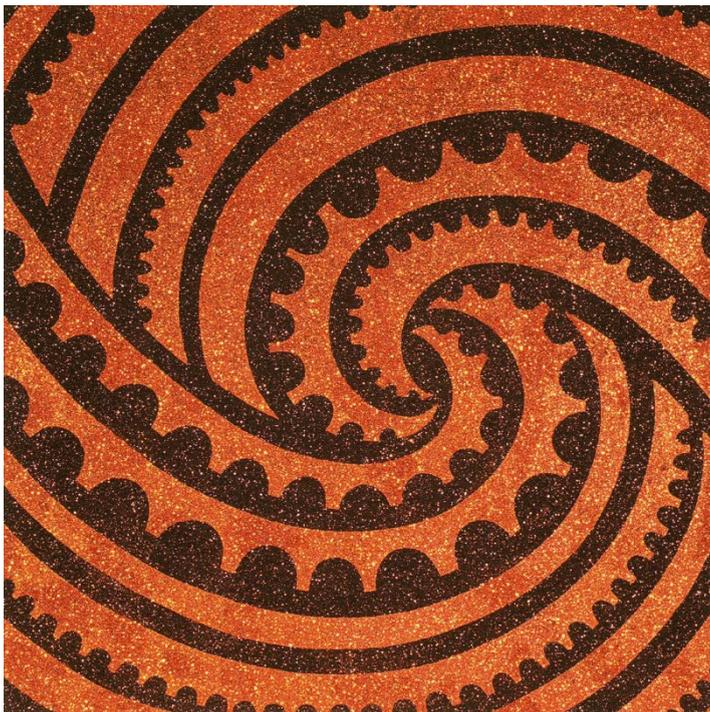


Artist: **Reuben Paterson** (Ngati Rangitihī/ Ngai Tuhoe)

Figure 8.56 (top): *Love with Tons of Fire*, 2007, Glitter on canvas, 9015 x 9015 mm

Figure 8.57 (bottom): *The Very Voice of His Solitude*, 2007, " " 1015 x 1015 mm

Reproduced with permission from the artist.



Artist: **Reuben Paterson** (Ngati Rangitihī/ Ngai Tuhoe)

Figure 8.58 (top): *When I Fall to Pieces*, 2007, Glitter on canvas, 760 x 760 mm

Figure 8.59 (bottom): *The Māori and the Mini*, 2004, Glitter on canvas, 452 x 452 mm. Reproduced with permission from the artist.



Figure 8.60 Artist: **Reuben Paterson** (Ngati Rangitihi/ Ngai Tuhoe)
Title: *Whakapapa: get down upon your knees*, 2009, Glitter and synthetic, Polymer on canvas, 800 x 800 cm
Reproduced with permission from the artist.



Figure 8.61 Artist: **Reuben Paterson** (Ngati Rangitihī/ Ngai Tuhoē)
Title: *The Wharenni that dad Built*, 2001, Glitter on canvas, 1720 x 1720 mm
Reproduced with permission from the artist.



Figure 8.62 Colin Cook (iwi: Ngapuhi, hapu: Kapotai)
 Photographer: **Saffron Photography** Date: 2011
 Artists: **Te Rangitu Netana** (Ngapuhi, Ngati Wai, Te Arawa)
Cory Weir (Samoan tatau artist, shoulder and chest plates)
 Reproduced with permission from Colin Cook.



Figure 8.63
Title:
Media: Print

Artist: **Shane Hansen** (Ngati Hine, Ngati Mahunga)
Tui Aotearoa Date: 2009
Type: Screenprint Dimensions: 560 x 375 mm
Reproduced with permission from the artist.

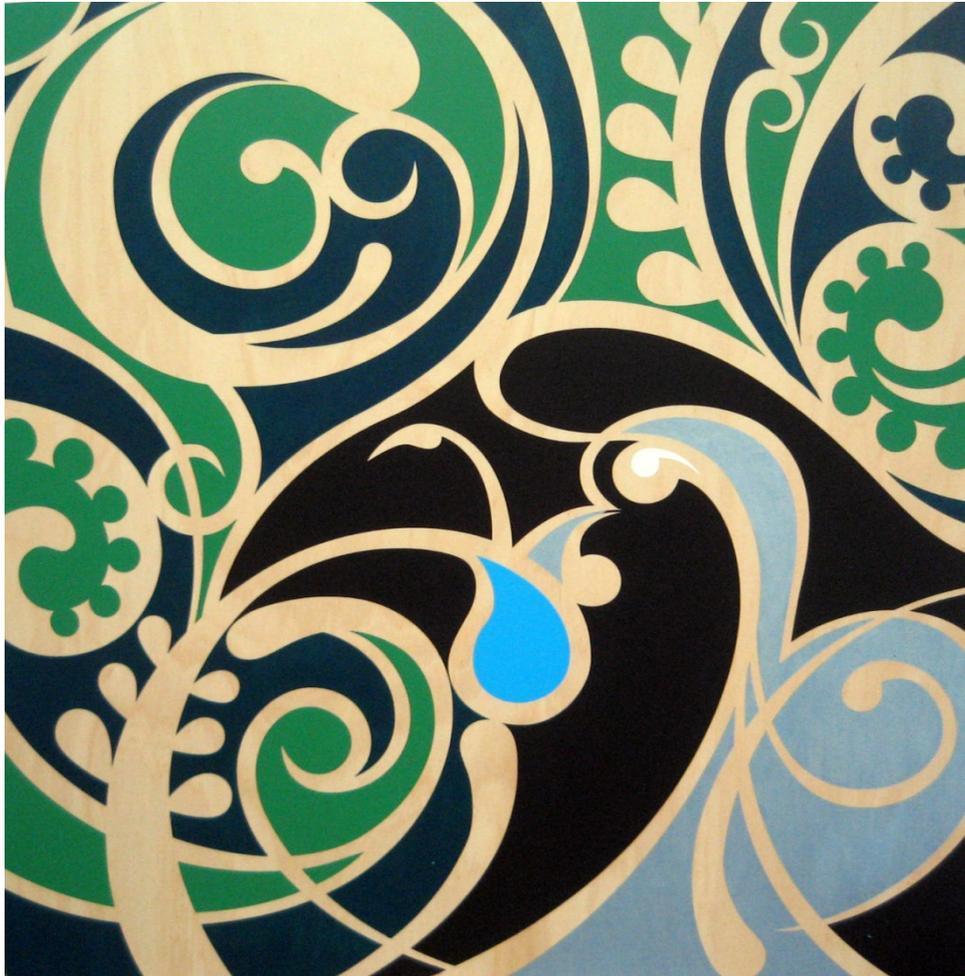


Figure 8.64
Title:
Media: Painting

Artist: **Shane Hansen** (Ngati Hine, Ngati Mahunga)
Kokako Date: 2009
Type: Acrylic Dimensions: 800 x 800 mm
Reproduced with permission from the artist.



Figure 8.65
Title:
Media: Painting

Artist: **Shane Hansen** (Ngati Hine, Ngati Mahunga)
Kereru Date: 2010
Type: Acrylic Dimensions: 800 x 800 mm
Reproduced with permission from the artist.

Chapter Nine

The koru motif as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand

Data sets 1 – 10 and stage one of analysis

Introduction

Whereas as the two previous chapters discussed the use and meaning of spiral and koru-like motifs beyond Aotearoa New Zealand (Chapter Seven) and in customary and contemporary Māori society (Chapter Eight), this chapter presents ten data sets which illustrate the use of the koru motif as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is the first objective of this chapter, and is set out in part one of the chapter. The second objective of this chapter is to undertake the first stage of analysis of the data. This involves analysis of the manifest content of the ten sets, and is undertaken in part two of the chapter.

Part one – the data (stage one)

The ten data sets which follow consist of images, and written material which provide background information relating to the images. As a means of distinguishing between the visual and written data, I refer to the images in each data set as the ‘image set’ and to the written material which accompanies the image set as the ‘text set’. When referring to both the ‘image set’ and the ‘text set’ I use the term ‘data set’. To further differentiate between ‘image sets’ and ‘text sets’ I use numerals (i.e. 1, 2, 3) when referring to the image set, but type the word for the numeral (i.e. one, two, three) when referring to the text set. The ten data sets in this chapter illustrate the use of koru motifs that express a direct connection with national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In most of these instances it has

been possible to obtain written material that provides background information about the use of the koru motif in this context.

The data sets are presented in the following order:

1. Presentation of image set.
2. Presentation of reference table following each image set
3. Presentation of text set describing what has been written about the koru motif displayed in the preceding image set.

One further point relates to the lack of supporting text on the pages where the image sets are presented. While the conventions for a dissertation call for a number, title and reference information to accompany such material, I have chosen to leave these pages as bare of text as possible, and to merely include the number of the image set. This enables the reader to view the images without the interruption or distraction of written material and to therefore support the images being viewed in an aesthetic (i.e. sensitivity to the creative aspects of the image) rather than cognitive manner (i.e. conscious intellectual thought). As noted above, I present the reference material for the images in a table which follows each image set. On the following page I begin the presentation of my data with arguably one of the most recognised koru motifs, the Air New Zealand logo.

This image has been removed for copyright reasons

This image has been removed for copyright reasons



Image set 1a



Image set 1b

Data set one: The Air New Zealand koru

Table 9.1: Information relating to image set 1 on preceding page

Image	Description	Reference
1a Top	Design elements of current Air New Zealand koru design	Coulson, 1998:23
1a Middle	Air New Zealand baggage label, 2011	Author's collection
1a Bottom	Air New Zealand Logo on directory board at Tom Pearce Drive, Manukau, Auckland.	Photo by author, 2012
1b Top	Air New Zealand logos on plane and building at Auckland International Airport, Manukau, Auckland.	Photo by author, 2012
1b Bottom	New Air New Zealand "All Black" logo and livery on plane at Auckland International Airport, Manukau, Auckland.	Photo by author, 2012

Text associated with image set 1

At the nationwide and global level the Air New Zealand logo, seen on the tail of its aircraft since 1973, is arguably the most recognised koru logo. Designer Michael Smythe notes how the marking of aircraft as 'our own' has also included placing the kiwi at the centre of the Royal New Zealand Air Force roundel and the use of the godwit as the emblem of the earlier domestic National Airways Corporation. Tasman Empire Airways Ltd (TEAL) also used a stylised maroro (a flying fish) as its emblem, before renaming itself Air New Zealand in 1965 (Smythe 2007:87). Smythe goes on to report that in 1970 Air New Zealand briefed a number of advertising agencies to creatively consider a new promotional image. While Dailey and Associates from Los Angeles recommended retaining the blues and greens used by TEAL, Grant Advertising International from Hong Kong recommended a strong, simple modern Air New Zealand symbol that promoted the story of the Great Canoes from Māori culture (ibid).

At a local level, the Wellington office of Dobbs Wiggins McCann Erickson regarded the critical audience as comprising of New Zealanders and the New Zealand government. Putting forward the argument for a Māori motif they stressed the “emerging nationalistic feeling and pride in the rich Māori part of our history” (Smythe 2007:87). While Smythe regards their pitch as somewhat cavalier in its attitude toward Māori imagery, Air New Zealand management nevertheless accepted the consensus for a Pacific theme. At this point Roundhill Studios in Wellington was briefed and the studio artists Ken Chapman and Tony Elliot developed the current logo (ibid). Smythe states that while concerns around cultural appropriation have since been raised by a number of Māori, Air New Zealand argues their acknowledgement of Polynesian heritage has been completely respectful and the result of a thorough and professional process (ibid).

Further to this, Shelley Crawford from Public Affairs and Communications at Air New Zealand (Crawford 2011, personal communication) states the koru symbol was approved by a Māori committee including race relations conciliator Harry Dansey (Ngati Tuwharetoa, Te Arawa). Crawford provides further details regarding the Air Zealand logo as follows:

The Koru that has been developed for Air New Zealand and has a combination of meanings: the growth of the new fronds on the fern representing everlasting regeneration; and ‘Mango Pare’ – the name for the hammerhead shark, an icon representing strength, speed and power. These combine to represent us in a strong and spiritual way. Technically the meaning of a true ‘Koru’ is different from what represents Air New Zealand, but it is still a symbol of cultural value. Therefore it needs the added respect a cultural icon demands.

....

The airline also has the blessing of Māori to describe the mark as a "Koru" although the mark actually represents "Mango Pare" - the Māori name for

hammerhead shark, an icon itself recognised as a symbol of strength, speed and power.

(Crawford, 2011)

More recently the Air New Zealand koru appeared in a video advertisement issued by the Labour Party. The video highlights the intention of the National Party government to privatise some state assets including its 76% share in Air New Zealand. The Chief Executive Officer of Air New Zealand, Rob Fyfe, was concerned about Labour's use of the Air New Zealand koru and " ... the irreverent representation of our beloved Koru, which in my view denigrated and debased a symbol that has enormous meaning not just to the people of Air New Zealand but to New Zealanders ... " (Fyfe, 2011). Fyfe mentions his letter to the leader of the Labour Party, Phil Goff, in an Air New Zealand staff newsletter, as follows:

From: Internal Communications

Sent: Friday, 28 October 2011 4:02 p.m.

To: !staff updates

Subject: CEO MESSAGE: 28 October 2011

....

Back in New Zealand, we now swing into full election mode with polling day just four weeks away. Political hoardings are popping up all over the place, but it was with some concern that **I was alerted to a Labour Party campaign television commercial that unfortunately misuses our Koru symbol. The Koru is one of New Zealand's most beloved icons and yesterday I personally wrote to Labour Leader Phil Goff asking that it not be denigrated in this way:**

Dear Phil

An Air New Zealander alerted me to a 3News story broadcast yesterday that highlighted some of Labour's forthcoming election advertising, which includes a play on asset sales and drawing a link to Air New Zealand. While I totally accept and understand that the partial sale of State owned assets is a legitimate focus for political debate during the forthcoming campaign, **I was concerned by the irreverent representation of our beloved Koru, which in my view denigrated and debased a symbol that has enormous meaning not just to the people of Air New Zealand but to New Zealanders.**

The Koru carries considerable equity that is the result of decades of work by tens of thousands of New Zealanders at home and in overseas markets and hundreds of millions of dollars of brand investment and advertising. It is arguably the most recognised corporate brand in New Zealand and New Zealand's most recognised corporate brand overseas. As such we are at pains to protect its integrity and value and have very strict guidelines for its use that have been developed in consultation with Māori and brand management experts.

In the case of the advertisement that was highlighted in the 3News story, the Koru has been used facing in the wrong direction, a move clearly designed for production purposes so the visual treatment of the ad works with the script. **The context of the Koru's use as a symbol to provoke political controversy is in conflict with the core meaning of the Koru and denigrates and debases a symbol that we cherish, and one I believe all New Zealanders cherish. Furthermore, having the letters ASS in caps precede the Koru is, in my view, disrespectful to the brand** and all those who have worked to give it the strength and resonance it has globally today.

I would ask that the advertisement featuring the Koru is not used in its current form, or at a minimum the creative treatment is amended so as to **not denigrate and debase this brand symbol that has transcended generations and symbolises our future hopes and aspirations.**

Yours sincerely

Rob Fyfe

Chief Executive Officer

(Fyfe, 2011, emphasis added)

The image below shows a freeze-framed shot from the video:



(3 News, 2011) ¹

It is apparent that for Air New Zealand the branding of the koru motif represents a significant aspect of the organisation's identity. This is also apparent in many of the other image sets presented in this chapter. However in the following image set the koru motif is a much less obvious component of the logo; nevertheless it provides a strong connection to the notion of national identity. I now turn to the logo that represents the national museum of Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa.

¹ The video can be viewed via the following link: <http://www.3news.co.nz/Labour-should-change-election-ad---Air-NZ/tabid/370/articleID/231064/Default.aspx>

TE PAPA
OUR PLACE



Image set 2

Data set two: The Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa

Table 9.2: Information relating to image set 2 on preceding page

Image	Description	Reference
Left side	Official Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand logo	Te Papa Tongarewa, 2011, reproduced with permission.
Top right hand	Entrance to Te Papa Tongarewa off Cable Street in Wellington	Photo by author, 2011
Bottom right hand	Close up of Te Papa logo near to main entrance of the building	Photo by author, 2011

Text associated with image set 2

In 1997 the Museum of New Zealand launched a new brand identity featuring the name Te Papa and a stylised thumbprint logo with a koru at its centre. Reporting on the meaning of the logo, Paul Brewer (Communications and Marketing) at Te Papa notes the stylised thumbprint “evokes the Koru, the eye and the centre of things” (Brewer 2001). Brewer also notes multiple meanings that can be taken from the logo. This includes a resonance with the past, present and future; a representation of New Zealand’s unique geography, weather and location in the world; and the suggestion, through colour, of a Pacific nation with the blue of the Pacific and the colours of the land (ibid).

In a similar vein ‘Te Papa Tongarewa’ is defined as:

... a repository for precious things. Papa refers to Papatuanuku or Mother Earth (New Zealand), where the Museum is located. Papa may also be used to describe a carved treasure box. Tongarewa is a type of greenstone. It may also be used to describe any other kind of treasure such as a well-loved chiefly person.

An interpretation of the whole name Te Papa Tongarewa would therefore be:

Our well loved repository and showcase of treasured things and people that spring from mother earth here in New Zealand.

(Brewer & Hakiwai, 2001:1)

At the time of the launch of the Te Papa, debate arose regarding both its name and logo (Aldridge 1997, Adcock 1997, Roberts 1997, Courtney, 1997) including an article in *The Evening Post* which reported that the Māori words 'Te Papa' could too easily be interpreted to mean 'buttocks' or 'breaking wind' (April 23, 1997). Other concerns were raised about the sum of \$300,000 that was said to have been spent on the design (Courtney, 1997:1) and the lack of originality of the thumbprint design (Good, as cited in *The Dominion Post*, 1997). Interestingly, critics of the logo made little, if no mention of koru motif within the design. During a visit to the Museum in 2011, the logo remains a prominent feature both inside and outside the museum. In the museum shop the Te Papa logo is emblazoned across merchandise such as t-shirts, shopping bags and stationery and appears to be a positively recognised and accepted logo.

The use of the koru in the following image set is less identifiable with the organisation it is connected with. Nevertheless its use sends a clear message about what it means to be born in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:

<http://www.huggies.com.au/assets/0000/4648/forest-decorative.png>

Image set 3

Data set three: New Zealand birth certificate

Table 9.3: Information relating to image set 3 on preceding page

Image	Description	Reference
Sole image	Copy of author's official birth certificate supplied by Department of Internal Affairs	Author's collection

Text associated with image set 3

The use of the koru as an emblem of national identity is illustrated via the creation of official New Zealand birth certificates produced by the Department of Internal Affairs (DIA). Since 2008 the DIA has offered the option of a standard or decorative certificate. At no extra charge the applicant may chose one of two 'uniquely New Zealand' scenes described as follows:

The birth of a child is a major event in any family's life. Celebrate this by turning their official record of birth into a treasured keepsake.

....

Forest decorative

New life unfolds from the koru and brings richness and abundance to the great forests. The harakeke (flax) reflects the strength and endurance of the whānau (family) as each new leaf grows from the mother and is supported by the father.

Beach decorative

A mother nurtures her baby as the warmth of the day provides nourishment and strength for life's wonderful journey ahead.

(The Department of Internal Affairs, 2011)

In this instance the koru is not presented as a stylised motif in the form of a logo but is used as the dominant feature of an idealised forest setting with clear running water and indigenous flora such as kowhai flowers (yellow, lantern-like flowers) and harakeke (flax). The text associated with the image connects the koru with new life and the support of whānau or family. Although the following image is a highly stylised image of the koru, in comparison to the naturalised design of the New Zealand birth certificate, the meaning associated with image is not dissimilar.



Image set 4

**Data Set four: Archives New Zealand/
Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga**

Table 9.4: Information relating to image set 4 on preceding page

Image	Description	Reference
Sole image	Archives New Zealand logo	Cover page from Archives New Zealand Brand Style Guide, no date. Reproduced with permission.

Text associated with image set 4

Over the past twenty years there has been a gradual introduction of the koru motif within government department logos (O’Shea 2011, personal communication). This appears to have occurred in conjunction with the introduction of the Māori Language Act in 1987 and the acceptance of te reo Māori as an official language. The introduction of the Act followed the hearing of the Te Reo Māori claim by the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985. Here it was asserted that te reo is a taonga (a treasure) that the Crown or government is obliged to protect under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Tribunal found in favour of the claimants and recommended a number of legislative and policy remedies including the Māori Language Act 1987 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011). As a result all government departments and agencies provided a Māori and English name for their organisation. For example the Ministry of Māori Affairs is also known as (and is more widely referred to) as ‘Te Puni Kōkiri’, the Ministry of Fisheries also carries the name ‘Te Tautiaki i nga tini a Tangaroa’ and the Department of Conservation’s alternative name is ‘Te Papa Atawhai’. However background information relating to the creation and design of the logos which represent government departments and agencies is difficult to trace and has perhaps been lost with the changes of staff during the past two decades. However, information about the more recent rebranding of ‘Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga’, includes an informative account of their design graphic, discussed below.

In a twenty page document titled ‘Archives New Zealand Brand Style Guide’ (n.d.) the department explains that since June 2004 “ ... our Māori name – Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga – has been a part of the Archives New Zealand brand. Our Māori name means The Repository of the Thoughts and Memories of Government” (Archives New Zealand, n.d.:4). Furthermore:

One of Archive New Zealand’s enduring principles, as outlined in our Statement of Intent, is the need to foster and maintain a partnership with Māori. In order to implement this principle, Archives New Zealand endeavours to ensure that Māori values are reflected in the processes of the department and its public profile. One of the ways we can do this is ensuring the Māori name is relevant and meaningful.

- Chief Executive and Chief Archivist Dianne Macaskill

The public archives are one of the main sources of information on the interaction between the Crown and Māori that has occurred since the early 1800s. As a result, there is much information in the public archives about Māori.

The introduction of our Māori name was done after an extensive consultation process involving a number of Archives New Zealand stakeholders including Te Pae Whakawairua (our Māori Consultative Group) and Te Taura Whiri (the Māori Language Commission).

(Archives New Zealand, n.d.:4)

Further on in the document an explanation of the logo is provided, as follows:

Our logo, developed with staff input, reflects what Archives New Zealand is about in the 21st century. These concepts include:

A collection of memories – He kohinga maumahara

An accessible place – He tuanui whakaringa kōrero

A repository of the past – He puna maumahara

A partnership between Archives New Zealand and the people of Aotearoa

– He hononga ke ngā iwi

A hub – He pā

Momentum – He whāingai tipuranga

Trust – He mahi pono.

The story of our logo

Like the artistic designs and carvings featured in whare tūpuna (Māori ancestral houses), our logo brings together the timeless values of care and respect of Aotearoa's heritage and culture.

Our logo tells a story of what makes the work we do with government archives and recordkeeping as important as the original records we hold.

Underpinning this work are the people who work with archives to preserve our country's memory.

Māori concepts and iconic symbols illustrate the special relationship between Māori, the traditional owners of the land, Archives New Zealand and beyond.

This is what our logo symbolises for us:

The two koru reflect facets of the natural world such as the waves of the sea and fern fronds found in native bush, both in close proximity of each other, yet, prone to the vagaries of the elements. They are a reminder that records too are just as vulnerable to the same elements.

The core of our logo reflects the importance and value Māori place upon people and their cultural heritage. The momentum radiating out from this core symbolises Archives New Zealand's work to preserve and maintain our nation's heritage and the memories from which growth and development stem.

Combined, these cultural concepts show the importance of preserving our stories, as they are in their original order, and as they should be. It is a

story like no other, one without an end; it is our heritage, our nation's continuum.

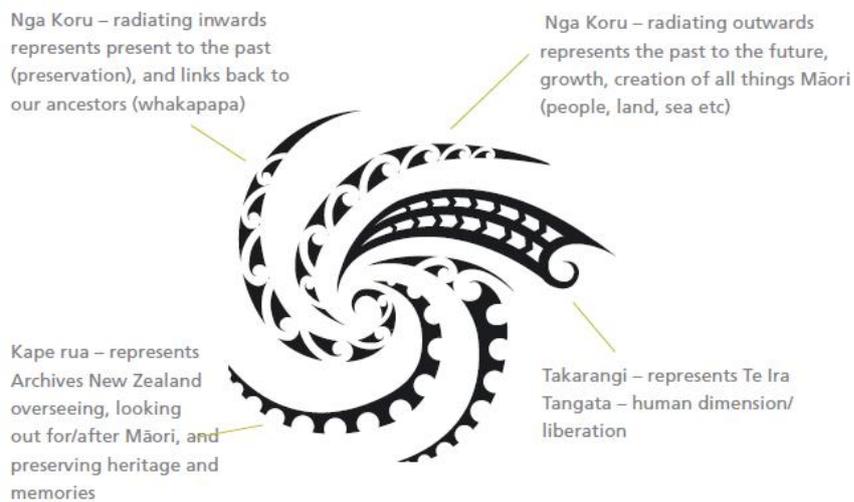
(Archives New Zealand, n.d.:8)

In the diagram below the details of the logo are further explained. This is accompanied by information relating to Te Tohu Māori (the Māori emblem) also noted below:

Our Tohu Māori

The Archives New Zealand logo is a contemporary representation of Archives New Zealand, using traditional elements, and was inspired by Kia Rite Kia Mataara (developed by Brownstone Design Group Ltd), the Tohu Māori of Archives New Zealand.

Kia Rite Kia Mataara has powerful connections and association for us as an organisation and is a key brand expression for Archives New Zealand.



The complete form and all individual elements of this illustration have significant meaning

(Archives New Zealand, n.d.:13-14).

The level of design detail and explanation of the design that occurs in the above case is an unusual find. This is also the case in the data set which follows.

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:
http://www.rugbyworldcup.com/mm/document/tournament/0/rnz2011newsletter-april2009_7437.pdf

page 6



Image set 5a

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:

[http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-
tjrVIDNeq5U/Tko1gO4lXII/AAAAAAAAACTU/jL4ta6ou0Ao/s1600/cn
z2011-rwc-koru-blue_towel-068893.jpg](http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-tjrVIDNeq5U/Tko1gO4lXII/AAAAAAAAACTU/jL4ta6ou0Ao/s1600/cn_z2011-rwc-koru-blue_towel-068893.jpg)

Image set 5b

Data set five: Rugby World Cup 2011

Table 9.5: Information relating to image set 5a - 5b on preceding pages

Image	Description	Reference
5a Top	Announcement of Rugby World Cup 2011 script and graphics	RWC Ltd 2008, Rugby World Cup 2011 Newsletter, 2009
5a Bottom left and right	Rugby World Cup 2011 flags flying in Great South Road, Papakura	Photos by author
5b Top, middle and bottom	Rugby World Cup 2011 design motifs in blue, green and purple	French Brand.com, 2011

Text associated with image set 5

The Rugby World Cup (RWC) tournament that took place throughout New Zealand during September and October 2011 was attended by large numbers of local and overseas rugby fans. The consequent winning of the Cup by the New Zealand All Black team was celebrated throughout the country with parades in the main city cities and was regarded as a considerable boost for the nation's psyche (Cairns, 2011). With regard to designing a logo for the event that reflected New Zealand, Lindsay Yee of the Design Assembly event in Auckland reports that "... like most things designed to be New Zealand-like, the Koru is the starting place" (Yee, 2011). Reporting on the script style used to promote the tournament, the Rugby World Cup Limited (RWCL) Chairman Bernard Lapasset stated:

Creative consultants and local artists worked with us on the design to ensure it reflected New Zealand's proud Māori culture. The inspiration for the design was the Koru - the fern frond - a traditional Māori pattern that expresses potential and determination and for the tournament - growth and new life through Rugby.

