



Social Closure: Unpicking and rethreading a sense of fragility

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Abstract

The primary aim of this politically informed visual arts project *Social Closure* is to investigate poignant metaphors to highlight visually the phenomenon 'small town industrial decline'. In this practice-led research my investigation is underpinned by personal anecdotes together with current social science research carried out in my home town of Kumara, on the West Coast of the South Island where I lived from 1983 until 2006. Cust (2008) states that "[c]urrently much of the township's infrastructure and essential services have closed or become derelict after the industries it was built around became no longer operational" (p. 4).

To unpick and rethread a sense of the fragility that commonly occurs in these circumstances I have explored the use of textiles and clothing that reference the situations that I witnessed in domestic, industrial and leisure activities in Kumara during the 1980s. I used this method to investigate ways of representing the consequences of social closure on the people in the community. Using situation-based artwork as a communicative language, I have sought to create an additional space to social science research to provide a deeper understanding of the issues faced by inhabitants of small industry dependant communities experiencing decline.

This thesis is constituted as practice based artwork 80% accompanied by an exegesis 20%.

Introduction

“... [The] study of the neglected and discarded poses important questions about the type of society in which we live” (Mah, 2010, p. 398).

The motivation for this thesis arose out of an experience I had after I had left my home town of Kumara (see Fig. 2) in 2006 to study outside of the region. It was during return trips to visit family and friends on the West Coast that I witnessed small communities in decline none more evident than Totara Flat on State Highway 7 near Ahaura as well as Kumara (see Fig. 3 & 4).

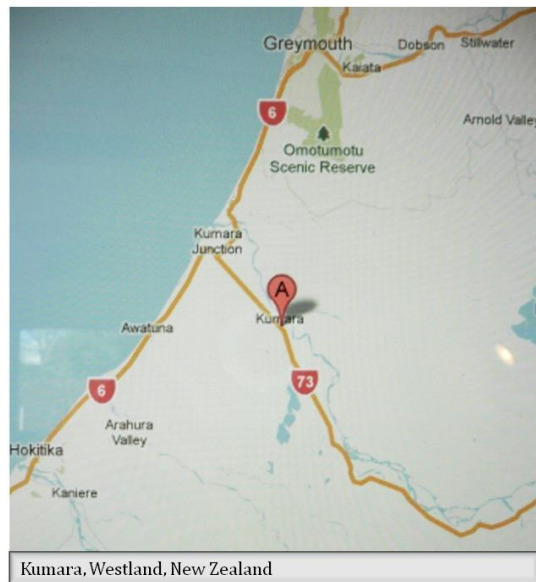


Figure 2: Kumara Map.



1- 4. The Totara Flat School situated on State Highway 7, Grey Valley, West Coast closed by the Government in 2004. Photographed by Woods, B. Thursday, July 8, 2010.

Figure 3: Totara Flat, Grey Valley, West Coast.



1- 3. Kumara: 1. Sports Complex, Seddon Street. 2. Theatre Royal Hotel closed, Seddon Street. 3. Kumara Auto Services closed, Seddon Street. Photographed by Woods, B. Sunday August 8, 2010.

Figure 4: Kumara showing signs of decline.

I contacted two of the region's mayors to ask for their opinion on the situation. I then discovered that my own community has been the focus of social science research as a response to the level of deprivation and lack of development in the area. As a result two research papers had been completed, *Community Profile and Health Needs Assessment* by Christine Beadle in 2005 and *Kumara Community Profile* by Ebony Cust in 2008. The Mayor of Hokitika, Maureen Pugh, emailed copies of minutes from Kumara Community Cross Sector preliminary meetings held to discuss the concerns raised by the community. I sought permission from both social science researchers, Beadle and Cust to access their respective papers. I discovered that the majority of their research was carried out while I still resided in the community, therefore their findings referred to my own everyday lived practices within this community. The experience motivated an investigation of personal memories and archives including my scrapbook of newspaper articles I wrote when I was the Kumara correspondent for the *Hokitika Guardian* and community newsletters to find links with their research.

During the first decade living in Kumara I came to experience 'small town industrial decline'. This became particularly evident through my involvement in the local Playcentre Association, the Art and Craft Group and the local Softball Club. I wrote a number of articles for the *Hokitika Guardian* in 1987 pertaining to the local Post Office closure and the Playcentre situation. The *Greymouth Evening Star* also covered the Post Office closure (see Appendix A- Newspaper Articles). The town's Auto Services and butcher's shop closed down during this period and the daily bus service to Greymouth ceased operation. By the end of the 1980s, the Playcentre and the Plunket Association were forced into recession due to insufficient numbers.

To register opposition to the situation the local residents including myself held meetings, formed action groups, held marches and sent petitions to parliament to protest Government policies that were having a profound effect

on the community's ability to grow. Since 2006, Kumara has come to the attention of government agencies and regional community organisations due to the area's lack of growth and the social issues that have evolved.

So while I had experienced this phenomenon and its consequences, I now sought to investigate the possibility of creating an additional space to the social science research papers examined. As a textile artist, how might I use my personal experiences as a basis for visual representations? How could situation-based artworks provide a deeper understanding of the issues faced by inhabitants of small industry dependant communities experiencing decline? How might the use of textiles and clothing reference the situations and narratives witnessed in domestic, industrial and leisure activities in Kumara during the 1980s? As art historian Lucy Lippard asserts:

I always like the idea of starting from home, from the centre, from lived experience, and then working outward, because if we don't understand ourselves and where and how we live, we're in no position to tell other people what they should look at. What interests me is that [small town] rural people rarely have a say in how they are represented or how their places are represented. (1995, p. 19)

While this is primarily a practice-led project, once I established my own position within the study as myself, the researcher and the researched, I identified aspects of autoethnography as a method to gather social data from the community. Autoethnography is described as a combination of the processes used in ethnography and autobiography. Yuniya Kawamura (2011) describes 'ethnography' . . . "as a qualitative, descriptive, nonmathematical naturalistic way to study human beings, their life and their behavior, including the way they dress, in their own natural settings" (p. 45). The writer of an autobiography writes about specific past experiences and Denzin (1989) is of the opinion that the author would normally use hindsight to help with the

selection process. Herrmann (2005) suggests that the author may also collect information from others as well as examine “photographs, journals, and recordings to help with recall” (as cited in Ellis & Adams, 2010, para. 5).

For aspects of this research project I have used some of the tools of autoethnography such as examining recent social science research evaluations, revisiting personal archives (newspaper cuttings, photographs of local sports and community events, community newsletters and a copy of the Kumara Township Upgrade) as well as recalling personal memories associated with ‘small town industrial decline’ during the 1980s in Kumara. I used these sources to compile personal anecdotes that focus on my memories of specific community situations supported with recent social science research.

In addition, I searched for and explored the use of textiles and clothing items that I had witnessed in domestic, industrial and leisure activities during the 1980s as a way of representing some of the issues that the Kumara community faced due to the impact of decline. As Shaw & Chase (1989, p.9) remark [that the past] “has generated objects, images, and texts which can be seen as powerful talismans of how things used to be” (as cited in Benson, 2001, p. 41). Through practice-led research I sought to discover ways of using textiles from the past to prompt recall of the past. The decisions to research specific situations and concepts that might be capable of evoking particular memories or associated emotions of traditional mining community culture unfolded as the practical research developed (ref. Chapt. 3).

Using these processes not only linked myself to the research, but it also implicated others in the community. I was mindful of this fact when I compiled the personal anecdotes. These personal accounts and experiences

would lay the foundation for my visual arts project. In line with the aim of autoethnography, I intend to continue my contact with these people and the community once this research is complete.

This exegesis is structured into four sections:

In Chapter One I define 'small town industrial decline' and draw reference from social science research evaluations as well as other literature to discuss the social implications of the phenomenon. This area of research provides a foundation for my exploratory experimentation within my practice-led research project.

In Chapter Two I discuss the ideas and texts that underpin the conceptual component of my practice-led research project, including my reasons for using clothing as my primary research material and the engagement of 'textile semantics' as a process to analyse my ideas being developed in practice as a communicative language. I discuss the use of empty ideology inscribed clothing witnessed in domestic, industrial and leisure activities in Kumara during the 1980s and my reasons for using costume design techniques within a situation-based artwork.

In Chapter Three I discuss a series of practice-led engagements informed by personal anecdotes and supported by social science research as they evolve and inform further idea development to highlight 'small town industrial decline'.

In Chapter Four I discuss my situation-based artwork developed for the final thesis exhibition and how I made my decisions regarding the final presentation of the work.

This is followed by a conclusion that discusses the outcomes of the project.

Chapter 1 'Small Town Industrial Decline'

1.1 Definition of the Phenomena: 'Social Closure'

I am of the opinion that Kumara's state of decline has occurred due to years of neglect by consecutive governments after the area's principal industry, namely gold mining that benefited all of New Zealand ceased operation in the late 1970s. I have used the term social closure to underpin my research project and define it in a similar way to Weber. As Parkin (1979) states:

By 'social closure' Weber [meant] the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited cycle of eligibles. This entails the singling out of certain social or physical attributes as the justificatory basis of exclusion. (pp. 143-144)

The consequences of social closure were what I was witnessing in Kumara. After surveying a wide range of literature (Edenser, 2005; Isin, 2009; Kuyek & Coumans, 2003; Lippard, 1997; Mah, 2010; Parkin, 1979) the article that best covered my own community's current situation of 'small town industrial decline' is *No Rock Unturned: Revitalizing the Economies of Mining Dependent Communities* by Kuyek & Coumans (2003). They discuss communities that depend on mining but who are now facing the prospect of industry down-sizing and closure.

