UNCOVERING "REGIMES OF TRUTH": LOCATING AND DEFINING DISCOURSES ASSOCIATED WITH HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND

**A Thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology
in partial fulfilment of the Doctor of Philosophy**

Philippa Katherine Wells

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Attestation

"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 which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements."

Acknowledgments

Abstract

This thesis reveals and explores a history of the New Zealand present, providing insight into myths through which New Zealanders shape their perceptions and relationships with the world that surrounds them, and interrogating the concepts that support those myths. This myth referred to is a regime of truth based on perceptions of environmental responsibility, embodied in language, policy, actions, and incorporated into official discourse through imagery, an international government-driven advertising campaign portraying a "100% Pure New Zealand" and institutionalisation. There is a Department of Conservation, a Ministry for the Environment, National Parks and Reserves and a Resource Management Act based on a fundamental principle of sustainable management. Popular discourse also recognises environmental values - hence the appearance of concerted public and media campaigns against proposed development of coastal and timbered areas and the survival of lobby and pressure groups based on environmental causes such as opposition to genetic modification and the alienation of areas considered of natural significance.

However, a study of relevant strains of discourse in the New Zealand environmental context reveals ruptures and reversals, inconsistencies and contradictions. The focus and meanings within discourse have changed; the position and power of the environment has been both affected by, and has affected, power relationships. At certain times and in particular social conditions, an environmental voice has been compelled to occupy a space on the outskirts of a dominant discourse and to comply with its discursive practices, as a way of gaining legitimisation. At others, an environmental discourse has gained a fleeting triumph, to be privileged as truth.

From the official outset of European colonisation in 1840, a discourse grounded in such modernist values as technological optimism, economic progress and capitalism both framed and legitimised utterances of the colonists and grounded decisions that were to fundamentally and permanently affect the New Zealand physical environment. Themes that were to echo through the years in such discursive enunciations as acclimatisation and engineering were justified on the basis of "progress". Such themes included the presumption that "man" and fulfilment of "his" needs was the ultimate dictate, and that this could and would be achieved through scientific discovery and its application through engineering and arts. Only through such a pursuit could civilisation advance onwards and upwards along a never-ending path. Within such a discourse, Nature had no distinct or valid domain outside that of man, but was merely a storehouse of raw materials, to be dipped into by Man when and where desired.

One of the most significant manifestations for New Zealand in the twentieth century of this modernist discourse has been the development of hydro-electricity. The availability of the necessary technology in a country boasting plentiful rainfall, numerous fast-flowing rivers, pockets of population and a tradition of socialist, centralist political philosophy shaped hydro-electricity as a metaphor for New Zealand-style civilisation - enabled and controlled through government decision-making. Consequently, a genealogical study of the discourses relating to hydro-electricity policy and debate can provide valuable insight into the power relations between those exercising power through a modernist discourse and an environmental

resistance, and into strategies that were adopted or developed as part of such discourses in the exercise of power. In particular, a detailed study of specific examples permits the interplay of socio-temporal factors and practices to be appreciated. Hydro-electricity is thus the contextual focus selected in this thesis, a focus reflected in the title.

The genealogical method involves uncovering and contextualising primary and secondary materials within their historical setting. Through the interrogation of such materials this approach contributes to a critical understanding of power relations and how those relations influence strategies that might be utilised in the exercise of power.

Such a method was therefore selected to analyse the tensions implicit in discourse within three historically and contextually specific case studies. These case studies involved in chronological order the proposal to harness the waters of the Bowen Falls in Fiordland during the 1920s, the proposal to raise the level of Lake Manapouri (together with that of the neighbouring Lake Te Anau) in the 1960s, and finally the proposal to divert a large proportion of the mean water-flow of the Lower Waitaki river during the first part of the twenty-first century.

A principal conclusion that is reached through the analysis is that the present environmental discourse in New Zealand is not the inevitable outcome of progressive and logical history. Nor can it be explained as chance or as a consequence of world changes, but is a function of power/knowledge. Changes in the regime of truth are therefore the outcome of a successful power strategy exercised by a resistance in challenging that regime of truth.

In addition, what might be defined as "environmental discourse" in the New Zealand context is narrowly defined, limited by environmental cause, a cause shaped in turn by the language of conservation. The lesson from history is that the regime of truth of such a discourse is not an end, stable and unchanging for the future, but must be seen rather as brittle, uncertain and vulnerable to attack.

A third conclusion that emerges from the hydro-electricity focus is that this particular discursive enunciation of a New Zealand-style modernist discourse was a metaphor for social and economic progress, thereby occupying a privileged position as truth.

Finally, one of the important contributions to methodological debate made by the thesis lies in its application of the Foucauldian genealogical method in exploring the general history of a socio-temporal context, thereby uncovering power strategies effected through discourse. This in turn reveals the hidden events, the silent voices and the games played in establishing and challenging a regime of truth.

Part I

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

Chapter One

Introduction
A New Zealand Myth of the Environment

"As human beings, we perceive and understand the material world at the level of abstractions, languages, and symbols.
We act on the basis of these perceptions and beliefs."[1]

Introduction

In the above quote, Toby Smith is asserting that human beings manage their material world through perceptions and beliefs, with perceptions and beliefs being shaped by abstractions, languages and symbols. He goes on to label a social construction that supports prevailing belief structures as a "myth".[2] It could be argued that the myth-structure was a feature of pre-scientific society, the story told by the unenlightened in religious or superstitious words. Such arguments would place myth in a contra position to scientific, objectively established "truth", thereby denying it a place in an enlightened social context. However, it can also be argued that myth endures as a mechanism whereby individuals, through metaphor and imagery, can synthesise, filter and address the confusion of messages assaulting them in their personal space.

Positing the myth as a "social construction"[3] in this way, one that endures due to its sense-making role, poses an important and fundamental question: if a myth is a structure that provides sense to the confusion of messages, how is it possible to explain the persistence of a myth in the face of a conflicting and damming "truth"? Such a question poses an interesting research challenge, to expose the hidden forces behind its endurance.

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[1] Smith, T.M. (1998) The Myth of Green Marketing: Tending Our Goats at the Edge of Apocalypse, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, p4
[2] Ibid., p30
[3] Ibid.

One approach towards achieving such an exposure is to deconstruct an identified and powerful myth, to explore and analyse its "abstractions, languages, and symbols". However, before such an exploration can take place, it is important to examine this concept of myth. These objectives are achieved in the following sections, firstly by clarifying the nature of "myth" is used in this context and secondly, by identifying the nature of a relevant myth.

Myth – its Nature

Myth, as Smith defines it, has two aspects. Firstly, it is "riddled with symbolic meaning".[4] The second aspect of a myth is the story implicit in those symbols. Reference to just two local examples of myth provides insight into the importance of these two interrelated aspects. The first example is that of Sir Edmund Hilary as one of the first men to scale Mt Everest. Specific symbols connected to him as an individual include Mt Everest, Nepal and mountaineering. However, the stories connected to the symbols are of wider significance; they speak of a New Zealand "can do" attitude, heroism, personal determination and romantic adventure. A second example of myth is that of National Parks. Important symbols in respect of a given park are likely to include "spectacular scenery",[5] interesting vegetation, rare or characteristic birdlife and the minimal presence of commercial activities. In addition, these symbols form the basis for stories of freedom of access for all regardless of social or economic status, the chance to explore and challenge personal boundaries (through adventure), a national identity embodying concern for the well-being of indigenous species and an affinity between New Zealanders and the "great outdoors".

The myth that is addressed in this work is one that builds on a sentimental image of an unspoiled and empty Nature both as a metaphor for responsibility and as a counterpoint for greed and selfishness. The following section elaborates on this myth by highlighting the symbols and telling the stories. This then provides context in

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[4] Ibid., p29
[5] Nature and Company (1999) "New Zealand's National Parks", first retrieved from http://www.natureandco.co.nz/land_and_wildlife/national_parks/index_national_parks.php3, 8 February 2005. Significantly, the introductory information this site includes on each National Park includes a colour photograph of a scenic feature.

which disparities and inconsistencies in this myth may be revealed.