(Lapasset, cited in Lee, 2011)

Guidelines setting out the application of the RWCL script and graphics shed further light on the inspiration of the designs. Here it states:

The primary inspiration for the Rugby World Cup 2011 script (RWC 2011 Script) is the New Zealand Koru. The Koru or emerging fern frond is synonymous with growth, life and new beginnings. The fern was an important nourishing food source for early Māori. Therefore, it sustained life and is acknowledged in many Māori designs both contemporary and traditional. The Koru is a pivotal to Māori symbolism and culture with its spiral form representing the geometry of life and sacred creation.

This powerful symbol has been stylised into the shape of the rugby ball in letters "e", "a", "d" and the number "D". The letters are also interlinked through shape and composition which integrates the two ideas together. The meaning is growth and life through Rugby.

Its expressive form also represents movement and the journey i.e. the wind blowing on the ocean and creating waves. This script is an amalgamation of influences and also represents the journey to New Zealand to play rugby and to grow and be strong. The Koru design in this Script expresses potentiality as well as determination.

Application

The RWC 2011 New Zealand Script has been crafted to reflect New Zealand's proud Māori culture and its embodiment in Rugby Union.

(Taranaki Arts, 2011)

A design that featured prominently during the tournament was the Mangopare graphic (see figure 5b). Mike Miller, Director for RWCL noted:

The Look for this Tournament is a stylistic interpretation of the Hammerhead Shark (Mangopare) and the Fern shoot (Koru) that are synonymous with Māori culture. There is no doubt the artists have cleverly interpreted the relationship between Rugby, the event, the country and their culture. RWCL is delighted with the outcome and believes it will create a striking back drop to Rugby World Cup 2011.

(Miller, cited in Lee, 2011)

The guidelines expand on the comments from the director of RWCL with the following information. Although the excerpt below is lengthy it provides an informative account of the inspirations and ideas behind the design.

Graphic

The RWC 2011 'Look and Feel' design was developed as collaboration between Rugby World Cup Limited (RWCL) and local Māori artists. RWCL were keen to capture the meaning of the Tournament using the language of Māori art and worked in partnership with the artists to achieve this.

The Look for this Tournament is a stylistic interpretation of the Hammerhead Shark (Mangopare) and the Fern shoot (Koru). The Mangopare is considered by Māori as the greatest of sharks because of its tenacious nature; a quality needed in the heat of battle. It symbolises strength, determination, strategy and team play. The Mangopare is the central design element with the interlocking hammerhead shapes representing unity and engagement. In this design, the Mangopare is not just about coming head to head but also about the coming together of players and teams.

The Koru shapes unfurl around the Mangopare to become stylised fern fronds. As the Koru reaches towards the light it is striving for perfection encouraging new and positive beginnings. The Koru is central to Māori

symbolism with its spiral form representing the cycle of life, family and creation.

In the RWC 2011 look and feel design, the combination of these powerful symbols conveys the idea of the world coming together in union for Rugby's ultimate contest. Using the Koru and Mangopare graphic as the design inspiration the "look" is the manifestation of this unique and special global Rugby Tournament.

The dynamism and energy of the Tournament is reinforced by the treatment of the Koru and Mangopare adding depth and movement. The curved nature of the ball element within the design denotes the embracing nature of the Tournament and further reinforces the meaning of the brand: "The World in Union".

(Taranaki Arts, 2011)

As noted above, the Rugby World Cup 2011 image set and the previous image set (Archives New Zealand) are two instances where a considerable amount of detail and explanation about the logo and/or branding exists. In the following two image sets little written material about the use of the koru motif has been found. Despite this, the sombre message requires minimal interpretation.

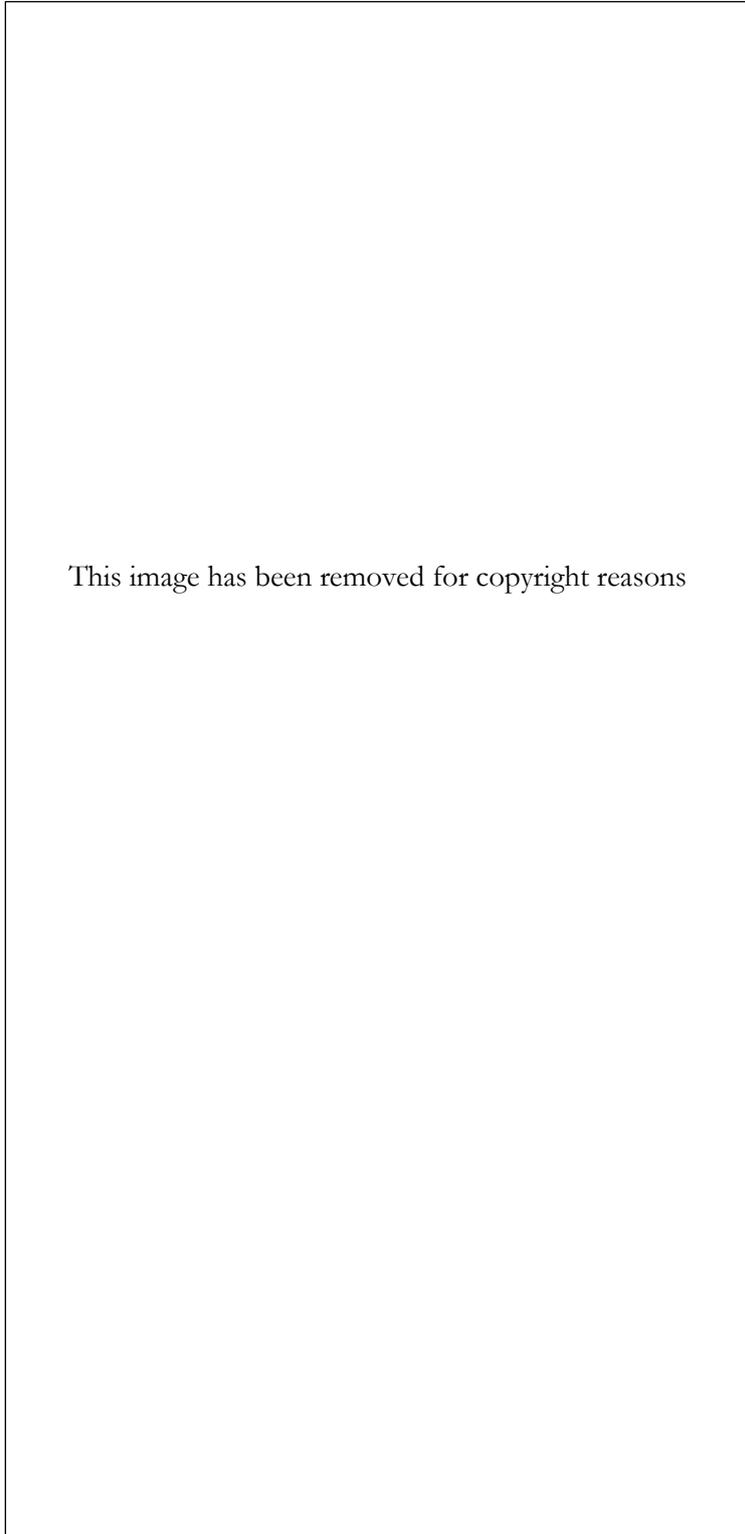


Image set 6a



Image set 6b

Data set six: The New Zealand Memorial, Hyde Park, London

Table 9.6: Information relating to image set 6a- 6b on preceding pages

Image	Description	Reference
6a	Cover page for New Zealand Memorial brochure	New Zealand Government, no date
6b	Photos of the New Zealand memorial in Hyde Park, London including close-ups of koru motif	Photos by Rose Panidis, 2011

Text associated with image set 6

The 28 page booklet produced for the unveiling of the New Zealand memorial (named ‘The Southern Stand’) on the 11 November 2006 in London describes the memorial as commemorating:

... the enduring bonds between New Zealand and the United Kingdom, and our shared sacrifice during times of war. It is a symbol both of our common heritage, and of New Zealand’s distinct identity.

(Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2006:1)

A number of pages in the booklet provide details of the many design elements included in The Southern Stand such as the silver fern, a manaia figure from traditional Māori carving and an ‘iconic’ Kiwi farmer. Interestingly no reference is given to the koru motifs that adorn many of the 16 bronze sculptures apart from a reference to “New Zealand flora and fauna” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2006:19). Nor is there any statement regarding the kowhaiwhai patterns and rauru spiral, upon which the koru motif is based. However, there is an acknowledgement of the link between the country’s Māori and Celtic heritage. Under the heading ‘A New Symbol of Nationhood’ it is stated that:

The placing and attitude of the individual standards helps to communicate the military links between Aotearoa/New Zealand and Britain. Their semi-

grid formation calls to mind soldiers in procession, pouwhenua (carved post) markers around Māori ancestral sites, or Celtic remains such as standing stones. The forward lean of the standards gives them a defiant pose reminiscent of warriors during haka, a defensive cricket stroke, or the barrel of a shouldered rifle.

(Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2006:18)

The forward lean of the 16 standards is also noticeable in the large identification marker that announces the location of the Te Papa museum in Wellington (see image set 2). I now consider two koru memorials located in Antarctica.

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:
<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/korucapsule>

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:
http://cdn.theatlantic.com/static/infocus/antarctica0304/s_a03_09088482.jpg

Data set seven: Mt Erebus memorial, Antarctica.

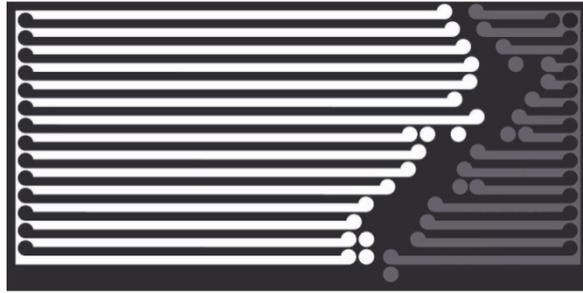
Table 9.7: Information relating to image set 7 on preceding page

Image	Description	Reference
Top	Memorial at the base of Mt Erebus, Antarctica	Photo by Rob McPhail, 2011
Bottom	Koru memorial placed at Scott Base, Antarctica, commemorating the above.	Photo by Ross Land/NZPA Pool/Getty Images, 2011

Text associated with image set 7

A number of memorial sites commemorate the Mt Erebus disaster, in which 237 people lost their lives on the Air New Zealand flight 901 that crashed in Antarctica in on 28 November 1979. These include St Matthew in the City Church in Auckland, St Stephen's Anglican Church in Whangaparaoa, North Auckland, Waikumete Cemetery in West Auckland, Auckland Airport and the Lower Hutt Rose Garden. For the 30th anniversary of the crash a 26 kilogram koru shaped capsule was placed at the base of the existing memorial cross on Mt Erebus in Antarctica (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2011). The capsule contains messages from relatives who lost members of their family in the crash. The memorial was dedicated and blessed by the Very Reverend Peter Beck Dean of Christchurch as a place of sacred memory (Antarctica New Zealand, 2011). An identical koru is situated at Scott Base, Antarctica with an accompanying plaque.

However, there does not appear to be any written commentary about the design or choice of the koru for the memorial, though considerable media attention was given to the placing of the koru memorial for the 30th anniversary of the disaster. Media attention has also played a role in debates surrounding the design of the New Zealand flag, discussed in the following data set.



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These images have been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at: <http://www.nzflag.com/schooldesigns.cfm> and http://www.nzflag.com/designs_smythe.cfm and http://www.nzflag.com/designs_smythe_spiral.cfm

These images have been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=109084#6824422

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=109110#6830020

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=109084#6824422

Image set 8c

These images have been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=109084#6824422

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=109110#6830020

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=109084#6824422

Image set 8d

Data set eight: Support for a new national flag

Table 9.8: Information relating to image sets 8a – 8d on preceding pages

Image	Description	Reference
8a Top	Suggested flag design by Turi Park	Park, 2008
8a Second from top	The koru flag designed by Friedensreich Hundertwasser	Jass, 2009
8a Second from bottom	Suggested flag design by Michael Smythe	Smythe, 2011
8a Bottom	Suggested flag design by cartoonist Tom Scott	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010
8b Top left	Suggested flag design by Michael Smythe	Smythe, 2011
8b Second from top left	Suggested flag design by Michael Smythe	Smythe, 2011
8b Third from top left	Suggested flag design Donna Cross	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010
8b Second from bottom left	Suggested flag design by Michael Smythe	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010
8b Bottom left	Maru Hoani, Okaihau College, Year 10. Regional winner (Northland) of flag design competition for schools	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010
8b Top right	Joyita Maka, Sacred Heart Girl's College, Year 10. Regional winner (Waikato/Bay of Plenty) of flag design competition for schools	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010

8b Second from top right	Suggested flag design by Michael Smythe	Smythe, 2011
8b Third from top right	Suggested flag design by Peter Haythornthwaite	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010
8b Second from left right	Nick Wood, Rosehill College, Year 10. Regional winner (Auckland) of flag design competition for schools	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010
8b Bottom right	Sironen Bell, St Patrick's College, Silverstream, Year 1. Regional winner (Wellington/Wairarapa) of flag design competition for schools	NZ flag.com Trust, 2010

Text associated with image sets 8a-8b

Those who favour a new flag design for Aotearoa New Zealand argue that the current flag is too easily confused with the Australian national flag and lacks connection with the land or Māori heritage. While the familiar silver fern emblem is the most popular alternative for many flag change proponents, flag designs that incorporate the koru motif are another favourite choice.

One such flag, the 'Koru flag' was designed by the internationally recognised Austrian artist, architect and environmentalist Friedensreich Hundertwasser (1928-2000) (image set 8a, second image from top). It is intended to represent a combination of past heritage and future hope (Tohbyn 1983). Hundertwasser gifted the flag to the nation in 1983 in appreciation of gaining New Zealand citizenship. The unfurling spiral is said to "recall the central myth of the Māori ... that their ancestors came to the great island by sailing towards a long streaming white cloud which arose in the highlands and drifted continually out to sea" (Rand 2007).

Further on in 2003, a century after the reign of the current flag design 'NZ Flag.com Trust' was established with the sole purpose of encouraging

New Zealanders to change the design of the current flag. One of the Trust's main aims is to encourage the government to hold a nation-wide referendum on whether the current flag should be changed. The Trust has enlisted a significant number of well known New Zealanders to support a design change to the national flag. However despite such support, the push for a referendum to coincide with the 2005 general election was abandoned (NZ flag.com Trust, 2010). Momentum was also gained in the lead up to the November 2011 general election, but debate about the flag gained little media attention during the campaign. Currently the Trust displays thirteen 'new flag designs' from seven artists on its website. Five of the artists include the koru motif in their design (see image set 8b). Likewise, of the eight flag designs judged by the Trust to be winners of the national school flag design competition, five of the winning flags incorporated koru motifs in their design (see image set 8b).

More recently in 2010 a poll asking whether the New Zealand flag should be changed was run by *The New Zealand Herald*. Fifty-two percent of the 600 respondents declared it was time for a new design, with many favouring the silver fern (Cheng 2010). However of the 47 flag designs displayed by *The New Zealand Herald* website over a third of the flags included a koru in the design (see image sets 8c – 8d).

The excerpts below present the thoughts of the flag designers from the NZFlag.com website who have incorporated the koru motif within their design.

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for copyright reasons, but can
be viewed at:
[http://www.nzflag.com/designs
cross.cfm](http://www.nzflag.com/designs_cross.cfm)

Land of the Long White Cloud, Donna Cross, December, 2004

The flag I have designed has a fresh and modern aesthetic. Land, sea, sky, growth, biculturalism and a real sense of belonging to the Pacific is encapsulated in this flag. The silver fern has a strong association with the

All Blacks. However the koru that I have used has wider cultural significance. I wanted a clean departure from past motifs like stars and to use colours that are more significant to Aotearoa. The design I have created has the ability to be reproduced from postage stamp size to a very large flag without losing its impact.

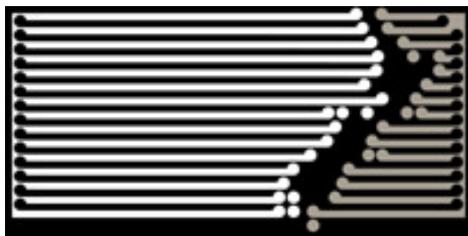
....

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:
http://www.nzflag.com/designs_haythornwaite_one.cfm

Unity, Peter Haythornthwaite, 2005

The interlinking forms – suggests many cultures and races in unity. The fronds – gives credence to Māori. The diagonal basis of the design – provides recognisable links to the current flag. Red – a link to our British heritage and former NZ flag.

....



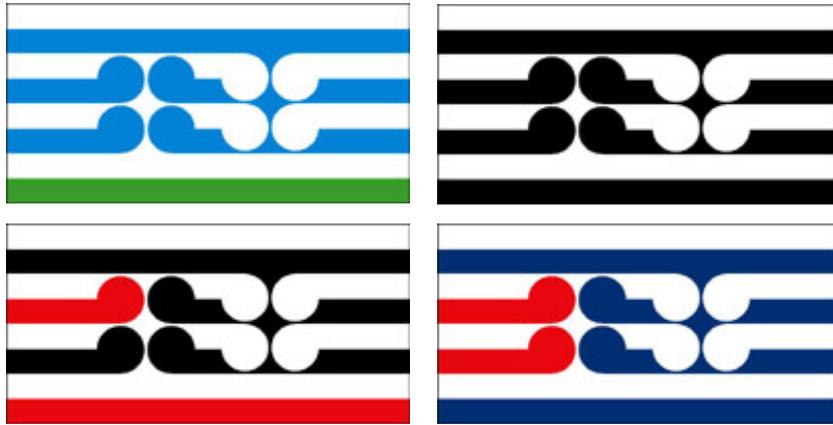
The Long White Cloud, Turi Park, November 2004

This design is obviously derived from the work of Gordon Walters. Often controversial, his bold and simplified usage of the koru motif is a masterful addition to our NZ visual language. This flag design will need

consultation with Māori [and probably the Gordon Walters Foundation!]. It does needs (sic) to be bold and confident; but also culturally sensitive and politically correct. I believe if we design a new flag it should proudly identify us now. This design answers this brief while simply defining the shape of NZ and our place at the edge; the forefront; of the world. We have a unique and often overlooked graphic advantage in that the map of our country is universally recognisable. This design describes the map of NZ using a repeated koru device - a powerful and vital symbol of potential. This design also represents the story of discovery - and arrival - at this richly verdant and diverse new land. Aotearoa - the land of the long white cloud².

....

² The work of Gordon Walters *koru* series is discussed in the final image set in this chapter.



Koru (After Walters), Michael Smythe, 2004.

... I prefer something more abstract than representations of flora and fauna ... the symbolism of the koru is positive I like Turi Park's exploration of the potential of the Gordon Walters koru which is capable of development in many directions - when care is taken to understand and master the visual language which is his legacy ... Walters was happy with the narrative I applied to his Painting No.1 the 'essential Walters' koru design conceived on Waitangi Day 2004 is the one with the staying power. Because it has given me that midwife feeling - all I have done is deliver this thing with a life of its own - I feel strongly that it's 'the one' ... black and white have a "powerful simplicity" ... but ...the Gordon Walters koru language does not rely on colour to be distinctive. I have shown how changes in the colour of the flag can shift the emphasis ... to tino rangatiratanga, to the British connection or to a 'clean green' image ... All I want to demonstrate here is that this koru flag design provides the basis for an emergent national identity system - not only a flag, not a logo, not an emblem, but a visual language that can evolve infinitely in the hands of good designers.

....



u

Double Spiral, Michael Smythe, February 2005

I have been reflecting on the flag designs using frond and koru forms and thinking back to Hundertwasser's 1983 koru flag ... Many cultures use the spiral to represent the cycle of life but there is a subtle distinction about the Polynesian approach. It's about giving the ambiguity of background and foreground - an aspect of the art that Gordon Walters explored and refined. This double spiral design seeks to capture the essence of our distinct depiction of this universal idea of integrated diversity, growing from a strong centre and learning from the past as we build our future. It can also represent what I call the 'cross-cultural conversation' that creates us. I favour the black and white version as the national flag (why not stand out in the crowd?). The green and silver version (the colours of the silver fern) achieves what Hundertwasser might have got to had he looked more closely at the indigenous art of New Zealand. The red and black version may be preferred by those wishing to emphasise the Māori culture.

(NZ Flag.com Trust, 2010)

The work of Gordon Walters is referred to in the final image set for this chapter. Before that I provide a further example of how the koru motif has been utilised to represent national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This image has been removed for copyright reasons, but can be viewed at:
http://www.blackspade.co.nz/blog/wp-content/uploads/2007/03/chris_sharp_blackspade_nz_anthem_poster.jpg

Data set nine: New Zealand Anthem poster

Table 9.9: Information relating to image set 9 on preceding page

Image	Description	Reference
Sole image	New Zealand Anthem poster	Sharp, 2005. Reproduced with permission from Chris Sharp.

Text associated with image set 9

There is limited written material available about this poster which was commissioned by the University of Otago. It has been distributed widely throughout New Zealand as a resource for schools, and has been popular with overseas graduate and friends of Otago University. The poster was designed by Chris Sharp, while the original ahua (form/shape) was designed by Matu Pene (Thomson 2006:14).

In comparison, much has been written about the work of the artist Gordon Walters and his *koru* series. Three examples of this work are presented in the following pages.