1.2 Kumara History

Kumara is situated 30 kilometres from Hokitika and 25 kilometres from Greymouth (see Fig. 2). According to the NZ census, the immediate township of Kumara is defined as a rural centre as its population is between 300 and 999. The 2001 census identified 324 residents. Cust (2008) states that the “Kumara community was built on the Gold Rushes of the 1860s as an occupational community based on a community of industrial activity and work” (p. 2). According to *Larrikins’ Lode: Episodes in the History of the Kumara Gold Rush* (as cited in Cust, 2008) the ... “township grew quickly with the influx of miners in 1864 and services were erected quickly to support the growing population” that reached an estimated 25,000 in the town and surrounding districts (p. 2). However, “throughout most of the 20th century production declined due mainly to the falling real price of gold. Only the Kanieri dredge on the Taramakau River remained as a significant gold producer” (*Gold exploration 1980s*, 2011, para. 16). As De Lacey notes, “The Kaniere gold dredge was laid up in 1978” (2009, para, 9).

1.3 Social Science Projects

In 2006, a cross-sectorial group was set up by statutory authorities and the local Mayor to identify the issues that were preventing the Kumara community from growing. West Coaster, E. Cust began her University of Otago research project in 2006 profiling the Kumara community. This involved completing an assessment and finding a model for change that would be in the best interest for this area.

Cust (2008) states in *Stage 1 & 2* of her research paper:

The community has suffered decline in recent decades visible both in its economy, with hindrance of vital industries through new right policy and increase in social issues such as crime, poverty, lack of access to resources and services and family breakdown. . . .This included limited access to health services, child-care, low income, poor housing and employment opportunities, little or no public transport all of which impacted on [their] ability to participate in training, employment or community activities. (pp. 2- 3)

In her paper *Community Profile and Health Needs Assessment*, social science researcher Beadle (2005) reinforces Cust's findings as she describes and analyses the community of Kumara, an area near where she lives and works. Beadle (2005) noted:

The deprivation score for Kumara and surrounding area of Taramakau is rated at 8, with 10 being the lowest score. The median income of \$12,100, indicates a low socioeconomic community. [45%] earn \$10,001- \$20,000 compared to 25% for NZ. The unemployment rate in 2001 was reported as 16% compared with 4.6% for Westland and 7.5% for NZ, although the latest social report (Ministry of Social Development, 2005) indicated the unemployment rate for the WC [West Coast] is now 2.5% and hopefully Kumara's rate has also decreased. (p. 12)

Cust released her findings at the June 10 2008 cross sector meeting. She identified gaps in the leadership within the community and that the community needed to come together and identify their own issues.

1.4 Global Context

As I researched other literature (Drucker, 1994; Lachky, 2010), I found that the same social issues were prevalent in redundant industrial communities around the world. Drucker (1994) discusses the dilemma of the blue collar worker in America through deindustrialization, stating that:

... [displaced] industrial workers ... cannot simply move into knowledge work or services the way displaced farmers and domestic workers moved into industrial work. At the very least they have to change their basic attitudes, values, and beliefs ... [and this] is far more than a social change [it] is a change in the human condition. (pp. 6-7)

Kuyek and Coumans' (2003) paper discuss a possible outcome of living within the confines of a mining dependant community experiencing decline.

The social environment in the community where the mine is operating often gets worse with closure: violence, increased drug and alcohol use, depressed expectations, power struggles, more extreme social hierarchy, and paralysis of normal ways of making decision are common. (p. 14)

Similarly in the study *Deindustrialization, Decline, and Restructuring in Socio- Spatial Context* Isin (2009) is of the opinion that:

Apart from ... [the] social ... consequences of decline and deindustrialization, there are psychological consequences ... [the loss] of hope for the future, loss of the main assets to develop one's social identity

(in terms of membership of an organized community, etc.), loss of value on one's capability are some of the impacts of such a process of decline. (p. 32)

This literature confirms my own personal experiences associated with 'small town industrial decline'.

Chapter 2 Cloth and Clothing as Cultural Signifiers

2.1 Clothing as a Communicative Language

The motivation to use clothing as my primary material within this study is echoed by textile artist Caroline Broadhead (as cited in Harris, 1999) who remarked that:

The reason I adopted a garment as a vehicle for expression were that, firstly, it allowed me to make reference to the whole body or person and not just a fragment; and secondly, clothing, being familiar and common to all, assured a point of communication. (p. 40)

Bohn (2004) elaborates on these ideas stating that:

If we understand clothing as event-based communication, the element reproducing and perpetuating the same is communication through clothing and not communication about clothing. Clothing, according to my thesis, is not just a topic of societal communication, but in itself already societal communication. (p. 12)

In this project, I take a similar view to Kaiser who believes “for symbolic interaction or meaningful communication to occur, the meaning assigned to a symbol by the initiator must eventually be the same as that assigned by the receiver” (as cited in Sims, 2002, p. 20). Therefore, clothing can be a communicative language.

2.2 'Textile Semantics'

Andrew's (2008) paper *Textile Semantics: Considering a Communication based Reading of Textiles* analyzes "the construction of meaning through textiles, acknowledging textiles as 'cultural signifiers' and suggesting communication as a paradigm in which textiles can be critically located and discussed" (p. 33). She describes the term 'textile semantics' as informed by Barthes 'semiotic theory' (for example refer Sturken, 2001) and as an "examination of the communicative qualities in textiles which inform the generation and exchange of meaning between the textile practitioner and the viewer" (p. 33). Andrew also states:

... 'communicative textiles' are defined as a textile, or series of textiles that ... contains typography that can be read to derive meaning; contains symbols, images or decorative motifs that have a specific meaning (even if this meaning requires specific knowledge or cultural experience to understand); contains colors, textures or patterns which evoke a mood or feeling in the viewer; communicates meaning through what it is made from - i.e. the actual fabric and/or its tactility; communicates meaning through its contextualization - i.e. what it is made into and how or where it is shown. (pp. 34 -35)

I engage these practices through my research to locate textiles within specific situations, for example using gingham to suggest schools and domesticity.

2.3 Ideology Inscribed Clothing

I was influenced by Malcolm Barnard's (1996) writing on the "everyday use of the phrases like 'white collar' and 'blue collar' to indicate non-manual and manual labour" as I was focusing my ideas on clothing associated with working class ideology (p. 109). Barnard is of the opinion that "manual labour [is] the province of the working classes and non-manual labour that of the middle classes, 'white collar' signals higher status than 'blue collar' " (p. 109). Verblen (as cited in Barnard, 1996) reinforces this belief as he remarks that "no apparel can be considered elegant, or even decent, if it shows the effect of manual labour on the part of the wearer, in the way of soil or wear" (p. 109). These quotes highlight clothing's capacity to suggest a particular social class in society using colour and dirt as signifiers.

2.4 The Absent Body

Felshin's (1995) writing resonates with my reason for wanting to use empty clothing, as costume and fashion practices (my own background) traditionally display clothing on a mannequin. Felshin remarks that:

Clothing more than any other object or possession is closely identified with the body of the absent wearer. It acts as a surrogate by suggesting his or her presence and that the body's absence also demands that we read between the lines and examine the meaning of what is not represented – the conditions of representation itself. (p. 20- 22)

I use the clothing in this way as a method to suggest both those who have left the area i.e. the absent body, and as a way to indicate those who are still present within the community.

2.5 Artist's Clothing Sites

Graeme Sullivan (as cited in Smith & Dean, 2009) is of the opinion that “contextual art practices are best described as ‘thinking in a setting’ that is situational” (p. 50). So while my practice draws on my background in costume design and its techniques, I’ve drawn reference from four artists who work this way using clothing as their medium; Seamus McGuinness, Doris Salcedo, Christian Boltanski and Ann Hamilton. I researched literature commenting on these artists to gain a better understanding of how each artist develops situation-based artwork. These included McGuinness (for example McGuinness, 2005; Nonem, 2008; *Suicide in Ireland*, 2010), Salcedo (for example Birkhofer, 2008; Engelberg & Lipschitz, 2005; Hemmings, 2004; Moreno, 2010; Sotelo, 2004), Boltanski (for example de la Haye & Wilson, 1999; Bergman- Janis, 2001; Godeau, 1998; Gumpert, 1994) and Hamilton (for example Neff, 1991; Simon, 2002).

2.5.1 Seamus McGuinness

My interest in Seamus McGuinness’s artwork *21 Grams* (see Fig. 5.1) focuses on his idea of positioning 92 white shirts, predominantly distressed collars hung at shoulder height as a method of highlighting the high incidence of youth suicide in Ireland between 2003 and 2006. The overall project *Last Portraits – Materialising Stories* involved families who had lost a member of their family to suicide. In the exhibition *100 Lived Lives* McGuinness’s artwork enabled the viewer the opportunity to experience the absent body. Nomen (2008) describes the ideas stating “[the] . . . pieces look unfinished or unraveled . . . suspended in mid-air with loose threads creating a ghostly scene” (p. 175).

2.5.2 Doris Salcedo

I was influenced by Doris Salcedo's use of clothing and material objects to suggest absent people. In *Untitled* 1989-1990 (see Fig. 5.2) she engaged a series of white shirts to reference the killing of a number of banana plantation workers in 1988. She folded cleaned shirts and placed them in piles that were secured to the floor by a metal pole to suggest what had taken place. The key issues that interest me in Salcedo's practice are explained by Birkhofer (2008) who remarks that "Salcedo rarely references the acts of violence which inspire her works, but ... [employs] the objects that were witnesses to the event and its aftermath" (p 63).

