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We welcome contributions, whether articles for anonymous peer review, reports of projects, reviews of books, documentaries and exhibitions, and reports from conferences and meetings. Contributions are eligible for consideration for the biennial NOHANZ Prize in Oral History (\$1000).

A Guide for Contributors is available on the NOHANZ website www.oralhistory.org.nz

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Editorial

In her BBC Reith lectures, Hilary Mantel spoke about history. ‘Facts are not truth,’ she said, ‘though they are part of it.... And history is not the past – it is the method we have evolved of organising our ignorance of the past. It’s the record of what’s left on the record.’¹ As oral historians we do our best to add to what’s left on the record by asking people about their pasts, their experiences, and their truths.

This year’s issue of *Oral History in New Zealand* illustrates different ways in which oral historians have approached the task of finding out about the past and ensuring that it is not forgotten. Jani Wilson writes about how waiata and kapa haka are a means of transmitting stories in a way which teaches young people important truths about their history in an easily remembered way.

Carolyn Collins and Ruth Low, in papers which were presented at the 2022 NOHANZ conference, show how using objects—tangible things left on the record—can provoke reflections and connections which might otherwise be difficult to elicit. Similarly, in the second of series on objects and material culture in memory, Caren Wilton, Jacqui Foley and Emma Powell write about an object which has powerful emotional resonance for them.

This year we asked some museums and archives the reason why they commission oral history recordings. The Walsh Memorial Library at Auckland’s MOTAT, the Waitaki Museum and Archive and Natalie Marshall, the former Photographic Curator at the Alexander Turnbull Library, have provided thoughtful pieces on the importance of this work.

Sue Gee reports on her wide-ranging series of recordings with renowned photographer, John Miller and trustees from the John Miller Photography Trust explain why they wanted this interview recorded. We thank John for his permission to use the

glorious photograph on this year’s cover.

Then we have an article on the use of oral history based on a valuable presentation from the 2022 oral history conference by MOTAT’s Chelsea Renshaw and Rachel Bush about using oral history recordings in a museum exhibition. Helpful insights here for those who want to use recorded material and have found it not as easy as it might first seem.

We have two appreciations in this year’s issue. The first is for Jenn Falconer who has been the designer of this journal for many, many years but who has now hung up her mouse. Jenn has consistently produced beautiful work for us and it was great to be able to present her honorary membership of NOHANZ at the 2023 AGM. And Helen Frizzell and Seán Brosnahan remember Bill Dacker, an early and important Otago oral historian.

Pip Oldham and I have been so grateful to be able to welcome Perrine Gilkison to the editorial team this year. Perrine is the reviews editor and has organised reviews of a selection of books which will be of interest to all oral historians. We appreciate the kindness of the reviewers who give up their time to write these for us.

We always welcome contributions to the journal. A Guide for Contributors is on the NOHANZ website www.oralhistory.org.nz (under Publications), and you can get in touch with the editorial team at journalnohanz@oralhistory.org.nz

Finally, a reminder that scanned back issues of the journal are now available on the website.

MEGAN HUTCHING

References

1. Hilary Mantel, *A Memoir of My Former Self: A life in writing*, London, 2023, p. 244.

Jenn Falconer

An Appreciation

Those of us who have been members of NOHANZ for a very long time will remember the early issues of our annual journal, *Oral History in New Zealand*. Over the years the look has changed as we have been able to move from the old shiny yellow covers with line drawings, through coloured card in a limited choice of colours, to today when we can have whatever colour we wish, with whatever illustration we wish.

For that we owe our thanks to Jenn Falconer. Jenn has been responsible for the design and layout of our journal since 1996 and has also arranged the printing. Each issue always garners praise for how beautiful it looks.

I wish to acknowledge and thank Jenn for her imagination and patience in doing the layout for the journal, for making tweaks to the design when necessary and for her enthusiasm for new ideas with regard to

presentation. She has a long association with NOHANZ – she has been a member for many years and has a keen interest in both the practice and the performance (if that is what we can call writing about it) of oral history. She even, for her sins, served as NOHANZ treasurer for a few years in the 1990s.

Jenn is a treasure and she has been a pleasure for the editors to work with over the years.

I am so pleased that the NOHANZ executive committee has agreed to award her honorary membership of the organisation as an acknowledgment of her work, imagination and dedication to the journal.

Thank you, Jenn.

MEGAN HUTCHING
November 2023



Photo: Pip Oldham

The Words, Melodies and Hooks of Māori Oral History: Introductory thoughts on waiata composition for kapa haka

JANI KATARINA TAITUHA WILSON (NGĀTI AWA, NGĀ PUHI)

Abstract

Waiata comprise geographical locators, tīpuna, and stories about occurrences, creatures, and the gods. By reciting names in waiata, we revive those passed to be amongst us again, ensuring their name does not fall out of the lexicon. This article explores contemporary kaititonga waiata; names, whenua, and words from oral histories, in flux with melodies and 'hooks' as mnemonic tools; ensuring the stories endure far beyond this generation. I discuss my thinking during the composition of waiata poi, *Ngā Putiputi o Ngāti Awa*, my ode to our whāea tipuna (ancestress), Wairaka. I consider how the words, melodies and hooks of waiata link us with those named, to each other and to our mokopuna. By composing and singing waiata, we practice remembering.

Introduction

Our mātua tīpuna (ancestors) have been recording oral histories in our various arts forever, and many of us continue to recite, perform, and display these in our chosen mahi toi (arts practice). Mahuika (2017) reminded the New Zealand oral history discipline of this when he asked them to acknowledge that 'Māori oral history was our first public history... that predates nineteenth - century Māori Land Court records... [it] was not established by Pākehā journalists and interviewers, but by Māori orators, singers, artists, and communities'. (p.6) In the list of oral historians, he included singers, an unlikely group within the established New Zealand oral history field, which primarily

is a practice, study and/or collection of information gathered through recorded interviews. As Mahuika pointed out, our tīpuna used mnemonic tools that preceded recording devices. These are in our carvings, tukutuku (lattice panel), kōwhaiwhai (panel designs), and in the words of our waiata. Kapa haka initiatives are acknowledged as an important repository of oral history, and have enjoyed decent government support. This article, which is only introductory and exploratory, investigates waiata and, in particular, contemporary kaitito waiata (song composition) for kapa haka, as a significant tool of Māori oral history transmission, a practice that is mirrored by many Indigenous peoples around the world.

Kaitito waiata, a creative, emotional and often spiritual practice, relies heavily on breathing new life into old names, occurrences, and kupu (words), that are deliberately intermeshed with oro (melodies), and aukume (musical hooks). 'Ear-worming' devices (Fuhr, 2015, p.96) such as these are rudimentary to contemporary composition and, I argue, in kaititonga waiata kapa haka hōu (contemporary kapa haka song composition). Together, these elements serve as ancient mnemonic or memory tools, and in waiata Māori, they ensure Māori oral traditions and histories are embraced by, and endure far beyond, this generation. Consequently, kaitito waiata help direct the futures of our rangatahi many of whom are kaihaka (haka performers). Kapa haka is essentially a cartography tool that maps all ages forward in the words of our waiata

providing coordinates for our mokopuna and (scarily) beyond. In the article that follows, I proffer a brief historical overview of kapa haka, some teachings from my own whānau, and I demonstrate some layers of contemporary Māori oral traditions, some personal narratives of my own compositional rationale, and some important elements in the writing process from the viewpoint of my limited experience as a kaitito waiata.

I want to be very clear that I am but a blip on the compositional radar; a pīpī paopao (an idly chatty baby chicken). I was taught composition by my classroom school teacher in 1985, an impressive wahine Māori, Delia Melbourne. My siblings and I grew up in a town where Te Eke Pī, the local kapa haka team, was as important as the Edgecumbe 'Blues', the local rugby and sports team. Kaiako (teacher, instructor) Napi Waaka came to town in the 1980s, Te Eke Pī emerged, and kapa haka took our town by storm, with packed fundraisers by way of performances at the Memorial Hall and at school agricultural days. Amongst our childhood friends and kapa haka fiends performing the actions from our seats whilst reciting all of the words, was me. Later, Aunty Hine Mamaku merged Te Eke Pī with Ngāti Awa ki Rangitaiki, and finally a Ngāti Awa team stood on a kapa haka nationals competition stage.

I am neither trained as an oral historian, nor am I an overly experienced kaitito waiata in the world of kapa haka. There are many expert kaitito who deserve acknowledgement as oral historians, such as Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi, Tuini Ngawai, Tepene Mamaku, Ngapō and Nen Wehi, Kuini Moehau Reedy, Rikirangi Gage, Te Kahautu Maxwell, Paraone Gloyne, Māhanga Pihama, Kingi Kiriona, and Derek Lardelli to name only a few, past and present;¹ this list comprises tohunga (experts). I leave the important mahi of writing in recognition of the immense work of these impressive kaitito for their whanaunga. Although I'm at pīpī paopao status, I've written this article as a part of a much wider Marsden-funded project entitled *Kia Rite!: Kapa Haka for Screens* which straddles the history of screened kapa haka, and the various influences screen production

has had on the art. In particular, it ventures into the impacts screen production has had on the way we perform. Whether acknowledged or not, competitive kapa haka has become largely 'for the cameras'. As a performer, I found myself conscious of the cameras; as a kaiako, I coached my secondary school teams to be aware of close ups, straightness of lines, precision of choreography and poi, and indeed, composing for items that would be 'staged for screen' and archived forever. *Kia Rite!* explores 'what is the traditional?', the rise of 'Māori popular culture', and what might kapa haka look like in te ao hurihuri (the changing world). Essentially, *Kia Rite!* (which means *Be Ready!*) is the marriage between my formal conventional training in screen studies/arts and kapa haka, a life-long love.

Urgency for waiata

The Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) was a tragedy for Māori oral traditions. Tohunga were experts in particular specialisations such as matakite (visionaries/seers), whakairo (carvers), rongoā (healing) and kai gathering, to name only a few. However, tohunga were also sources of whakapapa and mātauranga (knowledge) including crucially coded pūrākau (stories). Tohunga, also prominent leaders, were incarcerated under the Act to 'neutralise' Māori, as the government tried to quash the potential return to pre-colonial Māori autonomy (Binney, Chaplin & Wallace, 1990; Lange, 1999; Maaka, 1995; Webster, 1979). A particularly sad outcome is that many Māori adopted Pākehā anxieties about the 'strange' knowledge tohunga possessed, so they were rejected by their own. Within this, pūrākau Māori were bowdlerised, sanitised, and infantilised beyond recognition of their traditional tellings (Pouwhare, 2020), which ultimately ensured the continued understatement of te ao Māori as storybook tales that could not be taken seriously. Such appropriation, and reductionism – despite much effort for it not to be so – remains in today's academic environment.²

Research proposals now necessitate mātauranga Māori yet, despite this acknowledgement, our knowledge, scholarship, pedagogical approaches, and arts largely remain in the realm of the

esoteric. Regardless of how this challenging discussion might be perceived, waiata composition for kapa haka is an important space where what we do ensures rangatahi learn the history of who we were, who we are, and collectively who we want to be, with them leading us into our future (Wilson, 2021). Particularly in this time of access to mass media and other popular culture of the world, kaitito waiata is much needed for us to champion the attention of our rangatahi.

Before I turn to a brief history of kapa haka, waiata composition is significant as a connective element to, in and for our communities. I belong to Ngāi Taiwhakāea, a large hapū in the Ngāti Awa iwi confederation who are deeply Hāhi Ringatū (Church of the Up-Raised Hand), the faith established by celebrated prophet, leader, and land defender, Te Kooti Te Turuki Arikirangi of Rongowhakaata. Te Kooti preferred to transmit scripture by memory to avoid the colonial practice of publication:

As for you, don't touch any book,
because the letters of men are dark,
rather I will speak to you and to them, so
that they may know that I am the voice
of God. The words that elude them you
must ask of God, and I will make [them
known to you] (Binney, 1995, p.69).³

The sung scriptures, Te Kooti's prophecies, prayers, and histories are the central component to the faith, practised on the various Ringatū marae on 'the rā' or the 12th of every month. Today, for beginners, the rā may centre around a photocopied booklet containing Te Kooti's teachings, however reciting from memory is the aim. The mnemonic tool utilised to encourage recall is 'worming' from the listener's ear into memory *until it cannot be forgotten* (my emphasis, Mercer-Taylor, 1999; Fuhr, 2015). Devoting stories to memory in such a way is also key to ensuring Māori continue in not ceding sovereignty as, for the betterment of our people and our future, the sung aspect of our culture cannot drop out of our consciousness. Although steeped in the romance of melody, the messaging in waiata is a serious activity, particularly where history is concerned. Waiata, in terms of the songs and in the singing, is an intrinsic part of the Ngāi

Taiwhakāea identity, and across the Mātaatua region. To compose waiata and intertwine music with the fundamental characteristics and pivotal happenings from the past and present is an entrenched element in transmitting and retaining our oral history, maintaining connection to Te Kooti/Hāhi Ringatū, and for guiding our future leadership into te ao hurihuri (the changing world). Words show us the way forward by providing coordinates and lessons from our tīpuna.

Melodic style is an important facet to waiata composition, as taught to me by the late Kapua Te Ua, an extremely talented, knowledgeable, and generous tohunga. In 2014 I had a wānanga about a completely different Kaupapa with 'Matua Kaps'. Although our whakawhiti kōrero (exchange of talks, discussion) was about te rawakore (poverty), I knew this important thread was for my personal learning. He talked about the distinctive sounds of the Ngāti Awa that I had not realised were embedded in our waiata until he drew it to my attention. We discussed Ngāti Awa ki Uta – sounds of the inland – and Ngāti Awa ki Tai, sounds of the tide or coast. For Ngāti Awa ki Uta for example, the melodies and chord progressions of the hinterland are primarily reminiscent of the Rangitāiki River and the plains, previously swampland.⁴ Waiata in the Rangitāiki area often carry rhythms and timbre that reflect the pace of the river current, and the slow trudging or traipsing through mud, water, and swamp. Further, the melodies lean more heavily to melancholy by way of sitting in the minor keys. In comparison, the Ngāti Awa ki Tai style is brighter and has a 'bouncier' timbre, and is situated more in the major chords to signal the sea-breeze, the moana and lightness of the coast.

However, Ngāi Taiwhakāea also has an affinity with music of the 1930s and 1940s, largely attributed to the contingent of Te Hokowhitu a Tū, which means that tunes on our marae are identifiably borrowed from this era. Waiata composition specifically for Ngāi Taiwhakāea then, acknowledges the significant threads Matua Kaps discussed, yet the Second World War era also lends to the style that suits the timbre of our marae and distinguishes our songs and singing from the wider iwi. Prior to that, I simply wrote in relation to

what I felt was the Taiwhakāea style,⁵ but had neither considered what the mode consisted of, nor how I'd arrived at the melodies and progressions that I did. Melodies, irrespective of style though, are there to convey the central message of the words (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010), and this is certainly so of even the most ancient of waiata. Herein lies the importance of waiata: that the tune is simply the vehicle for the message to transfer from one to the other, and hooks are generally the mechanisms through which the earworms travel for familiarity, and to embed the knowledge.

Kapa haka

According to ancient Māori oral traditions,⁶ the earliest rendition of 'kapa haka' literally 'haka team' was a troupe of 40 wāhine directed by Tinirau to entertain a gathering with various forms of haka. Twisted with revenge, Tinirau plotted against Kae for allegedly stealing and eating his beloved pet whale, Tutunui. The haka ensemble's tasks were to expose Kae's distinctive teeth by making the audience laugh, and then motion him to his demise.⁶ (Kāretu, 1993; Royal, 1998; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010; Palmer, 2016; Banks, 2017) Fast-forward to Tasman's expedition at Golden Bay in 1642, a group haka was noted (Salmond, 1991, p. 81), and in Cook's first contacts in the 1700s, translator Tupaea also recorded men performing haka in ranks (ibid.). A century later, early European art historical depictions such as *Haka with Muskets at Maketu* [sic] (1865, Horatio Robley) and *The War Dance of Ngaiterangi* (1866, *Illustrated London News*) illustrated Māori men performing haka staged in discrete rows. It is unknown whether these are romanticised pictures formatted into a sense of orderliness to show the sheer numbers of kaihaka, or if early artistic impressions are reliable. Regardless of genuineness though, competitive kapa haka reflects the tidiness captured in a good proportion of Western art history's interpretations.

In the mid-to late nineteenth century, local Māori concert parties entertained tourists, singing popular melodies to draw listeners, but with reo Māori lyrics (Smith, 2014). The tune borrowing mechanism was

also to engage youth (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010). As Metge stated, borrowing 'whatever catchy tune is at hand [but] modifying it to suit their purposes' (1976, p.282) was increasingly the norm in 'composition'. I use the term "composition" deliberately but also with caution because elemental to compositional practice is to construct or create, whereas working with a pre-existing tune is effectively poetry.⁷ Indeed, waiata and poetry go hand in hand. The book, *Songs, Haka and Ruri for the use of the Māori Contingent* (1914) was produced for the First World War, as there was an expectation for Māori soldiers to know and perform the published items often derived from popular tunes for relief from the mundane, for entertainment, and as a morale booster (Te Kahu Pōkere as cited in Simon, 2015, p. 196). There is a myriad of photos of Te Hokowhita a Tū organised into lines and performing these items in the Egyptian sand, and other places overseas. Kapa haka, for many soldiers in the Māori (Pioneer) Battalion, many of whom were very young, provided a momentary release from war and called them back to their whānau, transporting them onto their whenua and recalling their tūrangawaewae (Wilson, 2017a). At this time, the Native rugby team was also performing haka, a mechanism employed to distinguish them from the other black jersey wearing squad, the New Zealand national rugby team.