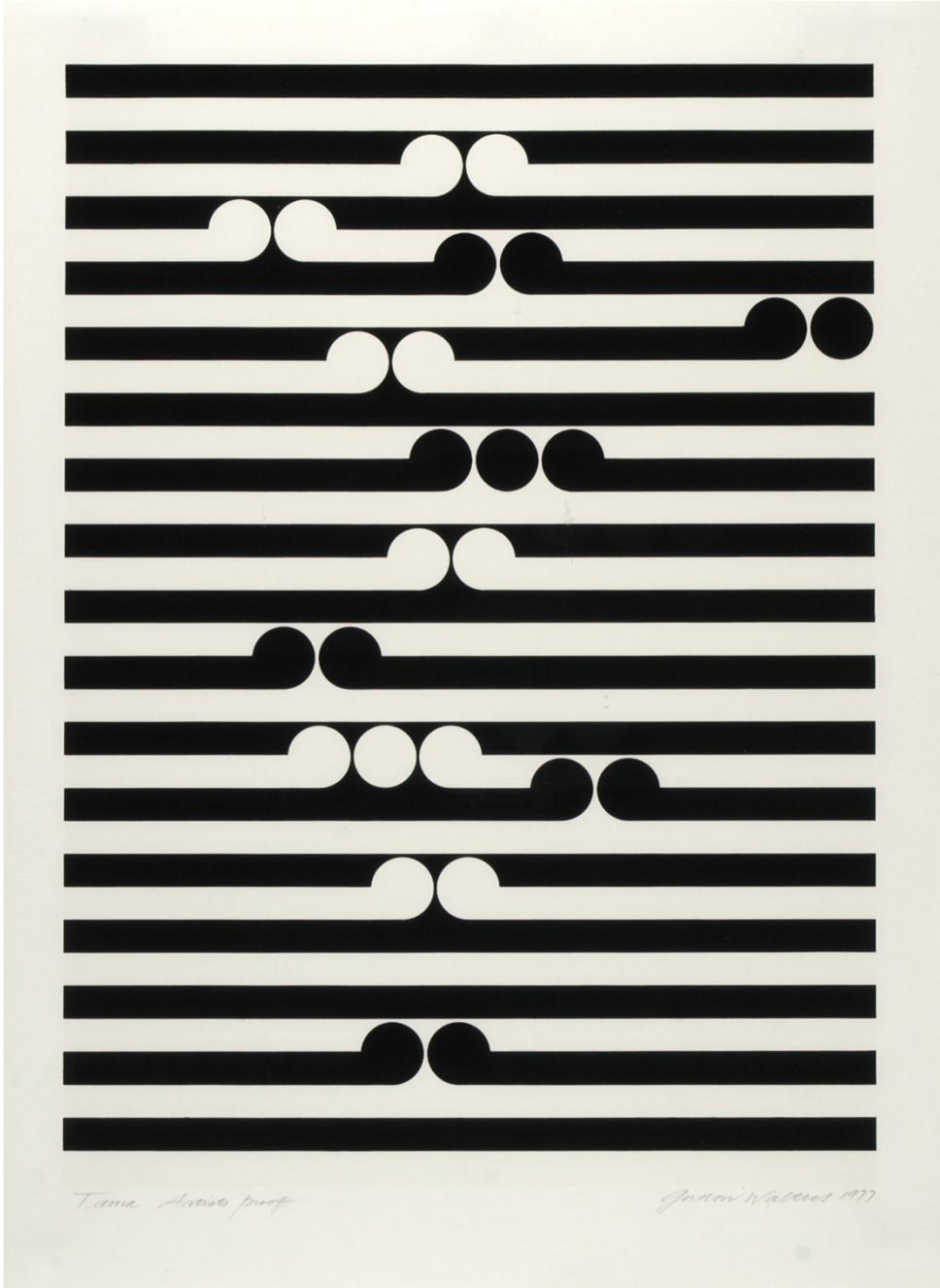


Image set 10a

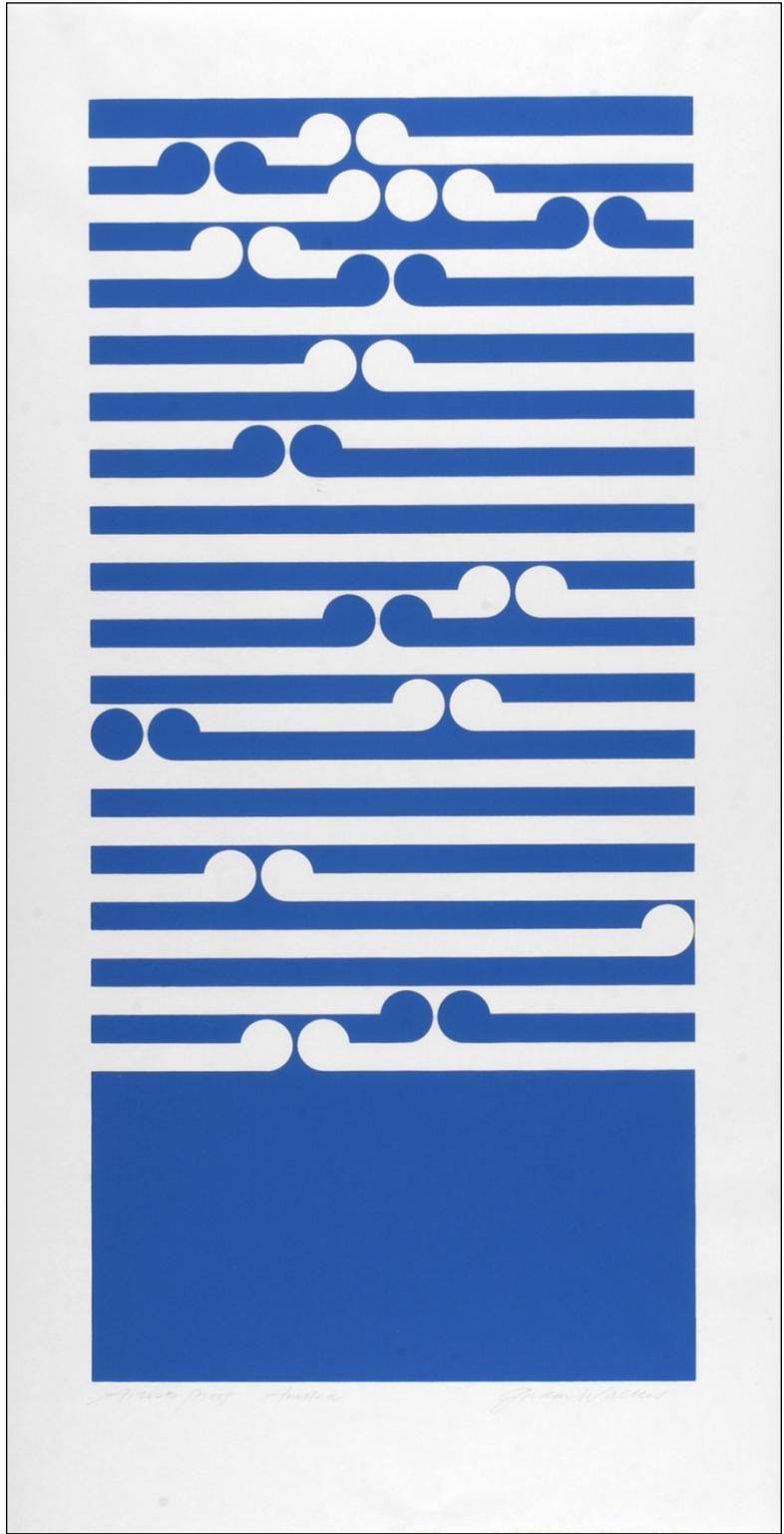


Image set 10b

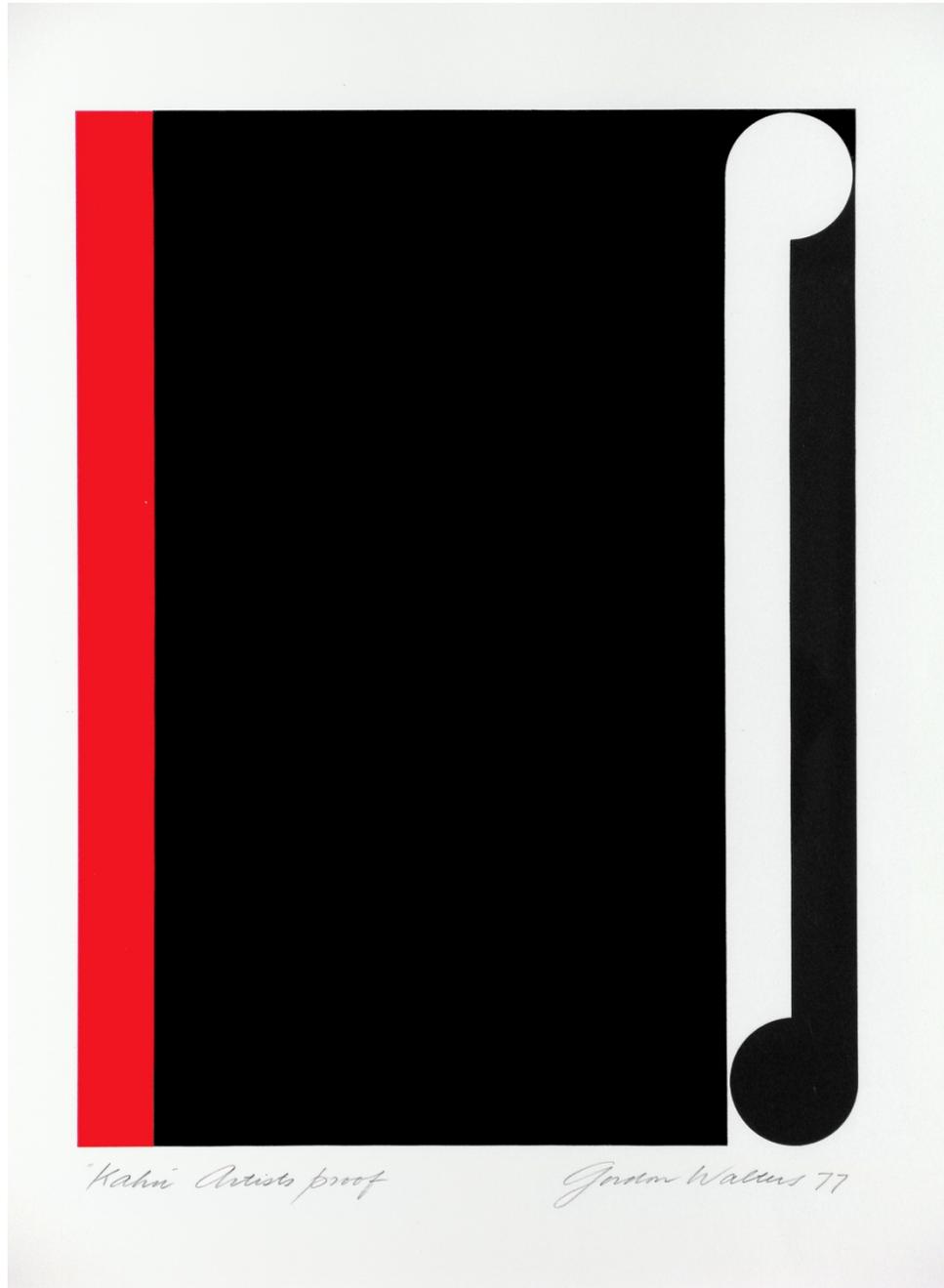


Image set 10c

Data set ten: Gordon Walters *koru* series

Table 9.10: Information relating to image set 10a – 10b on preceding pages

Image	Description	Reference
10a	Accession No. 1977/26 Artist: Gordon Walters (New Zealand, b.1919, d.1995) Title: <i>Tama</i> Date: 1977 Medium: screenprint Dimensions: 652 x 470 mm	Walters, 1977 Credit Line: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1977. Reproduced with permission from Auckland Art Gallery.
10b	Accession No. 1982/53 Artist: Gordon Walters (New Zealand, b.1919, d.1995) Title: <i>Amoka</i> Date: 1972 Medium: screenprint Dimensions: 839 x 392 mm	Walters, 1972 Credit Line: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of Mr Peter Vuletic, 1982. Reproduced with permission from Auckland Art Gallery.
10c	Accession No. 1982/52 Artist: Gordon Walters (New Zealand, b.1919, d.1995) Title: <i>Kahu</i> Date: 1977 Medium: screenprint Dimensions: 380 x 285 mm	Walters, 1977 Credit Line: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1982. Reproduced with permission from Auckland Art Gallery.

Text associated with image sets 10a – 10c

Gordon Walters (1919-1995) *koru* series artwork is well known in two respects. Firstly, it is recognised as an important contribution to New Zealand modernist art. Secondly, the ‘koru series is known for the debate concerning the appropriation of the koru motif by non-Māori artists. In an article on kowhaiwhai

and aesthetics in Aotearoa New Zealand (1995), Nicholas Thomas, a Professor of historical anthropology, notes that the empowering effect of the kowhaiwhai art form remains crucial to the way in which both 'original' and 'appropriated' forms of the art work in the present. In situations of tension and contest, he remarks that these forms contain a 'rhetorical' energy (Thomas 1995:95). With reference to the debates about the appropriation of the koru motif, Thomas states:

In New Zealand, the argument has centred upon Gordon Walters's use of the koru, the basic kowhaiwhai motif, in abstract paintings from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s which were long neglected but are now counted, with the work of Colin McCahon and very few others, among the most significant projects of New Zealand modernist art ... The debate is of interest in part for its sophistication. Walter's critics have not opposed appropriation categorically but rather have found this artist's borrowings more problematic than others.

(Thomas 1995: 98-99)

One such critic, Rangihiroa Pahoho (1992) argues that Walter's formalism distances the koru from its cultural meanings and origins (in Thomas 1995: 98-99). On the other side of the argument, the art historian Francis Pound has described Walters' koru works as an instance of cross-cultural interchange:

[A] complex process of mutual appropriation, in which signs are shifted back and forth across a kind of liminal space, a space between.

(Pound 1994:225)

Likewise, Michael Dunn, art historian, and author of *Gordon Walters* (1983) claims that:

Conscious of his European artistic background but also of his place in New Zealand ... Walters has drawn upon both European and indigenous sources in the evolution of his style. The *koru* series bring the European and Māori cultural traditions into a harmonic unity. A perfectionist in his

art, Walters has achieved a distinctive personal style in his mature paintings, works of rare quality and integrity.

(Dunn 1983:8)

Dunn refers to the *koru* series as paintings of “remarkable clarity, control and austerity” (1983:8). In describing the elements of the series, he states that:

These paintings are based on a few formal elements, a band or stripe and the circle, either detached or as a termination to the band. By restricting himself to these elements, Walters reveals a part of his nature which prefers restraint to ostentation, economy to abundance and calculation to spontaneity. His search for simplicity of means links him to a long-standing tradition in the visual arts which includes painters as diverse as Mondrian and David each of whom has sought to purge his art of extraneous detail, of seductive colour and exuberant brushwork.

(Dunn 1983:8)

The first image presented above, titled *Tama* (1977), is Walters’ first fully realised print, and one of his finest (Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2011). The white ground gives greater clarity than his earlier prints, and the placement of the image on the sheet is carefully considered (ibid). The second image *Amoka* (1972) is the rarest of Walters’ *koru* series, and the largest (839 x 392 mm). Twenty-five editions of *Amoka* were commissioned by the Zonta Club of Wellington, for their exhibition in 1973 (Dunn 1983:44). The third image *Kabu* (1977) is similar to Walters’ *Maho* (1972) design, which the art commentator, Michael, Dunn describes as extremely austere, and limited to just two *koru* bands and terminations that run vertically to the paper (Dunn 1983:22).

For the designer Michael Smythe, Walters’ *koru* series “essentially solved the problem of representing New Zealand’s identity” (in McAloon 2004:11). Walters wrote in a letter to Smythe that:

I believe that all art and all of history is open to the artist, to use in any way that he or she sees fit. It's always been like that in the past – art depends on artists reinterpreting and extending the work of earlier artists. That's what keeps it going.

In my case all I have done with the koru motif is make a reference to it and naturally, since I'm a contemporary Pakeha artist, the result is not Maori art. It's not supposed to be. In my koru paintings I've been trying to make sense of my own, Pakeha, response to this tradition, which after all surrounds all New Zealanders.

Traditional Maori art means a lot to me – it is one distinctive art style that we have in this country, and I've spent a lot of time looking at it in museums and meeting houses. What I have done is a kind of tribute to this tradition, certainly not an attempt to pre-empt it.

It seems that my approach is useful to graphic designers. I find it interesting that in spite of all the criticism, it is my reinterpretation of the [koru] motif which has been taken up and used to good effect.

(Walter, cited in McAloon, 2004:11-12)

The curator, William McAloon, goes on to state that Walters' work can be seen as a constant reminder of the presence of two art traditions in New Zealand, Māori and Pākehā. However, he also remarks that this does not necessarily present Walters' work in utopian terms, as a 'synthesis, on the basis of equality, of elements from two cultures' as Leonard Bell, author of 'Walters and Maori art: The nature of the relationship' (1989) claims. Instead, McAloon borrows from Rex Butler's assessment of the work of Aboriginal painter Emily Kame Kngwarreye, and suggests that:

[I]t is perhaps just as productive to read the ambiguities of figure and ground in Polynesian and European visual modes in Walters' work as

representing ‘an interplay of differences that are at once inseparable and irreconcilable’.

(McAloon 2004:12)

The points of view put forward by Butler and McAloon provide an understanding of Walters’ work that moves beyond the debate as to whether the *koru* series represent a problematic appropriation of Māori art, or a process of mutual appropriation and harmonic unity between Māori and Pākehā.

In the second part of this chapter which follows, I move from the study of individual works, to a consideration of the manifest content and meanings present in the ten data sets presented in this first part of the chapter.

Part two – analysis and findings (stage one)

Introduction

The purpose of this second part of the chapter is to analyse the ten data sets presented in part one, and present the findings from this analysis. As set out in Chapter Six, the data analysis for this thesis is undertaken in three stages. I firstly examine and analyse the manifest content from the ten data sets in this chapter (stage one). I then examine the latent content and function of the data sets from both this chapter, and the further ten data sets presented in Chapter Ten (stage two). The analysis and findings of this stage are presented in part two of Chapter Ten. Finally, in Chapter Eleven, I review the findings from stage one and stage two of the analysis in light of Jameson's notion of the political unconscious (stage three). Much of the analytical data in both stage one and stage two of the analysis has been assigned to appendices, in order to avoid the presentation of repetitive tables and information within the chapters. However in the tables below, I demonstrate the manner in which I have recorded the manifest content and meaning from data sets 1-3 (Table 9.11), then condensed that material (Table 9.12) and summarised the data by providing three key points about the manifest content and meanings from the ten data sets (Table 9.13). The ten data sets in part one of this chapter have been particularly useful to analyse in terms of manifest 'meanings' because of the text sets which accompany the image sets. However, the analysis of the visual contents of the image sets is undertaken in stage two, where the data sets from both this chapter and the following chapter (Ten) allow a greater range of images to be examined.

Stage one: Manifest content

Definition:

Manifest: Plain; open; clearly visible to the eye or obvious to the understanding; not obscure or difficult to be seen or understood.

(Webster 1947:1030)

Using the definition above I have analysed the ten data sets in part one in terms of what is clearly set out in text sets that accompany the images. As explained above, the three tables represent three progressive steps where the manifest content and meanings of the data sets in part one have been outlined (Table 9.11), condensed (Table 9.12) and then summarised (Table 9.13). While the tables below demonstrate the analysis of data sets 1-3, appendix I contains the analysis of all ten data sets.

Table 9.11 Step one - manifest content from data sets 1-3

<p>Data set one: The Air New Zealand Koru</p> <p>Manifest content:</p> <p>Image set:</p> <p>National airline, well known brand, the flying koru.</p> <p>Text set:</p> <p>Design branding over the years pertain to indigenous flora or fauna.</p> <p>Continued use of blues, greens and teal (sky, sea and land).</p> <p>Conscious move by advertising agency to reference Māori culture.</p> <p>Concerns about cultural appropriation of the koru have been raised and consultation with Māori cultural advisors undertaken.</p> <p>Air New Zealand koru carries the combined meaning of “the growth of the new frond representing everlasting regeneration; and ‘Mango Pare’ – the name for the hammerhead shark, an icon representing strength, speed and power. These combine to represent us in the strong and spiritual way The airline also had the blessing of Māori to describe the mark as ‘Koru’ although the mark actually represents ‘Mango Pare’ – the Māori name for hammerhead shark, an icon itself recognised as a symbol of strength, speed and power” (Crawford, 2011).</p> <p>Air New Zealand CEO states “The context of the Koru’s use as a symbol to provoke political controversy is in conflict with the core meaning of</p>
--

the Koru and denigrates and debases a symbol that we cherish, and one which I believe all New Zealanders cherish [it] has transcended generations and symbolises our future hopes and aspirations” (Fyfe, 2011).

Data set two: Te Papa Tongarewa/The Museum of New Zealand

Manifest content:

Image set:

Thumbprint logo with koru motif at centre, thumbprint design dominates logo, koru motif not obvious.

Text set:

Reporting on the meaning of the logo, Paul Brewer (Communications and Marketing) at Te Papa notes the stylised thumbprint “evokes the Koru, the eye and the centre of things” (Brewer, 2001).

Critics of the logo did not raise concerns about the koru motif at the centre of the logo, but did question the translation of the Māori name ‘Te Papa’ (*The Evening Post*, 1997).

While the logo initially caused controversy, fourteen years later it appears to be popular and well accepted by visitors to the museum.

Data set three: Department of Internal Affairs
New Zealand Birth Certificate

Manifest content:

Image set:

Official birth certificate with prominent depiction of idealised indigenous forest setting including unfurling koru fern at the forefront of illustration, bordered by silver fern and kowhai flowers, with running stream in the background.

Text set:

The Department of Internal Affairs refers to the official record of birth as a ‘treasured keepsake’.

The forest scene is described as follows: “New life unfolds from the koru

and brings richness and abundance to the great forests. The harakeke (flax) reflects the strength and endurance of the whānau (family) as each new leaf grows from the mother and is supported by the father.”
 (Department of Affairs, 2011)

Table 9.12 Step two – manifest content from data sets 1-3 - condensed

Data set	Main terms associated with or used to describe koru motif
1	<p>Reference to Māori culture</p> <p>‘the growth of the new frond representing everlasting generation</p> <p>Mango Pare hammerhead shark representing strength, speed and power</p> <p>‘strong and spiritual’</p> <p>‘the blessing of Māori to describe the mark as ‘Koru’ although the mark actually represents ‘Mango Pare’</p> <p>The koru a symbol ‘all New Zealanders cherish’</p> <p>The koru ‘has transcended generations and symbolises our future hopes and aspirations</p>
2	‘the Koru, the eye and the centre of things’
3	‘new life unfolds from the koru and brings richness and abundance’

Table 9.13 Step three - Summary of manifest content and meaning

The Koru motif: dominant associations and meanings
<ul style="list-style-type: none">i. Māori cultureii. The creation of new life, growth and future potentialiii. The natural environment (e.g. unfurling fern fronds, waves)

The material provided in the tables above list what I regard as the most apparent and obvious information that is commonly mentioned in the ten text sets in part one of this chapter. Thus, the manifest content and meanings concern:

1. Māori culture
2. The creation of new life, growth and future potential
3. The natural world or environment (e.g. unfurling fern fronds and waves)

The fact that the koru motif is described in relation to the three points listed above is not surprising or unexpected. It is likely that these three points would be the most commonly mentioned points in any study that investigated the general understanding of the koru motif. From a manifest standpoint, the association of the koru motif with Māori culture is readily understandable. Of particular relevance is the Māori word 'koru' which is used to denote the spiral motif. The prevalence of the koru motif in customary and contemporary kōwhaiwhai patterns, whakairo (carving) and ta moko (permanent skin markings) is also clearly visible, as outlined in Chapter Eight. The understanding of the koru in terms of new life, growth and potential also correlates with the understandings of the koru within customary and contemporary Māori culture (though by no means all).

The association of the koru motif with ‘the creation of new life, growth and future potential’ is also visible in both the naturalised and stylised depictions of the koru motif. Here the shape of the koru motif suggests an unfurling movement of an embryonic form which develops, expands and matures into something beyond its original state.

Finally, the association of the koru motif with the natural environment including the koru as a representation of an unfurling fern frond or a wave is clearly visible to the eye. This is especially clear in instances where the koru motif is depicted in a naturalised state; most often as a fern frond but sometimes as a single wave or line of waves. This may also account for why the most dominant colours used to represent the koru motif are green and blue (denoting the land and sea). The association of the koru motif with the natural environment also connects to the understanding of the koru motif in relation to Māori culture as well as new life, growth and potential. As discussed in Chapter Six, the koru motifs in many kōwhaiwhai patterns are said to represent, at one level, forms from the natural environment including fish, birds, and plant life. In this respect there is a degree to which the three manifest forms and understandings of the koru motif in terms of Māori culture, the creation of new life, growth and future potential, and the natural environment interlink with one another.

Having established the meanings of the koru motif from a manifest viewpoint, I now turn to what might be ascertained about the koru motif from a latent perspective. Thus, in Chapter Ten which follows I begin by presenting ten further image sets of the koru motif, which I then analyse, in conjunction with the ten data sets from this chapter.

Chapter Ten

The koru motif as a signifier of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand

Data sets 11 - 20 and stage two of analysis

Introduction

Part one of this chapter presents the second group of data sets (11-20), while part two analyses the sets from this chapter and the previous chapter (Chapter Nine) in terms of latent content and function. The findings from this second stage of the analysis are presented at the conclusion of this chapter.

Part one Latent content and function (stage two):

The data

Unlike data sets 1-10, the following data sets (11-20) do not contain any written information relating to the images, except for reference purposes. Some of these data sets also illustrate the prevalence of the koru motif within the context of local and regional spheres. While these koru motifs still signify an expression of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is expressed at a more localised level in comparison to data sets 1-10.

As in Chapter Nine, I have chosen to leave the pages containing the image sets as bare of text as possible, thereby enabling the viewer to experience the images in an aesthetic rather than cognitive manner. I begin with a range of koru motifs found on greeting cards and postcards throughout Aotearoa New Zealand.

These images have been removed for copyright reasons

Image set 11b



This image has been removed for copyright reasons

These images have been removed for copyright reasons

Image set 11d

Data set Eleven: Greeting cards

Table 10.1: Details relating to image set 11a-11d on preceding pages

Image set	Description	Reference
11a	Art Series, Visionz Images of Aotearoa, copyright Marina Mathews.	Mathews, 2011. Reproduced with permission.
11b Top left	Ted Scott Art Cards TSC 40 Koru	Designed and Published by Ted Scott, Fotofile Ltd
11b Top right	Image Gallery Kowhai Sophora microphylla	Designed by Codi Design and Resourcing Ltd, 2008
11b Bottom left	Image Gallery New Zealand Flax, Phormium (harakeke and wharariki)	Designed by Codi Design and Resourcing Ltd, 2008
11b Bottom right	Christmas card from 2006 Christmas Stamp Issue	New Zealand Post, artwork by NZ school children
11c Top	Greeting card, painting by Sue Williams, produced by Oxted Resources Ltd.	Oxted Resources, 2011. Reproduced with permission.
11c Bottom	Christmas card containing koru motifs on upper right and bottom left, produced by Bay Series Greeting Cards	Bay Series, no date
11d Top	'Koru and Fern – New Zealand' Tikicard.	The New Zealand Souvenir Company Ltd, no date
11d Bottom	'Koru New Zealand', Landscapes within New Zealand	Glover, 2011



Image set 12a



Image set 12b



Image set 12c

Data set twelve: Window shopping and wandering about Wellington

Table 10.2: Details relating to image sets 12a-12c on preceding pages

Image set	Description	Reference
12a	Gift Shop window display, Willis Street, Wellington, 2011	Photos by author
12b Top left, top right and bottom left	Gift Shop window display, Willis Street, Wellington, 2011	Photos by author
12b Bottom right	Te Papa Gift Shop window display, Cable Street, Wellington, 2011	Photo by author
12c	Cast iron civic koru bollards (punga peke bollards), Wakefield Street, Wellington, 2011	Photos by author

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Four of these images can be viewed at:

http://farm5.staticflickr.com/4152/5207973575_aecf167921_b.jpg

<http://atikitour.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/mags.jpg>

http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_yWEyPv7fm-w/Sflcw2T3wwI/AAAAAAAAAFg8/LEPenjgcIM4/s320/phbk.JPG

<http://www.mediadesignschool.com/images/uploads/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/MDS-CGBlog-YellowArtAwards-1.jpg>

Data set thirteen: Cover page korus

Table 10.3: Information relating to image set 13 on preceding page

Image	Description	Reference
Top left	NZ Today magazine, Issue 34, May/June 2010.	Saffron Photography 2011
Middle left	NZ Today magazine, Issue 37, November/December, 2010.	Saffron Photography 2011
Bottom left	Auckland Yellow Pages, 2009, cover page design 'Woven Together' by Jennifer Gottchalk.	Saffron Photography 2011
Top right	Rodney's Rural Lifestyle magazine, Issue 40, January 2011.	Saffron Photography 2011
Middle right	Zest Spring Magazine, October 2010, published by Fairfax Media.	Saffron Photography 2011
Bottom right	Auckland Yellow Pages, 2010, cover page design 'Auckland City of Sails' by Joanna Andrei Lim.	Saffron Photography 2011

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Image set 14a



Image set 14b



Image set 14c

These images have been removed for copyright reasons

Image set 14d

These images have been removed for copyright reasons

Image set 14e

Data set fourteen: Koru kids

Table 10.4: Details relating to image sets 14a-14e on preceding pages

Image set	Description	Reference
14a	Pastel drawings by Room 7 students, Omokoroa Point School, 2010.	Saffron Photography 2011
14b	Totem pole and inlaid ceramic tiles beside Western Bay of Plenty Area Offices, Katikati, 2010.	Saffron Photography 2011
14c	Artwork by Oliver Annan, Tauranga Art Gallery school programme, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
14d	Mansell Senior School, mural and signage Papakura, 2011	Photos by author
14e	Papakura Normal School, Papakura, 2011	Photos by author

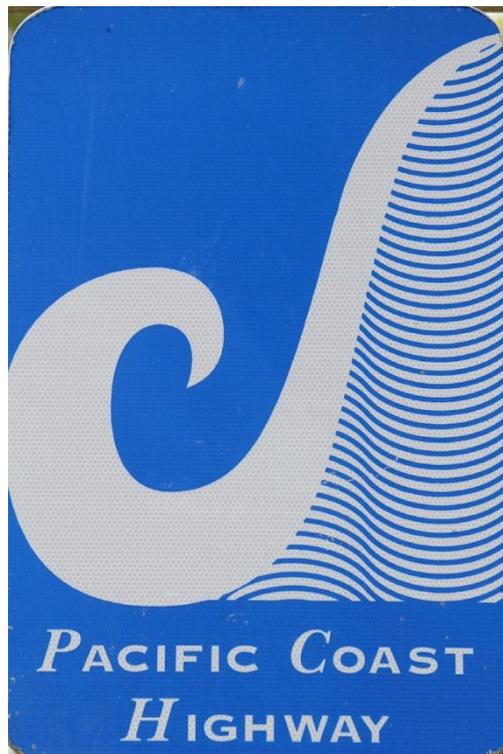


Image set 15a



Image set 15b



Image set 15c



This image has been removed for copyright reasons

Image set 15d

Data set fifteen**Coastal koru, curls and swirls**

Table 10.5: Details relating to image sets 15a-15d on preceding pages

Image set	Description	Reference
15a	Pacific coast highway sign routes around South Auckland and State Highway 2	Saffron Photography 2011
15b	Mosaic inlaid into pavement on Wharf and Willow Streets, Central Tauranga, 2010.	Saffron Photography 2011
15c Top	Bay of Plenty District Health Board Hauora A Toi signage, Tauranga, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
15c Middle	Sculpture of dolphins ridings koru waves in Tauranga	Saffron Photography 2011
15c Bottom	Tauranga Hospital Te Whare Tūroro o Tauranga signage with Bay of Plenty District Health Board Hauora a Toi logo, Tauranga	Saffron Photography 2011
15d Top	Koru letter box, Omokoroa, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
15d Bottom	Koru and paua pendant, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011