2.5.3 Christian Boltanski

My interest in Christian Boltanski's method of enquiry focuses on his use of real clothing that still retained signs of human life, for example body odors, as a method to represent the people who lost their lives in the holocaust. In *The Reserves - An Ongoing Clothes Installation* (exhibited in 1988) (see Fig. 5.3), Boltanski piled up hundreds of used clothing items on a floor for the viewer to walk on. Juliet Ash (as cited in de la Haye & Wilson, 1999) remarks that "Boltanski's [artwork reminds] the viewer, by the presence of clothes, of the feeling of the previous presence of people in their absence" (p. 136). Solomon-Godeau (1998) remarks that "these accumulations [recall] the photographs taken of piles of clothes, shoes, and other personal possessions amassed in the concentration camps" (p. 12).

2.5.4 Ann Hamilton

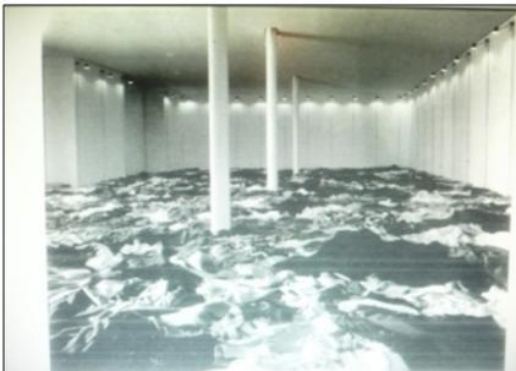
I was influenced by Ann Hamilton's engagement of 14,000 pounds of used blue work clothing in her 1991 installation *Indigo Blue* (see Fig. 5.4) to highlight the lost history of anonymous blue collar workers. Simon (2002) remarked that Hamilton used indigo as it was a sign of labour, therefore a useful signifier to reference the uniforms that were worn by manual labourers as previously discussed by Barnard (1996) and Verblen (as cited in Barnard, 1996). She placed the clothing onto a 17-by-24-foot steel platform that reached approximately 18 feet high and according to Hamilton it felt "like laying out a body" (Simon, 2002, p. 105).



1. McGuinness, S. (2005) *21 GRAMS* 92 white shirt collars Photographs by David Stephenson.
<http://www.3ts.ie/downloads/21%20grams.pdf>



2. Salcedo, D. (1990) *Untitled Shirts*, plaster, steel, 170cm x 35cm x 45cm.
<http://www.iniva.org/dare/artwork/salcedo/salcedo3.html>



3. Boltanski, C. (1988) *The Reserves – An Ongoing Clothes Installation*. (de la Haye & Wilson, 1999, p. 135).



4. Hamilton, A. (1991) *Indigo Blue* 14,000 pounds of used blue work clothes. (Neff, 1991, p. 71)

Figure 5: Artists engaging clothing in situation-based artworks.

Chapter 3 Chronology of Exploratory Experiments

In this section, I discuss a series of practice-led engagements. The motivation for the exploratory experiments is to investigate the creation of poignant metaphors to highlight visually the issues associated with the phenomenon ‘small town industrial decline’.

3.1 Collecting and Documenting Data

In my practice-led research I use a similar process to Nimkulrat (2007) that “allows for an interaction between art practice and theoretical discussions; it involves surveying literature, making artworks and reflecting on my own artistic experience, and comparing my practice with other artist working in the same field” (p. 4). This involves collecting data using a number of methods as detailed in Figure 6.

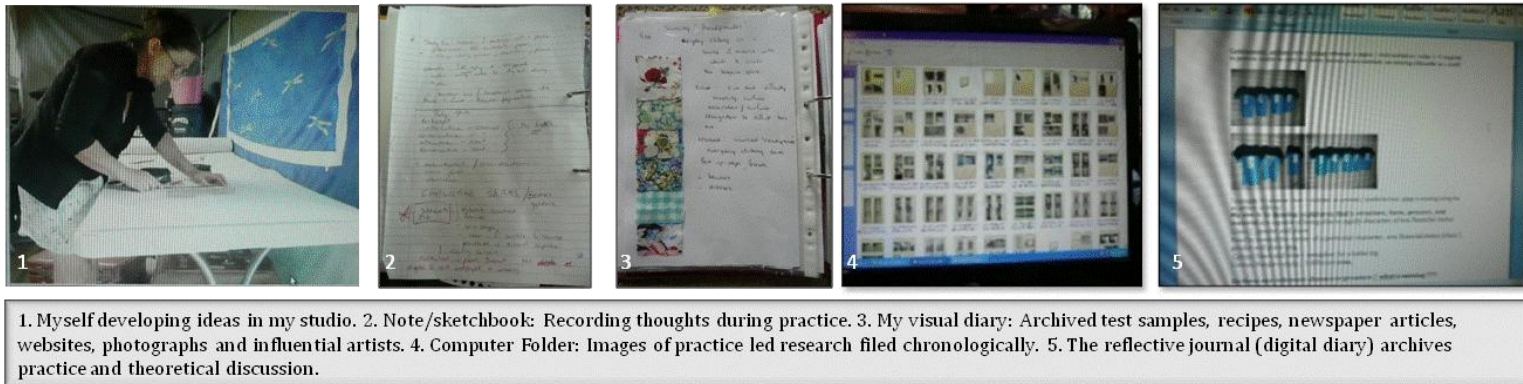


Figure 6: Collecting and documenting data.

3.2 Clothing as Media

This research used clothing and textiles to investigate ways of exposing the social issues associated with 'small town industrial decline'. The selection of used items referenced clothing I witnessed in domestic, industrial, and leisure activities in Kumara in the 1980s. Where preferred clothing items were unavailable, I sourced authentic textiles from existing clothing that were capable of signifying the situation. For example gingham is a material that suggests a number of situations such as the domestic scene (aprons) and school situations (uniforms). In this case I engaged a reconstructive process (refer Cosovic, 2003) by using the existing clothing item, such as a dress, dismantling it and using the actual pieces to create a new item. The majority of my making (see Fig. 7.4 & 7.5) engaged traditional home dress making techniques on a domestic sewing machine and domestic over-locker (refer *Complete Reader's Digest to Sewing*, 1984) informed by a 'make do and mend' ethos common in working class environments. I also used contemporary techniques similar to those used by fashion designers Shelley Fox and Martin Margiela (refer Barnard, 2007; Evans, 2003; Loscialpo, 2003) that involved a deconstruction process to locate my ideas within a situation-based artwork.



1. Experimenting: Combining caste iron waste and textiles. 2. & 3. Test results labeled and filed. 4. Primary tools engaged in practice-domestic sewing machine and domestic over-locker. 5. Example of a toile and mannequin.

Figure 7: Methods engaged to develop ideas in practice.

3.3 Stage 1 Signs of Decline



1. Chalayan, H. (1993) *The Tangent Flows* (Evans, 2003, p. 254). 2. Woods, B. (2010) *Chapter 3* Muslin, open ended jacket zipper, swarf, October. 3. Woods, B. (2010) *Chapter 3* close up.

Figure 8: Rust formulated textiles.

The research of rust formulated textiles carried out in 2010 (see Fig. 9) was informed by the work of artist Hussain Chalayan (see Fig. 8.1). Evans (2003) states:

The graduation collection of Hussain Chalayan in 1993 *The Tangent Flows* incorporated fabric that Chalayan had buried with iron filings in a friend's garden. When it was dug up six weeks later the rusted iron had sunk into and saturated the crevices and folds of the cloth creating a rich patina of golden brown. (pp. 253- 254)

I explored this idea of treating textiles as a way to suggest dereliction, an effect of decline (see Fig. 8.2 & 8.3). These investigations were continued in 2011 and revealed some interesting processes and results as demonstrated in Figure 10 & 11. The results were archived (see Fig. 7.3) and used throughout the project's development.



Figure 9: Developing rust formulated textiles.



Figure 10: Testing and sampling- swarf and textiles.

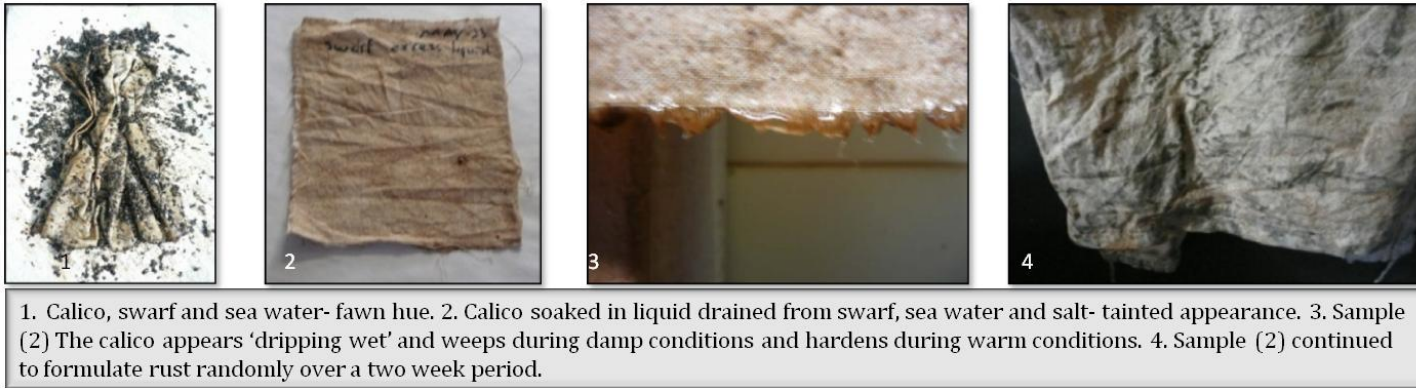


Figure 11: Testing and sampling- textiles dyed in swarf solutions.

