



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

**Colonial Versus Ancestral Legacy:
The assertion of culture and identity through public arts in
Kirikiriroa/Hamilton**

A thesis

submitted as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

at

The University of Waikato

by

SHIRIN KIFF



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Year of submission 2021

Abstract

This thesis is an ethnography of Hamilton. It focuses on the role of public arts as a cultural regeneration tool and their function in shaping the community(s) in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton through building a sense of place and identity. As a qualitative study, I conducted nine semi-structured interviews with public art artists, art advocates and residents to explore the relational context within which the development and transmission of meaning takes place, a process which is central to culture and identity. The primary purpose of the research interviews was to gain insight into the factors that motivate arts organisers and planners to direct valuable limited resources into public art projects and its observable outcomes. The second purpose of the interviews, conducted while walking to public artworks in the city centre with six participants, was to examine the effect of public art on the public.

My methods also include tracking press reviews, monitoring comments and posts on social media and institutional debates involving residents, artists, and public authorities concerning public arts. I also recorded data by taking photographs and recording field notes of my observations during and after the fieldwork process. Data gathering was also enhanced by the large-scale collection of written materials and resources, including public art publications and HCC policy documents. Taken together, these research methods allowed me to investigate whether Hamilton had achieved its goals in its cultural regeneration efforts. In my analysis, I discuss the role of public art and its association with place and consider how artworks may antagonise Māori-Pākehā relationships or otherwise emphasise residents' sense of place.

Biculturalism and monoculturalism narratives appear to dominate public arts with the purpose of invoking either a colonial legacy or ancestral legacy while the politics of multiculturalism continue to jockey for place. Colonial legacy refers to the glorifying of colonial achievements while ancestral legacy in this context refers to Māori assertion of history, culture and identity. Particularly, in this research, ancestral legacy belonging to local *hapū*, Ngāti Wairere. Participants' narratives reveal four overarching themes, 1) the public's resistance to the making of colonial places through public art, 2) Ngāti Wairere struggles to assert ancestral legacy through public arts, 3) the need for ethnically diverse artworks to create and maintain ethnically diverse places, and 4) a yearning for a collective identity represented through public arts. Hamilton's public artworks are variously perceived as a superficial representation of Māori culture, identity and history, a reminder of a colonial binary discourse, the colonised versus the coloniser, an assertion of either a

Māori ancestral legacy or a colonial legacy or, minimally, a nod to multiculturalism. Nevertheless, my research shows that participants engagement with these artworks reveal a yearning for a local collective identity that is still a work in progress.

Preface

Growing up in a small city country, Singapore, I frequently travel the world in search of adventure and have always been fascinated with urban environments. Walking is my preferred method of experiencing cities. Without having concrete plans, I tend to roam the streets endlessly, as for me, this is best way to fully experience the surroundings.

In my first few days as an international student in Hamilton—other than settling down and getting my things in order—I was captivated by the murals that I came across in the city. I was drawn to a 250 metres long mural, admittedly the largest mural I had ever seen. My online research revealed that the mural tells the story of the local *hapū* and that the wall—that is the mural's canvas—was the remnants of a hill that was once significant to that hapū. The mural, being the largest art in Hamilton and possibly New Zealand, I assumed to be a representation of the Hamiltonian Community and a source of pride, their icon.

In retrospect, this event sparked my interest in public art, something I was not interested in prior. Gradually, I began to notice other pieces of art in my surroundings and I became curious about the city's histories, cultures and how arts played a role in shaping these. Instead of passively experiencing the city, I began to view these everyday landscapes intertextually, reading into various symbols, making connections, and hypothesising about their meanings. The way I looked at urban space shifted. Gazing upon the landscape, my eyes were drawn to markings and flashes of unauthorised colour. Blank walls became increasingly boring. Empty spaces became alive with possibilities.

What is the Hamiltonian community? What character do these public artworks imply? Is it colonial, is it Māori, is combination of the two? Is it bicultural, or is it multicultural? The more I researched, the more I realised that contestations, confrontations, guilt and unsettled resentments are deeply embedded in the city's public artwork.

A Note On The Use Of Māori Language

Māori use Māori words quite extensively when speaking in English and many of these words are also in current use by non-Māori New Zealanders. Personally, I think it emphasises the unique identity and culture of New Zealanders, through the Te Reo Māori-infused English language, and also to some extent, it reveals to an outsider of the place that Māori people occupy in New Zealand society.

When important, I have used Māori words in this thesis. This is necessary in order to understand both historical and contemporary Māori and Aotearoa/New Zealand worlds, ways and experiences. All Māori words are italicised with the exception of the term Māori, Pākehā, Ngāti Wairere and place names. Māori place names have meanings that describe the place itself, thus, for context, some place names have been translated. I have also provided the English translation of Māori words at their first occurrence. A glossary of all Māori words used in this thesis is included for reference.

Te Reo Māori has no plural and it is no longer acceptable in written English to pluralise Māori words. Hence, the context and grammar of the sentence indicates whether the noun is singular or plural.

Being a non-New Zealander and having never learnt Te Reo, I do not have expertise and fluency in Māori. As Māori words often possess many layers of meaning, they are not easily defined by an equivalent word or short phrase in the English language. Thus, the ontological status of translation could potentially vary depending on one's mother tongue. Most of the Māori words in this thesis have been translated using the Māori-English dictionary that is readily available on the Web (<https://maoridictionary.co.nz>). I have also consulted Māori participants, who are fluent in both English and Māori, for clarification when necessary.

Finally, I feel that it is important for non-Māori readers to know that the Māori 'wh' is pronounced like the English 'f', and that this word dictation may have very well changed the lives of one of the participants in this thesis, and perhaps others too.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not be possible without the guidance, patience and knowledge exchange between myself and the people who have contributed to the thesis work. First and foremost, Dr Fiona McCormack, my supervisor, who have been giving me the best insights, feedback and suggestions to improve my writing, structuring, data processing and conduct of research.

Next, is of course the person who made sure I eat and drink, took time off from writing, and breathe fresh air; my wife Neeta Dass. For listening to my thought process, for tolerating with my stress and understanding when I shut you out, thank you so much. This thesis is for you, for your dedication and love towards me.

To my family in Singapore, for supporting my journey to pursue my further studies abroad. For checking up on me from time to time and making sure I am safe, comfortable and well.

To my participants, although the thesis only featured nine of you out of twelve, you all were great, and I had a wonderful, insightful and knowledgeable time interviewing every one of you. You were my teachers and you taught me things that I would have never known and challenged me to rethink about what I assumed to know. Thank you for spending your valuable time teaching me.

Lastly, a big thanks to the University's library staff, not limited to Waikato University but also including the University of Auckland and Victoria University of Wellington. For assisting me in getting the literatures I needed, for facilitating in loaning me books and acceding to my requests for special documents and materials. I am forever grateful.

Abstract.....	ii
Preface.....	iv
A Note On The Use Of Māori Language.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Acronyms.....	xii
Glossary of Terms.....	xiii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background.....	3
1.2 Research Question(s) & Design.....	5
1.3 Methods & Methodology.....	7
1.4 Structure of Thesis.....	10
1.5 Positionality & Ethics.....	11
Chapter 2: The Anthropology of Public Space and Public Arts.....	13
2.1 Art in the Public Space.....	13
Definitions.....	13
Sense of Place, Identity and Attachment - Place Making & Marking.....	15
2.2 The Receiving End of Public Arts.....	16
2.3 The Development of Public Arts in Hamilton.....	18
A Review of Hamilton City Council Documents.....	18
The Institutions Involved in Public Art Process.....	20
2.4 Māori & Pākehā Identity.....	21
2.5 Constructing the Hamiltonian Identity through Public Arts.....	24
Chapter 3: Putting Art in the Public Sphere.....	27
3.1 Advocating For Public Art.....	27
3.2 Shaping the City’s Image.....	30
3.3 A Ngati Wairere Carver.....	42
3.4 The Man Behind Hamilton’s Public Art Plan.....	54
3.5 The Makings of a Mural Town.....	58
3.6 Conclusion.....	66

Chapter 4: Living with Art in the Public Sphere.....	68
4.1 Analysing How Participants Talk About Art.....	70
4.2 The Making of Colonial Places.....	74
4.3 The Re-Making of Māori Places.....	77
4.4 Negotiating Identities through Public Art.....	83
4.5 Conclusion.....	89
Chapter 5: Thesis Conclusion.....	90
A Reflection.....	90
Themes and Findings.....	91
Colonisation of Art in the Public Sphere.....	93
A Summary.....	94
References.....	96
Appendix 1: Universal themed murals in Hamilton.....	114
Appendix 2: Māori themed murals in Hamilton.....	122
Appendix 3: Interview Schedules.....	124
Appendix 4: An Outline of the Interview Questions.....	125
Appendix 5: Research Information Sheet for Participants.....	126

List of Figures

Figure 1: Fieldwork Site	2
Figure 2: [Untitled] Mural by Martin Roestenberg (1958)	30
Figure 3: Māori Art (Taonga)	31
Figure 4: Founders Theatre Mural by Ralph Hotere (1973)	32
Figure 5: [Untitled] (stained glasswork) by Holly Sanford (1984)	32
Figure 6: Structure and Erosion by Paul Johnson (1985)	33
Figure 7: Life of Waikato; Te Noho I Roho O Waikato by Waikato Carvers (1985)	33
Figure 8: Ripples by Neil Dawson (1987)	35
Figure 9: Tekoteko & Maihi Carvings by Hopuhopu Carvers (1987)	36
Figure 10: Maihi Design	36
Figure 11: Hamilton Library Mural by Lynda Harris (1993)	37
Figure 12: The Kors by Carla Van de Veen (2000)	38
Figure 13: Mist on the River by Dick Frizzell (2002)	38
Figure 14: [Untitled] Terracotta Tile Mural by Joan Fear and Campbell Smith (1988)	39
Figure 15: The Farming Family by Margriet Windhausen (1990)	39
Figure 16: Te Taiho O Matariki; Inner Radiance of Pleiades by Neil Miller (2011)	43
Figure 17: Tongue of Dog by Micheal Parekowhai (2016)	44
Figure 18: Tōia Mai by Joe Citizen (2018)	44
Figure 19: Te Tatau Ki Kirikiriroa by Robert Jahnke (2016)	45
Figure 20: Captain Hamilton by Margriet Windhausen (2013)	46
Figure 21: Dame Hilda in Parliament by Matt Gauldie (2020)	48
Figure 22: Line of Fire by Matt Gauldie (2013)	48
Figure 23: War Horse by Matt Gauldie (2017)	49
Figure 24: War Monuments in Memorial Park	49
Figure 25: Whakare Hoera Pou by Wiremu Puke (2004)	50
Figure 26: Te Pou-ihi o Miropiko Pā (2007)	51
Figure 27: Te Kōpū Mānia o Kirikiriroa Marae by Warren McCrath (2012)	52
Figure 28: Ngā Pou Whakamaraha O Kirikiriroa by Unknown (2002)	53
Figure 29: (Five) Universal-themed Murals	61
Figure 30: <i>Untitled</i> by Craig McClure & Simon Blanchett (2015)	62

Figure 31: <i>Untitled</i> by Kelly Spencer (2018)	63
Figure 32: <i>Untitled</i> by Jacob Chrisohoou (2017)	63
Figure 33: Te Kōpū Mania o Kirikiriroa; WINTEC Mural by Poihakena Ngāwati, Hana Maihi and Te Hanui Tuna (2020)	65
Figure 34: A Love Story by Charles & Janine Williams (2019)	65
Figure 35: ‘Mauri’ by Daniel Ormsby & Jeremy Shirley (2019)	65

List of Tables

Table 1: Participants' Background	68
Table 2: Participants' Reaction to Artworks	71-72

List of Acronyms

BSAF - Boon Street Art Festival

HAA - Hamilton Arts Agenda

HCC - Hamilton City Council

HPAP - Hamilton Public Arts Plan

PADG - Public Art Development Guide

TKMK - Te Kōpū Mania O Kirikiriroa

TOTI - Theatre of The Impossible

WINTEC - Waikato Institute of Technology

Glossary of Terms

Amo: bargeboard support- upright supports of the lower ends of the maihi of a meeting house.

Atua: Ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as 'god'

Awa: River, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow

Hapū: a sub-tribe; most iwi are comprised of two or more hapū, although a number of smaller

iwi have marae but no hapū.

Harakeke: New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax* - an important native plant with long, stiff, upright leaves and dull red flowers. Found on lowland swamps throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. It has straight, upright seed pods. This is a general name for the harakeke leaf and the plant itself, but each different variety has its own name.

Institutional marae: these marae are specifically associated with a local school, polytechnic, university, church, branch of the armed forces, social service provider, or other institution.

Iwi: in the context of this site an iwi is a Māori tribe descended from a common named ancestor or ancestors and is usually comprised of a number of hapū.

Iwi authority: the authority which represents an iwi for the purposes of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA), and which is recognised by that iwi as having authority to do so. Note that the term “iwi authority” is defined in the RMA only for the purposes of that Act. This does not in itself specifically imply formal Crown recognition of that group as an iwi, nor formal recognition by the Crown of that “iwi authority” to act on behalf of that iwi.

Kahu: Native Harrier

Kaitiakitanga: the exercise of guardianship. In relation to a resource, kaitiakitanga includes the ethic of stewardship based on the nature of the resource itself.

Kaitiaki: Trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward.

Kārearea: New Zealand Falcon

Kingitanga: Māori King Movement

Kōkōwai: Dark red, crimson, ruby, red-brown, auburn

Koru: To be folded, looped, coiled

Mana: Prestige, spiritual power, mandate, or spiritual force in a person or place.

Maihi: Bargeboards - the facing boards on the gable of a house, the lower ends of which are often ornamented with carving, or a house so adorned.

Mana whenua: The exercise of traditional authority over an area of land [whenua].

Marae: A traditional meeting place for whānau, hapū and iwi members.

Matariki: Pleiades, Messier 45 - an open cluster of many stars in Te Kāhui o Matariki, with at least nine stars visible to the naked eye. The brightest star in the centre of the cluster, also known as Matariki (Alcyone), married Rehua (Antares) and is the mother of the other eight stars of the Pleiades known to Māori. The other eight stars are: Tupuārangi (Atlas), Waipunarangi (Electra), Waitī (Maia), Ururangi (Merope), Tupuānuku (Pleione), Waitā (Taygeta), Pōhutukawa (Sterope) and Hiwa-i-te-rangi (Calaeno). The first appearance before sunrise of Matariki in the north-eastern sky, in the Tangaroa phase of the lunar month, indicates the beginning of the Māori year - about mid-June - and is the cause for celebrations. Matariki disappears at the end of the Māori year and traditionally this was also a reason for celebration with some iwi. During this time when Matariki was absent from the sky, she was said to visit four places, each for seven nights, Maukahau, Tārarau-ātea, Papa-whakatangitangi and Tītore- māhu-tū. Matariki is a truncated version of the name Ngā Mata o te Ariki Tāwhirimātea (the eyes of the atua Tāwhirimātea). Matariki is associated with good health and wellbeing.

Maunga: Mountain, mount, peak

Mauri: Life principle, life force, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions - the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity. Also

used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located.

Ngāti Wairere: A sub-tribe of Waikato Tainui that has significant interest over the lands on the north of Hamilton; Kirikiriroa.

Pā: Fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city.

Pounamu: Green stone, nephrite, jade

Pou whakare: Main post in the palisade of a pā - it was usually carved

Rangatiratanga: Kingdom, realm, sovereignty, principality, self-determination, self-management - connotations extending the original meaning of the word resulting from Bible and Treaty of Waitangi translations.

Raparapa: The projecting carved ends of the maihi of a meeting house.

Raupatu: The confiscation of Māori land during and after the Land Wars of the 19th century.

Rohe: A tribal district; the area over which iwi and hapū claim mana whenua.

Rūnanga: Legislative assembly, or holding counsel, council, tribal council, assembly, board, boardroom, iwi authority - assemblies called to discuss issues of concern to iwi or the community.

Tainui: Term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe and whose territory includes the Waikato, Hauraki and King Country areas.

Taonga: Treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques

Taiwhenua: A term used by some iwi to define their representative districts based on hapū or marae groupings.

Takiwā: A tribal district more or less synonymous with "rohe". Some iwi have divided their rohe into several takiwā for purposes of representation.

Tangata Tiriti: People of the Treaty

Tangata whenua: In relation to a particular area, tangata whenua means the iwi, or hapū, that holds mana whenua over that area.

Taniwha: Water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, chief, powerful leader, something or someone awesome - taniwha take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory but may also have a malign influence on human beings.

Tapu: Sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under *atua* protection.

Tauiwī: Foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist

Taupiri: Clinging close, intimate, cherished

Tekoteko: Carved figure on the gable of a meeting house, figurehead (of a canoe).

Te Tiriti O Waitangi: Treaty of Waitangi

Tohunga whakairo: Master carver

Tomokanga: Entrance, opening, entry foyer, gateway, entry, portal

Tūpuna: Ancestors, grandparents

Tūi: Parson bird- a songbird that imitates other birds' call and has a glossy-black plumage and two white tufts at the throat.

Tūrangawaewae: Domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand - place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa.

Urban marae: Non-traditional marae, not specifically associated with any particular hapū, although the mana whenua of the hapū / iwi at the marae site is often acknowledged. They often serve as meeting places for the wider community.

Urupā: Burial ground, cemetery, graveyard.

Waharoa: Entrance to a pā, gateway, main entranceway.

Waiata: Song, chant, psalm

Waka: Canoe or crew of a canoe.

Wahi Taonga: Site of significance to Māori

Wahi Tapu: Sacred place, sacred site - a place subject to long-term ritual restrictions on access or use, e.g. a burial ground, a battle site or a place where tapu objects were placed.

Waikato: Waikato is a local government region of the upper North Island of New Zealand. It covers the Waikato District, Waipa District, Matamata-Piako District, South Waikato District and Hamilton City, as well as Hauraki, Coromandel Peninsula, the northern King Country, much of the Taupō District, and parts of Rotorua District. Waikato is also the collective name of the tribes living in the Waikato Basin. Also, the name of the river from which they take their name.

Whakapapa: Genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent - reciting whakapapa was, and is, an important skill and reflected the importance of genealogies in Māori society in terms of leadership, land and fishing rights, kinship and status. It is central to all Māori institutions. There are different terms for the types of whakapapa and the different ways of reciting them including: tāhū (recite a direct line of ancestry through only the senior line); whakamoe (recite a genealogy including males and their spouses); taotahi (recite genealogy in a single line of descent); hikohiko (recite genealogy in a selective way by not following a single line of descent); ure tārewa (male line of descent through the first-born male in each generation).

Whakatauki: Proverb, significant saying, cryptic saying

Whānau: Extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society. In the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.

Whanganui: Whanganui, also spelled Wanganui, is a city in the Manawatū-Whanganui region of New Zealand. The city is located on the west coast of the North Island at the

mouth of the Whanganui River,

Whenua: Country, land, nation, state

Chapter 1: Introduction

Part of Aotearoa/New Zealand's ongoing negotiations over a national cultural identity involves using public arts as a regeneration tool in an attempt to build a collective identity and sense of place. This thesis focuses on public arts in Hamilton—a pre-colonial settlement of Ngāti Wairere,¹ known as Kirikiriroa. It explores how Hamiltonians construct a sense of place as well as a collective identity and negotiate Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationships through installing, consuming and living with art in the public sphere. I define an accommodative relationship as the relationship between the postcolonised (Māori) and the postcoloniser (Pākehā) and the establishment of positive spaces of interaction such as the adoption of language, trust, understanding, knowledge exchange, defined spaces of expression, culture and identity, resulting in a compromise or/and tolerance of the other. The thesis also explores the tension between multiculturalism and biculturalism as lived reality.

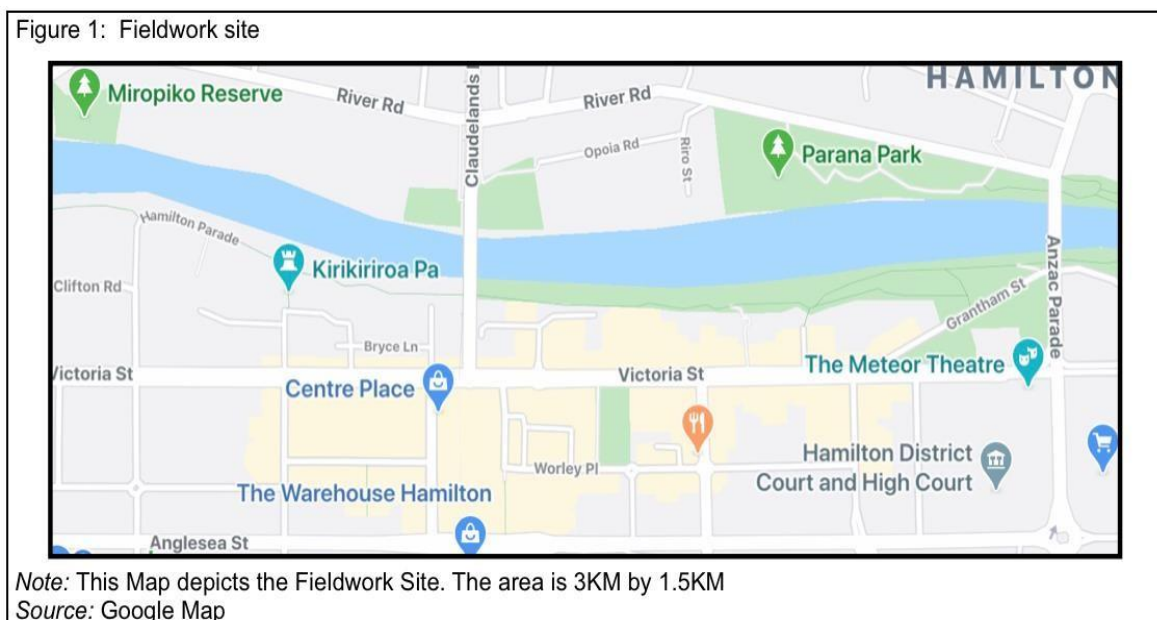
Essentially, the thesis explores not what public art is or what it does, rather, its aim is to document and analyse how art colonises the public sphere and affects the community(s) living in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton. As a qualitative study, I conducted twelve individual semi-structured interviews—with public art artists, art advocates and Hamilton residents—to explore the relational context within which the development and transmission of meaning takes place, a process which is central to the development of both culture and identity. I examined the phenomenology of relationships and how public arts influence the development of different kinds of meaning that affect the way identity and culture is produced. With an increase in the integration of public art with the city's landscape, as a means to recognise the history of a site, an analysis of the political, social and cultural significance of public art is timely.

My analysis highlights the use of historical and cultural associations in public art to reinforce the normalisation of a local culture and identity, however, unsettled resentments and, to a certain extent, Pākehā guilt over colonial transgressions, became a focus of interviews. Despite its growing multicultural society, Kirikiriroa/Hamilton and potentially the rest of Aotearoa/New Zealand, still grapples with the legacy of its colonial history and the resultant power and socioeconomic differentials between Māori and Pākehā, irrespective of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi and more recent Treaty of Waitangi settlements (McCormack 2020).

¹ Ngāti Wairere is a sub-tribe (*hapū*) of Waikato-Tainui *Iwi* (regional tribe)

Furthermore, the thesis highlights the shifts in the Public Art Plan (HPAP) since 2010; from themes associated with Kirikiriroa being the centre of its public arts (HCC 2010), to the introduction of ethnic diversified artworks in the public sphere in 2015 (HCC 2015), and in 2020, the total omission of Kirikiriroa being its main thematic priority (HCC 2020). Perhaps it was thought that the initial HPAP of 2010-2020 had already achieved the Kirikiriroa aspects in its public arts. The research also uncovered two issues; 1) public art in Hamilton generalises Māori culture and invisibilises the differences between *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe) and, 2) while there was an intent to remake Māori places and make ethnic diverse places and/or universal places (HCC 2010; 2015), Hamilton still struggles with the legacy of its colonial history, due to existing colonial places emphasised by public artworks that antagonise its postcolonial society. Nevertheless, whether Hamilton's public artworks are a superficial recognition of Māori culture, identity and history or a reminder of a colonial binary discourse, or an assertion of a Māori ancestral legacy or a colonial legacy, I argue that participants engagement with these artworks reveals a yearning for a local collective identity that is still a work in progress.

The thesis considers the fieldwork site to be a *wahi taonga* area (site of significance to Māori), thus, values associated with *taonga* (treasures) and heritage are important because they affirm identity and provide physical and emotional links to the past; an ancestral legacy. (See Figure 1: Fieldwork Site). As such, this thesis advocates for the removal of artworks that assert a colonial legacy in Hamilton.



1.1 Background

Hamilton, a city in the Waikato region of New Zealand's North Island, is a post-industrial and developing metropolitan with a population of over 160,000 (HCC nd). The *tangata whenua* (original inhabitants) arrived from Hawaiki on the Tainui *waka* (canoe)² and have a history of over 400 years of occupation and settlement, highlighted by the existence of *Pā* (village) sites, traditional gardens and agricultural features along the Waikato River (Puke 2011). The main *hāpu* of Kirikiriroa/Hamilton City is Ngāti Wairere. They called the area where they built a *Pā* between London Street and Bryce Street 'Kirikiriroa', which means 'long strip of cultivated land'. During the Land Wars in 1860s, the local *hapū* were forced to abandon their lands due to the imminent arrival of British troops. In 1863, the New Zealand Settlement Act enabled land to be taken from Māori and gifted to its colonial settlers, which resulted in 1.2 million hectares of land being confiscated in the Waikato region (Marr 1997). Kirikiriroa was then renamed Hamilton in 1864 after a British officer who died in the Battle of Gate Pā in Tauranga. During this time, Māori language and culture was denigrated, people were displaced, land was desecrated, and Māori paths, roads and places were renamed to reflect colonial sensibilities (Puke 2011).

Waikato-Tainui has settled two key Treaty of Waitangi³ claims over the past 25 years; the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 and Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims (Waikato River) Settlement Act 2010. The Waikato Raupatu Deed of Settlement 1995 is a hugely important piece of legislation that consists of a \$170m settlement package. This settlement is to compensate for the loss of land that Māori suffered from the 1860s onwards. Acting as the tribal authority, Waikato-Tainui has provided a long-term strategic direction for the *iwi* since then. While Ngāti Wairere, as part of the Waikato-Tainui *Iwi*, were party to the Raupatu settlements reached with the Crown in 1995 and 2008, those settlements did not extinguish their *kaitiaki* (guardianship) rights over ancestral lands, regardless of legal ownership (HCC 2003). Irrespective of these settlements and arrangements, intergenerational trauma over colonial alienations continue to exist.

² The Waikato-Tainui *Iwi* traces its roots back to the migration of the Tainui *waka* (canoe), captained by Hoturoa, that voyaged from Hawaii across the Pacific Ocean to Aotearoa around 1350AD. There are four principal tribes that comprise the Tainui *waka*. They are Hauraki, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa and Waikato. The Waikato-Tainui *iwi* comprises 33 *hapū*. (HCC, 2003)

³ The Treaty of Waitangi is a treaty first signed on 6 February 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs from the North Island of New Zealand. It is a founding document that consists of broad statement of 3 principles on which the British and Māori made a political compact to find a nation state and build a government in New Zealand. The three "P's", as they are often referred to, are the principles of **partnership**, **participation** and **protection**. These underpin the relationship between the Government and Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. (Retrieved on 4 June 2020 from <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/treaty-faqs>)

Aotearoa/New Zealand's ongoing negotiation over its cultural identity is observable in attempts to build a collective identity and sense of place amongst community members through public arts. Hence, public arts can be understood as a cultural regeneration tool (Sharp 2005; Ramesar 2005) in which public art is seen as a means of restoring and improving the quality of urban life through the enhancement and development of the unique characteristics of a place and its people (Landi 2012). This development occurs within the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand's colonial history, current Treaty of Waitangi claims, ongoing Māori land disputes and the rise of a decolonisation discourse which emphasises the importance of restoring the *māna* (prestige, spiritual power, mandate) of place. Since colonisation, Māori art has been variously lost and places disestablished and renamed (Mead 1996; Puke 2011).

Today, in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton, the Hamilton City Council (HCC) ostensibly acknowledges the significance of Māori as *tangata whenua* (people of the land), their relationship with the land and with the Waikato River (HCC 2003). Henceforth, the goal is to make "Kirikiriroa" the centre of contemporary Māori art and the cultural history of "Kirikiriroa" to be visible and recognised (HCC 2010). Artworks that express local traditional and contemporary Māori art forms are being prioritised (HCC 2010; 2015). This could signify three main objectives: it could be a means of encouraging the normalisation of Māori culture and identity in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton or it could signify an act of superficial representation or it could be representative of a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship. It is important to note that there is an inherent difference in the way Māori experience history and want it to be narrated, which contrasts with the reality of how this history has been divulged (Pihama 2019). And while Māori art and themes flood the public sphere, the concern in this thesis is whether these portray a homogeneous Māori culture and identity.

Policymakers and artists have been increasingly using public art as both rhetoric and a tool to put cities on the map, inculcate regeneration outcomes, as a means of propaganda, to increase the city's economic value, aestheticise landscapes, foster solidarity and build communities as well as encourage social movements and cultural empowerment (Becker 2004; Weber 2004; Miles 2005; Remesar 2005; Sharp, Pollock and Paddison 2005; McCormick and Jarman 2005; Grodach 2009). This thesis focuses on the role of public art as a cultural regeneration tool and its function in shaping the Kirikiriroa/Hamilton community(s) through building a sense of place and identity. 'Regeneration' involves the renewal or revival of physical, cultural, historical, social and economic aspects of a city and public art is a signifier of this rebirth in a city, particular

place and/or community (Evans & Shaw 2006). Regeneration assumes a positive outcome in the transformation process of the city or place, that is, that public art reinforces not only the aestheticism of the environment but also works to cultivate a local cultural identity and a sense of place (Hall 2003). This assumption, however, may not always be realised, and regeneration attempts may also result in increased marginality for some communities and groups (Carey 2004). Cultural regeneration in Hamilton occurs predominately as a result of the country and region's long history of colonisation, in which the subjugation, discrimination, suffering and loss of Māori people, culture, language and identity feature prominently. I question, in this thesis, whether or not Hamilton achieved its goals in its cultural regeneration efforts.

Cities like Hamilton are increasingly seeking to encourage culture-related uses in particular areas to achieve cultural regeneration outcomes (Remesar 2005). It may be argued that regeneration aims are potentially contradictory, since the image that is projected may not necessarily reflect a local identity. This is a critical issue in view of the need to achieve regeneration outcomes that are context sensitive, diversified and inclusive (McCarthy 2006). Thus, by exploring the relationship between place and identity, and the effectiveness of public arts for regeneration outcomes, this thesis aims to deepen understandings of identity formation and the role of place in social and cultural change. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of imagined communities, I uncover the articulation of identities and link this to the perceived construction of an imagined community. Anderson proposed that a nation is constructed from popular processes through which its citizens share a nationality and that this is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (1991, p. 6). As the spatial imagination plays a role in producing notions of social and spatial reality, this becomes a tool to address the disconnections between the lived or actual and the imagined that exists within the community of the locale, which is often indicative of social or spatial injustices.

1.2 Research Question(s) & Design

There is much academic literature concerned with questions about what public art is and what it can do for a city and its people (Selwood 1995; Miles 1997; Hall & Robertson 2001; Sharp 2005; Zebracki et al. 2010). This thesis focusses on how or what public art is doing to Kirikiriroa/Hamilton and its people through the narratives shared by three

artists/public art advocates and six of its residents. The main questions which guided this research are:

- What is the intent of public art in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton?
- What were the motivations and projected outcomes for each public artwork from the point of view of artists, planning development officials and community arts organisers?
- How do people in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton react to and interact with different forms of public art in the city?
- How do people construct identities from the images, symbols and interpretations of art in their public sphere?
- What discourses arise in participants discussion surrounding artworks in their public sphere?
- Who has the right to create or contest artworks in particular spaces?
- Has Hamilton achieved its cultural regeneration goals?