An Environmental Myth of Unspoiled Nature

An "eco-myth"[6] of "clean and green"[7] environmental responsibility is a powerful
New Zealand social construction. Cohen briefly defines it by reference to a
paradisiacal "picture-postcard" story heavily loaded with symbolism - "an unspoiled
country of golden sands and azure seas, of clean rivers and lovingly kept native
species".[8] Internationally, such symbolism shapes the stories found in publicity
campaigns such as "100% Pure New Zealand", in "clean, green" image marketing by
New Zealand exporters[9] and promotions on behalf of New Zealand suppliers
competing in the international tourist market. In addition, they provide justification
and contribute virtuous support for New Zealand's stands on nuclear testing, nuclear
warships and warfare, the preservation of whales and global warming.[10]

Other symbols that contribute to the shape of a New Zealand eco-myth are located in
political (and regulatory) and social contexts. In respect of the first of these, there is a
Government Department (Department of Conservation) dedicated to the task of
conservation, a Ministry and Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, while
five million hectares, or a third of the land area, is vested in public ownership as
National Parks and Reserves.[11] Wildlife sanctuaries have been established both

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[6] Cohen, D. (1997) "New Zealand's Eco-Myth", Christian Science Monitor, first retrieved from
http://csmonitor.com/cgi-bin/durableRedirect.pl?/durable/1997/11/07/intl/intl.2.html, 8 February 2005
[7] Buhrs, T. and Bartlett, R.V. (1993), Environmental Policy in New Zealand, the Politics of Clean and
Green? Oxford Readings in New Zealand Politics: No. 3, Holland, M. (gen ed), Auckland: Oxford
University Press, extract from subtitle.
[8] Ibid.
[9] For example Rush Munro Icecream, Allen, S. (2005) "Clean, Green NZ Image Boost for Niche
Markets", first retrieved from http://stuff.co.nz/stuff/0,2106,3154308a7773,00.html, 8 February 2005
[10] In this context it perhaps ironic that the only event that has been labelled by some as international
terrorism was the bombing and sinking of the Greenpeace flagship the "Rainbow Warrior" by French
secret agents in Auckland, 7 July 1985 (first retrieved from
.http://www.kauricoast.co.nz/Feature.cfm?WPID=70, 18 May 2004). Although a more recent incident
when tonnes of diesel were discharged from a tourist vessel in Milford Sound has been referred to as
terrorism, it is suggested by others that this was more likely to involve commercial rivalry (Beston, A.
(2004) "Sabotage in Tourism Jewel, Environment: Wildlife Endangered as Fuel Pours into Milford
Sound", New Zealand Herald, 9 February, p1)
[11] Department of Conservation (undated) "National Parks, Recreation", first retrieved from
http://www.doc.govt.nz/Explore/001~National-Parks/index.asp, 18 May 2004

onshore and on dedicated islands.[12] This concept has also been extended to the sea, with the establishment of marine reserves in such areas as the Bay of Islands (in Northland) and off the coast of the Coromandel peninsular on the eastern side of the North Island. In addition, all developments and uses of resources are subject to procedures laid down under a Resource Management Act that is based on a fundamental guiding principle of sustainable management.[13]

In popular discourse also, environmental values have emerged, with public and media campaigns against proposed development of coastal and timbered areas, the endurance and recognition of lobby and pressure groups "owning" environmental causes through their connection and identification of symbols of those causes, and the continued growth in area falling under the protective umbrella of the Department of Conservation. Seemingly valuable industries such as gold mining increasingly take second place to the preservation of tracts of native bush and the sanctity of island sanctuaries triumph over prospects of huge financial windfalls from subdivision and sale.

This proliferation of environmental symbols could serve to support a claim that the New Zealand environment has emerged victorious from a battle with progressive forces that sought to remould the landscape in the interests of commerce and industry. Long-held traditional beliefs in the virtues of change and improvement, nurtured in New Zealand for over 100 years and privileged as a metaphor for civilisation, have been successfully challenged. Hearts and minds have been won to an environmental discourse through a judicious combination of mastery over knowledge and normalisation of environmental values embodied in abstractions, language and symbols. Such normalisation has culminated in a local environmental movement having "a deeper philosophical greenness… than… its counterpart in Europe"[14] and in the ability of the Green Party of Aoteoroa (formed in 1990 from the rump of the

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[12] Of interest is the recent proposal to re-establish Resolution Island (in the Fiordland National Park) as an off-shore sanctuary- approximately 100 years after its abandonment after an invasion by (introduced) predators that ravaged the native bird population.
[13] Resource Management Act 1991, s5
[14] Hay, P.R. and Haward, M.G. (1988) "Comparative Green Politics: Beyond the European Context", Political Studies, 36 p433 as referred to in Buhrs, T. and Bartlett, R.V., op. cit., p7

Values Party and various "green" political groups) to win 5.7% of the party vote in the 2002 general elections and thus be entitled[15] to claim seven seats in Parliament.[16] Consequently, amidst the din of celebration and narratives of past environmental battles retold, and the claims of the ethical strength of the monolithic and proudly impervious walls of this truth structure, one could be forgiven for dismissing conflicting or dissenting voices as remnants of some past ideology cast aside in its construction, discredited in the progress towards the enlightened present. However, as the drums fall silent and the story teller retires, these troubling voices urge that the walls be re-examined, hinting darkly of cracks hastily concealed, corruption by environmentally dubious suppliers and the use of base materials. They whisper of an ecological footprint comparable to that of Australia at 8.35 (hectares per head of population), and ranking below only United States and three other developed countries, well ahead of China (1.84) and India (1.06),[17] the "nationally critical" (the category considered most at peril of extinction) state of 312 indigenous species out of a total 2061 threatened species.[18] They also point to lakes and rivers threatened by potentially fatal pollution largely attributable to surrounding land use, sewage contamination of beaches and low recycling levels.[19]

The dissonance that is suggested above implies a troubling paradox. Put briefly, the paradox is this. The significance of the eco-myth to New Zealand in the international market for tourism and exports, and therefore in its economic well-being, creates a positive force for its perpetuation and defence against those seeking to challenge its legitimacy. However, at the same time, celebration of such an image as a nation-defining myth may fail ultimately to serve an ecological ethic. By way of elucidation, this point is further developed in the discussion that follows.

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[15] Under the New Zealand electoral system of Mixed Member Proportional the proportion of seats each party has in Parliament is determined by the percentage of votes each party receives out of all party votes cast.

[16] Dann, C. (1999) "Greens in Time and Space: the History of the Green Party", first retrieved from http://www.greens.co.nz/about/history.htm, 18 May 2004

[17] Massey University (2004) "Give Me Land, Lots of Land, the Ecological Footprint of New Zealand and its Regions", Massey Alumni and Friends Magazine 16, April, p10

[18] Department of Conservation (2002) New Zealand Threat Classification System Lists, Threatened Species, Occasional Publication 23, Table 1, p12-13

[19] For example, the Ministry for the Environment estimated in 2002 that New Zealanders "consumed" on average 31kg of plastic per year but recycled only 5.58kg. (Ministry for the Environment (2002) quoted in Waste Awareness, Waste Management Institute New Zealand, March-April 2003, p5). Also more recently, Collins, S., Taylor, K., Johnston, M. and Beston, A. (2004) "Dioxin at Vietnam Levels", New Zealand Herald, 10 September, pA1on findings of the lasting contamination and effects of 245-T near New Plymouth 40 years ago.

An Environmental Paradox

Firstly, within a story of environmental responsibility essential to such an eco-myth, there is also the ironical consequence that the environment and its features may be treated as a resource, to be exploited for the benefit of (superior) humankind. In this context can be cited the commodification of aspects of the New Zealand natural scenery for the purpose of attracting foreign film projects to the country.[20]

Secondly, because those benefiting from this myth also have an interest in maintaining its structure, there is the possibility of its manipulation. In this context it is of interest to note an announcement in 2001 by Fonterra, New Zealand's dairying export giant. This announcement was to the effect that Fonterra would market milk produced in the United States and containing a hormone implicated in cancers, separately from the New Zealand product in order to protect New Zealand's "clean green image" (and presumably its own market position gained from utilising that image).[21]

Finally, those who accept this myth as reflecting the "truth" may become complacent as to the nature and/or importance of environmental challenges, seeking support for their belief and showing hostility to those who question its veracity. This in itself raises a more significant issue; complacency breeds a sense of self-satisfaction, a belief in the defensiveness of the status quo with a consequent reluctance to recognise any need to significantly change behaviour.