3.4 Stage 2 Situating Neglect

In the last three decades the local primary school has suffered noticeable fluctuations in its school roll. This situation causes undue stress amongst the school community. Sometimes it takes an increase or decrease of only one pupil to retain the two teacher school. I recall a time when parents held a meeting at the local hall to voice their concerns regarding the quality of education their children were receiving at the school. The rural education advisor for the area was notified and invited to the meeting but declined stating: 'you are way out of your league'. The following ERO (Education Review Office) report confirmed the parents concerns. In recent years the school is facing a similar situation. In *Stage 2* of her paper Cust (2008) states "the school is [currently] facing difficult times with a falling roll and negative Education Review Office (ERO) report, which has led to a Limited Statutory Manager being appointed to assist in governance of the school" (p. 2).

1



2



3

1. *Personal Anecdote* 2. Marquette of a school gingham uniform, scaled down to a child's size 3. Uniform soaked in swarf mixture and hung in an unused building for analysis.

Figure 12: Gingham school uniform exploration.

I used the traditional red check gingham uniform that used to be worn at the Kumara primary school as a metaphor to investigate ways of representing the school situation and the state of neglect (see Fig. 12.1). I also wanted to test the rust formulation process out on a patterned textile. To create a marquette I downsized the standard pattern to a child's size 3 by scanning the pattern and reducing it (see Fig. 12.2).

The complete uniform was submerged in a swarf mixture of caste iron waste and sea salt crystals. The artwork was hung for critical analysis inside an unused building as opposed to a gallery setting (see Fig. 12.3).

While the artwork signified a school uniform through its style and textile pattern, the surface felt like rough sandpaper and there was a distinct stench, similar to a foundry smell. The scale of the work suggested a doll's dress and after viewing the images of the work on the computer I noticed the dress was out of proportion beside the concrete block wall (see Fig. 12.3). This observation informed future understandings of how the work operates within a specific site. The singular clothing item failed to express the idea of a community concern and could easily have referenced the idea of a lost child. The rust coated fabric failed to elucidate neglect as full encasement in rust overwhelmed any reading of the clothing item itself.

3.5 Stage 3 Situating Duration

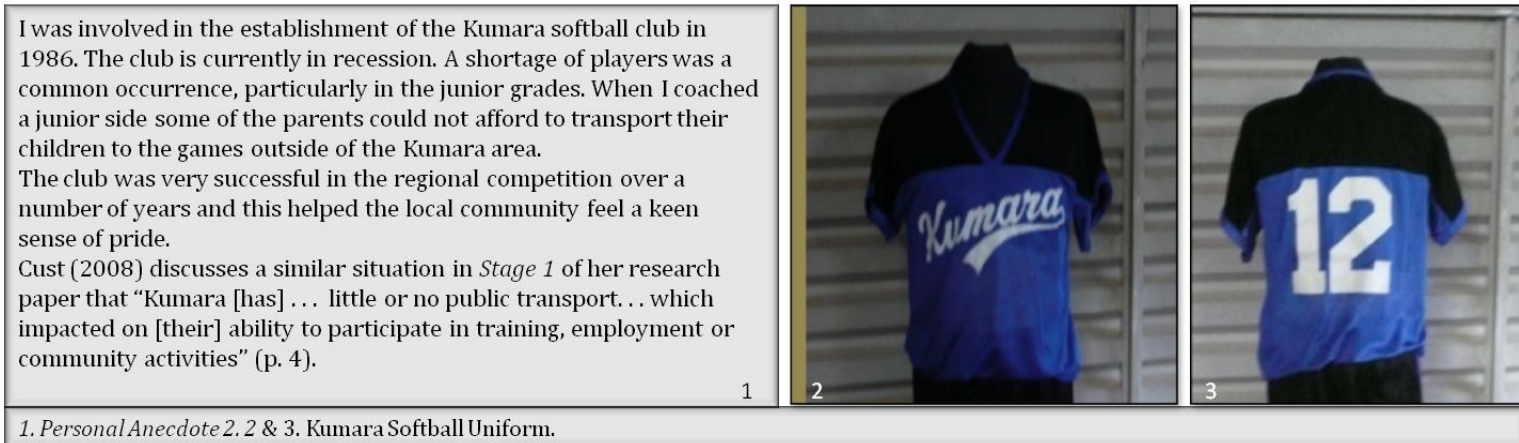


Figure 13: Softball uniform exploration.

I explored the use of a softball uniform (see Fig. 13.2 & 13.3) from the Kumara club in recession as a metaphor to investigate the sense of time passing and the loss of historical continuity due to a community activity ceasing (see Fig. 13.1). I revisited the archived rust formulated samples and selected a textile where the colour looked like the pages from an old unused book (see Fig. 11.2). I drafted a pattern from an original Kumara uniform shirt and used calico to create a sample. I then explored ways of embedding typography into the textile as a means to indicate the specific location.

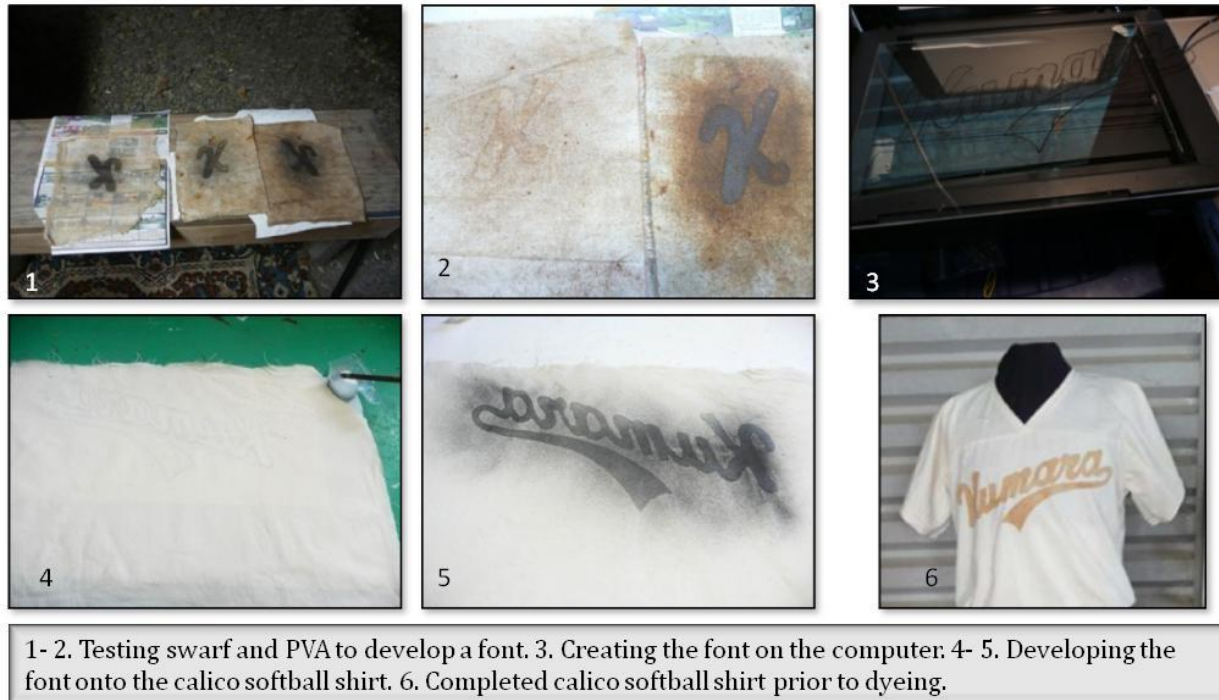


Figure 14: Font exploration.

The original text and numbers were traced, scanned and resized. Prior to garment construction these were traced onto the back of the shirt inside as a negative. The font was painted with PVA and swarf dust was sieved over. The rust formulated through to the other side creating a positive font. I ironed interfacing over the inside negative font to prevent swarf dust escaping during garment construction and rusting my sewing machine (see Fig. 14.1- 14.6). The uniform was dyed in swarf and sea water and hung in various locations to test the reading of the work (see Fig. 15).



Figure 15: Softball uniform shirt investigation.

While the uniform shirt referenced softball and baseball, it also looked like a hospital porter's uniform. The font contextualised the work within a particular place (see Fig. 15). While the dyeing technique used on the bland calico overwhelmed the artwork, the result did reference a museum relic by locating the shirt in a scene from the past when it is hung in a gallery setting (see Fig. 15.2). The experiment informed further research and led to employing multiples and typography as opposed to a singular item to investigate ways of representing ideas of decline.

3.6 Stage 4 Situating Player Shortage

I revisited *Personal Anecdote 2* (see Fig. 13.1) to explore the use of multiple replica softball shirts as a metaphor to investigate ways of representing a shortage of players. I focused the research on the use of text on the back of the identical softball uniform shirts. Recycled black and blue poplin was used to produce five new shirts and the numbers were produced from a recycled white sheet (see Fig. 16.1- 16.2). The shirts were hung in several locations to investigate different display options.