As well as professional kapa haka for tourism, marae renditions of kapa haka remain strong in most regions, and some adopt conscious uniformity, harmonious singing, and a sense of rehearsal despite the absence of judges to deduct points for crookedness, timing errors and other gremlins. Competitive kapa haka grew in intensity during practices for the highly anticipated 1934 Waitangi Day celebrations to mark the gifting of the Treaty House to New Zealand by Lord Bledisloe in 1932. Up to ten thousand Māori from across the motu attended the festivities. Heavily influenced by the Hawai'ian Merrie Monarch Festival format,⁸ competitive kapa haka became a cultural celebration. Well-respected Tūhoe veteran of the Māori Battalion, John Te Rangihau spearheaded the Tūhoe Ahurei in 1971, and the Polynesian Festival – including

our Pasifika cousins – followed the next year. In 1983, the event became the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival, which omitted other island nations.⁹ Within this, the focus changed. Regional kapa haka competitions became where the top groups from the provinces were selected one year, then took part in the national contest the next. Many iterations transpired, certainly the case in terms of composition. Although many compositions were borrowed over the history of competitive kapa haka, Waka Huia's 1996 whakaeke (entrance item) was a rendition of Elton John's 'Circle of Life' from Disney's *Lion King* (1994, dirs. Roger Allers & Rob Minkoff), and a turning point for competitive kapa haka, particularly in terms utilising commercial and very much 'of the day' songs, with equally impressive choreography, characterisation, and melodramatic theatre. The elite competition, sometimes referred to as the 'Olympics of kapa haka', is now known as Te Matatini and is streamed live across the world in te reo and, until it recently relocated to TVNZ, was broadcast in English and Mandarin by Whakaata Māori (Māori Television).¹⁰ Kapa haka is an integral part of strengthening Māori identity, and for expressing and celebrating the Indigenous language and culture. Today, it is a featured part of 'popular Māori culture' and, I would argue, with the enormous growth of young people wanting to be seen performing haka on social media, has ventured into the realm of national identity.

As 'popular Māori culture' develops (and this is another term I use cautiously), waiata are continuously made contemporary to ensure rangatahi are interested in the oral histories through relevant platforms. My apprehension around the idea of Māori popular culture is because it is constantly in flux as rangatahi embrace and connect their interests with a wide range of global medias and cultures within them, particularly of the Western persuasion, and thus it becomes a complex discussion. But what I will say is that for kaititonga waiata the words, melodies and hooks – in the same way whakairo, tukutuku, rāanga, and our other mahi toi – are seeded in te wāhi ngaro (the unseen place), and our role as ringatoi

auaha (creative practitioners) is simply as a conduit to bring those ideas into te ao tinana (the physical, tangible world) (Wilson, 2017; Albarrán-González & Wilson, 2022).

The current competitive kapa haka format¹¹ for pākeke (adults) has landed on ten non-aggregate and seven aggregate items after several adaptations, which has quite recently included a section devoted to titonga hou (modern compositions).¹²

The elements are:

Non-aggregate

Waiata tira choral item

Kaitātaki wahine female leader

Kaitātaki tane male leader

Kākahu costuming

Titonga hou mōteatea new lamentation composition

Titonga hou waiata ā ringa new action song composition

Titonga hou poi new poi composition

Titonga hou haka new haka composition

Titonga hou waiata tira new choral composition

Te Kairangi o Te Reo ā-tuhi excellence in writing/composition.

Aggregate items

Whakaeke entrance

*Waiata koroua*¹³ traditional chant

Haka poi item using balls at the end of cords

Haka/maurākau posture dance/
traditional weaponry

Waiata-a-ringa action song

Whakawātea exit item

Te kairangi o te mita o te reo excellence and command of the language

An issue in relation to borrowing tunes from popular culture came to the fore at 2022's Te Whakataetae Kapa Haka o Ngā Kura Tuarua (secondary school competitive kapa haka) where several competing secondary schools were questioned about the originality of compositions and their copyright. At this year's Te Matatini, TVNZ did not permit the screening of any items which used non-original compositions that were not cleared by APRA AMCOS, representatives of music rights and management for copyright and royalties.

Borrowing tunes from popular culture is common practice in kapa haka. Due to access on online platforms, loan tunes have exacerbated a trajectory a summer intern and I explored in a project called *Ngā rangi mōiriiri: Exploring the prevalence of borrowed tunes in kapa haka* (2023), which in the end challenged kaitito waiata to reflect on traditional forms of waiata to plot our future, rather than look to tunes, particularly from US popular culture, as the base. Considering the prevalence of social media and, I would argue, the admiration and proliferation of Disney, this is a difficult venture but a useful conversation for kaitito waiata to move towards the future of waiata.

In kapa haka, the stage is much like a marae – tricky topics are confronted, debates delivered, and issues discussed. It is thought that no issue – like on our marae – is off limits. However, performances have been taken off websites, which demonstrates that screen production and certain stakeholders hold power in respect of what can or cannot be circulated. Some high profile kaitito have addressed topics considered polemical to the haukāinga (people/winds of home) or to the broadcaster upon which the competition was streamed, and have caused upheaval. Although producers in the past have not prevented these waiata from live broadcast, they have chosen not to post them online afterwards, and so the marae ātea (grassed area in front of the marae) concept is not fully transferable.

However, particularly over the last decade, composers such as Apanui legend Rikirangi Gage, have engaged in kupu that have been highly political, but cleverly juxtaposed upon melodies and hooks that have a light-hearted appeal.¹⁴ Te Matatini in 2023 had items about Māori as ‘political footballs,’ a saying arguably coined by King Potatau Te Wherowhero; there were other challenges to individual Māori parliamentarians to ‘wise-up’, and a request for other Ministers to utilise their positions in the political system. Ultimately, this is a call for the betterment of our nation for all of our tamariki mokopuna so there is a noticeable shift towards strengthening the marae ātea concept beyond simply semiotics.

Pivotal to the non-aggregate items in kapa haka is setting challenges for composers to write new waiata and ensure histories are disseminated through our reo rangatira and worldview, all within the ‘safety’ of a melody and rhythm. Topics range from historical and contemporary disputes and/or concerns, various connective occurrences, and people, either linked to the performing group or acknowledging the hosting region. Waiata can encapsulate questions, answers, longing, desires, battles, loss, loneliness, anger, confusion, joy, bliss, and whakapapa. They can be loving, political, hilarious, angry or challenging, and consequently, kapa haka compositions can, and *have* been controversial.¹⁵ The kapa haka stage has been designed to simulate a marae, but it isn’t. Consequently, kaiwhakawā (judges) can – and do – mark their assigned items according to their taste, interests, and whether the content or performance does or does not ‘sit right’ with them.

Healing in waiata

Singing is long known as therapy, and leans to the meaning of wai (water, waterway, tears, and flow), and ata (reflection, shape, or morning), so waiata can be considered a kind of reflective exemplification of the kare-a-roto (inner-being, emotions). Many or most Indigenous oral traditions such as waiata are beyond words; waiata are deeply connected with one’s identity and tīpuna (ancestors). Often waiata materialise from a particular feeling and evoke the wairua (spirit) in listeners, which can occur in both positive and negative ways. Some can soothe or settle audiences and others may conjure anger or annoyance. Waiata can be restorative and healing, in the same way that knowing one’s history – learned and reaffirmed in the words – is a remedy. Cognisance of connections between ourselves, our origins and the inextricable links to nature and the environment can provide everyone a long-sought sense of belonging. Furthermore, our singing voice is a constant friend – whether we are in tune or not. Voices can be shared or kept secret. In knowing waiata, we can be transported to a specific point of time and, quite by miracle,

into the shoes, the skin, and emotions of the composer. The experience is often filtered through our own life experiences, giving us a plethora of parallels. We can belong to the words, and them to us. In this respect, by way of the words and melody, our body can remember a moment in time in the author's emotional journey *even if we weren't there* - yet another miracle. Conversely, if we stand to do the waiata tautoko (support song) in a formal setting, and we are the only one who doesn't know the words, history can't come soon enough! The cold sweats and the stares of audience members for what could be four or five verses are haptic reminders to learn that waiata by the next occasion. Herein lies the genius of Te Kooti and other leaders in the oral histories: words are more easily incised into our memory bank when intermeshed with a melody.

Waiata composition is reliant on 'hooks', and these important repeated melodic phrases in a musical composition are designed to imprint into memory. This was most certainly the case in genres such as mōteatea (lamentations) and oriori (lullabies) which generally have no more than five notes and maintain a structure that is repeated until the poem is complete. In waiata tawhito and mōteatea, some of which have a plethora of verses and require the utmost in concentration for a fair amount of time over a repeated hook, proficiency and knowledge of the reo is a most important component in order to avoid whati (error) which can be considered a tohu (sign), or 'bad omen'. Contemporaneously, rangatahi, and many parents like myself, are bombarded by the noise of music via our digital native tamariki. My daughter, Manaaki is a kura kaupapa kid, and her playlists were often interrupted by kapa haka, where hooks are equally prevalent and identifiable within the song's often formulaic configuration. Now beyond her high school years, our whare consists of TikTok hooks; the same hook, over and over, and magically, the earworms frequently find their way to me, no matter how (very) disinclined I am to hear them. Frequently, waiata begin with a familiar hook that leads to a catchy tune, a revisit to the hook within a chorus or immediately

following, another verse, a climax that ends with a key change, the final chorus, and the hook generally reappears in the outro. At times, kapa haka and Disney interplay with each other. Regardless, the hook has long been at the centre of waiata for kapa haka, as insurance of appeal and familiarity.

Popular music studies consider the hook as a most likely element to pique the attention of listeners (Wolff, 2021; Hume, 2015; Groot, 2016; Mercer-Taylor, 1999; Fuhr, 2015). According to some musicologists, the hook is the mark of a memorable song, and they recommend composers build songs around them, advising that they 'keep songs simple [with] very few lyrics and [a] strong repeatable "hook-line"' (Laufenberg as cited in Mercer-Taylor, p. 3). How this connects and collides with Te Kooti and other significant Māori leaders is that there was clear recognition of the importance of the marriage between melodic hooks and words as crucial memory devices. These were used in mōteatea and our various waiata tawhito far before musicology. Employing these musical elements is one key to how waiata composers will champion our rangatahi to breathe history, and our tīpuna, back into the physical world with every rendition.

Primarily, waiata comprise fundamental aspects such as geographical locators, stories about occurrences or relationships between whānau, hapū, and iwi, creatures, and of the gods. An intrinsic part of waiata is whakapapa, the recitation of the layers of names - who begat who - upon Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) considered by Māori as the original tier. Composer and tikanga expert Te Kahautu Maxwell (2010) composed the whakaeke item for Te Manuka Tūtahi¹⁶ a Whakatāne based kapa haka team in late 2000s to the mid-2010s. The lyrics consist of whakapapa, some of the important tīpuna names to the Ngāti Awa people (in bold), to whom most of the performers at the time connected. Here is the opening stanza:

Awanuiārangi
Tikoraurehe,
E koro maomao nei i te ara o **Tukariri**
Tukaniwha
Tukaitawa

Ko **Hau**
 Ko **Nuiho**
 Ko **Nuake**
 Ko **Manu**
 Ko **Weka**
 Ko **Toroa**
 Ko **Ruaihona**
 Ko **Te Tahinga o te rā**
Tutarakauika
 Takahia te moana a **Toi**
 Ki Whakaari
 Ki te puketapu ki Paepae Aotea
 Waiho mā, e whakamā e patu, waiho mā
 e whakamā e patu.

The lyrics lead listeners and singers around significant locations throughout the Mātaatua region¹⁷ by their Indigenous names largely documented out of status; a kind of word cartography so as not to be forgotten.¹⁸ Places of interest are betwixt thirteen generations of ancestors. Remembering hundreds, sometimes thousands of names and their connections from memory is a skill many *tohunga* and *kaumātua* have. (Of note, Tamarau of Ngāi Tūhoe is recorded to have cited 1400 individual names to the Māori Land Court as evidence of his connection to a particular piece of whenua (as cited in Best, 1925), an extraordinary example.) Producing memorable melodies based around a simple hook is another skill. Not everyone has as an accomplished memory as Tamarau, but compositions such as Maxwell's do bequeath lines of *whakapapa* and locations perhaps otherwise not learned. Fusions of music and *whakapapa* in such a way minimise opportunity for *whati*, a mistake or failure in memory, long considered a *tohu*.¹⁹ Knowledge recited in *waiata* is often *tapu* (sacred), and consequently, *waiata* composition should not be approached lightly.

I have argued that *waiata* is a tool for remembering, but equally for not forgetting and here I share an example from one of my 2019 compositions. In some of my research, I learned that some historical records do not include certain *hapū* who have either faded out of documentation or have never been formally recognised by our local government. As the names were unacknowledged by district councils, courts, and so forth, I wrote

Tāwharautia Ngāti Awa (2019) in response. It became the opening movement to the *whakawātea* (exit item) for Ngāi Taiwhakāea at the Ngāti Awa Ahurei, Ngāti Awa Te Toki that year. I made sure to include the undocumented *hapū*.

Puku o te wheke, te tokotoru,
 Hikakino, Ngāi te Rangihouhiri,
 Taiwhakāea e!

Pahipoto, Warahoe, Ngā Maihi, Tamapare,
 Kahupaake, Ngāti Hāmua e, Rangimārie!
 Ngāi Tamaoki, Tūariki, Pukeko, Hokopū e,
 Tawharautia Ngāti Awa e!

Rangataua, Maumoana, Ngāti Tamawera,
 Wharepāia, Tawera e,
 Te Patuwai, Tāmaki Makaurau, Pōneke,
 ngā *hapū* e,
 Tawharautia Ngāti Awa e!

The *waiata* served as an insurance that the performing team and our babies would not forget the names in our *iwi* confederation. Thus, where institutions may forget and documents may not show, a *waiata* such as *Tāwharautia Ngāti Awa*, (literally translated as 'Ngāti Awa the shelter') is in a way a contract by the *kaitito* so that the names of the *hapū* will not be forgotten by Ngāi Taiwhakāea at least. Again, this borrows from Te Kooti's idea that *waiata* composition is a significant practice in oral history transmission deemed more trustworthy than pen and paper.

Outro

Words, melodies, and hooks are important for speakers of all levels of *te reo*, and here I want to close with a short narrative of how I arrived at what has been one of my most utilised *waiata* to date, *Ngā Putiputi o Ngāti Awa* (2017). I composed it with the unknowing help of my eldest sister, Tia, amid the pressure of having to deliver a new *waiata* to our *rōpū* in the impending days (!) The *ohu* (core group) hadn't given me a theme, merely requested a *poi*. For *poi*, without a theme to hang it on, I directed my *whakaaro* (thoughts, ideas) to birds, important *wāhine*, waterways, and weather

systems. I decided to highlight a wāhine and, to be quite honest, because of time constraints, a wāhine who I didn't need to do any extra research about!

I'd recently been to the Ka Haka! symposium (2016) at AUT, where a challenge was set by Annette Wehi. She presented on the crucial values of Waka Huia, her kapa of three decades, and based it around 'Mana versus Ego' on and off the kapa haka stage. Wehi claimed that on stage, Waka Huia team members were taught to convey the āhua (qualities, characteristics, personality) of the various items, according to the demands of the characters performed, whether it be ferocity, happiness, sadness, flirtatiousness, and the like. However, when kaihaka left the stage, tāne (men) are encouraged to be gentlemanly, to open doors for the wāhine, act lovingly and with care for them and their tamariki, and vice versa the wāhine. These were implemented and lived by their long-time pioneering tutors, Ngapō and Nen Wehi (Haami & Wehi, 2013).

Contemplating this when the impending waiata submission date loomed, I considered how I might interweave a thread of Waka Huia's winning formula into our kapa! I wanted to challenge the wāhine of Ngāti Awa; for them to demand to be treated like wāhine in the way Wehi described. So, I turned to Wairaka, the most pivotal whāea tīpuna to our iwi. The waiata acknowledges one of Wairaka's mean feats, as summarised in the chorus:

Ko Wairaka te tipuna! (Wairaka is the ancestress!)
I hōea te waka tapu o Mātaatua, ([Who] paddled the sacred Mātaatua waka,)
I runga e te kuia e, (Above us the dignified/wise lady,)
Kia whakatāne au i ahau, wāhine mā.
(She said, 'Let us be like the men, ladies!')²⁰

Critical to this narrative, and brought up and educated long before kohanga reo and kura kaupapa movements, my sister Tia does not speak te reo, and is unaware of our wider iwi links and whakapapa beyond our Nanny and Koro. Using 'Pinky' my daughter's guitar, I sat on the couch at Tia's Pāroa home, plinking away at a chord progression I had been

dabbling with for a few weeks. I hummed a few passages, liking some, and dumping others. As Tia folded the laundry on the opposite couch, the hooks became more and more clarified and the chorus much more simplified and refined. The process of making the music for the oro that had long resided in my head did not take long. I experimented with how the passages of words fitted, and assessed whether they sat with the melody line and hook. Did they work? As I evaluated, Tia left the sitting room to deliver the laundry into the bedrooms singing the chorus word-for-word, and note-for-note! Unbeknownst to her, she sang of Wairaka's courageous feat of paddling the Mātaatua waka with all of the women and children on it to safety, and she did it in te reo. Without it even occurring to her that words had lodged in her ear, my non-reo speaking sister was drawn into the story of Wairaka and breathed her back to life, and sang our tīpuna into her life. I kept the chorus, thank you, Big Sis.

To sum up, then, Nepia Mahuika listed orators, singers, artists and communities as New Zealand's first oral historians. This article set out to give some introductory thoughts on waiata composition, simply my personal reflections on certain parts within my own waiata production process. On reading this article through for the last time, I realised that kapa haka – made up of deliberately composed haka and waiata since the ancient days and still practised now – effectively covers all roles in Mahuika's list. Meanwhile, we actively practise remembering the important names that waiata commit us to not forgetting.