Inherent in these research questions are further questions regarding the process of evaluating community involvement and receptiveness. Once the perceived purpose of artworks is known to the public, how might this information affect them? Through interviews, the primary purpose of this line of questioning was to gain further insight into the reasons that motivate arts organisers and planners to direct valuable limited resources into public art projects and the observable outcomes. The secondary purpose of this questioning was to examine the reactions of the public to public art. As such, the thesis looks at the way in which public space is defined by gatekeepers and residents and the ideologies concerning an entitlement to its use. In so doing, I document the confrontations, conflicts, and constructions of collective identities around this phenomenon. Consequently, this thesis is about power struggles and the assertion and negotiation of identity and culture through public arts in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton.

This research is academically significant for three main reasons. First, the way people think about art in the public sphere matters because the characteristics of place shaped by the artworks influence our understandings of the world, our identities, our attitudes toward others, and our politics (Massey 2005). In other words, how people read artwork in their public sphere is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of a society and inhabitants of a place (Feld and Basso 1996). Hence, our

comprehension and perception of place is closely linked to the construction of self; having the ability to grasp our position within a society or community. Essentially, our sense of past, being, and place is intertwined (Feld and Basso 1996). As such, it is critical that public art reflects how its residents want to be perceived, because after all it should represent their beliefs, values, cultures and identities.

Secondly, this research is significant because no other studies have gathered the general public's thoughts on public art in a systematic manner in Hamilton. It is important to understand what people think about public art in order to evaluate if current policies reflect what people actually desire. Hamilton spends approximately \$2 to \$5 million per year in public art installations, which includes planning, designing processes, acquiring artists, commissioning the artworks and maintenance (HCC 2015). These costs may not be entirely justified if the majority of residents do not want these or if artworks divide people rather than having the intended outcome of unifying them.

Lastly, other than official local Council's reports, there has been little to no research undertaken to analyse and assess the effect and success of public arts as a regeneration tool in Hamilton and indeed elsewhere in New Zealand. My research thus fills a gap and aims to uncover the role of public arts in fostering solidarity and a collective identity, or otherwise. The novelty of this research lies in its explicit focus on exploring if public artworks in Hamilton actually represents the public, hitherto this receiving end of public art has been sidelined or neglected by scholars.

1.3 Methods & Methodology

To answer my research questions, I draw on scholarly literature as well as HCC's cultural development policies and regeneration strategies. Underlying regeneration research is the central assumption that public art is beneficial to a community and is important to people and society at large (Selwood 1995; Miles 1997; Hall & Robertson 2001; Sharp 2005; Zebracki et al. 2010). As such, public art should be a central strategy in development and design schemes, but it cannot be assumed that public art initiatives always evoke regeneration or that they avoid imposing socially harmful outcomes, such as racism, discrimination or cultural misappropriation.

To assess Hamilton's public art and regeneration strategies, this research conducts a qualitative study with five artist/art advocates and six Kirikiriroa/Hamilton residents. However, only the interviews of three artist/art advocates are featured in this thesis and their real names are used. These three interviews were done to establish the intended

message, goal and vision of artists' artwork, and their thoughts on the role of public arts. Interviews with the six residents were aimed at uncovering their perspectives and experiences of the city via public art. Pseudonyms are used to protect identity of these group of participants. Artists/art advocates were contacted directly for their contributions towards the public arts in Hamilton while residents were recruited via a snowball sampling method and through friends and acquaintances. All interviews were voice recorded and transcribed for the purpose of data analysis.

The individual interviews with the three artist/art advocates situate personal narratives in the context of advocating for public arts in the city to shape its identity. It includes uncovering the how, why and where public arts are situated, what meanings these have and how everyday stories are localised but also nested in wider social-cultural norms and relations (Elliker, et al. 2013). Participants were questioned about the concept, design, vision, potential audience, limitations, politics and agenda of artworks. The key was to uncover deeper structural conditions that resulted in these artworks or were caused by it. Focusing only on completed artworks means that the realisation of these, their development and the processes involved in commissioning, remains uncovered. Instead, my research is informed by Actor-Network Theory which posits that objects, ideas, processes, and any other relevant factors are as important in creating social situations as the finished product (Callon 2001). Thus, I present detailed ethnographic descriptions of these processes. Further, as a pragmatic study, the research examines what public art does rather than what it is. The resulting analysis therefore includes observations on the intersection of public policy, public art and community.

The interviews with Kirikiriroa/Hamilton residents began with participants being shown photographs of various public artworks, architecture and scenery to stimulate culturally relevant reflections. This was also a means to explore how participants rely on what is seen and how they construct and integrate meanings from these images into their lives (Loeffler 2004). Combining spatial and place ethnography (Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Low 2016), participants were asked to walk to three sites which housed the artwork that they related to most. They were also asked to share their experience as well as embodied and phenomenological perspective in relation to their sense of place and identity. Methodologically, my research combines the tools of social constructivism with narrative research that rely on participants' interpretation of their world and produce meaning-making based on their own experiences (Denzin 1997; Stedman 2003; Creswell 2013).

Through this, I analysed their stories, experiences, meaning making (Esin et al. 2014) to produce accounts that have a "spatial," "temporal," and "sequential ordering"

(Kohler 2012, p. 369). I understand this approach to be an effective means of exploring the complexities of meaning-making and identity construction, especially when the research progresses into a dialogical interaction (Colombo 2003). Focusing on an ethnography of place, specifically, Hamilton City Central and the role played by public art, it was imperative to employ a place-based and spatial analysis to elicit a range of meanings around making, unmaking and remaking of places through public arts (Mello 2002; Kyle and Chick 2007). Spatial analysis provides an understanding of complex location-oriented problems imposed by art in the public sphere and the relationship of these places to the public (Phillips 1994; Rose 1997).

Relational ethnography aims to describe a “system of relations”, to show how objects or persons interrelate with one another (Desmond 2014, p. 554). As Desmond describes, the “relational approach incorporates fully into the ethnographic sample at least two types of actors or agencies occupying different positions within the social space and bound together in a relationship of mutual dependence or struggle” (Desmond 2014, p. 554). In my thesis, I referenced this “social space” as either Kirikiriroa or Hamilton⁴ because the place is known by two different names, signifying the existence of two types of actors or agencies who, while differently positioned, are entwined in a relationship of both dependence and struggle. Even today, the name of the city, ‘Hamilton’ is a topic of debate as local Māori call for its reversion to Kirikiriroa (Mather 2020). Thus, through analysing multiple narratives from participants who inhabit qualitatively dissimilar positions in the “social space”, I observe the conflict and cooperation, contestation and agreement, commonalities and differences in meaning-making evoked by public arts in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton.

Due to a lack of existing data on what residents actually think about public art in Hamilton, it was necessary to collect new information to answer my research questions. My data gathering was also burdened with the lack of information or detailed and organised documentation on public artworks descriptions and meanings. As well as the semi structured interviews conducted individually with three artists/art advocates and six Hamilton residents, I also tracked press reviews, monitored comments and posts on social media and institutional debates involving residents, artists, and public authorities involving public arts. I recorded data by taking photographs of public artworks and their installation sites, voice recorded my interviews and took field notes of my observations during and after

⁴ When referring to the “social space” as Māori, I employ the term Kirikiriroa. When referring the “social space” as a shared space, I employ the term Kirikiriroa/Hamilton. Whereas, in general, I shall refer “social space” as Hamilton. Similar employment for the usage of Aoteroa and New Zealand.

the fieldwork process. Data gathering was also enhanced by the large-scale collection of written materials and resources, including public art publications and HCC policy documents. Public artworks are not permanent features, and some got removed or painted over during the course of my research. Hence, in the span of four months from July to November 2020, I spent about three hours each week, walking the streets of my field-site, documenting and photographing as many artworks as I could. These methods provided a body of techniques to acquire knowledge on the effects of public art, including what happens when art is placed in public spaces with or without resident consultation or what happens when it is removed.

In my analysis I discuss the role of public art in its association to place, how public art may antagonise what I describe as a “Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship” and how it may emphasise a residents’ sense of place. Participants’ interviews were analysed in order to link their narratives of place with that of their experience, a method strongly influenced by discourse theory (Carbaugh 2007). I am particularly interested in how participants constructed an explanation for their cultural identity and linked this to a sense of place (Hall & Smith 2005; Kyle 2007). After isolating participants’ narratives, I coded the segments in each that related to meaning making in association with particular public artworks. Findings were then developed ideographically as superordinate themes unique to each participant, then analysed across interviews to identify recurrent themes and sub-themes. Through constant comparison and the use of a relational framework (Slaven 2012; Desmond 2014), I sought evidence from ascription processes about how participants establish and negotiate public artworks’ meanings. Building on this method, I analysed how identities were constructed to discern their relationship with place (Hay 1998; Stokowski 2002).

1.4 Structure of Thesis

This introductory chapter has given a background to the thesis by outlining the aim and objectives of the study. It has also provided a brief description of the research questions and ethnographic context, including the methods and methodologies employed. Chapter Two is a literature review and provides a definition of key terms and concepts concerning public space, public art and its role. It also introduces Kirikiriroa/Hamilton’s public art scene and public art strategies and its main recipients, Māori and Pākehā. Chapter Three focuses on the planning, thought processes, and implementation of public artworks in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton. It highlights the development of HPAP from 2010 to date and

introduces the artworks that have come into the public sphere since the 1950s. These processes were uncovered through fieldwork observation, data gathering through press reviews, policy analysis and interviews with three artists/art advocates. Chapter Four focuses on the receiving end of public artwork. The interview narratives of six Hamilton residents provided an opportunity to understand what public art does to the people living within the spaces where public art exists. The analysis applies relational and discourse theories to discern participants' relationship with place, issues surrounding or arising from public arts and how participants' may construct their identity(s) through public arts. Chapter Five summarises the findings of the research, offers a conclusion to the thesis and provides recommendations for future research.

1.5 Positionality & Ethics

My position as an outsider researcher implies a certain set of strengths as well as weaknesses (Rabe 2003; Dwyer & Buckle 2009). For example, my outsider status may provide an analytical edge or fresh insights particularly into what is perceived of as the norm or common knowledge. Alternatively, participants might question my competence or disagree with my perspectives on the research (Meriam et al. 2001). On one hand, my foreign identity encouraged interest and respect that enabled me to engage with my participants across different discourses, cultural, and social class boundaries (Rabe 2003; Dwyer & Buckle 2009). Participants were eager to share experiences that they thought I would envy or otherwise sympathise with. On the other hand, some participants indicated that my foreign identity implied a lack of ability to relate to their life circumstances (Mero-Jaffe 2011). There were instances where I too questioned my credibility, particularly as I had no proficiency in Te Reo Māori and was (initially) uneducated in the country's colonial history. Furthermore, as an outsider researcher, I often feared getting rebuffed, especially when asking taboo or delicate questions (Okumus et al 2007).

During the course of my research, I was often told off for my lack of knowledge of Māori society, incompetency in the Māori language and overall lack of understanding of New Zealand's colonial history, such that it was implied that I had no business researching my chosen topic (Meriam et al. 2001). I realised that it was imperative for me to be confident in my research intentions and be willing to learn and be taught, even if the teacher is critical and condescending. In fact, my participants are my teachers, the field-site is my classroom, and with that in mind, I pursued access to the Hamilton community(s) for the purpose of my research. My research experiences highlight the importance of

showing sensitivity to and awareness of the volatility and complexity of colonial, indigenous and ethnic issues in New Zealand. I have learnt that social skills, strategic planning and sincerity are valuable in negotiating a foreign research environment (Clair & Wasserman 2007). Fortunately, most of my participants were accommodating to the shortfalls of my foreign identity and were willing to disclose matters that were of a sensitive nature. Perhaps, my foreign identity made it easier to engage with sensitive topics that were assumed not to concern me (Okumus et al. 2007).

The interviews, while fruitful for my research, were also educational for the participants as they reflected on the history of their hometown and reconstructed their imagined community in retrospect of the artwork they saw and new knowledge they gained from the dialogical interview process. Dialogical interviews provide an opportunity for both participants and I, as the researcher to expand our own understandings, raise consciousness about meanings of our own experiences and, in turn, open up the possibility of different explanations for things we assume to know (Way, Zwier and Tracy 2015). Such an approach reminded me, as researcher, how participants are individuals embedded in a larger social narrative and that our relationships influence the experiences of our own subjectivity (Denzin 2001).

Finally, critical to this research is the acknowledgment of the disparity of power between two separate ethnic identities—Pākehā and Māori—both tussling to be recognised for their contribution to the growth and development of the city, each highlighting different histories and culture. I also acknowledge, through careful articulation of methods and strategies (Bishop and Shepherd 2011), the need to fairly represent Māori as *tangata whenua* and challenge “the place of Pākehā history and power, re-positioning them as historians from elsewhere whose cultural and intellectual frameworks are inadequate for interpreting the histories and world views of the indigenous peoples here in Aotearoa” (Mahuika 2011, p. 17).

Chapter 2: The Anthropology of Public Space and Public Arts

This Chapter starts off by defining and identifying the characteristics and functions of public art. This is done through referencing public art literatures that discuss particular concepts relating to cultural regeneration, place making, a sense of place and community imaginaries. In the second section, I discuss the significance of doing research on public art and its effects and the implications of research on the receiving end of public art. Following that, I provide a brief summary of the development of public arts and regeneration strategies in Hamilton. This includes highlighting the city's public art policies and their shifts in the last decade. The next section discusses the development of Māori and Pākehā identities. This is crucial to understanding the complexities that revolve around the confrontations, negotiations and reconciliations in public arts. Finally, the chapter highlights potential issues surrounding identity construction and negotiations towards a collective identity in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton.

2.1 Art in the Public Space

Definitions

The term “space” historically referred to something which had no attachment to memory, history or person (Tuan 1977). In contrast, “place” distinctively accounts for the meaningful experience given to it, therefore it can be perceived of as a “consumed space” (Tuan 1977; Sherry 1998). When one puts art in that space, that space becomes a place therefore it is fair to say that art colonises the space, turning it into a place. In this section, I focus on detailing how art colonises space and what kind of meanings are derived as a result of this colonisation, thus, understanding why this has happened.

This thesis defines ‘public art’ as multi-functional artwork that is placed amongst/in the public sphere (Miles 1989). It is publicly accessible and is artwork that can either be purchased with public funds, by commission, or by donation for public display (Remesar 2005). Scholars in urban development studies and public art research have pointed out that public art, as functional objects, may do more than enhance aestheticism (Becker 2004; Weber 2004; Miles 2005; Remesar 2005; Sharp, Pollock and Paddison 2005; McCormick and Jarman 2005; Grodach 2009). It is obvious that public art, when placed appropriately, can facilitate the management of public space and improve the existing urban visual landscape, thus, bringing various benefits to both the community and the environment (Hall & Robertson 2001; Hall 2003; Remesar 2005; Sharp, Pollock and Paddison 2005;

Landi 2012). On a deeper level, public art can also function as 1) an assertion of identity, culture and/or history to generate a sense of belonging and ownership, 2) the revitalisation of urban areas for community, economic and/or social development, and 3) a driver of political strategies through vision manifestation and iconography (Miles 1989; Hall & Smith 2005; Cartiere 2010). In a sense, public art reflects social theory about a place and displays a style that is attributed to the space, giving it character (Sharp, Pollock and Paddison 2005). Potentially, people recall a place better because of the artwork that exists in that space such that the artwork acts as a symbol of the place (Zebracki 2010).

There are a variety of reasons for the installation of a public art and these include, a means to commemorate or celebrate significant events, people or ideas, and/or decorate parts of a city or neighbourhood (Sharp, Pollock, & Paddison 2005). Hence, a public artwork can be seen as a monument, a form of memorialisation, a means to tell a story and an exhibition of cultural and/or historical significance (Zebracki 2010). Such artworks are not limited to sculpture, painting, mural, carving, mosaic, or engraving and can be made of metal, wood, canvas, concrete, glass, plastic, rubber, textile or stone (Remesar 2005). Public art can either be placed in public places where (a) no prior relationship between the artwork and its location exists; or (b) where the artwork responds to its location in some way and becomes indivisible from its location (Grodach 2009).

Miles (1997) introduced a term called 'site specific' to refer to public artworks that are primarily influenced by the physical aspects of their locale (1997, p. 5), such as topography and features of surrounding architecture (Kwon 2002, p. 3). This means that the interpretation and meaning making of the artwork is heavily influenced by its locality. For example, sites that are already sites of commemoration are seen to have transferred certain aspects of meaning or interpretation onto the artworks— a phenomenon known as symbolic accretion (Dwyer 2006, p. 420). Miles also provides four arguments for the role of public art in improving the public environment (Miles 1989). These are that public art (1) gives a sense of place, (2) engages the people who use the space, (3) provides a model of imaginative work, and (4) assists in urban regeneration (Miles 1989). These positions assume that public art functions both communicatively and aesthetically in ways that significantly promote change in communities (Greider & Garkovich 1994; Low & Altman 1992; Stokowski 2002; Weber 2003). My research builds on these assumptions but also argues that while public art has the potential to create a symbolic community cynosure, it can also isolate people (Remesar 2005; Murray and Crummett 2018). For instance, while artworks installed in the public sphere enhance the space and give it character, they may also alienate people who do not resonate with the artwork and/or the artwork

may disrupt a social order and cause people to contest its existence (Remesar 2005; Pelowski et al. 2016; Murray and Crummett 2018). This could depend on wider structural features such as the presence of class structures, racism, sexism, poverty, and discrimination of all kinds (Pelowski et al. 2016).

Sense of Place, Identity and Attachment - Place Making & Marking

Scholars have often written on the inextricable bind between place and identity and how public arts can heighten people's sense of place and evoke a normalisation of culture and identity of the place and its residence (Greider & Garkovich 1994; Low & Altman 1992; Stokowski 2002; Weber 2003). Place identity suggests that identities form in relation to environments, meaning it is a sub-structure of a person's self-identity that consists of emotions, everyday experiences and knowledge of the place (Hayden 1995; Vanclay 2008). As a result, the place can function to provide a sense of attachment, belonging and ability to construct meaning and mediate change (Low and Altman 1992; Kyle 2007). As a versatile concept on which many theories of human–environment relations are built (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996; Hay 1998; Manzo 2005; Dixon, John and Durrheim 2004), place identity can inform one's experiences, behaviours, and attitudes about other places (Tuan 1977). In a related vein, place attachment defines the ways in which people resonate with places, and the effects of such bonds in identity development, place-making, perception, and practice (Altman & Low 1992). Both of these concepts—place identity and place attachment—help us comprehend how, why and where people feel at home, or displaced.

Cities and communities alike have employed the use of artworks to personalise public spaces to create a sense of belonging and to build a sense of attachment between residents and the place (Altman and Low 1992; Remesar 2005). Place-making then, could offer comprehension of a city's identity and how art is used to revitalise the public sphere. According to Cant and Morris (2006), place-making is intertwined with the concept of 'sense of place' where the ways people engage, form perceptions and resonate with the place becomes critical in place-making. However, in this thesis I find that place *marking* is a concept that more accurately describes how public art is used to colonise space. Place marking is an evocative form of place-making that revolves around resistance and contestation, and assertion and declaration (Ferrell 1995). Public art in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton can be understood as the employment of public artworks to mark place and assert either a colonial or ancestral legacy.

Issues surrounding the construction of place and identity are central themes in this research. Hummon asserts that a sense of place consists of two forms “involving both an interpretive perspective on the environment and an emotional reaction to the environment” (1992, p. 262). Agnew (1987) refers to a sense of place as the subjective and emotional attachment that people have to a place. Massey (2002), however, warns of the problematic nature of equating place with a local community as the place may not be the best representation of that community. As such, participants’ narratives play a key role in describing the symbolic and objective reality of their environments and experience, in understanding the construction of place. Hence, by analysing the ascription process—participants’ subjective assumptions and sentiments about their environments (Remesar 2005), we can attain a better understanding of how public artworks contribute to the development or imagined construction of a collective or individual identity (Hall 1997; Harvey 2005; Miles 2005; Kingsley 2007; Chakravathy and Chan 2010).

The manner in which artworks are employed as part of a regeneration strategy may have implications and these may be positive or negative (Remesar 2005; Zebracki 2010). The public artwork can then represent the intangible phenomenon in which cultural resources are mobilised by city planners in an attempt to stimulate consensus amongst the residents of their localities (Sharp 2005). From this critical position, I ask what are the effects and affects of public artworks on Hamiltonians? Who has the power to commission or contest public artworks? Perhaps, public art as a regeneration tool can either cultivate a collective identity or cause ethnic division, or perhaps it can do both. These questions are explored through understanding the intents and goals of public arts artists. What was, for instance, the intended message in particular public artworks? Who is it for? How does the public perceive the artwork in their space?

2.2 The Receiving End of Public Arts

Visual representations can be a powerful tool for the assertion of a coalescent local identity (Brown, 2002). Representations, according to Brown (2002), are social and/or cultural constructions of individual and collective identities, that correlate to avowal and ascription processes. Avowal refers to how one perceives the self while ascription is the process through which other people attribute identities to an individual (Collier 2003). Community and social developers manage various facets of representation, such as regularity and choice of depiction that relate to the society or community (Bessant 2018). Ascription processes are often employed in representations by appropriating specific

features of the community, with the minority often receiving essentially negative ascriptions from the dominant culture (Howarth 2002; 2011). Often, cultural identity is cultivated through forms of representation such as signs, symbols and artistic techniques (Hall 1997; Langford 2003; McHugh 2009). Thus, it is essential to interpret images in public artworks to disclose implied ideologies and meanings, particularly those that centre privileged and oppressed relationships.

In doing so, my research refers to iconography; a term used to collectively describe the symbols and images that make up the content of a work (Lash 2003). My interest is not in the form of the artwork per se, but the employment of associations of images to represent entities such as individuals, communities, or even places. To clarify, it is not merely what is seen but more so what is observed because seeing does not include engaging, interpreting, absorbing, negotiating and concluding how the images in the artwork affects one but becomes the familiar everyday orientation fading unnoticeable into the background. Thus, interpreting the iconography of the artwork reveals its underlying meaning. As such, I argue that artworks do not occupy an autonomous aesthetic realm but rather are part of the material relations and the reproduction of society itself (Selwood 1995, p. 24).

It is also imperative to note the subjectivities involved in discerning meaning making. Meaning making is defined as the process of how individuals make sense of knowledge, experience, relationships and the self. As such, the process of meaning making differs from people to people, context to context and time to time because it is affected by experiences, culture, history, education and so on. Consequently, interaction with public art is essential for creating identity not only for the individual but also for the city as a whole (Lossau & Stevens 2014). Public art has sought to convey and articulate four fundamental benefits to community development: a collective history, identity, aspirations and needs (Swales 1992, p. 71). When people physically interact with public art they are continually shaped by the surrounding built environment. People connect with the physical space which in turn shapes the space through their behaviours (Finkelpearl 2000; Zebracki 2013). People's interaction with public art can create a sense of inclusion in a community, giving the public space a participatory feature (Catiere & Zebracki 2015). A sense of place is then acquired by creating an attachment to the space as people are drawn towards the public art (McCarthy 2006). Public arts are also a driver of a sense of community. The articulation or conspicuous sense of community is critical in the emergence of social bodies (Swales 1992). My thesis refers 'sense of community' to an awareness of

a social body occupying a shared space with connections arising from some commonalities in values, culture or even identity.

City planners may see public art as an image maker, an attractive icon that can benefit the city economically, or be a representation of the city's identity to the world (Remesar 2005). To this end, public art is perceived as a tool to shape a collective identity (Kingsley 2004; Benoit 2012). An artist may see public art as an essential encounter that compels a person to engage with the artwork (Morris and Cant 2004). It may be the artists means to assert a value, a belief or simply enhance the aesthetics of the place (Mohatt, Singer and Evans 2013). Shelley Sacks (2005) suggests that art is a transactional instrument involving people, issues, and places which brings about a discourse to achieve a social result. As such, an artist's intent, vision and reason for the artwork is then critical because it acts as the driver of social change and/or the maintenance of stability. A resident of an urban environment may see public art as a manifestation of a cultural memory or of a history which can have a positive or negative effect (Zebracki 2010). In a way, public art either becomes the familiar, comfortable everyday orientation fading unnoticeable into the background or the subject of discontentment and resentment such that its very existence becomes the reminder of one's own trauma (Rose 1997; Remesar 2005; Slaven 2012; Zebracki 2013). Hence, the residents' quality of life can be affected by the shifts in both physical and psychic environments of the public sphere that art colonises (Slaven 2012).

2.3 The Development of Public Arts in Hamilton

A Review of Hamilton City Council Documents

In New Zealand, public art was only put on an organised footing in the early 1980s after the implementation of the Art Bonus scheme, when a proportion of development costs was set aside for public art (Pollock 2014). By the late 1990s and early 2000s, following the successes seen in cities like Wellington and Auckland, public art in Hamilton received another boost when urban designers and planners began to realise the value of art in urban settings (HCC 2010). Not only was public art seen as a means to give the city character, but the city hoped that it could foster a collective identity while emphasising a sense of place for its residents (HCC 2010). This set the direction for HCC to strategise its culture-led urban regeneration efforts through public art, and it began to draft urban development plans to incorporate public arts (HCC 2010; 2015a; 2015b; 2020; Creative Waikato, 2014). Such public art policies guide the process for funding and choosing art and their

placement and maintenance.

In 2010, the first HPAP was drafted, detailing the Council's commitment to make the history of Kirikiriroa the centre of its public artwork (HCC 2010). The document outlined the key areas in the city that would be revitalised through public arts and the need to work with Waikato Tainui iwi in these projects (HCC 2010). The 2011/12 Hamilton Arts Agenda (HAA) was then introduced to support and grow Hamilton's arts and culture sector through public art, arts leadership and strategy. It also detailed available grants and guidelines for applicants when submitting a project towards its cause. This was further refined in the 2015 HAA and 2015 Public Arts Development Guide (PADG) to include diversity in public arts with an emphasis on five key regeneration strategies⁵: Spaces and Places, Māori art, Creative Economy, Engagement and Promotion (HCC 2015a; 2015b). Another key piece of policy rolled out in 2014 is the Waikato Creative Infrastructure Plan. This provided the first opportunity for the Waikato region to review current and future creative sector facility needs. The primary objectives of this document are to identify the current facilities available throughout the Waikato, to ascertain any gaps in the facility offerings and to determine how best to fill those gaps over the next thirty-year period (Creative Waikato 2014). A priority project identified in this policy was the development of a nationally significant public art space or gallery in Hamilton.

Due to the ongoing impact of colonisation and the subjugation of Māori arts, the celebration of and respect for *taonga* Māori, as outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi, has been muted until comparatively recently. In this context, both the HPAP and the HAA can be viewed, to a certain extent, as counter-colonial documents; their content validating the relationship between Treaty partners as an integral sociocultural context in public arts in Hamilton. This development signifies Hamilton's aspiration towards a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship. However, in October 2020 the HCC introduced a document called "Our Vision for Hamilton Kirikiriroa" which outlines key projects for

⁵**Spaces and Places;** Hamilton to offer premier art venues and creative spaces, and Hamilton's public spaces to be used for art activities and events

Māori Art; Kirikiriroa to be the centre of contemporary Māori art, and cultural history of Kirikiriroa to be visible and recognised.

Creative economy; Increased central government investment in the Hamilton art sector with more students studying the arts in Hamilton and more arts sector and creative industry jobs in Hamilton.

Engagement; Increased participation in the arts, art events and festivals.

Promotion; Increased national exposure for Hamilton artists, art events and exhibitions. Increased public awareness of Hamilton's arts and culture offering (HCC, 2015b).

regeneration based on the “collective voices of the residents” (HCC 2020). This document emphasises reflecting a diversity of identities through public art, that is, its multicultural society. Interestingly, while the title names the city as “Hamilton Kirikiriroa”, there is no mention of “Māori Art” in the document, a turnaround from the HCC’s primary focus in its 2010 HPAP and 2015 PADG documents.

The commissioning of public art in Hamilton goes through an approval process that is overseen by the Council (HCC 2010, Creative Waikato 2014; HCC 2015). Projects are assessed by a Public Art Panel to ensure they align with the outcomes listed in Council’s cultural regeneration strategy as described in its HPAP and PADG documents, as well as ensuring they are of high quality, site-specific, stimulating, aspiring, inspiring, of educational value, engaging, linked to and coordinated with city’s growth, planning and development priorities and, reflecting and expressing Hamilton’s significant cultural sites and heritage places, events and people (HCC 2015b, p. 10). The Public Art Panel’s recommendations regarding the artist brief, concepts, development of designs and use of the Public Art Support Fund is then presented to the Public Art Subcommittee for approval, as outlined in the PADG (HCC 2015b). Creative Waikato is a non-profit organisation that works closely with the Council for such projects.

The Institutions Involved in Public Art Process

Public art is sometimes selected and managed by charitable trusts who ostensibly work closely with local authorities and community(s) (Watson 2014). The few notable public art trusts in Hamilton include Trust Waikato, MESH Sculpture and Theatre of the Impossible Charitable Trust (TOTI). The Government established Trust Waikato by statute in 1988 to hold and manage the shares of Trust Bank Waikato. In 1996, Trust Waikato left banking and the shares were sold, with the proceeds of the sale invested. Since 1988 Trust Waikato has managed those investments, using a portion of the profits each year to support community groups and projects throughout the Waikato region, which includes Hamilton (Trust Waikato nd). MESH Sculpture, on the other hand, is a charitable trust formed in 2010 by a group of business and community leaders to raise philanthropic funds to commission nationally significant artworks, which are then gifted to the city. MESH works closely with Hamilton City Council and private landowners in selecting appropriate locations for the work (Mesh nd). Similarly, TOTI is a charitable trust focused on projects which integrate art, culture and the environment and which place and emphasis on collaboration, community engagement, education, and multi-media frameworks. Its

current projects relate to the 150th anniversary of the 1863-64 Waikato War and Hamilton's military origins, as well as the 1915 Gallipoli Campaign and the centenary of the 1914-18 Great War (TOTI nd). Since the 1990s, institutions and corporations, such as the Gallagher Group and WEL Energy Trust, have also taken an interest in commissioning public arts in Hamilton. These corporations donate artworks to be displayed in public spaces. Such charitable acts may be a combination of philanthropy, a means for local corporations to give back to the community, as well as a means to make a statement, amplify a particular political agenda or engineer social change (Lerner 2016).

2.4 Māori & Pākehā Identity

To gain an appreciation of the contextual factors that influence how Māori and Pākehā relate to each other on a day-to-day basis, an understanding of Aotearoa/New Zealand's construction of Pākehā and Māori identities is necessary. While it is not possible here to provide a comprehensive overview—other than the background provided in chapter one—I offer a brief sketch, orientated towards my research objectives, of a few important historical events. These events are implicated in the construction of Pākehā and Māori ethnic identities and their interaction, both quotidian and institutional.