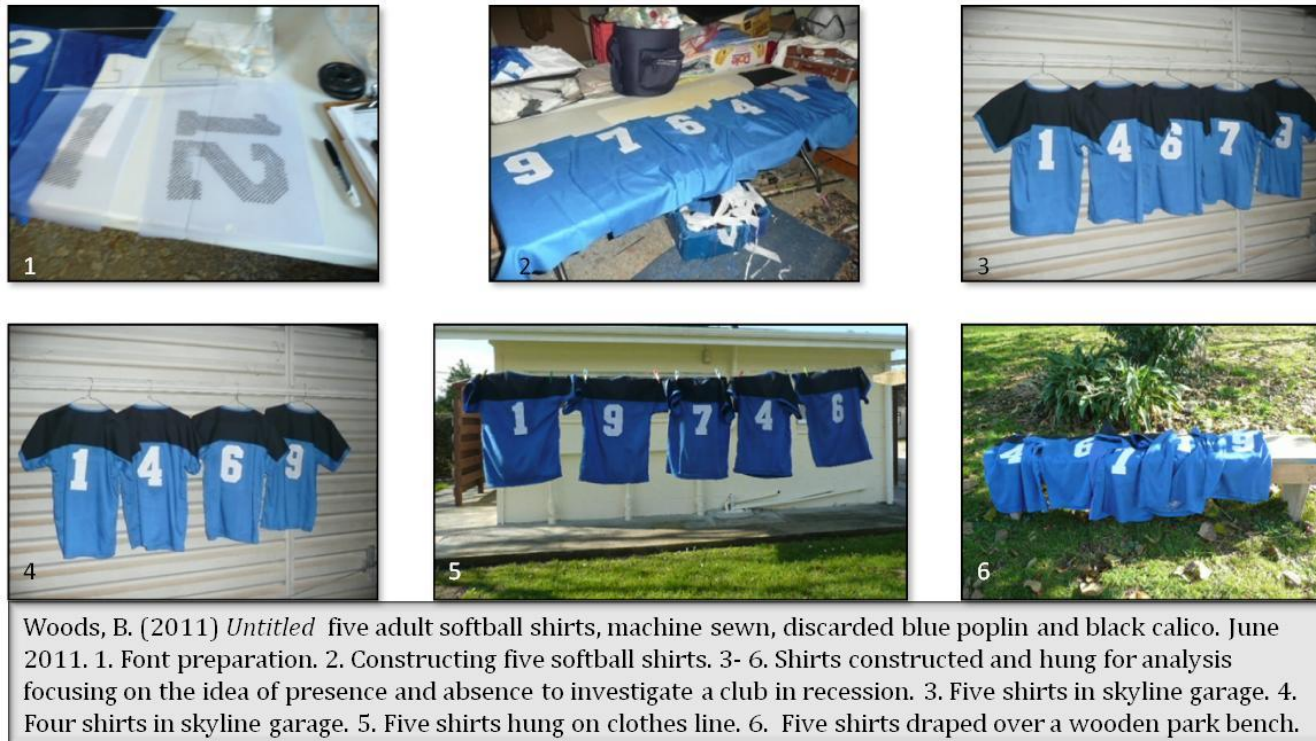


Figure 16: Softball uniform exploration- typography and multiples.

Although the numbered softball uniform shirts signified a team situation and a sense of community the locations and positioning of the work failed to generate the idea of a player shortage and merely implied that there were missing uniforms rather than absent players. This result forced me to consider some more serious social issues that had occurred in the community and I felt warranted investigation.

3.7 Stage 5 Situating Clashing of the Codes

Rodgers (2005) states that “over the years the coast has fought depopulation and unemployment as people left the area in search of work” (p. 145). In the 1960s Kumara had a population of 600 and by 1975 it had dropped to 240 residents. The only real significant change in this trend was during the 1990s when the population reached 450 residents, the result of a resurgence in gold extraction industry.

Lucy Lippard (1997) proposes that:
 ... the changing landscape is created by the replacement of some people, the displacement of others, and the disappearance of ways of life paradoxically envied by those who have come to emulate them but, by their very arrival, actually destroy them. (p. 43)

Cust (2008) discusses one aspect of this change remarking that “socially disorganised people (welfare recipients and people not participating in society) tend to concentrate in peripheral areas where economic status is low and class is homogenous” (p. 3- 4).



2. A small wooden table with a patterned cloth and a black shoe on the floor next to it.

3. A black jacket and a blue shirt on the floor next to a black shoe.

4. A pile of clothing items, including a red shirt, a blue shirt, and a black shoe, on the floor.

5. A small wooden table with a patterned cloth and a black shoe on the floor next to it.

1. *Personal Anecdote 3. 2- 5. Juxtaposition of ideology inscribed objects. Metaphors to investigate the idea of two different ideals within the community.*

Figure 17: Clashing of the clothing codes.



1- 4. Site exploration of conservative clothing.

Figure 18: Conservative clothing research.

I explored the different ideas of storing and caring for clothing as metaphors to investigate the different ideals and values of community members (see Fig. 17.1). I sourced clothing items that were similar to those worn in my own community as well as produced dresses and aprons to reference a specific time (see Fig. 17.2 & 18.1-18.4). I also engaged different objects I had witnessed the transient population (refer Appendix A-Newspaper Articles) using to move their clothing and belongings in and out of the community such as banana boxes and woven nylon bags made in China (see Fig. 17.3- 17.5). I placed these in a variety of positions for analysis.

The experiment referenced two different ideals and lifestyles (see Fig. 17- 18) using a variety of textiles, styles and objects. For example, representation of the conservative involved the use of gingham clothing items and

floral stretch knit mid-length dresses and while the representation of alternative or more avant-garde in the community focused on distressed denim and muslin clothing and footwear, for example rolled down gumboots.

After reflecting on this experiment I felt this investigation ignored the issue of the redundant blue collar worker who had made a significant economic contribution to the local and national economy through manual labour discussed earlier (refer Chapter 1.2).

3.8 Stage 6 Situating Unemployment

I explored the use of ideology inscribed work clothing as a metaphor to investigate ways of representing the level of unemployment in the community (see Fig. 19 & 20). This idea was supported by social science research evaluations that were discussed earlier (refer Chapter 1.3).

3.8.1 Unemployed Working Class 1

I sourced four sets of blue work overalls, without the orange or red inserts to reference the 1980s era (see Fig. 19.2 & 19.3). I used these in the project without altering them. The overalls were draped over rough-sawn dirty wooden shelves that were covered in dust and spider webs in an unused building for analysis (see Fig. 19.3).

The laundered overalls signified manual labour and prior use (see Fig. 19.2) however, the derelict building suggested disuse (see Fig. 19.3). The quantity failed to echo absent workers through unemployment and could easily have implied that one person owned the entire set of work-wear located in this small- sized building.

During the 1990s Kumara benefited from the resurgence in gold extraction industry and the community responded to the situation in a number of ways.

Nancy Rudkin (1997) remarks:

... for a small centre, Kumara has an excellent variety of sports and special interest clubs: Women's Netball, Men's Rugby, Softball, Indoor Bowls, Line dancing, Historic Society, Arts and Crafts group, Teremakau Lions Club, Plunket, Play Group, Fire Brigade. (p. 2)

When the price of gold dropped in 1998 a number of the region's companies down sized and some operations completely closed. Kumara succumbed to another state of industrial decline.

1



1. *Personal Anecdote* 4. 2. Three sets of used men's overalls, 3. Woods, B. (2011) *Untitled* four sets of men's blue work overalls draped over shelves in an unused ancillary building. July 2011.

Figure 19: Ideology inscribed work clothing.

3.8.2

Unemployed Working Class 2

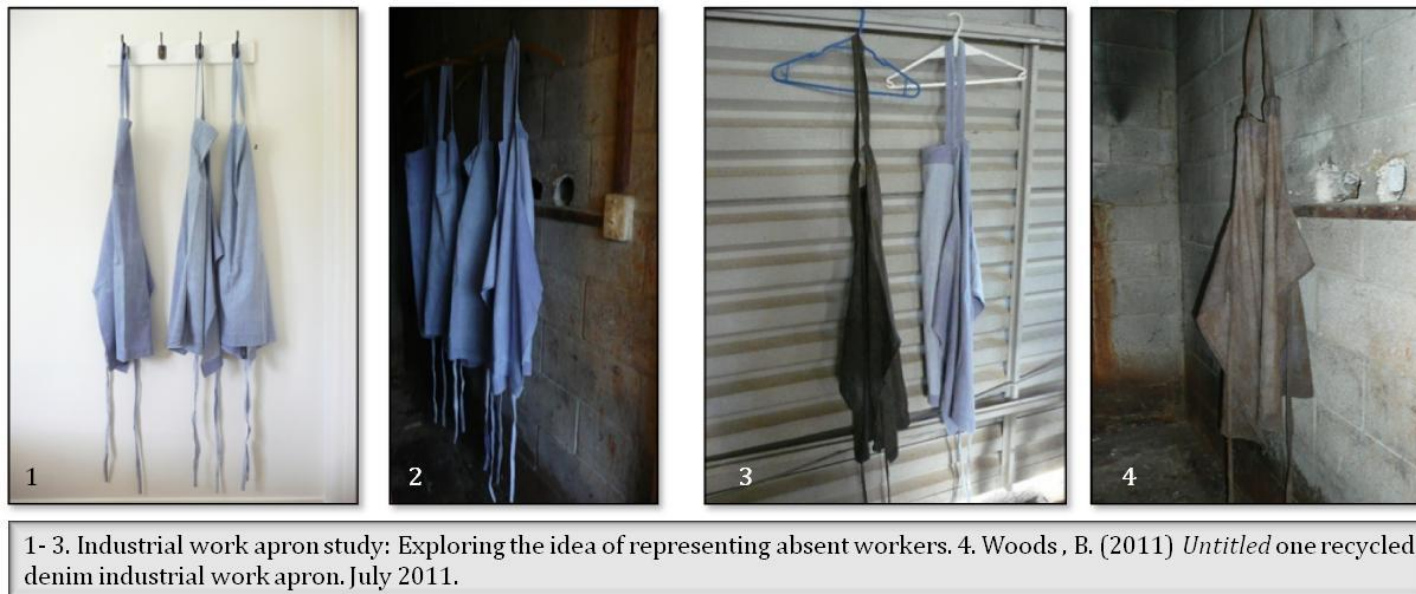


Figure 20: Investigation of ideology inscribed work clothing.