Jani Wilson

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1. Some whanaunga and trusted scholars have already published on these impressive individuals and their impacts on communities and the kapa haka world at large. At this point, Bub and Nen Wehi, Tuini Ngawai and Ngoi Pēwhairangi have in-depth biographies. See Haami, B., & Wehi, N. (2013), *Ka Mau te Wehi: Taking haka to the world: Bub & Nen's story*; Ka'ai, T. (2008), *Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi: An Extraordinary Life*.
2. Here, I refer to the seven University of Auckland senior academics who, in 2021, publicly pooh-poohed mātauranga Māori as a credible course of study in the developing secondary school history and science programmes, among others. I will not focus on this case, as it comprises such invalidating criticisms of mātauranga Māori/o te ao taketake (the Indigenous world) which is disappointing, but neither surprising nor unexpected.
3. This was translated from the following in Judith Binney's book devoted to the history of Te Kooti, *Redemption Songs* (Auckland: Auckland University Press & Bridget Williams Books, 1995): Ko koe ia kei whawha koe ki tētahi pukapuka, nō te mea ko ēna reta nā te tangata he mea pouri, engari māku e korero ki a koe mau ki a rātou kia mōhio ai rātou je reo ahau nō te Atua. Ko te kupu i ngaro i rātou mau e karanga kit e Atua, ā maku a whaki atu.
4. Evidence of this still being swampland remains in the engulfing water that often follows rain in the region. Flooding is not unusual, for example, the floods of July 2004 and April 2017 which devastated the area.
5. He paku mihi aroha tēnei ki a koe, Matua Kaps, e takoto ana; moe mai rā i roto i tōu moengaroa e te rangatira. E mokemoke ana ōu mātou iwi māu, i tōu ngarotanga.
6. There are various iterations of the story of Kae and Tinirau throughout Polynesia.
7. The borrowed tunes and copyright debate is topical. At Te Whakataetae Kapa Haka Kura Tuarua in 2022, some secondary school teams performed hugely popular tunes with reo Māori lyrics which drew the attention of the original artists, likely interested in potential royalties or recognition. I explored this idea in a small Te Whatu Ora/Unitec project *Ngā rangi mōiriiri: Exploring the prevalence of 'loan' tunes from 'popular culture' for kapa haka* with a young kaihaka, Manaaki Fletcher. The issue which directly impacted on whether teams could show certain items with derived tunes on television/live stream has forced kaitito to compose 'from scratch', which all-in-all is a good challenge.
8. Initiated by King Kalākaua in the 1870s, the Merrie Monarch Festival is a hula-centric, cultural sovereignty space for Native Hawai'ians to practice their distinctive culture.
9. Notably, Te Maeva Nui, a competitive cultural celebration of our Cook Islands cousins, is building a most colourful, dynamic, and extra sensorial acknowledgement of their performing arts which includes stunning dance costuming and waiata. Kia kaha tonu rā ngā kaihana o Ngā Kūki Airani!
10. Te Matatini literally means 'the many faces'. As there are a good proportion of Māori in Australia, Te Matatini extends to the best kapa haka there, too.
11. Ngā ture o Te Whakataetae-ā-motu (Competition rules for the Te Matatini National Festival, 2022).
12. These differ slightly for Te Kura Tuarua (secondary school) and Te Mana Kuratahi (primary school) iterations.
13. There is a lot of leeway in what is appropriate for the item in this slot; it can be a mōteatea/waiata tangi (lamentation), pātēre/pōkeka (chant without actions), waiata tawhito (ancient, traditional), or waiata aroha (sympathy, love).
14. Here, I'm referring to the whakawātea, *Hone Kī* (2015, Rikirangi Gage), performed by Te Whānau a Apanui which was strong commentary on the poor performance in relation to policies supposedly benefiting Māori of then Prime Minister John Key, set over a 1950s pop style of melody.
15. The pōwhiri (ritual of encounter) that opened 2023's Te Matatini was incredibly sad, political, and controversial. No doubt this is excellently provocative fodder for waiata and haka for the future, but I have committed to not make any comment here.
16. I was a founding member of Te Mānuka Tūtahi under the tutelage of Joe Harawira, and part of three regional kapa haka rotations in the 2010s.
17. The Mātaatua waka region is known as the district between Te Kuri a Whārei ki Tihirau (Bowentown, Waihi) to Whangaparāoa, the eastern most point of the Bay of Plenty.
18. The last line, 'Waiho mā, e whakamā e patu' (Let shame be their punishment), is an aphorism by tohunga Te Tahinga o Te Rā, who, according to oral histories, stated this when he was double-crossed by members of his own hapū.
19. Whati is one reason as to why wāhine are not generally permitted to speak in formal settings as mistakes can beget dire consequences that affect whakapapa, in particular the ability to conceive. As my late cousin Rānui Black always joked, 'wāhine can never get another whare tangata (womb), but she can always find another man'.
20. I used this phrasing to challenge our wāhine – Wairaka was prepared to challenge the status quo; we whakapapa to her, so what are we prepared to do?

Holden Cars, Gold Watches and 'Jobs for Life': Treasures and memories of a working life¹

CAROLYN COLLINS

Keywords

Material culture, General Motors-Holden, labour, oral history, factory

Introduction

Since it first rolled off the assembly line in 1948, the Holden car has been embedded in Australia's national story, a recognisable symbol of Australian post-war modernity, prosperity and progress. Thousands were employed in General Motors-Holden (GMH) factories located across Australia.² Holden cars also became closely associated with national identity (along with meat pies, football and kangaroos, according to a company advertising jingle of the 1970s).³ But this all came to an end in 2017, when GMH closed its last factory in Elizabeth, South Australia, and subsequently retired the brand three years later.

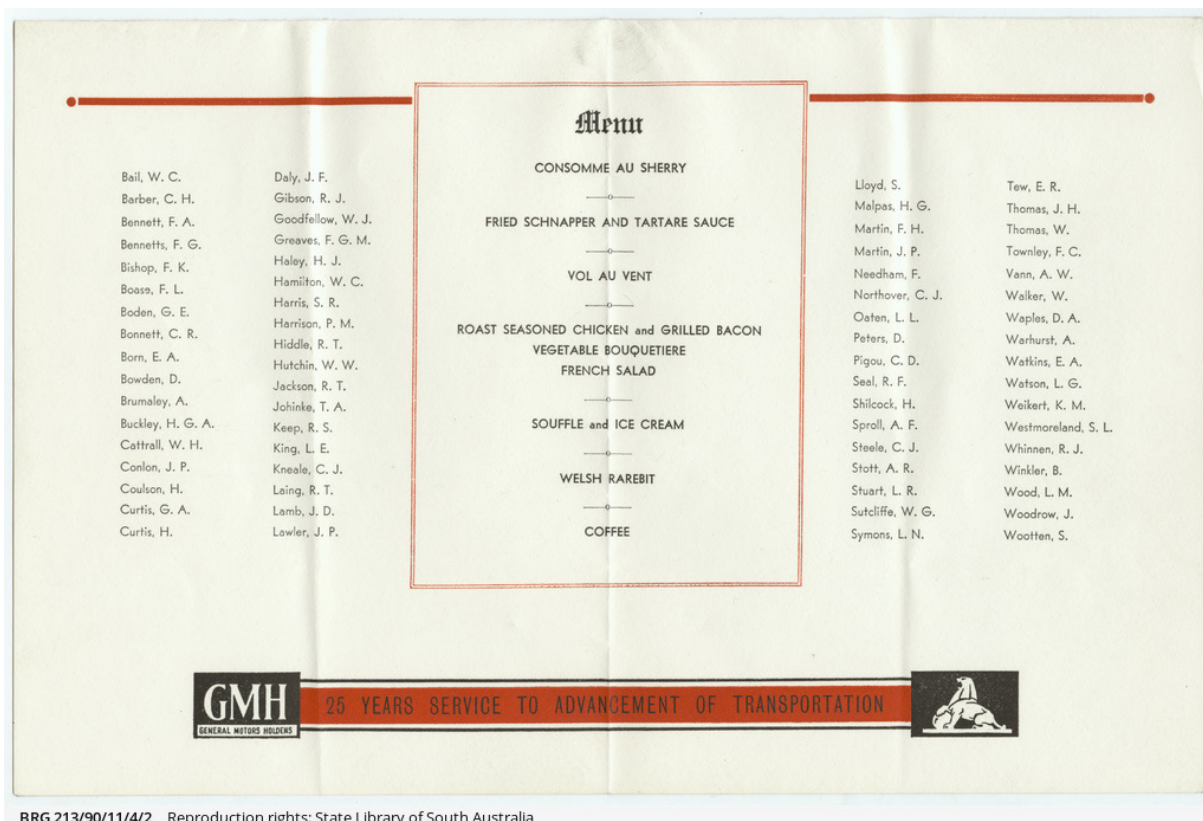
Most of the histories about Holden over the years have focused on the cars, but the connection between Holden and its workers had not been fully explored.⁴ In the lead up to the closure, planning began on an oral history project to record the life stories, memories, and experiences of 100 men and women who worked at Holden's factories between 1945 and 2017.⁵ While the interviews were not focused on material culture, participants often showed me objects that represented aspects of their working lives, and which were clearly still very important to them. Some showed me their cars, but mostly they were little things, touchstones that brought back memories of their work 'family' and which signified their pride in the work they did – for example, handmade tools, toolboxes, apprentice papers and graduation

wallets, gifts, uniforms, and trophies won at lunchtime sporting competitions. In 2021, some of these items, along with excerpts from the interviews, were featured in an exhibition at the National Motor Museum in Birdwood, South Australia.⁶

One of the most popular items that I was shown time and again was the gold watch, an award presented to workers to mark 25 years' continuous employment with the company. Former workers handled their watches with something akin to reverence as they spoke. Some had been handed down from fathers to sons to grandsons and so carried traces of generations past. They also spoke with awe about how much the watches cost. It was clear that workers felt pride in the watches; they were family treasures that had both a material and emotional value to them. This paper uses the gold watch as a window into factory life to show how material culture in combination with oral histories can create a more intimate social history of GMH, its workers and workplace culture.

History of watches

As Helen Holmes states, studying objects provides 'a means of understanding and making sense of everyday life and the social, political and economic factors which structure it'.⁷ However, we must also remember that objects have histories of their own: 'They have past and future lives, they enable and afford certain practices and activities, and they often played a central role in the relationship we have with others.'⁸ It is only by understanding the social context in which watches became an integral part of modern society that we can fully appreciate



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GMH 25-year club dinner menu, State Library of South Australia.

the gold watch's meaning to GMH workers and its place in factory life.

Wrist watches have been around since the late nineteenth century but until the First World War, they were mainly regarded as a jewellery item worn by women. This changed during wartime when modern militaries needed to precisely coordinate their manoeuvres and soldiers needed to discern the time at a glance. Pocket watches were clumsy to carry so soldiers started fitting them into leather straps to wear on their wrists, which also freed up their hands during battle. After the war, these 'trench watches' became popular with civilians.⁹

By the second half of the twentieth century, wrist watches were being marketed as objects of desire. As advertisements from that period show, they symbolised success, affluence and importance.¹⁰ The watch was almost always gold, the appeal of which is ancient. The Aztecs and the Egyptians loved it for its aesthetic qualities while it has also traditionally been symbolic of achievement; gold medals are presented to winning

athletes. Gold has a weight, substance, and a timeless quality; it is something to aspire to – and to treasure.

After the war, gold watches also became synonymous with retirement, a gift from grateful employers to mark the end of an employee's long and loyal service. It is thought the tradition started in the 1940s in the United States at the Pepsi Company, where the concept was expressed as 'you gave us your time, now we are giving you ours.'¹¹

GMH's gold watch scheme

GMH's gold watch scheme – which started in 1949 – was different. There, workers were presented with a gold watch not upon retirement but after 25 years of continuous service. This also gained them entrance to an elite social tier within the company – GMH's exclusive 'Twenty-five Year Club'. For decades, 'gold watch men', were invited to annual lunches and dinners with senior management where the new inductees would be presented with their watch.¹² As well as

conferring status, there was an element of ritual to the ceremonies that would have appealed to the many Freemasons among Holden's workforce in the 1950s and '60s. But the 'custom' – like the company – was not Australian. It was imported from the American parent company General Motors. As the saying goes, there is no such thing as a 'free lunch' and indeed there was a shrewd business motive behind the company's generosity. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Australian employers struggled to find and keep reliable workers. Holden's management hoped the gold watch would be an incentive to encourage loyalty and long service.¹³ At a special dinner in 1950 to mark the start of the 'Twenty-five Year Club', GMH's managing director H.W. Bettle, reflected on the company's hopes for the scheme:

In these days of industrial unrest, high labour turnover and other factors, to say the least, unstable, this is a very important and worthwhile occasion. The fact that the company is producing in ever-increasing quantity is a tribute to the 'old-timers' and their stabilising influence.¹⁴

Ivan Rilling, who started his apprenticeship at Holden in 1945, was there at the beginning. He recalled a visiting American executive launching the '25-year club' at the Woodville factory:

He was the typical Yank. He was big, cigar, the lot. We were all in the big canteen one day and he was announcing the 25-year gold watch and I can still remember it, he said [*puts on an American accent*] "And I'll tell you one thing," he said, "you're going to join the most exclusive club in the world because there aint no ways out of it. You're here for 25 years." And that's how the 25-year gold watches were started.¹⁵

The concept was quickly embraced by Holden's workers and management. Being presented with a gold watch was, in the words of more than one interviewee, 'a big deal' and recipients were respected within the factory sphere. Indeed, it was common practice to delay retirement a few years to

Another 123 Employees complete 25 YEARS with GMH

NEW WOODVILLE, BIRKENHEAD AND PAGEWOOD MEMBERS ON THIS PAGE

25 Years with GMH

L. A. CORNWELL 1923

E. J. EGGWOOD 1923

D. H. GOSFORD 1923

E. W. WILSON 1923

W. J. SMITH 1923

S. W. J. HANNEY 1923

A. E. L. BOWMER 1922

C. J. METCALF 1923

W. A. R. WILSON 1923

New members of the club were listed in GMH's company magazine, *People*.

reach the milestone. The club was exclusive, but it was also democratic; everyone from the boss to the floor sweeper could qualify, and their photos would appear alongside each other, alphabetically, in the company magazine.

In 1949, the first 152 employees were welcomed into the club at special ceremonies in Adelaide and Melbourne. Among the Adelaide group were James Holden and Arthur Eimbrodt. James Holden, the Woodville Plant Manager, was a member of the original Holden family, and later knighted. Eimbrodt was a sewing machinist, born within a mile of the factory site, who had joined the original company Holden and Frost in 1902 as a harness maker.¹⁶ The pair probably had little if anything to do with each other on a daily basis, but they were equal members of the 25-year club and received exactly the same watch.

The Holden watches were no cheap trinkets. Swiss made, they were expensive brands and usually had the recipient's name and date of service engraved on the back.

And they were valued anywhere from several hundred to a couple of thousand dollars. For some factory workers they were their most expensive possession. John Mason, who worked in the paint shop, recalled how he stopped wearing his after being told by his insurance agent how much it was worth.¹⁷

But their value was emotional as well as financial. Production worker, Bob Both, never expected to become a 'gold watch man'. While many workers started as 15-year-olds, he was a latecomer to the company, having followed his father onto the land, growing flowers for local florists. After drought and disease ruined the business, he had had no choice but to seek work at the local Holden factory. He regards the day he was presented with his watch as one of the proudest moments of his life:

It was great because, you know, you go to work to get money to make a living. And you work and work and you don't get much thanks for it but, yeah, when 25 years come along and you're sort of singled out and they say, Well, we've got a watch for you, oh, it's a great honour.¹⁸

A window into factory life

Analysing the list of those who received gold watches provides us with a window into the changing face of Holden's workforce in the post-war period. In the 1940s and '50s, the photographs of gold watch recipients were, on the whole, Anglo-Saxon males, many of them returned servicemen. But Holden was also a huge employer of 'new Australians', who emigrated after the war from Europe and later Asia, often with very little English. Again, this is reflected in the lists of those receiving gold watches. By the 1970s, there are many more Italian, Greek, Slavic and German names on the list and by the 2000s, we start seeing Vietnamese and Cambodian names.

We can also see generations of the same family appearing in the lists, reflecting the family nature of the workplace. When labour was hard to get and keep, Holden offered its employees bonuses to recruit family members. One gold watch recipient, whose family migrated from Egypt in the 1950s, estimated that at one stage up to 40 members of his wider family were employed

by GMH, noting his father did very well out of the scheme.¹⁹ Management also thought that fathers would be able to keep their sons in line, and that sons would not want to do anything to upset their fathers, improving factory discipline. Leo Corrieri, an Italian migrant and third generation GMH worker who joined the Woodville factory in the mid-1980s as a fifteen-year-old office boy, recalled his father's advice to him on his first day: 'Don't stuff it up. I don't want you to make me look bad. Don't take sickies. Don't do anything wrong. Just do what you are told'. He also remembered his father's pride upon receiving his 25-year watch and his own determination to reach the same milestone. 'He was really happy about that watch ... he loved it,' Corrieri said.²⁰

Recipients were not all gold watch 'men'. We can also trace the employment of women at Holden through the gold watch lists. Only one woman received a watch in the first group in 1949 – Miss Hookings, a secretary who was employed at head office.²¹ In 1952, the company magazine reported that there were now 'four feminine members of the 25-year club'.²² All were office workers and single. Women, however, did not attend the annual gold watch functions with the men. In Adelaide, they met for a meal in a local restaurant on the same evening.²³ Times changed – inside and outside the factory; in December 1976, it was reported that Adelaide's 25-year club had broken 'new ground', allowing both men and women to attend the annual lunch.²⁴

For most of its history, however, Holden was an overwhelmingly male-dominated workplace where up to 90 per cent of workers were men. There was one exception, however: the trim fabrication plant where the workforce was about 90 per cent women. This was where the seats and trims for the cars were sewn. Some of these women, like Clara Boden, did eventually earn their gold watches. Overall, however, before the introduction of maternity leave, women tended to leave when they became pregnant and either broke their service or did not return, making it harder to qualify. In Clara's case, she had to work 35 years before she qualified for the watch because she broke her service three

times for the birth of her children.

When I started, I didn't think I'd stay long so I bought myself a gold watch. The boss give them to you and [he] just walked up and said, "Here's your gold watch." ... I didn't celebrate ... I had to go home and cook tea.²⁵

Gradually, more women started to get jobs on the factory floor, (and later as university graduates in engineering roles). The introduction of maternity leave also contributed to longer continuous service, yet women were always a minority on the 25-year lists. It was not until the 1980s that Holden employed its first female apprentice. Number two, Lynette Tainsch, received her 25-year watch in the 2013, but left the next year after the closure was announced.²⁶

Fluctuating fortunes

The history of the 25-year club at Holden mirrored the company's – and the nation's – economic ups and downs. In the 1950s and '60s, the gold watch was symbolic of the social contract that existed between Holden and its workers: secure employment, good wages, and the chance to provide a good life for your family in exchange for loyal, long service (and long hours, it has to

be said – six days a week in most cases). It was not uncommon for 25-year watch men like Ivan Rilling to notch up more than 40 years' service.²⁷ These were the 'golden years' according to Ivan's son Geoff. By the time Geoff started there in 1969 as a 15-year-old apprentice, times were changing. Increasing competition from Japanese imports, and high fuel prices was putting pressure on profits. After witnessing some particularly harsh layoffs in 1971 when 300 workers were sacked on one day, Geoff decided he could not rely on Holden as a 'job for life'. He resigned, went back to high school then university, qualifying as a social worker. He had a series of other jobs, but never reached the 25-year milestone in any of them, unlike his father and grandfather.²⁸

Tough economic times also led to the demise of the 25-year club functions. At their height, these were held in five states and attended by thousands. In Adelaide, for example, they had to hire the hall at the showgrounds, at the time the only place large enough to fit the 1200 or so club members who annually attended in the 1960s.²⁹ By the late 1970s, the functions had become so large that the company had to restrict invitations to only those receiving their awards that year.