For these reasons then, commitment to an environmental ethic compels exposure of this myth and its position in discourse, a process which in turn requires the selection of a research approach that acknowledges the importance of the myth as a social construction.

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[20] Recent examples include "The Last Samurai" (Taranaki) and "The Lord of the Rings" (various locations). The degree to which the natural landscape might be commodified is suggested by the following: Stevenson, P. (2003) "Philippa Stevenson: Location waiting to be movie star" New Zealand Herald, first retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=news&thesubsection=&storyID=3538749, 24 May 2004

[21] Aotearoa Independent Media Centre (2001) "Fonterra to Protect New Zealand 'Image'", Press release 24 September, first retrieved from http://www.context.co.nz:8080/discuss/msgReader$1317, 24 May 2004

As stated earlier, myths, in telling stories and in ascribing meaning, provide shape to concepts. It is then possible to share these concepts between teller and hearer. This implication raises the suspicion that the endurance of a myth can be attributed more to a discourse that shapes it rather than to any inherent validity, a suspicion that can be acted upon through an analysis of such discourse. Consequently, the research approach considered relevant for this case involves an analysis of discourse, (defined by John Dryzec as a "shared way of apprehending the world").[22] A brief overview and justification for this approach as applied in the study is provided in the next section.

A Discursive Approach – Overview and Justification

Dryzec justifies a discursive approach as a means of "mak[ing] sense of the proliferation"[23] of perspectives on the politics of environmental problems. Of more general potential significance, such an analysis offers a means of unravelling discourses that have an internal interest in self perpetuation yet sabotage their articulated grounding ethic.

To better understand this proliferation in the present, and to appreciate the multiple perspectives, this study involves an historical focus. Promisingly in this context, the history of official enunciations of discourse relating to the environment (policy) in New Zealand has been described as erratic,[24] most particularly and specifically as "reactive, pragmatic, fragmented, uneven, and slow",[25] responding to conservation and protection issues rather than the potentially more contentious but less focused issues such as pollution and urban development.[26] A closer look reveals that the historical discursive framework of such policy is a complex phenomenon littered with a proliferation of perspectives and reversals in direction.

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[22] Dryzek, J. S. (1997) The Politics of the Earth, Environmental Discourses, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p8
[23] Ibid.
[24] Memon, P. A. (1993) Keeping New Zealand Green, Recent Environmental Reforms, Dunedin, Otago University Press; Buhrs and Bartlett, op. cit.; Buhrs, T. (1987) "Environmental Policy Development: The Case of New Zealand", Paper presented at the Australasian Political Science Conference, University of Auckland as cited in Buhrs and Bartlett, op. cit., p10
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

However, merely addressing the problem from an historical perspective does not in itself assist in establishing the parameters of such an exploration. An historical researcher who is committed to the "truth" of the virtues reflected in the myth may search the past for justification for the present, to detect a straight and shining path of progress that emerges from the dark and gloomy yesterday into the sunlight of today. Another might delve into the past to locate such key terms as "environment" and "conservation", thus plotting the progress of such laudatory concepts on an historical timeline, or trace the establishment and development of institutions committed to the environment and its management.

Perhaps a third researcher, troubled by the possibility of subjectivity creeping into such empirical historiography, might seek objectivity by predicating alternative presents on the basis of predicated "what ifs"[27] (the twist had not happened or the strand had not disappeared or changed), so that the impact of manifest events on a present myth may be isolated and understood.

Such approaches as described above have limitations. For example, as in any case involving terms, a search for occurrences of the concept of "environment" disregards the shifts in meaning over time and place, the effect of context on what users would understand by the term and changes to the metaphors used to shape the concept. Also, environmental issues "do not present themselves to us in well-defined boxes"[28] but are instead better viewed as multidimensional, complex and only partially understood. A focus on institutions might tell the story of what institutions are in place and how they work and relate to each other, yet is unlikely to explain what it was about the historical context that condoned their establishment. A shining path of progress is hard to find. In a maze of historical strands many paths twist and turn, some advancing towards the present only to inexplicably change direction or vanish without trace, others emerging as a manifestation of particular values or ideas only to become distorted beyond recognition. A researcher seeking the shining path is compelled to suppress these complexities and contradictions, or to explain them according to a set of (often implied) values that underscore his or her interpretation. Finally, a counter-

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[27] The so-called "counterfactual situations" of economic historians such as R.W. Fogel ((1966) "The New Economic History: 1. Its Findings and Methods", Economic History Review 19, p652)
[28] Dryzek, op. cit., p7

historical approach is vulnerable to challenge on the assumptions made or its failure to account for variable factors not directly related to the event or development under analysis.

Thus another researcher might instead decide to focus attention on the twists, turns, changes and disappearances, directing his or her search to revealing the unarticulated and hidden forces that, through exerting force on the historical strands, also fashion the maze. However, if such forces are hidden and unarticulated, how can they be revealed? One response is to concur with Dryzec and to treat shared ways of interpreting the world as reactions to such hidden and silent forces. In other words, it is assumed that the hidden and silent forces affect and shape thought, speech and actions (or discourse), that are then the lens through which people shape their world and share their understanding with others.

This immediately begs the question; if such understanding changes over historical context, what enables such changes? Seeking the answer to that question appears to lie in the genealogical approach described by Michel Foucault. Foucault insists that meaning for any concept is provided through discourse which in turn is determined by a historically specific construct (a duality or dichotomy)[29] that he defines as power/knowledge. Anything without meaning so granted is condemned to remain as a shapeless phenomenon, while concepts and ideas accepted as true are privileged as such through rituals that reflect the power/knowledge dichotomy.

Within this construct, what is accepted as truth about the "environment", and concepts that may be related to it (such as conservation and preservation), is shaped by wider socio-temporal discourse. Rather than changes to that truth being of necessity evidence of progress, or advancement, they are instead explicable as an outcome of shifts in power relations that enable a resistance to seize power over the discourse. Therefore, perhaps such delving into the past reveals more about what New

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[29] The term "dichotomy" is used by various authors in referring to this Foucauldian concept, including Siegel, I. H. (2001) **"**From Symbols, Stories and Social Artifacts to Social Architecture and Individual Agency: The Discourse of Learning and the Decline of 'Organizational Culture' in the 'New Work Order'"**, paper presented at AERC Conference, 2001, Michigan State University, first retrieved from http://www.edst.educ.ubc.ca/aerc/2001/2001siegel.htm, 1 June 2004

Zealanders identify and define *as* their environmental truth rather than uncovering what *is* the truth.

In light of the above, a focus on discourse and the genealogical method are applied in finding answers to the principal questions this study seeks to address; how are shifts in attitudes towards the environment impelled, - "why a particular understanding of [the environment] … at some point gains dominance and is seen as authoritative, while other understandings are discredited",[30] and what is the nature of those shifts?

In recognition of Foucault's point that what is accepted as truth within discourse is specific to time and place, focus is provided in the study through geographical, temporal and contextual specificity. That is, discourses of relevance to the environment are considered in the context of New Zealand within the time span 1840-2004, with particular focus on their interplay and importance in the context of the hydro-electricity industry.

By way of preparing the ground for the study, this rest of this introductory chapter covers four areas. First, given that the focus of the study is on environmental discourse, a definitional dilemma that arises over the use and location of such a term as "environment" in discourse is outlined. Secondly, guidance and justification is offered as to the scope of the study that is documented in the thesis, both in terms of its focus on social discourses and in relation to its temporal, schematic and industrial context. The final part of this chapter outlines its structure and explains how each chapter fits into that structure and thereby contributes to achieving the purpose of the thesis.

Environment – A Definitional Dilemma

A fundamental assumption grounding the study is that a concept given the label of "environment" is bounded and determined by context and purpose. By way of further elucidation, while the term may have a dictionary definition of "a set of surrounding

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[30] Hajer, M.A. (1995), The Politics of Environmental Discourse, Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p44

circumstances",[31] a researcher into urban living might limit its application to the man-made constructions that make up the modern city; yet to a writer who assigns man a position hostile to nature, these same constructions may be labelled an anathema to all that is natural and therefore not environmental at all. The significance of context and purpose becomes even more apparent when treatment of the environment is problematised.