I sourced four sets of used men's laundered denim industrial aprons and placed them in a variety of locations for analysis (see Fig. 20).

The laundered aprons in a clean space suggest prior use and the presence of workers (see Fig. 20.1), whereas those hung in a more industrial environment (see Fig. 20.2) suggests non-use and implies absent workers due to the state of the building. Cosovic (2003) believes that the " 'absence of' can speak louder than the actual

object being physically present before us” (p. 2). I tested this idea by dyeing one apron in rust formulated liquid (see Fig. 21.1- 21.2) and returning this to the derelict building (see Fig. 20.4). The single apron suggests non-use and the absent worker and through the encasement of dirt suggested that it had been rotting inside the building for sometime. However, the small number of aprons did not indicate the idea of the level of unemployment I was trying to get across.



1. Sample of calico soaked in swarf solution. 2. Juxtaposition, dyed and undyed denim in industrial men's work aprons. July 2011.



Figure 21: Investigating redundancy using blue industrial work aprons.

3.9 Stage 7 Situating Community Inactivity

Cust (2008) states that the “higher frequency of interactions between community members strengthens relationships and creates density of networks, with social cohesion and maintenance of these networks linked to reciprocity and community focal points” (p. 2).

The women in my own community perform voluntary acts of labour on a grand scale. Since 1983 the Kumara community has catered for the annual Coast to Coast event, which draws competitors from all over New Zealand and overseas. An evening meal is prepared for the competitors and this event is a major fundraiser in the area. This image in Appendix B- Articles Highlighting Community Activities is one of the last remaining representations of small town communal life remaining in Kumara. Although the event is held only once a year it creates an opportunity for the local community to work towards a common goal.



1. Personal Anecdote 5. 2. Aprons thrown on a bench in a communal kitchen.

Figure 22: Exploring community activity and inactivity.

I explored a conservative style apron to reference the 1980s era as a metaphor to investigate ways of representing a lack of community activity and interaction (see Fig. 22.1). I had used this style of apron in an earlier experiment (see Fig. 18.1- 18.4). Due to the apron being able to reference both public and private spheres I decided to re-examine it as a metaphor. Kujak & Coumans' (2003) writing highlights women's experiences living in mining communities “in terms of unpaid labour and as homemakers” (p. 70) and cite Mawhinney (1998) who remarked that “the family employment after closure shifts to the women, and to lower wages” (as cited in Kujak & Coumans, 2003, p. 4). I made new aprons using textiles and styles from the 1980s and placed the aprons in context similar to my Kumara experiences i.e. the kitchen of a local hall (see Fig. 22.2).

The aprons and location signified the era due to their style and textile pattern and the space signified food, catering for a large crowd. The quantity of aprons also indicated a small number of people working, therefore, this item of clothing was an effective metaphor to reference Kumara's state of inactivity. This experiment informed the project investigating ways to represent the community using multiple aprons.

3.10 Stage 8 Designing a Situation-based Artwork:

3.10.1 Social Fabric

I explored the use of multiple 1980s style aprons similar to those worn in Kumara to investigate ways of representing women's contributions to a mining dependant community. The previous experiment was a key to highlighting the apron's capability of representing both the public and private spheres of life within a small industrial community. In this section, I discuss the development of the situation-based artwork in the following order; sourcing materials, developing the aprons and deciding on the site for the artwork. I will discuss the completed artwork after the examination.

I began the research searching for textiles that were authentic to aprons, for example cotton and cotton blends and patterned fabrics such as gingham that signified domestic environments.



Figure 23: Sourcing textiles.

To resolve the lack of genuine materials I selected textiles that referenced the era through pattern only, for example checks similar in appearance to gingham, and floral prints (see Fig. 23.4). I located blouses and dresses in second hand shops, particularly the Hospice and Salvation Army shops and these provided a substantial amount of fabric for the project (see Fig. 23.1- 23.4).

3.10.2 Characterising Aprons

I engaged a costume design process within the apron design to reveal something about the wearer's character and identity and situate the idea within a particular timeframe and scene (refer Ingham & Covey, 2003). The role of a costume designer is to add a layer of meaning to the story being told. This also involves reflecting people's behaviour in particular situations. An artist who works in a similar way is Yinka Shonibare (refer Kent, 2008).

I discovered textiles, including tablecloths, that contained stains that I could incorporate into the apron's individual design and therefore suggest prior use (see Fig. 25.1 & 25.2). Vinken (as cited in Loscialpo, 2003) suggests that what is useful in this process "is that the old is not excluded and denied but is made into the material of the [new] clothes" (p. 8). To add to this idea I engaged people to wear my new aprons to accumulate food stains while practicing domestic duties.



Figure 24: Developing two aprons using one blouse.



Figure 25: Developing aprons around stains.

Each apron was developed according to the quantity of material that was made available through a reconstructive process (refer Cosovic, 2003). Each design is worked out once I stripped the seams from the clothing item (see Fig. 24.1- 24.8). A standard apron used the folded back section of the blouse and a pocket was cut from a sleeve (see Fig. 24.2, 24.4 & 24.5). In line with 1980s style apron, I capped the raw edges with bias binding (see Fig. 24.7). The larger blouses enabled two separate aprons to be produced (see Fig. 24) which could suggest a family connection, for example, the same fabric may imply sisters or mother and daughter (see 26.1 & 26.3). I identified features within the blouse that were capable of differentiating between two family members, for example a buttoned front, pockets and collar were used in one apron (see Fig. 26.3 & 26.4) and the remainder of the blouse was used to create a much plainer apron (see Fig. 26.1 & 26.2).



1- 4: Apron Family: Creating character within the apron's design. 1. & 2. plain. 3 & 4. additional features.

Figure 26: Characterising aprons.

To suggest the idea of ageing I explored ways of reflecting wear and tear beginning with the idea of fading the textiles. Firstly, the reverse side of the fabric, which is normally much lighter, was used (see Fig. 27.1). Then I explored ways to imply where an actual pocket might have been by fixing an un-faded square onto the apron (see Fig. 27.1 & 29.1). I also explored fading by spraying a 50/50 mixture of exit mould and bleach over the right side of the fabric (see Fig. 27.3). The process was not reliable on all varieties of textiles, for example, gingham was hardly affected.



1. Using the wrong side of the fabric to suggest a faded surface. 2. Issue, able to see the right side which is now the wrong side when the apron was hung. 3. Resolved issue by bleaching right side and adding right side square to suggest a missing pocket.

Figure 27: Developing the idea of fading

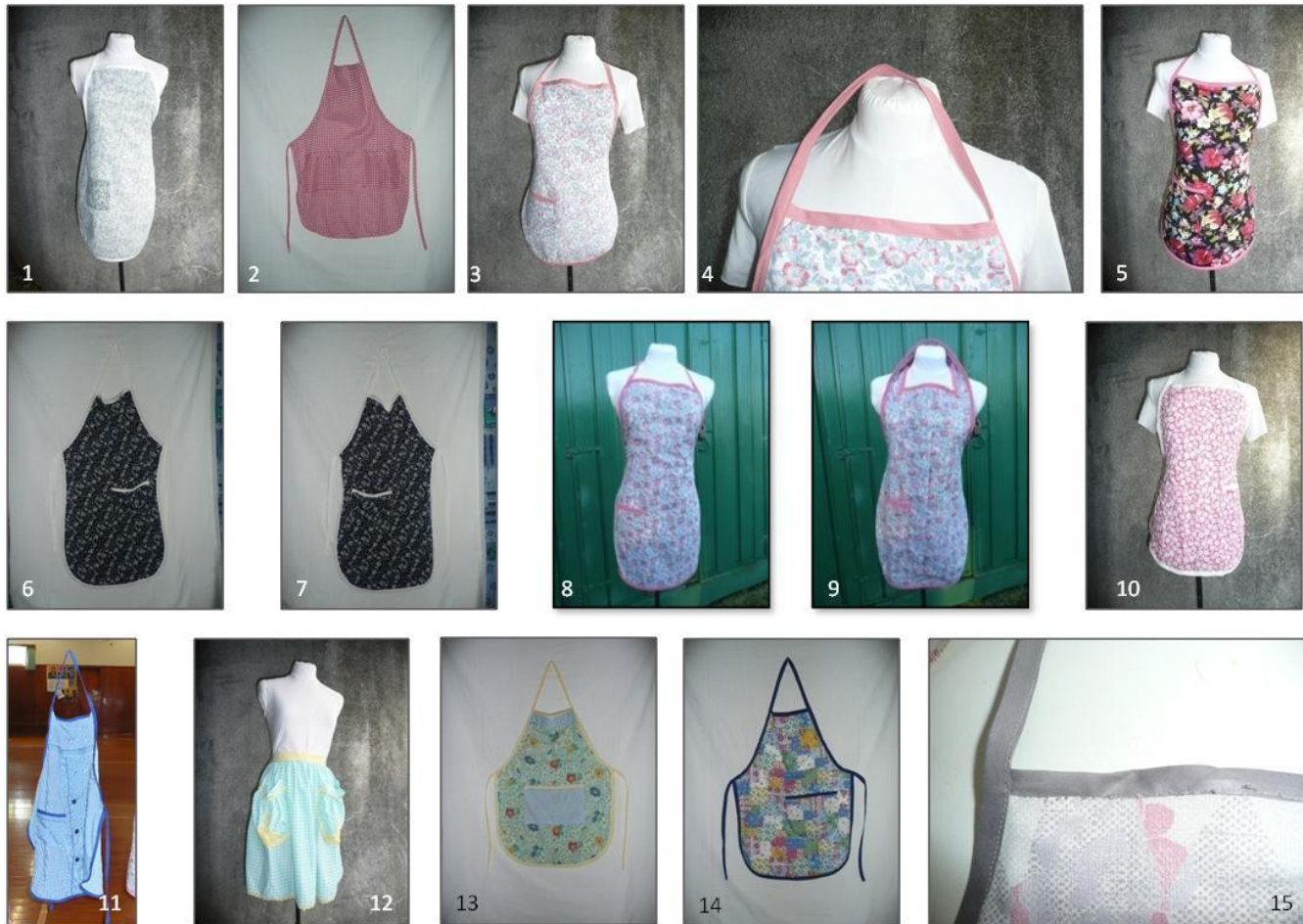
To retain traditional home dressmaking techniques reflecting a 'make do and mend' ethos common in working class environments I refrained from rectifying flawed stitches (see Fig. 29.15) and using specific sewing machine attachments to carry out particular tasks, for example attaching bias binding (see Fig. 24.8). Using this method suggested a homemade look. I engaged a similar process to contemporary artists that I mentioned earlier by distressing the fabric and manipulating the construction process during the apron's development. This included sanding the bias binding edges and the apron's surface to imply manual labour.