Image set 16a



Image set 16b

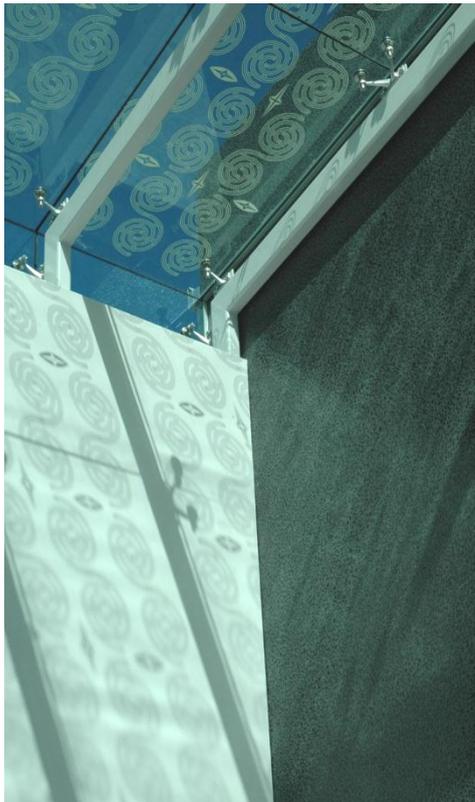


Image set 16c



Image set 16d



Image set 16e



Image set 16f



Image set 16g

Data set Sixteen: Papakura and surrounds

Table 10.6: Details regarding image sets 16a–16g on preceding pages

Image set	Description	Reference
16a Top	Photo of Inland Revenue koru design at Manukau City offices, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
16a Bottom	Photo of Papakura District Council logo at entrance to Papakura Library, Papakura, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
16b	South Auckland Waka Pacific buses seen in Papakura and Manukau, 2010	Saffron Photography 2011
16c Top left and right	Mural beside Papakura Art Gallery, Averill Street, Papakura, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
16c Bottom left	Glass ceiling with koru motifs, entrance to Sir Edmund Hillary Library, Great South Road, Papakura, 2011.	Saffron Photography 2011
16c Bottom right	Sculpture, Great South Road, Papakura, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
16d Top	Mural, entrance to Sir Edmund Hillary Library, Papakura, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
16d Bottom	Close up of mural (as in image set 13c above) beside Papakura Art Gallery, Averill Street, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
16e Top	Family First Law logo, Great South Road, Papakura, 2011	Saffron Photography 2011
16e Bottom	Waka Pacific bus, Great South Road, Papakura.	Saffron Photography 2011
16f 16g	Mural on corner of Porchester Road and Airfield Road, Takanini, 2011	Photos by author

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http://www.consumeraffairs.govt.nz/legislation-policy/policy-reports-and-papers/research/copy_of_fringe-lenders-in-new-zealand-desk-research-project/med-main-masthead-left_print.jpg

<http://www.logodesignnewzealand.co.nz/img/deaf-games-logo.png>

<http://www.logodesignnewzealand.co.nz/img/nourish-koru-nz-food.jpg>

<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/9/9b/LogoPiopioCollege.png>

<http://greenstoneclinic.co.nz/images/gfc-logo.jpg>

<http://img.scoop.co.nz/stories/images/0706/efc98bf2da6a314bd4da.jpeg>

<http://poutama.co.nz/newsletter/image/onezero/movember/pureORA.jpg>

Image set 17a

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http://www.thebigidea.co.nz/files/imagecache/display/images/Full%20Logo%20Black%20all%20white_0.jpg

<http://www.waiariki.ac.nz/images/logos/2012-Waiariki-Logo.jpg>

<http://www.halt.org.nz/uploads/1/0/1/5/10158626/7927277.gif>

<http://www.nzsnt.org/Image5.gif>

<http://www.bpanz.org.nz/cms/images/PANZ%20Logo%20black%20hori.jpg>

<http://www.webhealth.co.nz/provider/image/b5f162c4b8cc5c70576240dcafb-d9454c3c089ee-0.jpg>

http://www.thecoromandel.com/content/images/1167/300x600normal/Screen_shot_2012-07-10_at_12.17.51_PM.png

<http://www.karangahakegorge.co.nz/images/GNZTR.gif>

<http://www.evolvenz.co.nz/images/logo.jpg>

<http://www.edanz.org.nz/template/images/members/taranaki/venture-taranaki.jpg>

<http://www.youngnz.org.nz/header.jpg>

Image set 17b

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<http://www.mch.govt.nz/files/images/cnzlogo1.jpg>

<http://www.maifarm.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Basically-Bush-Logo.jpg>

<http://www.nzfishing.com/Other/Graphics/MinistryofFisheriesLogo180.gif>

<http://www.health.govt.nz/sites/default/files/images/yourhealth/promos/breastfeeding-nz.gif>

<http://gg.govt.nz/sites/all/files/styles/preview/public/images/logo-sub.jpg>

<http://nzbdp.com/images/banner.png>

[http://www.familybudgeting.org.nz/images/NZ%20Fed%20Master%20Logo%20\(glow\).png](http://www.familybudgeting.org.nz/images/NZ%20Fed%20Master%20Logo%20(glow).png)

<http://www.auckland4wd.org.nz/downloads/doc-logo.gif>

Image set 17c

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http://www.biotechlearn.org.nz/var/biotechlearn/storage/images/media/images/organisation_logos/erma/12496-4-eng-AU/erma_medium.jpg

<http://www.occ.net.nz/images/logo.png>

http://www.voxy.co.nz/files/imagecache/news_item_image/files/landcare%20reaserach.png

<http://www.donatenz.com/content/10037/ARMS.jpg>

[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/5/51/Ministry_of Economic Development \(New Zealand\) logo.png/250px-Ministry of Economic Development \(New Zealand\) logo.png](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/5/51/Ministry_of_Economic_Development_(New_Zealand)_logo.png/250px-Ministry_of_Economic_Development_(New_Zealand)_logo.png)

<http://www.pekemoe.co.nz/NewBawn%20Button.gif>

http://images.trademe.co.nz/tm/property/agent_logos/2713180-1.jpg

Image set 17d

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<http://www.prostate.org.nz/images/logo-pcf.gif>

http://www.voxy.co.nz/files/imagecache/news_item_image/files/blue%20september.png

http://www.getfrank.co.nz/uploads/Feat_comp_event/BLUE-SEPTEMBER_rgb.jpg

http://www.nsu.govt.nz/resources/ScreeningMatters/BreastScreen_Aotearoa_Review.jpg

<http://www.copyright.org.nz/images/logo.gif>

<http://www.intergen.co.nz/Global/Images/CaseStudyImages/NZ%20Navy/logo.gif>

<http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/SiteCollectionImages/environment/createyourowndenlogo.jpg>

<http://methhelp.org.nz/sites/methhelp.org.nz/files/ministry-of-health-logo.jpg>

<http://www.athomecare.co.nz/pics/waipuna.jpg>

<http://www.restart.org.nz/images/restart-directory-simply-new-zealand.jpg>

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at:

http://www.nzpost.co.nz/sites/default/files/imagecache/product_full/product/2487/inland-revenue.jpg

<http://www.asbcommunitytrust.org.nz/sites/default/files/images/Letterhead-logo.gif>



• Catchment Management • Environmental Planning • Training • Resource Consents

Image set 17f

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<http://lukeytraining.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/cognition-education-logo-tagline1.jpg>

<http://www.franklinsouthbuses.co.nz/pics/Green%20Logo.JPG>

<http://assets.finda.co.nz/images/thumb/zc/2/0/0/4y4lv2/90x57/technology-new-zealand-department-of-foundtion-for-research.jpg>

<http://www.kiwiretreat.co.nz/images/kiwitrlgo.jpg>

<http://radiator7.com/radio-images/New-Zealand-Radio-New-Zealand-National-1014-FM.gif>

Image set 17g

These images have been removed for copyright reasons but can be viewed at:

[http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lqip.nsf/wpg_URL/Profiles-Councils-Kaipara-District-Council-Main/\\$File/Copy%20of%20Kaipara_HOR_WhBG.jpg](http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lqip.nsf/wpg_URL/Profiles-Councils-Kaipara-District-Council-Main/$File/Copy%20of%20Kaipara_HOR_WhBG.jpg)

[http://www.nrc.govt.nz/upload/Logos/NRC%20Logo%20\(colour\)%20-%20no%20motto.jpg](http://www.nrc.govt.nz/upload/Logos/NRC%20Logo%20(colour)%20-%20no%20motto.jpg)

<http://www.cic.govt.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/chatham-islands-council1.gif>

<http://media.apnonline.com.au/img/media/images/2012/09/10/GreaterWellington.gif>

http://www.lovenz.org.nz/images/uploads/supporters/council_waikato.jpg

<http://ecan.govt.nz/Style%20Library/ECan/Images/ecan-logo.gif>

<http://www.kerikeri.co/wp-content/uploads/fndc-logo.jpg>

[http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lqip.nsf/wpg_URL/Profiles-Councils-Opotiki-District-Council-Main/\\$File/OpotikiDClogo.JPG](http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lqip.nsf/wpg_URL/Profiles-Councils-Opotiki-District-Council-Main/$File/OpotikiDClogo.JPG)

http://www.sportmanawatu.org.nz/images/custom/Logos/TDC_colour%20-%20300%20dpi.jpg

<http://www.pcc.govt.nz/images/website/pcc-logo.jpg>

<http://www.mpdc.govt.nz/images/header/tearohapanorama.png>

<http://www.ruapehudc.govt.nz/Site/RandomImage.aspx?pageModuleId=1144552&pictureType=4>

Image set 17h

Data set Seventeen

Organisational logos

Table 10.7: Details relating to image sets 17a–17h on preceding pages

Image	Description
17a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Consumer Affairs • New Zealand Deaf Games 2008 • Nourish Me Nutrition • Piopio College • Greenstone Family Clinic • CCS Disability Action • Pure Ora Walks
17b	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NZ Film Commission • Waiariki Institute of Technology • Ministry of Child, Youth & Family • Hawke’s Bay District Health Board • Publishers Association of New Zealand • Family Planning • Pacific Coast Highway New Zealand • Great New Zealand Touring Routes • Evolve New Zealand • Venture Taranaki • Young New Zealanders Foundation
17c	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creative New Zealand • Basically Bush • Ministry of Fisheries • Breastfeeding New Zealand • Volunteer Service Abroad New Zealand • New Zealand Board of Dialysis Practice • New Zealand Federation of Family Budgeting Services • Department of Conservation
17d	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ERMA NZ (Environmental Risk Management Authority) • Orewa Community Church • Landcare Research • Friends of ARMS (Auckland Regional Migrant Services) • Ministry of Economic Development • New Bawn Travel Solutions • Northland District Health Board

Image	Description
17e	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prostrate Foundation of New Zealand • Breast Screen Aotearoa • Copyright Council of New Zealand • Royal New Zealand Navy • Create Your Own Eden • Ministry of Health • Blue September Prostate Cancer campaign • Waipuna Hospice • Simply New Zealand
17f	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inland Revenue Department • ASB Community Trust • Ministry of Consumer Affairs • James Wright – Sculptor • Koru Environmental Consultants Ltd
17g	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognition Education • Tuakau College • Foundation for Research, Science and Technology • Tangiora Kiwi Retreat • Radio NZ National • Enterprising Manukau
17h	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kaipara District Council • Northland Regional Council • Chatham Islands Council • Greater Wellington Regional Council • Waikato District Council • Environment Canterbury Regional Council • Far North District Council • Opotiki District Council • Tararua District Council • Porirua City Council • Matamata Piako District Council • Ruapehu District Council

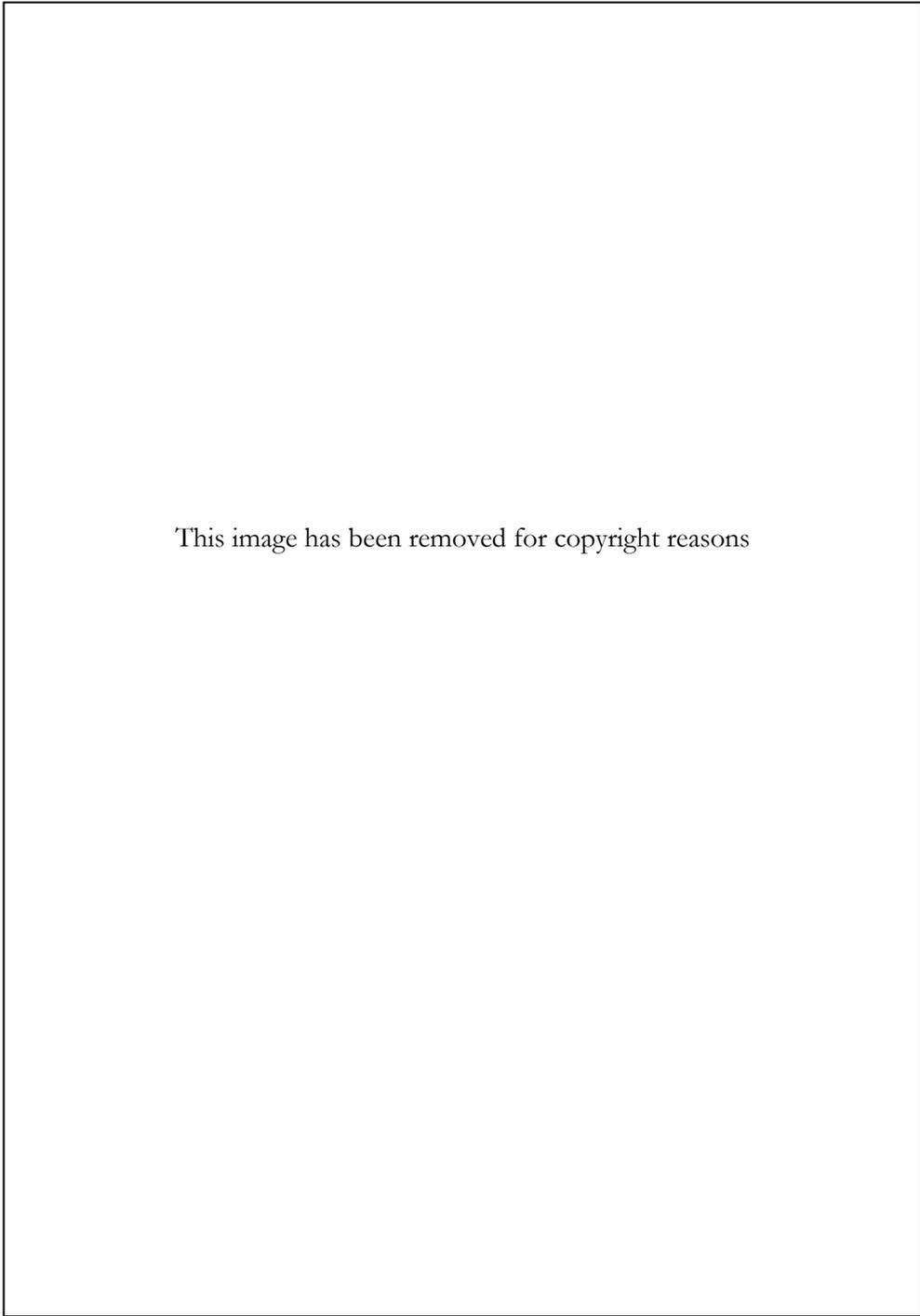


Image set 18a



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Image set 18b

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page 17

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http://www.pacificorganic.co.nz/PacificOrganic_CompanyProfile.pdf
page 20

Image set 18c

Data set Eighteen**Clean green koru**

Table 10.8: Details relating to image sets 18a – 18b on preceding pages

Image	Description	Reference
18a	Case study advertisement for Kiwi Blue water	Native Brand Consultancy, 2008
18b	Advertisement for Eye Pro glasses	Clark, 2011
18b	Advertisement for 10 th Adam Chamber Music Festival	Asher, 2011
18c Top	Pacific Organics Twin Vines Sauvignon Blanc 2008 wine bottle – backdrop: native forest with koru ferns	Pacific Organics Company Profile, 2009
18c Bottom	Pacific Organics New Zealand Spring Aotearoa bottled water – backdrop: koru fern bouquet	Pacific Organics Company Profile, 2009

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Image set 19a

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Image set 19b

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[http://shop.countdown.co.nz/Content/ProductImages/big/9311505226514.
jpg](http://shop.countdown.co.nz/Content/ProductImages/big/9311505226514.jpg)

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[http://www.thewarehouse.co.nz/is-
bin/intershop.static/WFS/TWL-B2C-Site/TWL-
B2C/en_NZ/product/large/2f/fa/9311505218014_1.jpg](http://www.thewarehouse.co.nz/is-bin/intershop.static/WFS/TWL-B2C-Site/TWL-B2C/en_NZ/product/large/2f/fa/9311505218014_1.jpg)

Image set 19d

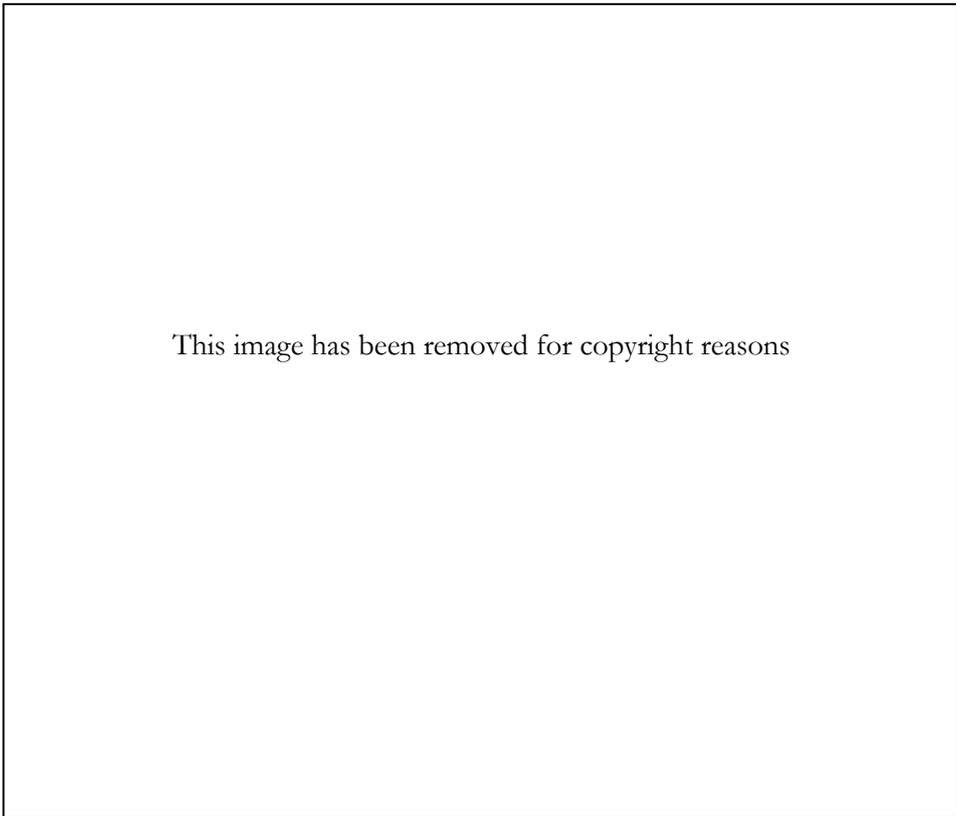
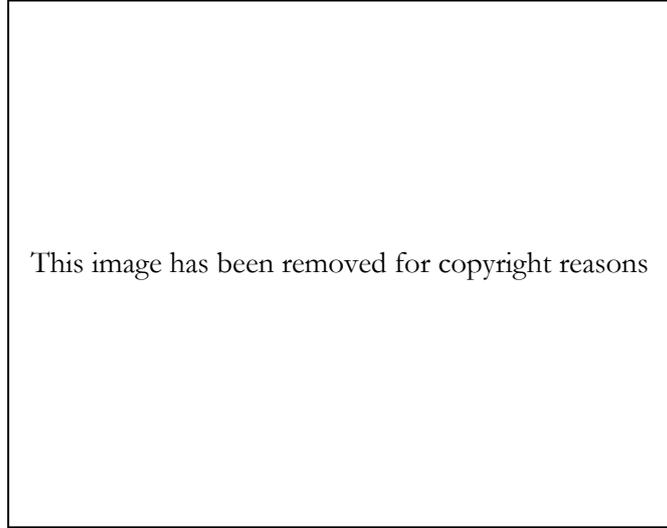


Image set 19e

Data set Nineteen

Around home

Table 10.9: Details relating to image sets 19a–19e on preceding pages

Image	Description	Reference
19a Top left	Wine glass with koru motif	Author's collection
19a Bottom left	Koru New Zealand, Pure Coromandel Hand and Body creme	Author's collection
19a Top right +	Stainless steel cheese knife with inlaid white and blue ceramic spiral	Author's collection
19a Second and third from top right	Spiral shaped pair of paua coasters	Author's collection
19a Bottom right	Gift card from The Warehouse with green koru frond and leaf	Author's collection
19b Top	Glazed green and cream pate bowl and knife with painted koru patterns along the word 'New Zealand'	Author's collection
19b Middle	Garden sculpture with three koru with light stone-like finish	Author's neighbourhood
19b Bottom	Garden sculpture with single koru with dark stone-like finish	Author's neighbourhood
19c	Produce of New Zealand sticker	Author's collection
19c	Produce of New Zealand sticker on Royal Gala apples	Author's collection
19c	Packaging for ceramic bowl	Author's collection
19d	Earthcare Papertowels	Author's collection
19d	Earthcare Tissues	Author's collection
19e Top	Close-up of koru graphic on t-shirt	Author's collection
19e Bottom	T-shirt with koru graphic	Author's collection

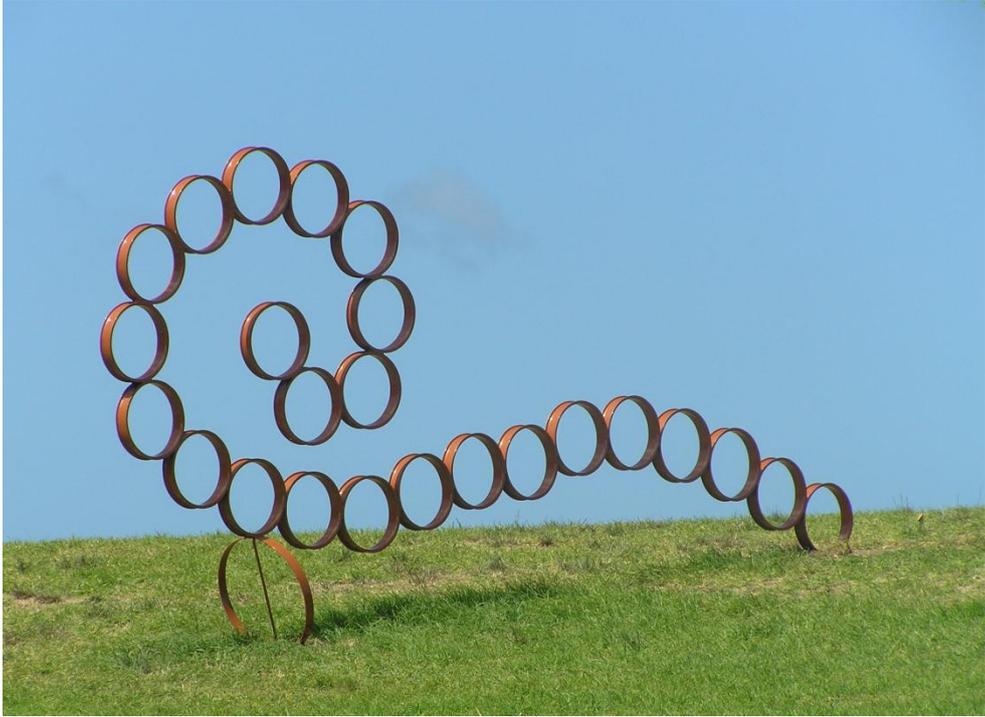


Image set 20a



Image set 20b



Image set 20c



Image set 20d

Data set Twenty**Contemporary Artists**

Table 10.10: Details relating to image sets 20a–20d on preceding pages – all of which have been reproduced with permission of the artists mentioned below.

Image	Description	Reference
20a Top	James Wright – sculptor www.jameswright.co.nz	Wright, 2011.
20a Bottom left	James Wright – sculptor www.jameswright.co.nz	Wright, 2011
20a Middle right	James Wright – sculptor www.jameswright.co.nz	Wright, 2011
20a Bottom right	James Wright – sculptor www.jameswright.co.nz	Wright, 2011
20b Top	‘Blue Tui Hapu’ woodcut print by Annie Smits Sandano	Sandano, 2011
20b Bottom left	‘Fantail on Kura Landscape’ woodcut print by Annie Smits Sandano	Sandano, 2011
20b Bottom right	‘Kokowhai Rauponga with Tuis’ woodcut print by Annie Smits Sandano	Sandano, 2011
20c 20d	Ornitho-Maia by Nadine Jaggi, Winner of the Montana World of Wearable art awards 2008, Leather (Wet molded, Embossed, Carved, Hand dyed, Copper foiled and hand sewn.) Bronze buckles (Designed and sculpted.) Steel rings	Jaggi, 2008 Photographer Simon Godsiff Model Caroline Thio

From the image sets above it is evident that the koru motif is utilised across a wide range of settings, locations and spheres including government and non-government, collective and individual, formal and informal, commercial and non-profit, public and private, fine and popular arts, central and local, religious and secular, official and non-official. In the second part of the chapter I consider the latent content and function of the ten data sets presented above, in conjunction with the ten data sets presented in the previous chapter.

Part two Latent content and function (stage two):

The analysis and findings

Latent: Hidden: concealed; secret, not seen; not visible or apparent.
(Webster 1947:968)

As discussed in earlier chapters, Bollas posits that three orders of knowledge constitute the core of our mental functioning (Bollas 1999:45). These can be considered latent functions, in that we are not usually aware that we operate according to these orders. In the discussion and tables below I consider the data in light of these three orders: the order of the infant, the order of the maternal (or maternal order) and the order of the paternal (or paternal order). Following Bollas' line of reasoning, set out in Chapter Six, images can be understood as representing a form of thinking or knowing associated with the order of the (pre-verbal) infant. In this regard, the maternal order and paternal order can be understood as sets of functions which engage and process the order of the infant (or image). The first step of analysis therefore requires a consideration of whether the maternal order and paternal order appear to exist as what Bollas refers to as an 'authority', 'structure', 'way of knowing' or 'way of thinking' in relation to the images. In this chapter I use the term 'structure' more frequently than the term 'order' when referring to the maternal and paternal ways of knowing as the latter term provides a more fitting way of referring to the way in which the images are analysed according to the maternal or paternal way of knowing as discussed below.

In order to provide a further way of thinking about how the maternal and paternal structures or ‘ways of knowing’ might exist in the images, I also draw on Jung’s archetypes of the mother and father as a means of describing how the maternal and paternal structures can be thought of in a visual sense. As with Bollas’ order of the mother, Jung’s archetype of the mother represents the nurturing, caring side of human nature, and is linked with primary forms of bonding and attachment, such as the suckling of an infant. In contrast, Jung’s archetype of the father is understood as a secondary process involving the material and temporal world, necessitating laws and protection. I have duplicated Table 6.1 from Chapter Six below, as a means of illustrating the types of functions and qualities I have drawn on, to analyse the image sets according to the structures of knowing.