Exhibition panels from the Holden and Me: Treasures of Working Life Exhibition.
Photo: National Motor Museum, Australia.

This upset many, including the retirees who used to return for the functions each year. In the early 1980s, the free meals were scrapped altogether, sparking uproar that was reported in the local press. Workers who had so eagerly embraced the 'club' felt that the company had breached its contract with them. Woodville worker Brenton Maidment, who had started as a 15-year-old apprentice, recalled his reaction to the end of the dinners:

The biggest thing I actually looked forward to, was going to the 25-year dinners and having dinner with all my friends that started on the same year or that I worked with. And I looked forward to that ... I think I only did one 25-year dinner and the company stopped [them] and I thought, Oh my god, after all this time, waited 25 years and now they've stopped it. And I don't know the reason. I think it was cost and the amount of people that was involved.³⁰

In 1981, members of the Woodville tool room protested by forming their own 25-year club. Anyone who had ever worked in the tool room and notched up their 25 years was eligible to join. This included all the South Australian apprentices who had been trained there over the years, including Maidment. The Woodville factory closed in 1990, and has long been demolished, but the annual dinners have continued to this day, even throughout the Covid pandemic.

Changing tastes

Over time, the choice of awards for reaching 25 years was expanded to include mantle clocks, electronic goods like DVD players, silverware, and sporting equipment, like golf clubs. This probably reflected changing tastes and the declining interest in traditional watches following the introduction of digital models. The gold watch remained an option for many years but was not always the workers' first choice. Warehouse worker Ross Scott chose the golf clubs, and almost immediately regretted it:

You'd look online and I reckon you had the choice of about 20 different things. So, you could get a mantel clock, yeah, get a video camera or a

VCR or something like that ... I got golf clubs, and I should have got the watch because I'm shocking at golf.³¹

British migrant Adris Salih, who worked in the plastics plant with his wife and mother-in-law, chose the watch. There was no dinner, but it was still a 'big deal':

That's my watch for 25 years ... When I got that it could be a watch, it could have been golf clubs, it could have been a camera, a movie camera or something. They started bringing out a few things that you could have picked. I said, I'll have the watch. It has been a good watch. It still goes. That's my 25-year watch. So, I can't be too bad. It's a nice present I got off them.³²

Higher turnovers, increased casualisation and redundancies during the 2000s made it harder to reach the 25-year goal. The lists published in the magazines became shorter and less frequent. In its later years, Holden presented small crystal awards for shorter lengths of service, marking five, ten and 15 years of employment. Kris Rasimoglou, who worked in the paint plant in the 2000s, recalled a much younger work force when he was there. Most had only been there a few years and he never saw a 25-year award presented.³³

But while the awards may have changed, many, especially those with gold watch fathers, still strove for the 25-year milestone – and felt cheated when the company closed. Stephen Hack, a third generation Holden worker, notched up 10 years at Holden, and has worked in a number of jobs since. His longest job lasted 12 years. His father Bob was a gold watch man and a founder of the Woodville tool room 25-year club. In his interview, he reflected on the changes he had witnessed in the workplace:

I don't think there's much of 'long-termers' anymore. Ah, it was nothing unusual for people to work at Holdens for 20, 25, 35, 40 years, you know. Ah, that was the norm. I would have been one of them if they hadn't shut the flaming plant on me.³⁴

Legacy

It is telling that the 25-year club at Woodville has outlasted the company itself. While many of the old-timers have motored on, about 90 still attended the most recent dinner last month [October 2022]. One regular attendee is Rod Keane who, as a senior manager, presented dozens of gold watches over the years. He was only 27 when he presented the first one. I asked him what he thought it meant to the people who achieved the 25-year milestone:

I think everything. I mean the world again was different, people took jobs for life. It was a big deal and people were mentally proud of it. It was like a validation, if you like. ... there was no differentiation, you were all looked on equally. My sense of Holden was it was like a large family ... people did different things [but] everyone sort of contributed to the result.³⁵

As personnel manager in the 1960s, Don Leaver oversaw the gold watch scheme at the Woodville factory. While he did not achieve the milestone himself (something he regrets), he was so impressed with the scheme that he introduced into the next company where he worked. He recalled:

Well, [it was] recognition of good, loyal service. And they saw that as payment for all the things they had done. And I can assure you they were all very proud of their watches. I was very impressed because there were so many people who had long service with General Motors. I couldn't get over how close they were, how long service was an important part of the plant's history, and the gold watch system. I knew what the gold watch meant to the employees. I went to other companies, and they never used to keep their employees as long as General Motors did. And yet people used to complain about General Motors, but I can tell you that General Motors was a good place to work, and they looked after their staff and that's why the employees stayed there.³⁶

Conclusion

Objects, like the gold watch, can tell us a lot about the people who own them and elicit memories and emotions in oral history interviews that might not otherwise have been tapped. While the gold watch was introduced as part of a management scheme to retain labour, it became an integral part of the company's workplace culture. For workers it was recognition for their hard work and commitment but also a rite of passage, one that granted the recipient access to an elite social group within the workplace. Viewing Holden from the perspective of the gold watch helps paint a more intimate social history of the company and its workplace culture but it also highlights important themes of post-war reconstruction, migration, gender and changing attitudes to work and employment over 70 years. Holden workers were clearly proud of the work they did and their part in building an iconic Australian product – the Holden car. While the closure of the company means there will be no new members of the 25-year club, its importance to the workers is evident by the continuation of the Woodville dinners and the strong affiliation many still feel with it and their fellow inductees. Today, gold watches continue to act as touchstones that evoke memories of the recipients' working lives. Like war medals, they continue to be passed down through generations, hoarded and treasured by those for whom a 'job for life' at Holden will never be an option.

Carolyn Collins

Dr Carolyn Collins is an author and oral historian based at the University of Adelaide and an interviewer for the National Library of Australia. Between 2019 and 2022, she interviewed 55 former Holden workers and is currently working on a book based on this work. She is the author of *Save Our Sons: Women, Dissent and Conscripted during the Vietnam War* (2020) and co-author of *Trailblazers: 100 Inspiring South Australian Women* (2019).

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3. GMH's advertising jingle, c.1976, ('We love football, meat pies, kangaroos and Holden cars') was adapted from the American Chevrolet campaign, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/ads/football-meat-pies-holden-cars/clip/>, accessed 15 October 2022.
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5. The interviews were undertaken as part of the 'People, Places and Promises: Social Histories of Holden' project funded by the Australian Research Council (LP170100860), General Motors – Holden, the National Library of Australia (NLA) and the National Motor Museum. The research team consisted of Jennifer Clark, Paul Sendziuk and Carolyn Collins (all University of Adelaide), and Alistair Thomson and Graeme Davison (Monash University). All of the interviews undertaken for the project are being transferred to the NLA and will be available subject to the conditions imposed by the interviewees.
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13. The gold watch scheme was one of a raft of measures introduced in the post-war period. Other benefits listed in GMH's 1950 Annual Report included: 'a contributory retirement plan' for salaried employees, a group life insurance plan available to all employees 'at very favourable rates', modern medical services including supervision at each site of a full-time doctor, canteens, subsidised social and recreation activities, and the ability to purchase company products on 'favourable terms'.
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15. Ivan Rilling interviewed by the author, Golden Grove SA, 10, 17 & 19 March 2021, NLA 7250/57.
16. 'More Woodville Workers who have been 25-years with GMH', *People*, March 1950, p. 11. *People* was a company magazine produced by GMH's public affairs division several times a year.
17. John Mason interviewed by the author, Adelaide, 14 November 2019, NLA 7250/22.
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19. George Vassallo interviewed by the author, Seaton SA, 10 & 11 February 2020, NLA 7250/31.
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21. 'Company Honours 152 Twenty-Five Year Service Employees', *People*, March 1950, pp. 8–9.
22. 'In This Corner', *People*, February 1952, p. 2.
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24. 'SA Club Breaks New Ground', *People*, August 1987, p. 3.
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27. 'Ivan's 42-year milestone', *People*, August 1987, p. 3.
28. Geoff Rilling interviewed by the author, Golden Grove SA, 7 & 8 April 2021, NLA 7250/60.
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John Miller

Oral History Project

SUE GEE

On 8 April 2021, Bronwyn Banks, a trustee of the John Miller Photography Trust, phoned me to talk about the kaupapa of the trust and the possibility of recording John. In May, Farrell Cleary, a friend of John's from the '70s, called. He explained the Trust's thinking about an oral history interview with John and became the main communicator between me and the Trust.

In July that year, after several backgrounding and relationship-forming phone calls, I sent a proposal for 25 hours of John Miller oral history covering about ten content areas. I estimated 40 hours of session time across 10-14 weeks. A lot of thought and research went into my proposal. I considered co-ordination and communication time, interview, travel and research time, administration, paperwork, file management, abstracting and liaison with repositories. In August, I learned the proposal was accepted and Graeme Easte, the project funder, required it be turned into a contract. This was surprisingly easy to do. I renamed it an Agreement, circulated it to the Trust and on 16 August 2021, a hard copy was signed by Farrell Cleary at John's home in Grey Lynn. Recordings began there, that very day, with a team of one: me.

The recordings were to archive John's prodigious memory of hui, hīkoi, people, places, and events and were to inform an upcoming book about his work along with a website under construction. Several institutions had made enquiries about where John proposed to lodge his photographic archive but John had not committed himself. Auckland Libraries were supporting the project by supplying a Zoom H4 recording

kit and technical advice, so that was the natural repository for recordings.

In total, we recorded 61 50-minute tracks over 20 sessions, mainly at John's home. We covered ten agreed areas: Ngā Tamatoa, tangihanga of Dame Te Atairangikaahu, Bastion Point, Springbok Tour/Anti-Apartheid, Anti-nuclear movement, Ngāti Hine land struggle, Labour Party leaders, Waitangi 1970-2000, 1975 Land March, teenage years in Wellington. But in reality, John had only just begun.

In February 2022, Farrell suggested John write a list of further topics he wished to cover. John did this, organising it year by year, easily and quickly, from memory on three hand written foolscap pages which we used to guide us over the following ten months of recording. I wrote notes as we recorded and filled three A5 books with 800 pages of hand-written notes such as, 'After a close count, as at 7 April 2022 across 46 tracks, 55 topics have been covered up to the mid '90s, (ticked in green). There are 27 topics to cover which John has circled in red and which are numbered in pink.' John was directing the project by now and gave an estimate of how many minutes he would likely speak on each topic.

At times John was animated, excited and pouring forth. Laughter, irony and political commentary were always close. On one occasion, when energy was low, the recordings were muted. Sometimes the tone was conversational. With my background in photography and being of the same generation, we felt comfortable discussing f-stops, film speeds, focussing difficulties, lens preferences, lighting conditions and the

transition from film to digital. Early on, I took photos and short videos of John. If you know him, you'll have observed that he speaks with his hands. He still has all his cameras. There is a funny video, with me laughing and John demonstrating a wind-up camera.

Occasionally I annoyed John by asking too many questions, searching for details, but mostly, I asked a question or raised a topic and he was off. John knows, and has photographed, thousands of people. Politicians, poets, publishers, actors, activists, artists, theatre makers, dancers, singers, film directors – the list goes on. His narrative was full of names, dates, protests, places, hui, hīkoi, creatives – details of their work, directors – their films, politicians – their ascension and demise, his take on international politics, the dates of wars, climate events, treaties, even smatterings of the Rugby World Cup. There was often reference to photos he had taken. A truly prodigious memory.

Because he has fair skin John was sometimes questioned about his right to be on marae and asked, 'Who are you? Pākehā!'. He gleefully tells of apologies received when it is found out who he is related to. In Track 19, John speaks about a colour bar. He is a little boy and his mother mentions a colour bar in the Kaikohe Hotel. He thinks it's about paint, like Dulux. About colours. He speaks of easily navigating Pākehā spaces and Te Ao Māori, both being equal in his life.

Graeme Easte funded the oral history. For one session, about the Ngāti Hine land struggles, he sat in and explained his part. In the early 1970s, using an early calculator, he helped John foil Māori Land Court record-keeping deficiencies, figuring a way to quickly identify, locate and contact hundreds of land owners by manual means. John has written extensively about that fraught time and these documents will be lodged as ephemera at Auckland Libraries.



John Miller oral history interview (2022). Photo: Sue Gee.

The oral history is enriched with detailed personal stories, sometimes directly connected to photographs, sometimes not. It would be hard to estimate the number of tangents John went on, but every one of them had a point. Sometimes it gave the reason for a photograph, or it was a connection between someone in a photograph and a recent event. Speaking about the funeral of Prime Minister Norman Kirk was emotional. There were tears and much sadness at the loss. We mostly recorded three 50-minute tracks per session, always interspersed with cups of tea and bakery items. I became a connoisseur of lamingtons, apple doughnuts, quiche and pies.

Early in 2022, three tracks were recorded in the 1924 La Gonda building in Karangahape Road. Mark Adams and Haru Sameshima, staunch supporters of John's work, have given him studio space for many years. John's negatives are stored there in brown envelopes, placed on a barrister's wooden shelving arrangement. An enlarger and print developing space is curtained off. A flat-bed scanner is set-up. Stands, tripods and lighting equipment populate the high concrete space. A fridge and furniture came from his mother Sara's flat when she moved into a nursing home.

When John was little, he and Sara went on a spontaneous hitchhiking trip up to Waitangi, for 6 February. It was an adventure with no plan and perhaps that experience activated John's approach of 'go where opportunity takes me'. He has often hopped on a bus without even a toothbrush to join an event at an unplanned destination, with historic documentary photographs the result.

John spoke extensively of Joan Metge, whom he regarded as a second mother. She rescued him from leaving school at 16 for a Hutt Valley car assembly job. In 1974 he often stayed with her. She allowed him to put up aluminium sisalation sheeting and set up a darkroom on her Wellington back porch, using water carried in buckets from the laundry. John set up several darkrooms in several cities and my instinct was to ferret out the details.

Today, John is still immersed in the activist life. He sends me links on divergent political commentary. We are in regular contact as we are collaborating to abstract the 61 recorded tracks. (Early on, the Trust decided to abandon the abstracting component of the project to concentrate on recording as many of John's stories as possible.) Auckland Libraries have provided funding. I'm teaching Otter.ai (web-based AI



John Miller and Sue Gee selfie. Photo: Sue Gee.

transcription) hundreds of Māori words and New Zealand place names. My handwritten notes are invaluable. Before uploading each track, I type in names, places and New Zealand phrases from the notes. It's exciting to see a phrase like *Te Huinga Rangatahi o Aotearoa* transcribed correctly. We are doing a hybrid transcription/abstracting process and John is inserting images with captions.

Apart from the ten subjects listed earlier, here a few examples of other topics you will find in the collection: his school years; photographing for *Craccum* (the weekly magazine produced by Auckland University Students' Association) in the 1970s; a bomb-making workshop at Massey University; artists' and writers' conferences; attendance at political party conferences; anti-apartheid and Vietnam war protests; flatting at Sarnia; working on the film set of *Ngāti* (directed by Barry Barclay, 1987); working for Māori TV; the *Rainbow Warrior* arriving in New Zealand in 1985 and taking the last photograph of Fernando

Pereira; the birth of his daughter, Rereata Hardman-Miller; Ralph Hotere's funeral, and sharing fruit loaf with Tame Iti on the day of the Hunga-Tonga Hunga-Ha'apai volcano eruption in January 2022.

The final recording session took place on 14 December 2022 at John's house. Taura Eruera, a main instigator of Ngā Tamatoa, joined us. We used two lapel microphones plus Zoom X Y multidirectional microphones. A small disaster. I forgot to push the MIC input. Luckily Liz, tech back-up at Auckland Libraries, boosted the one quiet voice and the conversational tracks are among the best in the collection. Rich in historical, social, political commentary and personal detail, they record information from a perspective often missed out. Brownyn Banks told me that Taura came home buzzing. He was elated at how much he had remembered. A tribute I reckon, to oral history – the value of providing a well-researched, deep listening space.

Sue Gee

Sue Gee became involved in oral history in the early 2000s as secretary of the Chinese NZ Oral History Foundation. She has been an Auckland based member of the NOHANZ committee and is currently working on recordings about the 1993 Karekare Beach rāhui and the recent Cyclone Gabrielle response.

Background to the John Miller Photography Trust

JOHN MILLER ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Graeme Easte, Funding Donor

I have known John for five decades, first meeting him in 1973 when I was part of the *Craccum* student newspaper crew at Auckland University and he was a contributing photographer. I was aware of his encyclopedic knowledge of New Zealand political events, and in particular affairs in the Māori realm which he could talk about at length from his position as a direct witness or participant.

Several years ago, in telling a friend about John's amazing knowledge and stories, it suddenly occurred to me to check how much of this had actually been documented. I dropped in to visit John who confirmed that while his photos were widely known, his stories were delivered orally, so that few, if any, were recorded. He was interested in my idea of compiling his stories into a book but was always busy so suggested I contact the John Miller Photography Trust, which I was unaware of, to discuss the concept further.

Although the trust has existed since 2011, it initially focused on John's extensive accumulation of photographs, including compiling a comprehensive database to aid access. The oral history project is much more recent, beginning mid-2020.

In August 2020, I first met the key trustees to discuss my idea, which was then about commissioning a book, for which I could at least part-fund the research. This was completely different from what the Trust had been doing until then, but they agreed that John's knowledge was a valuable resource and should be recorded. After months of discussion about the best way to proceed, a call was to be put out for

expressions of interest from oral historians. The Trust would be careful to choose somebody with experience but who also had empathy with the subject matter.