Specifically, a matter that some groups and interests might identify as a manifestation of an environmental problem may be either perceived by others within other frameworks or be interpreted completely outside the problem framework. Dryzek uses the example of the United Nations Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994 to emphasise this point. While the reliability of statistics on Earth's rapid human population growth was not disputed at this conference, the social meaning attributed to the numbers varied enormously. While "some present" considered it vital to control numbers to prevent imminent environmental collapse, Catholics and Islamists denounced birth control as a religious evil, eco-feminists perceived any attempt to control population as a move by the male power structure to control women's fertility while American conservatives embraced such increases not as a problem but as a reflection of a positive commitment to the future.[32]

Scope of Study

Discourse Focus

The study documented in this thesis focuses on social discourses of relevance to the environment within the context of hydro-electricity. As such, not only are enunciations emanating from or through such "official" sources as Government Departments, Parliament and the Courts considered to be indicative of "truth", but also those from so-called and categorised "unofficial" sources such as newspapers, books and the internet. However, one particular limitation should be made clear. Although reference is made from time to time to economic concerns and values,

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[31] Garmonsway, G.N. and Simpson, J. (1979) Penguin English Dictionary, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin

[32] Dryzec, op. cit., p5-6

explicit economic analysis of decisions or changes in policy is beyond the scope of this work. As a corollary, there is no consideration of how decisions or policy may have impacted on the wealth of New Zealand as a nation or its citizens.

Study – Context

Time-span

The time-span selected for the study can be justified by reference to the focus on transformation of discourse. As a preliminary point, several possible transformations could form the basis of such a study. The first of these could be the transformation from a pre-colonial Maori discourse within which aspects of nature were granted a variety of non-material attributes, to a monolithic Modernist discourse privileging resources in nature and the advancement of civilisation through their exploitation.

However, the decision in this instance to confine research to bibliographical and archival sources militates against such a selection. With few contemporary sources of recorded discourse prior to colonisation that may be pertinent to such a study, as compared to those produced by the colonisers after the commencement of settlement, the sheer disproportionality would overwhelm an already quiet voice, banishing it to silence. Analysis of discourse in such a context may also fail to acknowledge the complex nature of later shifts in the discourse.

Consequently, it was considered more informative and relevant to a history of the present to focus on mapping discourses of relevance to the environment after 1840. Such a focus makes it possible to not only deconstruct a Modernist discourse but also carves a space for suppressed discourses, including those shared by pre-colonial Maori, to enable them to speak in their own voices. For this reason, the historical period covered by the study begins with the onset of official European settlement in 1840 and ends with the cancellation by Meridian of Project Aqua in April 2004.

The concluding time limitation is also a response to Foucault's interest in transformation of discourse, the idea that events are discursive enunciations built on shifts in the discourse beneath, and that discourse accepted as true in the present is the

outcome of those transformations. Discourse then involves enunciations being relocated to the position of signposts, as indications and evidence of transformations. In the immediate case, 2004 is used as a convenient metaphor for the present as an outcome of past transformations, yet further premises that such transformations have not ceased but will continue to be reflected in future enunciations of discourse relating to the New Zealand environment.

To elucidate further; it is arguable that an "environmental" discourse has only emerged in the last four decades. Prior to the 1960s, and despite various battles fought on behalf of environmental causes both in New Zealand and overseas, there was a paucity of academic, social and political debate on issues within an environmental domain. Ecology as a concept dwelt only in the scientific realm, conservation tended to be applied as a metaphor for "wise use" of resources within a Modernist discourse centred on economic progress as a metaphor for civilisation. While conservation concepts dwelt as an addendum to progress within in a political realm of Government Departments and Ministries having dual developmental and conservation mandates,[33] a romantic ideal of preservation of nature as opposed to its use and suppression existed only on the margin of discourse, for example, within art and literature.

Since the 1960s, it would appear that the place of the environment within discourse has changed dramatically in New Zealand, a change reflecting developments elsewhere. Specific discourses have emerged around issues of environmental regulation, environmental causes have been politicised and institutionalised, "environmental law" has gained recognition as a separate area for academic study, forests of books and reports have appeared along with legions of journals created to cater for the extra interest on different levels ranging from the popular to the official and from the academic to the commercial. Businesses also have both emerged and restrategised on the back of this apparent paradigm shift, shouting messages of sustainability, environmental benefits and integrity arranged around concepts of social and environmental responsibility as additions to financial profitability.

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[33] For example, Ministry of Works, New Zealand Forest Service and Department of Lands and Survey

Despite all this, and as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the environment remains under pressure, perhaps increasingly so. A growing population, changing weather patterns and a continued focus on economic growth hints of a future of increasing environmental challenges and problems; issues likely to result in a relocation of "environment" within discourse to a position as yet uncertain.

The following section introduces the plan or scheme of the study, which can be likened to a study of a forest. The first step entails scrutinising the whole, observing the physical relationship between different species of trees, their proximity and distribution, the other flora and fauna that may be present and drawing tentative conclusions as to their purpose, age and numbers. However, this step in and of itself does not provide the researcher with understanding of how the trees grew in this place, or how important they might be within the specific ecological niche. Someone might have planted the trees in a random way. Alternatively, a fire may have created an unusual growing environment, or a freak wind might have transported the seeds and deposited them in this place.

Therefore, a second and more specific step involves focusing on one species of tree, noting its shape, spreading habit, leaves, roots and branches, where it flourishes and what life it supports. This second step follows on the first, both in providing depth to the initial study and in offering clues as to why this species has survived and what other life it may support.

However, the study is not yet complete as it fails at this point to address the more detailed matters of how it survives and provides support. To get those answers it is necessary to look in detail at one tree within that species, determine its age, the depth of its roots, the number and density of its branches, its population of insects and other life and its growth rate.

In other words, analysis on three different levels enriches the understanding of the whole, a pattern followed in the study as documented in this thesis as explained below.

Scheme

A study locating and revealing transformation of discourse may be enabled through the identification of themes running through the dominant discourse within a particular historical context. It is then instructive when seeking to deconstruct a transformation to track those themes as they emerge in different contexts. This is the approach applied in the immediate case. More specifically, discourse of the nineteenth century pertaining to the New Zealand environment is initially identified and analysed in terms of the themes that emerged. These themes are important as contextual indicators of fractures in the historical structure in the last part of that century, a period in which a conservation resistance successfully exercised power over the discourse, but only from sites and through the practices permitted it within the prevalent discourse reflecting Modernist values.

Within this analysis, particular reference is made to a variety of examples that support and highlight such discursive themes and their importance in shaping and reshaping discourse. Further elucidation of those themes, within the specific context of hydro-electricity, reveals power strategies that may be exercised in attempts to exercise power over the discourse, and which thereby contribute to an understanding of the nature of the present environmental myth. Justification for the selection of hydro-electricity as the context in which to analyse discourse is provided below.

Hydro-electricity

A discourse that has dominated thought and policy in New Zealand since the beginning of European colonisation in 1840 can be described and defined as a "New Zealand-style Modernist discourse", grounded in Utilitarian concepts (particularly that of the importance of wealth creation through the application of capital). However, this is Modernist discourse with a twist. Romantic themes of civilisation (through the image of a garden) and equality coalesced with Utilitarian to legitimise not only regulation but also participation by the State in change and development.

One of the most significant manifestations of such a discourse in twentieth century New Zealand is identified as hydro-electricity. The availability of necessary

technology in a country boasting plentiful rainfall, numerous fast-flowing rivers, pockets of population and a tradition of socialist, centralist political philosophy moved hydro-electricity well beyond a position as an industry into a location as a metaphor for economic progress and civilisation.

Environmental battles have been fought on the field of hydro-electricity at various times since the early twentieth century, and continue to be so. The range of reactions to the proposal by the Government-owned Meridian Energy Ltd to construct six power stations along the lower Waitaki river, originally floated in 2002, suggest that this battleground remains highly relevant. Consequently, a study of the genealogy of the discourse relating to hydro-electricity policy and debate can provide valuable insight into both power relations between discourse celebrating Modernist themes and an environmental resistance and power strategies. Such a study might thus contribute to an understanding of the nature of such a present environmental myth as is outlined.

Therefore, the genealogical study undertaken focuses on discourses of relevance to the New Zealand environment specifically within the framework of hydro-electricity policy and debate. Such a study is further enhanced through a focus on three case studies. These case studies are separated by time and involve different strategies and outcomes on the part of those seeking to exercise power over the discourse. However, they also reveal important common messages about the interplay of factors and practices and how those factors and practices contributed to an environmental myth.