1. Manipulating a mannequin's bust. 2. Sculpturing chicken wire over mannequin to form an armature. 3. Cutting apron shaped armature. 4- 5. Testing the apron on the hung armature (weight and the unknown stretch factor of the monofilament).

Figure 28: Researching methods to hang aprons.

I explored a number of methods to enable the human characteristics that I had embedded within the apron to be exposed as a means to suggest the absent person's character and their role within a situation (see Fig. 28). When using the item empty or independent of a wearer, I had to take into consideration the apron's 3D form and the potential to expose its entirety for example both the inside and outside. I installed fuse wire within the apron's construction, as this method was invisible and could still give the apron some structure (see Fig. 28.4 & 28.5). The wire could also be manipulated into a shape therefore enabling the apron to operate as a surrogate to suggest both the present and the absent wearer.



1- 15: Development of different aprons.

Figure 29: Building an apron community.

3.10.3 Situating Community Inactivity



Figure 30: Apron site exploration.

I wanted to test the aprons in a variety of locations to gain an understanding of how they might operate in different contexts. I was interested in Feldman's (cited in Nahshon, 2008) discussion on the 2004 exhibition *Eyes Wide Open* where "thousands of pairs of black leather military boots [were positioned like headstones] on an open field: one pair [representing] . . . every soldier killed in the [Iraq] conflict" (p. 127). I thought this was a useful method that I could engage to enable the viewer to experience the missing body and as a means of opening up the entire apron surface to reveal the individual's character. I tested this idea out in a gallery setting as well as two rural outdoor settings (see Fig. 30.1- 30.3). The artwork generated significant discussion amongst peers on feminist discourse. This particularly related to a women's role within the private sphere prior to the 1970s feminist movement where women worked predominantly in the home. However, feminist issues are not a concern of this project. I am more interested in portraying the women's acceptance of their

situation in a small industrial dependant community. There are limited paid jobs and the women's role is mainly that of the homemaker and as a volunteer within the community.

The positioning of the work on the ground exposed a number of issues that I needed to revisit, for example, I was focusing on using the idea of contemplation, a site of memory. However, I realised my aim was to investigate the idea of representing a community of inactivity rather than death. I revisited the two rural outdoor settings and carried out preliminary drawing. However due to the unpredictability of the weather and the high number of people using these spaces during the summer months I revisited the idea of using a local community hall, a context similar to my own Kumara experience. The Orere Memorial Hall (see Fig. 31.1- 31.3) was an ideal site to set up the situation-based artwork as it was located in a rural setting similar to my own community separated from an urban environment by farmland.

The structure of the hall (see Fig. 31.2- 31.3) with its high ceiling was particularly important for this project as I required an open indoor space large enough to explore hanging as a method of presentation. Using this method to install the aprons would enable the costume design features that I had developed to operate in such a way as to reveal particular character traits of the absent person. I also wanted to investigate hanging as a method to enable the aprons to operate on a level similar to the actual human body, thereby enabling the viewer the opportunity to move throughout the work to experience the sensibility of the absent person in much the same way. I took into consideration all of these issues when I developed a system to hang the aprons within this space as I wanted the elements of the artwork to move freely within the space.



1- 3. Orere Memorial Hall- site for thesis exhibition.

Figure 31: Exploration of the community hall.

Chapter 4 Thesis Exhibition

The final situational based artwork was presented and discussed with my examiners at the Orere Memorial Community Hall in South Auckland on the 28th of November 2011.

On entering the community hall through the main entrance, the viewer was confronted by an army like display of multi-coloured aprons suspended at body height, seemingly in mid air (see Fig. 33.3- 36). The height and the space between the fifty aprons afforded the viewer the opportunity to move throughout the installation and engage with the artwork at a bodily level (see Fig. 33.3 & 34.1- 34.2). As they walked through the installation a draught was created enabling the aprons to turn and for those in close proximity to touch each other. This experience provided the viewer with an opportunity to engage with the absent wearer, thereby gaining a sense of the loss incurred within the Kumara community as the result of social closure.

I explored the placement of the aprons within the hall space. This was achieved using suspension methods (see Fig. 32- 33) to hang the aprons at body height as well as considering lighting effects. I photographed the work using artificial and natural light (see Fig. 35). I recognized that the natural light added another dimension to the installation allowing the artwork to alter in appearance as the passing clouds overhead diminished the light entering the side window, therefore creating a ghost-like scene (see Fig. 35.4). When the sun re-appeared a colourful reflection evolved beneath the work revealing the aprons in their entirety (see Fig. 36).

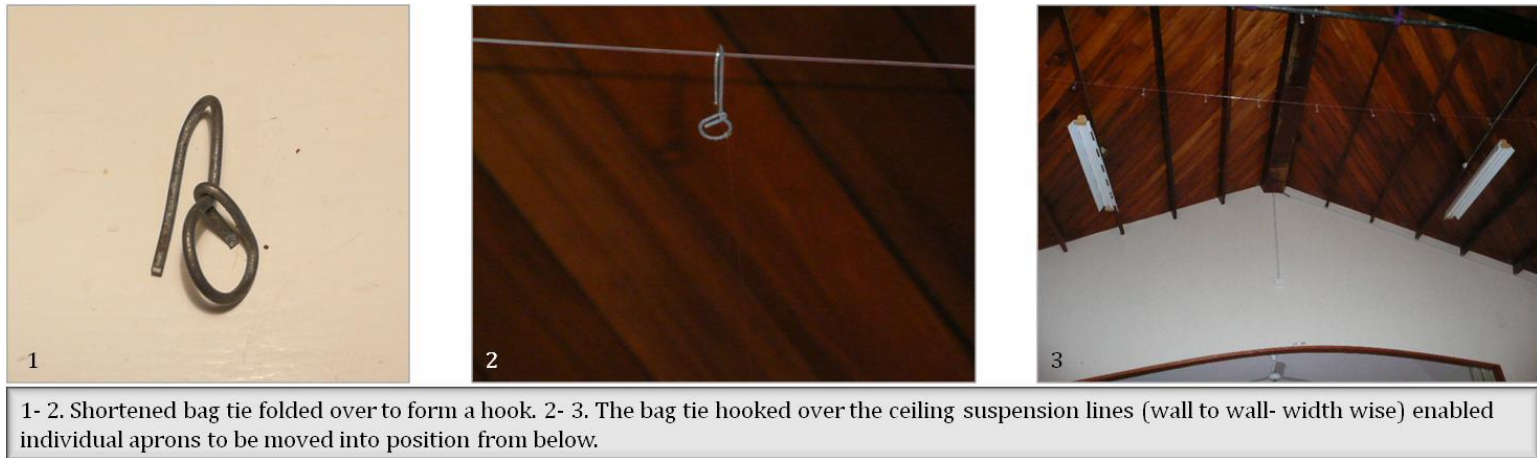


Figure 32: Exploration of suspension method.



Figure 33: Exploration of suspension method.



1- 2. Exhibition Orere Memorial Hall: Woods, B. (2011) *Untitled*, fifty 1980s style textile aprons, recycled fabrics, fuse wire, masking tape, monofilament and bag ties.

Figure 34: Exploration of artwork placement.



1. Artificial light. 2. Natural light. 3. Natural light- the sun enters the hall through the side window. 4. Natural light- overhead cloud diminishes the light entering the hall.

Figure 35: Exploration of light.



Exhibition Orere Memorial Hall: Woods, B. (2011) *Untitled*, fifty 1980s style textile aprons, recycled fabrics, fuse wire, masking tape, monofilament and bag ties.

Figure 36: Final Exhibition.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this research project was to investigate poignant metaphors capable of expressing my own personal experiences of the phenomenon of 'social closure' and 'small town industrial decline' therefore highlighting the issue as a national concern. Using practice-led research I sought ways to unpick and rethread a sense of the fragility that occurs within these circumstances using textiles and clothing that referenced the situations that I witnessed in domestic, industrial and leisure activities in my home town of Kumara during the 1980s. The media selected had to operate in such a way that suggested the presence of the absent wearer as well as locate them within a particular situation for the artwork to perform as a language.