In pre-colonial times, Aotearoa/New Zealand's indigenous people did not refer to themselves as Māori. Instead, identification was through an ancestral lineage, *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānāu* and association with a particular place. Originally, the word "Māori" meant that something (whether human or not) was "normal, ordinary, or of the usual kind" (Māori Dictionary 2020). The transformation of the term to identify a single collective ethnic identity came about when indigenous people in Aotearoa came in contact with Pākehā. At the same time, the term Pākehā was deployed to differentiate the newcomers from Māori (Taonui 2011). European invaders/settlers/coloniser⁶ arrived in Aotearoa around the 1800s intent to colonise and settle the land they referred to as New Zealand, an adaption of the Dutch 'Nieuw Zeeland'. In February 1840, a treaty to establish New Zealand as a British colony (te tiriti o Waitangi, the treaty of Waitangi) was signed between its indigenous people and the European colonisers. The Treaty has three articles means to ensure continued colonial settlement, for instance, the and two different versions,

⁶To a large extent, Māori view the Europeans who came to Aotearoa in the 1800s as invaders. They came to colonise and rob Māori of their lands. In contrast, these Europeans, in general, view themselves as settlers. As such, when discussing colonialism from a Māori perspective, the term invaders is employed, whereas when discussing this from a Pākehā perspective, the term settlers is employed.

an English and a Māori version. Despite different interpretations, it is commonly accepted that the treaty maintains Māori *rangatiratanga* (sovereignty), guarantees their rights over significant *taonga* and environmental resources and granted rights of equal citizenship. The British Crown was granted rights of governance. Almost from the start, the promises made to Māori were undermined. As a Government established legislation to facilitate settler access to indigenous lands, causing the large-scale transfer of Māori land to colonial settlers/invasers (Jackson 1993; Walker 1990). As such, localised conflicts triggered by tensions over disputed land purchases occurred. Known as the Land Wars in the Waikato, the tensions escalated dramatically from 1860 as the government became convinced it was facing united indigenous resistance to further land sales and a refusal to acknowledge Crown sovereignty. The term Māori, as an identification, became emphasised partly because of Land Wars that united *hapū* and *iwi* to defend themselves against their coloniser, the Pākehā (Taonui 2011). Also, in 1958, the *Kīngitanga* (Māori King movement) was founded with the aim of uniting Māori under a single sovereign, emphasising the collective effort of Māori particularly in Waikato to deal with the coloniser. Furthermore, the preference of the colonisers to deal with one people rather than many tribes, resulted in the encouragement of a collective identity (Bell 2004). As such, in today's context, the term Māori is used to refer to the New Zealand's Indigenous people, however Māori commonly also identify themselves through their unique tribal identities.

The term Pākehā is a descriptor used to identify European settlers/colonisers/invasers and today is an acceptable, though sometimes contentious, term to describe a New Zealander of European descent (Biggs 1988; Taonui 2011). A Pākehā identity, however, seems to exclude non-European, non-Māori others and alternate terms have arisen, such as *Tauīwi* (outsider/foreigner) or *Tangata Tiriti* (people of the treaty), to describe a more inclusive category of non-Māori New Zealanders, especially in academic circles (MacDonald 2016). However, as the term Pākehā is perceived to be aligned with invaders and colonial oppressors, some New Zealander of European descent may refuse the label, instead preferring the term New Zealander or Kiwi (Reese 2013). For others, this identification is more fluid, and people adopt a particular term (Kiwi, New Zealander, Pākehā, *tauīwi*, *tangata tiriti*) depending on the context. For a minority of others, the term Pākehā has been radicalised and politicised to refer to a second 'indigenous race' in New Zealand (King 1985; 1999). Although conflicts periodically arise over the correct nomenclature, the terms Māori and Pākehā are generally accepted by most New Zealanders. Therefore, throughout this thesis, the term Māori is used to refer

to New Zealand's indigenous people while Pākēhā is used to refer to New Zealanders of European descent.

Māori is a minority ethnic group with a population of 16.7% while the population of Pākēhā comprise approximately 70.2% (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). According to Durie (1997), Māori identity is formed through a particular set of narratives: the cosmological, the *whānau*, the colonial, and the contemporary. Ancient *whakapapa* (geneologies) generate the constitutive narratives of *atua* (deities), *tūpuna* (ancestral entities) such as *awa* (rivers), *maunga* (mountains), *tūrangawaewae* (place to which one belongs), as well as of *hapū* and *iwi* (Durie 1997).

Following colonisation, Māori lost their economic base becoming, over time, increasingly absorbed into a capitalist economic system, causing social erosion over generations. Many Māori believe that the outcomes of this process have been largely deleterious, and they have struggled politically for decades to have their Treaty rights honoured and their historical losses compensated (Mead 1996; Walker 2004; Pihama 2019). However, in spite of their minority status and relative marginalisation, a Māori political and cultural renaissance since the 1980s has propelled Māori rights to the forefront of New Zealand politics (Durie 1997). The Treaty, although a source of debate, now plays an influential role in New Zealand politics (Orange 1992; 2004). Consequently, Māori are legally recognised as partners with the New Zealand Government in matters governing Māori development, thus conforming to a Māori-Pākēhā accommodative relationship. This includes the requirement of government officials to act consistently with its Treaty principles regarding Māori rights to equal citizenship and cultural protections, as recognised under a state policy of biculturalism (Orange 2004).

It is important to recognise that colonisation has profoundly transformed how Māori live. However, Māori are not culturally homogenous; cultural distinctions exist between *hapū* and *iwi*, urban and rural dwellers, those on high and low incomes, statuses, genders and generations. In addition, Māori have adapted to, indigenised, and resisted Pākēhā ways of life in a variety of ways (Durie 1994). Mead (1996) claims that the biculturalism framework, to a certain extent, forced assimilation and, as a result, some Māori felt the need to hide their Māori affiliations and become “unseen as Māori”, resulting in a loss of identity (Mead 1996, p. 27). In response, she advocates the ‘re-normalisation’ of Māori identity (Mead 1996).

King asserts that Pākēhā culture should be valued alongside that of the *tangata whenua* and that, like Māori, Pākēhā need to “become strong and confident in their identity” (King 2000, p. 46). King proposes that a confident Pākēhā culture is one that

knows its own history and feels positive about an allegiance to its own origins. This identification, according to King, is more likely to deliver an equitable and equable relationship with Māori (King 2000). Given the complexities of the Māori-Pākehā historical relationship, it is critical to explore differences in Māori and Pākehā worldviews and, in terms of this research, how these manifests in daily interactions surrounding public art. This exploration will allow insight into the subtle and/or conspicuous cultural perceptions that shape intercultural interactions.

In this thesis, I refer repeatedly to colonialism, colonisation and colonial relations, however the usage of these terms requires qualification. Crucially, this research is located within the context of the theoretical debates and politics of post-colonialism (See Walker 1990; 2004; Mikaere 2011; Pihama 2019). The term *post*-colonialism has been criticised for its failure to distinguish between coloniser and colonised, for working towards colonial or historical collapse of colonialism (Hall 1996). Accordingly, During attempted to maintain the distinction between the coloniser and colonised by coining the terms ‘postcoloniser’ and ‘postcolonised’ (1985, p. 369) referring to the former as those who profit from, and identify themselves as heirs to the colonial legacy, whereas the latter term describes those who have been dispossessed by colonial legacies and are heirs to cultures made precarious by colonialism (During 1985, p. 370). It is with these concepts and a post-colonial timeframe in mind that I present my analysis of Māori-Pākehā identities and their accommodative relationship through public arts. I term accommodative relationship as a relationship between the postcolonised (Māori) and the postcoloniser (Pākehā) and the establishment of a positive spaces of interaction such as adoption of language, trust, understanding, knowledge exchange, defined spaces of expression, culture and identity, resulting in a compromise or/and tolerance of the other.

2.5 Constructing the Hamiltonian Identity through Public Arts

The concept of ‘social representation’ refers to a system of values, ideas, metaphors, beliefs, and practices that serve to establish social order, organise people and enable communication amongst them. Coined originally by Serge Moscovici in 1961, the term is understood as the collective elaboration "of a social object by the community for the purpose of behaving and communicating" (1961, p. 251). Social representations, however, should not be assumed to be stable, collective representations, nor should they be confused with individual representations (Wagner 1996). Most scholars agree that social representations are dynamic elements of knowledge that depend on social conflict and

dispute to develop (Wagner 1996; Howarth 2002; Hoijer 2011). Moscovici (2000) proposes four scenarios when analysing the communication processes in social representation; 1) they can be forms of propaganda identified as didactic and well-ordered, concerted to influence the opinions or behaviour of people, 2) they are a means to propagate values, ideas and vision, 3) they instill certain meaning into the object to integrate existing world views, so it can be interpreted and compared to the "already known" (Moscovici 2000, p. 128). With that in mind, I investigate how both the process and the result of social construction that are introduced into a social reality through public arts, are continuously being re-interpreted, re-thought, re-presented.

Accordingly, with public arts functioning as forms of social construction within the city to establish a city's character, it can also be a site of contention, even though the character is created to maintain identities. Identities can also arise from food, music, architecture, and accent. Nicknames or branding also highlight style. Auckland is known as the City of Sails, Christchurch as the Garden City and Hamilton as the Tron or The City of the Future. Yet, how can one pinpoint a city's character? How can we determine a city's character if it is, after all, subjective?

Eyck and Dona-Reveco (2016) explain that character is temporary and may not be continuous throughout a city. Additionally, they highlight that character set in the wrong context can be inappropriate and cause disruption in the social order (Eyck and Dona-Reveco, 2016). In this thesis, I found colonial artworks or Pākehā art⁷ in the public sphere to be the main source of contention, with participants acknowledging the detrimental effects that glorifying the coloniser's legacy has on postcolonised, Māori.

In cities, character is fostered and emphasised by both city planners and residents, practicing an "invention of traditions" that inculcates beliefs and values, legitimises institutions, promotes social cohesion and increases the city's commercial value (Hobsbawm 2012). As such, when character is created in an appropriate manner, that is aligned with both city planners and residents, positive changes can take place. This could mean commissioning artworks in public places that enhance the public's sense of place and identity or even attachment. Particularly, the concern in this thesis, is to advocate for the establishment of defined spaces in which Māori cultural practices are normalised and that significant pre-colonial local *hapū* places should be recognised through public arts.

⁷ When referring to Pākehā art in this thesis I mean artwork that has themes relating to New Zealand's colonial history and of its settlers' achievements post-invasion, a colonial legacy.

Hamilton' public arts on residents, exemplifies this reality. Issues faced in Hamilton are as distinctive as they are encountered in the rest of the country. While my research acknowledges the further complexities of New Zealand as a multicultural society, examining this broader diversity is not the main focus of this research. Instead, the core focus is on the Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship as research participants negotiate understandings of culture and the naturalisation of Māori identity and culture as a distinguishing feature of a collective New Zealand identity. Alternatively, this naturalisation may be a mere branding exercise, a superficial recognition of the country's bicultural relations.

“Every animal leaves traces of what it was; man leaves traces of what he created.”

~Jacob Bronowski

Chapter 3: Putting Art in the Public Sphere

This chapter presents the interview narratives of three artists/art advocates, who, from their particular field of expertise, detail their views, ideas and vision for the development of public art in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton. I focus on the processes, planning and implementation of art in the public sphere to ascertain the manner in which art advocates come to shape a Hamiltonian identity. I examine the colonial culture of display in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton from the late 1950s and the emergence of Māori art from late 1980s onwards. My reading of Hamilton’s public art shows that different discourses produce different objects, at times overlapping and at times in conflict. I argue that Pākehā art in Hamilton is part of a colonial legacy that does not have a place in the public sphere due to the intergenerational trauma it generates.

The themes that emerged in my interviews concern the identity of place, place making/marking, assertions of identity, power dynamics, a biculturalism discourse, and diversity. I highlight that, while the initial 2010 HPAP was oriented towards recognising the history and culture of Kirikiriroa and its local *hapū*, some of the artworks produced misrepresent these concerns. Artworks which draw on Māori themes, subjects and styles, for instance, are not necessarily linked to the local *hapū* of the area. Arguably, this points to a broader generalisation of Māori culture and one which undermines the uniqueness of each *hapū*. Another observation relates to the political sensitivity of Māori art or of displaying an artwork that represents history during the early colonial era. An additional observation is that Māori art has, to a certain extent, evolved from a concern with spiritual context to a process of asserting identity and an ancestral legacy.

In the first section, I discuss the three participants and how they contribute to the chapter. In the second section, I introduce some of the public artworks in Hamilton that correlate with the city’s urban development and forms of place making/marking. I then outline my participants narratives before providing a summary of the chapter.

3.1 Advocating For Public Art

To enable a deeper interpretation of public artworks and provide a crucial background narrative, I interviewed three artists/art advocates who variously contributed to the development of public arts in Hamilton.

The voice of the local *hapū* of Kirikiriroa, Ngāti Wairere, is critical to my research. Wiremu Puke is a Ngāti Wairere wood carver, a consultant on behalf of Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa and an empirical researcher of *taonga* Māori. I contacted him through Facebook for an interview which was later held at Hamilton Gardens. We spent close to three hours talking about his carvings and passion to revive Ngāti Wairere history and styles. He has developed many key successful projects in Hamilton city that are a collaboration between *manawhenua* (the indigenous Māori who have historic and territorial rights over land) and the HCC under Article two of the Treaty of Waitangi⁸ and the Resource Management Act 1991⁹. These projects include the Te Parapara Gardens, the Whakare Hoera Pou, Miropiko Pou and the Whatanoa Gateway at the Waikato Stadium. Wiremu's passion and dedication in reviving aspects of the traditional Māori material culture, unique Ngāti Wairere carving styles, and using stone tools in his carving can be seen in those projects. For Wiremu, Kirikiriroa is not just Māori land, but an ancestral legacy of Ngāti Wairere.

Wiremu: "...Because the quality standards (of the artwork) needed to be lifted up. It needed to be put to the discipline of what the manner of the carving it is, and that it has integrity, story, relevance, and context based on ancestral knowledge of the land."

Rob Garrett is an artist, a curator and also a University Lecturer who currently resides in Poland. I contacted him for an interview through email and later interviewed him for about an hour via Skype. From 2006-2012, due to his expertise and vast experience in the fine arts, Rob consulted and worked with City Council's in both Auckland and Hamilton and advocated for art in the public sphere. Rob was commissioned

⁸ Article two of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Māori version confirmed and guaranteed the chiefs 'te tino rangatiratanga – 'the exercise of chieftainship – over their lands, villages and 'taonga katoa – 'all treasured things. Māori agreed to give the Crown a right to deal with them over land transactions.

The English version confirmed and guaranteed to the chiefs 'exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties'. The Crown sought an *exclusive* right to deal with Māori over land transactions. (Retrieved on 4 June 2020 from <https://teara.govt.nz/en/treaty-of-waitangi/page-2>)

⁹ The Resource Management Act 1991, requires the Minister for the Environment to seek and consider comments from relevant *iwi* authorities when preparing a national policy statement. The Resource Management Act also requires local authorities to consult local *tangata whenua*, through *iwi* authorities and take into account any relevant planning documents recognised by an *iwi* authority when preparing a policy statement or plan. (Retrieved on 8 July 2020 from <http://www.environmentguide.org.nz/rma/maori-and-the-rma/>)

by the HCC to develop a 10-year public art plan that would assist the HCC to prioritise decision making in respect to public art acquisition and investment for the city. This plan was published in 2010.

Rob: “One of my jobs in that plan was to explain to people why have art in the public sphere. Also, to design a public art programme that addresses the fate of the people or their place, and not just one people, not just one identity, and not just one story, but a diversity. And so ideally, over time, the public art programme should also give opportunities for the diversity of the communities that belong in that place to hear and see their stories and the value in their identities reflected there.”

Paul Bradley is a community arts advisor, painter, illustrator, musician and a video artist. I interviewed him twice in his capacity of working for Creative Waikato, as a community art advisor with a focus on community development, and as one of the founders of Boon Street Art Festival. He has worked with community groups to facilitate the creation of murals, sculptures, exhibitions, and arts events in both Hamilton and Wellington. As a street artist, he has painted several murals that can be found on the walls of buildings in Hamilton city centre. During my two-hour face-to-face interview with Paul over lunch, he educated me about street art, tagging and graffiti. He shared with me the challenges he faced when he first initiated the Boon Street Art Festival in 2015.

Paul: “It’s impossible for everyone to love every mural. That’s just the nature of art. But one of the things that really inspired me to begin the street art festival and to have so many murals happening in Hamilton is because people do usually really love them. And for me, in my mind, as long as you've got a big range of them, then it's okay if some people don't like some of them. Because they will find other ones that they do like.”

3.2 Shaping the City's Image

I begin this section by describing some of the artworks that can be found in the public sphere of Hamilton's city centre. Although I intended to provide a chronological order of their installation, this proved to be counterproductive as some of the artworks are better introduced in my participants' narratives. As such, artworks introduced in this section concern how they correlate with time in terms of Hamilton's urban development and place making/marking.

In Hamilton city centre, the oldest existing public art is a ceramic mosaic mural that was installed on the wall of a building in 1958 by a European migrant, Martin Roestenburg. The mural depicts design and construction aspects of buildings with a city landscape in the background (See Figure 2). It represents the height of the building and construction phase that intensified in Hamilton since colonisation. During the 1860s Land Wars, Māori were forced to abandon lands to escape invasion and these were subsequently confiscated by the Crown to make way for European settlement (Robinson 2012, p. 178). The twenty years that followed Hamilton's foundation in 1864 saw slow development (Gibbons 1977, p. 41). By 1878 the railway was constructed, and Hamilton became a borough, while the Union Bridge, was completed the year after (Gibbons 1977; Day & Day 1986). Hamilton's growth spurt began around the First World War, when it became the transport hub for the Waikato region following the establishment of an airport in Rukuhia in the 1930s which cemented its position as the region's main centre (Gibbons 1977, p. 59). Thus, the ceramic mural can be seen as a tribute to the Europeans settlers/invasers who built Kirikiriroa 'from the ground up' to the Hamilton it is today, emphasising a colonial legacy.

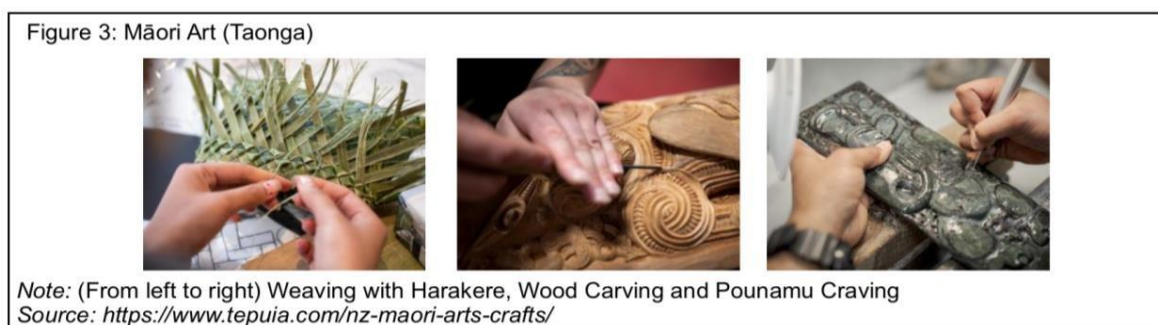
Figure 2: [Untitled] Mural by Martin Roestenburg (1958)



Note: Mural is installed on the exterior of building 1088 Victoria Street
Source: Author

It is unknown how many public artworks existed before the mosaic mural or during the same period, probably because these did not survive. *Pou* were likely the earliest form of public art that existed in Aotearoa (Swarbrick 2010) and these were often destroyed or forcibly removed during the early colonial period or stolen when local Māori were forced to desert *pā*. For example, a potentially stolen carved *amo* (frontal house carving) dating from the 1860s, believed to have stood at Miropiko, is now displayed in the Waikato Museum of Art & History (See Waikato Museum Collections). An example of loss is the unaccounted for *pouwhakare* named Te Pou O Tahuwawa that used to stand in Kirikiriroa Pā. This post is fabled in Ngāti Wairere traditions and *waiata* (song) because of its elaborate carvings, produced by the four master carvers who lived at Kirikiriroa Pā in pre-colonial times (HCC 2003).

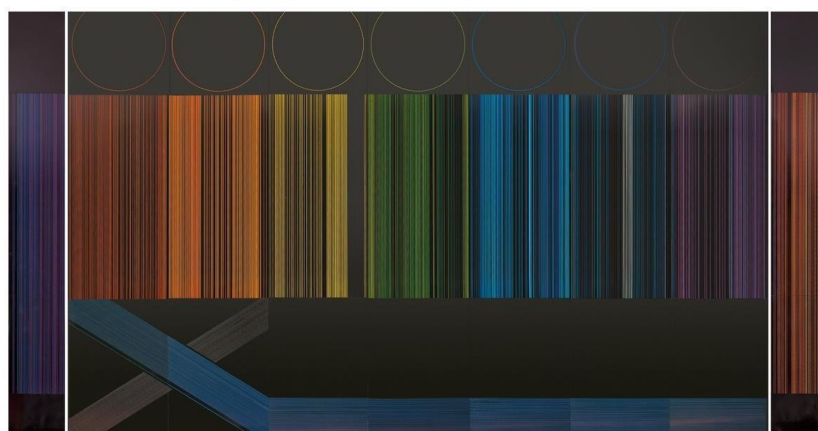
Pre-colonial Māori had a rich oral and artistic culture. Knowledge was passed on through story, *waiata* and *whakapapa* (genealogy). Māori epistemology and cosmology were also preserved, transferred and handed down the generations through art forms, such as weaving using *harakeke* (New Zealand Flax), and in carvings using wood, *pounamu* (New Zealand Jade), bone and shell (Mead et al. 1984). These artefacts (See Figure 3) are seen as *taonga*, and today intricate wood carvings can be found on *marae* (communal or sacred places) throughout the country, created by *tohunga whakairo* (master carvers) (Dansey 1963; Mead et al. 1984). These carvings tell each tribe's story and tales of important ancestors and events, making the artistic styles unique to that tribe (Dansey 1963).



In 1980s New Zealand a Māori renaissance emerged. This movement was based on Māori ethnic solidarity, demand for the Treaty of Waitangi to be honoured, and the revitalisation of Māori culture, language, beliefs and customs (Greenland 1991; Sissons 1993). Fraser (1995) suggests that the Māori renaissance is a response to cultural identity loss. Many young artists, such as Ralph Hotere, responded to their Māori heritage, urban situation and Western education by producing works which were intended as a synthesis of

Māori and European art forms and practices (Mead 1996). In 1973, Hotere's *Untitled* mural was selected as a permanent display at Founders Theatre¹⁰ (see Figure 4). His work references the Waikato River (horizontal blue lines), activities in the theatre (vertical lines) and the seven heavens (circles). As an artist and activist, Hotere crafted a place for Māori modernist art in 20th century Aotearoa/New Zealand. Despite his ambivalence about being labelled as a Māori artist, Hotere is now claimed as a founding figure of today's contemporary Māori art movement (Mané- Whioke 1995).

Figure 4: Founders Theatre Mural by Ralph Hotere (1973)



Note: This mural has been removed and put in storage due to reconstruction of Founders Theatre. The Mural will be reinstalled at the new Waikato Regional Theatre.

Source: <https://conservators.co.nz/projects/projects.html>

From the 1980s onwards the Art Bonus Scheme allowed developers to add extra storeys to a building if it included public art (Pollock 2014) and there was a corresponding increase in the amount of public art being installed in the city. Consequently, HCC has three public artworks within its building complexes. First, at the stairwell of the main building is a dramatic, colourful, glasswork which was installed in 1984 (See Figure 5).

Figure 5: *Untitled* (stained glasswork) by Holly Sanford (1984)



Note: Located at the stairwell of HCC main building

Source: Author

¹⁰ Currently, the mural has been dismantled and placed in storage following the closure of Founders Theatre in 2016. According to Waikato Regional Property Trust, the Mural will be restored when the construction of the Waikato Regional Theatre is completed. (Retrieved 22 July 2020 from <https://momentumwaikato.nz/waikato-regional-theatre-a-step-closer-upu3j4>)

Second, *Structure and Erosion* (1985), designed by Paul Johnson (See Figure 6), is a handcrafted terracotta and stoneware tile piece that is positioned to form a mural in the reception foyer. The artwork uses the natural behaviour of clay, both fired and unfired, as a metaphor for HCC's task of providing physical and social order within a tendency for dissolution and chaos (HCC nd). And third, a 12-panel wood carving, *Life in the Waikato, Te Noho I Te Rohe o Waikato* (1985) by Waikato Woodcarvers (See Figure 7), is also in the foyer. In this wood carving, each part of the panel depicts the different aspects and elements of a Waikato social environment, including the Waikato River, agriculture, leisure and Māori *taniwha* (supernatural creatures in Māori tradition).

Figure 6: *Structure & Erosion* by Paul Johnson (1985)



Note: Located at HCC reception foyer
Source: Author

Figure 7: *Life of Waikato; Te Noho I Te Rohe O Waikato* by Waikato Carvers (1985)



Note: Located at HCC reception foyer (only the first panel from the left depicts Māori taniwha)
Source: Author

Wood carving is an art form that Māori are renowned for and take pride in, and this is the most common type of traditional Māori public art (Dansey 1963; Mead 1996). As a professional wood carver, Wiremu, however, expressed his disappointment in the *Te*

Noho I Te Rohe o Waikato artwork. For him, 1) the carving was not done well, 2) it failed to represent the local *hapū* of the area and 3) the representation of one community living in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton was disproportionate. He highlighted that of the 12 panels in the artwork, only the first panel (from the left) depicted Māori narratives while the rest of the artwork was focused on detailing Pākehā history in the Waikato region.

Wiremu: “It doesn't depict the local *taniwha* of Ngāti Wairere that occupied the river... The carving could have been done with more justice by depicting the carving with the help of a Māori carver... The forms are not executed with the eyes of a Māori carver and at the hands of a Māori carver. This is the issue when a Pākehā carver attempts to do a Māori carving when they don't have the heart and emotions that goes into that Māori narrative. And anyway, this is only depicting Hamilton's development in Pākehā's eyes and timeline.”

The politics of representation in public art discourse is a central thematic in almost all of my interviews. Participants spoke about how art in Hamilton's public sphere misrepresented its residents or alienated them. For Wiremu, the Life in the Waikato, *Te Noho I Te Rohe o Waikato*, is a way for HCC (assumed to be made up of Pākehā) to make a statement that “one panel out of twelve is all their Māori counterpart will get to represent themselves” in Hamilton/Waikato. This sentiment was reinforced by a few other participants, both Māori and non-Māori, in relation to other public artwork in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton. Indeed, there is a notable tension concerning what is Māori art and who can perform Māori art or tell Māori history, culture and stories via art.

It can be argued that as urbanisation progressed, Hamilton city has taken steps to acknowledge the historical significance of its Māori heritage (HCC 2003). This acknowledgement, however, is wrought with misrepresentations, generalisations and power dynamics. For example, the Waikato Museum, built in 1987, was once a *waka* landing site called Te Korokoro. This site was particularly significant to local *hapū* as a landing site by the Waikato River and a Ngāti Wairere *pā* site (Puke 2011). Following the completion of the Waikato Museum in 1987, two public artworks were installed on the site, Ripples and The Tekoteko and Maihi Carvings, both having no contextual significance to their locality. Ripples is a sculpture by Neil Dawson, suspended 20 metres above the ground, conveying a three-dimensional image of an anti-gravity ripple (See Figure 8).

The Tekoteko ¹¹ and Maihi¹² carvings by Hopuhopu Carvers, on the other hand, is the first traditional Māori public artwork displayed in Hamilton CBD (See Figure 9). Overlooking the Waikato River, the carving is part of the Waikato Museum roof, apparently designed specifically for the site when the museum was built (Waikato Museum nd). Yet, Wiremu argues that the carving is a “misrepresentation of its *manawhenua*”. Typically, in a Maihi design, there is a *raparapa* (fingers) at the ends of the *maihi* (See Figure 10), however, the Waikato region is unique in that its *iwi* designs do not have *raparapa* (Phillipps 1952, p. 99). Instead, there are open-work spirals carved on the lower ends of the *maihi*. It appears, therefore, that Tainui *iwi* did not observe the typical Māori design style. Moreover, this particular carving, according to Wiremu, does not depict the styles of his *hapū*, Ngāti Wairere, and since the site has been acknowledged to be significant to his *hapū*, it should, he argued, represent the styles of the *hapū*:

Wiremu: “And it didn't feel right for an outsider (non-Ngāti Wairere), from another *iwi* to be carving, putting up carvings on our (Ngāti Wairere) lands. It (the Tekoteko and Maihi carving) doesn't have a contextual narrative, it's all too general sort of the stories, just pluck from anywhere. “Oh, it looks Māori, thus it fits the narrative?” Well, no, that doesn't work for us (Ngāti Wairere).”

Figure 8: Ripples by Neil Dawson (1987)



Note: Located at outside Waikato Museum, suspended above trees)
Source: Author

¹¹ The *tekoteko* is the carved figure—holding the tail of a whale—at the apex of the building.

¹² The *maihi* the diagonal bargeboards signify arms.

Figure 9: Tekoteko & Maihi by Hopuhopu Carvers (1987)



Note: Located at on the roof of Waikato Museum
Source: Author

Figure 10: Maihi Design



Note: (Left) shows a typical Maihi design with a raparapa, (right) shows Waikato Maihi without raparapa
Source: [http://www.korukoruatae.com/store/p756/Wharenuui_\(outside\)_Puzzle_with_Wharenuui_\(inside\)_Image_Tray.__.html](http://www.korukoruatae.com/store/p756/Wharenuui_(outside)_Puzzle_with_Wharenuui_(inside)_Image_Tray.__.html)

Wiremu emphasised that each Māori tribe has its own ancestral story, hence its own carving style and design. He felt that not much thought was given to choosing the motifs that went onto the building erected on his *hapū* land. Māori culture is decidedly not homogeneous across all *hapū*, *iwi*, or *whānau*.

There are questions about what constitutes Māori art, how this references political and social justice issues as well as those concerned with authenticity and identity (Mead 1996). Is it art which uses Māori themes, subjects or motifs? Can Māori art be made by Pākehā? Can only traditional art forms, such as carving or weaving, be called Māori art? Is it appropriate to classify art which synthesises Māori and European art forms and practices as Contemporary Māori art? Robert Leonard (1991) discusses the complexities associated with the term Contemporary Māori art. He asserts that:

“There is disagreement on where to draw the line, on what kinds of work can be admitted as 'contemporary Māori'. Some will tell you Māori art is simply art made by Māori. Others will permit only those works by Māori which express traditional Māori concepts or values; use traditional materials

and iconography. Some argue the very idea of 'contemporary Māori art is nonsensical, that Māori art is communal, marae based; necessarily 'traditional'' (Leonard 1991, p. 52).

For the sake of argument, I suggest that artwork which employs Māori themes, subjects and motifs in its design but is created via, or/and influenced by, western art forms and methods, is representative of the integration of Māori and Pākehā and an accommodative relationship (Mead, et al. 1984). Themes presented in Hamilton's public artworks are in line with other artworks across the country, that is, nature, birds, plants and landscape (McCarthy 2007). However, what makes Hamilton distinctive is its connection with the Waikato River; a river once used as a transportation route from neighbouring Polynesians islands and to other parts of New Zealand. Other aspects of artworks particular to Hamilton include the use of motifs that tell the story of the local *hapū* or of developments within the city and region. Thus, Hamilton's public artwork features its connection to the Waikato River, nature, native birds such as the tūi and kārearea, motifs of plants like Ponga and natural elements such as symbols of wind, water and constellations, themes also used in Māori art (Mead, et al. 1984).

In 1993, when the Hamilton Central Library was opened, it unveiled a collection of handprinted ceramic tiles that wrapped around the entrance pillars of the central library and depicted scenes and images from Waikato, including rivers, lakes and birds, that is, narratives of the environment (See Figure 11). In 2000, a sculpture known as the Koru Family was gifted to the city to commemorate the new millennium (See Figure 12). The sculptor, Carla Van De Veen, used a local hinuera stone to form a group of *koru* (loop) shapes that symbolise the unfolding of new life, links to the past, present and future and the love inherent in the family unit.