I think where we will end up is the best of all worlds, an accessible archive of John's photographs cross-referenced with the book and the recordings. I am sure that this will be of interest to the general public as well as future writers and historians.

Taura Eruera & Bronwyn Banks, founding trustees, John Miller Photography Trust

We have known John since student days, in our early 20s. I first heard of the idea for the trust at his mother, Sara Alexander's tangi in 2009. John had laid his mother in state at his Grey Lynn house for two nights before taking her back to whānau at Waihou then burial at Ōkaihau. At the start of the tangi someone made a quiet comment that John is a national treasure. Over the course of the tangi, speech after speech to John's mother told her that she was leaving behind not just her son, not just our mate, not just a gun photographer but a national treasure. And that she could leave this life a happy and proud mother. What started as a whisper, 'National Treasure', soon grew into a proverb, a whakatauki.

During kōrero it emerged that John had been sitting on a grant from Marti Friedlander to archive his images. He wanted to administer this grant through a trust. As he and his daughter left to take his mother home to her people at Waihou, steps to setting up the trust immediately began among those who remained behind. To me,

the purpose of the trust was to urgently start the task of archiving this national treasury with seed funding from the Marti Friedlander award and to complete the task with future funding.

Geraldene Peters, founding trustee, John Miller Photography Trust

I was also at Sara's tangi and represented a different era and strand of John's work, more tied to his political and media interventions from the early 2000s. I'd known John as a good friend, organising and documenting social, political and media events of the time. Having collaborated with John on some writing initiatives, my motivation was to assist him in preserving and managing his archive in all its distinctive dimensions

At John's request, the John Miller Photography Trust was set up to administer the Marti Friedlander Photographic Award conferred on him in 2009. The original members, myself, Taura Eruera, Bronwyn Banks and Farrell Cleary met in early 2011, and a Trust Deed was signed on 28 October that year. We were invited by John, and represented different but related aspects of his life and work across Te Ao Māori, political and creative spheres. Rereata Hardman-Miller, John's daughter, was copied into Trust correspondence and formally joined in 2022. In May 2023, Trust membership expanded to include Chris McBride, Natalie Robertson and Graeme Easte.

I had started working with John and the Trust on a website project. Part of the vision for the website was to host some oral histories with John speaking to the photographs he'd selected for the website. I undertook oral history training with the National Library, and Taura, Bronwyn and

Farrell began some oral history recordings with John. But life and world events put a hold on that. Some years later, Graeme Easte approached the Trust with his vision and funding for oral history recordings with John. I spoke with Rereata who suggested Sue Gee, given Sue's work as an oral historian and her insights as a family friend.

A key motivation for the Trust was to ensure future accessibility of the archive from Te Ao Māori tāonga and the vast record of political and creative histories in Aotearoa New Zealand, to the legacy for his whānau. Archival institutions such as the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, can importantly preserve the archive materials – negatives, prints, ephemera. Still, resource constraints mean that the painstaking task of digitising and annotating photographs for accessioning and referencing purposes would be delayed for an indeterminate period.

It was important for John and the Trust to digitise and record the details of every image possible to enable access for researchers and te whānau. Trust members have steadily worked alongside John since 2009 to document all aspects of the archive according to Dublin Core and Digital NZ preservation standards.

Farrell Cleary, Trustee, John Miller Photography Trust

Bronwyn Banks and Taura Eruera had been talking for years about encouraging John to safeguard his extraordinary collection of photos. Haru Sameshima and Mark Adams were crucial co-supporters that the Trust worked with. The grant from Marti Friedlander was the spur for the formation of the Trust.

Tools of his trade – A portal into the life of drover Jack Curtis

RUTH LOW

When I read the theme for the 2022 Oral History conference, *Te Reo a Ngā Taputapu - Memory, Oral History and Material Culture*, I immediately went to a bookshelf in my office and picked up what could be mistaken for a humble piece of string but which is in fact an artfully made whip cracker – the piece that goes on the end of a whip to make the cracking noise. The whip cracker is an evocative and tangible reminder to me of my experiences travelling the country with my family while I interviewed old time drovers. For those unfamiliar with the term ‘drover’ these were the men and women (mainly men) and some children that moved stock on the hoof along the roads of Aotearoa to the myriad of saleyards, freezing works, and farms around the motu.

Laurie McVicar, who I interviewed in Nelson in 2007, gave me the whip cracker. He had grown up on Totara Flat in the Grey Valley and loved to help on droves as a child. He was often put out in front of a mob, a lonely and boring position, so he would cut some flax and make the whip crackers as he mooched along.

My whip cracker acted as a catalyst for me to reflect on the tools the drovers used and what it revealed about their lives and work. Whether the tools were immediately to hand or just a memory, they acted as a portal, or gateway, into a rich mine of wonderful memories and insight into the equipment they needed to work, as well as knowledge specific to their occupation. They also showed how knowledge was passed on to younger ones working alongside their elders.

One of the special joys of oral history is when you have an interview where you

really connect with the interviewee and you feel they have gifted you a window into their lives. Such was the case with Jack Curtis who I had the pleasure of interviewing at his farm in Whangamomona in December 2007. For several hours he kept me enthralled with his memories of life on the road.

Jack, or Boy as he was known, was born in Gisborne in 1937 and spent his early life in and around the East Coast. His father was a drover as well as station manager of various stations in the district. As a young lad in the school holidays, Jack was out with his father droving stock from the back blocks of Gisborne into Matawhero saleyards. While Jack did OK in school, it was never of much interest and he spent his high school days splitting his time between school and shepherding. At 16 Jack left school and went droving. He drove mobs of sheep and cattle around the East Coast, the Bay of Plenty and through to the Waikato. When there was no droving work, he would go mustering. Droving eventually took a back seat to farm ownership and by the 1960s, when he was married with children, his droving days were largely over.

While many drovers worked around sale yards and did not travel too far afield, others drove mobs of cattle and sheep for weeks or even months at a time. Only moving just 8 to 10 miles a day, the stock would feed along the road verge or the ‘long acre’ – known as ‘the best paddock in New Zealand.’ They would travel with their horse, team of dogs, and a pack horse loaded with all the necessities for the drove. When sharing his memories of the requisite tools, Jack casually revealed that he still had some of

the items that he used on his droves. At the end of the interview, he took me out to his truck and showed them to me. It amazed me that after over forty years he still had them. How wonderful to see and touch them with their patina of Jack's working life.

According to Jack it was a 'work of art' to load the packhorse well so that everything was balanced. The horse could quite literally even be a clothes horse. As Jack said, 'It was nothing, absolutely nothing, to see the old pack horse wandering along the road with a pair of pants or pair of underpants hooked on the side of the saddle – no problem'.

Jack laid out his swag, set up his fire irons and proudly showed me the sheep dip box that had been his tucker box all those years ago. His camp oven was not with him on the day of the recording though he related specific memories about it. His swag, sheep dip box and camp oven acted as conduits for insight into the drovers' world and revealed how specialised knowledge was passed from experienced drovers to those new to the profession.

Drovers would frequently sleep rough – making a bivvy beside the holding paddocks where stock would stay overnight. Jack

was very familiar with sleeping rough as his longest single stint on the road was three months. He related how he would set up his swag.

The old man [Jack's father] – he was a pretty fussy old fella – he always had a good pack cover – which is only a square piece of canvas – big enough to keep the dew off you. I was like that too...tie one end of it to the fence and maybe drive in a couple pegs and pull it back like sort of half a tent sort of thing. Cos there's nothing worse than all dew all through your blankets...just woollen blankets – only ever had two each – no sheets no pillow. Actually, I'll show you shortly on my old sleeping bag. I've still got it. Well, it's not a sleeping bag, it's our swag. We always call it a swag. Never ever seen a modern, like today's sleeping bags, never seen one.

Chuckling, Jack, also related the unusual sleeping arrangement of another drover, 'Little Roundie Tamati, a good little mate – oh, he's a dag. He had a chaff sack cos he was only a little fella and if it was cold in winter, he would have two chaff sacks.'



A whip cracker being shown at the end of Laurie McVicar's whip, 2007. Photo: Ruth Low.



Jack Curtis, 2007. Photo: Ruth Low.

Another example of Jack's attention to his father's teaching was how he prepared the camp oven for travel.

When I was droving full time I inherited Dad's camp oven which was steel. The one I've got now is aluminium. A steel one, the first thing you do is cut the legs off them because [if you] drop them you break the camp oven and a steel camp oven breaks so easily, and you throw the lid away cos the chatter of the camp oven lid on the pack horse breaks the camp oven. So, you get the plumber to make a tin one. *(Laughs)* That's one of the little tricks that you remember.

The idea of the legs of the camp oven being sawn off was told to me by at least one other drover, although the reason they cut them off varied.

Jack's sheep dip box or 'tucker box' was a conduit for all sorts of references and insights into the world in which he lived, whether it was how his mother made fruit cakes for him to take on the road, how the service car driver or cream truck driver

would drop off food for them along their route or how his mate Tamati always had his own loaf of bread as no one was game to eat it after Tamati had tucked the bread under his arm to slice it. Again, there was reference to specialised knowledge.

We certainly didn't starve. There was the odd time that we went hungry. Like our tucker box was full to the max before you started a job... (Pack horse) swag on one side, tucker box on the others. Spuds and kumaras and onion underneath the swag so they wouldn't get crushed. Dog tucker underneath the tucker box or else on the top load. And your pack cover right over the top. That's a bit of a work of art actually loading that pack horse and keeping it balanced - it's got to be 100 per cent correct.

In your tucker box...the old man anyhow, and he taught me, was a kerosene tin cut down so it's the same height as the tucker box. And that's if you're camping here and the water is down in the creek, way down there, so you're not up and down up and down. So, you go down there with the little billy and the biggest billies you've got - maybe your camp oven, fill them up with water and come back to your camp. And in that four-gallon bucket - usually everyone just about had three billies, one slightly smaller than each, one inside each other and inside the last billy...was my old butter billy - it's a white enamel billy with a lid on it and it would hold a pound of butter ... and it keeps it clean and if you'd had a stinking hot day and it melts a bit well you've still got it.

Condensed milk. I've been weaned off milk since I was about 15, I suppose, or 16 because condensed milk gets through everything!!!

A fair bit of tin stuff carried but not so much eaten - because in the summertime, we only drove sheep in the summer and you'd kill a sheep for the dogs. And if there were sort of three of yous, we'd use the hind legs as steak

and all the chops, of course, and quite a lot of the shoulders – cut them up for stews and all that. And never ever cook spuds without onions.... that's standard drover tucker – spuds and onions and if we're lucky well, well yeah – a kumara or two and vegetables. We always carried vegetables but cabbages and that they get sort of stale and mushy and crushed and all that...

While there was specific knowledge, there were also stories connected to the tools. Just one of those memories was Jack talking about his father's cooking. Pride was evident in his voice as he spoke.

Some are good at it, some are hopeless...Old Smokey Thompson, the old guy that I learned most from and Ken Harding, Smokey...and he's an excellent cook and the old man was better – the old man, Jesus man, he'd disappear around the corner and come back and he'd chuck something in the camp oven and you'd say, "What the hell did you put in there?" "Oh, you'll see, Boy!" Batch of scones in the camp oven and all that, or a sponge! And all that sort of stuff. The old man had no problems.

Jack showed his equipment to me so proudly on the day of the interview and then, at the



Jack Curtis camp equipment set up in bookshop for launch of *On the hoof: the untold story of drovers in New Zealand*. Photo: Ruth Low.

book launch for *On the Hoof: The untold story of drovers in New Zealand* in Feilding seven years later, he came down from Taranaki and set up a mock camp site for me in the bookshop.

As I prepared this paper for the conference, I would have loved the opportunity to meet with Jack again to specifically explore the significance of these tools to him. Sadly, he passed away recently. With reflection, however, I think that beyond the stories and knowledge divulged through these tools, Jack's interview reveals more about the significance of droving to him and how these tools acted, much like my whip cracker does, as an evocative and tangible link with his past.

Jack loved droving but farm ownership had always been his dream. Droving wasn't easy to leave behind, though. When farming, he drove if finances dictated it, but he held a strong commitment to his family. He commented on the impact of being away on the road saying it was 'pretty tough on the kids, eh'. Jack knew from personal experience just how tough it was. When he was young, his own father was often away droving; sometimes he would be gone for a month, come home for a night and head off again. Jack talked of life being tough – his mother and siblings had to pull together and get on and make things work while his father was away. It obviously made a lasting impression on him. And it was clearly not something he wanted for his own children.

Jack leased a 'broken down farm' just after he married his wife, June. Life was tough and the young family relied on hunting for meat and Jack doing the odd drove to help the finances. As Jack talked, his sense of nostalgia was evident along with a recognition of his responsibilities.

But when you've got commitments, ah you've got to think now – is it worth it or am I doing it for fun or do I need the dollars? (*chuckling*) But it's something, maybe, I don't know, maybe you say it's in my blood, but it's something I've always wanted to do. Well, I started quite young. I was only 16 and done it off and on and, even today, if I had an

opportunity to have gone with that joker last winter I would have been right there. Not as a drover but just to be there and to – yeah, even peel his spuds and cook tea. And to yarn about it and I can yarn about it all night.' (*Laughs*)

I would just like to say that I can attest to his ability to yarn – Jack's interview was five hours long – all done in one sitting!

While the tools hold a strong connection to time and place, I wonder at Jack's connection to them on an emotional level. These tools were a physical link to a job that he had loved and which had clear associations with his father. Despite 'the old man' being tough and often absent Jack obviously loved him very much. Jack learned to ride, work dogs, hunt, and drove from his father and references to his father were regularly interspersed throughout the interview. He choked up on a couple of occasions when he talked of him, describing him as being a 'bloody top man.'

It was obvious as Jack spoke that he gained great satisfaction from ensuring his work was of a high standard. A good drover always wanted his stock to arrive at its destination in good condition or even better condition than when they had started. Jack referenced droves where he was praised for the condition of his stock when they arrived, and his good reputation meant a great deal to him. When I asked him what he loved about droving he replied:

Oh, I don't know – you meet a lot of people, and you talk to a lot of people, and you see the same people every trip, "How you getting on?", you know. That and the stock agents – if you've got any reputation for the quality of your work, they all sort of look up to you. Oh Jesus. "How are you going? Got plenty of work? If you're ever short of a job give us a ring." And all that and to me that's really something. And having good gear, real, real good gear you know. I've got a saddle in town now that I bought in 1952, and it's still hanging there. It's not as new but it's pretty close to it. Oh, I don't know – it's just a job – but a good one!

After writing this paper, I would now like to explore the topic further, to contact Jack's family and ask more questions about these items – as to their significance to Jack, whether he had continued to use them and whether they are still in the family now. To have the opportunity to explore what these tools mean to the subsequent generations and to hear any of their stories connected to these items would offer further insight into their significance, revealing the way in which future generations make sense of the material culture of their forebears. While I have just scratched the surface of Jack's interview, it has begun a process for me of reflecting on the people I have interviewed and the tools of their trade. It has left me with much to ponder and unravel in light of the link between memory, oral history, and material culture.

Ruth Entwistle Low is a freelance oral historian and writer living in Timaru. She has received funding through the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho, Piki Ake! Kake Ake! New Zealand Oral History Grants to interview drovers and shearers and has published two books based on her research.

Making the Most of Memory:

Using oral histories for digital touchscreens in an exhibition refresh at the Museum of Transport and Technology (MOTAT)

CHELSEA RENSHAW AND RACHEL BUSH

When trying to understand the relationship between oral history and objects in the GLAM sector, one is struck by the fact that an oral history can capture the enduring humanness of the objects we preserve to tell stories about. Transport and technology objects are fundamentally stories of human impact on our *te taiao* (natural world), whether it is a story of engineering for mechanical advancement, social movement across the *whenua* or the ever increasing need to look at more climate sustainable technologies. Oral histories can be drawn on to shape the conversations or stories museum exhibitions staff tell about an object in a meaningful way – they bring memory to the visitor experience.

This article examines the idea that material from an oral history interview enables visitors to have greater engagement with an object, specifically in an exhibition setting. By editing an oral history into a short story or sound clip and adding a series of relevant photographs or graphics, visitors can engage with an object more thoroughly. However, this is not without significant consideration of the volume of work and experience required to create digital interactives for engaging visitors. To follow is the thinking and process behind using voice to recall memory about an object, delivered as a digital interactive experience.

The focus of this article is the 2022 Aviation Hall exhibition refresh carried out by MOTAT while the Hall was closed to the public, a project which also included a new shop and 200 carparks – the brief was big. The team was tasked with shaping a new experience for the visitor delivered via eight

digital touchscreens. Oral histories were mooted early on in ideation as relatively untapped content that could serve to activate memories about the aircraft in a way that static display and exhibition text could not, whilst providing an authentic voice, literally, about how the aircraft were used. Rachel Bush and I were grateful to receive support from our then Oral Historian, Megan Hutching, and the Walsh Memorial Library (WML) team in transcribing and recommending suitable interviews. As the project developed, the oral history collection became a key component in digital storytelling with segments from the interviews being mapped to interactive ‘hot spots’ which visitors click to play.

The context

There are over 250 oral history interviews at MOTAT’s WML recorded between 1984 and today. The catalogue records for the interviews are findable online and researchers and visitors can listen to the interviews in the library when there are no restrictions on



MOTAT Aviation Hall reopening weekend, 2022. All rights reserved, MOTAT.

access. There are short descriptions for each interview published online and the abstracts are kept on a private field in the library database, searchable by all-text. Many of the interviews are on aviation topics – from being a pilot, in-flight crew (bringing women’s voices into the collection), engineers’ stories, aerial topdressing, to restoration information for the aircraft at MOTAT. These recorded histories directly link to the collection of aircraft in the Aviation Hall, which made them instant candidates for a brief to bring the aircraft to life via eight digital touchscreens placed throughout the Hall.

Rachel Bush and I were tasked with leading the content development. A wider team worked through the mechanics of hosting rich information via touchscreens, and designed how to make it digestible and accessible for visitors. For content selection criteria, we drew on a wealth of research that had come from an unrealised exhibition project ten years before us. From this project, three key themes were revitalised to draw the aircraft collection together: *Linking*

New Zealand, Discovering Aviation, and Safeguarding Aotearoa. These were themes that encompassed stories of movement across Aotearoa and the Pacific through to commercial aviation, the development of aviation technologies to assist in times of uncertainty, particularly in search and rescue and, finally, some of the ways New Zealand applied aviation solutions to different industries such as aerial topdressing. These themes shaped the narrative and content selection for the interpretation and, although not overtly presented to the visitor, they are woven in more subtly through spoken voice, imagery, captions, and video content.