Given this framework, the final part of this chapter introduces the structure of the thesis and outlines the relevance of each chapter.

Presentation of Thesis[34]

The thesis is presented in three main parts. Part One, that includes two chapters in addition to the introduction, provides a theoretical and methodological overview. Chapter Two provides justification for the selection of discourse as the focus for the

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[34] Spelling inconsistencies that appear from time to time are attributable to the spelling used by other authors. Where such authors have been quoted, or their works cited, the original spelling has been maintained.

study. Such justification comes from first, the ethical grounding of discourse. The discussion provides insight into the very concept of discourse as something more than mere language, it being more usefully framed by perceptions of the relationship between the subject and his or her surroundings and as a function of his or her interpretation of that relationship. The second part of this chapter involves an analysis of discourse itself and how the concept has been used in different ways in different contexts. Foucault's application is compared to that of other philosophers and writers and the implication of those differences discussed. The final part of Chapter Two refers to and analyses discourses of particular relevance to New Zealand's environmental history, thereby providing a framework for the methodological discussion in the following chapter. Chapter Three incorporates a discussion of power/knowledge, a dichotomy Foucault identifies and describes as determining what is accepted as truth in a given socio-temporal context, and thus what is embraced within the dominant discourse. Such elucidation is considered necessary to provide support and justification for adopting a genealogical methodology. The second part of the chapter is devoted to issues relating to method, with both an overview of the possible sources of discourse referred to in the course of the research and a discussion of the relevance of the case study approach.

Part Two of the thesis comprises three chapters and draws on empirical data to provide historical context for the genealogical study that is provided in Part Three. Chapter Four introduces evidence that supports the argument that the hegemonic theme of progress drove relevant discourse for the large part of the nineteenth century. Chapter Five provides insight into the emergence of conservation themes and their limited and defined meanings. This discussion also provides support for an argument, expressed later, that these limits and definitions were to prove enduring in determining the direction and nature of the environmental discourse and the existent environmental myth defined in the introductory chapter. Chapter Six provides a context for three case studies contained in Part Three by introducing and tracing discourses of relevance to the New Zealand environment within the context of hydro-electricity. Commencing with the Government-commissioned survey into potential resources in 1903, the discussion traces the thoughts and actions that centralised hydro-electricity in New Zealand social discourse as a metaphor for civilisation, and

identifies three themes grounding the metaphor that were to help maintain power relations for over sixty years.

Part Three of the thesis is comprised of four chapters and narrows the focus of Part Two in applying the theoretical framework developed in Part One to document the genealogy of discourses of relevance to hydro-electricity and the New Zealand environment through specific, relevant and pivotal events.

To this end, chapters Seven to Nine focus on three case studies. The subject of Chapter Seven is the debate during the years 1923-25 over whether water rights in the Bowen Falls, located in the Fiordland Reserve (later gazetted as the Fiordland National Park) should be granted to a syndicate for industrial purposes. The nature of the debate, and the strategies of both those supporting this Modernist proposal and those resisting it, are documented and analysed for the purposes of gaining insight into the nature of power relations. Chapter Eight deals with a much later case study, that of the debate that took place in the period 1959-1972 over whether the water level of Lake Manapouri, located in the Fiordland National Park, should be raised to maximise the electricity available for an aluminium smelter to be constructed at Bluff, (at the southern tip of the South Island of New Zealand). Finally Chapter Nine addresses the case of Project Aqua, a proposal made by Meridian Energy (in its capacity as a state owned electricity generating company), to divert a large percentage of the waters of the lower Waitaki river through a channel containing six generating plants. This third case study reveals the importance of a conservation/preservation discourse in defending and maintaining particular power/knowledge constructs.

Despite similarities between this final study and the earlier case studies, power-strategies employed in these three historical contexts resulted in quite different discursive outcomes. Based on this apparent progress, greater awareness and acceptance of environmental concerns may lead optimists to proclaim victory for the environment. However, as suggested in the concluding chapter (Chapter Ten), the shift in power relations and the triumph of an environmental discourse over a Modernist discourse may not be as final as it may first appears, a conclusion that echoes this introduction.

Chapter Two

Environmental Discourses
Ways of Talking about the (Natural) World.

Introduction

At the beginning of the introduction to this thesis, the point was made that a social construction known as a "myth" is a term that can be applied to the collection of abstractions, languages and symbols through which humans understand their material world. The point was also made that such myths, in lending sense and justification to actions and words, permit those occupying a certain historical context to conceptualise and address the confusion of messages that assault them.

 It was further posited that a powerful myth in the New Zealand present celebrates an empty environment, with seemingly unspoiled scenery untainted by people and a central discursive location for preservation of Nature. However, the imagery, the stories, embraced within this myth is contradicted by warnings in the printed and visual media of looming and existing environmental problems within both a local context (water quality, power shortages) and those derived from the international framework (climatic change and the thinning of the ozone layer over the Antarctic) which then become the subject of seemingly endless debate as to both cause and solution. Of more fundamental and underlying concern are the hidden forces that permit such myths to endure, as these affect the conceptualisation of problems and understanding of the means of solution.

As identified in Chapter One, Foucault's concept of discourse appears to offer a means of gaining an insight into this fundamental concern. For this reason, it has been selected as the basis of the theoretical framework adopted for the study described and documented in this thesis.

In addition, however, discourse cannot and does not stand by itself, emerging in some sort of magical and spontaneous fashion. If it is accepted that what is said is not unbearably light, without meaning (and therefore not defined as an outcome of

discourse), a subject must engage with certain socially understood ethical constructs by which a subject evaluates and assesses his or her life and morality. It is therefore pertinent, when identifying and analysing environmental discourses, to uncover the ethics that ground them.

Understanding of those ethics and discourses requires an initial exploration of the differences in the nature and meaning of "discourse" and "ethics" as used by post-modern writers such as Foucault and other theorists. It also implies a need to justify a link between ethics and discourse. Therefore, the first part of this chapter incorporates a discussion of the nature of, and relationship between, "ethics" and "discourse" in general terms while the latter part is devoted to identifying and contextualising the discourses of importance to the environment by reference to the ethics that underpin them. Discourses of relevance in the treatment of the New Zealand environment and the place of humans within it, from 1840 (the beginning of the relevant time span as described in chapter one) are addressed in later chapters.

Consequently, three questions are addressed in this chapter:

- What is the meaning of "ethics"?
- What is the meaning and nature of "discourse"?
- What are the principal discourses of relevance to perceptions and treatment of the environment?

The Meaning of Ethics and their Grounding Function

The term "ethics" is often used when referring to a moral theory with certain discrete features, such as Kantian Ethics, Egoism, Platonic Ethics and Utilitarianism. Significantly, different theories involve different approaches when judging the ethical nature of a particular act or thought. Palmer classifies the principal approaches as follows.[1] Natural law and virtues approaches take as their starting point the notion that all things have potential they strive to fulfil; humans were created to develop

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[1] Identified by Palmer, C. (1997) "Contemporary Ethical Issues", Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO Ltd as originating from Aristotle's and Thomas Aquinas' theological writings, and lately revived in a non-theological context by philosophers such as Alisdair MacIntyre (1986) in "After Virtue".

intellectual and moral capabilities. Humans therefore become ethical through fulfilment of their moral capabilities. Deontological approaches, most prominently and importantly that of Kant, hold that ethics imply absolute and fundamental rights and duties. Consequently, whatever their expression in a given social context, such rights and duties can never be compromised. To act ethically is to observe one's duty; the affected party has the unalienable right to its observance. Finally, consequential approaches involve judging the rightness of actions on the basis of consequences (ends) of those actions rather than on the virtues of the actions themselves. Utilitarians such as Bentham and Mill considered the "rightness" of an act should be judged in accordance with the happiness derived from that act.

In common parlance, ethics may be applied as a synonym for "rightness" or "morality". A potential difficulty with such an application is that it assumes that there is some external referent for rightness. This assumption is maintained by ethicists (that is, those applying the deontological approach) who insist that there are still moral absolutes although the way societies articulate them may differ. For example, Kant[2] insists that unless a particular principle can be applied universally, it is morally wrong - according to his ethics it is always wrong to lie, and there is no morality in any decision to act which involves a subjective judgment of the merits of achievable ends. Similarly, Plato developed the concept of a "transcendent realm of ideals allow[ing] for a referential theory of representation and a unifying process".[3] Hence, particular actions and words could be judged against the prevailing "truth" to ascertain their "rightness". Adherents of specific religions have God or gods as that referent, striving for yet never achieving "goodness" in accordance with the perfection of that external being.