Figure 11: Hamilton Library Mural by Lynda Harris (1993)



Note: Ceramic tile mural on several pillars outside Hamilton Central Library entrance

Source: Author

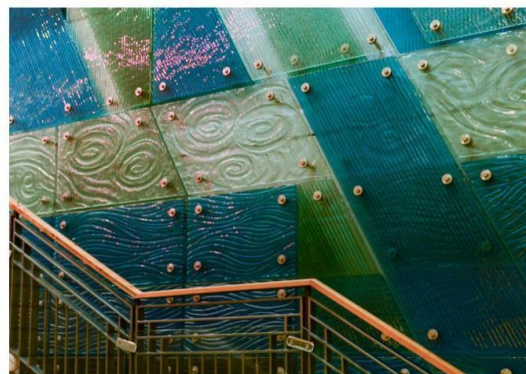
Figure 12: The Koru by Carla Van De Veen (2000)



Note: (Left) Sculpture of Koru; (Right) Ponga plant
Source: Author

This spiral shape is based on the Ponga plant that is found in damp bush areas in parks and reserves throughout New Zealand. *Koru*, in Māori culture, symbolises new life, growth, strength and peace, and is an integral symbol in Māori art, carving and tattoos (Mead et al. 1984). In 2002 artist Dick Frizzell produced an artwork for the Hamilton Skycity that responds to the site's close location to the Waikato River (Watson 2014). Patterned glass representing rain, mist and water with an image of moving water cascading down the wall in a kind of vertical waterway, frames the entrance to the casino (See Figure 13).

Figure 13: Mist On The River by Dick Frizzell (2002)



Note: Located by the side stairs of Hamilton SkyCity
Source: Author

Conversely, themes that depict the pride of Hamilton's agriculture and dairy industry, the progress of urban development, European ground breakers, contributors and heroes, are seen to celebrate colonial settlers/invasers' achievements. For instance, in 1988 a series of sculptured terracotta tiles featuring three New Zealand artists were inset into the wall of the Artspost building. The artists, Ida Carey, Frances Hodgkins and Margot Philips, are all of European decent (See Figure 14). In 1990, the Farming Family artwork became the assumed iconic representation of Hamilton and the wider Waikato region, commemorating the supposed 'ordinary farming family' of the region (Watson 2014). A

bronze sculpture produced by Margriet Windhausen, the Farming Family is comprised of life size figures - a male farmer, his wife and their two children, a cow, a dog and a sheep (See Figure 15).

Figure 14: [Untitled] Terracotta Tile Mural by Joan Fear and Campbell Smith (1988)



Note: Located at Artspost Foyer. Mural depicts three female artists who founded the Waikato Society of Arts

Source: Author

Figure 15: The Farming Family by Margriet Windhausen (1990)



Note: Located at Corner of Ulster and Victoria Street (On Road Island)

Source: Author

To understand the political discourse and implied meaning of this artwork requires returning to the history of Kirikiriroa/Hamilton. When European invaders settled in Hamilton, lands were confiscated from local Māori in the Raupatu (Boast 2008). In the 1860s and 1870s, these lands were turned into farms to raise cattle and sheep and grow root and grain crops (Gibbons 1977). In the first decade of twentieth century, the growth of the dairy industry was the main driver of regional prosperity, attracting more people to the town (Day & Day 1987). Today, the Waikato region has 33% of New Zealand's dairy herds, 28% of its dairy cows and 27% of the national dairy lands (New Zealand Dairy Statistics 2019). While the intent of the sculpture was to celebrate

the region's success in the dairy industry, the 'invisibling' of Māori suffering as a consequence of land confiscations, sparked fury.

Wiremu: "I mean, sure that's (dairy) the economic development of Hamilton in the region, but who did they benefit off? Us (Māori) — through land confiscation. Recognise that!"

The Farming Family is one of the few public artworks still in existence in Hamilton's CBD that celebrates a colonial narrative. Its presence has become a symbolic reminder of what colonial oppressors have gained from their colonial victims and it provokes an ongoing and unsettled resentment. According to Wiremu, if it was up to him, he would have asked the HCC to move the sculpture to "a more meaningful site...Fonterra"¹³, rather than the "centre of the road at the north entrance of the CBD". This tension shows how an artwork's location can have a dramatic impact on how people respond, negotiate and construct meanings. The farming family is colonial settler/invaders' means of place-making, yet it also underlines the provocation of local *hapū* because the artwork is seen as a form of place marking. Arguably, colonial settlers are concerned with the making of colonial places and the unmaking of Māori places (Veracini 2010).

In the first decade of the 21st century, following the successes of arts integration projects in public spheres in cities like Wellington and Auckland, public art in Hamilton received a boost when urban designers and planners began to realise the value of art in urban settings (Early et. al. 2015). More artworks began popping up in various places around the city. These include, Wiremu's wood carvings and other sculptures. In Rob's short stint of working with HCC from 2009-2012, he recalls a growing interest in arts in the public sphere. The purpose of this was to give Hamilton a character and build a sense of belonging and identity for the people living in it.

Rob: "Because one of the things that we recognised well, is that these people are putting down roots, they have a sense of

¹³ Fonterra Co-operative Group Limited is a New Zealand multinational publicly traded dairy co-operative owned by around 10,500 New Zealand farmers. The company is responsible for approximately 30% of the world's dairy exports and with revenue exceeding NZ\$17.2 billion, is New Zealand's largest company. (Retrieved on 4 June 2020 from <https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Fonterra>)

identity. But we have a growing multicultural population, because Hamilton at that stage had quite a progressive, energetic and new migrants' support programme. So, this was also something that needed to be reflected back in public arts as a part of who we (Hamiltonians) are. We are welcoming people, and we are welcoming multiple ethnicities. And we actually want our, you know, our city to reflect that.”

According to Rob, the city wanted to reflect the identities and communities living in Hamilton. By the 21st century, Hamilton was no longer just a European settlement/Māori native land, but a home to many other ethnicities¹⁴. And it was the hope for public arts to “reflect the growing multi-cultural society in Hamilton”. In 2015, the Boon Street Art Festival pioneered an initiative to bring a variety of artworks from international cultures into the city. The festival invites artists, both local and international, to come together and paint murals all over the city and suburbs with the ambition to reflect the growing multi-cultural society in Hamilton.

Paul: “It's important to allow space, space for other voices, ideas and perspectives. I personally feel that if we do that, we would create a more interesting world to be in. I think people are culturally oppressed, and we do live in a world that still has a lot of racism. So, the idea is to allow those other voices and cultures to be visible.”

This section has discussed the development of Hamilton's public art from the 1950s to the present. While the city started off with the making of colonial places and the unmaking of Māori places, by the first decade of 21st century shifts became apparent as Hamilton's public sphere became colonised by a variety of artworks. Three main issues are associated with this development: 1) the misrepresentation of local *hapū* caused by the generalisation of Māori art, identity, and culture, 2) the antagonising role of colonial places in public arts and, 3) the makings of culturally diversified public arts.

¹⁴ In 2018, the ethnicity census for Hamilton was made up of 63.6% European, 23.7% Māori, 18.5% Asian, 6.1% Pacific people, 2.2% Middle Easter/Latin American/African and 1.2% other ethnicities. (Retrieved on 2 July 2020 from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/hamilton-city>)

3.3 A Ngāti Wairere Carver

Collective identity has been a contentious issue in postcolonial New Zealand (See: Kuiper 2007; Morrow 2012; Bidois 2013) as the diversifying population confronts the unique circumstances arising from its bicultural framework which is rooted in a partnership between Māori and Pākehā as outlined in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. In Hamilton, this issue was taken up by the local *hapū*, Ngāti Wairere.

In order to understand the Ngāti Wairere assertion of identity through public art, it is necessary to place this in an historical, territorial and cultural context. Precolonial Māori society is commonly understood as divided into three kin groupings: *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, each associated with a particular tribal area (Walker 1990), such as Kirikiriroa pā. The relative importance of *hapū* and *iwi* is a matter of debate, with many authors associating the rise of *iwi* with the contingencies of colonisation and subsequent Treaty of Waitangi settlements (Maaka 1994; Ballara 1998; McCormack 2020; Sissons 2010; Webster 1998). Nevertheless, there is no dispute concerning the intimate association of Māori with land, sea and resources in their tribal boundaries (McCormack 2020). This relationship is also spiritual, linking gods and ancestors, non-human species, environmental features and contemporary tribal members (McCormack 2018).

The areas surrounding Kirikiriroa Pā, which include Miropiko, are rich in historical significance for Ngāti Wairere and other Waikato *hapū* (HCC 2003). As a pre-colonial settlement of Ngāti Wairere, Kirikiriroa (now the Hamilton CBD) was decorated with many carvings (2003, p. 79). These include adorned houses, canoes, fences and many other items of material culture. Over time, Kirikiriroa Pā became an important centre for growing food crops (Puke 2011, p. 70). Te kopu mania o Kirikiriroa (TKMK), nestled within the Pā, was renowned for its fertile soil and capacity to feed the people that occupied the land. It was also *tapu* (sacred place/object) and was a site that was used to observe the constellations associated with harvesting seasons (2011, p. 71). The Miropiko Pā is located adjacent to the Waikato River on the western side of River Road. The Pā and its environs take their name from a solitary, twisted, miro tree which once stood at this location (HCC 2001, p. 3). Ritual ceremonies were performed here to ensure a rich and bountiful season for harvesting food (Puke 2011). The ancestors of Ngāti Wairere, and other *hapū* inhabited the Pā in Miropiko and Kirikiriroa until they were forced to finally abandon it because of the imminent arrival of British troops in 1864 (Puke 2011).

In the area where Kirikiriroa Pā once stood, a number of public artworks now exist. A few are closely related to the history, culture and artistic style of Ngāti Wairere, while

some have the broader characteristics of Māori art, referred to as contemporary Māori/ New Zealand Art. These contemporary artworks include sculptures such as *The Inner Radiance of the Pleiades*, *Tongue of Dog*, *Tōia Mai* and *Te Tatau ki Kirikiriroa*.

The sculpture, *Inner Radiance of the Pleiades* or *Te Taiho O Matariki*, was created by Neil Miller in 2011 (See Figure 16). The sculpture, made of welded metal pipes, represents Pleiades in the form of a growing vine, with the stars of Matariki forming the fruit on the vine (Miller 2012). The sculpture is intended to honour *tangata whenua* as its site, Garden Place, was once part of TKMK in Kirikiriroa *pā* and was used by local *hapū* as a garden and observatory (Miller 2012). The curving vine-like form of the sculpture also references the nearby Waikato River as it snakes through the city (Miller 2012). Second, is the “Tongue of Dog” (See Figure 17), a sculpture created by Michael Parekowhai in 2016 to illustrate the artist’s understanding of the place (MESH 2020a). Elements of the Waikato river and surrounding architecture are inspirations for the artwork, as is the Māori story of Tongariro¹⁵ sending his dog to heal the ill Taupiri¹⁶ with water from the Waikato River (MESH 2020a).

Figure 16: *Te Taiho O Matariki; Inner Radiance of Pleiades* by Neil Miller (2011)



Note: Located in Garden Place (Previous site of *Te Kōpū Mania O Kirikiriroa* in pre-colonial Hamilton)
Source: Author

¹⁵ Tongariro is traditionally known as the belly of the great fish of Maui which, in time, became known as New Zealand’s North Island. (Retrieved on 21 August 2020 from <https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/tongariro-mount/page-2>)

¹⁶ Taupiri is at the foot of Taupiri Mountain (*Taupiri Maunga*) – known as ‘*Taupiri-Kua*o (the embracing mountain). This mountain is sacred to Waikato-Tainui as it is the final resting place for the Māori Royal Family and many prominent Māori have been laid to rest there. Taupiri Mountain has been a sacred (tapu) burial ground for the Waikato Tainui iwi since the death of Chief Te Putu, who built Taupiri *pā* on the summit of a spur of Mt Taupiri in the 1600s. (Retrieved on 18 August 2020 from <https://www.waikatodistrict.govt.nz/your-district/district-overview/towns/taupiri>)

Figure 17: Tongue of Dog by Michael Parekowhai (2016)



Note: Located outside Waikato Museum
Source: Author

Cuisenaire rods were also incorporated in the design to depict the experience and memories of teaching and being taught, and the bicultural history of Cuisenaire rods used as educational aids for mathematics and te reo (MESH 2020a). Third, is the 2018 Tōia Mai by Joe Citizen, that is an interactive sculpture designed through an Internet of Things network using environmental sensors and other data and activated by movement. The shape of the sculpture also depicts a *waka*, signifying the sculpture's site being the Māori landing site (See Figure 18). Lastly, is the 2019 Te Tatau ki Kirikiriroa by Robert Jahnke, conceived as a viewing aperture enabling a view across the river to Hamilton East (MESH 2020b).

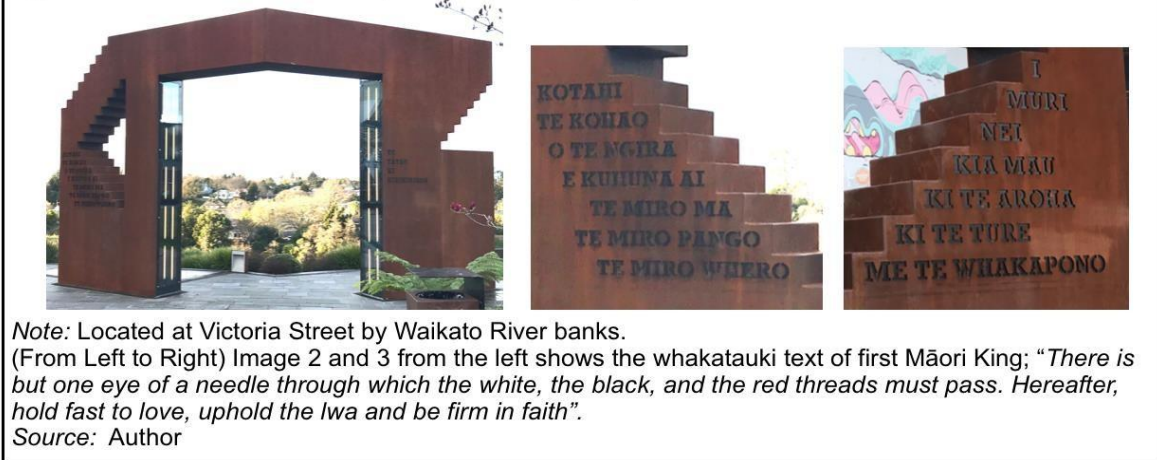
Figure 18: Toia Mai by Joe Citizen (2018)



Note: Located at Ferrybank Reserve, Grantham Street. (Image 1 & 2 showing different views of the sculpture.
Source: Author

This is located at the top of the tiered garden to act as a *tomokanga* (gateway) inviting people to negotiate the multiple pathways in their engagement with the landscaped gardens and walkways (MESH 2020b). The gateway features significant Māori patterns relating to horticulture, lamentation and navigation as well as a *whakatauki* (proverb) from the first Māori King, Kingi Pootatau Te Wherowhero (MESH 2020b) (See Figure 19).

Figure 19: Te Tatau Ki Kirikiriroa by Robert Jahnke (2019)



The similarity in these three contemporary artworks is that, to a large extent, there is an attempt to connect and associate the design and meanings of the art to Māori, resulting in a synthesis of Māori and European art forms and practices. While the techniques, medium, method and styles were adapted from Western art, the subject matter, motifs and themes of the artwork reflect Māori culture. According to Mead (1996), acculturation happens due to the nature of New Zealand society causing the crossing of “cultural domains with each side wanting to poach from the other” (1996, p. 3). As such, artworks produced may not necessarily commit to traditional forms of Māori art and culture and are characteristically highly selective in what they portray (Mead 1996). Arguably, they appropriate Māori motifs, culture and stories to satisfy the needs of the inhabitants within its locale. For Wiremu, not only are they abstract and out of context, but the artworks do not appropriately portray his ancestral legacy.

Wiremu: “Public arts should have context of what it is trying to depict or portray. You can’t simply pluck something that looks Māori and say oh yea that seems right, we are not forgetting our Māori counterparts!...It must be seen clearly that Ngāti Wairere is the *manawhenua* of Kirikiriroa.”

Apart from these contemporary artworks, other artworks exist that do not relate to Ngāti Wairere, Māori society more broadly or imply a colonial legacy. These works can be contextualised as part of recognising Hamilton’s growing multi-cultural society and the desire to represent other histories, cultures and identities not necessarily linked to Ngāti Wairere. The intent of the HAA and PADG was to ensure diversity in the kind of artworks displayed in the public sphere and to celebrate the ethnic minorities that co-exist in Hamilton. This aspiration, however, is challenged by the tensions arising from colonial binary relations. What most perturbs Wiremu and his *hapū*, for instance, are artworks that ignite painful memories of land wars, colonialism, and land confiscations, such as the Farming Family sculpture and the statue of Captain Hamilton—both works by Margriet Windhausen (See Figure 20).



The bronze statue of Captain Hamilton was commissioned in 2013 and placed in Garden Place—adjacent to the HCC’s complex—to commemorate the city’s 150th anniversary. Captain Hamilton was a junior naval officer in command of a colonial regiment in the fight against Māori during the Land Wars. He died at the Battle of Gate Pā in Tauranga in 1864, the year in which Kirikiriroa was renamed Hamilton in his honour. The statue projects the early New Zealand European history with Captain Hamilton holding his ceremonial sword close to his body. For the last seven years, the statue stood on the land once known as Kirikiriroa, provoking opposition from the local *hapū*. Recently, in 2020, the statue was removed by the HCC as a means to dampen tensions, after a Māori elder called him a murderer and threatened to remove his statue by force (Neilson 2020). This removal dovetails with international Black Lives Matter protests that erupted in 2020 and include the removal of racist and colonial statues as a way of challenging systemic racism (Bracelli 2020).

Wiremu: “The oldest of my uncles and Auntie's of my time, still feel very uncomfortable talking about the land confiscation. And when we see what's happening to Kirikiriroa, it's just disgusting... Captain Hamilton statue was put there as a commemoration of Hamilton's 150th anniversary— who's timeline is this?”

Through its location, the statue not only maximised visibility but also attempted to make its message a part of the shared everyday space of the city (Cartiere 2010; Dixon et al. 2004). Just like the Farming Family, this contributes to the didactic mission of the artwork. The Captain Hamilton statue, that stood on the lands that were once Kirikiriroa and in front of HCC building, highlights the assertion of colonial history that undermines its colonial victims. The cultural and historical meanings in this sculpture displace the object as an artwork, making it meaningful to those it represents but unacceptable to others. For those who support the display of the artwork the statue is seen as a legitimate expression of a bygone colonial legacy. Yet, for *tangata whenua*, it is perceived as a further infringement on their ancestral legacy.

Wiremu: “Public art has the power to shape the environment— the more Māori art we see, the more we feel that the land belongs to Māori, that it is Māori land, but the more Pākehā art we see, the more we are made to believe that Hamilton is a European land...”

The site where the Captain Hamilton statue used to stand now hosts the statue of Dame Hilda Ross. Matt Gauldie's bronze sculpture portrays Dame Hilda in Parliament with one hand holding a copy of the 1919 Act allowing women to become MPs, while the other hand is raised, advocating on behalf of women and children whose welfare she considered her principal concern (See Figure 21).¹⁷ This is the third sculpture that Gauldie has produced in Hamilton, the first being the 2013 statue of Horace Moore-Jones, named Line of Fire (See Figure 22). Horace Moore-Jones was an important war artist in the early 20th

¹⁷My research participants did not comment on this statue as it was unveiled following interviews.

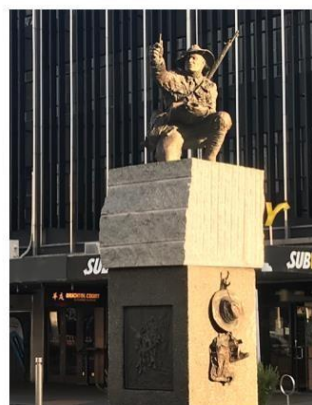
Century in New Zealand whose celebrity status arose from New Zealand’s engagement with the First World War and the disastrous Gallipoli Campaign. His WWI Gallipoli Campaign painting, ‘Man with the Donkey’ is the enduring Anzac image, acclaimed as one of the most important pieces of Australasian war art (Watson, 2014). He died in 1922 while trying to save people from a fire that broke out in the Hamilton Hotel. The statue was unveiled near the former site of the Hamilton Hotel as a tribute to Moore-Jones. The bronze statue of Moore-Jones, dressed as a soldier in a painting posture, is a tribute to him for saving lives in the fire and for his contributions to the Australasian War arts. The statue is erected above the street level on Victoria Street, the street named after the monarch who reigned during colonial times. Nearby the statue, “Sapper Moore-Jones Place”, further commemorates the war artist. These public recognitions are described by Wiremu as “colonial places on Māori lands”.

Figure 21: Dame Hilda in Parliament by Matt Gaudie (2020)



Note: Located at Garden Place/Civic Centre (Front of Hamilton City Council Building)
Source: <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/waikato-news/news/statue-unveiling-celebrates-the-legacy-of-ionic-hamilton-leader-dame-hilda-ross/PRRLG4TYUKDAX2RYKUGMWRUWL4/>

Figure 22: Line of Fire by Matt Gaudie (2013)



Note: Located at on Victoria Street; on a road island. (Statue of Horrace Moore-Jones)
Source: Author

Gaudie’s second sculpture is the War Horse (See Figure 23), a 300kg life-size horse gifted to the city by Waikato Equestrians and TOTI Trust in 2017 to honour the

18,000 New Zealand horses deployed with the New Zealand troops in the South African War and World War One. The sculpture is located at Memorial Park—a site dedicated to the wars—along with other war monuments, such as the Spitfire (See Figure 24), a replica of the fighter plane used in the wars.

Figure 23: War Horse by Matt Gaudie (2017)



Note: Located in Memorial Park. (War memorial site)
Source: Author

Figure 24: War monuments in Memorial Park



Note: (From left to Right) Spitfire, 2004; Artillery Gun, 2006; HMNZS Anchor, 1998
Source: Author

As a recognised Ngāti Wairere artist, Wiremu is obligated to ensure the survival of his *hapū* stories, culture and identity and that these remain prominent in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton's public art. For him, it is particularly important that these artworks reflect not only Māori but the specific artistic styles and history of his *hapū*. After all, Ngāti Wairere are *tangata whenua* of this *rohe* (district), charged with exercising *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) over the land (HCC 2003). Arguably, Wiremu does not only advocate for public art for public art's sake, but rather understands how public art can affect communities and shape how people think about the city.

The opportunity for Wiremu to reclaim his ancestral legacy came in 2004, when his *pou* carving, Whakare Hoera Pou (See Figure 25), named after the last chief of Ngāti Wairere, Hoera Taonui, was erected. According to Wiremu, the *Pou* main figure is a tribute to Hoera Taonui, chosen as one of the *Rūnanga* (gathering of chiefs) to elect the first Māori King and who led the movement to oppose the settler land grab in the 1860s. Hoera became involved in the Land Wars and died in the 1863 Battle of Rangiriri, further north of the Waikato River.

Figure 25: Whakare Hoera Pou by Wiremu Puke (2004)



Note: Located in Kirikiriroa Reserve
Source: Author

Pou, shaped in the form of a vertical canoe post, were once a common sight in ancient *pā* marking an important site of the inhabiting tribe (HCC 2003, p. 82). There were a number of commemoratives, ceremonial or memorial wooden posts erected inside or outside of *pā* (Puke, 2011). These had a variety of shapes and designs ranging from five meters high, elaborately carved structures, to short, simple and uncarved posts, usually used as strainers for the palisades (HCC, 2003). Such territorial markings became less common following colonisation and land confiscations, but in recent years, erecting *pou* has become a means to re-assert a tribal identity and claims to place or install a temporary ritual prohibition— a *rāhui* (McCormack 2011, Wareka 2020). Consequently, Whakare Hoera Pou portrays the land’s connection to Ngāti Wairere while at the same time serving as a memorial to their ancestor who died in the Land Wars.

Similarly, on the banks of the Waikato River in Miropiko reserve, stands another *Pou* named Te Pou-ihi o Miropiko Pā (see Figure 26). Unveiled in 2007, it portrays key ancestral high chiefs of Ngāti Wairere and their related *hapū*, Ngāti Hanui and Ngāti Koura. These chiefs, who once occupied Miropiko Pā, are commemorated in the ancient carving patterns painted with *kōkōwai* (red dye derived from local clay). Significant sites in their own right, Ngāti Wairere carvings at Kirikiriroa and Miropiko Pā form part of a

growing number of local *hapū* public art landmarks being developed throughout the city.

Wiremu: “For us, as a *hapū*, it's quite a landmark achievement in terms of reinstating our ancestral history and the relationship of the descendants with those particular sites.”

Figure 26: Te Pou-ihi o Miropiko Pā (2007)



Note: Located in Miropiko Reserve. Designed by Wiremu Puke and carved by Kihikihi men; Sam Roa, Shane Tamaki and Wayne Clark.

(From Left to Right)

Image 1: The full Pou, depicting 3 figures

Image 2: Close up view of top most figure; Ko Hanui

Image 3: Close up view of middle figure; Ko Heketewananga

Image 4: Close up view of bottom most figure; Ko Korako

Source: Author

Kirikiroa, since the 1860s, has undergone major urban developments which destroyed Māori material culture, desecrated *wāhi tapu* and subjugated Māori place-names. Buildings, such as WINTEC, HCC, the Waikato Museum, the former Hamilton Hotel, the former Founders Theatre and future Waikato Regional Theatre sites, are built over sites of significance to local *hapū*. The first two are built on the TKMK, the Museum is built on Tainui's landing site and the last two are built on *urupā* (burial grounds). As a Ngāti Wairere descendant, Wiremu finds it an ongoing struggle to ensure the survival of his ancestral legacy; erecting his carving design on the imposing property is a means to assert that legacy and Ngāti Wairere identity over the sites. These *pou* initiatives were a collaboration between the HCC and the Nga Mana Toopu o Kirikiriroa trustees, and ostensibly portray the bicultural relationship between the government and indigenous people.

However, Wiremu’s attempts to reassert a Ngāti Wairere identity were impacted in 2012 when a *marae*¹⁸ (See Figure 27) was built on the remnants of TKMK; a hill that once stood within Kirikiriroa pā. Notably, the *marae*, named after the site, does not have any links to an *iwi* or *hapū*. It has no associated historical *whānau* of any longevity, or a kin group genealogically linked to the land who can claim hereditary descent, but rather is associated with an academic institution, WINTEC. The style has deliberately moved away from a traditional *marae* design to become more accessible to Wintec students and staff (Risk 2012).

Figure 27: Te Kōpū O Kirikiriroa Marae/ WINTEC Marae by Warren McCrath (2012)



Note: Located at WINTEC City Campus (Pre-colonial pā site).
(From left to right)

Image 1: Seven Pou represents Matariki.

Image 2: The gateway entrance *tomokanga*, designs welcome people from around the world to WINTEC.

Image 3: *Marae-atea*; a 7.5m pillar pou in a form of a *waka*. At the top, stands the native hawk; *Kāhu*, representing the Māori Queen.

Source: Author

Instead of deities, the *marae*, made from modern materials of concrete and stainless steel, consists of seven *pou* to represent *Matariki*¹⁹ and a central *pou* in the form of a *waka* with a native harrier (*Kahu*) representing the Māori Queen (WINTEC, nd). Nevertheless, the TKMK *marae* is a manifestation of the importance of local *hapū* settlements on the promontory in Kirikiriroa. TKMK is the name of the place and the name given to the *marae*, but unfortunately, while it resembles Māori culture, “it represents nothing to the Ngāti Wairere” (Wiremu). Wiremu feels that the *marae* is without context

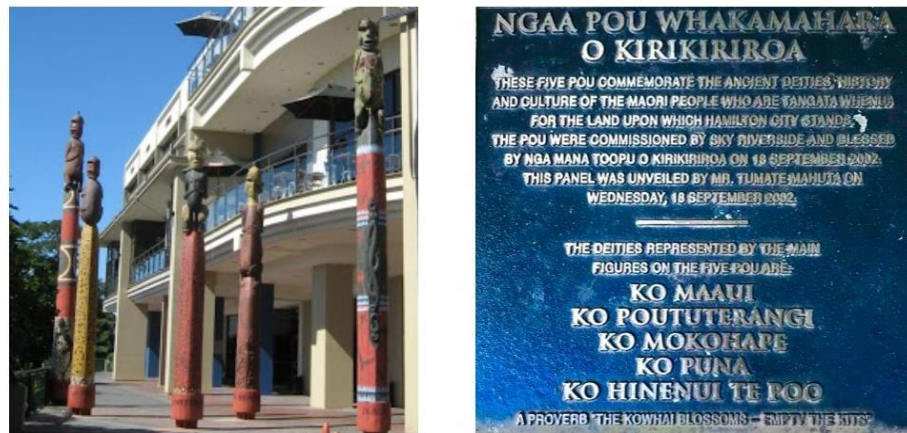
¹⁸ *Marae* are traditional Māori meeting places. In contemporary New Zealand each Māori tribe has their own *marae*. *Marae* remain distinctively Māori cultural spaces and serve as a focal point for conducting tribal affairs and events such as meetings (*hui*), funerals (*tangi*), celebrations and political events.

¹⁹ *Matariki* is the Māori name for the cluster of stars also known as the Pleiades. It rises in midwinter and for many Māori, it heralds the start of a new year. *Matariki* literally means the 'eyes of god' (*mata ariki*) or 'little eyes' (*mata riki*). (Retrieved on 8 August 2020 from <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=Matariki>)

and fails to represent his *hapū* and ancestral legacy. Such urban marae are relatively common in New Zealand. This, arguably, exemplifies a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship in which Māori culture and identity is produced in the public sphere to effect the normalisation of Māori culture. Alternatively, this development can be read as a superficial acknowledgement of Māori concerns. Wiremu contends, in reference to the TKMK marae, “This is not a *marae*, it is a carport”.

Walking around the high levelled banks of the Waikato River, the surrounding area of Kirikiriroa Pā, I came across a few tall *pou* overlooking the river, named Ngā Pou Whakamahara o Kirikiriroa. Unveiled in 2002, these five *pou* commemorate ancient deities and the history and culture of Māori people who are the *tangata whenua* of the land upon which Hamilton city stands (See Figure 28). The deities represented by the main figures on the five *pou* are Ko Māui, Ko Poututerangi, Ko Mokohape, Ko Puna and Ko Hinenui Te Poo. These *pou* do not represent Ngāti Wairere and instead are associated with Waikato Tainui iwi. This raises questions concerning the relative importance of *hapū* and *iwi* in matters of representation as well as the generalisation of Māori culture and history.

Figure 28: Ngā Pou Whakamahara O Kirikiriroa by Unknown (2002)



Note: Located between Hamilton SkyCity and the Waikato River.
Source: Author

My research findings suggest HCC/public art surveyors’ lack of understanding of *hapū* kinship systems, association with place, artistic identity and the prevalence of a generalisation of Māori culture. Speaking to Wiremu, I realised that for him and his *hapū*, the history of Kirikiriroa and the surrounding lands is crucial to contemporary Ngāti Wairere identity. In a way, public art that serves to inform about people and culture of a place, not only has symbolic value but becomes an opportunity to legitimise claims of

those it represents and invisibilise those it does not; whether or not this is a deliberate or subconscious act. As an integral part of the process through which people construct meanings, artworks become critical to the continuity of ancestral heritage and contemporary ethnic identity (Mead 1996).

As discussed, many public artworks in Kirikiriroa do not represent Ngāti Wairere *hapū*. Indeed, there are a disproportionate number of artworks that fall into the category of having non-Māori and/or non-Ngāti Wairere themes. Māori aspirations to maintain and revitalise cultural practices have undergone a series of changes (Te Puni Kokiri, 2006), from the perception of Māori being a dying race in the 1860s, to the revival of Te Reo Māori and a cultural renaissance in the 1980s and beyond. The assertion of Māori culture and identity, however, is not without its own set of challenges, tensions and oppositions. A difficulty faced by those who are invested in cultural revitalisation efforts is the lack of defined spaces in which Māori cultural practices are normalised (Mead 1996). There is also an issue concerning who has authority and who has *kaitiakitanga* status, complexities compounded by Treaty of Waitangi settlements which tend to favour large *iwi* kin groupings over *hapū* structures (McCormack 2012). In spite of these tensions in public artworks, there is an observable Māori cultural identity consciousness in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton.