Table 10.21 Extending Bollas’ three orders of knowledge (duplicate of Table 6.1)

The Infantile Order/ The Order of the Infant	The image, dreaming, non-verbal, vivid ideas, dense inner experiences, maternal connection, hallucination of reality, psychic intensity
Archetypal associations and representations of the infant	Requiring protection, embryonic, growth, potential, unfurling
The Maternal Order/ The Order of the Mother	Associative, receptive, unconscious freedom, silence, beyond words, unconscious collaboration, containment, dreamy, waiting, allusive, internal elliptical, pregnant with meanings, sentient, facilitating, primary
Archetypal associations and representations of the mother/maternal/feminine	Nurturing, soft, caring, curvaceous, rounded, receptive, natural environment, earthy, protective, lightness
The Paternal Order/ The Order of the Father	Interpretive, verbal, creative intervention, confrontation, interruption, judgment, focal, intense, penetrating, duty bound, a bearer of laws, psychic change, arbiter of the outside world, secondary
Archetypal associations and representations of the father/paternal/masculine	Strong, bold, decisive, linear, phallic, vibrant, darkness, built environment

The shaded elements in the above table have been summarised from *The Mystery of Things* (Bollas 1999:37-46).

As with stage one of the analyses I have assigned most of the analytical process to the appendix of this thesis (in this case appendix II). This second stage of the analytical process consists of categorising each image in terms of whether it reveals a maternal or paternal structure or way of thinking/knowing. A number of other aspects of the data have also been recorded and analysed including the dominant colours of the koru motif, and whether the image contains a stylised koru motif, or a representation of a koru fern in its natural state (referred to as a ‘naturalised’ koru). Details about whether the image represents any of the three manifest content and meanings defined in stage one of the analyses is also recorded and analysed, as is information about the organisation which has utilised the koru motif in its logo, advertising, design or artwork. While these aspects of the data are not latent, hidden or concealed at the level of the individual image, my premise is that it may be possible to reveal patterns or relationships about these aspects of the koru when analysing a larger group of images. In this respect the twenty data sets presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten comprise 235 images. In some instances, more than one image of a logo, graphic design or artist has been presented. In these instances, a group of images representing an organisational logo, product, or artist’s work have been counted as one image, reducing the total number of analysed images to 121 (as made apparent in appendix II). In the discussion of the findings below, I present the key findings from the analysis of the extended set of data tables presented in appendix II. Table 10.22 below illustrates the key finding from stage two of the analysis.

Table 10.22 Koru motif informed by maternal or paternal structure

	Count	Percentage
Maternal	96	79%
Paternal +Maternal	25	21%
Total	121	100

It is apparent in Table 10.22 above that a large majority of koru motifs are informed by the maternal rather than paternal structure. In fact, in instances where an image was categorised as being informed by the paternal structure, it was apparent that the image was also informed by the maternal order. Figures 10.1 and 10.2 below comprise the 25 images categorised as being informed by both orders.



The remainder of these images have been removed for copyright reasons but can be viewed at:

<http://img.scoop.co.nz/stories/images/0706/efc98bf2da6a314bd4da.jpeg>

<http://assets.finda.co.nz/images/thumb/zc/2/0/0/4y4lv2/90x57/technology-new-zealand-department-of-foundtion-for-research.jpg>

http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_yWEyPv7fm-

<w/Sflcw2T3wwI/AAAAAAAAAFg8/LEPenjgcIM4/s320/phbk.JPG>

http://www.getfrank.co.nz/uploads/Feat_comp_event/BLUE-SEPTEMBER_rgb.jpg

http://www.sportmanawatu.org.nz/images/custom/Logos/TDC_colour%20-%20300%20dpi.jpg

[http://www.familybudgeting.org.nz/images/NZ%20Fed%20Master%20Logo%20\(glow\).png](http://www.familybudgeting.org.nz/images/NZ%20Fed%20Master%20Logo%20(glow).png)

<http://2.bp.blogspot.com/->

tJrVIDNeq5U/Tko1gO4IXII/AAAAAAAAACTU/jL4ta6ou0Ao/s1600/cnz2011-rwc-koru-blue_towel-068893.jpg

<http://www.blackspade.co.nz/blog/wp->

content/uploads/2007/03/chris_sharp_blackspade_nz_anthem_poster.jpg

http://www.thebigidea.co.nz/files/imagecache/display/images/Full%20Logo%20Black%20all%20white_0.jpg

Figure 10.1: Representations of the paternal/maternal order from Data Sets 1-20



These images have been removed for copyright reasons but several can be viewed at:

[http://www.nrc.govt.nz/upload/Logos/NRC%20Logo%20\(colour\)%20-%20no%20motto.jpg](http://www.nrc.govt.nz/upload/Logos/NRC%20Logo%20(colour)%20-%20no%20motto.jpg)

<http://greenstoneclinic.co.nz/images/gfc-logo.jpg>

<http://www.intergen.co.nz/Global/Images/CaseStudyImages/NZ%20Navy/logo.gif>

<http://www.kerikeri.co/wp-content/uploads/fndc-logo.jpg>

<http://www.bpanz.org.nz/cms/images/PANZ%20Logo%20black%20hori.jpg>

<http://www.franklinsouthbuses.co.nz/pics/Green%20Logo.JPG>

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/image.cfm?c_id=1&gal_cid=1&gallery_id=109084#6823384

<http://gg.govt.nz/sites/all/files/styles/preview/public/images/logo-sub.jpg>

Figure 10.2: Representations of the paternal/maternal order from Data Sets 1 - 20

In Figures 10.1 and 10.2 above, the paternal structure/way of knowing is revealed by the use of dark colours and strong lines. This stands in contrast to the images which have been categorised as being informed by the maternal structure/way of knowing (see examples in figures 10.3 and 10.4 below). However, despite the display of the dark colours and strong lines revealed in Figures 10.1 and 10.2, it is also possible to see how the maternal structure informs these images. This is revealed in the curves of the koru motif and lighter colours. In effect, this suggests that, as a curved structure, the koru motif is inherently informed by the maternal order, regardless of the extent to which it is also informed by the paternal structure, such as straight lines and dark colours.



These images have been removed for copyright reasons but several can be viewed at:

http://cdn.theatlantic.com/static/infocus/antarctica0304/s_a03_09088482.jpg

<http://www.donatenz.com/content/10037/ARMS.jpg>

<http://www.pekemoe.co.nz/NewBawn%20Button.gif>

<http://www.athomecare.co.nz/pics/waipuna.jpg>

Figure 10.3: Representations of the maternal order from Data Sets 1-20



These images have been removed for copyright reasons but several can be viewed at:

<http://www.huggies.com.au/assets/0000/4648/forest-decorative.png>

http://www.logopeople.com.au/images/nzbdp_img.jpg

<http://www.health.govt.nz/sites/default/files/images/yourhealth/promos/breastfeeding-nz.gif>

<http://www.waikatodhb.govt.nz/images/10378.jpg?h=122&w=200>

<http://www.kiwiretreat.co.nz/images/kiwitrlogo.jpg>

<http://www.logodesignnewzealand.co.nz/img/nourish-koru-nz-food.jpg>

<http://www.thebigidea.co.nz/files/imagecache/display/images/ASBCopy%20of%20Logo-for-websites.gif>

Figure 10.4: Further representations of the maternal order from Data Sets 1-20

Figures 10.3 and 10.3 above illustrate how images categorised as being informed by the maternal structure are associated with nurturing, nourishment and the natural environment. It is interesting to note that in terms of the manifest content and meanings derived from stage one of the analysis (i.e. an association between the koru motif and Māori culture, the natural environment, and new life, growth and potential), those images categorised as being informed by the paternal structure/way of knowing were more likely to be associated with Māori culture. In contrast, images categorised as being informed by the maternal structure/way of knowing were more likely to be associated with the natural environment (see Table 10.23 below). This association between the maternal structure/way of knowing and the natural environment was also revealed in the in the analysis of the dominant colours of the koru images, and also in the analysis of stylised versus naturalised, as discussed below.

Table 10.23 Manifest content of koru motifs

	Maternal %	Paternal + Maternal %	Total %
Natural environment (NE)	28%	3%	31%
New life, growth and potential (NLGP)	18%	4%	22%
NE + NLGP	14%	0%	14%
Māori culture (MC)	2%	8%	10%
MC + NE + NLGP	7%	2%	9%
MC + NLGP	6%	2%	8%
MC + NE	5%	2%	7%
Total	80%	20%	100%

Table 10.24 below shows that the colours green and blue (denoting the land and sea) were by far the most commonly used colours in the koru motifs categorised as being informed by the maternal structure/way of knowing. In contrast, koru motifs that were categorised as being informed by the paternal structure/way of knowing, the most commonly used colours were black and white.

Table 10.24 Dominant colour of koru motif

	Maternal %	Paternal + Maternal %	Total %
Green	29.6%	4.8%	34.40%
Blue	19.0%	5.3%	24.30%
White	9.0%	6.3%	15.30%
Brown	7.9%	2.6%	10.50%
Black	3.7%	5.8%	9.50%
Red	3.7%	0.0%	3.70%
Orange	2.1%	0.0%	2.10%
Total	75.1%	24.9%	100%

Table 10.25 Stylised or Naturalised image of koru motif

	Maternal %	Paternal + Maternal %	Total %
Stylised	66%	21%	87%
Naturalised	6.5%	0%	6.5%
Stylised/Naturalised	6.5%	0%	6.5%
Total	79%	21%	100%

Table 10.25 above reveals that while stylised images of the koru image far outnumber naturalised versions of the koru motif, none of the koru images that were categorised as being informed by the paternal structure/way of knowing utilised a naturalised image of the koru motif. This supports the association of the maternal structure/way of knowing with the natural environment, given that the naturalised versions of the koru motif more overtly depict the natural environment. This point is also apparent in Table 10.26 below which reveals the different industry sectors that utilise the koru motif.

Table 10.26 Industry type

	Maternal %	Paternal + Maternal %	Total %
Cultural	19.8%	6.6%	26.40%
Commercial (cultural product)	14.0%	0.8%	14.80%
Health	8.3%	3.3%	11.60%
Local government	8.3%	2.5%	10.80%
Community/family support	6.6%	1.7%	8.30%
Environment	6.6%	0.0%	6.60%
Education	6.6%	0.8%	7.40%
Travel/Tourism	5.0%	0.8%	5.80%
Finance	3.3%	1.7%	5.00%
Commercial (non-cultural product)	0%	1.7%	1.70%
Defence	0%	0.8%	0.80%
Science + Technology	0.0%	0.8%	0.80%
Total	79%	21%	100%

As with the three previous tables, Table 10.26 above demonstrates the almost exclusive association between the maternal structure/way of knowing and the natural environment. This table also illustrates the prevalence of the koru motif and maternal order/structure with organisations involved in care and nurturing such as health, community and family support agencies, and education. In comparison only two organisations typically associated with the paternal order such as defence, and science and technology (i.e. NZ Navy and Foundation for Research, Science and Technology) appear in the data sets. Table 10.26 also reveals the prevalence of the koru motif as a commercial marketing tool. Such examples include Air New Zealand, Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd, greeting card companies, souvenir shops, t-shirt manufacturers, jewellers, and manufacturers of home-ware and skin-care products. In almost all these cases the koru motif operates as a signifier of national identity. This is especially apparent amongst organisations that have a national or global focus such as Te Papa Museum, Creative New Zealand and NZ Flag.com Trust; all categorised as belonging to the cultural sector.

A further point of interest that emerged from this second stage of analysis was the

finding that nearly three-quarters of the koru motifs presented in the twenty data sets were utilised by a non-government, rather than local or central government organisation or entity. This is of interest in light of the point raised in data set four (Chapter Nine) which discussed the introduction of koru motifs within governmental department logos over the past two decades (O’Shea, 2011). As mentioned, this introduction of koru motifs occurred in conjunction with the introduction of the Māori Language Act in 1987 and the acceptance of te reo Māori as an official language, and resulted in government departments and agencies providing both a Māori and English name for their respective organisations. Although I have not been able to establish a causal link between the introduction of the Māori Language Act 1987 and the introduction of the koru motifs as governmental organisational logos, it is not farfetched to assume a connection between these two developments.

A continuation of this line of thought suggests that the prevalence of the koru motif as a signifier of ‘national’ identity in Aotearoa New Zealand has come about as a result of legislated change. However, the results from the analysis (see Table 10.27 below) dispel this argument by demonstrating the prevalence of the koru motif in non-governmental organisations and entities.

Table 10.27 Koru motif utilised by local or central government department, ministry or authority

	Maternal %	Paternal + Maternal %	Total %
No	58%	15%	73%
Yes	21%	6%	27%
Total	79%	21%	100%

Table 10.28 below reveals that the koru motif is more prevalent in instances where the focus of the organisation is national or global, rather than regional or local. This supports the claim that the koru motif operates as a signifier of not just identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, but of national identity in particular.

Table 10.28 Area of focus

	Maternal %	Paternal + Maternal %	Total %
National and Global/National	42%	14%	56%
Regional and Local	37%	7%	44%
Total	79%	21%	100%

As with Tables 10.22 to 10.27, Table 10.28 above reveals that nearly four-fifths (79%) of the twenty data sets have been categorised as being informed by the maternal structure/way of knowing, while just over one-fifth (21%) of the koru images have been categorised as being informed by both the paternal and maternal structure/way of knowing. It is also interesting to note in Table 10.28 above that the images categorised as paternal/maternal occur twice as frequently in instances where the focus of the organisation or entity is national or global (14%) compared to where the focus is than regional or local (7%). In comparison the koru images categorised as being informed by the maternal order or structure occur at a more even rate across national/global and regional/local spheres (42% and 37% respectively).

The final table below (Table 10.29) demonstrates that over half of the images represent instances where the koru motif has been utilised as a logo to symbolise an organisation or entity. Other uses of the koru motif within the data sets relate to representations of national identity (eg. memorials, suggested flag designs, greeting cards), representations of the natural environment (eg *Rural Lifestyle* magazine, murals, Pacific Organics advertising material), associations with new life, growth and potential (Young New Zealanders Foundation, Creative New Zealand, Ministry of Child Youth and Family) and use of the koru motif to signify Māori culture (e.g. illustration on the cover page of the Auckland *Yellow Pages*, and in organisational logos such as Archives New Zealand and Air New Zealand). Although this final table does not reveal any new findings, it does support the findings mentioned above. This includes the fact that in the twenty data sets, the koru motif was revealed to be informed by the maternal structure/way of knowing much more frequently than the paternal order and structure. A breakdown of the

data also reveals that while the koru motif is utilised as a signifier of identity at the local, regional, national and global level, it more frequently represents ‘national’ identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is apparent in instances where the koru motif is used in national monuments or memorials, in organisational logos of national entities such as Air New Zealand and Te Papa museum, and in the many design suggestions put forward for a new national flag. One further finding that is worthy of note relates to the point that while the maternal structure/way of knowing informs the vast majority of koru motifs, those koru motifs that represent a specifically ‘national’ focus, are also likely to be informed by a paternal structure/way of knowing. I return to this point in the discussion below, and in the third and final stage of analysis in the following chapter.

Table 10.29 Utilisation of koru motif

	Maternal %	Paternal + Maternal %	Total %
Logo	44%	15%	59%
Design work (more commercial)	21%	1%	22%
Artwork (less commercial)	12%	2%	14%
Memorial	1%	1%	2%
Flag design	0%	1%	1%
Map	1%	1%	1%
Total	79%	21%	100%

As mentioned above, a particularly interesting ‘latent’ finding that emerged through the analysis of the twenty data sets, was that koru motifs utilised to represent a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, were more likely to be informed by a paternal structure/way of thinking, compared to instances where the koru motif was utilised as a signifier of identity at a local or regional level. In these latter instances, the koru motif was more likely to be informed by just the maternal structure/way of knowing. In this regard, this second stage of analysis has primarily analysed the koru images (i.e. image sets) rather than written material (i.e. text sets) set out in Chapter Nine. However, two text sets from Chapter Nine also reveal further information about the relationship

between national identity and the paternal structure/way of knowing.

In a personal communication with the Public Affairs and Communication division of Air New Zealand, Shelley Crawford from Air New Zealand states:

The Koru that has been developed for Air New Zealand and has a combination of meanings: the growth of the new fronds on the fern representing everlasting regeneration; and 'Mango Pare' – the name for the hammerhead shark, an icon representing strength, speed and power The airline also has the blessing of Māori to describe the mark as a "Koru" although the mark actually represents "Mango Pare" - the Māori name for hammerhead shark, an icon itself recognised as a symbol of strength, speed and power.

(Crawford 2011, personal communication)

From the communication above (also presented in Chapter Nine), the Air New Zealand koru can be seen to represent the three manifest meanings found in stage one of the analysis (i.e. an association with Māori culture, the natural environment, and new life, growth and potential). However, in this case, the association with the natural environment has been 'masculinised' by incorporating the 'Mango pare' (also referred to as 'Mangopare'), the Māori name for the hammerhead shark which represents "strength, speed and power" (Crawford 2011, personal communication). This 'masculinisation' of the Air New Zealand koru is also evident in the latest design of the Air New Zealand aircraft, where the teal (green and blue) colours have been replaced with black and white, and a further signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, the silver fern, has been added to the design on the air craft. Notably, the silver fern, and use of black and white, represents the national sport of rugby in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the nation's rugby team, the All Blacks. As noted earlier, the All Blacks won the Rugby World Cup that was held in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2011. The images below compare the recently introduced design for the Air Zealand aircraft, with the original teal design, and also All Black supporters' flags which were frequently seen at the time.



Figure 10.5 Koru and silver fern motifs (photos by author)

A further instance where, what appears to be a koru motif is also deemed to represent a hammerhead shark, is outlined in the text that describes the meaning behind the logo for the Rugby World Cup 2011, as mentioned in Chapter Nine and re-presented below:

The Look for this Tournament is a stylistic interpretation of the Hammerhead Shark (Mangopare) and the Fern shoot (Koru). The Mangopare is considered by Māori as the greatest of sharks because of its tenacious nature; a quality needed in the heat of battle. It symbolises strength, determination, strategy and team play. The Mangopare is the central design element with the interlocking hammerhead shapes representing unity and engagement. In this design, the Mangopare is not just about coming head to head but also about the coming together of players and teams.

The Koru shapes unfurl around the Mangopare to become stylised fern fronds. As the Koru reaches towards the light it is striving for perfection encouraging new and positive beginnings. The Koru is central to Māori symbolism with its spiral form representing the cycle of life, family and creation.

... The dynamism and energy of the Tournament is reinforced by the treatment of the Koru and Mangopare adding depth and movement. The curved nature of the ball element within the design denotes the embracing nature of the Tournament and further reinforces the meaning of the brand: "The World in Union".

(Taranaki Arts, 2011)

The utilisation of representations of the hammerhead shark and the silver fern, demonstrate how the use of straight lines and black and white effectively masculinise an image. However, in the images on the following page, the Rugby World Cup 2011 logo appears to be informed by the maternal structure in terms of the use of the green and blue colours and utilisation of flowing curves.



This image has been removed for copyright reasons,
but can be viewed at:

http://www.rugbyworldcup.com/mm/document/tournament/0/rnz2011newsletter-april2009_7437.pdf -

page 6

Figure 10.6 Top: Rugby World Cup 2011 flags (photos by author)
Bottom: Announcement of Rugby World Cup 2011 script and graphics in *RWC Ltd 2008* (2009:6).

As mentioned above, in the images of the Rugby World Cup 2011 logo above, the use of the green and blue colours and the predominance of flowing curves, denote a maternal rather than paternal structure. However, while the images tell one story, the text that explains the images, reports another story. Thus, in the case of the Rugby World Cup 2011, and Air New Zealand, both organisations have utilised the koru motif as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, in both instances, a disjuncture exists between what the images reveal about the koru motif (a maternal structure), and what the written text states (a paternal structure). I return to the matter of this disjuncture in the following chapter. In the meantime, I turn to a brief discussion of how this second stage of analysis, that analyses the latent content and function of the koru motif, can be understood not only in terms of Bollas' three orders or ways of knowing, but also via his understanding of the 'evocative object'.

The evocative object as latent function

In earlier chapters I discussed Bollas' concept of the evocative object. Here I outlined the argument that, just as our early transformational and aesthetic experiences as pre-verbal infants enable the metamorphosis of our self, various objects and experiences are capable of re-enacting this sense of transformation. Bollas refers to these objects and experiences as evocative, and argues that such objects or experiences have a specific 'integrity' or 'structure' to them. It is this 'structural integrity', 'use potential' or 'processional potential' of objects that propels us to 'think' through such objects, and which Bollas refers to as an existential or experiential, rather than cognitive form of thinking (Bollas 2009:50-59).

In light of analysis undertaken in this chapter, it can be argued that the koru motif operates as an evocative object. The structure or processional potential of the koru motif is revealed in the curves of the koru which reflect a maternal structure or way of knowing. In comparison, the use of bold lines reflects a paternal structure or way of knowing.

Thus, the 'structural integrity', 'use potential' or 'processional potential' of the curved koru motif invites us to think in a way that Bollas refers to as receptive, associative, collaborative and facilitative. He also refers to the maternal structure as supporting elliptical and allusive (or indirect) ways of knowing which utilise containing, dreaming, waiting, silence, and unconscious freedom as forms of thinking (Bollas 1999:37-46). In comparison Bollas refers to paternal structures of knowing as interpretive, intense, penetrating, verbal, focal, confronting, and duty bound. In this regard Bollas considers the paternal order or structure as utilising creative intervention and judgment as forms of thinking (*ibid*).

While Bollas' descriptions of maternal and paternal ways of knowing and thinking provide a lens through which to view and analyse the data sets presented in this thesis, Jameson's notion of the political unconscious provides the third and final stage of the analysis of the twenty data sets. Importantly, this final stage

contextualises the findings from the first two steps of analysis by explaining what the prevalence of the koru motif and the maternal structure or way of knowing tells us about these visual articulations of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In summary, the purpose of the chapter has been to present a further group of data sets (part one) which, along with the ten data sets in Chapter Nine, have been analysed in terms of Bollas' maternal and paternal orders/structures/ ways of knowing (part two). A detailed examination of the data sets revealed various latent qualities and functions relating to the koru motif that were not evident in the first stage of analysis. The findings from this second stage of analysis reveal the following key findings:

1. Nearly four-fifths of the twenty data sets are informed by the maternal structure or way of knowing. In comparison just over one-fifth of the data sets are informed by both the paternal and maternal structure/way of knowing.
2. The paternal structure is revealed by the use of dark colours and strong lines whereas the maternal structure is revealed in the curves of the koru motif and lighter rather than darker colours.
3. The curved structure of the koru motif suggests that this motif is inherently informed by the maternal order, regardless of the extent to which it is also informed by the paternal structure, such as straight lines and dark colours.
4. Images informed by the paternal structure or way of knowing were more likely to be associated with Māori culture. In contrast, images informed by the maternal structure or way of knowing were more likely to be associated with the natural environment.
5. The association between the maternal structure/way of knowing and the natural environment was also revealed in the analysis of the dominant colours of the koru images, and in the analysis of stylised versus naturalised koru images.
6. Green and blue were by far the most commonly used colours in the koru motifs informed by the maternal structure or way of knowing, whereas black

and white were the most frequently used colours in the koru motifs informed by the paternal structure or way of knowing.

7. The data revealed a prevalence of the koru motif and maternal structure with organisations involved in care and nurturing such as health, community and family support agencies, and education. In comparison only two organisations typically associated with the paternal order such as defence, and science and technology (i.e. NZ Navy and Foundation for Research, Science and Technology) appeared in the data sets.
8. Nearly three-quarters of the koru motifs presented in the twenty data sets were utilised by a non-government, rather than local or central government organisation or entity. The results from this analysis dispel the argument that the prevalence of the koru motif has come about as a result of legislated change.
9. Images informed by the paternal structure occur twice as frequently in instances where the focus of the organisation or entity is national or global, compared to where the focus is than regional or local. In comparison the koru images informed by the maternal order or structure occur at a more even rate across national/global and regional/local spheres. Supporting material from text sets in Chapter Nine show that two organisations which represent a national/global rather than regional/local focus (i.e. Air New Zealand and Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd) have masculinised the koru motif by incorporating the hammerhead shark (representing strength, speed and power) into the koru design.
10. The koru can be regarded as an evocative object, in that the compelling structure of the koru curves invite a maternal way of thinking or knowing.

I now turn to the third stage of analysis which considers the findings from stage one and stage two of the analysis in terms of unconscious desire, including Jameson's notions of ideological function and utopian fantasy.

Chapter Eleven

Discussion

Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings established in stage one and stage two of the analysis, set out in the second parts of Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten, and examines these findings in light of the third and final stage of analysis: ‘unconscious desire’. In section one below I present a summary of the manifest findings from stage one of the analysis (outlined in part two of Chapter Nine). In section two I summarise the latent findings and latent function (outlined in part two of Chapter Ten). In the third section I re-introduce the reader to Jameson’s notions of ‘ideological function’ and ‘utopian fantasy’ and discuss how these concepts productively extend the findings from stage one and two of the analysis by situating the findings within a broader societal context.

Section one Summary of stage one of the analyses

Manifest content and meaning

Stage one of the analyses (undertaken in part two of Chapter Nine) involved the examination and categorisation of the manifest meanings and associations of the koru motifs presented in data sets 1 – 10, with particular reference to the written descriptions that accompanied the image sets. I utilised the following definition of ‘manifest’ to examine the associations or meanings of the motifs:

Manifest: Plain; open; clearly visible to the eye or obvious to the understanding; not obscure or difficult to be seen or understood.

(Webster 1947:1030)

During this first stage of the analysis I created three tables where I progressively filtered and condensed the manifest content with respect to the manifest meanings

and associations presented in the text sets. The tables, due to their large size and sometimes repetitive content, have been assigned to Appendix I of the thesis. From these data tables I established the following predominant manifest meanings and associations pertaining to the koru motif:

1. An association with Māori culture
2. An association with the creation of new life, growth and potential
3. An association with the natural world or environment (e.g. unfurling fern fronds and waves)

The association of the koru motif with Māori culture is readily apparent. One of the most obvious instances relates to the use of the Māori word 'koru' to refer to the motif. In *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori* the term 'koru' refers to something folded, the blue flowered koru (*pratia physaloides*), an apostrophe, or carved spiral pattern (Ryan 1995:112). Likewise, *The Dictionary of the Māori Language* states that the word 'koru' refers to the *colensoa physaloides* plant, something folded, coiled or looped, or a bight or bulbed motif in carving and scroll painting (Williams 2006:147). As outlined in Chapter Eight the prevalence of the koru motif in customary and contemporary kōwhaiwhai patterns (rafter paintings), whakairo (carving) and moko (facial tattoo) is clearly evident. The association of the koru motif with 'the creation new life, growth and potential' also correlates with some of the understandings (though by no means all) of the koru within customary and contemporary Māori culture. This representation of new life, growth and potential is also visible in both the naturalised and stylised depictions of the koru motifs illustrated in the data sets presented in both Chapter Nine and Ten. Here the shape of the koru motif suggests the unfolding of an embryonic form which develops into something beyond its original state.

Finally, the association of the koru motif with the natural environment including the koru as a representation of an unfurling fern frond or a wave is also readily visible to the eye. This is especially clear in instances where the koru motif is depicted in a naturalised or figurative state; most often as a fern frond but sometimes as a wave or waves. This likely explains why the dominant colours used

to represent the koru motif are green and blue (denoting the land and sea). The association of the koru motif with the natural environment also connects to the understanding of the koru motif in relation to Māori culture as well as new life, growth and potential. As discussed in Chapter Eight, the koru motifs present in many kōwhaiwhai patterns are said to represent, at one level, forms from the natural environment including fish, birds, and plant life. In this respect there is a degree to which the three manifest understandings of the koru motif in terms of Māori culture, the creation of new life, growth and future potential, and the natural environment interlink with one another.