However, and by way of contrast, Foucault questions such absolute truths and external referents. In accordance with this philosophical position, Foucault was "highly suspicious of any teleological project such as… 'ethics', which he saw as a technique for the normalisation of the population, a technique whose objective was to

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[2] Kant, I. (1785) Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals, T Kingsmill Abbott (trans), first retrieved from http://www.swan.ac.uk/poli/texts/kant/kanta.htm, 20 July 2003, preface

[3] Quigley, P. (1992) "Rethinking Resistance: Environmentalism, Literature and Poststructural Theory", Environmental Ethics 14, p291 at p292

control daily human conduct".[4] Instead, a person can only become truly ethical through practising "technologies of the self", that is, "a series of techniques that allow individuals to work on themselves by regulating their bodies, their thoughts and their conduct".[5] Accordingly, a person becomes ethical, acts "rightly" through a process through:

> which he delimits that part of himself that will form the object of his moral practice, defines his position relative to the precept he will follow, and decides on a certain mode of being that will follow, and decides upon a certain mode of being that will serve as his moral goal.[6]

Individual morality then is a consequence of an individual's "self formation as an ethical subject".[7] The code by which he or she lives is shaped and changed by the values or personal philosophy through which they "monitor, test, improve and transform themselves".[8] That is, "he" assumes the power over himself, self-determination to both define the meaning of ethics and his moral behaviour. One outstanding characteristic of "ethics" when applied in this way is that it is not referenced to a legal or social code - "[the action] must not be reducible to an act or a series of acts conforming to a rule, a law or a value".[9, 10]

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[4] Darier, op. cit., p25

[5] Danaher G., Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2000) Understanding Foucault, St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, p128

[6] History of Sexuality, Vol 2, Use of Pleasure, p28

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., p31. This raises the vexing issue of subjective ethical relativism or "the doctrine that the moral rightness and wrongness of actions varies from society to society and that there are no absolute universal moral standards binding on all men at all times. Accordingly, it holds that whether or not it is right for an individual to act in a certain way depends on or is relative to the society to which he belongs" (Ladd, J. as quoted by Pojman, L. (1996) "A Critique of Ethical Relativism" Virtue and Vice in everyday Life, 4th edition.; Christiana Hoff Sommers (ed), Orlando:Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, first retrieved from http://faculty.uca.edu/~rnovy/CMP%20Pojman.htm, 4 August 2004)

[9] Op. cit., n6, p28

[10] This use of the term "ethics" is in contrast to any organised formulation of a "Code of Ethics" by a professional body or society that boasts the formal and solemn adherence of members practicing "law", "accounting" or "medicine" as a metaphor for responsibility or morality.

Foucault's empowerment of individuals in this way appears contradictory to his theme in earlier works that the individual subject is helplessly swept along by a tide of "discourses, institutions and relations of power"[11] and is effectively "dead".[12] These apparently contradictory points can be reconciled by considering the "ought" (normative) and the "is" (descriptive) of Foucault's statements about ethics. Foucault's "ought" comes from his belief that "the idea of a morality as obedience to a code of rules… has already disappeared. And to this absence of morality… must [historically][13] correspond the search for an aesthetics of existence".[14] In other words, in the absence of a code of moral rules, a referent external to, and acknowledged by, the individual subject, that same subject, in seeking an ethical and meaningful existence, *must* look within to determine his or her ethical values. This "ought" however cannot be isolated entirely from the "is"; the freedom of the individual is largely mythical, the self still has an "imposed identity".[15]

 The question then becomes, how is this "identity" imposed? Consistent with Foucault's identification of discourse as historically specific, he also argues that "ethical' is determined by time and place. Although critics have described this position as "extreme relativism and the 'anything goes' attitude"… or 'moral pluralism'",[16] it also offers the means of reconciling differing and contradictory perceptions of ethical behaviour by way of its implication that measures of rightness will differ over societies and ages.[17] Furthermore, it demands admission that any person seeking to judge the rightness of past or distant actions is just as much a product of his or her socio-temporal context as is the actor.

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[11] Danaher G., Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2000) Understanding Foucault, St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, p116
[12] Foucault, M. (1970) The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences, London: Tavistock, most famously at p387
[13] According to O'Leary, T. (2002) Foucault, The Art of Ethics, London: Continuum, the "must" would seem to be historical rather than moral - "we have no other choice" (p7).
[14] Foucault, M. (1984) "An Aesthetics of Existence" in Kritzman, L.(ed) (1988) Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosphy, Culture; Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984, New York: Routledge, p732
[15] O'Leary, op. cit., p110
[16] For example, Bookchin, M. (1990) Remaking Society, Boston: South End Press and Callicot, J.B. (1990) "The Case against Moral Pluralism", Environmental Ethics, 12(2), 99-124 as cited in Darier, E. (ed) (1999) Discourses of the Environment, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Such critics have in turn been criticised both for misunderstanding Foucault's points about ethics and for failing to appreciate the implications of their own perspectives.
[17] Examples: cannibalism- if the choice is between life and death is it appropriate to eat a human body? Abortion: if it is the choice between two lives, whose life is more valuable? Murder: is it ever appropriate to kill another person?

If one accepts such a position on ethics, how then can a person act "rightly" or be judged in another time and place as ethical? A persuasive answer to this question is that individuals within a given historical context *can* only evaluate the morality and "truth" of their own or another's beliefs, actions or behaviours where they are presented with a set of values, a standard implicitly accepted as the norm or ideal in a given society and manifested in its laws and social practice. In particular, a later judge *must* acknowledge that set of values in evaluating the rightness of the behaviour rather than those to which he or she adheres. Hardin uses "the system" to describe such a set of values, explaining that "the morality of an act is a function of the state of the system at the time it is performed".[18]

If, then, ethics is the measure of morality or rightness of an action, and ethics is historically specific, it is now timely to revisit the assertion made at the beginning of this chapter; that discourse is grounded in ethics. Furthermore, a historically-specific ethical system is one ascribed to and accepted by subjects within that context as a normative set of values. Consequently, the analysis of environmentally-relevant discourses within this thesis will be informed by the ethical principles that are identified as grounding such discourse. To further explore this link, it is now appropriate to consider the meaning and scope of discourse.

By way of introduction, Foucault's concept of discourse is as a social construct, a set of rules whereby meaning is granted to phenomena. In any given social context therefore, what thoughts and statements are considered legitimate will depend on compliance with such rules. However, such compliance does not necessarily imply the subject should surrender their individual ethical identity. Instead he or she as an ethical individual pursuing the technologies of the self, should resist those discursive rules if and when appropriate, expressing such resistance through enunciations of discourse.

To elaborate on the central location of discourse as a conduit for communication and as a battleground between competing ethical systems and perceptions, and to distinguish between Foucauldian "discourse" and the term when used by other theorists, the next section considers the development and theorisation of this concept.

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[18] Hardin, G. (1968) "The Tragedy of the Commons", Science 162, p1243 at p1245

The Nature and Meaning of Discourse

In its most simple form, the term "discourse" has been defined as "a formal speech, address, sermon, written treatise, conversation".[19] A more comprehensive definition is offered by the following - "a coherent succession of sentences, usually written; any … series of speech events in which successive sentences or utterances hang together".[20] The implication arising from this definition is that a stream of words, however eloquently spoken, cannot constitute a "discourse" unless they "hang together"- they obey grammatical and contextual rules of the language in which they are uttered.