3.4 The Man Behind Hamilton's Public Art Plan

There are clear benefits of public art, both for local governments and communities. It provides opportunities for artists to explore their creativity and generate links within the community and the community in turn have the opportunity to build a sense of belonging as reflected in the artworks produced. It also sustains local culture through a process of sharing, teaching and ultimately revitalising communities which in turn stimulates the economy through the development of creative arts and tourism. While this is the goal that drives city planners to promote public art, the journey is not always that easy, as reflected in the development of public art in Hamilton.

According to Rob Garrett, between 1970 and the early 1990s, in most cities in New Zealand, including Hamilton, architects and engineers (and, to a certain degree, town planners and landscape architects) “were responsible for bringing artists into a project once specifics of site and style were decided”. Needless to say, “this eliminated many artists whose work employs a different approach, such as those who were responding not only to the place but also to the people who created the sense of identity and place”.

Artworks were pre-determined by the planners and chosen based on what they deemed would boost the aesthetics of the place, rather than the implied meaning or social implication it may cause. Community-led art did not exist in Hamilton at the time. Artworks were about the making of colonial settlements and the unmaking of Māori places. As Rob explains:

Rob: “For many, many years, the population in Hamilton saw itself as itinerant. They were a service town, an agricultural service town that very often people came and went from. Sort of the feeling that people move through Hamilton, they didn't stay. I guess, people here reached a point where the generation of Hamilton families who had put down deep roots and felt really deeply connected and loyal to the place, wanted this home to be reflected.”

Between 2000-2010 there was a shift in how Hamilton city planners viewed their strategy in urban regeneration through public arts, partly as a result of HCC's partnership with Nga Mana Toopu O Kirikiriroa²⁰. Local Māori landmarks were then recognised and acknowledged for their significance, a development aligned with the RMA 1991 and Reserves Act 1977²¹ (HCC 2003). The HPAP, HAA and PADG also emphasised their commitment to making *Kirikiriroa* the centre of contemporary Māori art and for the cultural history of Kirikiriroa to be visible and recognised in Hamilton. Part of Rob's role in working with the HCC was to come up with report(s) that the HCC can refer to in planning and executing the city's public arts programme and cultural regeneration. According to Rob, advocating for public art is the first task. It “requires some data and

²⁰ The Nga Mana Toopu O Kirikiriroa comprises of 13 trustees and has legal charitable status and operates as one of the several committees recognised within the Waikato Tainui region and by its various NGOs. Nga Mana Toopu O Kirikiriroa area of responsibility encapsulates the entire HCC boundaries and outside of the city environs which includes Tamahate, Hamilton Airport, Ruakura, Newstead Puketaha, Gordonton, Horsham Downs and the Horotiu Bridge, Rotokauri and the Waikato Expressway. (Retrieved on 4 June 2020 from <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-services/planningguidanceandresourceconsents/publicly-notified-applications/Documents/LDS%20-%20Hearing%20Evidence%20and%20Submissions%20-%20Submitter%20Statement%20-%20Wiremu%20Puke%20on%20behalf%20of%20Nga%20Mana%20Toopu%20o%20Kirikiriroa.pdf>)

²¹ The Reserves Act 1977 was established to acquire, preserve and manage areas for their conservation values or public recreational and educational values. (Retrieved on 8 August 2020 from <https://www.doc.govt.nz/about-us/our-role/legislation/reserves-act/>)

evidence to convince people [both city planners and residents] how art can benefit the city and the community”. Next, is to “research the sites where art can or should be placed” because the strategic placing of public art can allow the “artwork to achieve its dramatic effect”, which is not necessarily positive, as the location of the Farming Family sculpture exemplifies. In Hamilton, the HPAP stipulated a set of art motifs that were perceived to be appropriate for the public sphere (HCC 2010). Historical context was first and foremost the main focus of the HPAP. Every potential site was thoroughly researched, taking into account Māori and colonial settler history. Efforts were also made to ensure a range of contemporary art, cultural diversity and multiple identities would have their place in the city’s public sphere. As Rob summarises:

“Council has to be very clear about why they're doing art and what it does. A public art plan or a public policy should be written in language that council members can use to help them as a tool to explain to the community: Why is public art in the mix? How are they going to balance businesses? Why it's important for the community? Why should they spend money on public art and how it is not taking away money from drains or roads?”

My interview with Rob was vital to understanding the vision that Hamilton as a city had when it first drafted the HPAP. Rob worked with the HCC in 2009. At that time, according to him, a strong advocacy for public arts existed within the HCC as well as resident communities. This support meant that there was “some money to fund projects” and “public sites embraced art as part of urban cultural regeneration efforts”. The opportunity for Hamilton to learn from the successes and failures of Wellington and Auckland public art programmes was perceived to prevent the city from making the same mistakes.

Rob: “The art programme (in New Zealand) had three major problems, not much money, ad-hoc planning, and employing an artist-friend. This is the catastrophe of the beginnings of art in public sphere. Council shouldn’t be doing things like that. There ought to be years of planning, community consultation, proper budgets and a tender process. You don't

just give a site to a friend who is an artist as this also shows the failure of the democratic process.”

Being away from New Zealand since 2014, Rob was unsure of Hamilton’s public arts development since he left. During the interview, I shared a document that I was working on which records the public artworks currently on display in Hamilton. Looking through the document, Rob realised that a few of the artworks were done by the same artist and commented:

Rob: “Look, I’m not sure who keeps cutting a deal with some of these artists. Where is the democratic process and the diversity? Are you telling me that the city has no other artist or creative minds that they have to use the same people? This is crazy stuff! No way!”

Perhaps, I thought, Hamilton has a limited pool of artists that are interested in, or have a passion for, building on Hamilton’s culture through public artworks. On further reflection, however, I began to understand Rob’s concerns; the crux of the problem relates to a lack of diversity. This diversity refers to the kind of experience, or lack thereof, that the artwork represents. Public Art develops from the engagement of an artist with the public space (Fisher 1996). As Geertz (1976) proposed, a work of art is a symbolical expression of the significant experience of its creator. Within the realm of creating public art, artists encounter people, history, and processes that give them the power to tell a story in a way that makes those identities visible (Motossian 2005). Artworks can also be experiences that some may not be familiar with and this exposure through public art then becomes an educational tool; a means to inform and create awareness that there are more cultures and stories than those directly experienced. As forms of social representation, diversity allows for diverse social responses towards the social agendas/ideas that artists put forth in their artwork, meaning its receivers are non-passive, can act to support or contend the artwork, depending on subjectivity. Essentially, rather than attempting to create what is, in effect, an artificial harmonious entity, art should reflect the disparate viewpoints that are already present in society, “exposing that which is repressed in sustaining the semblance of this harmony” (Bishop 2004, p. 79). In contrast, when a city is populated with a specific set of ‘stories’, these artworks become, arguably, a form of propaganda that restrict receivers from gaining a diversity of knowledge and issues. Thus,

artworks created by the same artist have the potential to become forms of propaganda, as exemplified in the five artworks produced by Margaret Windhausen and Matt Gaudie. These are closely associated with a colonial legacy and the making of colonial places.

The intent of the HAA and PADG was to ensure a diversity in the kind of artworks displayed in the public sphere and to celebrate the ethnic minorities that co-exist in Hamilton society. In spite of this aspiration, tensions have arisen, and these most frequently concern colonial binary relations. According to Rob, advocacy for public art came about as a means “to reflect the city’s identity(s) and culture(s)”. While the HCC attempted “to manage the Kirikiriroa historical aspects of the city”, it was also struggling to portray the identities of its growing multicultural population through its public arts (HCC 2015). However, if Hamilton embraces culturally diverse artworks in the public sphere while at the same time emphasising indigenous Māori-themed art, is there room for Pākehā art? As Rob explains;

“We should welcome any art because art in public sphere is for the public and the public is made up of many communities, many identities. But what is critical is for the artwork to be produced without any intentions to provoke or to offend. It is ok to have people not liking it, but not ok for them to be offended by it because it is racist or condemning in nature. Simple, just don’t set out to do art to annoy others. If you insist, then do it in a gallery, not in public space.”

Overall, Rob emphasised the need for diversity, democracy and the reflection of multiple identities through public art. He proposes that public art should adhere to a democratic process, portraying a variety of artworks from a variety of artists. And that artworks should be made for and represent the public and should not cause racial offense. In the case of Hamilton, artworks that glorify a colonial legacy are contentious.

3.5 The Makings of a Mural Town

Murals are considered a special category of public art exhibited in cities, towns and neighbourhoods to represent and empower communities, allowing them to express alternate identities and opinions, in addition to having an aesthetic element which integrates in a unique way with the environment (Moss 2010; Pearson 2006; Rolston 2012;

Weber 2004). Although studied extensively in many parts of the world, murals have received the most scholarly attention in Northern Ireland (Forker & McCormick 2009; Jarman 2005; Rolston 2012), South Africa (Marschall 2008), Mexico (Campbell 2003; Folgarait 1986; Helm 1989), and other urban centres. These studies have shown that murals play an important role in fostering community solidarity, particularly by coalescing people around political opinions. Common themes include the endorsement of shared values, the history of the place, stories about people and cultures, local experiences and political criticism (Jarman 2005). Murals can be placed, almost everywhere and anywhere— walls, ceilings, bus stops, trains, pavements, utility boxes, entire buildings, and so on—with the initial purpose to paint a picture of society, or a story created from dreams, visions, values, or to be an instigator of change (Moss 2010; Pearson 2006; Rolston 2012; Weber 2004). Being socially engaging, murals play a significant role in the relationship between art and identity politics when used to speak in the name of ethnic communities, nations, and cultures (Jarman 2005). Often, their visual effects attract public attention to the social issues they address (Forker & McCormick 2009; Jarman 2005; Rolston 2012).

In 2015, Hamilton inaugurated the annual Boon Street Art Festival (BSAF) which invites artists, both local and international, to come together and paint murals all over the city and its suburbs. According to Paul Bradley, one of the founders of the initiative, the intent is three-folds: 1) to encourage commissioned artworks and discourage illegal graffiti and taggers; 2) to promote artistic creativity and ethnic diversity in artworks; and 3) to enhance the city's aesthetic landscape. Over the last five years, the annual initiative has commissioned over fifty colourful murals that advocate “freedom in creativity and expression”. These murals are not intended to be permanent features, and, over time, some have been painted over and/or replaced. The thematic of the initiative is “non-restrictive” and artists are highly encouraged “to explore themes based on their own experiences, culture, identity and ideals”.

This creative force is the result of a growing diversity in Hamilton that has led to the emergence of artistic expressions representing a synthesis of various cultures and experiences. In the context of new immigrant politics—especially with regard to the inter-play between the inclusion of new immigrants and inter-minority relations, and the concerns of second and third generations migrants—this becomes an opportunity for artists to ‘advertise’ culture/experiences in the public sphere which then end up having members of the public ‘subscribing’ to these (Jarman, 1998). As a result of the variety of

‘advertisements’ on offer, the public have the freedom to ‘subscribe’ to one, a few or none at all (Moss 2010). The goal, however, is not to gather the most ‘subscribers’, but to allow potential ‘subscribers’ the opportunity to find a public artwork that they can relate to, like and/or develop a feeling of belonging to (Jarman 1998; Moss 2010). In turn, artists get the chance to ‘advertise’ their work for purposes of exposure, knowledge and awareness (Jarman 1998).

Paul: “Public art, at its best, encourages us to think differently about the world that we're in. It's kind of like a way for us to think about who we are and who we live with and that we are not alone and it's not just us. One may look at a public art and relate to its themes. Some might just like it because of how it looks. Some might not like some parts of it or all of it. Some might not even care, they don't know it exists. But that's all ok too. Maybe they will soon find something they like but we shouldn't expect everyone to hate or like the same artwork. And that's the beauty of public art. It is for everyone”

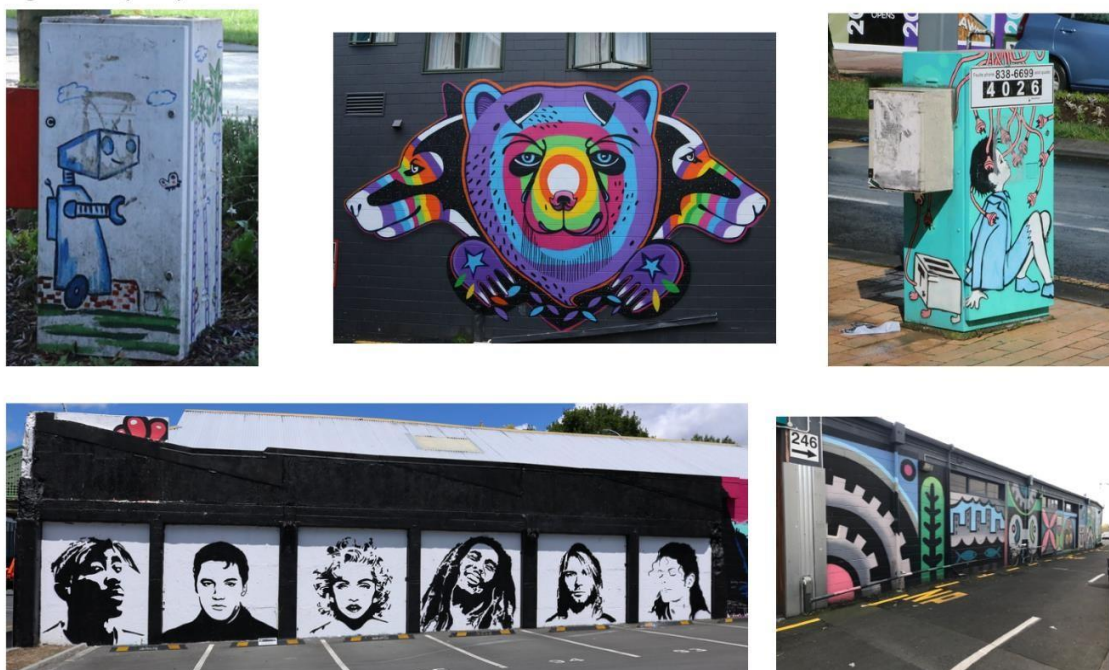
The murals currently found in Hamilton city central, while diverse, do not necessarily portray the city's multicultural society (refer to Appendix 1 for Universal-themed Murals in Hamilton city). Instead, these universal-themed artworks employ the use of images that advocate for an idea, social values, social habits or activity. This can range from advocacy for the environment, to animals, an expression of humanity, or even food, music, comic, science fiction and sport cultures. These universal themes suppose that any identity or ethnicity can ‘subscribe’ to these artworks, unlike those that employ ethnic themes, the latter of which do not appeal to everyone but resonate only with a specific identity or ethnicity. In other words, these diverse artworks bear universal themes, thereby eliminating racial and ethnic boundaries.

Documenting all the BSAF murals in Hamilton's CBD is not an easy feat. The murals are spread out all over the city and range in size and themes. Murals are particularly difficult to categorise as information on, and descriptions of, the artworks are hard to come by, most are “untitled” and are impermanent installations. As a result, I may have unintentionally left some murals out of my research. I have, however, made a concerted effort to relate the artworks I documented to place, history, and people. These

research difficulties merely highlight the disorganised nature of street art and the general lack of formal street art documentation (Bates 2014).

In my research on these murals, I observed that most of the universal-themed artworks (See Figure 29)— artworks that do not associate with bicultural (Māori-Pākehā) or mono- cultural (Māori or Pākehā) themes— were not situated in areas of perceived colonial significance or places where institutional power prevails. The marginality of many of the locations means that many remain relatively invisible to the public. The choice of walls, pavements and buildings for situating these works, creates a distinct in-group to whom, and of whom, the art intends to speak. This then shows how critical the site selection is and how it endorses the lived meanings of the space, rather than merely reaffirming a conceived boundary between ethnicities (Low & Altman 1992; Moss 2010).

Figure 29: (Five) Universal-themed Murals



Note: (From Left to Right, Top to Bottom)

Image 1: *Untitled* by Unknown. No Description. Located in Garden Place (Utility Box)

Image 2: *Untitled* by Mica Still. No Description. Located in Collingwood Lane (Dead end alley)

Image 3: *Untitled* by Unknown. No Description. Located in Victoria Street (Utility Box)

Image 4: *Untitled* by Unknown. No Description. Located in Collingwood Street (Carpark)

Image 5: *Untitled* by Jeremy Shirley. No Description. Located in Victoria Street (Dead end alley)

Source: Author

The murals shown in Figure 29 are hidden in car parking lots, or on the wall behind the back of a building or even on utility boxes. They show images that are open to the receivers' interpretations, which is further enforced by the lack of a description provided about the artwork and the not so distinct locations in which they are placed. Perhaps, their non-association with any particular ethnicity makes them a neutral art, marking its locality

as a universal place.

Moreover, images in murals can also be interpreted as a marketing strategy which attempts to invoke and kindle an emotional bond between businesses and patrons, to strengthen ethnic branding, and highlight the importance of space to that brand (Borghini et al. 2010). Thus, images can create a link between the past and the present and between the cultural and the commercial (Moss 2010). For example, the collaborative 2015 *Untitled* mural created by Craig McClure and Simon Blanchett depicts two Mexican wrestlers; a response to the site being on top of a Mexican restaurant (See Figure 30).

Figure 30: *Untitled* by Craig McClure & Simon Blanchett (2015)



Note: Located on top of a Mexican Restaurant at 254 Victoria Street. (Mural framed in RED)
Source: Author

Social issues can also be embedded in these artworks, creating awareness and potentiating advocacy for resolution. Kelly Spencer's 2018 *Untitled* mural (See Figure 31), for instance, is located against the external fence of a defunct community swimming pool. It depicts koi fishes gliding through a cacti desert, a reference to the urgent environmental crises in waterways and oceans. Similarly, Chisohoou's 2017 *Untitled* mural of a pit-bull, advocates for better care of the breed (See Figure 32). This mural is located on a hardly trafficked, small alley, along Collingwood Lane. Murals such as these are carefully designed to shape an inclusive Hamiltonian community by drawing on themes derived from shared ideals and values, while avoiding uncomfortable periods from colonial history. Despite murals being powerful tools for investing and inscribing meaning and affective associations into a place, I feel that these artworks can be easily missed by a passer-by who would have little chance to fully engage with the artwork and its meaning.

Figure 31: *Untitled* by Kelly Spencer (2018)



Note: Located at 28 Victoria Street.
Source: Author

Figure 32: *Untitled* by Jacob Chrisohoou (2017)



Note: Located at Collingwood Lane.
Source: Author

The intent of the BSAF is to encourage diversity, yet close to forty percent of the murals found in Hamilton city are associated with Māori themes (See Appendix 2 for Māori related murals) despite the Māori population in Hamilton being about twenty percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Some of the murals that draw on Māori themes, however, are not done by Māori artists but by overseas artists who perceive Māori culture to be the most unique characteristic of New Zealand. This then suggests that, outside of New Zealand, Māori culture and design is perceived by artists as “cool” and “hot” making it increasingly popular, attractive or desirably “exotic” (Thomas 1995; Lai 2010; Matahaere-Atariki 2016).

Paul: “I’ve noticed with overseas artists that they get kind of excited about their idea, because when they think about New Zealand, they think about Māori culture and they want to do something in that.”

When products from New Zealand are associated with Māori symbols they tend to gain a higher value overseas, seeming to be more “authentic” and “in touch with nature” (Lai 2010). In fact, Māori culture is considered to be more “in” overseas than in New Zealand (Mika 2014). This is no surprise when New Zealand markets itself globally with

Māori infused themes, for example the national carrier Air New Zealand logo or the national rugby team, the All Blacks, performing the *haka* (Māori war dance) and so on. This then shapes how people outside New Zealand think about its culture and its people. From an outsider perspective, Māori culture is the norm in New Zealand and the basis of its collective identity, although this is not the reality (Lai 2010; Matahaere-Atariki 2016). It is worth noting that there are intellectual rights imposed on Māori symbols, signs, text and imagery. As a means to regulate the misappropriation of Māori culture, the Māori Trademarks Advisory Committee was set up under the New Zealand Trademarks Act 2002 to differentiate the intellectual property rights of Māori. This provides a guideline for evaluating all trademarks containing Māori signs, texts or imagery. These must be forwarded to the advisory committee, who then advise the Commissioner of Trademarks whether “the registration of a trademark that is, or appears to be, derivative of Māori text and imagery, is likely to be, offensive to Māori” before it is being employed (Intellectual Property Office New Zealand nd). Arguably, Māori claims regarding intellectual property can be seen as a means to demarcate ethnic boundaries between Māori and non-Māori (Van Meijl 2009, p. 348).

Walking around the Hamilton city, I observed that Māori-themed murals are more prominent and distinctive than universal-themed ones. They are seen on significant local *hapū* sites, or government buildings and seem to have a more detailed description of the artwork or are accompanied by a plaque to describe their meaning and significance. It is as though much thought has been given to designing the Māori themed artwork and displaying explanations as to what these signify to receivers. This may be a means to avoid accusations of cultural misappropriation, especially as some of these works are created by non-Māori.

The largest mural that currently exists in Hamilton and possibly New Zealand, the TKMK mural (See Figure 33), is located below WINTEC, a tertiary institution. As its title suggests, the mural is dedicated to telling the story of a hill of great significance to Ngāti Wairere. The mural was painted by Poihakena Ngāwati, Hana Maihi and Te Haunui Tuna in early 2020. The second largest mural in Hamilton is known as the Love Story, created by Charles and Janine Williams in 2019. The mural intends to honour *tangata whenua* by depicting a large image of *karearea* (native falcon) protecting or watching over the *awa* (referring to Waikato River). Karearea is also known to be a Tainui tūpuna (ancestor) (See Figure 34). A mural by Shirley and Ormsby, painted in 2019, is about a person exploring and manifesting from chaos or a spirit, emphasised by ‘the spark’ or *mauri*. This mural is located above the HCC Chambers (See Figure 35).

Figure 33: *Te Kopū Mania O Kirikiriroa*; WINTEC Mural by Poihakena Ngāwati, Hana Maihi, Te Haunui Tuna (2020)



Note: Located along Anglesea Street, below WINTEC City Campus.
Source: Author

Figure 34: *A Love Story* by Charles & Janine Williams (2019)



Note: Located at Victoria On The River.
Source: Author

Figure 35: *'Mauri'* by Daniel Ormsby & Jeremy Shirley (2019)



Note: Located at Hamilton City Council Chambers.
Source: Author

My initial impression of these murals was two-fold: 1) Hamilton is proud of its indigenous culture, traditions and people and; 2) Hamilton centers itself around Māori identity and culture. This impression was derived from my own limited knowledge of New Zealand's culture, history and identity at the time and my status as an outsider. But were my initial perceptions an accurate representation of reality?

Based purely on visual observations, it is fair to say that murals in Hamilton present a diversified or universal-themed art form that steers away from portraying exclusively Māori or colonial themes. Such universal-themed artworks, however, are located in indistinct and out of the way places within the public sphere and their subtle presence may be interpreted as merely colours on the wall. Yet, despite being outnumbered as compared to the existence of universal-themed murals, Māori-themed murals are more prominent, large and descriptions are clearly provided, allowing the public to better engage with the artwork. Perhaps, the flooding of universal-themed murals and their installation in sites in which no prior relationship between the artwork and location exists, causes these artworks to feel displaced and invisible. This is compounded by the lack of accompanying descriptions and their often-temporary nature. Questions arise as to whether the public are able to resonate with these universal-themed artworks to build a sense of place and identity?

These universal-themed murals are evidence of attempts to create pockets of universal places within the city centre, in which diverse voices are broadcasted through public art. Unfortunately, they are merely seen not observed, because seeing does not include engaging, interpreting, absorbing, negotiating and concluding how the images in the artwork affects one. Seeing implies a familiar everyday orientation such that these universal-themed murals fade unnoticeable into the background. And, while the aspiration is to portray Hamilton's increasingly multicultural population, this have not been fully achieved as most of these universal-themed murals do not portray people of different cultures or ethnicity. These aspirations, arguably, while a nod to multiculturalism, may, in the context of the murals relative invisibility, be an expression of material exclusion and the relations of power at work in a Pākehā dominated Aotearoa-New Zealand.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the development of Hamilton's public art from the 1950s to date. Public art in the city started with the making of colonial places and the unmaking of Māori places. By the late 1980s, Māori art, Māori themes, motifs and artists began making

their debut in the public sphere. In the first decade of the 21st century, a remaking of Māori places through public arts took place. Contemporary New Zealand art also made incursions in the scene, producing works which were intended as a synthesis of Māori and European art forms and practices. This time period, however, was also witness to the continual marking of colonial places through public arts.

The 2010 HPAP outlines Hamilton's strategies and priorities to make Kirikiriroa the centre of its public arts, instigating the remaking of Māori places (HCC, 2010). This shifted when the 2015 HAA and PADG emphasised the need to also reflect the diversity of its people through public arts, marking the making of ethnic diverse places and/or universal places (HCC, 2015a; 2015b). This was followed by the BSAF in 2015, and today, Hamilton city is populated by universal-themed murals, it has not, however achieved its aspiration to portray its growing multicultural society. Moreover, these universal-themed artworks remain hidden, less prominent and displaced from their locale. Instead, Māori-themed murals are prominent, a result, arguably, of a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship. In October 2020, the "Our Vision for Hamilton Kirikiriroa" again prioritised ethnic diversity in its public arts (HCC, 2020), evidence of its lack of success in this regard in the last decade.

This chapter has also highlighted the concerns raised by participants including the need for diversity as well as the fair representation of local *hapū* in public arts, that is, the need to make ethnically diverse places and remake Māori places. These concerns are underlaid by the necessity to unmake colonial places, a contentious issue according to the narratives of my research participants.

“What is a man, but memories of himself. What are memories, but events veneered by the meanings we give them. O man, you self-serving meaning making machine.

- Rumuz

Chapter 4: Living with Art in the Public Sphere

This chapter analyses the narratives from individual interviews conducted with six Hamilton residents of diverse backgrounds (Refer to Table 1 for participant’s background). These participants did not volunteer their time because of an interest in public arts in Hamilton; to be honest, none of the participants knew much about art neither were they familiar with the majority of the artworks in their public sphere, at least prior to the interview. Rather, each participant expressed, how certain public artworks affected them and linked that artwork to its locality as a way of discussing their interpretation of the artwork. Participants related some of the artworks to ongoing issues within Hamilton concerning race, identity and a sense of place. Interestingly, participants did not discuss aesthetic features of the artwork, but rather discourses surrounding meaning. While I realise there is subjectivity at work in how one perceives art, my aim is to draw out the commonalities in participants’ perceptions and uncover how identity is negotiated and constructed through meaning making.

Table 1: Participants’ Background

Participant(s)	Age (years)	Ethnicity/Nationality	No. of years in Hamilton	Method of contact
Katie	25-30	European/British	16	Facebook
Sarah	35-40	European/ New Zealander	37	Through Participant
Aroha	35-40	Maori/ New Zealander	26	Facebook
Jack	80-85	European/ New Zealander	34	Facebook
Waka	30-35	Maori/ New Zealander	12	Through Participant
Josh	20-25	Chinese/ Singaporean	14	Former Colleague

Overall, participants noted that although they envisioned an all-inclusive Hamiltonian identity, this aspiration was hampered by unresolved colonial grievances. Today, this manifests as deep socio-economic disparities between Māori and Pākehā. To a large extent, Māori and Pākehā art was the main topic discussed in interviews, while

universal-themed art remained relatively unnoted. Participants commonly associated colonial resentments and unresolved grievances with these artworks. Hence, an all-inclusive Hamiltonian identity is something envisioned but is overshadowed by a conspicuous colonial oppressor/ oppressed relationship and structural racism.

When asked about the kind of artworks they would prefer to see in the public sphere, three main responses emerged: 1) All agreed that artworks which glorify a colonial legacy should not be placed in the public sphere, and while some argued that these should not exist at all, others supported the relocation of these artworks to a private site or an enclosed public area such as a museum. 2) Participants wanted artworks to have some form of community involvement, either in developing the design, creating the artwork and/or in deciding which artwork is being placed in the public sphere. 3) Participants spoke in length about Pākehā and Māori art at the same time as they questioned the lack of artworks that portray themes that do not relate specifically to Pākehā or Māori. I find this to be oddly interesting, considering the large quantities of universal-themed murals that I have discovered spread out across the city. This exemplifies how such artworks are invisible, hidden and indistinctive, further portraying how deeply rooted the colonial binary discourse is in Hamilton such that these other artworks get muted, fading into the background, becoming just colours on the wall.

The bulk of this chapter analyses participants' meaning making of artworks in their public sphere. Two prominent issues are identified: 1) To a large extent, participants link artworks to a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship and the country's colonial grievances and: 2) non-Māori participants tended to generalise Māori culture. Arguably, this results from the assimilation and main streaming of Māori culture in the arts as well as the subjugation of distinctive Māori *hapū* identities in post-Treaty settlement Aotearoa (Mead 1996).

The chapter begins with a brief summary of participants interviews and their comments on artworks in their public sphere. It then discusses the place marking role of Pākehā art in asserting a colonial legacy. In the third section, I discuss the emergence of Māori art and themes in Hamilton's public sphere, uncovering how artworks are perceived as assimilating or mainstreaming Māori culture, or subjugating *hapū* identities. I then look at how participants negotiate their identities through public arts and how they envision the city's future.

4.1 Analysing How Participants Talk About Art

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1976) wrote that:

"Art is notoriously hard to talk about. Even when made with words, it seems...to exist in a world of its own, beyond the reach of discourse. It is not only hard to talk about; it seems unnecessary to do so. It speaks...for itself...But of course, hardly anyone...is silent." (1976, p. 1473).

Public art research is complex because artworks differ from place to place, and from individual to individual, as much as they do from context to context (Zebracki 2013), with sometimes everyone having a different opinion or none at all.

The six interviews I had with Hamilton residents were painful, in the sense that participants started off having nothing to say about the majority of the artworks in their public sphere. I found myself curating to participants what the artwork was about, its purpose, and how the artwork was assumed to cause affect. For research purposes, it was not enough to gather data on whether participants favoured one artwork over another, rather, it was imperative that they could process meaning making and derive their own interpretation of the artwork. Here, it is interesting to refer to Bourdieu (1984) who argues that whether or not participants liked a particular artwork was less interesting than whether or not they could hold an opinion at all. In my research, I found that providing participants some background information on the artwork's location and description, facilitated them in forming an impression and articulating their perception. I also realised that participants are not entirely to blame for a lack of knowledge of the artworks in their public sphere; there is little public engagement when it comes to choosing or installing these works. Participants tended to rely on the artworks' locality in order to perceive its meaning; when they could not associate the artwork with its location, the artwork lost its legitimacy. This exemplifies how public art ought to be integrated with a public place, enhancing a public space as a form of aestheticism or elaborated detail of the place (Miles 1997; Remesar 2005).