Rachel Bush reflects on developing content for a digital touchscreen

From an Exhibition Curator’s perspective, an oral history needs a little dressing up. In its raw form, an audio wave symbol will not necessarily draw in today’s young visitors who are bombarded with complex attractive animated graphics every time they look at their smart devices. Experience



MOTAT Aviation Hall reopening weekend, 2022. All rights reserved, MOTAT.

from a previous exhibition, 'Love/Science', demonstrated the success of employing three oral histories for exhibition interpretation. In 'Love/Science', an exhibition showcasing key objects from the MOTAT collection, interviews were brought to life with a playful graphic treatment to help the narrative around the transport uniforms on display. From this exhibition, I learned that producing short, impactful, edited clips helped visitors gain an understanding of how the uniform was worn and how much they were loved by the wearer. They featured on a touchscreen alongside macro films of textiles used to create the uniform, such as wool and nylon.

With the scale being much larger for the Aviation Hall project, MOTAT licenced an AI software, Otter. Eighteen oral histories in the WML collection were transcribed using this software and checked by Megan and another researcher, Makyla Curtis. The software was useful in automation of the transcription and providing closed captions for the final videos. However, it was essential that the transcriptions were reviewed for accuracy and sense – mistakes were common. With the deadline looming, Megan and Makyla helped to shortcut the selection process by identifying great snippets or stories which reflected the themes, and provided a timecode to find quickly. This saved a lot of time from my end as we had a production deadline nipping at our heels to enable the Motion Graphics Designer, Neil Grundy, to create a high end animated graphic look. With these refined notes, I could easily select a segment of the oral history and do a basic clip and trim to send to him. In my mind, from my years in TV production prior to working in museums, I knew that keeping to 30-60 seconds would be key to engaging visitors. Keep it short but encapsulate the story!

The graphic treatment needed to elevate the oral history without distracting from it. I wanted the oral history to clearly be the hero of this digital experience. Thus, the idea was to feature key words from the person talking with relevant images but have these images in the background to elevate the spoken word. Neil used a monochromatic or black and white graphic treatment for the text with defocused but relevant images



A still showing the graphic treatment created to present oral histories on digital touchscreens for the Aviation Hall refresh 2022. All rights reserved, MOTAT

across all 30 oral histories featured on the touch screens. The final videos were given a sidebar description about the person speaking and the caption including the oral history accession number. The final 30 were diverse in topic – from a Solent flying boat stewardess opening the door to the smells of coconut in Tahiti, to search and rescue on the Sunderland Flying Boat, to a Police 1 helicopter pilot describing the technology to catch perpetrators.

The results

So, what do we mean when we speak of deeper engagement with the collection?

The example of the Dragon Rapide aircraft provides an example. This aircraft has significant history for the West Coast of the South Island – it was a prolific type of aircraft in general and, in New Zealand, it came to be known as the 'workhorse of aviation.' It is a standout aircraft when considering the theme of 'Linking New Zealand' because, from the 1930s, it provided regular, scheduled air travel to remote parts of the West Coast prior to the Haast Pass being constructed. Through its four-decade career it was operated by several small airlines: Cook Strait Airways, Air Travel NZ and West Coast Airways which carried out scenic, ambulance and special charter flights.

Museum visitors could not gain a sense of the Rapide's importance by reading a static object label with a set word limit. Importantly to the storytelling, labels do not convey a real person's voice with all the associated layering of description, tone and evocative nuance – all the rich

information that curators and oral historians elicit from their interviewees. On the Aviation Hall touchscreen this is poignantly illustrated by the vivid recollections of pilot Paul Beauchamp-Legg who describes navigating these aircraft using the colours of the waterways below him to remind him where he was when visibility was poor. Photographic galleries of the Rapide are presented alongside, and the visitor is given the opportunity to dive deeper – should they wish to.

Conclusion

Mining an oral history collection to create digital content for an exhibition allows visitors to gain a much deeper understanding of the object, in this case the aircraft. Touchscreen content gave the aircraft in the Aviation Hall a refreshed presence, an importance, and, most critically, the new

content allowed visitors an opportunity to hear the aircraft stories. Rachel's reflection on the value of an oral history is that it allows the speaker to recall memories in a relaxed, informal way – which she believes produces better content – rather than be faced with an intimidating camera lens and lights. Oral histories offer a wealth of engaging content that can be used across various digital experiences in exhibitions, and, as we have shown, touchscreens are a great example of their use.

Chelsea Renshaw is the Transport Curator and Rachel Bush is the Senior Exhibitions Content Developer at MOTAT, Auckland.



Cook Strait Airways De Havilland DH-89 Rapide inflight over Buller. MOTAT I5-2055, Whites Aviation Collection. No known copyright restrictions.

All assembled in perfect composition: Enriching photographers' archives with oral history

NATALIE MARSHALL

This report considers the value of public collecting institutions commissioning interviews with photographers in order to augment photographers' archives. I explore the benefits using the case study of an interview with Max Oettli, who deposited a series of negatives taken in New Zealand between 1964 and 1975 in the Alexander Turnbull Library. Oettli was interviewed while he was revisiting these negatives – describing and digitising them approximately 50 years after they were made. Adopting this practice can enrich the photographer's archive while drawing attention to the importance of the timing of oral history interviews that are intended to increase the research value of a photographic archive.

On 12 May 1971, Max, then in his mid-twenties, went to central Auckland with his camera. He captured what he was later to describe as one of his 'iconic photos'.¹ The event was a national homecoming parade for New Zealand military personnel returning from their tour of duty in Vietnam. The disruption of this event by anti-war protesters ensured this was to be the only official welcome home for those who served in Vietnam. Further homecomings were undertaken quietly, away from the public eye.²

Photographic prints of Oettli's image are now held by numerous collecting institutions including the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.³ The associated descriptions do



Parade of military personnel recently returned from service in Vietnam, Auckland, taken 12 May 1971 by Max Oettli, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, Ref: 35mm-I04449-F_G624.

not consistently acknowledge this occasion and different dates have been assigned to the prints, demonstrating how photographs can become disassociated from the contexts in which they were made.

An interview with Oettli recorded by Megan Hutching in 2018, however, allows this connection to be reconstructed. Furthermore, the photographer's description of this event provides detail that could never be gained from solely studying his photographs. In recalling the moment that he captured this scene, Oettli describes how he:

saw this beautiful family...they were all assembled in perfect composition. I turned around and photographed them. The father said, "Never let that photograph be used to shame us." No, it never was.

In speaking about this photograph almost 50 years after it was taken, Oettli touches upon concerns and interests that are shared with the archivist: privacy, future use, ownership, representation, context, moral rights, ethics.

In his interview Oettli describes what he was wearing on that day. While this could initially seem to be inconsequential information, the details of his torn jeans and a t-shirt on which he had written the word 'shame', contrast sharply with the attire of both the servicemen and the family captured in his photograph. It also provides insight into Oettli's personal views, which no doubt informed his photography. We get a sense of Oettli beyond his engagement with photography on this day; he is not just attending in order to photograph the event but is making a political statement himself.

The interview with Oettli was recorded over three days from 30 May to 1 June 2018.⁴ Oettli discussed his early childhood in Switzerland, his family's migration to New Zealand in 1957, his schooling, and his photography. The interview was commissioned by the Alexander Turnbull Library to augment the archive of Oettli's photographs, which was being deposited at this time. The interview was timed to coincide with a project in which the photographer was



Natalie Marshall (left) and Max Oettli in the Alexander Turnbull Library's 'film store', a controlled atmosphere store that is kept at 2°C and houses film negatives and transparencies. The open drawer holds some of Oettli's photographic negatives. Photograph taken 30 May 2019 by Mark Beatty.

digitising and describing a series of negatives he had taken in New Zealand between 1964 and 1975. Oettli was going through each frame, therefore it was a time of reflection – a revisiting of his photography and life from the period he ‘became a serious street photographer.’⁵

I was the photograph curator at the Turnbull Library at this time and had been exploring the idea of commissioning interviews with photographers from whom significant series of work had been acquired. Although receiving support from the oral history curator, limited resourcing hampered this project. It had been possible, however, to commission Hugo Manson to interview self-taught photographer Gladys Goodall over two days in June 2013.⁶ Goodall had donated her collection of around 11,000 colour transparencies and 800 postcards to the Library in 2002–03, and her photographs of New Zealand landscapes and towns had received regular interest from researchers.⁷ A small exhibition of her work was shown in 2013, spurring the Library and the Public Programmes team of the National Library to secure funding for this interview.

By the time the Library commissioned the interview, Goodall was 105 years old but certainly willing and able to commit to an interview of more than three hours duration. Goodall outlined her process of taking photographs and shared stories behind some of her best-known images.

Several months before Oettli was interviewed, Jem Southam, Emeritus Professor of Photography in the School of Arts and Media at the University of Plymouth, visited New Zealand. Southam leads the Photographers’ Archives & Legacy Project, a research project that looks at how UK-based, independent photographers can make their work and related contextual material publicly accessible, now and for the long-term, and how opportunities can be increased for the general public, researchers and students to have access to, learn about and enjoy their work.⁸ Southam and Oettli both participated in a workshop organised by Whiti o Rehua School of Art, Massey University, which urged curators, photographers, digital archivists, and lecturers to consider what constitutes a photographer’s

archive. Traditionally including prints, negatives, job books, and perhaps a camera, the archive is being broadened to encompass other sources, such as oral history, due to an increasing awareness of the different insights such sources can provide into the way photography has been created, experienced and understood.

Several years after the scanning project, Oettli recalled confirming his supposition that in his early years of photography ‘there was a lot of skipping and I obviously missed some gems in my busy darkroom days back then’. He was pleased to discover ‘many photos I had never really looked at seriously but which...belonged in the larger canon of my work.’⁹ Similar to viewing frames that had not previously received much attention, or to viewing a proof sheet or negative strip to learn how a photographer had arrived at an iconic photograph, the interview also provided surprises for the commissioner. Notably, Oettli dispelled the assumption that someone who has pursued photography for over 50 years would most certainly speak of its dominance in their life. Oettli, however, stated:

[i]t became a passion but never a ruling passion. Photography’s always been important to me. It’s been a way of earning my living but I don’t think it’s my primary interest. My primary interest, I think, is communication. Photography’s a big part of that.¹⁰

Oettli’s work includes numerous self-portraits, one of which is titled ‘me, with Canon LI camera,’ and shows the photographer’s face partially obscured by his camera. The interview has provided an additional way in which to get behind photographic equipment and iconic images, in order to understand more of the experiences of the photographer, or the ‘me’ behind the Canon. How this can best be done depends on the particular collection, photographer, and circumstances. The Turnbull Library’s experience shows it is worth considering options around timing and frequency. What is the value of interviewing an emerging photographer? Would it be worth conducting interviews with a photographer at different stages of their career? It may also be beneficial to interview other key people in



Self-portrait of Max Oettli, 'me, with Canon LI camera', taken 1968 by Max Oettli, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, Ref: 35mm-102165-F_C55 18

the photographer's personal and working life. Oettli's wife Simone, for instance, is captured in dozens of Oettli's photographs in this series and has lived with Max for much of his time as a photographer. Agents, dealers, collectors, and curators, may also be worth considering interviewing.

In his interview, Oettli declared that photography should 'expose something'. Through continued engagement with oral history, there is an increased likelihood that what the photographers set out to expose is better understood. Preserving these interviews in the same way that the photographs themselves are, and making them available to researchers will help create what Oettli has described as 'hidden treasure', a resource which can be used long after he is 'a little box of ashes on Simone's mantelpiece.'¹¹

Natalie Marshall

Natalie Marshall is an historian at Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga and a freelance researcher, curator and writer. She held the position of photograph curator at the Alexander Turnbull Library from 2011 to 2023.

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MOTAT's Walsh Memorial Library Oral History Collection

ANNA FOMISON AND SIMON WETHERILL

The Museum of Transport and Technology (MOTAT) started in Auckland in 1964 through the passion and determination of a group of affiliated interest groups and individuals. Their shared desire to showcase New Zealand's transport and technology, in an operational environment where possible, was supported by Auckland Council, who provided the old Auckland water works precinct at Western Springs for the Museum's location. Since 1964, the museum has expanded to include a second site hosting items and highlighting stories from New Zealand's aviation and rail sectors, which is connected to the original site by the Western Springs Tramway. These two sites are complemented by a third site which serves as storage for those items not on display.

The Walsh Memorial Library (WML) was set up early in the museum's existence to house an initial collection of publications that formed the basis of library. This has gradually expanded over the years to capture documentary heritage items represented through the following collection areas: Ephemera and Manuscripts, Pictorial, Publications, Institutional Archives, Maps and Plans and Audio-Visual. The Library's oral history collection is a key component of the Audio-Visual collection, and comprises over 300 interviews in reel-to-reel tape, cassette tape and digital formats.

Interviews related to donations make up a small proportion of the collection, about 20 interviews. In the past, enthusiastic volunteers and staff undertook interviewing in an ad-hoc programme with subjects identified outside any formal planning,

as such was the nature of MOTAT's development at the time. In 2007 Megan Hutching was appointed to the role of part-time Oral Historian and implemented a more structured approach for interviews which is currently being undertaken by the incumbent Oral Historian, Anna Fomison who has been with the WML since January 2023.

The collection of interviews that relate to donated items includes recordings with the donors themselves, as well as interviews about the item itself, its invention, functionality, use and sometimes restoration. Recordings are currently only available to listen to by visiting the WML but the library will be exploring the ability to access recordings via an online platform in future.

An example is an interview in the collection with Cliff Tait, one of New Zealand's most famous flyers, who flew an Air Tourer aircraft ZK-CXU, 'Miss Jacy', now in the MOTAT collection, around the world solo in 1969.

Then there is Richard Croker who was interviewed for the exhibition 'The Art of Industrial Design' held at the WML, 2018-19 and who talks about the work of industrial designer, Gifford Jackson whose immaculate drawings of the proposed Auckland Rapid Transit system in the 1960s form part of the WML collection.

Helen Harris talks about being the first person to have open heart surgery in New Zealand, which used the Melrose heart-lung machine which is in the MOTAT collection, while John Triggs is recorded talking about the restoration of the 1913 Douglas Ladies' motorcycle, also in the collection. Ross

Howie talks about his work as a pediatrician at National Women's Hospital, Auckland, and focuses his talk on the development and use of the spectrophotometer which was donated by National Women's Hospital to MOTAT's collection.

The Cockcroft-Walton type nuclear particle accelerator and its use at Auckland University is discussed in an interview with Leo Hobbs (who built it for his PhD thesis) and the design and manufacture of the Trekka vehicle is covered in an interview with Phil Andrews. Both of these items are in MOTAT's collection.

These recordings add context, narrative, and explanation, but sometimes there can be complications around copyright and permissions. There have been occasions when an interviewee dies and the recording becomes subject to usage permissions from the deceased's family who are not in agreement with each other. This can have the unintended result of making the recording unavailable while this is resolved, requiring us to take on the role of advocate for the recording itself.

Other complications include recordings dealing with sensitive subject matter being donated. An unofficial full transcript of the Erebus Royal Commission of Inquiry, arranged and funded by a victim's family, provide an interesting ethical question on how best to manage the recording and make it accessible. The recorded interview provides the reason behind the commissioning of the transcript and the donation to the WML collection. Erebus is still a raw topic for so many New Zealanders, and the continued fostering of the relationships between MOTAT and Air New Zealand and the Civil Aviation Authority add to the complexity of managing such a sensitive collection item.

The Walsh Memorial Library oral history collection is unique, and its development is informed by a very specific collection policy. Contemporary interviews of current innovators become the record of innovation whether successful or not in future and provide the context and human story associated with some of the amazing objects held at MOTAT.

Anna Maria Fomison is the Oral Historian and Simon Wetherill is the Head of Library & Archives at MOTAT.

Waitaki Museum and Archive Te Whare Taoka o Waitaki

CHLOE SEARLE

Since 2004 the Waitaki Museum and Archive | Te Whare Taoka o Waitaki (formerly the North Otago Museum) has been running an active oral history collecting programme. Every year oral historians are commissioned to record interviews with local people of interest. The choice of who to interview is always difficult given a limited budget and an abundance of potentially interesting interviewees. We decide after discussions between the contracted oral historian and museum and archive staff. Thought is given to getting a range of people recorded and, where possible, using the oral history process to strengthen other collection holdings in the museum and archive. Oral histories can literally provide voices for objects to 'speak' and can also augment collections with rich personal accounts and a sense of 'real life' which often can be missing from more official historical records. Overall, the aim is to develop a layered, detailed collection that can be used for research and in exhibitions and other public programmes.

A wonderful example of this approach bearing fruit took place in 2012. At that time, the archive received a substantial donation of around 27 linear metres of accumulated business records from Summit Wool Spinners Limited. This included records from its predecessors Alliance Textiles and the Oamaru Worsted and Woollen Mills. The records range from the 1880s to the 1990s and include minutes, financial records, plans, maps, photographs, specifications, sample books and staff records.

This archive donation suggested a focus on the Woollen Mills for the 2013 round

of oral histories. Three former staff were interviewed. One interviewee was Donald Fraser, the staff member who had arranged the donation of the records to the Archive. The interview records his interest in the history of the company and his efforts to ensure that historic company records were in safe keeping. It provides great context for why the archives were donated.

This is one way oral histories can support our collecting activities more broadly.

Another one of the interviewees was Margaret Holley who had worked at the woollen mill from 1960 to her retirement in 2010. As a result of being interviewed, Margaret offered the Museum her scissors and denim apron from her first day of working for Alliance Textiles. These objects are now on display in the Museum, exemplifying women's work in the post-Second World War era. This donation of objects enriched both the archival holdings from the business and the oral histories, by providing tactile, exhibitable objects related to this important part of local history. Having Margaret's interview provides a depth to the provenance for these objects, something that we seldom have, as many objects are only accompanied by a few written sentences recording their provenance.

The Woollen Mills recordings are just one example of the virtuous cycle of collecting that our oral history programme often supports, and then enables. Other oral history subjects have been Pukeuri Freezing Works and Teschemakers School, both of which resulted in the collection of museum

objects along with the oral histories.