However, while this is descriptive of situations in which one may locate a "discourse", it does not explain what the term discourse includes or what makes it so. It fails to consider the implications of a discourse - its creation, its development, its boundaries and its recognition - and the implications of the rules that must be obeyed. The term itself has relationships and meanings that are in turn driven by contextual considerations. It is therefore important to writers on the subject that discourse be defined with "reference to the speaker, to his or her spatiotemporal location or to other such variables that serve to specify the localized context of utterance".[21],[22]

Traditionally, the term has been applied to the use of language with early application to such specific "localized contexts". The ancient Greek philosophers wrote of discourse when discussing the activities and procedures of the forum. The Elizabethan English writer Richard Hakluyt used the term in 1584 in identifying benefits to be derived from colonisation of the New World.[23] The humanists however, moved

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[19] Garmonsway, G.N. and Simpson, J. (comp) (1979) Penguin English Dictionary, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin

[20] Matthews, P.H. (1997) Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics, New York: Oxford University Press

[21] Honderich, T. (ed) (1995) Oxford Companion to Philosophy, Oxford: Oxford University Press

[22] The comment could be made that even the word "discourse' does not have a fixed meaning- that it varies depending on its context and is used in different ways and for different purposes depending on that context. This is not always seen as beneficial or useful: Cousins, M. and Hussain, A. (1984) Michel Foucault, London: Macmillan, consider that the term has been used to such an extent in the social sciences that it "is becoming embarrassingly overloaded and more likely to induce confusion than any clarity it might originally have been set to produce" (first retrieved from http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/txt/discours.htm 5 December 2002)

[23] Hakluyt, R. Discourse of Western Planting, http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1501-600/hakluyt/plant.htm, first retrieved 2 July 2003

discourse from its formalistic association with particular rituals to a central position –
a mechanism whereby previously unarticulated concepts became recognised within
language and accepted in society. In a similar way to Platonic ideals of "truth",
applied during the Enlightenment to certain scientific discourses, these concepts were
potentially common to all societies but the extent to which they might become
incorporated was dependent on their relevance to that society.

This idea that language is the mechanism for giving meaning to existing concepts,
albeit those that were previously unarticulated, was originally challenged by the
"structuralist" Louis Saussure, who saw a given language as both homogenous and
limited to a given society, or a common code that underlies spoken and written
utterances in that language (hence providing a structure). According to Saussure, "the
meanings of the language exist only in the system.... The sounds and meanings did
not exist before this system or outside it".[24] The particular signifier or linguistic sign
granted a concept (the signified) is arbitrary; the social system operates to
differentiate it from other signs. However, his approach was not an absolute break
with the humanist approach - not only did he write that "there is, hidden deep below
the surface, universal and underlying structures of all human thought",[25] he also saw
that "in a system, possibilities of meaning are worked out, but no actual or definite
meanings are pinned down".[26] Both Saussure and the humanists, therefore, perceive
language in their writings as both an articulation of common concepts and as a
cohesive element that binds society together, moderating conflict and its resolution
through ritual. As MacDonell puts it:

> [both humanists and structuralists] subscribe to the two-fold idea of
> individuality and sameness: the idea that we are all free individuals who speak
> the same language, hold the same values and know the same truths - unless,
> that is, we are aberrant and abnormal.[27]

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[24] MacDonell, D. (1986) Theories of Discourse: An Introduction, New York: B Blackwell, p10
[25] Burman, E. and Parker, P. (1993) "Introduction- Discourse Analysis; the Turn to the Text" in
Burman, Discourse Analytic Research: Repertoires and Readings of Texts in Action, I Parker (ed),
London: Routledge, p1at p7
[26] MacDonell, op. cit.
[27] Ibid. p19

Where Saussure did depart from the humanists was in perceiving language as constituting social reality rather than merely describing it,[28] thus enabling its emergence from the shadow cast by formal linguistics. McHoul and Grace see this as heralding the rise in the use of "discourse" - "language…appeared insufficient… since it had always implied merely a system of representation".[29]

One particular derivation of structuralist thought is that of Althusser (described as a "structural Marxist") who defines discourse by reference to "Ideology"- "a 'representation' of the Imaginary Relationship of Individuals to their Real conditions of existence".[30] Ideology in his view is ubiquitous and all pervasive; both author and reader "live 'spontaneously' or 'naturally' in ideology because 'man is an ideological animal by nature'".[31] Within the overarching meta-ideological form are the concepts and representations accepted by the subject as true; these concepts and representations are reflected as contents of specific ideologies such as communism, capitalism, socialism and fascism. However, MacDonell asserts that specific ideologies are not perpetual, but historical manifestations. This characteristic is important as it acknowledges both the place of struggle in shaping ideologies and the role of discourse, as explained further below.

According to MacDonell, "no ideology takes shape outside a struggle with some opposing ideology…. Formed as means of domination and resistance, ideologies are never free to set their own terms but are worked by what they are opposing".[32] Thus change from one specific ideology to another is effected through a struggle on shifting battlegrounds over time and place - battlegrounds constituted by discourse. Rather than being some looming tyranny, ideology shapes the social time and place- without ideology beliefs would have no meaning and lives no purpose.

In summary, the structuralist contribution to understanding language as constituting reality, rather than merely representing it, cannot be understated, as it liberates "discourse" from a limited and repressed association with what is said and

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[28] Weedon, C. (1987) Feminist Practice and Poststructural Theory, Oxford: Blackwells, p22
[29] McHoul, A. and Grace, W. (1993) A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p14
[30] Althusser, L. (1971) Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, B. Brewster (trans), New York: Monthly Review Press, p127 at p162
[31] Ibid. p171
[32] McDonell, op. cit., p33

acknowledges its emergence as a concept rich in meaning in its own right. Later writers were then provided with the tools to take alternative positions on the nature and role of discourse in a given societal context. With his focus on discourse Foucault is acknowledged as in the vanguard of those later writers.

Although originally labelled a structuralist (a label he vigorously dismissed),[33] Foucault through his later writings on discourse[34] is now considered a poststructuralist.[35] As implied by the label, poststructuralism "displaces" structural ideas, interrogating its methods and assumptions.[36] While accepting structuralist assumptions of the role of language (discourse) in homogeneity and limitation, Foucault as a leading poststructuralist departs fundamentally from the structuralists in denying first, that an essential common structure – an absolute truth - remains to be discovered and defined, and secondly, that it is possible to analyse discourse from an objective outside position. It must instead be acknowledged that the researcher is just as much a product of discourse as the researched.

In any discussion on Foucault and discourse, two aspects require examination. First, what does Foucault mean by discourse? Secondly, if discourse is a social reality, how do statements become real and accepted as truth?

Foucault- The Meaning of Discourse

Foucault uses the term "discourse" at two different levels in his different publications. Some of his earlier works[37] apply the term at a general (cultural) level, a commonality for a given society. In these works Foucault uses discourse to signify an "episteme" –

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[33] Flynn, T. (1994) "Foucault's Mapping of History", in The Cambridge Companion to Foucault, G. Gutting (ed), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p28 at p31

[34] For example, Foucault, the History of Sexuality, op. cit.

[35] The term "poststructural" is sometimes used as a synonym for postmodern. However, it is more useful to utilise the term post-structural when referring to discourse that is committed to, and based on, postmodern concepts. Observance of such a distinction also provides the necessary attachment to structural concepts of discourse. This does not deny Foucault's postmodern approach to the study of history, an approach which "drew sharp epistemic lines between modernity, its predecessor, and its successor, and then proceeded to fill all three spaces with description and analysis" (Flynn, op. cit. p42)

[36] Young, R. (1981) "Post-Structuralism: An Introduction", in Young (ed), Unifying the Text: A Post-Structural Reader, London: Routledge, p1

[37] Foucault in, for example, The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences; (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, A. M. Sheridan Smith (trans), New York: Pantheon

"something of a world-view, a slice of history common to all branches of knowledge, which imposes on each one the same norms and postulates, a general stage of reason, a certain structure of thought that the men of a particular period cannot escape".[38] However, he then denies accusations of historical determinism by going on to emphasise that it is inappropriate to view one episteme as being entirely and suddenly replaced with another at any given time: "the idea of a single break suddenly, at a given moment, dividing all discursive formations… and reconstituting them in accordance with the same rules - such an idea cannot be sustained".[39]

In his later writings Foucault focused on specific (local) discour*ses* relevant to a particular science or area of knowledge.[40] In this context, "the term 'discourse' refers not to language or social interaction but to relatively well-bounded areas of social knowledge…. 'A discourse' would then be whatever constrains - but also enables - writing, speaking and thinking within… specific historical limits".[41]

With such theorisation that elevates discourse from a representative function to social reality, McHoul and Grace explain that with Foucault's "critical" approach "it is no longer possible to see discourse as 'surface' phenomena underpinned by a more 'real', but hidden structure".[42] The surface is merely the enunciation (*enonciation*) while "discourse" is much more than that. It includes "whatever signifies or has meaning…. Meanings are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behaviour, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms".[43] Discourse in this sense then moves "discourse away from being simply a technical accomplishment,…redirect[ing] it towards the questions: what can be said? and what can be thought?"[44] within a self–justifying and determined domain. Games played

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[38] The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences, ibid., p191. The epistemes Foucault identifies as being of greatest significance over relatively recent history (the last 400 years) are the Renaissance, Classical and Modern.