I found it difficult to disentangle to what extent participants' perceptions were constructed by the artwork and its location and to what extent perceptions were constructed by the artwork itself. Zebracki (2013) suggests that engagement success with public art is measured by its ability to soundly convey physical and mental images—namely representations—and elicit responses, which are multifaceted by their very nature because artworks are supposed to communicate in a “poly-interpretable sense” (2013, p. 84). These

‘representations’ relate to iconology, that is the means of interpreting the artwork by putting it in context as a product of a particular process of thought of its artist or predominant time in history (Panofsky 1974). As such, I relied on social representation and iconology to interpret participants’ mental reception, detachment or rejection towards the public artwork. I subcategorised participants’ responses into four components that reflect: 1) a participant’s familiarity with the artwork, 2) the artworks’ relevance to its site, 3) the artworks’ meaningfulness in terms of its location and its effect on the public, and 4) how a participant appreciated the aesthetic of an artwork, whether positive or negative (See Table 2 for Participants’ reaction to artworks). In terms of familiarity, I looked at how participants attained knowledge of the artwork, whether through observing it in person, or through word of mouth. In analysing its relevance, I looked at how participants link the artwork to the site, and whether a sense of place is established or whether the artwork denotes a significant value to the site or vice versa. In meaningfulness, I looked at how participants link the artwork to an effect on the public or on them individually. This effect could be in relation to how they view the artwork as part of the construction of social bodies or how the artwork represents a group(s) within society or what the discourse surrounding the artwork entails or opens up. In analysing appreciation, I looked at how participants interpreted the artwork’s meaning by linking the artwork to its locality and whether this evoked a negative or positive reaction.

Table 2: Participants’ Reaction to Artwork

Public Artwork		Participants’ General Reaction To Artwork			
		Familiarity	Relevance	Meaningfulness	Appreciation
Pākehā Art	Captain Hamilton	Because the city is named after the man. (Iconic)	Exhibiting Pākehā dominance located in front of HCC	Pākehā centric.	Underlying structural racism; who is in charged, who is in power, whose history
	Farming Family	When one sees it, it reflects Waikato’s dairy industry (Iconic)	Exhibiting Waikato economic achievements but better suited in front of Fonterra	Pākehā centric.	Waikato economic progress but reminder of land grab which Māori suffered.
	Line of Fire	Prominent statue on Victoria street. One sees it very often but do not really know who or what it signifies. (Iconic)	British war hero on Victoria street. A colonial statue on the street named after a colonial monarchy.	Pākehā centric.	Seen as a British war hero; the statue being erected above street level denotes superiority.

Public Artwork		Participants' General Reaction To Artwork			
		Familiarity	Relevance	Meaningfulness	Appreciation
Māori Art	Whakare Hoera Pou	Seen it but unsure what it is supposed to be (common markers)	Reflecting the chief of local <i>hapū</i>	Traditional Māori art; Māori centric	Citing Māori site significance
	Te Pou-ihi o Miropiko Pā	Seen it but unsure what it is supposed to be (common markers)	Reflecting the pre- colonial pā of local <i>hapū</i>	Traditional Māori art; Māori centric	Citing Māori site significance
Contemporary International/ New Zealand Art	Riff Raff	Tourist attraction/ fan site	Reflecting writer's connection to the place	Art for economic boost	Great to have someone from Hamilton making a mark at international level.
	War Horse	War memorialisation	Located in Memorial park for war memorialisation	New Zealanders war effort and sacrifice	Not often animals are commemorated in war efforts.
Contemporary Māori/New Zealand Art	Te Kopū Mania o Kirikiriroa Mural	Largest mural that gained a lot of media attention (iconic)	Mural that depicts the hill occupied by pre-colonial Māori.	Māori centric	Reminder of how Pākehā settlers/inlanders have desecrated Māori hill.
	WINTEC Marae	Common Māori artefact (common and iconic)	Institutional <i>marae</i> link to an academic institution.	Incorporating Māori culture	Normalisation/ main streaming of Māori culture
	Tōia Mai	Seen it but unsure what it is supposed to be	Māori <i>waka</i> landing site	Contemporary Māori art; too abstract	Why is the waka positioned vertically?
	Tongue of Dog	Seen it but unsure what it is supposed to be	No relevance to site	Contemporary Māori art; too abstract	Colourful; difficult to link artwork to site significance
	Te Taiho O Matariki	Seen it but unsure what it is supposed to be but has become a meeting place landmark	Reflecting the pre- colonial Māori hill	Contemporary Māori art; too abstract	Safety hazard; difficult to link artwork to site significance

Participants had more views on an artwork that they had observed regularly, either in person or through print or digital media forms such as news publications or social media. All six participants held views about three particular artworks in the public sphere due to the media attention that these had received. These artworks are the statue of Captain Hamilton, Riff Raff and the TKMK Mural. They were also able to discuss the meanings of three other artworks by linking the artwork to its locality, that is, site specific, meaning that the interpretation and meaning making of the artwork is heavily influenced by its locality (see Miles 1997). The three site specific artworks are, Line of Fire (a colonial statue on a street named after a colonial monarch), Farming Family (a representation of the region's dairy industry and Hamilton as its main centre), and WINTEC/TKMK marae (a tertiary institution marae, a phenomenon common in New Zealand since the 1980s). These six artworks are denoted as “iconic” in Table 2 due to their distinctive role in producing something symbolic, either to a specific locality, a city or its people. By employing the concept of iconology to explain the existence of the artwork and its meaning, I uncover how participants negotiate their identity in the context of a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship.

Social capital or habitus is relevant to public-art perception (Bourdieu 1984; Blokland 1997). That is, while participants may not have the ‘right’ knowledge or expertise to read public artworks like an art appraiser, this does not imply that there is only one way to read an artwork. Arguably, when a participants’ perception of public art is concerned, a familiarity with the artwork in relation to its site and the participant’s interest in that art, matters. This guides a certain intrinsic and extrinsic appreciation of the artwork (Selwood 1995). In my analysis, I found that participants were able to articulate their impression of an artwork by linking it to its locality and its significance as a commemorative object evoking inclusivity or division. Also, the more awareness and engagement the participant had with the artwork—either through using it as meeting place or participating directly or indirectly in a debate about the artwork, or through observation—the more the artwork and place affected them in either positive or negative ways (Zebracki 2013).

I observed that participants link artworks to place, and sometimes place to the artwork, in the sense that they read the artwork as a place marker. For example, the establishment of a *pou* signifies Māori land or land of particular importance to Māori or, in Memorial park [a park designated to commemorate the wars that includes the World Wars, Korean War of 1950s, Vietnam War 1970s and South African War] sculptures, statues and

so represent the memorialisation of war. Such artworks are denoted as a “place marker” in Table 3. Place marking is an evocative form of place-making that revolves around resistance and contestation, and assertion and declaration (Ferrell 1995). When analysing public art through participants narratives, I use the concept of ‘place marking’ as a means to assert either a colonial or ancestral legacy in public art. As such, two distinctive places were mentally mapped out by participants due to the placement of public artworks; colonial places and Māori places. Consequently, this reflects a lack of ethnic diverse places in Hamilton, which is far cry from the city’s regeneration strategy.

4.2 The Making of Colonial Places

Three distinctive artworks are perceived by participants to be colonial place markings. These artworks are the Farming Family, the Statue of Captain Hamilton and the statue of Moore- Jones [Line of Fire]. The statue of Captain Hamilton, in particular, was mentioned by all participants. They spoke about its location, its symbolism, underlying political discourse and structural racism. As Katie and Sarah recounted:

Katie: “I heard a few versions; that he was involved in killings and raping of Māori, never stepped foot in Hamilton and another was that he was not even in New Zealand long enough to have done the atrocious acts that he was accused of... I think some people see the statue as a symbol of oppression...”

Sarah: “While a non-Māori may not be affected by the statue and merely see it as someone whom the city is named after, we need to accept the reality that for a long time Māori have suffered colonisation and to provoke them by erecting a statue of such symbolism [colonialism] is just not right.”

The statue of Captain Hamilton is identified with a colonial legacy—one that represents the beginnings of colonialism wherein Kirikiriroa was renamed Hamilton—and as a symbol of the coloniser/colonised relationship, due, at least partly, to its location in front of local government buildings. Four participants argued that the statue of Captain Hamilton should not exist at all, while two participants suggested that it should be

relocated to an enclosed space such as a museum.

Three participants also drew a similar reading from other artworks, particularly the sculptures *Farming Family* and *Line of Fire*. Three artworks in particular, *Farming Family*, *Captain Hamilton* and the *Line of Fire* sculptures, are perceived to be Pākehā art, asserting a colonial legacy in Hamilton. Some participants did not initially connect the region's dairy industry achievements, Māori land loss and economic deprivation with the sculpture *Farming Family*, however, they sympathised after this interpretation was discussed in interviews.

Josh: “Well that’s deep. I mean if Māori feel that way then yeah, I don’t think it’s right to rub it in their faces.”

Sarah: “I guess colonisation has been really brutal for Māori so if the sculpture reflects that brutality, then it has to go. I mean, we don’t need art to glorify the region’s economic success while sidelining and undermining Māori.”

In regard to the *Line of Fire* sculpture, all six participants assumed that the statue was a representation of a British soldier, partly because of its location on Victoria street, named after the colonial monarch, Queen Victoria. When participants were informed of who the statue depicts and the reasons for this tribute (his contribution to Australasian War art and heroism in the Hamilton Hotel fire), participants expressed a complex array of emotions.

Aroha: “So he [Moore-Jones] died in the Hamilton Hotel fire while saving people? But firemen do that too, so should we have statues of firemen as well? And believe me, I’m not the only one who would have read that statue wrongly. I mean look at how he is dressed and how he is elevated as though giving him that status of being above normal men. And naming a street after him? I don’t know of a street named after our [Māori] chiefs in the city.”

Waka: “I have seen this statue countless times and I have

always thought that he was a representation of a generic British soldier. I didn't know he was an actual person... Why depict him [Moore-Jones] like a soldier if the intent was to portray his heroism in the fire and his contribution to arts? It's just deceiving"

From participants' narratives, the statue of Captain Hamilton is the representation of the (current/post) colonial government asserting its dominance, while the Farming Family asserts a colonial legacy of economic achievement through dairy farming. The Line of Fire, meanwhile, is a symbol of a colonial presence in the street named after a colonial monarch. This arguably fits During's (1985) description of the "postcoloniser" and "postcolonised" relationship; the former referring to those who profit from, and identify themselves as, heirs to a colonial legacy, whereas the latter describes those who have been dispossessed by a colonial legacy and are heirs to a culture harmed by colonialism (During 1985, p. 370).

A colonial legacy hampers the progress of a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship, and therefore should be problematised. In the context of social representation, Pākehā art that asserts a colonial legacy can be seen as colonial propaganda; it emphasises incompatibility and conflict, being perceived as a symbol of oppression. It also places the residents of a post- colonial Hamilton in the position of being passive receivers of a legacy that undermines Māori. Unfortunately, being on the receiving end of racism is not unusual for many Māori (Houkamau et al. 2017). As a participant surmises:

Aroha: "I think that's because we're in the context of colonisation. And because colonisation has been brutal for Māori culture, it's also important that we are mindful and protective of the culture that has been, for a long time, really repressed. People weren't even allowed to speak Māori in school. So, for a long time there's been a lot of things that have either repressed or stopped Māori expressions from happening."

4.3 The Re-Making of Māori Places

Māori generational knowledge, the use of Māori cultural practices and connectedness with *whānau*, are important for maintaining a sense of cultural identity (Mead 1996). Carmichael and colleagues explain this weaving of past and future, thus:

“To the Māori the future is behind and is unknown. The past is in front and contains within it signposts and messages which give identity, and which enable the community to plot a path into the future with confidence and assurance, in essence, to know where you are going, you have to know from whence you came” (Carmichael, et. al. 1994, p. 219).

Hence, when Māori traditional norms are not adhered to or when the public space is imbued with poor depictions and inaccurate representations of Māori cultural heritage, it becomes harder to distinguish exactly what Māori culture is and what it means to be an “insider” Māori (Lai 2010). This complexity was frequently referred to by my participants, for instance, when they found it difficult to discern Māori art forms as they discussed the sculpture *Tongue of Dog* (created by a renowned Māori artist), which combines Māori narratives with western art forms and practices. Participants commented that, on the surface, the artwork seemed “vibrant”, “welcoming” and aesthetically “pleasing”. However, when discussing the meaning of the artwork, participants commented that the artwork seemed to be “out of context” in terms of its location and that the design was too “complex” for the public “to appreciate the narrative” that it was designed to portray. In particular, participants Katie and Sarah highlighted that they would have never known the sculpture *Tongue of Dog* is an artwork depicting Māori themes as it “looks like out of network television” (Katie) and a “futuristic water fountain” (Sarah). This confusion is because the art by which Māori distinguish themselves is blurred, as are meanings associated with appropriated aspects of culture. As a result, the ability of Māori to ethnically differentiate themselves and forge a distinctive cultural identity is constrained. The urbanisation of Māori has added another layer of complication (Mead 1996), though also an opportunity for creatively forging a contemporary Māori identity (Gagne 2013; Metge 2014).

Participants collectively highlighted only five artworks in the public sphere that

they perceive as forms of Māori art. These five artworks are: Whakare Hoera pou, Te Pou-ihī Miropiko pou, WINTEC Marae, the Maihi and Tekoteko carving, and the Ngā Pou Whakamahara o Kirikiriroa. They also observed that, outside of these five, other artworks included Māori narratives, motifs and designs, such as the TKMK mural, the Mauri mural, and the Koru sculpture. Participants mused that they were unsure if these artworks could be classified as Māori art, particularly because the production methods were not associated with traditional Māori practices. Other artworks were equivocated to have Māori themes because of the artwork's abstract designs. The artworks' themes were deemed to be unclear and ambiguous, for instance, Tongue of Dog, Te Taiho o Matariki and Toia Mai. Participants also highlighted having come across murals that had some Māori motifs and themes, but they were unable to comment further on meanings. Arguably, these artworks are designed to portray the country's bicultural representation— a synthesis of Māori motifs with western forms (Mead 1996).

Three themes can be deciphered from my interviews concerning how participants interpret the emergence or re-emergence of Māori arts, themes and motifs in Hamilton's public sphere and these I categorise as dilution, generalisation, and the superficial acknowledgement of Māori culture. Cultural dilution refers to a process which involves the fusion of different cultural traits or the suppression of cultural traits (Durie 1997) and in this context, refers to the fusion of Māori and 'western culture'. As discussed, participants commented that they were unable to categorise certain sculptures as forms of Māori art due to their abstract nature, thus suggesting that particular works were experienced as a diluted form of Māori art. Mead (1996) blames the "Fourth World status" —Māori socioeconomic struggle— for the dilution of Māori culture that is observed as Māori assimilated with the dominant Pākehā culture, "a crossing of cultural domains with each side wanting to poach from each other" (Mead 1996, p. 3). She claims that there are three potential scenarios whereby artists participate in the dilution of Māori culture. First, Māori artists produce works without being grounded in their own culture and with no training in Māori art. Second, well-educated Māori artists trained in Western art traditions attempt to recreate Māori art and thereby jeopardise its foundations. Third, well trained Pākehā artists produce works that are a mixture of Western and Māori traditions (Mead 1996). For instance, one of the participants described the Te Taiho o Matariki sculpture as an example of an artwork created by a Pākehā artist which employs western art to produce Māori narratives.

Aroha: “I remember when this [Te Taiho o Matariki sculpture] was announced [unveiled] to the public, there was some sort of ceremony. But when I look at it, it seems sacrilegious. It wasn’t even done by a Māori. I remember hearing something about the artist had to change the name of his sculpture because the elders didn’t like it. Can’t remember what it was before.”

These participant comments raise a number of questions concerning the role of authenticity in art. For instance, why is indigenous/Māori art expected to be pure, traditional and representative of a collective while ‘western art’ is seen as the creative expression of an individual? Why is the creation of indigenous/Māori art approached with much caution and demand for its authenticity in terms of who the artist is, their grounding in culture, tradition and identity and how they present the narrative in the artwork? Why are Māori protective about who does Māori art or who does art with Māori narratives?

These are complex questions and are tied up with the ongoing legacy of colonialism and the cultural harm wrought on the indigenous people of Aotearoa. The latter includes the suppression of Māori Tohunga in 1907 and the desecration and removal of Māori artifacts by early European collectors, many of which remain in museums in European nations and elsewhere. A further complication relates to the hierarchy established in the Western art world in which indigenous art (often termed crafts or artefacts) is relegated to museums while western art is displayed in galleries, though the recent Oceania exhibition in the Royal Academy of Arts, London, challenges this hierarchy. There is also a question of value; in which context and in which space is Māori art considered to attract international renown? Or have commercial value? What about the appropriateness of displaying uniquely tribal *taonga* to a wider audience? And cultural appropriation? What constitutes Māori art? Does a Māori artist necessarily produce Māori art? Is there a line between tradition and modernity, tribal art and political art? There is a diversity of opinion amongst Māori on these questions. The interpretation participants offered of Michael Parekowhai’s ‘Tongue of the Dog’ hints at these complexities.

A distinction is made by some commentators between what is considered Māori *taonga* and what is considered contemporary Māori art. Neich (1996), for instance, argues that Māori did not see their traditional crafts as art until contact with Pākehā. This development, he purports, was an extension of ‘Maori self-consciousness’, an effect of

contact with Pākehā (Neich 1996). Traditionally, Māori arts are considered *taonga*; they are embedded in narratives of the past and do not function merely as decorative items or to induce aesthetic enhancement. Symbols and images often bear *tapu* making the creative process itself spiritual:

“...when a descendent holds one of these pieces all the *ihi* (power), *wehi* (awe) and *wana* (authority) of the ancestors flows into the living person. Tears flow and a living bridge is built between the living and the dead, the past and the present” (Hakiwai 1996, p.55).

As such, because these are depictions of Māori ancestors, they are not meant to be owned or displayed precariously but rather are cared for by the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* as one would care for a respected relative (Rennie 2001). This may go some way towards explaining why some Māori are uncomfortable with some ‘contemporary Māori art’ or indeed view it as “sacrilegious” (see the comment by Aroha, above).

In interviews, participants acknowledged an increase in Māori-themed artworks in the last decade in Hamilton’s public sphere. I was interested in whether they thought that style of artwork was becoming mainstreamed or somehow generalised. Non-Māori participants, such as Katie, referred to *Pou* and the WINTEC *marae* as traditional forms of Māori art, though provided little commentary on the meaning of these works outside of recognising their ethnic orientation. As Katie commented:

“Well, I know it’s Māori art. Most probably done by a Māori...Usually these artefacts mark a sacred place or a place of significance to them [Māori]. I mean, we see it all over New Zealand, like the *pou* and the *marae*. They are all common Māori artefacts.”

This growth in Māori themed artworks is commented on by Wiremu (see chapter 3), as he observes that the public sphere in Hamilton has an increasing amount of artwork depicting Māori narratives, but that these have little or no link to his *hapū*, Ngāti Wairere. For Wiremu and other Māori participants, it is particularly important for forms of Māori art in Kirikiriroa to depict their ancestral legacy. This ethnic boundary making is perhaps

an instance of “reactionary traditionalism”, that is, an ideological response to colonisation (Reid and Rout 2016). “Reactionary traditionalism”, the authors argue, encourages indigenous people to present their culture as the anti-thesis of western capitalism while exaggerating their historical differences.

Aroha: “I mean in the context of public art and the colonial past, we [Māori] need to condemn anything that undermines us as *tangata whenua*. Places that are important to us [Māori] must be preserved as determined by our elders.”

This is not to suggest that a Māori protective stance towards their culture and traditions is uncalled for. In fact, Māori consider the reinforcement of ethnic boundaries as necessary since they experienced and are still experiencing an endangerment to their society and distinctive way of life both as a result of foreign consumption and/or cultural appropriation (Van Meijl 2009). Kawharu (2001) asserts that safeguarding and reclaiming Māori *wahi toanga* is imperative. This is because a lack of a sense of place and identity has contributed to social ills and negative well-being for Māori (Kawharu 2001).

The increasing usage of Māori motifs, themes and narratives arguably causes the dilution and generalisation of a homogenous Māori culture and identity in public arts. It can also, however, be seen as an acknowledgement of Māori as an intrinsic component of the country’s bicultural accommodative relationship.

Josh: “There seem to be a bit of a swing back to honour the Treaty...to give recognition via the significance of the site... And so, with Māori having the ability to express some Māori culture and history through arts— that is a good way to honour it.”

Sarah: “Just like how [previously] the language wasn't respected because it wasn't valued, same goes with Māori art, Māori values... [etc.]. In saying this, I think we're getting so much better as a nation. Ten, twenty years ago, we didn't have Māori channels or Māori greetings expressed on TV... When the Shortland Street's receptionist started saying "Kia

ora" on tv, it was revolutionary. The next 20 years could see much more integration of Māori language into our lives, and hopefully art and culture too. I also just read an ad by Plunket advertising Māori pregnancy and birthing classes that allow *whānau*²² and Māori women give birth with consideration of the sacredness of the experience, with Māori protocol and techniques. With time, this too will be normalised. But it seems radical, doesn't it?"

It is undeniable that a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship will not be viable without the representation of Māori art in the public sphere. Māori art is an essential element of Māori culture and a form of ancestral legacy (Mead 1996, p. 3). It can bring together all those forms of artistic expression that celebrate the styles, traditions, and values of Māori culture. One of the roles of public arts is to tell the story of the place, its people and their lived experiences (Miles 1997; Remesar 2005). The TKMK mural is one of the artworks that participants claim has achieved this:

Katie: "When the TKMK mural went up on that WINTEC wall, there were some Pākehā who made a fuss about it not resonating with them. And this, I think, made Māori people angry... like it was not supposed to represent Pākehā anyway, so why the fuss? At least now we know that there is a story to that hill and that's the purpose of the mural."

For Katie, Māori culture has an important place in Hamilton's public arts. Māori public artworks, she opines, are a "form of education", "an insight into the history of the city" before it became known as Hamilton. She highlights the "importance of acknowledging the significance of Māori in Hamilton" and "Māori is part of New Zealand's identity". Other participants shared the same sentiments, exemplifying how an artwork in the public sphere can generate a sense of ownership and create a sense of

²² *Whānau*; extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society. In the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.

inclusion. This reinforces public arts potential to forge new affiliations between its residents and public spaces through the subjectivities of meaning-making. As a result of this affiliation with place, public artwork is not only about the aestheticisation of the urban environment but is also an appendage to the shared memory and meaning making of a place.

While there is no specific place attachment established by non-Maori participants, they agreed that their sense of place was heightened as they received knowledge of its significance to local *hapū*. This means that even though the TKMK mural contains images associated with Māori, it also reinforces a sense of place for others who experience it. Whether the mural is a superficial acknowledgment of Māori culture, identity and history or a reminder of a colonial binary discourse, I argue that the engagement of participants with the mural reveals a yearning for a local collective identity, one that is still a work in progress.

To summarise, the remaking of Māori places through public arts heightens residents' awareness of Māori history, culture and identity. However, participants grapple to resonate with contemporary Māori/New Zealand artwork and more so than with traditional Māori art in their public sphere. On one hand, the flooding of the public space with contemporary Māori artworks is seen as a superficial acknowledgement of Māori culture and identity, aligned with a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship. On the other hand, this 'flooding' causes the dilution and generalisation of Māori culture and identity in public arts, such that these appear homogeneous and fused with western ideals, forms and processes. This process undermines the cultural identity of local *hapū*, who already struggle to cope with the changes in their social structures wrought by colonisation. In effect, this manifests as a continuation of colonial practices that work to suppress Māori identity and culture.

4.4 Negotiating Identities through Public Art

In discussing public arts, participants often talked as though the Treaty of Waitangi has an expiry date—envisioning life living in a post Treaty utopia where all grievances are settled in a perfect bicultural society. Some participants favoured a move from a bicultural or monocultural representation of public artworks to a multicultural one—wanting to move on from the inter-generational trauma that Māori claim to have suffered and are still suffering because of colonisation effects. This in itself is an act of relinquishing

responsibility towards the Māori Pākehā accommodative relationship; a responsibility that ought to include resolving ongoing socioeconomic disparities, as well as preventing antagonising actions, such as the making of colonial places.

Josh: “Well, I think everyone wants equality, everyone wants some recognition of their heritage or identity. But I get it, in Hamilton, in New Zealand, it is all about Māori and Pākehā. And until they get theirs—— together, there won’t really be a place for multiculturalism.”

In New Zealand, Māori in particular will be deeply affected by the adoption of multicultural policies and frameworks. These have the potential to threaten the status of Māori as *tangata whenua* and renege them to just another cultural identity amongst a plurality of ethnic minorities. This would, in turn, perpetuate the status quo of Pākehā hegemony, as minorities compete amongst themselves for already finite resources (Smith 1990; O’Sullivan 2007; Kukutai 2008). As suggested by Walker in the mid-1990s, a move towards a multicultural framework is “a covert strategy to suppress the counter-hegemonic struggle of Māori by swamping them with outsiders who are not obligated to them by the Treaty” (Walker 1995, p. 292). A decade later, Walker revised that statement, proposing that Pākehā need to learn to be bicultural, “to be at ease in the other founding culture of the nation is the first step towards becoming multicultural.” (Walker 2004, p. 390). Sullivan (1994) also suggests that Pākehā must address existing bicultural commitments to Māori before discussions can occur on the prospect of multiculturalism. This sentiment is also expressed by a Māori participant who felt that as colonial grievances are still unsettled, this hampers an ability or readiness to adopt a multicultural framework:

Aroha: “Pākehā, a lot of them, think that our [Māori] language and culture should die out. They don’t see any value in it, and this is like an underlying racism. I’ll give you an example. During my parents’ time, when they were forced to go to school, they were beaten with a ruler for talking in Te Reo Māori. It’s still a continuing journey for us as Māori because Pākehā don’t realise how much land and people we lost during that time [colonial]. A lot of our tribes have lost or are

still losing lands and nobody realises it. The council, even the government, are taking our land without us knowing. And it's still legal today.”

Pākehā perceptions of a multicultural framework seem more ambivalent. On one hand, they agree with Māori that the move towards a multicultural framework would detract the Treaty partners from the sense of a shared national identity that binds the nation together (Spoonley 2005). On the other hand, some Pākehā advocate a preference for multiculturalism over biculturalism as a means to overcome the anxieties caused by bicultural demands (Fleras 2009). These complexities are also expressed by my research participants.

Jack: “We got plenty of Chinese and Indian people here (in Hamilton) too. Maybe some public arts that represents them (ethnic minorities) would be nice too. At least that gives us (Hamiltonians) something else to talk about rather than arguing about whose land this is or who suffered in the past, under whose hands.”

Within these discourses, there are at least “three possible biculturalisms: of the self, of public procedure, or as a mode of inter-cultural contact” (MacLean 1996, p. 111). Referring to the level of the self, Māori are considered to have bicultural identities, framed by western capitalism ideals, while Pākehā are considered as generally monocultural (Walker 2004). Monoculturalism, according to Evan (2006), is partly disguised by ‘Pākehā-Style Biculturalism’ that employs Māori cultural tropes to exaggerate the dominant culture, fulfilling Pākehā yearnings for identity (Evan 2006). This analysis is also suggested by King (2000) who proposes that, Pākehā asserting their identity alongside Māori ensures that they remain the dominant racial group (King 2000, p. 46). The pressure on Pākehā to develop their ‘bicultural’ selves, through learning and using Māori language, norms and so on, may result in anxiety. One of my research participants who felt particularly affected by the demands of biculturalism, responded as follows when asked if the city’s name (Hamilton) should be reverted to Kirikiriroa:

Jack: “My birth certificate says I was born in Wanganui (Whanganui). Today, there’s no more Wanganui because

suddenly it is pronounced as ‘Fanganui’²³. So no, we cannot rename this place to Kirikiriroa because imagine the whole population born here will have lost their birthplace. No one alive lived in this place when it was still called Kirikiriroa, so the name change will do more harm than good, honestly.”

These identity issues complicate inter-cultural contact between bicultural Māori and monocultural Pākehā, and while these discussions of bicultural Māori and monocultural Pākehā are useful, they do not articulate “the constantly shifting parameters of identification characterising the everyday” (Smith 2007, p. 69). A novelty in my research—particularly this chapter—is that I ethnographically portray, through the lens of public arts, the complex experience of self of both Māori and Pākehā that is shaped by colonisation and framed by the expectations of other.

The narratives of my two Māori participants, Waka and Aroha, present the possibility of different expressions of Māori identity: Waka, who has acculturated to Pākehā ways of life to varying degrees and Aroha, who presents as conservative, traditional, culturally and socially Māori and who understands her Māori *whakapapa* (genealogy), speaks Māori and is familiar with *tikanga* Māori (Māori customs). Waka accords with Durie’s (1994) description of “bicultural”, in the sense that he identifies as Māori but operates effectively in the company of Pākehā, adhering to Pākehā cultural norms and behaviours when in Pākehā contexts such that he becomes culturally indistinguishable from Pākehā. According to Royal (2003) and William (2000), Waka is someone who is ethnically Māori but defines themselves as a New Zealander or Kiwi. This is depicted in how he articulated the possible reversion of Hamilton to Kirikiriroa:

Waka: “If really necessary, I think we could rename it to Kirikiriroa- Hamilton because this shows that it was Kirikiriroa first before it became Hamilton. I don’t think we should get rid of the name Hamilton because even though some people claim he [Captain Hamilton] never stepped foot

²³ Major Māori language recovery programmes began in the 1980s. Since then, there has been an increasing awareness of the correct pronunciation of Māori words.

in Hamilton or that he [Captain Hamilton] is a murderer because of his involvement in the Land Wars, the European people who came here, back then, rebuilt Kirikiriroa and they named this place Hamilton, so it is their history that continues from Māori history. So, in my opinion, that makes Kirikiriroa-Hamilton a more inclusive city name that represents both Māori and Pākehā in Hamilton.”

However, I would like to add to this observation that Waka also denies the existence of a divisive Māori-Pākehā identity in New Zealand, rather he perceives a compromised relationship that reflects the integration of the two identities. He is interested only in “progressing the country for the benefit of all its residents”. Thus, he deems no identity as superior or inferior to the other, and that there is “no need to assert a Māori or a Pākehā identity”. And this, to him, is the New Zealand/Hamilton identity.

Waka: “In the world we [people in general] live in today, there must be some compromise. I don’t see Hamilton as Māori land nor do I see it as a Pākehā land. It [Hamilton] is part of New Zealand and if we [New Zealanders/Hamiltonians] want to progress with the rest of the world, we need to look beyond race, colour, culture and so on.”

Conversely, the term ‘Pākehā’ cannot be used to loosely represent all non-Māori. It suggests an acknowledgement of the importance of Māori culture; of honouring the Treaty of Waitangi and seeing it as a fundamental part of the construction of New Zealand’s cultural identity. This is described in my interviews with two Pākehā participants, who acknowledge the importance of giving Māori space to make Māori places. Moreover, being Pākehā is not a cultural identity, but rather a political identity which symbolises a commitment to biculturalism; a partnership that Pākehā have with Māori (Spoonley 1991). Consequently, the adoption of a Pākehā identity reflects an acceptance of social obligations and political commitments that involve sharing and/or conceding power to Māori (Spoonley 1991). This, I argue, encapsulates the Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship that features negotiations around ideas of culture, Māori identity and its naturalisation and which together distinguish a collective New Zealand identity in a Pākehā dominated society.

Sarah: “I think the sensitivity around Māori and Pākehā art sets within that context of the damage that has been done in colonial times. I think for Pākehā this is quite a hard thing to conceptualise. Because our [Pākehā] culture is so powerful, being everywhere. It's really hard to imagine what it would even look like to damage Pākehā culture. So, it's hard to relate to, you know. That's why I think we [Pākehā] should do our best to safeguard Māori interests and not intentionally provoke them.”

Katie: “I think there's still a lot of resentment and grievances where Māori lost a lot of lands and culture, so I guess it's time to make that right. Plus, we [non-Māori] get to learn more about the history and their [Māori] culture so it's a good thing that we have these public art that speaks about the place, history and people, rather than having something meaningless.”