Section two Summary of stage two of the analyses

Latent content and function

Latent: Hidden: concealed; secret, not seen; not visible or apparent.

(Webster 1947:968)

Stage two of the analysis involved an examination of the twenty data sets presented in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten. These data sets contained a total of 235 images which allowed the possibility of bringing to light latent content that was not visible or apparent when examining an individual image. As with stage one of the analyses, data tables were created to enable the categorisation of the data. A wide range of details were recorded in the tables, beginning with the key step in the analysis which required categorising the data in terms of maternal or paternal content, as discussed below. The data was also categorised in terms of the manifest meanings and associations of the koru motifs (as established in stage one of analysis). Further categorisations included recording those koru motifs that used a stylised or more abstract koru motif rather than a naturalised image (such as a photo of a fern frond in its natural environment). In terms of other visual aspects of each koru motif, the dominant colours present in each image were recorded. Further to this, was the recording of a range of data regarding organisational information. This included details such as the name of the

organisation or entity which utilised the koru motif, what purpose the koru motif was used for (eg. as an organisational logo, artwork, advertising etc), whether the entity was a government or non-government organisation, whether the entity's focus was global, national, regional or local, and what industry sector the entity represented. This produced a significant number of data tables which have been consigned to Appendix II.

These tables allowed a finer detailed examination and comparison of the koru motifs in the data sets and provided a number of factors to be considered when analysing the data in light of Bollas' three orders of knowledge. In this regard, Bollas regards the image as reflecting a way of knowing associated with the order of infant. This relates to the fact that our initial years of infancy are pre-verbal, and we therefore think in a visual manner. This type of thinking continues throughout our life, especially in our waking and sleeping dream life (Bollas 1999:43). In this regard, the analysis in this second stage of analysis involved considering whether the maternal order or paternal order operated as functions which informed the image (or order of the infant). This categorisation was primarily based on the visual appearance of each image, and the extent to which each image portrayed dark colours and bold lines (representing the paternal structure), versus lighter colours and soft curves (representing the maternal structure). As the summary of findings below illustrates, the vast majority of the images were categorised as being informed by the maternal order. While there were instances where images were informed by the paternal order (i.e. the utilisation of dark colours and bold lines) these images also reflected the maternal order or structure, as the employment of a koru motif invariably involves the use of curves. In these instances, the image was categorised as reflecting both the paternal and maternal order. After categorising the data according to this key step of the analysis, a further break down of the data was undertaken, as described in the paragraph above. In all, the key findings from this second stage of analysis are as follows.

1. Nearly four-fifths of the twenty data sets are informed by the maternal structure or way of knowing. In comparison just over one-fifth of the data sets are informed by both the paternal and maternal structure/way of knowing.
2. The paternal structure is revealed by the use of dark colours and strong lines whereas the maternal structure is revealed in the curves of the koru motif and lighter rather than darker colours.
3. The curved structure of the koru motif suggests that this motif is inherently informed by the maternal order, regardless of the extent to which it is also informed by the paternal structure, such as straight lines and dark colours.
4. Images informed by the paternal structure or way of knowing were more likely to be associated with Māori culture. In contrast, images informed by the maternal structure or way of knowing were more likely to be associated with the natural environment.
5. The association between the maternal structure/way of knowing and the natural environment was also revealed in the in the analysis of the dominant colours of the koru images, and in the analysis of stylised versus naturalised koru images.
6. Green and blue were by far the most commonly used colours in the koru motifs informed by the maternal structure or way of knowing, whereas black and white were the most frequently used colours in the koru motifs informed by the paternal structure or way of knowing.
7. The data revealed a prevalence of the koru motif and maternal structure with organisations involved in care and nurturing such as health, community and family support agencies, and education. In comparison, only two organisations typically associated with the paternal order such as defence, and science and technology (i.e. NZ Navy and Foundation for Research, Science and Technology) appeared in the data sets.
8. Nearly three-quarters of the koru motifs presented in the twenty data sets were utilised by a non-government, rather than local or central government organisation or entity. The results from this analysis dispel the argument that the prevalence of the koru motif is a result of legislated change.

9. Images informed by the paternal structure occur twice as frequently in instances where the focus of the organisation or entity is national or global, compared to where the focus is than regional or local. In comparison the koru images informed by the maternal order or structure occur at a more even rate across national/global and regional/local spheres. Supporting material from text sets in Chapter Nine show that two organisations which represent a national/global rather than regional/local focus (i.e. Air New Zealand and Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd) have masculinised the koru motif by incorporating the hammerhead shark (representing strength, speed and power) into the koru design.
10. The koru can be regarded as an evocative object, in that the compelling structure of the koru curves invite a maternal way of thinking or knowing

In terms of the final finding above, Bollas describes evocative objects as objects or experiences that repeat the sense of transformation or metamorphosis we undergo as infants. Bollas posits that such objects or experiences have a specific ‘integrity’ or ‘structure’ to them. It is the ‘structural integrity’ or ‘processional potential’ of these objects that propels us to ‘think’ through such objects. The structural integrity or processional potential of the koru motif is revealed in the curves of the koru which reflect a maternal structure or way of knowing. Thus, the koru motif invites us to think in a way that Bollas refers to as receptive to the production of unconscious material and which privileges the barely articulate or allusive. This maternal form of thinking also appreciates the nuances of developing meaning and the swing from quiet to intense experience (Bollas 1999:35-46). In this regard the image of the woman with the cello in image set 18b (Chapter Ten) represents the order of the maternal not only because of the presence of koru-like spirals, but also because of the curved form of the feminine figure, as well as the cello, which suggests what Bollas refers to as “the flow of unconscious communicating that is beyond words” (ibid); another key feature of the maternal order of knowing.

In contrast the paternal order reflects the masculine qualities of strength, boldness and decisiveness. These qualities are apparent in the dark colours and use of bold

lines. The warrior-like Māori male with the full facial moko (tattoo) in image set 13 (Chapter Ten) provides a fitting portrayal of the paternal order. Bollas extends this understanding of the order by positing it as the interpretive and duty bound part of the mind that acts as a bearer of laws and prohibitions, which is essential to establishing our self in the social world. In this respect, the paternal order interrupts the unhindered movement between the order of the infant and the order of maternal; something Bollas describes as an implicit act of confrontation. However, Bollas also describes the paternal order of knowing in terms of its ability for creative intervention and penetrating insights that enable psychic change. He also considers this order of knowing as a secondary process in contrast to the primary processes of the order of the infant and the order of the mother. (Bollas 1999:35-46).

Section three Stage three of the analysis

Unconscious desire

In this third and final stage of analysis I consider the findings from stage one and two of the analysis in light of the third element of the methodological component for this thesis: unconscious desire. Here I discuss how Jameson's conceptualisation of 'utopian desire' and 'ideological function' provide an extended understanding of the findings from stage one and two of the analysis. In doing so, consideration is given to *why* the latent content and function of the koru motif is concealed, and how the findings from the stage one and two reflect broader societal norms about what is expressed directly, compared to that which finds expression in an indirect form.

I begin by briefly summarising Jameson's concepts of ideological function and utopian desire, before outlining how the findings from stage one and two of the analysis can be understood in light of these concepts. From here I argue that the prevailing presence and popularity of the koru motif, within contemporary mainstream society (or what Jameson refers to as 'mass culture'), operates as a form of utopian desire to utilise a maternal way of knowing. Drawing on

Jameson's view that the works of mass culture cannot be implicitly or explicitly utopian without being ideological at the same time, I argue this unconscious utopian desire is ideological in the sense that it challenges the paternal order that operates as the ideologically dominant form of knowing and thinking in contemporary mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand; an order of thinking that Bollas notes as repressing or silencing the maternal order. As such, the ubiquitous presence of the koru motif operates as a visual and unconscious desire for a maternal way of thinking. This includes forms of thinking that are associative, collaborative, facilitative and receptive to the production of unconscious material, information or material that is beyond words, and the nuances of developing meaning (Bollas 1999:35-46).

Re-introducing the concepts of utopian desire and ideological function

As discussed in Chapter Five the twin capacities of ideological function and utopian fantasy underpin Jameson's concept of the political unconscious and his argument that:

[T]here is nothing that is not social and historical – indeed, that everything is 'in the last analysis' political.

The assertion of a political unconscious proposes that we undertake just such a final analysis and explore the multiple paths that lead to the unmasking of cultural artifacts as socially symbolic acts.

(Jameson 1981:20)

Jameson's use of the term 'ideological function' involves deliberating on the ways that late capitalism operates as the dominant ideological mode of production, and in doing so, informs our everyday lives, experiences, and consciousness. For the analysis of data in this thesis, I have relied on a general, rather than strictly economic understanding of the term 'ideology', as follows:

Ideology: [A] mode of thinking or interpreting, a method of observing, or a scheme of attitudes, especially in reference to social phenomena.

(Webster 1947:855)

An understanding of Jameson's concepts of political unconscious, utopian desire and ideological function are best illustrated via Levi-Strauss' anthropological study of the unique facial decorations of the Mbayá tribe in South America, outlined in Chapter Five, and summarised below.

Levi-Strauss describes the Mbayá as a fanatically hierarchal society whose relations of domination include the inferior status of women, the subordination of youth, and development of a hereditary aristocracy. He also reports that early accounts of the Mbayá showed they were paralysed by a fear of losing face and not living up to their rank, and/or marrying below their rank (Levi-Strauss 1973:254). Although the Mbayá were unable to resolve these contradictions, Levi-Strauss contends that what eluded them at a conscious level haunted them in a more subtle form: they began to dream about it:

Not in a direct form, which would have clashed with their prejudices, but in a transposed, and seemingly innocuous form: in their art. If my analysis is correct, in the last resort the graphic art of the Caduveo women is to be interpreted, and its mysterious appeal and seemingly gratuitous complexity to be explained, as the phantasm of a society ardently and insatiably seeking a means of expressing symbolically the institutions it might have, if its interests and superstitions did not stand in the way. In this charming civilization, the female beauties trace the outlines of the collective dream with their make-up; their patterns are hieroglyphics describing an inaccessible golden age, which they extol in their ornamentation, since they have no code in which to express it...

(Levi-Strauss 1973:256)

For both Levi-Strauss and Jameson, the visual texts of Caduveo facial art constitute a symbolic act and form of utopian desire, whereby the ideological and insurmountable social contradictions find a formal resolution in the aesthetic realm. Importantly, Jameson states that it is of little consequence whether or not

these acts are intentional (Jameson 1981:20). Of greater relevance, is the manner in which the relationship between ideology and cultural texts is conditioned by the political and historical horizons in which they are made (1981:79). As such, he argues that ideology should not be understood as something that merely informs or invests symbolic production, but rather that the aesthetic act is itself ideological in its own right “with the function of inventing imaginary or formal ‘solutions’ to unresolvable social conditions” (1981:79).

Thus, the concepts of utopian desire and ideological function, which underpin Jameson’s notion of the political unconscious, are demonstrated via Levi-Strauss’ description of the tension faced by the Mbayá, in relation to the dynamics and contradictions of the structures of their tribal organisation. The collective and ‘political unconscious’ of the Mbayá is embodied in the patterns they inscribe upon themselves, and provide an ornate resolution to the issues they find themselves unable to articulate in a conscious form. Jameson suggests that if we find Levi-Strauss’ anthropological findings a poor match to the postmodern present, we need only consider that if pre-capitalist societies find themselves in bewildering situations, it is much more true for citizens of our now global village (Jameson 1981:79-80). In this respect, it is not difficult to translate the above quote from Levi-Strauss regarding the situation of the Mbayá tribe (above), in terms of contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Levi-Strauss contends that what eluded the Mbayá at a conscious level haunted them in a more subtle form. Likewise, in this thesis I argue that what eludes contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand at a conscious level is expressed in the innocuous form of the koru motif. In a transliteration of Levi-Strauss’ quote above, I argue that:

If my analysis is correct, in the last resort the ubiquitous graphic art of the koru motif is to be interpreted, and its mysterious appeal and seemingly gratuitous complexity to be explained, as the phantasm of a society ardently and insatiably seeking a means of expressing symbolically the maternally informed institutions it might have, if its paternal interests and superstitions did not stand in the way. In contemporary society in

Aotearoa New Zealand, the koru motif traces the outlines of the maternal collective dream; its patterns are hieroglyphics describing an inaccessible maternal order, which is extolled in contemporary art and ornamentation, since there is no formal or official code in which to express it.

Transliterated from Levi-Strauss (1973:256)

One of the ways in which Jameson extends Levi-Strauss' argument is by framing the argument in contemporary terms. Jameson states that:

The works of mass culture cannot be ideological without at one and the same time being implicitly or explicitly Utopian as well: they cannot manipulate unless they offer some genuine shred of content as a fantasy bribe to the public about to be so manipulated.

(Jameson 1992:29-30)

In this regard, the many data images in Chapters Nine and Ten that show the koru motif in logos and advertised products can be said to offer the viewer a utopian fantasy about that particular organisation or product. In terms of organisations that use the koru motif to identify themselves (such as the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Child, Youth and Family, Department of Conservation, Ministry of Economic Development, New Zealand Board of Dialysis Practice, and Northland District Health Board) the “genuine shred of content” that acts “as a fantasy bribe to the public about to be so manipulated” (Jameson 1992:29-30) is the koru which suggests the organisation is informed by a maternal way of knowing. This way of knowing can be understood not only in the terms described above (i.e. forms of thinking that are associative, collaborative, facilitative and receptive to the production of unconscious material, information or material that is beyond words, and the nuances of developing meaning) but in the more general sense that relates to a maternal way of knowing: one which is supportive, encompassing, nourishing and caring. Thus, we are manipulated by our desire to be treated in such a ways, and which mirrors our earlier transformational experiences and metamorphosis of the self. This is despite the fact that such organisations are informed by an

ideologically dominant order of thinking that is paternal rather than maternal.

Bollas refers to paternal ways of thinking as reflecting the masculine qualities of strength, boldness and decisiveness, which are essential to the establishment of the self in the social world. These functions and qualities reflect the interpretive and duty bound part of the mind that acts as a bearer of laws and prohibitions. In this regard Bollas refers to the paternal order as a secondary process that interrupts and confronts the unhindered movement between the primary order of the infant and primary order of maternal (Bollas 1999:35-46). In an organisational sense, these paternal qualities are reflected in authoritative and hierarchal structures and the privileging of predetermined outcomes, over consultation with the so-called 'client'.

Interestingly, Bollas also refers to the paternal order as an authority that banishes unwanted ideas. In this regard he speculates that Freud repressed knowledge of the maternal order, as a result of his focus on the paternal order and the repressed unconscious. In doing so, Bollas contends that Freud 'forgot' that part of our unconscious "that creatively fulfils our desires all the time, in daydreams, conversations, relations, creative activities, and whatnot" (Bollas 2007:73).

The banishing of unwanted ideas and repression of the maternal order can also been seen in the data. In the cases of Air New Zealand and the Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd (see data set one and data set five in Chapter Nine), visual references to the koru have been overwritten or silenced by the text that reinterprets the koru as a Mangopare (hammerhead shark) that represents the paternal order in terms of strength, speed and power.

Associated to this banishment or repression of the maternal order, was the finding in stage two of the analysis, that images informed by the paternal structure or way of knowing were more likely to be associated with Māori culture, than images informed by the maternal structure (which were more likely to be associated with the natural environment). This raises the possibility that images of the koru motif that incorporate associations of Māori culture do so as a means of 'masculinising' the koru motif and/or its message. Another possibility is that the association with

Māori culture, like the koru motif, expresses a utopian desire for a way of knowing that is repressed by the existing ideologically dominant Pākehā way of knowing.

Further evidence of the repression or banishment of the maternal order of thinking is apparent in current academic literature that addresses the topic of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Chapter Two of this thesis, which addressed this topic, illustrated the manner in which academic literature has emphasised various historical, sociological and economic factors that explain national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand in male-dominated terms such as going to war, playing rugby, sailing yachts and conquering mountains.

In particular, the work of the key commentators of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, discussed in Chapter Two, reflect a paternal way of knowing that is evidenced by the focus on the external and material world. As such, Keith Sinclair's work addresses how key international, geopolitical, environmental and economic factors have influenced the formation and development of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In turn, the work of Claudia Bell highlights how accepted narratives about national identity are, in fact, supported by commodification and capitalism that disguise pressing social and environmental issues. Both Claudia Bell and Paul Spoonley discuss national identity in the context of a further external consideration: globalisation. Spoonley's work also exemplifies an increasingly prevalent way in which national identity is explained and understood in Aotearoa New Zealand, via the positions of different ethnic identities and groups including Māori, Pākehā, Pacific peoples, and those from South East Asia.

In response, this thesis has directed attention towards commonplace aesthetic experiences or events that represent 'New Zealand identity' such as the visual imagery of koru-inspired designs. As much as this imagery is proliferate amongst the likes of greeting cards, t-shirts, jewellery, stationery, and New Zealand-made products, little attention has been paid to what such a commonly recognised image of Aotearoa New Zealand tells us about national identity in this country, beyond Bell's framework that considers the commodification of such objects. However,

when viewed in light of a Freudian interpretive framework, consisting of a methodology which melds together elements of Jameson's and Bollas' work, it is possible to bring to light an understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand that moves beyond existing academic commentaries. I turn a discussion of these understandings below.

The ubiquitous presence and energy of maternal objects

Earlier on in this discussion I argued that the paternal order operates as the ideologically dominant order of thinking in contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand, and this paternal way of thinking or order of knowledge is reflected in academic commentaries which address the topic on national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. The ubiquitous visual presence of the maternally informed koru motif, within contemporary society, may seem counterintuitive or contradictory to this argument. In this regard, while the presence of the koru is indeed ubiquitous, the koru motif operates as an 'informal' rather than 'formal' signifier or symbol of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. In contrast, the paternally informed, bold black and white lines of the official silver fern emblem or logo is equally ubiquitous, but is seen in more formal situations and locations, in comparison to the koru motif. Indeed, on the NZ Flag.com website that supports the change in the design of the current national flag (as discussed in Chapter Nine, image set eight), the favoured flag design put forward by founders of the website is a stylised, black and white design of the silver fern. Likewise, in the ongoing debates and designs for a new national flag in *The New Zealand Herald* over the past several years, the silver fern remains the most suggested flag design, despite the popularity of the koru design (Cheng 2010).

While the silver fern, like the koru, represents or is associated with the natural environment, and could therefore be regarded as being informed by the maternal order, the use of black and white, and bold lines, instead, suggest it is informed by the paternal order. A sense of steeliness and strength is also present in the word 'silver'. As with the utilisation of the koru motif by Air New Zealand and Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd, it can be seen how the maternal qualities of the koru and

silver fern (i.e. an association with the natural environment) are masculinised or repressed by the paternal order and use of bold lines and dark colours.

Interestingly, the 'primary' and internally furled form of the koru frond, results in the 'secondary' and externally unfurled form of the silver fern (and other species of fern).

The most distinct difference between the koru and the silver fern, however, is the energy or movement that is present in the unfurling movement of the koru, in comparison to the static form of the silver fern. In Jamesonian terms, this energy points to the 'informing drive' or 'utopian fantasy' that can be found in certain works of mass culture, and provides fitful glimpses of 'truth' and 'authenticity' (Jameson, in Buchanan 2006:131). For Bollas, this energy can be understood in terms of a psychic identification or subjective rapport an individual senses in relation to certain objects. Bollas refers to this type of object as 'evocative' in the sense that it reminds the individual of earlier pre-verbal and pre-cognitive experiences of being transformed or metamorphosised. The structure or use-potential of evocative objects invite or compel a further experience of transformation in the individual. In the case of the koru motif, its structure is informed by the maternal order, and so invites or compels a way of thinking or knowing associated with the maternal, as described above. While Bollas' interest in the compelling energy of evocative object lies mainly at the level of the individuals, Jameson's view of the energy in such objects point to the unconscious desires of society at large, and the way in which cultural objects operate as socially symbolic acts.

This demonstrates how Jameson's work extends the explanatory power of Bollas' conceptualisation of the evocative object, and three orders of knowing. In a similar fashion, while stage one and stage two of this analysis have brought to light the manifest and latent content and functions of the data presented in this thesis, this third stage of analysis has addressed *why* such content is hidden or repressed, and therefore emerges as a form of unconscious desire.

In this regard, just as Jameson asserts that the consideration of the twin capacities of utopian fantasy and ideological function involve exploring “multiple paths that lead to the unmasking of cultural artifacts as socially symbolic acts” (Jameson 1981:20), the three stages of analysis in this thesis have explored manifest, latent and unconscious content of the data presented in this thesis. In doing so, I have revealed how the maternal order is repressed as a result of the paternal order that operates as the existing dominant ideology within contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Drawing from Jameson, this is not only of social and historical consequence; it is, in the last analysis, political (Jameson 1981:20). A discussion of the political consequences of the ideologically dominant paternal order in Aotearoa New Zealand, is one which warrants a thesis dedicated to that topic alone. The aim of this thesis, however, has been to direct attention to the aesthetic and unconscious realms as a means of way furthering our understanding of national identity in this country. The motivation for this topic, came about as a result of the failure of academic commentaries about national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, such as those of Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley, to reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense that *this* is what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, and *these* are the types of experiences that speak to me about my ‘New Zealandness’. The metacommentary formulated for this thesis, based on the work of Fredric Jameson and Christopher Bollas, has addressed what this aesthetic sense of ‘New Zealandness’ reveals at the level of a collective unconscious.

Summary

The analysis of data in this thesis has drawn on a Freudian interpretive framework to examine the koru motif as a signifier of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. As such, the use of the koru motif, within contemporary society, has been examined in terms of manifest content, latent content and unconscious desire. In terms of the manifest content of the koru motif, it has been demonstrated that the koru motif is primarily associated with Māori culture, the natural environment, and new life, growth and potential. With regard to the latent content of the koru motif it has been illustrated that the koru motif is primarily informed by the maternal

order. In this respect it has been argued that the koru motif operates as an 'evocative object'; a latent function which invites or compels us to shift our form of thinking towards a maternal way of knowing. In this regard I argue that the koru motif represents an unconscious utopian desire for the maternal order to be recognised and utilised as a way of knowing and thinking within mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand. By examining the manner in which the topic of national identity has been addressed in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is evident that the paternal order operates as the ideologically dominant order of knowledge and thinking, not only in mainstream society, but within the social sciences. Ultimately, this ideologically dominant order of knowledge, represses the maternal order of knowledge. As such, the maternal order emerges as a form of unconscious desire. The prevalence and popularity of the koru motif within mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand provides visual evidence of this unconscious and utopian desire.

I now turn to the concluding chapter where I review the aims and objectives of this thesis, the theoretical influences which have informed it, the research and findings and the contribution of knowledge this thesis has provided to the subject area of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Twelve

Conclusion

This thesis has pursued an understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand that extends existing academic commentaries on this subject area. In this regard, it has looked to the unconscious and aesthetic realms as productive forms of knowledge. By taking these and existing academic forms of knowledge into account, this thesis has enabled a fuller understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. It has also highlighted how personal and subjective experiences of national identity provide a productive way of thinking about and understanding national identity.

The motivation for seeking an extended understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, came about as a result of the failure of existing academic commentaries to reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense of what it *feels* like to be a New Zealander, or the types of experiences that speak to me about my 'New Zealandness'. I have argued that, while the subjective nature of these feelings and experiences may be regarded as a reflection of my own subject position as a middle-class Pākehā woman, there are nevertheless aesthetic and unconscious experiences that many New Zealanders share, regardless of their class, gender or ethnicity. In this regard I have looked to the koru motif, a popular icon of national identity in this country. The koru motif is one of several motifs that captivate and provide me with a sense of 'New Zealandness'. I have argued that the ubiquitous presence of the koru motif across different areas of society suggests that I am not the only New Zealander who feels captured and/or captivated by this motif.

Theoretical influences

The work of the theorists and commentators that inform this thesis can be viewed in terms of those whose work has been primary to the investigation of how unconscious and aesthetic experiences inform our sense of identity, and those whose work has been secondary, in the sense that it has provided important background material for this thesis. The theorists whose work has been primary to this thesis are Christopher Bollas, a psychoanalytic practitioner and theorist, and Fredric Jameson, a cultural critic and post-Marxist theorist.

The key areas of Bollas' work that have been employed in this thesis are his argument that the core of our mental functioning consists of three unconscious orders or ways of knowing: the paternal order, the maternal order and the order of the infant. These orders offer three different ways of knowing and thinking about ourselves, and the world around us. I have utilised Bollas' three orders of knowing as a means of analysing the latent content and function of the koru motif. I have also utilised Bollas' concept of the 'evocative object' and the notion that such objects compel us to shift or change our way of thinking. In stage two of the analysis I have drawn on these aspects of Bollas' work to argue that the koru motif is primarily informed by the maternal order, and functions as an evocative object that alerts us to a maternal way of thinking. This way of thinking is also reflected in this thesis, via the consideration of my subjective experiences and feelings about what it is to be a New Zealander. In contrast, the considerable use of images in this thesis supports a way of knowing that accords with Bollas' order of the infant (i.e. a way of knowing or thinking that relates to visual imagery). The intentional use of images with minimal supporting text on the same page has been an important way of providing a way of thinking that moves beyond the predominant paternal way of thinking that is reflected in academia, and in this thesis. In turn, a paternal way of thinking or knowing in this thesis is evident via the interpretation of data in terms of the unconscious desires of society, rather than the individual, and demonstrates a focus on external rather than internal or individual considerations. The manner in which the thesis has been written and formatted

according to the rules and regulations of the academic requirements of a PhD thesis, also reflects a paternal way of thinking and knowing.

The work of Jameson has also played a crucial a role in this thesis. In particular, Jameson's 'metacommentary' has provided the basis for the methodology and a framework for analysing the manifest, latent and unconscious contents, functions, and meanings of the research data. I have also employed Jameson's argument that certain objects have an 'energy' that represents a collective form of unconscious desire or utopian fantasy. Jameson views this unconscious desire as a response to the restrictions that are placed upon citizens by the politically and ideologically dominant forces of the society in which such citizens live. In the third and final stage of the analysis of the data I have utilised Jameson's concept of unconscious desire to argue that the koru motif not only functions as an evocative object, but also points to a utopian fantasy within society for a way of thinking that reflects the maternal order, but which is repressed by the ideologically dominant paternal order.

As mentioned above, Bollas' and Jameson's work has been primary to this thesis. However, the work of other theorists and commentators has also provided valuable background material for this thesis. This includes the work of Keith Sinclair, Claudia Bell and Paul Spoonley, whose work was outlined in Chapter Two. The work of these key authors represents three well regarded and informed commentaries on national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand that provide an important contribution to this topic area. However, I have also argued that their accounts of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand are limited, in that they are primarily informed by a paternal way of knowing, and do not consider other ways of knowing or thinking.