For our institution, oral history interviews are the only line in our annual budget for collecting; otherwise, we rely on donations. Making use of the opportunities presented by oral histories to augment existing collections and open avenues for further collecting is something staff continue to consider. There are a number of identified collection gaps, for example, the history of local Pasifika communities. Future oral history programmes developed by these communities alongside staff may assist in ensuring this important history is reflected in our collections.

Chloe Searle

Chloe Searle is the Director of Waitaki Museum & Archive. www.culturewaitaki.org.nz/waitaki-museum

Objects and Material Culture in Memory

Rosemary

JACQUI FOLEY

My 'Pedigree' doll has been with me much of my life. She arrived one Christmas, standing in a long box with a see-through front window. I don't remember her clothes but her shoes were white Mary Janes. She has a hard body and a voice box at the back, which means she can cry. Her hair, in need of attention now, has a certain smell. Her eyes close when you lie her down and her knees can bend. I named her Rosemary and I was smitten. She is a bit the worse for long years of wear. An enthusiastic niece did some damage which I, as an adult, was horrified by. I was irrationally cross with my mother for allowing her to be played with.

As a Roman Catholic family living in the country, we attended Sunday Mass in different places to fit in with the priest. There was a lady we took to Mass occasionally, because her husband was 'non-Catholic' and she didn't drive. She was a great knitter and she made a whole outfit for Rosemary: blue dress, hat and bolero. This lady didn't have children of her own and I suspect this was an exercise which gave her pleasure and perhaps also sadness.

Going to Mass was a major event for the family and never to be missed. On alternate Sundays we went to a local hall and I remember going to confession in a side room with only a kneeler and the priest sitting in a chair beside it. No privacy of the confessional box in that situation. My father had great stories about that same hall. One concert so boring he yawned and yawned until he dislocated his jaw. Another time he found someone in the supper room, sampling supper well before time. These were family stories often repeated and never tired of.

A meaningful object like Rosemary is imbued with importance which changes over time. As a child she was a constant companion, played with, confided in, dressed and made up. Now she represents a memory point allowing me to instantly return to a time in my life, and triggering family stories like those mentioned above. Significant objects are particularly useful in an oral history setting, having the ability to conjure emotion as well as radiate spokes of memory which can lead to the exploration of different stories entirely.



Rosemary. Photo: Jacqui Foley.

Jacqui Foley is a freelance oral historian with many years of experience. Apart from her oral history work, she has an interest in photography and film making.

Coils inside coils

EMMA POWELL

They come out in summer usually, at least in Aotearoa: mosquitos and coils. I grew up on Waiheke Island with my grandparents and I spent many summer evenings with them in the garden. My grandmother would cook dinner for us on a homemade BBQ and, as the sun went down, she would take a green coil from out of a cardboard box packet, sit it under one of our chairs, and light it. The orange flame would wave at us from the ground before diminishing to a red glow, and the pungent smell of the mosquito coil would wind around us, sending the buzzing and the biting on its way.

The mosquito coil is a trivial object and yet I feel that I have inherited its use. It lends itself well to being a mnemonic repository, particularly with its strong, triggering scent, and the coil shape turning to ash slowly, something that so fascinated me as a child. Pacific peoples use them often on their islands and know well its cloying scent. Even though I did not grow up on my ancestral islands, my grandparents raised me on an island that was humid in the summers and full of mosquitos at twilight. For me, the coil has become so strongly associated with happy memories of childhood summers with them.

Many have written about the impermanence of Pacific material culture and my own ancestors noted the mortality of the object, no matter how well crafted. Our island environments, humid, damp, and full of crawling insects, often made it impossible to hold documents or objects indefinitely and so objects themselves have not always been as important as the knowledge and stories surrounding and produced by the

idea of them.

The mosquito coil is a disposable and relatively modern object but it is also ubiquitous with island living. Its smell, shape and texture elicits memories of place and time for many Pacific peoples. Coils are lit in the wee hours of the morning and in the darkening hours to keep biting insects at bay, and they burn slowly as family and friends talk long into the evening, and murmur to each other quietly as everything wakes. When conducting an oral history interview with a teacher some years ago in Rarotonga, we sat outside a local school on a sticky hot evening talking late into the night. I'd suggested we cut our conversation short and my companion laughed, responding, "Not yet. Our coil is still burning." Indeed, the spiralling shape of the mosquito coil reminds us of the nature of a Pacific temporality, that history expands and contracts around us and our stories constantly, and that even new and impermanent objects enable memories to move with and through us.

A note about the title

The title is a reference to a piece by Nadine Anne Hura about Māori identity and the intertwined nature of past and present, Facebook, 20 February 2020.

Emma Ngakuravaru Powell is a lecturer at the University of Otago and a scholar of the Cook Islands and the Pacific. She loves to listen to and record stories from her communities and often uses oral history methods in her research work.



Mosquito coil. Photo: Emma Powell.



Mosquito coil. Photo: Emma Powell.

Spade

CAREN WILTON

My father Cyril was 50 when I, his first child, was born. He had been married before, but his first wife took up with someone else; my mother Eileen, almost 20 years younger, waited six years for his divorce to come through. He bought a house without consulting her, a gloomy 1920s stucco place near the Masterton railway station, on half an acre. The garden was the real drawcard; someone else had loved it before, had put in a glasshouse, a berry cage, an asparagus bed surrounded by bricks, an orchard: peaches, apples, plums, pears. The vege garden with its tall wire-mesh bean frames stretched for miles.

At weekends my father could be found in the garden, wearing a singlet or a ragged green jersey, digging with his hefty wooden-handled spade. We never bought vegetables. We ate corn and tomatoes in summer, cabbage in winter. My mother bottled peaches and plums in the punishing heat of summer.

My father died suddenly when I was 11, hit by a car while crossing the road. I pilfered his old green gardening jersey, tucked it under my mattress. At night I slept holding onto it. No one talked about my father. We sold the place, too big for my mother to manage, moved to a newer house that faced west and sweltered brutally in summer. Everything was skewed, out of place, strange.

When I moved back to Wairarapa in 2014 – surprising even myself, really – Col and I bought an old house in Carterton. It had fruit trees, and down the back vege beds, an asparagus patch, a berry cage. There were too many quinces; they fell and rotted in the long grass, Col mowed over them.

There were bucketloads of apricots and nectarines, enough to make jam and chutney. A massive craggy grapevine produced bunches of grapes with thick black skins and large bitter pips, like the grapes of my childhood.

Overambitious as ever, I put in more vege beds, thinking I could grow everything. There I was, down the back, digging the garden with my father's old spade, thinking about my father digging his vege garden, growing everything. It's solid, that spade, it has weight; it's the one to use to dig a decent-sized hole. The metal is rusted and brown, and I remember it always being that way. But maybe not; when you wash off the dirt, you can see the paint shining beneath the rust; it was once bright red.

Caren Wilton is a writer, editor and oral historian, and is the author of *My Body*, *My Business: New Zealand Sex Workers in an Era of Change*, based on her series of oral history interviews with sex workers. In 2016-17 she coordinated the 'Upper Hutt in the 1960s Oral History Project' at Upper Hutt City Library. Her other oral history projects have focused on the lives of trans New Zealanders, and the queer dance parties of the 1990s.



Caren Wilton and her father c1966. Photo: Caren Wilton Collection.



Spade. Photo: Caren Wilton.

Reviews

Rachel Buchanan

Te Motunui Epa

Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2022,
251pp

ISBN 9781990046582

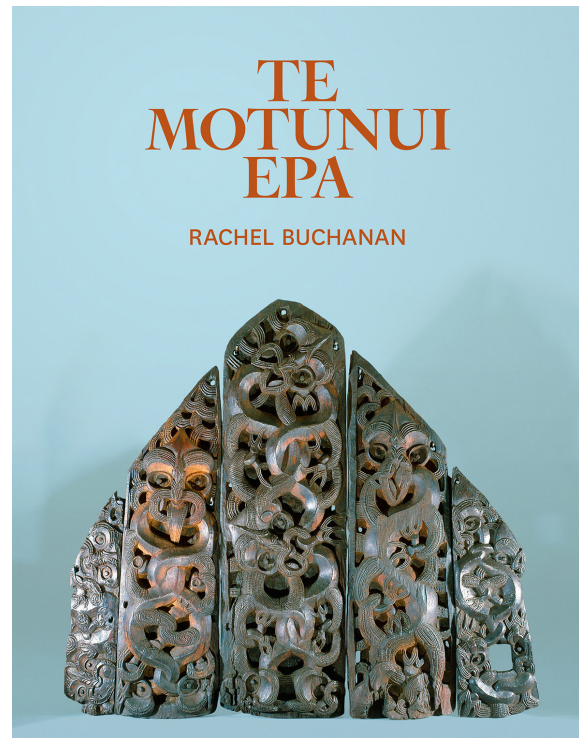
Reviewed by Jani Wilson

Tēnā koe, e te kōhine o Taranaki maunga ko Rachel, koutou te iwi katoa o Te Ātiawa mō ēnei kupu kōrero e pa ana ki ngā tūpuna whakahirahira, ēnei epa. He mihi tēnei o tētahi mokopuna o Wairaka o Ngāti Awa ki ngā tuākana nō te ure o Awanuiārangi tuatahi, arā, ko ngā uri mātou o Awanuiārangi tuarua, anō hoki mai i te whānui tonu a Rāhiri ki Te Taitokerau. E te whanaunga, kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te tino mihi. Heoi, i tēnei wā tino wāhākiraki i te ao nei; kia tau te āio o Rongo ki a Papa; kia purea tātau e ngā haupongi a Tāwhirimātea, mauri ora ki a tātau katoa.

I acknowledge Rachel, and her people for their kōrero about these important epa; we are potentially connected through two lines, Awanuiārangi, and the ever-evolving Rāhiri. Huge and many mihi. In a strange and bizarre time in the world, may Rongo rest with Papa; may the breeze of Tāwhirimātea wash over us and give life.

I thought I'd been contacted to review this text in error (!), until I read the preface where I was drawn into the intriguing under-realm of high art, abduction, the exchange of carvings as currency, and a full-on paper trail of documents signed by lawyers, (mostly dead) politicians, and other people with important jobs.

Whakairo. Kidnap. Greed. Betrayal. Possession. Sotheby's. David Lange. I was hooked. And in two sittings, *Te Motunui Epa* was over.



In the initial chapters, the set, costumes, baddies, and geographical changes are relatively frequent; and the written timing played out like a film shot on an early hand-held camera with a cinematographer in training. In a very good way. A little bit random, and a tad whimsical, this cross-continental pursuit follows a different kind of central protagonist, a quintet of Taranaki carvings, known as 'The Pātaka Panels' from Motunui, the birthplace of the book's eponymous characters. After being shrouded in the protective poho of Papatūānuku, the carved tōtara tūpuna were discovered by a Peropero farmer in the 1970s, who clipped them with a drain digger. Touched by Tāwhirimātea for the first time in a century, the epa reanimated, blinked, drew breath, and emoted and, although intermittent and fleeting, the recurrence of these ephemeral signs of life was a reminder that although considered 'inanimate objects', whakairo are not *considered* tūpuna, they are tūpuna, simply Tānemahuta reformed and refashioned.

Buchanan's method of anthropomorphising, gesturing and giving charming voice to the epa throughout the text appears playful, a surprise usually brought forward in digital animation and

foley narration. They're characterised as hōhā, complaining their view, hearing or breathing is obstructed; they peek from behind curtains as silent witnesses; and they josh Prime Minister Muldoon for being similar height to them. The blunt reality of these precious tūpuna disappearing as currency by one of their own though, is not. Farm. Mud. Rinse. Finders keepers. Car boot. Private viewings. \$6000. Disguise. Airplane. Gone. Abducted.

The epa are embroiled in international capers bankrolled by a (very) rich captor, effectively held to ransom by one of a long line of primitive art collectors; in this case the dynastic world of George Ortiz. Sadly, the story of *Te Motunui Epa* isn't isolated; a plethora of our ancestors remain waiting, in the whispers of dark, temperature-controlled rooms, handled with rubber gloves, and an intermittent hushing of museum and gallery drawers opening and closing. No stories to keep them warm. No hongis; no exchange of breath or receipt of knowledge. They are incredibly lonely, and Buchanan's delicate reminder of this reminds us that these tūpuna have longings for interaction similar to a kuia awaiting a visit from her estranged mokopuna.

A ransom of two million dollars was paid immediately for Ortiz's kidnapped daughter Graziella, footed by Mama Ortiz, and owing her forced him to dust off the epa for auction. Despite the Crown's multiple attempts, they were unable to retrieve the epa for over 40 years. Documentation. Important person logos. Date stamps. Signatures. Denial.

Effectively entwining conventional history's need for details deemed 'need-to-know' with elements that may be considered fanciful is a balance Buchanan tempers here.

Thinking of the epa as characterisations with personalities and feelings may cause some readers to eject from the narrative. But dismissal of a kai mārō way of thinking about interactivity with whakairo, and indeed with a plethora of approaches that might be considered left of conventional philosophy's centre, isn't new. Histories are designed to follow narrative arcs - to grip readers from inciting incident, through 'shits-n-giggles' to a mid-point, a crisis, a climax and often concluding with a resolution. Authors are particularly skilled in the art of decision-making to ensure conciseness and clarity of hopefully meaningful coordinates. In my whaka aro, Buchanan's particular dexterity parallels the precision of mind, fastidiousness of touch, and razor sharpness of the eye of kairaranga tāniko. Her reframing of the story from the perspective of the carvings demonstrates her courage. But she also covers the 'need to know' dates, notations and photographic evidence, particularly through the middle chapters; meanwhile the epa waited, counting down days and taking mental notes. To reinforce that whakairo are not simply planks of wood, are not currency, are the refashioning of an important Atua to portray significant tūpuna is a layer of complexity that propels unknowing readers into mauri, a concept often misunderstood and reduced to 'life-force' - a most limited definition.

Te Motunui Epa is potentially meaningful to an array of researchers and readers of history, law, politics, psychology, mahi toi, and fine arts. But, as a teacher in Māori and Indigenous studies, I'd argue, too, that it would extend beyond these disciplines and into Indigenous storytelling, creative writing, animation and the digital arts.

Mauri ora ki a tātou katoa.

Jani Wilson

Jani Wilson, PhD is an Associate Professor at Aotahi School of Māori & Indigenous Studies, Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha (Canterbury).

Celine Kearney

Southern Celts: Stories from people of Irish and Scottish descent in Aotearoa

Mary Egan Publishing, Auckland, 2023, 262pp

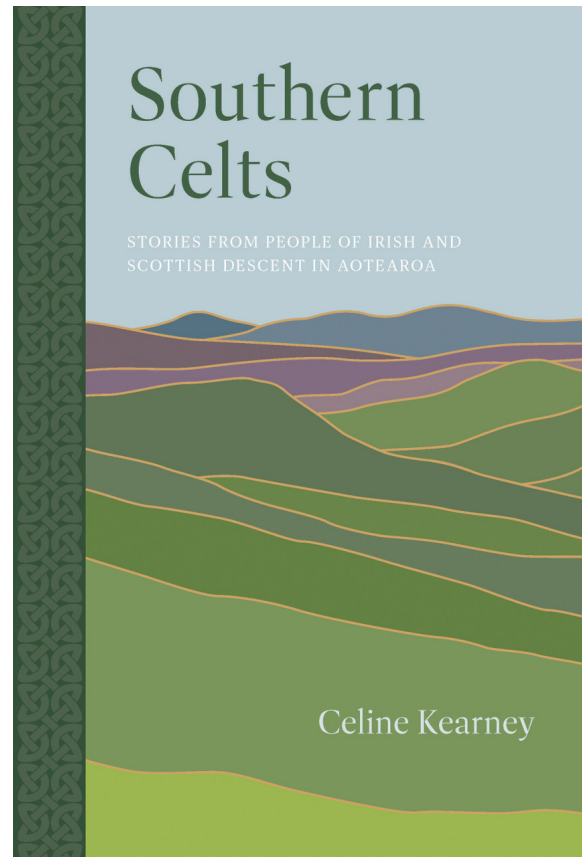
ISBN 9780473634117

Reviewed by Jacqui Foley

This book grew out of Celine Kearney's PhD looking at culture and identity from a Celtic perspective, stemming initially from her own family perspective. The book's epilogue clearly defines the project: 'this inquiry set out to explore what Celtic or Gaelic traditions there are in Aotearoa New Zealand **now**' (p 235). Kearney emphasises the word 'now', identifying the importance of change over time. The book is divided into eight chapters. There are 24 interviewees, carefully chosen to speak to and analyse each of the topics in relation to their own experiences. There is a balance of male and female participants from different parts of New Zealand. The chapters cover business, art, music, language, spirituality and religion, sport and the passing on of Celtic culture. The publication is very much informed by the author's own background and connection to Irish culture, which she explains in the detailed introduction.

Kearney introduces each person but then steps back and allows the interviewees their own voice. This has the effect of keeping the material fresh, almost like an audio interview on the page. The questions are detailed in the book's epilogue. One interviewee, Denis O'Connor, a ceramicist, sculptor and writer, made the interesting remark that he had taken Kearney's interview questions, initially posed in 1985, and applied them to himself since.

The interviews are many layered and are from a variety of experiences. They include immigrants – first generations right through to fourth generations and later. The choice of interviewees is excellent, always interesting and appropriate for their particular chapters. The theme of interaction between Māori, Irish and Scots and the closeness of these



traditions occurs repeatedly. It is discussed in depth by participants in the 'Showing the Pictures' chapter – Kathleen Gallagher, the late Malcolm Adams and Denis O'Connor. Other interviewees noted the ironic and uncomfortable fact that early immigrants from Scotland and Ireland, displaced from their own lands by the British, then settled in New Zealand, sometimes on land confiscated from Māori by the British.

Well-known writer, the late Keri Hulme, spoke about her Gaelic connections to the Orkney Islands which came from her mother's side of the family. Members of her Scottish family later intermarried with Māori. She described herself as having deep Māori roots as well as Scottish ones.

The poet Bernadette Hall spent time in Ireland. She discussed the interesting juxtaposition between the 'Irishness' within her family in New Zealand and the direct experience of living in Ireland. While she identifies very much with the Irish connection in New Zealand, she discovered 'her own famine' in Ireland. This term was coined by her friend, Irish-born Cassandra Fusco. Hall speaks about not wanting to

arrive in Ireland with romantic hope or expecting to be welcomed with open arms. This is something I understood having lived in Ireland myself.