Jack, alternately, feels that the, “Pākehā title comes with structural racism” because it depicts non-Māori as non-indigenous, as invaders of Māori land. Jack was adamant in his refusal to identify as Pākehā. During his interview, he referred to himself as a New Zealander or Kiwi and informed me not to use the term Pākehā to describe him. King (2000) describes how a Pākehā identity may be deployed by some to cast European settlers as a second indigenous people (King, 2000).

Jack: “Māori are conquerors too just like the British. If Māori people claim indigenous rights, I believe Europeans too should have those same rights... Looking at the mural (TKMK), I would have preferred it to be a mural about how Kirikiriroa progressed into Hamilton. This would depict the entire history that represents us all. History doesn't stop at one point. This mural (TKMK) only shows one timeline of history that ends at it being known as Kirikiriroa. It doesn't unify people, it is divisive.”

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I drew on interviews with research participants to analyse public art in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton. I discussed the concept of place marking, describing it as a means to assert either a colonial or ancestral legacy to mark two distinctive places; colonial and Māori places. This duality reflects a lack of ethnic diverse places in Hamilton, which is far cry from the city's regeneration strategy aspirations. And this place marking persists despite the existence of universal-themed artworks in the public sphere that continues to not be 'seen'.

A prominent feature of participants' narratives is how they made meaning out of artworks in the public sphere. Participants often linked the artworks to a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship and the country's colonial grievances. Non-Māori participants tended to generalise Māori culture and identity when commenting on Māori artworks. This is arguably a result of the assimilation and main streaming of Māori culture in the arts. It is also associated, in the context of Hamilton and the 1995 settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims with Waikato Tainui, with the subjugation of *hapū* to *iwi* identity.

According to Jarman (1998: 86), writing on Northern Ireland, when a community reclaims a public space through public art, it recreates the space as a politicised place that becomes an eminent feature of the "ideological struggle." During the course of my research, I found a few politicised spaces which have been colonised by art in Hamilton's CBD, and which either speak for or of an ideology. But I also realised something else; to a certain extent, there is a growing acceptance of Māori associated art created by non-Māori. There is also widespread support to remove any art from the public sphere that antagonises a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship. This accommodative relationship also demands the establishment of a positive spaces of interaction which includes the adoption of Māori words, trust, understanding, knowledge exchange, defined spaces of expression, culture and identity, resulting in a compromise or/and tolerance of the other. Universal places, while emergent in Hamilton, will remain invisible as long as issues surrounding a colonial binary discourse, such as the need to acknowledge the inter-generational trauma that Māori suffered and are still suffering, are prioritised if not resolved. In respect to the public arts realm, this includes recognising significant local *hapū* places through establishing appropriate artworks that depict their distinctive culture, identity and history. If public artworks that antagonise the local *hapū* continue to be installed, this will further deteriorate the fragile partnership and prevent a successful Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship from developing.

Chapter 5: Thesis Conclusion

A Reflection

I embarked on this research to uncover the kind of imagined community that exists in Hamilton as performed through public arts. Initially, I had no real understanding of the contentious issues surrounding the relationship between Māori and Pākehā and the magnitude of these. I had imagined a Hamiltonian community built on a shared history, rooted in Māori identity and culture. However, my findings highlight how the public art scene in Hamilton reflects the contradictions and complexities in post-colonial and post-colonised identity constructions. What is seen is not the same as what is observed. In a way, public art in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton can be understood as the employment of public artworks to mark places and assert either a colonial or ancestral legacy.

On the surface, as experienced through visual observation, Kirikiriroa/Hamilton has managed to portray historical Kirikiriroa through its public art and offer an abundance of universal-themed artworks to represent diverse voices. It is telling that forms of Māori public artworks did not arise sooner in the city's developmental trajectory. These works, emergent from the 1970s, are now arguably seen as representative of an ancestral legacy rather than of the city's identity. I have come to this conclusion because my research has identified that the perception of Māori culture as popular or even dominant in Hamilton only exists in an outsider's imaginings. In reality, resident-participants highlight how contemporary Māori artworks are observed as superficial representations of Māori culture and identity, while traditional Māori art forms like the *pou* and *marae*, are observed as artworks significant to its locality and the people—Ngāti Wairere and other *hapū*—who once occupied the city. These *pou* and *marae* are observed as a means to assert an ancestral legacy. Set against the historical background of a colonial settlement, public artworks with Māori ancestral associations can be interpreted as a power struggle against a colonial legacy. Participants highlight how Pākehā artworks that assert a colonial legacy are observed as structurally racist and work to antagonise a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship. As a result of this dominant discourse, other artworks that do not speak to a colonial and/or ancestral legacy become marginalised; universal-themed artworks become muted. These artworks remain un-observed because of the dominance of the bicultural discourse as reflected through Māori-themed and Pākehā artworks. Furthermore, multiculturalism is not a main thematic, nor a 'hot topic' in my Hamilton resident participants' narratives.

While I observed many universal-themed murals in Hamilton, none of the resident-participants mentioned these artworks in my interviews; it is as if such works do not exist in the consciousness of participants, offering little opportunity for engagement and reflection. The HPAP, HAA, and PADG documents, emphasised prioritising Māori art and one can find many Māori-themed sculptures, carvings and murals in distinctive places within the city centre. As I listened to my Māori participants, however, I understood that the existence of Māori-themed artworks promulgates a view for outsiders that Māori culture is popular if not dominant in Hamilton, yet this does not address the underlying issues of structural racism, superficial representations and the dilution of Māori culture through public arts. The dominant discourse in public arts, revealed in this research, is that it has a combination of colonial and ancestral features, with colonial place-making being contested. A lesser discourse relates to the desire for ethnic diverse place making which remains relatively underdeveloped.

Themes and Findings

The collective narrative of artists, art advocates and residents in this research reveal four overarching themes: 1) the public's resistance to the making of colonial places through public art, 2) Ngāti Wairere struggles to assert an ancestral legacy through public arts, 3) the need for ethnically diverse artworks to create and maintain ethnically diverse places, and 4) a yearning for a collective identity represented through public arts.

First, my interviews revealed that artworks depicting or asserting colonial legacy do not have a place in the public sphere as these antagonise the postcolonised and further perpetuate structural racism. A colonial legacy hampers the progress of a Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship, and therefore should be problematised. In the context of social representation, Pākehā art that asserts a colonial legacy can be seen as colonial propaganda; it emphasises incompatibility and conflict, being perceived as a symbol of oppression. It also places the residents of a post-colonial Hamilton in the position of being passive receivers of a legacy that undermines Māori.

Second, *wahi taonga* sites for Ngāti Wairere should be respected and any developments to these areas should involve consultation with and decision making from the *hapū* of concern, rather than regional *iwi*. Drawing on my research on public artworks in Hamilton and interviews with artists/art advocates and residents, it is clear that there are real tensions between the treaty partners as a consequence of colonisation, the loss of Māori lands and resources and ongoing and unsettled resentments. Specifically, in Hamilton

these grievances relate to the oppression of Ngāti Wairere artistic traditions and claims to place. This, I argue, is rooted in the dilution in public arts of Māori culture and identity; these become muddied and generalised in a Pākehā dominated world at the same time as Ngāti Wairere engage in an ongoing struggle to affirm their ancestral legacy.

Third, is the contradiction surrounding what is seen as compared to what is observed. Despite the existence of universal-themed artworks in Hamilton city centre, resident- participants fail to interact, engage and reflect on these artworks—they remain un-observed. While artworks in Hamilton’s public sphere aim for spatial enclosure of the city and imagine a multicultural space communicating an idyllic image of unity in diversity, this is an aspiration that remains under-achieved. Public arts that represent ethnic diversity and Hamilton’s multicultural society is almost non-existent. In fact, bicultural and monocultural narratives appear to dominate public arts in Hamilton with the purpose of invoking either a colonial legacy or ancestral legacy while the politics of multiculturalism continues to jockey for place (See Spoonley 1991; Liu 2005; O’Sullivan 2006). As such, without recognising and confronting the contingencies of colonisation, including a disruption to Māori ways of life, livelihoods, health and futures, a real engagement with other ethnic minorities in terms of fulfilling a multicultural agenda is likely to be unfeasible (Walker 2004). To complicate this, it is arguable that multiculturalism as a policy rests on the prior acceptance of Pākehā dominance, an acquiescence that Māori have long struggled against. Further, many non-Māori are ambiguous about a monocultural framework and indeed indicate a preference for multiculturalism as the lesser of two evils. Conversely, Māori grievances over the generational and multi-stranded effects of colonialism mobilises the assertion of an ancestral legacy and the prioritisation of bicultural rights (Spoonley 1991; Walker 2004; O’Sullivan 2006).

And lastly, when reflecting on these discourses, it does appear that participants yearn for a collective identity that is still a work in progress. Participants narratives surrounding public art suggests that there is strong support for reconciling a new Hamiltonian identity with ethnically diverse experiences that are less burdened by colonial history. The roles and functions of public artworks in Hamilton should include celebrating differences, reconciling groups, constructing and projecting identities, negotiating space and motivating belonging. As such, through artistic processes, these works have the potential to explore the actual sociospatial dimensions of evolving ethnoscaples that reveal either their localised tensions and/or aspirations. Thus, properly and appropriately managed, public artworks can aid in imagining an alternative narrative of solidarity and collective identity.

Colonisation of Art in the Public Sphere

While the city started off with the making of colonial places and the unmaking of Māori places, by the first decade of 21st century shifts became apparent as Hamilton's public sphere became populated by a variety of artworks. Three main issues are associated with this development: 1) the misrepresentation of local *hapū* caused by the generalisation of Māori art, identity, and culture, 2) the antagonising role of colonial places in public arts and, 3) the makings of ethnic diversified public arts.

A review of HCC's documents concerning public arts and urban regeneration efforts and strategies shows that it has aspired to highlight Ngāti Wairere *wahi taonga* sites through public arts. This is perceived as a means to define place attachments and further strengthen the Māori-Pākehā accommodative relationship. However, as revealed in the research interviews, these artworks are perceived to be superficial representations of the local *hapū*. It can be argued that, as urbanisation progressed, Hamilton city has taken steps to acknowledge the historical significance of its Māori heritage, yet this acknowledgement is wrought with misrepresentations, generalisations and power dynamics. I highlight that, while the initial 2010 HPAP was oriented towards recognising the history and culture of Kirikiriroa and its local *hapū*, some of the artworks produced misrepresent these concerns. Artworks which draw on Māori themes, subjects and styles, for instance, are not necessarily linked to the local *hapū* of the area. Arguably, this points to a broader generalisation of Māori culture and one which undermines the uniqueness of each *hapū*. Another observation relates to the political sensitivity of Māori art or of displaying an artwork that represents history during the early colonial era. An additional observation is that Māori art has, to a certain extent, evolved from a concern with spiritual context to a process of asserting identity and an ancestral legacy.

It is fair to say that in the last decade, HCC has made efforts to ensure a diversity of artworks are available in the public sphere. These comprise of universal-themed artworks, that unfortunately remain muted, signifying a hidden, underlying discourse. Furthermore, these universal-themed artworks are not representational of ethnic diversity which highlights the under-achieved aspiration of the city's urban regeneration strategies to portray its growing multicultural society and make ethnic diverse places. Perhaps, the lack of observance towards these artworks is the reason that the HCC 2020 document "Our Vision for Hamilton Kirikiriroa" only emphasised reflecting its multicultural population, omitting Māori art, which is a turnaround from its previous urban regeneration policies

(HCC 2020).

The expectation of public art, besides encouraging the public's appreciation of a particular place and aiding orientation, is to highlight the city's culture, style, thought, identity and history. These are either predetermined by the council's or the artist's own agenda(s) or are directed by the community for the community. Consequently, public art can sometimes be seen as a manifestation of political and/or cultural aspirations that intersect with the city's aestheticism. It is reasonable to assume that these works of art and the interpretations they evoke are not homogenous. Further, public art may be based on emergent ideas or a politics that has, as yet, minimal consensus. As such, public art can heighten our awareness or question our assumptions, and this may either encourage interaction or leave the audience in contemplation. Thus, public art is ontological in nature (Hein 2006) as it integrates its complex and contested content with its locality (Kwon 2004; Cartiere and Willis 2008).

My interview with Rob Garrett, has highlighted one issue that could potentially surface as a problem in the future, that is, the democratic processes of how and which artworks are selected and displayed in the public sphere. My research documenting the various public arts in Hamilton city centre has found the same artists producing multiple works over a number of years. In depth analysis of its potential repercussions and detrimental effects should be analysed in future research on public arts.

The cultural and political identity discourses observed in this research imply complex processes concerning how people construct and validate their identities, for instance, through avowing a self-image and/or accepting or rejecting ascribed images. Ascription processes are often employed in representations by appropriating specific features of the community, with the minority often receiving essentially negative ascriptions from the dominant culture (Howarth 2002; 2011). Often, cultural identity is cultivated through forms of representation such as signs, symbols and artistic techniques (Hall 1997; Langford 2003; McHugh 2009). Particularly, this research reveals how Pākehā art is employed to assert a colonial legacy, placing the residents of a post-colonial Hamilton in the position of being passive receivers of a legacy that undermines Māori.

A Summary

A concern in this thesis is to advocate for the establishment of defined spaces in which Māori cultural practices are normalised and for significant pre-colonial local *hapū* places to be recognised through public arts. It also advocates for the review of HCC's documents

relating to public arts and urban regeneration to include in depth research about significant local *hapū* sites and direct consultation with local *hapū* as a means to balance an over-emphasis on the aesthetics of its large regional *iwi*. This includes that local *hapū* be given decision making powers and appropriate funding to undertake these tasks. Such a management plan can only be developed in consultation and meaningful collaboration with the HCC, Nga Mana Toopu O Kirikiriroa and *Kaumātua* (elders) of Ngāti Wairere and not exclusively with Waikato Tainui, which is the current process (Creative Waikato 2014; HCC 2015). Kirikiriroa/Hamilton, understood as a public sphere and shared space, should as much as possible represent the significance of its history, culture and people. Public art, then, should not work to undermine the people who claim the site as part of their ancestral legacy. Essentially, this requires the removal of artworks that glorify or assert a colonial legacy. These actions ought to be undertaken before resources are dedicated to arts that promote cultural diversity.

Responsibility lies with the artists and city planners to compile and direct an appropriate process, which continually draws from the knowledge, and skills base that exists within the public. Transparency in decision making and planning is imperative to ensure a democratic process to how public artworks are decided upon and installed—with some meaningful form of public consultation—to generate a sense of long-term ownership from the public towards the artwork, long after its installation.

To summarise, the manner in which research participants relate to public art highlights the debate on ethnic relations that centres on unequal power dynamics between the Treaty partners. In public arts, however, what it is to be a Hamiltonian is not reflected and remains unclear. Hamilton's public artworks are simultaneously a performative act that superficially acknowledges Māori culture, identity and history, a reminder of a colonial binary discourse, an assertion of a Māori ancestral legacy and a celebration of a colonial legacy. My engagement with research participants, however, reveals an additional aspiration for ethnic/cultural diversity shaping a collective Hamiltonian identity through public arts. The multiple contradictions and contestations in public arts in Hamilton means that this art has not achieved its potential mobilising effect, that is, public arts in Hamilton do not stimulate or reflect a meaningful collective identity nor do they create an imagined community. Nevertheless, participants engagement with these artworks reveals that a yearning exists for a local collective identity, even if this is still a work in progress.

References

- Agnew, J.A. 1987: Place and Politics: the geographical mediation of state and society. *Progress in Human Geography - PROG HUM GEOGR.* 27. 605-614. 10.1191/0309132503ph451xx.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.
- Ballara, A (1998). *ITI: The dynamics of Māori and tribal organisations from c. 1769 to c. 1945.* NZ: Victoria University Press
- Bell, A. (1996) “We’re Just New Zealanders”: Pakeha Identity Politics. In Paul Spoonley, Cluny Macpherson and David Pearson. (Eds.) *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, pp. 144-158.
- Bell, A. (2004). “Relating Māori and Pākehā: The politics of indigenous and settler identities.” Doctoral dissertation, Massey University, Palmerston North NZ.
- Bell, C. (1996) *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity.* Auckland: Penguin.
- Benoit, O. (2011). The question of national identity and the institutionalisation of the visual arts in Grenada. *Nations and Nationalism*, 17(3), 561–580. doi: 10.1111/j.1469- 8129.2011.00499.x
- Berger, T. (2016). *Place, Imaginary and Identity: Place ethnography in Truth or Consequences, New Mexico.* Dissertation: University of New Mexico.
- Bergold, J. & Thomas, S. (2012). Participatory research methods: A methodological approach in motion. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 13(1), Art. 30, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-13.1.1801>
- Bessant, K. C. (2018). *The Relational Fabric of Community.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Biggs, B. (1988). The Word “Pakeha”: Where it Comes From, What it Means. *Te Iwi O Aotearoa*,14:19.
- Bishop, E.C. and Shepherd, M.L. (2011). Ethical reflections: examining reflexivity through the narrative paradigm. *Qualitative Health Research* 21(9): 1283–1294.
- Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18(1), 1-21
- Boast, R. (2008). Te tango whenua – Māori land alienation - Raupatu – confiscations', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* retrieved 22 August 2020 from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-tango-whenua-maori-land-alienation/page-4>

- Borghini, S., Visconti, L. M., Anderson L., & Sherry, J. F. (2010) Symbiotic Postures of Commercial Advertising and Street Art, *Journal of Advertising*, 39:3, 113-126.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*. London: Routledge.
- Broughton, J. (1993). Being Māori. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 106(968), 506-508.
- Bracelli, P. (1 July 2020). Black Lives Matter, what statues have been removed and why. Lifegate. Retrieved 2 July 2020 from <https://www.lifegate.com/black-lives-matter-statues>
- Brown, Ruth. (1989). Maori Spirituality as Pakeha Construct. *Meanjin*, 48(2):252-258.
- Callon, M. (2001). Actor Network Theory. 10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/03168-5.
- Callister, P. (2011). Attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand: Asking the wrong questions, getting the wrong answers? Paekakariki NZ: Callister & Associates.
- Campbell, B. (2003) *Mexican Murals in Times of Crisis*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Cant, S., & Morris, N. (2006). Geographies of art and the environment. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 7(6), 857–861.
- Carbaugh, D. (2007). Cultural Discourse Analysis: The investigation of communication practices with special attention to intercultural encounters. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 36: 167–82
- Carey, P. (2004). Community development through participatory arts: Lessons learned from a community arts and regeneration project in South Liverpool. *Community Development Journal*, 39(2), 123–134. doi: 10.1093/cdj/39.2.123
- Cartiere, C., & Willis, S. (Eds.). (2008). *The Practice of Public Art* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203926673>
- Cartiere, C. (2010). Re/placing public art: The role of place-specificity in new genre public art.
- Clair, J. M., & Wasserman, J. (2007). Qualitative methods. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Collins, H. (1999). Nga Tangata Awarua: The Joys and Pain of Being Both Maori and Pakeha. *N.O.H.A.N.Z. Journal*, 13:1-5.
- Colombo, M. (2003). Reflexivity and narratives in action research: A discursive approach. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 4(2), Art.

9, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-4.2.718>.

- Coombes, A. E. (1991) *Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities*. In Susan Hiller. (Ed.) *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*. New York & London: Routledge, pp. 189-214.
- Cosgrove, D., & Daniels, S. (Eds.). (1988). *The iconography of landscape. Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Court, D. and Abbas, R. (2013). Whose interview is it, anyway? Methodological and ethical challenges of insider-outsider research, multiple languages, and dual-researcher cooperation. *Qualitative Inquiry* 19(6): 480–488. Saarbrücken: VDMVerlag Dr. Müller
- Chalmers, F. G. (1999). Cultural Colonialism and Art Education: Eurocentric and Racist Roots of Art Education. *Art, Culture, and Pedagogy*, pp. 37-46
- Chakravathy, S. and Chan, F. H. (2016). Imagining Shared Space: Multivalent Murals in New Ethnic “-Towns” of Los Angeles. *Space and Culture*, Vol. 19(4) 406–420
- Creative Waikato (2014). *Waikato Creative Infrastructure Plan: Summary Document* (August 2014). Retrieved 2 April 2020 from <https://creativewaikato.co.nz/sites/default/files/waikato-creative-facilities-plan-summary-doc-2-.pdf>
- Creative Waikato (2015). *Contemporary Public Art Gallery - Discussion Paper*. Retrieved 7 April 2020 from <https://creativewaikato.co.nz/sites/default/files/art-gallery-discussion-paper.pdf>
- Creative Waikato (n.d). *Arts and Cultural Ecosystem in the Waikato*. Retrieved 7 April 2020 from <https://creativewaikato.co.nz/sites/default/files/Creative%20Waikato%20Ecosystem%20Map.pdf>
- Creative Waikato. (n.d.). *Te Koopuu Mural Project: Artist's Brief*. *Te Koopuu Mural Project: Artist's Brief*. Hamilton City, Waikato.
- Crehan, K. (2011). *Community art: an anthropological perspective*. Oxford: Berg.
- Dale, J. (2014). Art, Expression, Perception and Intentionality, *Journal of Aesthetics and Phenomenology*, 1:1, 63-90, DOI: 10.2752/20539339XX14005942183973
- Dansey, H. (1963). *The Māori in Colour*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed
- Dansey, H. (1966) ‘Maori artists make mark as professionals.’ *Auckland Star*, 3 Mahuru

- Davis, F.T. (1976) 'Maori art and artists.' *Education* 9
- Day, P. & Day, G. (1986). *A Picture Book of Old Waikato*. Auckland, NZ: Benton Ross Publishers.
- Denzin, N. K. (1997). *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. (2001). The reflexive interview and performative social science. *Qualitative Research*, 1(1), 23-46.
- Dixon, John, and Kevin D. (2004). "Dislocating Identity: Desegregation and the Transformation of Place." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 24(4) (December): 455–473.
- Durie, A. (1997). Te aka matua. Keeping a Māori identity. In P. Te Whāiti, M. McCarthy & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i Rangiātea. Māori wellbeing and development* (pp. 142-162). Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books.
- Durie, M. H. (1998). *Te mana, Te kawanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (2003). Contemporary Māori development: Issues and broad directions. In M. H. Durie (Ed.), *Ngā Kāhui Pou: Launching Māori Futures* (pp. 87-104). Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- During, S. (1985). 'Postmodernism or postcolonialism', *Landfall* 155, 39, 3
- Dwyer, S. C & Buckle, J. L (2009). The Space Between: on being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Vol 8(1): 54-63
- Early, L., Howden-Chapman, P. And Russell, M. (2015). *Drivers of Urban Change* (eds). Wellington: Steele Roberts.
- Elliker, Florian & Coetzee, Jan & Kotzes, P.C. (2013). On the Interpretive Work of Reconstructing Discourses and Their Local Contexts. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*. 14.
- Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. (2000). Auto-ethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity. In N. K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp.733- 767). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Eisner, E. (2008). Art and knowledge. In J. G. Knowles & A. L. Cole (Eds.), *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* (pp. 3–12). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Esin, C., Fathi, M., & Squire, C. (2014). Narrative analysis: The constructionist approach. In Uwe Flick (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp.203-217).

London: Sage.

Eyck, T.A & Dona-Reveco, C. (2016) Reporting on Art in the City: Newspaper Coverage of Public Art in Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Chicago, 2001–2010, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 38:4, 518-529, DOI: 10.1111/juaf.12242

Facebook Post of Hamilton City Council (25 January 2020). Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/117930708298273/posts/2806129616145022/?d=n>

Feld, S. and Basso, K. H. (1996). *Senses of Place*. USA: School of American Research Press.

Ferrell, J. (1995). Urban Graffiti: Crime, Control, and Resistance. *Youth & Society*, 27(1), 73–92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X95027001005>

Finklepearl, T. (2000). Dialogue in Public Arts. https://stuy.enschool.org/stuycube/articles/Dialogues_in_Public_Art.pdf

Fleras A. (2009) Contesting Governances in Aotearoa New Zealand: Monoculturalism, Biculturalism, Multiculturalism, and Binationalism. In: *The Politics of Multiculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230100121_6

Folgarait, L. (1986). Murals and marginality in Mexico city: the case of Tepito Arte Acá. *Art History*, 9: 55-72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8365.1986.tb00228.x>

Finley, S. (2008). Arts-based research, In G. Knowles & A. Cole (Eds.) *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples & issues* (pp.71–82). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Gagné, N. (2013). *Being Māori in the City: Indigenous Everyday Life in Auckland*. (Vol. 41). University of Toronto Press

Gergen, K. J. & Gergen, M. M. (2015). Social construction and research as action. In Hilary Bradbury (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of action research* (pp.401-408). London: Sage.

Gibbons, P. (1977). *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton*. Hamilton, NZ: Whitcoulls Limited for Hamilton City Council.

Goldsmith, M. (2005). “Translated Identities, ‘Pākehā as Subjects of the Treaty of Waitangi.” *Sites*. 2(2): 64–82.

Greaves L. M, Houkamau C. A, Sibley C. G. (2015). Māori identity signatures: A latent profile analysis of the types of Māori identity. *Cultural Diversity Ethnic Minor Psychology*. 21(4):541–549.

Greenland, H. (1991). Māori ethnicity as ideology. In P. Spoonley, D. Pearson, & C. Macpherson (Eds.), *Nga Take: Ethnic relations and racism in Aotearoa/New*

- Zealand. (pp. 90-107). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd.
- Grodach, C. (2009). Art spaces, public space, and the link to community development. *Community Development Journal*, 45(4), 474–493. doi: 10.1093/cdj/bsp018
- Hakiwai, A. T (1996). 'Chapter Three.' D.C.Starzecka. (ed.) *Maori Art and Culture*. London.
- Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. G. (1997). *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. Anthropology Cultural Studies. University of California Press.
- Hall, S. (1997). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 13-75). London, UK: Sage Publications
- Hall, T. (2003). Opening up public art's spaces: Art, regeneration and audience. In M. Miles (Ed.), *Cultures and settlements: Advances in art and urban futures* (pp. 49–57). Bristol: Intellect.
- Hall, T., & Robertson, I. (2001). Public art and urban regeneration: Advocacy, claims and critical debates. *Landscape Research*, 26(1), 5–26
- Hall, T., & Smith, S. (2005). Public art in the city: Meanings, values, attitudes and roles. In M. Miles & T. Hall (Eds.), *Interventions. Advances in art and urban futures* (pp. 175–179). Bristol: Intellect.
- Hamilton City Council (nd). Learning About Hamilton. Retrieved 7 July 2020 from <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-city/abouthamilton/learning%20about%20hamilton/Pages/default.aspx>
- Hamilton City Council (2001). Miropiko Reserve Management Plan. Retrieved 8 July 2020 from <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-city/parks/parksandgardens/Documents/Miropiko%20Reserve%20-%20Reserves%20Act%20Management%20Plan%20-%20Operative%20-%20April%202001.PDF>
- Hamilton City Council (2003) Nga Tapuwae O Hotumauea: Māori landmarks in riverside reserves Management Plan. Retrieved 4 April 2020 from <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/ourcity/parks/parksandgardens/Documents/Maori%20Landmarks%20on%20Riverside%20Reserves%20-%20Nga%20Tapuwae%20O%20Hotumauea%20-%20Reserves%20Act%20Management%20Plan%20-%20Operative%20-%20April%202003.pdf>
- Hamilton City Council (2004). Hamilton Community Plan. Retrieved 7 April 2020 from <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-council/10-year-plan/former-10-year-plans/>

Documents/Final%202004-14%20Volume%201.PDF

Hamilton City Council (2010). Hamilton Public Arts Plan 2010-2020. Retrieved 2 April 2020 from <http://www.robgarrettcfa.com/gallery/for-post/84>.

Hamilton City Council (2012). Hamilton City Operative District Plan. Retrieved 2 April 2020, from <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-council/council-publications/districtplans/ODP/Replies%20to%20Commissioners%20Questions/Chapter%201%20Plan%20Overview%20-%20ODP%20-%20Tangata%20Whenua.PDF>

Hamilton City Council (2015a). Hamilton Arts Agenda. Retrieved 2 April 2020 from <https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-city/artsandculture/Documents/Arts%20Agenda%20-%202015-11-03.pdf>

Hamilton City Council (2015b). Hamilton Public Art Plan And Development Guide. Retrieved 2 April 2020, from https://www.hamilton.govt.nz/our-city/artsandculture/Documents/Public_Art_Dev_Guide_FINAL.PDF

Hamilton City Council (2020). Our Vision For Hamilton Kirikiriroa. Retrieved 3 November 2020 from <https://indd.adobe.com/view/6127dbd0-1a87-4fad-96ae-fefd42775c88>

Harvey, D. (2005). "The Sociological and Geographical Imaginations." *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society* 18(3/4): 211–255.

Hauraki, F. R. (2019). Lost in Wonderland: Policy Education and Māori Realities. Dissertation: AUT.

Hay, R. B. (1990). Sense of place: Cross-cultural perspectives from Banks Peninsula, New Zealand. Unpublished PhD, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Hay, R. (1998). Sense of place in a developmental context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 18: 5–29.

Hayden, D. (1995). *The power of place : Urban landscapes as public history*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hein, H. (2006). *Public Art: Thinking Museums Differently*. Lanham, MD: Mira Press

Henare M. (1988). *Ngā tikanga me ngā ritenga o te ao Māori: standards and foundations of Māori society*. Wellington: Royal Commission on Social Policy.

Henare M. (2001). Tapu, mana, mauri, hau, wairua. A Māori philosophy of vitalism and cosmos. In: Grimm J, editor. *Indigenous traditions and ecology: the interbeing of cosmology and community*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press for the Centre for the Study of World Religions; p. 197–221.

Hobsbawm, E. (2012) *The Invention of Traditions*. Cambridge University Press; Reissue

edition (March 26, 2012)

- Höijer, B. (2011). Social Representations Theory. *Nordicom Review*. 32. 10.1515/nor-2017-0109.
- Houkamau, C.A., & Sibley, C. G. (2010). The Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 39(1), 8-28.
- Houkamau, C.A., & Sibley, C. G. (2015). The revised Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2). *Soc Indic Res*. 122(1):279–296.
- Houkamau, C.A., Stronge, S. & Sibley, C. G. (2017). The prevalence and impact of racism toward indigenous Māori in New Zealand. *Int Perspect Psychol*. 6(2):61–80.
- Howarth, C. (2002). Using the theory of social representations to explore difference in the research relationship. *Qualitative Research*. 21. 10.1177/1468794102002001637.
- Howarth C. (2011) Representations, Identity, and Resistance in Communication. In: Hook D., Franks B., Bauer M.W. (eds) *The Social Psychology of Communication*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230297616_8
- Hummon, D. H. (1992). “Community attachment: Local sentiment and sense of place”. In *Place attachment*, Edited by: Altman, I. and Low, S. M. 253–278. New York: Plenum Press.
- Intellectual Property Office New Zealand. (n.d). <https://www.iponz.govt.nz/>
- Ismar, S. (2014). Collective emotions and the imagined national community. *Understanding Collective Pride and Group Identity*, 137–148.
- Jackson, M. (1993). “Land Loss and the Treaty of Waitangi.” In *Te Ao Marama: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*, ed. Witi Ihimaera. Auckland: Reed.
- Kawharu M. (2000). Kaitiakitanga: a Māori anthropological perspective of the Māori socio-environmental ethic of resource management. *J Polynesian Soc*. 109(4):349–370.
- Kawharu, M (2001). Local Māori Development and Government Policies. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 16, pp. 1-16.
- Kester, G. H. (2004). *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- King, M. (1985) *Being Pakeha: An Encounter With New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance*. Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton.
- King, M. (1999) *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native*. Auckland: Penguin.