An outline of individual and collective understandings of identity, as described by Stuart Hall, has also contributed to this thesis, by providing a broader context in which to situate the work of Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley. Hall's discussion of different understandings of identity and identification, outlined in Chapter Three, also locates Bollas' work within the field of identity as it relates to Freud's

understanding of the unconscious. In turn, the work of Hirini Moko Mead, Julie Paama-Pengelly, Arthur Gordon Tovey, David Simmons, Roger Neich, Rawinia Higgins, and Allan Hanson in Chapter Eight has added to this thesis by providing understandings of the koru motif as it pertains to customary and contemporary Māori society. Thus, the findings in this thesis are supported not only by the work of Bollas and Jameson, that has been primary to this thesis, but by the secondary discussions that have taken place in Chapter Two (drawing on the work of Sinclair, Bell and Spoonley), Chapter Three (drawing on the work of Hall) and Chapter Eight (drawing on the work of Mead, Paama-Pengelly, Tovey, Simmons, Neich, Higgins and Hanson. As mentioned in the introductory chapter to this thesis, I have also been inspired by the academic work of Lily George and Charles Royal who support the use of more innovative and creative ways of thinking about aspects of Māori culture.

The research

As stated above, the methodology for this thesis is based on Jameson's metacommentary, and involved three stages of analysis. These three stages consisted of investigating the data (primarily koru motifs) in terms of manifest content and meaning, latent content and function, and unconscious desire. The investigation of manifest content involved recording and categorising the meanings of the koru motif, presented in the ten data sets (Chapter Nine, part one). This first stage of the analysis revealed the most dominant and commonly understood meanings of the koru motif, and unlike stage two and three, analysed the written material that comprised part of the first ten data sets. The findings from this analysis were then incorporated into stage two of the analysis. The recording and categorisation of data from this first stage is provided in Appendix I, while the findings were presented in part two of Chapter Nine, and then summarised in Chapter Eleven, along with the findings from stage two, and the discussion of stage three of the analysis.

The second stage of analysis involved an examination of the latent content and function of the twenty data sets presented in Chapter Nine and Ten. Here, the data was analysed according to whether it appeared to be informed by the maternal order, the paternal order, or both. These categorisations were then explored in light of further data including the findings from stage one of the analysis, and further information that was recorded about the data images. This included what types of organisations utilised the koru motif, whether those organisations were government or non-government entities, whether the focus of the entity was local, regional, national or global, and what industry sector the organisation belonged to. In order to explore what might be latent, hidden or concealed in the data, a number of these categories were cross-referenced with other categories, to see if any trends or patterns emerged. The recording and categorisation of this data has been presented in Appendix II, and includes qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data. The findings from this second stage was reported in part two of Chapter Ten, and as with stage one of the analyses, summarised in Chapter Eleven.

The third stage of the analysis was presented in discussion form and centred on the findings from stage two; that the koru motif is primarily informed by the maternal order as a way of knowing or thinking, and also functions as an evocative object. These findings were considered in light of Jameson's notion of unconscious desire and, more specifically, his concepts of utopian fantasy and ideological function.

The findings

The first stage of the research analysis, which considered the manifest content and meaning of the koru motif, demonstrated that the koru motif is most commonly understood and referred to in three (sometimes overlapping) ways: as representing Māori culture (1), the natural environment (2), and new life, growth and potential (3). The second stage of analysis revealed that in terms of latent meaning and function, the koru motif primarily represents a maternal way of knowing or

thinking, and in this regard functions as an evocative object, that compels or alerts the viewer to a way of thinking or knowing that accords with the maternal order. Stage three of the analysis established that the compelling or captivating nature of the koru can also be understood, in Jamesonian terms, as a type of energy that is informed by a collective unconscious desire or utopian fantasy for the maternal order to operate as a valid and legitimate form of thinking and knowing within society. Just as Jameson argues that the twin capacities of utopian desire and ideological function are present in unconscious forms of collective desire, I have argued that the utopian desire for a maternal way of thinking or knowing is a response to the ideologically dominant function of the paternal order of thinking and knowing in contemporary mainstream society in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As well as arguing that the ideologically dominant paternal order of thinking and knowing functions at the local, regional and national levels of contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand, I have also argued the paternal order operates as the ideologically dominant way of knowing and thinking within the social science departments of academia. This is illustrated in Chapter Two, where the exemplars of Sinclair's, Bell's and Spoonley's commentaries of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand all expound the paternal order as a way of knowing and thinking. For instance, Sinclair's discussion of how various events, such as World War I and World War II, the breaking in of the land, and the success of the early All Blacks rugby tours have underpinned our sense of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, all reflect a way of knowing that refers to material, external and predominantly male-oriented events as underpinning our sense of national identity. In turn, a recurring theme in Bell's work is the way in which the external and economic imperatives of capitalism and the commodification of various cultural objects have resulted in fictionalised narratives of national identity in this country. Chapter Two also outlined the manner in which Paul Spoonley addresses the topic of national identity; namely via the cultural identities of different ethnic groups within Aotearoa New Zealand and the manner in which the social, economic and political policies of the dominant cultural group, Pākehā, override the cultural rights and aspirations of the other groups. As stated, these

commentaries provide valuable understandings of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Nevertheless, they reflect a paternal order of knowledge that focuses on external social, political and economic processes and events as a means of thinking about national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Further areas of research

While the findings from this thesis reveal the unconscious and aesthetic role of the koru motif as a signifier of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, they also point to new avenues of research. One such area that warrants further attention is a study of the koru motif within customary and contemporary Māori society via the lens of Bollas' three orders of knowledge, and Jameson's analytical framework of manifest, latent and unconscious content and function. In stage one of the findings, it was found that at the level of manifest content and meaning, the koru motif held a strong association with Māori culture, the natural environment, and new life, growth and potential. In turn, stage two of the analysis revealed that, in terms of latent content and function, and in instances where the koru motif denoted an association with Māori culture (rather than the natural environment, or new life, growth and potential), the koru motif was more likely to be informed by the paternal *and* maternal order of knowing, rather than the maternal order, as was predominantly the case in instances where the koru motif denoted an association with either the natural environment, or new life, growth and potential. This raises the question of whether there is a conscious or unconscious use of Māori culture to express a paternal way of knowing, and/or to masculinise a message, as in the instance of Air New Zealand and Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd (as discussed in Chapter Ten). Alternatively, the association of Māori culture with the koru motif, within contemporary society in Aotearoa New Zealand, may denote the unconscious expression of the desire for an order of knowledge that is receptive to indigenous ways of knowing. In this regard, a study of the koru motif, that is specific to the use of the koru motif within customary and contemporary Māori society, and which utilises the methodology set out in this thesis, would provide a further way of thinking about the koru motif and its use as a signifier of identity.

A further interesting area of research would be to use the methodology formulated in this thesis to analyse visual signifiers of identity within academia, as a means of gaining a fuller understanding of the conscious desires of academic life, versus those desires that are repressed by the current norms, rules and regulations of various academic departments, schools or colleges. As discussed in the following section, this methodology offers a way of understanding any number of subjects, in a fuller and more creative light.

Contribution to knowledge

As mentioned, this thesis has been motivated by the failure of existing academic commentaries on national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, to articulate or reflect back to me, as a New Zealander, the sense that *this* is what it *feels like* to be a New Zealander, or that *these* are the types of experiences that *speak to me* about my New Zealandness. In this regard, this thesis has made an original contribution to knowledge by melding together concepts from Bollas' and Jameson's work, in order to construct a methodology capable of addressing aspects of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, that existing commentaries have failed to provide. As such, this thesis has offered alternative ways of thinking about and understanding identity. More particularly, it has provided ways of thinking about identity that have highlighted the aesthetic and unconscious realms as productive ways of furthering our understanding of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This thesis has also made an original contribution to knowledge by utilising all three orders of thinking and knowing as a means of investigating the topic of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Just as Bollas asserts that a truly creative formulation of theory must combine the virtues of all three orders of knowing (Bollas 1999:46), this thesis has combined all three ways of thinking and knowing as a means of gaining a fuller understanding of this topic area. As referred to above, I have utilised the order of the infant in this thesis by relying on visual material (or what Bollas would refer to as 'imagery') as a way of

understanding the koru and other spiral motifs in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight, and also as the primary form of data in Chapters Nine and Ten. A way of thinking or knowing that reflects the maternal order has been illustrated in this thesis via the receptivity to methods which promote 'other' forms of thinking and knowing, such as a consideration of the unconscious and aesthetics, including Bollas' notion of the 'evocative object' and Jameson's understanding about the 'energy' of cultural objects. The presence of the paternal order, as a way of thinking, is apparent in a number of areas in this thesis, including the quantitative analysis of data in stage two, and in stage three where there is a consideration of the unconscious desires of society (rather than the individual), that emerge in response to ideologically dominant ways of thinking and knowing that repress other forms of thinking and knowing.

In this regard, the capacity of the paternal order to repress unwanted ideas or other ways of thinking, as Bollas suggested was the case with Freud's paternal focus, lessens the appeal of this form of thinking in contrast to the order of the infant, and the maternal order. As such, this thesis is informed by the paternal order to a greater degree than it is informed by the remaining two orders. This is reflected in the way this thesis has been written, in order to adhere to the requirements of academia including the rules and regulations pertaining to a PhD thesis. However, this thesis can also be understood in terms of an unconscious desire to respond to, and challenge this ideologically dominant way of thinking and knowing that is pervasive, if not throughout academia, then at least in the social sciences, and which thwarts other ways of thinking and knowing. In this regard, feminist scholarship has done much to confront and contest the paternalistic nature of academia, and in turn, this thesis, by promoting the use of visual imagery (which reflects the order of the infant) and the aesthetic and unconscious realms (reflective of the maternal order) has also aimed to push the boundaries relating to other forms of thought. In doing so, it has shed new light on the subject area of national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, and demonstrated the limited understanding of current academic commentaries. It has also illustrated the unconscious desire that exists at a societal level, for ways of

knowing and thinking that reflect the maternal order, and in doing so has enriched our current understandings of this topical and important area of study.

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Appendix I

Manifest Content: Tables One to Three

Table One: Step one - manifest content from data sets 1-10

<p>Data set one: The Air New Zealand Koru Manifest content:</p> <p>Image set:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• National airline, well known brand, the flying koru. <p>Text set:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Design branding over the years pertain to indigenous flora or fauna.• Continued use of blues, greens and teal (sky, sea and land).• Conscious move to reference Māori culture by advertising agency.• Concerns about cultural appropriation of the koru have been raised and consultation with Māori cultural advisors undertaken.• Air New Zealand koru carries the combined meaning of “the growth of the new frond representing everlasting regeneration; and ‘Mango Pare’ – the name for the hammerhead shark, an icon representing strength, speed and power. These combine to represent us in the strong and spiritual way The airline also had the blessing of Māori to describe the mark as ‘Koru’ although the mark actually represents ‘Mango Pare’ – the Māori name for hammerhead shark, an icon itself recognised as a symbol of strength, speed and power” (Crawford, 2011).• Air New Zealand CEO states “The context of the Koru’s use as a symbol to provoke political controversy is in conflict with the core meaning of the Koru and denigrates and debases a symbol that we
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cherish, and one which I believe all New Zealanders cherish [it] has transcended generations and symbolises our future hopes and aspirations” (Fyfe, 2011).

Data set two: Te Papa Tongarewa/The Museum of New Zealand

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Thumbprint logo with koru motif at centre, thumbprint design dominates logo, koru motif not obvious.

Text set:

- Reporting on the meaning of the logo, Paul Brewer (Communications and Marketing) at Te Papa notes the stylised thumbprint “evokes the Koru, the eye and the centre of things” (Brewer, 2001).
- Critics of the logo did not raise concerns about the koru motif at the centre of the logo, but did question the translation of the Māori name ‘Te Papa’ (*The Evening Post*, 1997).
- While the logo initially caused controversy, fourteen years later it appears to be popular and well accepted by visitors to the museum.

**Data set three: Department of Internal Affairs
New Zealand Birth Certificate**

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Official birth certificate with prominent depiction of idealised indigenous forest setting including unfurling koru fern at the forefront of illustration, bordered by silver fern and kowhai flowers, with running stream in the background.

Text set:

- The Department of Internal Affairs refers to the official record of birth as a ‘treasured keepsake’.
- The forest scene is described as follows: “New life unfolds from the koru and brings richness and abundance to the great forests. The harakeke (flax) reflects the strength and endurance of the whānau (family) as each new leaf grows from the mother and is supported by

the father:” (Department of Affairs, 2011)

**Data set four: Archives New Zealand
Te Rua Mahara of te Kāwanatanga**

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Koru logo with detailed kowhaiwhai designs incorporated into the five unfurling strands that make up the design.
- Green background.

Text set:

- A detailed explanation of the koru logo and the re-branding exercise that was undertaken in 2004 and focussed on the need to foster and maintain a partnership with Māori.
- Specific references to the logo include:
- “Like the artistic designs and carvings featured in whare tīpuna Māori ancestral houses, our logo brings together the timeless values of care and respect of Aotearoa’s heritage and culture” (Archives New Zealand, n.d.:8).
- “Māori concepts and iconic symbols illustrate the special relationship between Māori, the traditional owners of the land, Archives New Zealand and beyond” (ibid.).
- “The two koru reflect facets of the natural world such as the waves of the sea and fern fronds found in native bush, both in close proximity of each other, yet, prone to the vagaries of the elements. They are a reminder that records too are just as vulnerable to the same elements.
- The core of our logo reflects the importance and value Māori place upon people and their cultural heritage. The momentum radiating out from this core symbolises Archives New Zealand’s work to preserve and maintain our nation’s heritage and the memories from which growth and development stem ... It is a story like no other, one without end; it is our heritage, our nation’s continuum” (ibid.).

- “The brand style guide also refers to the logo as Our Tohu Māori (Our Māori emblem), describing the logo as a contemporary representation of Archives New Zealand, using traditional elements” (ibid:13).
- The four kowhaiwhai patterns detailed on the individual strands of the koru logo are further explained as follows:
- “Nga Koru – radiating inwards represents present to the past (preservation) and links back to our ancestors (whakapapa)” (ibid. 14). This refers to the outermost. The strand to the right of this strand is also referred to as ‘Nga Koru’, however the koru motifs detailed within this strand radiate outwards rather than inwards and are therefore said to represent “the past to the future, growth, creation of all things Māori (people, land, sea)” (ibid).
- The middle koru strand is the most dominant of the strands and is referred to as “Takarangi”, representing “Te Ira Tangata –human dimension/liberation” (ibid.).
- The two remaining koru strands represent the Kape rua kowhaiwhai design and are referred to as representing “Archives New Zealand overseeing, looking out for/after Māori, and preserving our heritage and memories” (ibid.).

Data set five: Rugby World Cup 2011

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Foreground: ‘New Zealand 2011’ script designed with koru motifs incorporated into the styling of various letters and numbers.
- Background: koru ‘swishes and swirls’ resonate with the koru-styled script in the foreground.
- Bold script and with background design in green, blue and purple.

Text set:

- Chairman of the Rugby World Cup Ltd (RWCL) states the ‘New Zealand 2011’ script was designed to ensure it “reflected New Zealand’s

proud Māori culture” (Lapasset, 2011).

- With regard to the script, RWCL guidelines state “The primary inspiration for the Rugby World Cup 2011 script (RWC 2011 Script) is the New Zealand Koru. The Koru or emerging fern frond is synonymous with growth, life and new beginnings. The fern was an important nourishing food source for early Māori. Therefore, it sustained life and is acknowledged in many Māori designs both contemporary and traditional. The Koru is pivotal to Māori symbolism and culture with its spiral form representing the geometry of life and sacred creation ... The meaning is life and growth through Rugby. It’s expressive form also represents movement and journey i.e. the wind blowing on the ocean and creating waves ... The Koru design in this Script expresses potentiality as well as determination” (Venture Taranaki, 2011).
- With regard to the graphic that forms the background to the script, the RWLC guidelines state:

“The Look for this Tournament is a stylistic interpretation of the Hammerhead Shark (Mangopare) and Fern shoot (Koru). The Mangopare is considered by Māori as the greatest of sharks because of its tenacious nature; a quality needed in the heat of battle. It symbolises strength, determination, strategy and team play. The Mangopare is the central design element with the interlocking hammerhead shapes representing unity and engagement. In this design, the Mangopare is not just about coming head to head but also about the coming together of players and teams.

The Koru shapes unfurl around the Mangopare to become stylised fern fronds. As the Koru reaches towards the light it is striving for perfection encouraging new and positive beginnings. The Koru is central to Māori symbolism with its spiral form representing the cycle of life, family and creation.

....

The dynamism and energy of the Tournament is reinforced by the treatment of the Koru and Mangopare adding depth and movement.”

(Venture Taranaki, 2011)

Data set six: The New Zealand Memorial, Hyde Park, London

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Sixteen forward leaning bronze sculptures placed in grid-like formation.
- Koru form prominent in many of the sculptures.

Text set:

- No mention of the koru forms in the 28 page booklet accompanying the unveiling of the monument in 2006, apart from reference to 'New Zealand flora and fauna'.

Data set seven: Mt Erebus Memorial, Antarctica

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Koru sculpture beneath a cross and supported by rocks; situated at the base of Mt Erebus.
- Identical koru sculpture (without the cross) also supported by rocks, placed at Scott Base, Antarctica.
- Both images convey a sense of the sacred and reverent.

Text set:

- Both memorials commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Mt Erebus disaster where 237 people who lost their lives on the Air New Zealand flight 901 in 1979.
- Considerable media attention marked the 30th anniversary and the memorial service in Antarctica which attended by family members of those who lost their lives in the crash.
- However no written material appears to exist regarding the significance or choice of the koru shaped memorial except for the comment that the 26 kilogram koru shaped capsule contained messages from relatives of those who lost who lost their lives (Ministry of Culture and Heritage

2011, Antarctica New Zealand 2011).

Data set eight: Support for a new national flag

Manifest content:

Image sets 8a and 8b:

- Illustrations of 16 suggested flag designs put forward by various artists (including professional graphic designers and school children).
- All flags incorporate the koru motif within their design.
- White, black and red (respectively) the most commonly used colours.

Text set:

- The presence of the koru motif in the different flag designs are described in various ways including:
- Tino Rangatira flag

“The Koru (the curling frond shape) represents the unfolding of new life, rebirth, continuity, renewal and hope for the future.” (Te Puni Kokiri, n.d.).

- Koru flag by Friedenreich Hundertwasser

The unfurling spiral recalls “the central myth of the Māori ... that their ancestors came to the great island by sailing towards a long streaming white cloud which arose in the highlands and drifted continually out to sea.” (Rand 2007).

- Land of the Long White Cloud flag by Donna Cross

“The silver fern has a strong association with the All Blacks. However the koru that I have used has wider cultural significance. I wanted a clean departure from past motifs like stars and to use colours that are more significant to Aotearoa.” (Cross 2004 cited in NZ Flag.com Trust 2010) – colours: blue, white, green and black.

- Unity flag by Peter Haythornthwaite

“The interlinking forms – suggests many cultures and races in unity.

The fronds – gives credence to Māori.” (Haythornthwaite 2005 cited in NZ Flag.com Trust 2010).

- The Long White Cloud flag by Turi Park

“This design is obviously from the work of Gordon Walters. Often controversial, his bold and simplified usage of the koru motif is a masterful addition to our NZ visual language. This flag will need consultation with Māori [and probably the Gordon Walters Foundation!]. It does needs (sic) to be bold and confident; but also culturally sensitive. I believe if we design a new flag it should proudly identify us now This design describes the map of NZ using a repeated koru device – a powerful and vital symbol of potential.” (Park 2004 cited in NZ Flag Trust.com 2010).

- Koru flag (after Walters) by Michael Smythe

“ ... the symbolism of the koru is positive Gordon Walters koru ... is capable of development in many directions – when care is taken to understand and master the visual language which is his legacy black and white have a “powerful simplicity” ... [however] changes in the colour of the flag can shift the emphasis ... to tino rangatiratanga [red, black and white], to the British connection [blue, red and white] or to a ‘clean green’ image [green, blue and white].... this koru flag design provides the basis for an emergent national identity system – not only a flag, not a logo, not an emblem, but a visual language that can evolve infinitely in the hands of good designers.” (Smythe 2004 cited in NZ Flag Trust.com 2010).

- Double Spiral flag by Michael Smythe

“I have been reflecting on the flag designs using frond and koru forms and thinking back to Hundertwasser’s 1983 koru flag ... Many cultures use the spiral to represent the cycle of life but here is a subtle distinction about the Polynesian approach. It’s about giving the ambiguity of background and foreground – an aspect of the art that Gordon Walters explored and refined. This double spiral design seeks to capture the essence of our distinct depiction of this universal idea of integrated diversity, growing from a strong centre and learning from the past as we build our future. It can also represent what I call the ‘cross-cultural conversation’ that created us.” (Smythe 2005 cited in NZ Flag

Trust.com 2010).

Data set nine: NZ Anthem poster

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Stylised map of Aotearoa New Zealand incorporating Māori design patterns.

Text set:

- Limited written material about the poster design
- Commissioned by University of Otago
- Distributed widely throughout New Zealand as a resource for schools,
- Popular with overseas graduate and friends of Otago University
- The poster designed by Chris Sharp
- Original ahua (shape/form) Māori designed by Matu Pene

Data set ten: Gordon Walters koru series

Manifest content:

Image set:

- Paintings of clarity, control and austerity revealing restraint, economy and calculation (Dunn, 1983:8)

Text set:

- Walters *koru* series recognised as an important contribution to New Zealand modernist art.
- Also known for the debate concerning Walters appropriation of the koru motif
- Thomas argues the empowering effect of the kowhaiwhai art form remains crucial to the way in which both 'original' and 'appropriated' forms of the art work in the present.
- In situations of tension and contest these forms contain a 'rhetorical' energy (Thomas 1995:95).
- Walter's critics have found Walters borrowings more problematic than others (Thomas 1995: 98-99)
- Rangihiroa Pahoho (1992) argues that Walter's formalism has distanced the koru from its cultural meanings and origins.
- Other, such as Francis Pound describe Walters' *koru* series as an instance of cross-cultural interchange:

- Thomas argues that while the curvilinear bulbs always convey a Māori signature, the kowhaiwhai has become something other than a Maori art form
- Thomas also notes the link between motifs and personal if not collective identities in New Zealand, but questions whether personhood, identities, or groups could really be ‘represented’ by motifs.
(Thomas, 1995:93-94)
- Smythe regards Walters’ *koru* series as having “essentially solved the problem of representing New Zealand's identity” (in McAloon 2004).

Table Two: Step 2 – Manifest content from data sets 1-10 - condensed

Data set	Main terms associated with or used to describe koru motif
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reference to Māori culture • ‘the growth of the new frond representing everlasting generation • Mango Pare hammerhead shark representing strength, speed and power • ‘strong and spiritual’ • ‘the blessing of Māori to describe the mark as ‘Koru’ although the mark actually represents ‘Mango Pare’ • The koru a symbol ‘all New Zealanders cherish’ • The koru ‘has transcended generations and symbolises our future hopes and aspirations
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘the Koru, the eye and the centre of things’
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘new life unfolds from the koru and brings richness and abundance’
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘care and respect of Aotearoa’s heritage and culture’ • The natural world, waves of the sea, fern fronds found in native bush, prone to the vagaries of the elements • ‘the importance and value Māori place upon people and their cultural heritage’ • Momentum radiating out from the core from which growth and development stem • A story without end, our nation’s continuum • The logo a contemporary representation using traditional

	<p>elements</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inward radiating spiral ‘represents present to past (preservation) and links back to our ancestors (whakapapa)’ • Outward radiating spiral represents ‘the past to the future, growth, creation of all things Māori (people, land, sea)’ • Human liberation • ‘overseeing, looking out for/after Māori’
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflective of ‘New Zealand’s proud Māori culture’ • ‘the Koru or emerging frond is synonymous with growth, life and new beginnings’ • The fern as an important nourishing food which sustained life • The spiral form represents the geometry of life and sacred creation • Life and growth • Also represents movement and journey • ‘the wind blowing on the ocean and creating waves’ • Potentiality as well as determination • ‘The Koru shapes unfurl around the Mangopare to become stylised fern fronds’ • ‘as the Koru reaches towards the light it is striving for perfection , encouraging new and positive beginnings • ‘The Koru is central to Māori symbolism with its spiral form representing the cycle of life, family and creation’

6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘flora and fauna’
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A capsule containing messages from relatives of those who lost their lives
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘The Koru (the curling frond shape represents the unfolding of new life, rebirth, continuity, renewal and hope for the future’ • ‘the unfurling spiral recalls the central myth of Māori ... sailing towards a long streaming white cloud’ • ‘the koru has wider cultural significance’ • ‘the fronds – gives credence to Māori’ • ‘ a repeated koru device – a powerful and vital symbol of potential’ • ‘the symbolism of the koru is positive’ • ‘many cultures use the spiral to represent the cycle of life but there is a subtle distinction about the Polynesian approach . It’s about the ambiguity of the background and foreground’ • The double spiral seeks to capture the essence of ‘the universal idea of integrated diversity, growing from the strong centre and learning from the past as we build our future’ • It can also represent ‘the cross-cultural conversation’ that created us’
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stylised map of Aotearoa New Zealand incorporating Māori design patterns. • Educational resource for schools
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarity, control, austerity, restraint, economy and calculation • Modernist art.