I knew the concept of 'the returned Yank', a somewhat disparaging term applied to people returning to Ireland with a rosy idea about 'the old country'. Local people had little time for romantic ideas when their lives were often harsh and times had changed. Bernadette Hall also touched on the notion of cultural identity and connections shifting over time.

Writer Coral Atkinson emigrated from Dublin with her family at a young age. From an Irish Protestant background, her family felt they were viewed as not 'properly Irish' because they were not Roman Catholic. She describes the emphasis on assimilation in 1960s New Zealand. This meant adapting everyday words to make herself understood and avoid being teased. Relatively recent Scottish immigrant, Michael Fraser Milne, speaks about not modifying his accent and the frustration this causes by sometimes

having to repeat himself. Among other topics, his interview examines the interesting question of stereotypes and how people view the idea of 'Scottishness'.

I have picked out a small number of interviewees by way of illustration. I can see myself returning to this publication and finding different information each time. I was pleased to see the interviewees' photographs towards the back, but would have preferred to have individuals' photos beside their stories. However, this is a small quibble.

The epilogue is titled 'The Generations Pass' and is particularly useful. It brings the themes and the interviewees together in a final wrap up. The author also details the three main questions asked and the reasons she asked them.

The overriding feeling within this book is of care and attention to detail by the author. It is a multi-layered, reflective and a fascinating collection of narratives and experiences which I have no doubt others will find as interesting and informative as I did.

Jacqui Foley

Jacqui Foley is a freelance oral historian from Oāmaru with many years of experience. She has worked on a variety of projects in her local area of North Otago as well as nationally. Major projects include interviews for NZ Antarctic Society Inc, Federated Mountain Clubs and Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Outside of her oral history work, Jacqui has an interest in photography and filmmaking. She lives in North Otago.

Karen Nairn, Judith Sligo, Carisa R. Showden, Kyle R. Matthews & Joanna Kidman

Fierce Hope – Youth Activism in Aotearoa

Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2022, 325pp

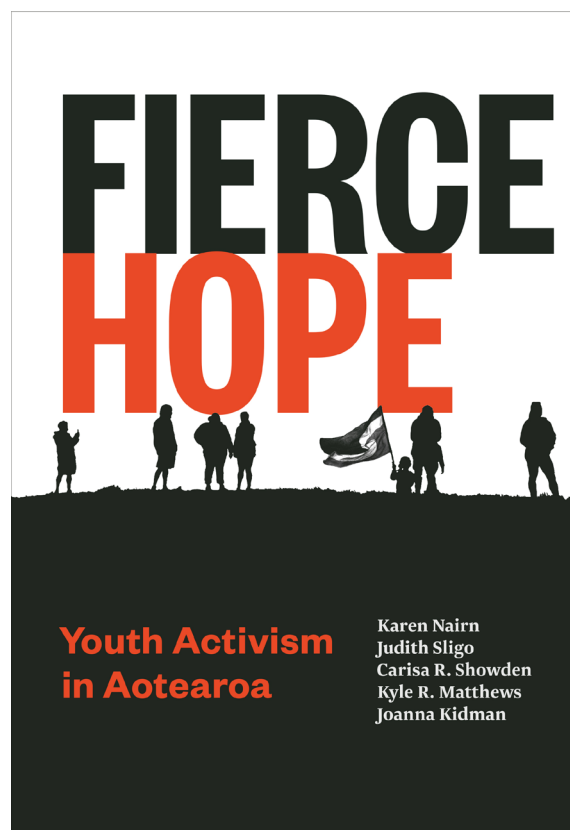
ISBN 9781990046681

Reviewed by Sue Gee

In designing a long-term collaborative project about youth activism in Aotearoa, the authors were curious about how young people thought about the future and what inspired them to act to try to shape it. Six youth-led activist groups, whose projects aligned with the authors' own values and political interests were chosen. *Fierce Hope* explores visions for social change, looks at how the groups organised to achieve their aims and documents what was achieved during the time of the study.

A paragraph about each of the authors in the opening pages gives background to their writing and interests. I see the phrases *Settler-colonial nationhood*; *Extinction Rebellion movement*; *A Neoliberal Generation Leaves School*; *Choices Women Make*; and *Wellbeing of children, young people and families* and I know I can't wait to read this book. I feel kinship with the writers. They had their own activist commitments at heart in writing this book.

Chapter 1, 'Why Youth Activism?' is a kind of whakawhanaungatanga relationship building with the reader – the authors give an overview of the study and say how their dream of working with groups of young activists was born in 2017. They write how in the past activists have dared, in hostile circumstances, to hope for and work towards justice. Are their visions for social change grounded in hope? Determination? Joy? A search for community? What is the ultimate point of activism? What does it take to imagine and work for a brighter future? These questions motivated the collaborative writing of *Fierce Hope – Youth Activism in Aotearoa*.



Chapter titles 2 to 7 name each group and attach a slogan: *Protect Ihumātao*: 'Not Enough Time to Wait for Our Time'; *JustSpeak*: 'Imagine a World Without Prisons'; *ActionStation*: 'Agile and Responsive'; *InsideOUT Kōaro*: 'Living the Mah'i'; *Thursdays in Black (University of Auckland)*: 'Towards a World Without Rape and Violence'; & *Generation Zero Auckland*: 'Collective Action for a Future That's Not Shit'.

The authors built relationships with people in each group and gained permissions to be present at hui and events. Field notes and observations made have been used to inform the readable, engaging writing. A total of 90 participants took part in 143 interviews about their activist journeys. The interviews were professionally transcribed and approved by interviewees. Orality – remembering and personal testimony – are used to describe how things work, to state actions, views, issues and kaupapa.

The authors chose people's own words to tell the story. Six cousins led the struggle to reclaim and protect Ihumātao. Qiane Matata-Sipu elaborated on their decision

‘to do everything possible to stop the development’.

We wanted to be able to say to our children: “We tried everything we could.” What we wanted to achieve was to allow the people of lhumātao to determine the future of our whenua, our whānau, our papakāinga, and all of that was about decolonising our space. Understanding we still have to live in a world with a Western government that prioritises Western values, but allowing our people to thrive because all they’ve ever done is survive. We wanted to flip that script and actually have our people thrive...

Writing about JustSpeak, in a section entitled ‘Theory of change: incrementalism and transformation’, it is noted that while incremental change can test activists’ patience and attract criticism, some argue that even small changes let those in prison know they are cared about and have not been forgotten. As Jordan at JustSpeak noted:

We’re not going to abolish the systems tomorrow, but maybe stopping double-bunking will stop someone’s day from being that much worse, and doing tiny things today might give some level of relief or respite to people who are suffering.

Throughout the book, words and actions of the authors and the activists show they are cognisant of the precepts and responsibilities of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. For instance, of nine vision statements agreed upon by the ActionStation community, number one is honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Daisy from InsideOUT Kōaro noted that the group had an ongoing relationship with takatāpui activist Dr Elizabeth Kerekere who gifted them a framework for reworking the

strategic plan to have a kaupapa Māori approach:

We’ve had the fortune of being connected to individuals and organisations who have a very kaupapa Māori framework and who’ve advised us and guided us so that our governance-level stuff and our day-to-day interpersonal stuff is more aligned with Te Tiriti.

Sixteen pages of well chosen, well captioned photographs, mostly colour, add significantly to the book’s success. The black and white double-page spread for Thursdays in Black is its own statement. A special joy for me was Laura O’Connell Rapira smiling out of page 103. Photographed attending the celebration of Tā Kim Workman’s knighthood at Pāpāwai Marae, Wairarapa, she was sole ActionStation Director from 2018 to 2020. I had been receiving ActionStation emails signed by her for years but till now, had never seen a photograph of her.

‘The Emotional Life of Activism’ and ‘Connecting Activism: Community and Collectives’ are the subjects of Chapters 8 and 9. Appendix 1 describes ‘How We Did the Research’. Recruitment and consent, methods of data collection, interviews, ethnographic fieldwork and living manifestos are covered. Appendix 2 describes the participants. Thirty pages of easily accessed notes, crammed with references, links and explanations sit between Appendix 3 (a useful time-line) and the index at the end.

The coda – ‘A Future with Hope’ – summarises, ‘...each group has a vision for a better, more just, future. They have launched campaigns that help people see what is possible... they couple their visions with strategies to bring that future into focus.’ The book documents the work done at a particular time in history and reminds us action is impossible without hope.

Sue Gee

Sue Gee is an Auckland-based oral historian.

Books Noted

Cybèle Locke

Comrade: A communist, working-class life
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2022
ISBN: 9781988587899

'Bill arrived back in Auckland on the *Omana* in April 1946, a glasses-wearing, card-carrying communist with a hatred of racism and imperialism, suspicious of union officials but committed to trade unionism.'

Bill Andersen's life - from working as a seaman, trade unions and rugby league, to family life and communism - is told in rich detail in Cybèle Locke's *Comrade*. Under surveillance from the state from age 23

Gaylene Preston

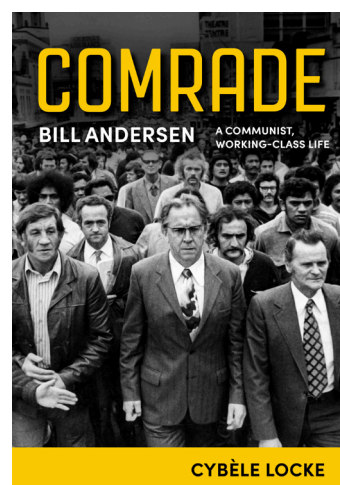
Gaylene's Take, Her Life in New Zealand Film
Te Herenga Waka University Press, Victoria
University of Wellington, 2022, 367pp
ISBN: 9781776920143

"I make films to get the conversation going. To shine the light into something that's bothering me, to illuminate the kinds of lives you don't see in the movies much. The invisible ones" says Gaylene Preston at the end of her memoir, *Gaylene's Take, Her Life in New Zealand Film*. Born on the West Coast most of Gaylene's childhood was spent in late 1950s Napier, 'a treasure trove of [Napier earthquake] stories. Earthquake survivors were everywhere and beginning to talk about it...every single one was surprising and I had heard none of them before'. Nor did she grow up seeing anything she could identify as her world on the screen.

As well as vivid descriptions of the environment of her childhood and the realities of filmmaking in her time, especially

until his death, the SIS files on Andersen form part of the impressive archive Locke draws upon to tell this story. She also did 36 oral interviews (and a handful of other interviews) and the book is packed with quotes, insights and opinions from these interviews.

Review available in the LHP Bulletin (No. 88 August 2023).



for a female filmmaker, the book builds on the themes of Gaylene's 2021 Alexander Turnbull Library Founder Lecture, published in volume 33 of this journal, where she detailed the ways her films explore the gap between the personal and the official version of history. Notably, she talks in the memoir about the background

to the Women in World War II oral history project that was the basis for *War Stories Our Mothers Never Told Us* and the significance of bringing those perspectives to the screen, including what it meant to the women whose stories were told. Bringing to audiences the stuff of oral history, first person accounts, stories never previously told, so called ordinary lives, has been an enduring focus of her career.



Bill Dacker, 1952-2023

Poet, Historian, Community Avocate, Oral Historian

SEÁN BROSNAHAN AND HELEN FRIZZELL

Oral history as a formal discipline began in New Zealand in 1981 with the establishment of the New Zealand Oral History Archive (NZOHA) by Judith Fyfe and Hugo Manson. Their pioneering work and the formation of the professional body, NOHANZ, in April 1986, laid the foundations for oral history in this country. During this period there were few people recording oral histories in the lower South Island. Formal training in oral history methodology hadn't begun and there was little, if any, financial assistance available for oral history work.

Dunedin historian Bill Dacker's way into the embryonic discipline of recording people's memories as a source of historical information developed through his relationships with southern Māori in the 1980s. Those relationships were deeply personal as a result of his marriage to

Winsome Murchie, whose affiliations to Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Raukawa drew Bill into tribal politics, notably the Ngāi Tahu claim then making its way towards watershed hearings before the Waitangi Tribunal. The untimely deaths of kaumātua Wi Duff and Riki Ellison in 1984 made him realise how much iwi knowledge could only be found in the memories of a generation of Ngāi Tahu kaumātua who were rapidly passing away.

Capturing their voices – and their testimonies – fired Bill's enthusiasm for oral history and led to a series of recording projects of immense value. Initially the interviews were recorded with a ghetto-blaster. The audio quality wasn't ideal. Later he made contact with the NZOHA who realised the significance of the people he was recording and the exceptional value the material would have in the future. In 1988,



Bill Dacker (standing, left) on location for one of his audiovisual productions, with Bluff kaumātua Harold Ashwell, c2006. Photographer unknown.

funding from the NZOHA Māori Oral History fund enabled Bill to purchase professional quality recording equipment. Judith Fyfe recalls, "Bill appeared unassuming but clearly he was determined and committed to getting the interviews. The recordings will be 'gold' now even if the audio quality is not always up to standard".

The oral history interviews recorded for Bill's *He Whanau A Ka Korororero* project (1985-1992)¹ underpinned the manuscript, 'He Raraka A Ka Awa' (2000). This was an expanded unpublished version of Bill's landmark publication on the history of Kāi Tahu Whānui in Otago, 1844-1994, *Te Mamae me te Aroha: The Pain and the Love* (1994)². His interviewees are a roll call of Ngāi Tahu elders from a generation that has now gone but whose kōrero lives on through Bill's interviews. In recent years Bill worked with Ngāi Tahu's Cultural Mapping Unit to see the old magnetic tapes digitised and securely integrated into iwi archives in Christchurch.

Bill also helped other would-be oral historians in the region. Helen Frizzell recalls first meeting him in 1986: "He had a real presence and was kind, generous and thoughtful. Bill was so helpful to me as I got

going in oral history". They continued to have intermittent contact over the years. In 1996 Helen interviewed Bill for the Tuapeka oral history project³ in which he talked about his work in oral history and writing *Te Mamae me te Aroha*.

Over the past couple of years Bill had been suffering from a rare form of lymphoma. He died in Dunedin on 27 March 2023, aged 71, survived by his wife, Sandra Buchanan and his four children with his first wife, Winsome.

Moe mai rā, Bill.

References

1. The authors have left the title of Bill's oral history project as he wrote it. Nowadays there would be a macrons for whanau (whānau) and korororero (kōrororero).
2. Dunedin: University of Otago Press in association with the Dunedin City Council, 1994.
3. ATL OH Coll-0569: Bill Dacker, OHInt-0569/03.

Seán Brosnahan is Curator at Toitū Otago Settlers Museum. Helen Frizzell is a Dunedin based oral historian.



Bill Dacker in the 'Kāi Tahu Whānui Ki Otago' exhibition he helped curate at the Otago Settlers Museum in 1994. Photographer unknown.

NOHANZ Origins

The National Oral History Association of New Zealand Te Kete Kōrero-a-Waha o Te Motu (NOHANZ) was established as result of the first national oral history seminar organised in April 1986 by the Centre for Continuing Education of Victoria University of Wellington and the New Zealand Oral History Archive, a professional organisation then based in the National Library that worked on major oral history projects.

Objectives

- To promote the practice and methods of oral history.
- To promote standards in oral history interviewing techniques, and in recording and preservation methods.
- To act as a resource of information and to advise on practical and technical problems involved in making oral history recordings.
- To act as a coordinator of oral history activities throughout New Zealand.
- To produce an annual oral history journal and regular newsletters.
- To promote regular oral history meetings, talks, seminars, workshops and demonstrations.
- To encourage the establishment of NOHANZ branches throughout New Zealand.
- To compile a directory of oral history holdings to improve access to collections held in libraries archives and museums.

NOHANZ Prize in Oral History

The National Oral History Association of New Zealand | Te Kete Kōrero-a-Waha o Te Motu has established a prize of \$1,000 to be awarded biennially for the best published article or report published in the association's journal *Oral History in New Zealand*. The first award was made at the 2022 NOHANZ conference, and was selected from articles and reports published in the 2020 and 2021 editions of the journal.

The judging panel for the 2022 and 2023 editions will consist of a journal editor, the President of NOHANZ, and one other member of the NOHANZ executive.

Judging criteria will include:

- Quality of writing and reporting, including style and readability;
- Strength and clarity of the research process;
- Potential community or academic impact;
- Contribution to oral history practice, argument, or theory.

The Association also reserves the right not to award the prize.

Code of ethical and technical practice

This Code exists to promote ethical, professional and technical standards in the collection, preservation and use of sound and video oral history material.

Archives, sponsors and organisers of oral history projects have the following responsibilities:

- To inform interviewers and people interviewed of the importance of this code for the successful creation and use of oral history material;
- To select interviewers on the basis of professional competence and interviewing skill, endeavouring to assign appropriate interviewers to people interviewed;
- To see that records of the creation and processing of each interview are kept;
- To ensure that each interview is properly indexed and catalogued;
- To ensure that preservation conditions for recordings and accompanying material are of the highest possible standard;
- To ensure that placement of and access to recordings and accompanying material comply with a signed or recorded agreement with the person interviewed;
- To ensure that people interviewed are informed of issues such as copyright, ownership, privacy legislation, and how the interview and accompanying material may be used;
- To make the existence of available interviews known through public information channels;
- To guard against possible social injury to, or exploitation of people interviewed.

Interviewers have the following responsibilities:

- to inform the person interviewed of the purposes and procedures of oral history in general and of the particular project in which they are involved;
- to inform the person interviewed of issues such as copyright, ownership, privacy legislation, and how the material and accompanying material may be used;
- to develop sufficient skills and knowledge in interviewing and equipment operation, e.g. through reading and training, to ensure a result of the highest possible standard;
- to use equipment that will produce recordings of the highest possible standard;
- to encourage informative dialogue based on thorough research;
- to conduct interviews with integrity;
- to conduct interviews with an awareness of cultural or individual sensibilities;
- to treat every interview as a confidential conversation, the contents of which are available only as determined by written or recorded agreement with the person interviewed;
- to place each recording and all accompanying material in an archive to be available for research, subject to any conditions placed on it by the person interviewed;
- to inform the person interviewed of where the material will be held;
- to respect all agreements made with the person interviewed.

NOHANZ

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