I attempted to represent these community situations by focusing my ideas on situations that referenced people who had left the area, those who had passed away or to those who have remained. The development of ideas focused on using form, the environment to exhibit the idea and the placement of the idea within the space. This involved developing ideas that used textiles that I had developed solely for this research project; using typography on clothing items to signify an event; engaging multiple clothing items to suggest a community concern; using the juxtaposition of clothing styles to discuss the changing landscape as a result of decline and the positioning of the clothing items in such a way that the viewer could experience similar sensibilities to my own experiences.

Each of the individual experiments that engaged clothing as my primary research material informed consecutive research. Many unexpected challenges occurred including the development of ideas that simply alluded to everyday practices rather than implying the serious situation related to the phenomenon under consideration.

My intention was for this project to create an additional space to social science research to highlight the people's plight living in this environment. However, I am of the same opinion as Cust (2008) who recognized that the Kumara community needed to unite in order for the community to grow. With this revelation in mind I intend to explore ways to engage the community in a project where they can express their own concerns therefore enabling them to move forward with a sense of purpose and pride. I intend to use the final artwork presented for examination as a foundation to further develop ideas associated with industry dependant communities affected by decline.

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Table of Images:

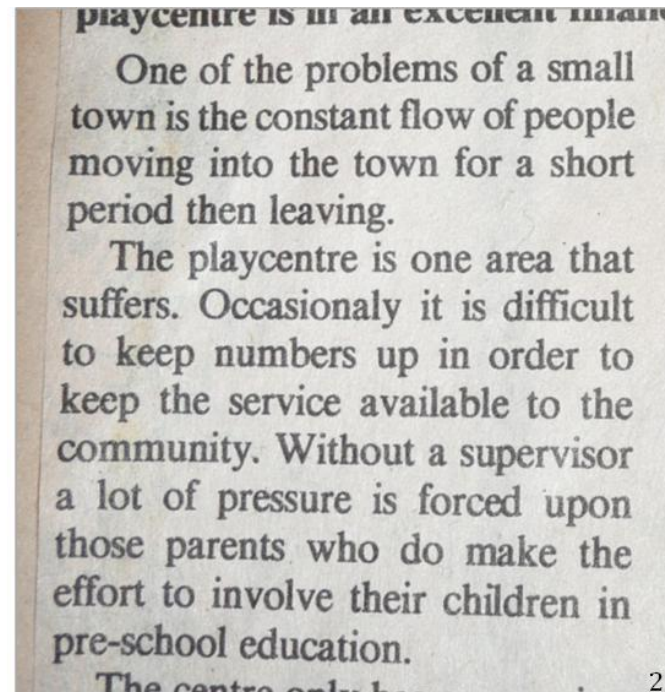
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Fig. 36:	<p>Final Exhibition:</p> <p>Exhibition Orere Memorial Hall: Woods, B. (2011) <i>Untitled</i> , fifty 1980s style textile aprons, recycled fabrics, fuse wire, masking tape, monofilament and bag ties.</p> <p>Photographed by Gary Healey.</p>

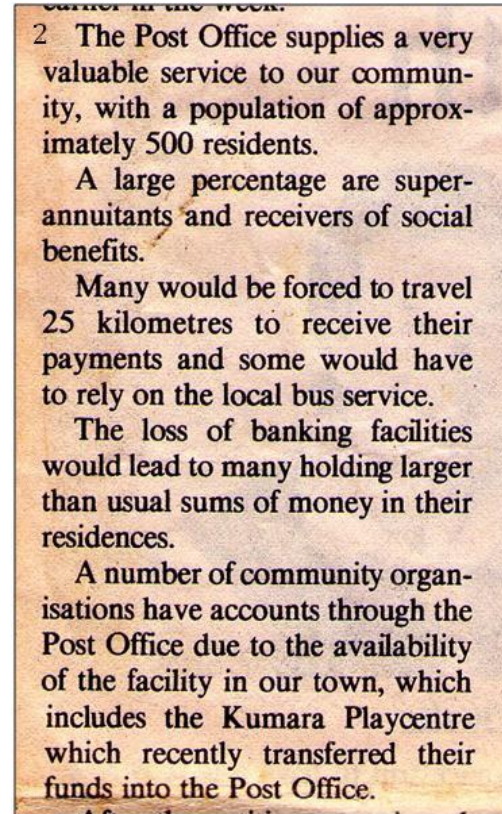
Appendices A: Newspaper Articles.

'Kumara Playcentre Finances in Sound Position'



1. Woods, B. (1987, September 25). Kumara Playcentre Finances In Sound Position. *Hokitika Guardian*. p. 4.
2. Woods, B. (1987, September 25). Selected text highlighting community concerns- Kumara Playcentre Finances in Sound Position. *Hokitika Guardian*. p. 4. Reprinted with permission.

'Petition Circulated to Save Kumara P.O.'



1. Woods, B. (1987, October 23). Petition Circulated to Save Kumara P.O.. *Hokitika Guardian*. p. 5.
2. Woods, B. (1987, October 23). Selected text highlighting community concerns sourced- Petition Circulated to Save Kumara P.O.. *Hokitika Guardian*. p 5. Reprinted with permission.

'Kumara Save Our Post Office Action Group Committee Formed'.



2

(By Our Kumara Correspondent)

Residents of Kumara and outlying areas gathered in the Kumara School last evening to form an action committee with the purpose of trying to save the local Kumara Post Office from closure and downgrading in February.

The meeting was chaired by Mr Pat Ryder, and the 70 concerned members of the public listened to a number of invited guests, Union representatives from the Post Office, Mr Des McEnaney, Mr Wayne Smith, Mr Durham Havill representing the Westland County Council, National Party representative Mr Colin Jackson and West Coast Independent Candidate at the 87 election Mr Peter Neame.

All gave well informed speeches and all strongly emphasised the need to work as a united front and work fast.

Letters to Parliament need to be sent continually before the house goes into recess over the Xmas period.

If enough noise is made politicians may be forced to reconsider their decision to close or downgrade a large number of Post Offices nationwide.

Mr Durham Havill stressed that the social needs of our communities are being totally ignored many of us out there pay taxes.

What's happening to many of our community services they are being taken out from under us.

The action committee formed is as follows: Pat Ryder, Ian Lees, Lillian Mutsaers, John Acker, Ada Milne, Denise Cameron, Peggy Binns, Karyn Wafer, Leanne McGill and Betty Costelloe.

A meeting will be held at Pat Ryders next Tuesday evening to work out the activities planned at last nights meeting.

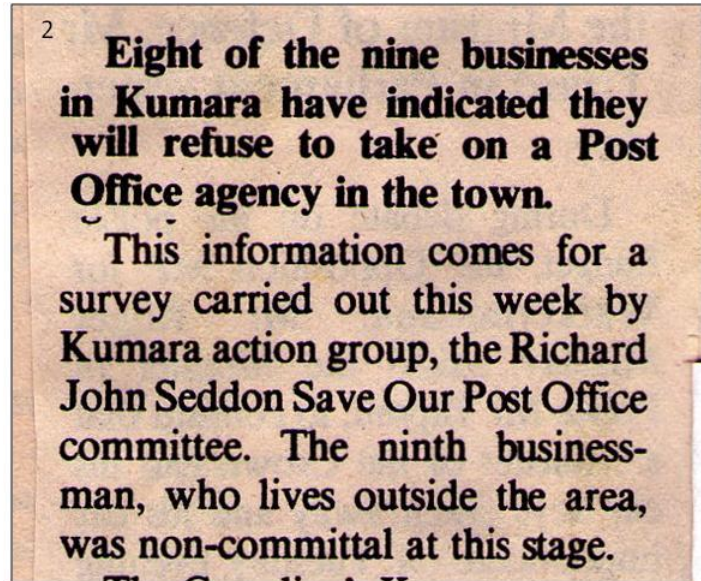
The public are urged to keep writing to the politicians.

The petition will be sent to Parliament next week. It contains nearly 400 signatures from residents of Kumara and outlying areas.

**Royal NZ Foundation
For The Blind Visit**
Last week 10 enrolled members

1. Woods, B. (1987, November 12). Kumara Save Our Post Office Action Group Committee Formed. *Hokitika Guardian*. p. 5.
2. Woods, B. (1987, November 12). Selected text highlighting community concerns sourced- Kumara Save Our Post Office Action Group Committee Formed. *Hokitika Guardian*. p. 5. Reprinted with permission.

'No Race in Kumara to Take Over P.O. Agency'.



1. No Race in Kumara To Take Over P.O. Agency (1987, November 19). *Hokitika Guardian*. p. 1.
2. Selected text highlighting community concerns sourced- No Race in Kumara To Take Over P.O. Agency. (1987, November 19). *Hokitika Guardian*. p. 1. Reprinted with permission.

'Kumara Post Office Closure Protest'.



1. Kumara Post Office Closure Protest (1987, November 24). *Greymouth Evening Star*. p. 1.
2. Kumara Post Office Closure Protest (1987, November 24). *Greymouth Evening Star*. p. 1. Photographer D. Farrell. Reprinted with permission.

Appendix B: Articles Highlighting Community Activities.

'Workers Wanted'.



1- 2. Wanted Workers. (2000, July) *Kumara Gold Trails*. p. 2.

3. Image- Kumara Memorial Hall. Volunteers washing dishes at the annual Coast to Coast banquet. (n.d) Photographer unknown.

4. Image- 'Carbo- loading at the pre- race banquet' (McKerrow, 1994, p. 37).