Table Three: Step 3 Manifest content from data sets 1- 10
Final summary

The Koru motif: dominant associations and meanings
<ul style="list-style-type: none">i. Māori cultureii. The creation of new life, growth and future potentialiii. The natural environment (e.g. unfurling fern fronds, waves)

Appendix II

Latent content: Tables One to Ten

Table One Analysis of data sets according to maternal/paternal orders, manifest content, use of stylised or naturalised koru motifs, utilisation of koru motif and whether the koru motif is associated with a local or central government entity

* NE = Natural environment, NLGP = New life, growth and potential, MC = Māori culture

** S = Stylised Motif, N = Depiction of koru in Naturalised state

Shaded areas represent duplicated data that has not been included in Tables Three – Ten below

Count	Data set	Organisation	Maternal/ Paternal	* MC NE NLGP	** S/N	Utilisation	Local or central govt
1.	1a	Air New Zealand	M/P	MC	S	Logo	No
2.	1b	Air New Zealand	M/P	MC	S	Logo	No
3.	2	Te Papa Tongarewa/The Museum of New Zealand	M/P	NE	S	Logo	No
4.	3	Department of Internal Affairs: Births, Deaths & Marriages	M	NE	N	Design work	Yes

5.	4	Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwangatanga	M/P	MC	S	Logo	Yes
6.	5a	Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd	M/P	MC	S	Logo	No
7.	5b	Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd	M/P	MC	S	Logo	No
8.	6a	Ministry of Culture and Heritage	P/M	MC NE	S	Memorial	Yes
9.	6a	Ministry of Culture and Heritage	P/M	MC NE	S	Memorial	Yes
10.	7	Air New Zealand memorial	M	NE NLGP	S	Memorial	No
11.	8a	NZ Flag.com Trust	M/P	MC NE NLGP	S	National flag design	No
12.	8b	NZ Flag.com Trust	M/P	MC NE NLGP	S	National flag design	No
13.	8c	NZ Herald flag designs	M/P	MC NE NLGP	S	National flag design	No
14.	8d	NZ Herald flag designs	M/P	MC NE NLGP	S	National flag design	No

15.	9	NZ Anthem poster	M/P	MC	S	Map of NZ	No
16.	10a	Gordon Walters koru series 'Tama'	P/M	MC	S	Artwork	No
17.	10b	Gordon Walters koru series 'Kahu'	P/M	MC	S	Artwork	No
18.	10c	Gordon Walters koru series 'Tamaki'	P/M	MC	S	Artwork	No
19.	11a	Greeting card companies Marina Mathews Art Series	M	MC NE NLGP	S/N	Design work	No
20.	11b	Greeting card companies Fotofile Codi Design NZ Post	M	MC NE NLGP	S/N	Design work	No
21.	11c	Greeting card companies Oxted Resources Bay Series	M	NE	S	Design work	No
22.	11d	Greeting card companies The New Zealand Souvenir Company Glover	M	NE	N	Design work	No
23.	12a	Souvenir and gift shop Willis Street, Wellington	M	NE	S	Artwork	No
24.	12b	Souvenir and gift shops, Willis Street, and Te Papa Tongarewa	M	NE NLGP	S	Artwork	No

		Museum, Wellington					
25.	12c	Wellington City Council (bollards)	M	NE	S	Artwork	Yes
26.	13	<i>NZ Today</i> magazine	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
27.	13	<i>NZ Today</i> magazine	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
28.	13	<i>Rural Lifestyle</i> magazine	M	NE NLGP	N	Cover page design	No
29.	13	<i>Zest Spring</i> magazine	M	NE NLGP	N	Cover page design	No
30.	13	<i>Auckland Yellow Pages</i>	M/P	MC	S	Cover page design	No
31.	13	<i>Auckland Yellow Pages</i>	M	NE	S	Cover page design	No
32.	14a	Drawings by students at Omokoroa Point School	M	NE NLGP	S	Artwork	No
33.	14b	Paintings by Bay of Plenty children	M	NLGP MC NE	S	Artwork	No
34.	14c	Drawing by Oliver Annan, Tauranga Art Gallery school project	M	NE	S	Artwork	No
35.	14d	Mansell Senior School mural and signage	M	NE NLGP	S/N	Artwork	No

36.	14e	Murals, Papakura Normal School	M	NE NLGP	S/N	Artwork	No
37.	15a	Pacific Coast Highway signage	M	NE	S	Design work	Yes
38.	15b	Mosaic artwork, Tauranga City	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
39.	15c	Bay of Plenty District Health Board signage and artwork	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
40.	15d	Mosaic letterbox	M	NLGP	S	Artwork	No
41.	15d	Koru jewellery	M	MC NE NLGP	S	Artwork	No
42.	16a	Koru graphic on Inland Revenue Department building, Manukau	M	MC NE	S	Design work	Yes
43.	16a	Papakura District Council (now part of Auckland Council)	M	MC NE	S	Design work	Yes
44.	16b	Graphics on buses, New Zealand Bus Ltd	M	MC NE	S/N	Design work	No
45.	16c	Murals in Papakura township	M	MC NE	S/N	Artwork	Yes
46.	16d	Murals in entrance to Sir Edmund Hillary Library, Papakura	M	MC NE	S/N	Artwork	No
47.	16e	Family First Law, Papakura	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
48.	16f	Mural on corner of Porchester Road and	M/P	MC	S	Artwork	Yes

		Airfield Road, Papakura					
49.	16g	Mural on corner of Porchester Road and Airfield Road, Papakura	M/P	MC	S	Artwork	Yes
50.	17a	Ministry of Consumer Affairs	M	MC NLGP NE	S	Logo	Yes
51.	17a	New Zealand Deaf Games 2008	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
52.	17a	Nourish Me Nutrition	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
53.	17a	Piopio College	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
54.	17a	Greenstone Family Clinic	M/P	MC NE	S	Logo	No
55.	17a	CCS Disability Action	M./P	MC NLGP	S	Logo	No
56.	17a	Pure Ora Walks	M	NE	S	Logo	No
57.	17b	NZ Film Commission	M/P	MC	S	Logo	No
58.	17b	Waiariki Institute of Technology	M	MC NLGP	S	Logo	No
59.	17b	Ministry of Child, Youth & Family	M	MC NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
60.	17b	Hawke's Bay District Health Board	M	NE	S	Logo	No
61.	17b	Publishers Association of New Zealand	M/P	MC	S	Logo	No

62.	17b	Family Planning Association of NZ	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
63.	17b	Pacific Coast Highway New Zealand	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
64.	17b	Great New Zealand Touring Routes	M	NE	S	Logo	No
65.	17b	Evolve New Zealand	M	NE	S	Logo	No
66.	17b	Venture Taranaki	M	NLGP NE	S	Logo	No
67.	17b	Young New Zealanders Foundation	M	MC NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
68.	17c	Creative New Zealand	M	MC	S	Logo	No
69.	17c	Basically Bush Ltd	M	NE	N	Logo	No
70.	17c	Ministry of Fisheries	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
71.	17c	Breastfeeding New Zealand	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
72.	17c	Volunteer Service Abroad New Zealand	M/[P	MC	S	Logo	No
73.	17c	New Zealand Board of Dialysis Practice	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
74.	17c	New Zealand Federation of Family Budgeting Services	M/P	NLGP	S	Logo	No
75.	17c	Department of Conservation	M	NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
76.	17d	ERMA New Zealand (Environmental Risk Management Authority)	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
77.	17d	Orewa Community Church	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No

78.	17d	Landcare Research	M	NE	S	Logo	No
79.	17d	Friends of ARMS (Auckland Regional Migrant Services)	M	NLGP MC	S	Logo	No
80.	17d	Ministry of Economic Development	M	NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
81.	17d	New Bawn Travel Solutions	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
82.	17d	Northland District Health Board	M	MC NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
83.	17e	Prostrate Foundation of New Zealand	M/P	NLGP	S	Logo	No
84.	17e	Breast Screen Aotearoa	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
85.	17e	Copyright Council of New Zealand	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
86.	17e	Royal New Zealand Navy recruitment services	M/P	NE	S	Logo	Yes
87.	17e	Create Your Own Eden	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
88.	17e	Ministry of Health	M	NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
89.	17e	Blue September Prostate Cancer campaign	M/P	NLGP	S	Logo	No
90.	17e	Waipuna Hospice	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
91.	17e	Simply New Zealand	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
92.	17f	Inland Revenue Department	M	MC NE	S	Logo	Yes

93.	17f	ASB Community Trust	M	MC NLGP	S	Logo	No
94.	17f	Ministry of Consumer Affairs	M	MC NLGP NE	S	Logo	Yes
95.	17f	James Wright – Sculptor	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
96.	17f	Koru Environmental Consultants Ltd	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
97.	17g	Cognition Education	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
98.	17g	Tuakau College	M/P	MC NLGP	S	Logo	No
99.	17g	Foundation for Research, Science and Technology	M/P	NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
100.	17g	Tangiora Kiwi Retreat	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	No
101.	17g	Radio NZ National	M	NE	S	Logo	No
102.	17g	Enterprising Manukau	M	NLGP	S	Logo	No
103.	17h	Kaipara District Council	M	NE NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
104.	17h	Northland Regional Council	M/P	MC NE NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
105.	17h	Chatham Islands Council	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
106.	17h	Greater Wellington Regional Council	M	NLGP	S	Logo	Yes

107.	17h	Waikato District Council	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
108.	17h	Environment Canterbury Regional Council	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
109.	17h	Far North District Council	M/P	NE	S	Logo	Yes
110.	17h	Opotiki District Council	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
111.	17h	Tararua District Council	M/P	NE	S	Logo	Yes
112.	17h	Porirua City Council	M	MC	S	Logo	Yes
113.	17h	Matamata Piako District Council	M	MC NLGP	S	Logo	Yes
114.	17h	Ruapehu District Council	M	NE	S	Logo	Yes
115.	18a	Native Brand Consultancy (case study advertisement for Kiwi Blue water)	M	NE	S	Artwork	No
116.	18b	Eye Pro glasses (advertisement)	M	NLGP	S	Design work	No
117.	18b	10 th Adam Chamber Music Festival (advertisement)	M	NE	S	Design work	No
118.	18c	Pacific Organics Twin Vines Sauvignon Blanc 2008 (advertisement)	M	NE	S/N	Design work	No
119.	18c	Pacific Organics New Zealand Spring Aotearoa bottled water (advertisement)	M	NE	N	Design work	No
120.	19a	Koru New Zealand, Pure Coromandel Hand and Body creme	M	NE	N	Design work	No
121.	19a	Wine glass (manufacturer unknown)	M	NLGP	S	Design work	No
122.	19a	Cheese knife (manufacturer unknown)	M	NLGP	S	Design work	No
123.	19a	Paua coasters (manufacturer unknown)	M	NE	S	Design work	No

124.	19a	The Warehouse gift card	M	NE	N	Design work	No
125.	19b	Paté bowl and knife (manufacturer unknown)	M	NE	S	Design work	No
126.	19b	Garden sculpture (light) (manufacturer unknown)	M	NE NLGP	S	Design work	No
127.	19b	Garden sculpture (dark) (manufacturer unknown)	M	NE	S	Design work	No
128.	19c	Produce of New Zealand (advertisement)	M	NLGP	S	Design work	No
129.	19c	Produce of New Zealand (advertisement sticker on Royal Gala apple)	M	NLGP	S	Design work	No
130.	19c	Packaging for ceramic bowl (manufacturer unknown)	M	NE NLGP	S	Design work	No
131.	19d	Earthcare Papertowels	M	NE	N	Design work	No
132.	19d	Earthcare Tissues	M	NE	N	Design work	No
133.	19e	Prokiwi International Ltd (T-shirt)	M	MC NLGP	S	Design work	No
134.	20a	Artwork - James Wright Spiral rings	M	NLGP	S	Artwork	No
135.	20a	Artwork - James Wright Hanging leaf	M	NE	S	Artwork	No
136.	20a	Artwork - James Wright	M	NE	S	Artwork	No

		Bird in flight					
137.	20a	Artwork - James Wright Flame sculpture	M	NE	S	Artwork	No
138.	20b	Artwork - Annie Smits Sandano 'Blue Tui Hapu'	M	MC NE NLGP	S	Artwork	No
139.	20b	Artwork - Annie Smits Sandano 'Fantail on Kura Landscape'	M	MC NE NLGP	S	Artwork	No
140.	20b	Artwork - Annie Smits Sandano 'Kokowhai Rauponga with Tuis' M	M	MC NE NLGP	S	Artwork	No
141.	20c	Artwork – Nadine Jaggi 'Ornitho-Maia' (head)	M/P	NE	S	Artwork	No
142.	20c	Artwork – Nadine Jaggi 'Ornitho-Maia' (upper body)	M/P	NE	S	Artwork	No
143.	20c	Artwork – Nadine Jaggi 'Ornitho-Maia' (full body)	M/P	NE	S	Artwork	No

Table Two Analysis of data sets according to maternal/paternal orders, dominant colour of koru motif, industry sector associated with utilisation of koru motif, and whether the organisation or entity’s focus is global, national, regional or local

Shaded areas represent duplicated data that has not been included in Tables Three – Ten below

Count	Data set	Organisation	Maternal/ Paternal	Dominant colours	Industry	Global, National, Regional, or Local focus
1.	1a	Air New Zealand	M/P	Blue Green	Travel	Global
2.	1b	Air New Zealand	M/P	Blue Green	Travel	Global
3.	2	Te Papa Tongarewa/The Museum of New Zealand	M/P	Black White	Cultural	National
4.	3	Department of Internal Affairs: Births, Deaths & Marriages	M	Green	Cultural	National
5.	4	Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga	M/P	Green	Cultural	National
6.	5a	Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd	M/P	Green Blue Purple	Cultural - sport	Global, National
7.	5b	Rugby World Cup 2011 Ltd	M/P	Green Blue Purple	Cultural - sport	Global, National
8.	6a	Ministry of Culture and Heritage	P/M	Black	Cultural	National
9.	6a	Ministry of Culture and Heritage	P/M	Black	Cultural	National
10.	7	Air New Zealand memorial	M	Bronze	Travel	National

11.	8a	NZ Flag.com Trust	M/P	Black White Red	Cultural	National
12.	8b	NZ Flag.com Trust	M/P	Black White Red	Cultural	National
13.	8c	NZ Herald flag designs	M/P	Black White Red	Cultural	National
14.	8d	NZ Herald flag designs	M/P	Black White Red	Cultural	National
15.	9	NZ Anthem poster	M/P	Black White	Education	National
16.	10a	Gordon Walters koru series 'Tama'	P/M	Black White	Cultural	National
17.	10b	Gordon Walters koru series 'Kahu'	P/M	Black Red White	Cultural	National
18.	10c	Gordon Walters koru series 'Tamaki'	P/M	Black Brown	Cultural	National
19.	11a	Greeting card companies Marina Mathews Art Series	M	Green Brown	Cultural	Global, National
20.	11b	Greeting card companies Fotofile Codi Design NZ Post	M	Green	Cultural	Global, National
21.	11c	Greeting card companies	M	Brown	Cultural	Global,

		Oxted Resources Bay Series		Green		National
22.	11d	Greeting card companies The New Zealand Souvenir Company Glover	M	Brown Green	Cultural	Global, National
23.	12a	Souvenir and gift shop Willis Street, Wellington	M	Green Blue	Cultural	Global, National
24.	12b	Souvenir and gift shops, Willis Street, and Te Papa Tongarewa Museum, Wellington	M	Green Blue Brown	Cultural	Global, National
25.	12c	Wellington City Council (bollards)	M	Bronze	Cultural	Local
26.	13	<i>NZ Today</i> magazine	M	Brown	Cultural	National
27.	13	<i>NZ Today</i> magazine	M	Red	Cultural	National
28.	13	<i>Rural Lifestyle</i> magazine	M	Green Brown	Cultural	Regional
29.	13	<i>Zest Spring</i> magazine	M	Green	Cultural	Regional
30.	13	Auckland <i>Yellow Pages</i>	M/P	Brown	Commercial – cultural	Regional
31.	13	Auckland <i>Yellow Pages</i>	M	Red	Commercial - cultural	Regional
32.	14a	Drawings by students at Omokoroa Point School	M	Blue Green Red	Educational	Local
33.	14b	Paintings by Bay of Plenty children	M	Black	Educational	Regional

				White		
34.	14c	Drawing by Oliver Annan, Tauranga Art Gallery school project	M	Red	Educational	Local
35.	14d	Mansell Senior School mural and signage	M	Green Yellow Black	Educational	Local
36.	14e	Murals, Papakura Normal School	M	Green	Educational	Local
37.	15a	Pacific Coast Highway signage	M	Blue White	Travel	National
38.	15b	Mosaic artwork, Tauranga City	M	Blue Brown	Cultural - community	Local
39.	15c	Bay of Plenty District Health Board signage and artwork	M	Green Blue	Health	Regional
40.	15d	Mosaic letterbox	M	Green	Cultural	Local
41.	15d	Koru jewellery	M	Blue	Cultural	Local
42.	16a	Koru graphic on Inland Revenue Department building, Manukau	M	White	Finance	National
43.	16a	Papakura District Council (now part of Auckland Council)	M	Silver	Local govt	Regional
44.	16b	Graphics on buses, New Zealand Bus Ltd	M	Blue Green	Commercial – cultural	Regional
45.	16c	Murals in Papakura township	M	Green	Cultural – community	Regional
46.	16d	Murals in entrance to Sir Edmund Hillary	M	Green Blue	Cultural -	Regional

		Library,Papakura			community	
47.	16e	Family First Law, Papakura	M	Green White	Legal – family	Local
48.	16f	Mural on corner of Porchester Road and Airfield Road, Papakura	M/P	Blue Green Black White	Cultural - community	Local
49.	16g	Mural on corner of Porchester Road and Airfield Road, Papakura	M/P	Blue Green Black White	Cultural – community	Local
50.	17a	Ministry of Consumer Affairs	M	Green Black White	Finance	National
51.	17a	New Zealand Deaf Games 2008	M	Blue Green	Cultural - sport	National
52.	17a	Nourish Me Nutrition	M	Green	Health	National
53.	17a	Piopio College	M	Brown	Education	Regional
54.	17a	Greenstone Family Clinic	M/P	Green	Health	Local
55.	17a	CCS Disability Action	M./P	Green Brown	Health	National
56.	17a	Pure Ora Walks	M	Black White	Tourism	National
57.	17b	NZ Film Commission	M/P	Black White	Cultural	National

58.	17b	Waiariki Institute of Technology	M	Orange White	Education	Regional
59.	17b	Ministry of Child, Youth & Family	M	Orange	Family support	National
60.	17b	Hawke's Bay District Health Board	M	Green Blue White	Health	Regional
61.	17b	Publishers Association of New Zealand	M/P	Black White	Commercial	National
62.	17b	Family Planning Association of NZ	M	Purple White	Health	National
63.	17b	Pacific Coast Highway New Zealand	M	Blue White	Travel	National
64.	17b	Great New Zealand Touring Routes	M	Green Black	Tourism	National
65.	17b	Evolve New Zealand	M	Green	Commercial – cultural	National
66.	17b	Venture Taranaki	M	Blue	Community	Regional
67.	17b	Young New Zealanders Foundation	M	Green	Cultural	National
68.	17c	Creative New Zealand	M	Brown	Cultural	National
69.	17c	Basically Bush Ltd	M	Green Blue	Environment	Regional
70.	17c	Ministry of Fisheries	M	Blue White	Environment	National
71.	17c	Breastfeeding New Zealand	M	Green	Health	National
72.	17c	Volunteer Service Abroad New Zealand	M/[P	Red Black	International support	National
73.	17c	New Zealand Board of Dialysis Practice	M	Blue	Health	National

74.	17c	New Zealand Federation of Family Budgeting Services	M/P	Blue Green Black White	Community support	National
75.	17c	Department of Conservation	M	Green White	Environment	National
76.	17d	ERMA New Zealand (Environmental Risk Management Authority)	M	Orange	Environment	National
77.	17d	Orewa Community Church	M	Blue	Community	Local
78.	17d	Landcare Research	M	Green	Environment	National
79.	17d	Friends of ARMS (Auckland Regional Migrant Services)	M	Green	Community	Regional
80.	17d	Ministry of Economic Development	M	Orange Blue	Finance	National
81.	17d	New Bawn Travel Solutions	M	Green White	Family support	Global + National
82.	17d	Northland District Health Board	M	Green Blue	Health	National
83.	17e	Prostrate Foundation of New Zealand	M/P	White Blue	Health	National
84.	17e	Breast Screen Aotearoa	M	Blue White	Health	National
85.	17e	Copyright Council of New Zealand	M/P	Blue White	Commercial	National
86.	17e	Royal New Zealand Navy recruitment services	M	Blue Green	Defence	National
87.	17e	Create Your Own Eden	M	Green	Environment	Regional
88.	17e	Ministry of Health	M	Orange Blue	Health	National

89.	17e	Blue September Prostate Cancer campaign	M/P	Blue White	Health	National
90.	17e	Waipuna Hospice	M	Blue Green	Health	Regional
91.	17e	Simply New Zealand	M	Green	Commercial – cultural	National
92.	17f	Inland Revenue Department	M	Blue Green	Finance	National
93.	17f	ASB Community Trust	M	Green	Community	National
94.	17f	Ministry of Consumer Affairs	M	Black Green White	Finance	National
95.	17f	James Wright – Sculptor	M	Bronze	Cultural	Regional
96.	17f	Koru Environmental Consultants Ltd	M	Green	Environment	National
97.	17g	Cognition Education	M	Green	Education	Global + National
98.	17g	Tuakau College	M/P	Green White	Education	Regional
99.	17g	Foundation for Research, Science and Technology	M/P	Orange Brown	Science	National
100.	17g	Tangiora Kiwi Retreat	M	Brown Green	Tourism	Local
101.	17g	Radio NZ National	M	Green Brown	Cultural	National
102.	17g	Enterprising Manukau	M	Green Black	Community – commercial	Regional

103.	17h	Kaipara District Council	M	Blue Green	Local govt	Regional
104.	17h	Northland Regional Council	M/P	Blue	Local govt	Regional
105.	17h	Chatham Islands Council	M	Blue Green	Local govt	Regional
106.	17h	Greater Wellington Regional Council	M	Blue Green	Local govt	Regional
107.	17h	Waikato District Council	M	Yellow Blue Orange	Local govt	Regional
108.	17h	Environment Canterbury Regional Council	M	Green Blue	Local govt	Regional
109.	17h	Far North District Council	M/P	Blue Green	Local govt	Regional
110.	17h	Opotiki District Council	M	Blue	Local govt	Regional
111.	17h	Tararua District Council	M/P	Blue	Local govt	Regional
112.	17h	Porirua City Council	M	Green	Local govt	Regional
113.	17h	Matamata Piako District Council	M	Blue Green	Local govt	Regional
114.	17h	Ruapehu District Council	M	Yellow Green	Local govt	Regional
115.	18a	Native Brand Consultancy (case study advertisement for Kiwi Blue water)	M	Blue	Commercial – environment	National
116.	18b	Eye Pro glasses (advertisement)	M	Yellow Pink	Commercial	National
117.	18b	10 th Adam Chamber Music Festival (advertisement)	M	Blue White	Cultural	Regional
118.	18c	Pacific Organics Twin Vines Sauvignon Blanc 2008 (advertisement)	M	Green White	Commercial – cultural	National
119.	18c	Pacific Organics New Zealand Spring	M	Green	Commercial	National

		Aotearoa bottled water (advertisement)			– cultural	
120.	19a	Koru New Zealand, Pure Coromandel Hand and Body creme	M	Green	Commercial – cultural	National
121.	19a	Wine glass (manufacturer unknown)	M	White	Commercial – cultural	National
122.	19a	Cheese knife (manufacturer unknown)	M	Blue White	Commercial – cultural	National
123.	19a	Paua coasters (manufacturer unknown)	M	Green Blue	Commercial – cultural	National
124.	19a	The Warehouse gift card	M	Green	Commercial – cultural	National
125.	19b	Paté bowl and knife (manufacturer unknown)	M	Green	Commercial – cultural	National
126.	19b	Garden sculpture (light) (manufacturer unknown)	M	White	Commercial – cultural	Local
127.	19b	Garden sculpture (dark) (manufacturer unknown)	M	Black	Commercial – cultural	Local
128.	19c	Produce of New Zealand (advertisement)	M	Blue	Commercial	National
129.	19c	Produce of New Zealand (advertisement sticker on Royal Gala apple)	M	Blue	Commercial	National
130.	19c	Packaging for ceramic bowl (manufacturer unknown)	M	Green	Commercial – cultural	National
131.	19d	Earthcare Papertowels	M	Green	Commercial – environment	National
132.	19d	Earthcare Tissues	M	Green	Commercial –	National

					environment	
133.	19e	Prokiwi International Ltd (T-shirt)	M	Green	Commercial – cultural	National
134.	20a	Artwork - James Wright Spiral rings	M	Bronze	Cultural - artwork	Regional
135.	20a	Artwork - James Wright Hanging leaf	M	Bronze	Cultural - artwork	Regional
136.	20a	Artwork - James Wright Bird in flight	M	Bronze	Cultural - artwork	Regional
137.	20a	Artwork - James Wright Flame sculpture	M	Bronze	Cultural - artwork	Regional
138.	20b	Artwork - Annie Smits Sandano 'Blue Tui Hapu'	M	Blue	Cultural - artwork	Regional
139.	20b	Artwork - Annie Smits Sandano 'Fantail on Kura Landscape'	M	Red Orange	Cultural - artwork	Regional
140.	20b	Artwork - Annie Smits Sandano 'Kokowhai Rauponga with Tuis' M	M	Red Orange	Cultural - artwork	Regional
141.	20c	Artwork – Nadine Jaggi 'Ornitho-Maia' (head)	M/P	Brown	Cultural - artwork	Regional
142.	20c	Artwork – Nadine Jaggi 'Ornitho-Maia' (upper body)	M/P	Brown	Cultural - artwork	Regional
143.	20c	Artwork – Nadine Jaggi 'Ornitho-Maia' (full body)	M/P	Brown	Cultural - artwork	Regional

Table Three Koru motif informed by maternal or paternal order

	%	Count
Maternal	79%	96
Maternal +Paternal	21%	25
Total	100	121

Table Four Utilisation of koru motif

	Total %	Maternal	Maternal %	Paternal+ Maternal	Paternal + Maternal %
Logo	59%	54	44%	18	15%
Design work	22%	23	21%	1	1%
Artwork	14%	18	12%	3	2%
Memorial	2%	1	1%	1	1%
Flag design	1%	0	0%	1	1%
Map	1%	0	1%	1	1%
Total	100%	96	79%	25	21%

Table Five Stylised or Naturalised image of koru motif

	Total %	Maternal	Maternal %	Paternal+ Maternal	Paternal + Maternal %
Stylised	87%	80	66.0%	25	21%
Naturalised	6.5%	8	6.5%	0	0%
Stylised/Naturalised	6.5%	8	6.5%	0	0%
Total	100%	96	79%	25	21%

Table Six Local or national government department, ministry or authority

	Total %	Maternal	Maternal %	Paternal+ Maternal	Paternal + Maternal %
No	73%	70	58%	18	15%
Yes	27%	26	21%	7	6%
Total	100%	96	79%	25	21%

Table Seven Manifest content of koru motif

	Total %	Maternal	Maternal %	Paternal+ Maternal	Paternal + Maternal %
**					
NE	31%	34	28%	4	3%
NLGP	22%	22	18%	5	4%
NE + NLGP	14%	17	14%	0	0%
MC	10%	2	2%	10	8%
MC + NE + NLGP	9%	8	7%	2	2%
MC + NLGP	8%	7	6%	2	2%
MC + NE	7%	6	5%	2	2%
Total	100%	96	80%	25	20%

** NE = Natural environment, NLGP = New life, growth and potential, MC = Māori culture

Table Eight Dominant colour of koru motif

	Total %	Maternal	Maternal %	Paternal+ Maternal	Paternal + Maternal %
Green	34.40%	56	29.6%	9	4.8%
Blue	24.30%	36	19.0%	10	5.3%
White	15.30%	17	9.0%	12	6.3%
Brown	10.50%	15	7.9%	5	2.6%
Black	9.50%	7	3.7%	11	5.8%
Red	3.70%	7	3.7%	0	0.0%
Orange	2.10%	4	2.1%	0	0.0%
Total	100%	142	75.1%	47	24.9%

Table Nine Area of focus

	Total %	Maternal	Maternal %	Paternal+ Maternal	Paternal + Maternal %
National	47%	43	35%	15	12%
Regional	31%	32	26%	6	5%
Local	13%	13	11%	2	2%
Global/ National	9%	8	7%	2	2%
Total	100%	96	79%	25	21%

Table Ten Industry type

	Total %	Maternal	Maternal %	Paternal+ Maternal	Paternal + Maternal %
Cultural	26.40%	24	19.8%	8	6.6%
Commercial - cultural product	14.80%	17	14.0%	1	0.8%
Health	11.60%	10	8.3%	4	3.3%
Local government	10.80%	10	8.3%	3	2.5%
Community/ family support	8.30%	8	6.6%	2	1.7%
Environment	6.60%	8	6.6%	0	0.0%
Education	7.40%	8	6.6%	1	0.8%
Travel/ Tourism	5.80%	6	5.0%	1	0.8%
Finance	5.00%	4	3.3%	2	1.7%
Commercial - non-cultural product	1.70%	0	0.0%	2	1.7%
Defence	0.80%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%
Science + Technology	0.80%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%
Total	100%	96	79%	25	21%