- King, M. (2000) *Moriori: A People Rediscovered*. Auckland: Viking.
- Kingsley, M. (2007) "Art and Identity: the Creation of an 'Imagined Community' in India," *Global Tides*: Vol. 1, Article 2.
- Kohler R. C. (2012). Analysis of personal narratives. In Jaber F. Gubrium, James A. Holstein, Amir B. Marvasti & Karyn D. McKinney (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft* (pp.367-381). London: Sage.
- Kwon, M.W.. (2004). *One Place After Another Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*. MIT Press.
- Kyle, G. T., & Chick, G. (2007). The social construction of a sense of place. *Leisure Sciences*, 29(3), 209-225.
- Lai, J. C. (2010). *Māori Culture in the Modern World: Its Creation, Appropriation and Trade* (September 2010). I-CALL Working Paper No. 2, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1961482> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1961482>
- Landi, P. J. (2012). "Public Art - Purpose and Benefits: Exploring Strategy in the New England City of Pittsfield, Ma". Masters Theses. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/theses/840>
- Langford, J. M. (2003). Cultural Encounters: Representing "Otherness.":Cultural Encounters: Representing "Otherness.". *American Anthropologist*, 105(2), 419–420. doi: 10.1525/aa.2003.105.2.419
- Lash, W. F. "Iconography and Iconology." In *Grove Art Online*. Oxford Art Online, 2007-2014. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T039803>
- Lerner, R. (2016). Venture Philanthropy for the Arts, for Innovation. *Stanford Social Innovation Review: Arts and Culture*. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/venture_philanthropy_for_the_arts_for_innovation.
- Lee, J. BJ. (2013) *Marae a-kura: Tracing the birth of marae in schools*. *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, 2, 3-11. Retrieved from nzcerpress/set/articles/marae-kura-tracing-birth-marae-schools
- Lee, J. (2016). *Marae-ā-kura: A culturally specific decolonising strategy*. In J. Hutchings & J. Lee (Eds.), *Decolonisation in Aotearoa: Education, research and practice*, Wellington: NZCER Press.
- Leonard, R. (1991) *Against Purity: Three Word Sculptures by Michael Parekowhai*. *Art New Zealand* 59. Winter.

- Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., & Teaiwa, T. (2005). Introduction: Constructing New Zealand identities. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh & T. Teaiwa (Eds.), *New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press
- Loeffler, T. A. (2004). A photo elicitation study of the meanings of outdoor adventure experiences. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 36(4), 536-556.
- Lossau, J. & Stevens, Q. (2014). The Uses of Art in Public Space. 10.4324/9781315757018.
- Low, S. (2016). Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place. 10.4324/9781315671277.
- Low, S. M. & Altman, I. (1992). Place attachment: A conceptual inquiry. In Altman, I., and Low, S.M. (Eds.), *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 1–12.
- Lowe, S. S. (2000). Creating Community. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 29(3), 357– 386. doi: 10.1177/089124100129023945
- MacDonald, D. B. (2016). Do We Need Kiwi Lessons in Biculturalism? Considering the Usefulness of Aotearoa/New Zealand's Pākehā Identity in Re-Articulating Indigenous Settler Relations in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique*49:4 (December / décembre 2016) 643–664doi:10.1017/S0008423916000950
- Maclean, M. (1996). The Silent Centre: Where are Pakeha in Biculturalism? *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*. 10. 108-120. 10.1080/10304319609365727.
- Makka, R. (1994). The New Tribe: Conflicts and Continuities in the Social Organization of Urban Maori. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6(2)
- Makka, R. and Augie F. (2000). “Engaging with Indigeneity: Tino Rangatiratanga in Aotearoa.” In *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, ed. Duncan Ivison, Paul Patton and Will Sanders. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manzo, L. C. (2005). For better or worse: Exploring multiple dimensions of place meaning. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(1), 67-86.
- Marschall, S. (2008). Transforming Symbolic Identity: Wall Art and the South African City. *African Arts*, 41(2), 12-23. Retrieved May 10, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20447882>
- Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*. London: Sage

- Mather, M. (3 October 2019). Country's biggest mural on way for the Wintec Wall? Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/arts/116291675/countrys-biggest-mural-on-way-for-the-great-grey-wall-of-hamilton>
- McCarthy, C. (2007). *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*. Wellington, NZ: Te Papa Press.
- McCormack, F. (2011). Rāhui: A blunting of teeth. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 120(1), 43-55.
- McCormack, F. (2018). Indigenous settlements and market environmentalism: An untimely coincidence?. In D. Howard-Wagner, M. Bargh, & I. Altamirano-Jimenez (Eds.), *The Neoliberal State, Recognition and Indigenous Rights: New paternalism to new imaginings* (pp. 273-291). ANU Press.
- McCormack, F. (2020). Precarity, Indigeneity and the Market in Māori Fisheries. *Public Anthropologist*, 2(1), 82-126.
- McHugh, K. (2009). Movement, memory, landscape: An excursion in non-representational thought. *GeoJournal*, 74(3), 209-218
- Mead, H. M. (1996) 'Maori art restructured, reorganised, re-examined and reclaimed.' *He Pukenga Korero* 2, no. 1. Retrieved 16 July 2020 from [massey/fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/Maori/2_1%20Mead%20Maori%20art%20restructured%20reorganised%20reexamined%20and%20reclaimed.PDF](https://massey.fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences/Maori/2_1%20Mead%20Maori%20art%20restructured%20reorganised%20reexamined%20and%20reclaimed.PDF)
- Mead, H. M. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: living by Māori values*, Revised ed. Wellington: Huia.
- Mead, L. T. T. R. (1996). *Ngā aho o te kākahu mātauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Maori in education*. Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.
- Mead, S. M., Sullivan, A., Simmons, D. R., Salmond, A. Kernot, B. and Sciascia, P. (1984). *Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections by Sydney Moko Mead* (Ed). New York: Harry N. Abrahams, Inc.
- Mello, R. A. (2002). Collocation analysis: A method for conceptualizing and understanding narrative data. *Qualitative Research*, 2(2), 231-243.
- Metge, J. (2014). *New growth from old: The whanau in the modern world*. Victoria University Press.

- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Mero-Jaffe, I. (2011) 'Is that what I said?' Interview transcript approval by participants: an aspect of ethics in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 10(3): 231–247.
- MESH Sculpture (n.d). About. <https://meshsculpture.org.nz/about>
- MESH Sculpture (2020a) Tongue of the Dog. <https://meshsculpture.org.nz/project/tongue-of-the-dog>
- MESH Sculpture (2020b) Te tatau ki Kirikiriroa. <https://meshsculpture.org.nz/project/te-tatau-ki-kirikiriroa>.
- Miles, M. (1989). *Art For Public Places: Critical Essays*, Winchester School of Art Press.
- Miles, M. (2005). Interruptions: Testing the rhetoric of culturally led urban development. *Urban Studies* 42, (5), 889-911.
- Miller, D. (2008). Migration, Material Culture and Tragedy: Four Moments in Caribbean Migration, *Mobilities*, 3:3, 397-413, DOI: 10.1080/17450100802376712
- Miller, N. (2012). Te Taiho O Matariki (The inner radiance if Pleiades). Retrieved from [https:// www.neilmiller.co.nz/sculpture#17](https://www.neilmiller.co.nz/sculpture#17)
- Mikaere, A. (2011). *Colonizing Myths Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro*. Wellington: Huia.
- Mika, J. (2013). What is the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship? A doctoral study of Māori entrepreneurs of Aotearoa New Zealand. *Meiji Business Review*. 60. 137-160.
- Mohatt, N.V., Singer, J.B., Evans, A.C. (2013). A Community's Response to Suicide Through Public Art: Stakeholder Perspectives from the *Finding the Light Within* Project. *Am J Community Psychol* 52, 197–209. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/10.1007/s10464-013-9581-7>
- Moscovici, S. (2000) *Social Representations. Explorations in Social Psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Moss, K. L. (2010) Cultural Representation in Philadelphia Murals: Images of Resistance and Sites of Identity Negotiation, *Western Journal of Communication*, 74:4, 372-395, DOI: 10.1080/10570314.2010.492819
- Murray, M., & Crummett, A. (2018). *Combating social exclusion through community arts*.

- Neilson, M. (12 June 2020). "George Floyd protests: Hamilton City Council remove controversial Captain statue". *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved 12 June 2020 from <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/george-floyd-protests-hamilton-city-council-remove-controversial-captain-statue/DDYSA4NW37A7I2HQD6AW5VODI4/>.
- Morris, N.J & Cant, S. J. (2006) Engaging with place: artists, site- specificity and the Hebden Bridge Sculpture Trail, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 7:6, 863-888, DOI: 10.1080/14649360601055805
- O'Sullivan, D. (2007). *Beyond Biculturalism: The Politics of an Indigenous Minority*. Auckland: Huia.
- O'Sullivan D. (2008). Redefining Māori economic development. *Int J Soc Econ*. 35(5):364– 379
- Orange, C. (1987). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin.
- Our Hamilton. (9 December 2019). Artists revealed for Aotearoa's largest mural. Retrieved from <https://ourhamilton.co.nz/culture-events/artists-revealed-for-aotearoas-largest-mural/>
- Owen, M. (2004). 'Protecting Indigenous Signs and Trade Marks -The New Zealand Experiment'. *Intellectual Property Quarterly*, 1, pp. 58-84
- Panofsky, E. (1974). *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Overlook Press, T.H.E.
- Patterson, M. E., & Williams, D. R. (2005). Maintaining research traditions on place: Diversity of thought and scientific progress. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(4), 361- 380.
- Pearson, D and Ongley, P. (1997). Multiculturalism and biculturalism: The recent New Zealand experience in comparative perspective. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 17: 5–28.
- Pearson, D. (2009). "The 'Majority Factor': Shaping Chinese and Māori Minorities." In *The Dragon and the Taniwha*, ed. Manying Ip. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Pelowski M., Markey P. S., Lauring J. O., Leder H. (2016). Visualizing the impact of art: an update and comparison of current psychological models of art experience. *Front. Hum. Neurosci.* 10:160. 10.3389/fnhum.2016.00160

- Phillips, D. C. (1994). Telling it straight: Issues in assessing narrative research. *Educational Psychologist*, 29(1), 13.
- Poata-Smith, E. S. (1996). "He Pokeke Uenuku i Tu Ai: The Evolution of Contemporary Māori Protest." In *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, ed. Paul Spoonley, Cluny MacPherson and David Peterson. Palmerston North: Dunmore.
- Poata-Smith, E. S. (2013). "Inequality and Māori." In *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis*, ed. Max Rashbrooke. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Pollock, K. (2014) 'Public and street art - Public art', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved 22 August 2020 from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/mi/public-and-street-art/page-1>
- Puke, W. (2011) *River Road: Journeys through ecology*. *Rim Books & PhotoForum* issue 80, pp.67-90. Retrieved 7 June 2020 from <http://researcharchive.wintec.ac.nz/1610/15/River%2DRoad%20pp50%2D92.pdf>
- Quay, J. (2003). Experience and participation: Relating theories and learning. *Journal of Experiential Education*, 26(2), 105-112.
- Rabe, M. (2003) Revisiting 'insider' and 'outsider' as social researchers. *African Social Review* Vol 7(2): 149-161
- Rashbrooke, M. (2013). "Introduction." In *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis*, ed. Max Rashbrooke. Wellington: Bridget Williams.
- Reese, A. (2013). Reconciliation and the Quest for Pākehā Identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. <https://flintandsteelmag.com/article/reconciliation-colonisation-and-identity-in-aotearoa-new-zealand/>
- Reid J, and Rout, M. (2016). Māori tribal economy: rethinking the original economic institutions. In: Anderson TL, editor. *Unlocking the wealth of Indian nations*. Lanham (MD): Lexington Books; p. 84–103.
- Remesar, A. (2005). *Urban Regeneration: A challenge for public arts* (ed). Barcelona: PublicacionsDe La Universitat De Barcelona.
- Richardson, L. (2001). Getting personal: Writing stories. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 14(1), 33-38.
- Richardson, L., & St. Pierre, E. A. (2005). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp.

- 959- 978). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Risk, L. (29 February 2012) Modern twist for Wintec marae. *Waikato Times*. Retrieved 2 July 2020 from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/news/6489666/Modern-twist-for-Wintec-marae>
- RNZ (12 June 2020). Controversial statue of Captain John Hamilton has been removed. Retrieved 12 June 2020 from <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/418833/controversial-statue-of-captain-john-hamilton-has-been-removed>
- Robinson, J. (2012). *When Two Cultures Meet: The New Zealand Experience*. Wellington, NZ: Tross Publishing.
- Rose, G. (1997). Spatialities of ‘community’, power and change: The imagined geographies of community arts projects. *Cultural Studies*, 11(1), 1–16. doi: 10.1080/09502389700490011
- Sharp, J., Pollock, V., & Paddison, R. (2005). Just art for a just city: Public art and social inclusion in urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6), 1001–1023
- Selwood, S. (1995). *The benefits of public art: the polemics of permanent art in public places*. London: Policy Studies Institute
- Sibley, Chris and Liu. (2007). “New Zealand=bicultural? Implicit and Explicit Associations between Ethnicity and Nationhood in the New Zealand context.” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37 (6): 1222–43.
- Simpson, P. (2011). Art and national identity in New Zealand. *Oxford Art Online*. doi: 10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.t2214418
- Sissons, J. (1993). The systematisation of tradition: Māori culture as a strategic resource. *Oceania*, 64(2), 97-116
- Slaven, M. D. (2012) Relational Art and the Appropriation of the Public Sphere. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences* Vol. 5(6) : 613-618
- Sparkes, A. C. (1995). Writing people: Reflections on the dual crises of representation and legitimation in qualitative research. *Quest*, 44, 158-195.
- Spoonley, P. (1978). Inciting racial disharmony in New Zealand. *New Community*, 7(1), 111–113.
- Spratt, A. (12 March 2006). "'Boring' Hamilton: wish you were here?". *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved 7 April 2020 from <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/boring-hamilton-wish-you-were-here/YL35JFSVV7QZA7BT5NZXMU2ORY>

- Statistics New Zealand. (2020). Māori population estimates: At 30 June 2018. Retrieved 11 August 2020 from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/Māori-population-estimates-at-30-june-2018>.
- Statistics New Zealand (2020). 2018 Census place summary: Hamilton City Population Estimate tables. Retrieved 22 October 2020 from <http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE7979>
- Stedman, R. C. (2003). Is it really just a social construction?: The contribution of the physical environment to sense of place. *Society & Natural Resources* 16(8), 671-685.
- Stephenson, J. (2010). Patina: People and place in Akaroa. In J. Stephenson, M. Abbott & J. Ruru (Eds.), *Beyond the scene: Landscape and identity in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 137-150). Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press.
- Stewart, A. (2008). Whose place, whose history? Outdoor environmental education pedagogy as 'reading' the landscape. *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning*, 8(2), 79-98.
- Stokowski, P. A. (2002). Languages of place and discourses of power: Constructing new senses of place. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 34, 368–382
- Swales, P. (1992b) Approaches, in: Jones, S. (Ed.) *Art in Public: what, why and how*, pp. 63– 77(Sunderland, AN Publications).
- Swarbrick, N. (2010) Waikato place - Hamilton Te Are - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved 7 July 2020 from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/waikato-places/page-7>
- Taonui, R. (2011). 'Ngā tuakiri hōu – new Māori identities', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-tuakiri-hou-new-maori-identities/print>
- Te Puni Kōkiri. (2006). Hei whakamārama i ngā āhuatanga o te tūrua pō – investigating key Māori business characteristics for future measures: thinking paper.
- Thomas, N. (1995). A Second Reflection: Presence and Opposition in Contemporary Maori Art. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1(1), 23-46. doi:10.2307/3034227
- Tomlins-Jahnke, H., & Durie, A. (2008). Whānau socialisation through everyday talk. A pilot study. Wellington: The Families Commission. Retrieved 8 August 2020 from <http://www.nzfamilies.org.nz/research/wh%C4%81nau-socialisation-through>

everyday

TOTI (n.d). TOTI Story. <https://www.toti.co.nz/the-toti-story>

Trust Waikato (n.d) About Us. <https://www.trustwaikato.co.nz/about-trust-waikato>

Tuan, Y. F. (1977). *Space and place*. London, UK: Arnold.

Tuan, Y. F. (1990). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes and values*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1991). Language and the making of place: A narrative-descriptive approach. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 81, 684-696.

Twigger-Ross, C. L., & Uzzell, D. L. (1996). Place and identity processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16(3), 205-220.

Vanclay, F. (2008). Place matters. In F. Vanclay, M. Higgins & A. Blackshaw (Eds.), *Making sense of place*. Canberra, Australia: National Museum of Australia.

Vasil, R. (1990). *What Do The Māori Want? New Māori Political Perspectives*. Auckland, NZ: Random Century New Zealand Ltd.

Veracini L. (2010) Introduction: The Settler Colonial Situation. In: *Settler Colonialism*. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230299191_1

Wagner, W. (1996). Queries about Social Representation and Construction. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 26: 95-120. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1996.tb00524.x>

Walker, R.J. (1979). *Urban Māori: He matapuna - a source: Some Māori perspectives*. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Planning Council.

Walker, R. (1989b). Māori Identity. In Novitz and Willmott. (Eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (pp 35-52). Wellington, New Zealand: Government Printer.

Walker, R. (1989b). 'The Treaty of Waitangi as the Focus of Māori Protest.' In *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, ed. I.H. Kawharu. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Walker, R. (1990a). "The Māori people: Their political development." In *New Zealand Politics in Perspective*, ed. Hyam Gold. 2nd ed. Auckland: Longman Paul.

Walker, R. (1990b). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Walker, R. (2004) *Struggle Without End*. New Zealand: Penguin

- Ward, Colleen and James H. Liu. (2012). "Ethno-cultural conflict in Aotearoa/New Zealand." In *Handbook of Ethno-Cultural Conflict*, ed. Dan Landis and Rosita D. Albert. New York: Springer.
- Wareka, Mona-Lisa (2020). *Te Mauri o te Kaitiaki-Exploring Te Ao Māori in environmental relations and kaitiakitanga in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Dissertation. The University of Waikato.
- Watson, A. (2014). *Hamilton Public Art: A guide to sculpture, mural, carvings and installation*. Retrieved 2 April 2020 from <https://issuu.com/mediarts/docs/hamiltonpublicart>
- Way, A, Zwier, RK, Tracy, S (2015) Dialogic interviewing and flickers of transformation: an examination and delineation of interactional strategies that promote participant self- reflexivity. *Qualitative Inquiry* 21(8): 720–731.
- Weber, J. P. (2004). "Politics and Practice of Public Art: Whose Murals Get Saved?" Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute. Retrieved 7 April 2020, from gci_pubs/politics_community_art.
- Williams DV. (2007). Māori social identification and colonial extinguishments of customary rights in New Zealand. *Social Identities*. 13(6):735–749.
- WINTEC (n.d). A history of the land on which our city campus sits. (n.p) [Document provided by Paul Bradley, Creative Waikato]
- Zebracki, M., Van Der Vaart, R., & Van Aalst, I. (2010). Deconstructing public artopia: Situating public-art claims within practice. *Geoforum*, 41(5), 786–795
- Zebracki, M. (2013). Beyond public artopia: public art as perceived by its publics. *GeoJournal*, 78(2), 303–317. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-011-9440-8>

Appendix 1: Universal themed murals in Hamilton.

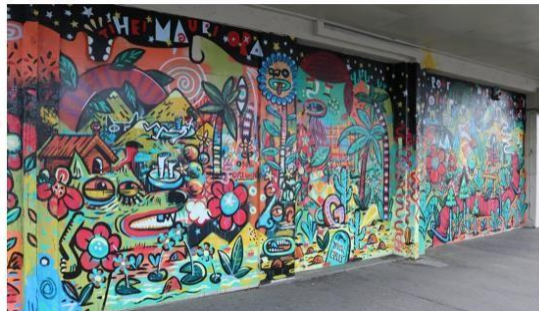
This document presents Universal themed murals that are not featured in the thesis chapters.

Untitled by Paul Bradley (2015)



Note: Located at Barton Street, in a closed-off small alley.
The bird, a symbol of dreaming and flying high, is connected with lines of vision and aims to encourage people to have aspirations for themselves and create dreams for the future.
Source: Author

Underwater Collective by Unknown (2015)



Note: Located at Alexandra Street, on a Car Dealership showroom building (Futon).
The mural uses everyday icons with wild dreamscape imaginings.
Source: Author

Untitled by Denise Fort (2015)



Note: Located at Collingwood Street, carpark.
No Description
Source: Author

Stegapede by Boris Bandits (2015)



Note: Located at WINTEC Student Carpark, Nisbel Street.
No Description
Source: Author

'Untitled' by Paul Bradley (2017)



Note: Located at Victoria Street, The Meteor Building.
Responding to the connections between people that are constantly happening throughout the city.
Source: Author

Waikato Farmers Trust by Alex McLeod (2017)



Note: Located at Waikato Farmers Trust Carpark, London Street.
No Description
Source: Author

Te Ata by Elliot O'Donnell (2017)



Note: Located at Collingwood Street, in front of carpark lots along shops.
Artist walked around the streets of Hamilton with a camera and eventually came across the face of a young woman for this painting.
Source: Author

Three *Untitled* murals by Sean Duffell (2017)



Note: Located at Collingwood Lane, small closed-off alley.
These are three separate mandala mural pieces by the same artist.
Source: Author

Love by Rach Kiddle (2017)



Note: Located at Barton Street, by a small alley.
No description.
Source: Author

Untitled by Craig McClure (2017)



Note: Located at Collingwood Street, carpark
Inspired by comic books and science fiction.
Source: Author

The Meteor by Gina Kiel (2018)



Note: Located at Victoria Street on on Meteor Building

The artwork illustrates an expansion and connection of minds and creativity that can be achieved through the experience of performance as a performer or an audience. The faces represents masks and the flowing colour concept represents what maybe beneath or behind the Mask

Source: Author

Save the Amazon by Dinho Bento (2019)



Note: Located at Collingwood Street, carpark of an architectural firm

As an indigenous Brazilian artist who grew up in a severely deforested area, he concerned with the relationship between people land and animals. The woman is a representation of Pachamana (Earth mother)

Source: Author

Central Library Fascade by Christie Wright (2019)

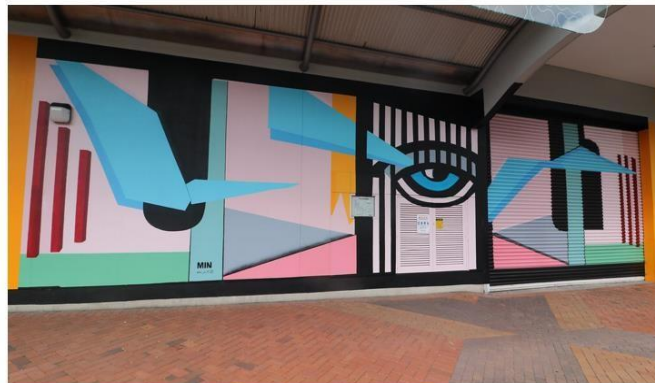


Note: Located in Garden Place, Hamilton Central Library

Uses bright colours mixed with fluid patterns to be easy on The Eye but still supplied the viewer with an extreme amount of detail to lose yourself in.

Source: Author

Untitled by Melinda Butt (2019)



Note: Located in Centre Place

The work integrates design and colour into spaces of everyday life with the desire of creating a moment of inspiration and joy for the people who passed by. Passionate about mental health Melinda also believes the burst of colour that comes from her work can lift spirits. Every colour has its own vibration and it can impact you really positively if you are open to it. With this work the artist intends to create an emotional response where the meaning is open to the interpretation of the viewer

Source: Author

Untitled by Iain Spanhake (2019)



Note: Located in Centre Place

No description.

Source: Author

'The Secret Gathering' by Stephen Temples (2019)



Note: Located at Victoria Street, by a small alley beside the Mekong Delta Vietnamese Restaurant. Artist describes this piece as "the moon is full tonight in the house of libra. The sun moves into Aries Autumn equinox. For all the dreamers tonight may you wake in them and create new worlds. There are other worlds they have not told you of. They wish to speak to you. Love to the Lucid dream bike crew dreaming on bicycles tonight"

Source: Author

Behind the Veil by Magic Darts (2020)



Note: Located at Tisdall Street.
No Description
Source: Author

Kea by Blem Leaky (2020)



Note: Located at Barton Street.
No Description
Source: Author

Viva Friday by Eno Mik Shida (n.d)



Note: Located at Caro Street on a Community Building
No description.
Source: Author

Untitled by Jeremy Shirley (n.d)



Note: Located at Victoria Street, small closed-off alley
No description.
Source: Author

Untitled by Jeremy Shirley (n.d)



Note: Located at Ward Lane
No description.
Source: Author

Untitled by Jeremy Shirley (n.d)



Note: Located at Grantham Street, under a stairs
No description.
Source: Author

Untitled by unknown (n.d)



Note: Located at Collingwood Lane. At the docking loading unloading area.
No description.
Source: Author

Untitled by Alex McLeod (nd)



Note: Located at Tristram Street
No Description
Source: Author

Appendix 2: Māori themed murals in Hamilton.

This document presents Māori themed murals that are not featured in the thesis chapters.

TECHS by Te Haunui Tuna (2015)



Note: Located at Alexandra Street, in a small alley
No description.

Source: Author

Chiefs by Ross Liew (2015)



Note: Located at Victoria Street, Carpark of Community Waikato Building

The inscription Waikato-taniwha-rau He piko, he taniwha comes from a well-known tribal proverb about the Waikato river that translates as 'Waikato of a hundred taniwha. At every bend a taniwha can be found'. *Source:* Author

Battle of Arākau by Te Haunui Tuna (2017)



Note: Located at Alexandra Street, in a small alley

Depicting Tāhoe's part in the battle of Arākau. Artist's main passion is his Māori heritage; whether its depicting Atua Māori (Māori gods), myths and legends, creating personification inspired by stories or etching whakapapa (genealogy) and life journeys onto people.

Source: Author

Hinekoko by Poihakena Ngāwati (2017)



Note: Located at Victoria Street, The Meteor Building.
Depicting the human female personification of the Kōkako bird
Source: Author

Breath of the Sky by Kell Sunshine and Micheal Moore (2019)



Note: Located at Anglesea Street, corner of a secondhand shop
Kell sunshine, a visual artist and Micheal Moore, a word poet. Their collaboration serves a reminder that we are all children of Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and we own then in the way we live.
Source: Author

Victoria By the river by T-Wei (2019)



Note: Located by the Waikato River Banks, SkyCity Building
The piece corresponds to the Waikato River in particular reflecting on the importance of the awa itself and the eels within. The Fisherman's head is a bucket that is holding the eels. it's a playful reflection of its surroundings
Source: Author

Appendix 3: Interview Schedules

Featured in Thesis:

Participants	Date	Duration	Location
Josh (pseudonym)	28 September 2020	2 hours	Portofino
Wiremu Puke	30 September 2020	3 hours	Hamilton Gardens
Paul Bradley	7 October 2020	2 hours	The River Kitchen
Katie (pseudonym)	7 October 2020	3 hours	The Banks
Sarah (pseudonym)	9 October 2020	3 hours	The Banks
Jack (pseudonym)	12 October 2020	3.5 hours	Centre Place
Rob Garrett	16 October 2020	1 hour	Skype
Aroha (pseudonym)	28 October 2020	3 hours	The Banks
Waka (pseudonym)	30 October 2020	3 hours	The Banks

Not Featured in Thesis:

Participants	Date	Duration	Location
Joe Citizen	22 September to 15 October	Not Applicable	Email Correspondence
Micheal Parekowhai	8 to 23 October 2020	Not Applicable	Email Correspondence

Appendix 4: An Outline of the Interview Questions

Talk about the artwork

- Inspiration, idea, vision VS outcome
- Why is the work important?
- Who and what is it for?
- Processes (involvements, consultation, approval, funding)
- What do you know about this work?
- What are your views about it?

Public art and urban cultural regeneration

- What are the usual politics in commissioning a public art?
- Why are arts important for the community?
- How arts can shape the Hamilton Community?
- Why is public art important in building a community?
- What direction do you think Hamilton is or should be going ahead with in terms of its strategy towards employing public art?

Personal experiences within the Hamilton Community

- How would you describe the Hamilton community?
- How do you envision the Hamilton Community to be like?
- What are your future vision and aspirations for Kirikiriroa?
- What is the role of public art in this vision?
- What is your understanding of Hamilton history or New Zealand history?
- What is your understanding of the colonial history of Kirikiriroa and your reflections on the current impacts of this today?
- Is biculturalism achievable or even desirable?
- Should we reinstate the city's name back to Kirikiriroa?

Appendix 5: Research Information Sheet for Participants

Human Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences



1. Researcher Introduction

a) First of all, I would like to thank you for taking your time to read this Information Sheet. I am Shirin Kiff, a post-graduate student from University of Waikato, majoring in Anthropology. As part of my Master of Arts degree in Anthropology I am currently doing research for a thesis on Hamilton's Public Arts.

b) My research is titled: *“Assertion of identity, culture and history in Hamilton: meaning in landscapes, public art, monuments and memorialisation”*. It aims to examine the development of public arts in Hamilton—meanings, significance and objectives—and the city's cultural regeneration strategies. As such, I will be conducting a spatial analysis of Hamilton City Central, looking at the effects and implications of the emergence of Māori public artworks (since 1987) and public arts' regeneration outcomes.

c) This research is self-funded. Research findings will be published as part of fulfilling my Master degree. The Supervisor for this research is Dr. Fiona McCormack, Senior Lecturer of Anthropology Programme at the University of Waikato.

2. Participant Involvement

i) There are 3 different groups of participants in this research; (a) Hamilton Residents, (b) Public Art Artists, (c) City Councilors or Public Art Advocators. As a participant of this research, you will be willing to participate in an interview that will last approximately one hour. The interview will either be held in person, via telephone or video conference, depending on your preference. Participants in group (a) will be interviewed in-person as far as possible.

ii) For group (a) participants, interviews are in-person and will begin with photo elicitation of public arts in Hamilton. Participant will then walk around Hamilton City Central with the researcher to share their narratives about the place, through landscape, public arts, monuments and memorialisation. The distance of this walk is up to 3km. Please do inform me if you require assistance or special arrangements need to be made to participate in this segment of the interview.

iii) For groups (b) and (c), the interview will take place at the participants' own convenience. Participants may suggest the place for the interview, or I will make available a suitable interview room should an in-person interview be preferred.

iv) If you consent to the interview, I will also ask whether you are happy for the interview to be voice recorded. If so, interviews will be voice recorded and transcribed for research analysis. You will receive a copy of the transcript and will be invited to comment and/or make corrections as you see fit.

3. Participant Rights

a) This research will strictly abide by the New Zealand Anthropological Code of Ethics as well as the Human Research Ethics of the University of Waikato. The research has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. It is important that all participants know their rights in this research:

i) Participants may choose to decline to answer any particular question.

ii) Participants may feel free to ask any further questions about the research that occur to them during their participation.

iii) Participants by default, will remain anonymous in the research and assigned pseudonyms, unless otherwise requested.

iv) Participants will receive an interview transcript at the latest 1 week after the interview.

v) Participants can contact me if there are amendments to be made, up to 3 weeks after the interview.

- vi) Participants may choose to withdraw from the study entirely up to 3 weeks after the interview by contacting the researcher, Shirin Kiff, by the phone number or email provided.
- vii) Materials, findings, or data pertaining to a participant shall be destroyed when a participant withdraws from the research.
- viii) Participants may choose to receive a link to the final research once it has been published online by the University of Waikato.

4. Upon Completion of the Research:

- a) Any used or unused materials and data collected from the research will be stored for at least 5 years by the Supervisor of the research from the University of Waikato and /or destroyed at the discretion of the University.
- b) All participant information and data will be password-protected and accessed only by the researcher.
- c) Participants will be informed by email upon completion of the research and when the research is published.

Again, I would like to thank you in advance for your (hopeful) participation in this research. Feel free to contact me via email at shirin.kiff@gmail.com or phone 021 250 8688, should you have any further questions or clarification.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.