[39] Ibid., p175

[40] Foucault variously in, for example, The History of Sexuality, Vol 2, The Use of Pleasure; (1989) Madness and Civilization : a History of Insanity in the Age of Reason, R. Howard (trans), London: Routledge. In these later writings in particular Foucault applies the term "*discourses*" quite specifically. McHoul and Grace explain that "[Foucault's] use of the concept moves it away from something to do with language… and closer to the concept of discipline".

[41] McHoul and Grace, ibid., p31

[42] Ibid., p23

[43] Foucault, M. (1971) "History of Systems of Thought", in Foucault, Language, Counter-memory , Practice, Bouchard, D and Smith, S. (trans), Oxford: Blackwell, p200

[44] McHoul and Grace, op. cit., p36

within that domain determine the regime of truth within which thoughts and statements are judged.

An implicit assumption is that for statements and thoughts to be accepted as reality or truth, subjects are bound to speak or think in accordance with recognised signs, patterns and meanings; there must be relationships between those statements and thoughts that make sense within the discourse. Delimiting Foucauldian discourse thus involves an exploration of "social, historical and political conditions",[45] "which enable and constrain the socially productive 'imagination'. These conditions can… be referred to as 'discourses' or 'discursive conditions of possibility'".[46] This then is the second issue to be considered in relation to Foucauldian discourse - how does what is said and thought become "real" within a particular discursive context?

The Reality (or Truth) of Discourse

As Foucault explains:

> I am supposing that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality.[47]

As suggested in the previous section, in order for statements to be recognised and privileged as reality or truth, they must comply with discursive practices, responding to "discursive conditions of possibility". Those practices are in turn a function of the discursive formation, which both organises and determines what is privileged as knowledge.[48]

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid., p34
[47] Foucault, M. (1972) "Discourse on Language", in The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, op. cit., p215 at p216
[48] McHoul and Grace, op. cit., p34

Within a given formation, "discursive practices" define the boundaries of discourse, determining what can be said and how. Depending on the nature of the discourse and the circumstances, such practices may range from formal to informal, involving anything from highly formalised and obscure ritual (political and religious process), to compliance with procedure (legal proceedings and authorisation), observance of organisational culture (employment), to adherence to social expectations (the family and community). As Foucault explains it:

> Discursive practices are sets of anonymous and historical rules, always specific as to time and place, and which, for a given period and within a social, economic, geographic or linguistic zone, define the framework within which the enunciative functions are exercised.[49]

Prima facie, this concept of a discursive formation could be problematic. If it implies (and prescribes) conditions of possibility, is it ever possible to overcome a given formation, or is the "truth" forever subject to its tyranny? Is the subject never free to argue against it, to break free of the shackles and proclaim a new regime of truth? If these are the consequences of a discursive formation, how is it possible to explain the historically documented shifts in philosophical thinking, the radical changes that can be identified in social and scientific discourse(s)?

Such radical changes cannot be denied. For example, in abandoning Latin and a position aloof from worshippers, churches are constantly redefining ritual in an attempt to make their message more relevant to shrinking congregations. Statutes are revised into "plain" English, increasingly accessible through modern forms of communication such as the Internet. Formal process and dress in courtrooms is being diminished. Authorisation processes are streamlined. Family and social mores are changing with debates over civil unions outside marriage and pressures to de-criminalise certain drugs such as marijuana. New branches of knowledge are granted the privilege of science.

However, with an approach that is similar to that of MacDonell when talking of emergences and developments of ideologies, Foucault dismisses any idea that

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[49] Foucault, op. cit., n47, p216

particular formations are static and the regime of truth unchanging. Instead, where one formation is substituted for another "it is not to say that all objects or concepts, all enunciations or all theoretical choices disappear".[50] In other words the new discourse archaeology "does not occupy… all the possible volume that is opened up to it as of right…."[51] A "given discursive formation may reveal new possibilities"[52] in which resistances to the discourse may be enabled. At the same time, as explained earlier,[53] he does not accept that privileging enunciations of such resistances as "truth" involves appeal to an objective truth. Instead such privilege is a function of such a resistance utilising a successful power strategy culminating in "the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who once used it",[54] with historical events happening at the nexus of different discursive formations. Thus what is accepted as "reality" or "truth" changes through time and place.

If history reflects shifts in discursive formations, how then does a collection of discursive practices emerge from their location within an existing formation and cohere as a new formation? Foucault explains it thus:

> It is possible to describe several distinct emergences of a discursive formation. The moment at which a discursive practice achieves individuality and autonomy… might be called the *threshold of positivity*. When… a group of statements is articulated… and when it exercises a dominant function… over knowledge, we will say …[it] crosses a *threshold of epistemologization*. When the epistemological figure… obeys a number of formal criteria…we will say it has crossed a *threshold of scientificity*. And when this scientific discourse is able… to define the axioms necessary to it… we will say it has crossed the *threshold of formalization*.[55]

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[50] Ibid., p25
[51] Ibid., p67
[52] Ibid.
[53] Supra, p22
[54] Foucault, M. (1984), "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", in Rabinow, P. (ed) The Foucault Reader, New York: Pantheon Books, p154
[55]Foucault, op. cit., n47, p186-7

At first glance, the labels applied to these emergences - "positivity", "scientificity"- seem best suited to explain the development of a scientific discourse such as psychology or pathology, hinting ultimately at the existence of technical and ordered ritual, guarded by the owners of discrete bodies of knowledge as a gauntlet through which any new ideas must pass before being accepted as true. However, it should be remembered that this process is described in the Archaeology of Knowledge, written during Foucault's early period and before his work on particular scientific and social discourses. His main focus in this work was on uncovering unities (and disunities) between statements, identifying and tracing discourses (classifications of knowledge) through history. Given that temporal location, his description should be accepted as an outcome of his linkages of discourse, whether at the local (specific) or at the general (cultural) level with knowledge rather than as some sort of particular discourse-spotting guidebook.

In light of the above, and as general conclusion to this discussion, when examining the genealogy of any given discourse its regime of truth can be located as a standard against which the "rightness" of enunciations is judged. While discourse provides signposts (meaning) for the multi-variable "interpersonal judgment" of individuals, the roadmap is provided by ethical systems.[56] Where an individual metaphorically departs from the roads indicated on the map he or she is exploring alternative means of arriving at the desired destination, or alternative destinations not shown. Such an individual thereby resists the networks that exercise their relational power through a dominant discourse.

The final part of this chapter is devoted to an exploration of principal discourses of relevance of the New Zealand environment during the historical period specified. Before addressing this third question posed at the beginning of this chapter, however, it is necessary to address two preliminary issues.

The first of these issues relates to the meaning of "environment".[57] Grove locates the emergence of environmental thought as early as 1600.[58] However, "environment" as

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[56] See discussion on ethics supra, p21-25
[57] Defined as the "the totality of surrounding conditions"- not helpful! (Garmonsway, G.N. and Simpson, J. (comp) (1979) Penguin English Dictionary, Hamondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin)

a discrete concept is of much more recent emergence. For example, as Dryzec explains, it would not have been possible prior to the 1960s to write a book about discourses of the environment because domains of such discourses had not yet been conceptualised.[59] In addition, it should be emphasised that despite significant growth in the environmental literature since then, some writers[60] remain sceptical as to the separateness of such discourses.

These reservations and doubts arise from problematisation of challenges and issues that environmentalists would claim within the environmental domain but that might legitimately be objectified within others (and vice versa). For example, pollution may be problematised within a public health or property rights discourse; questions of land use encapsulated within town planning or tort law; the setting aside of picturesque land areas considered a function of a desire to provide recreational and tourism opportunities.

The second and consequential issue is that of the nature of an environmental discourse. If there are outstanding problems over "environment", is it appropriate to regard environmental discourse as "relating to a relatively well-bounded area of social knowledge"? Such treatment would suggest that how subjects talk and think about the environment is one dimensional, clearly bounded and controlled, whereas it is apparent that enunciations emerge from a network of social, political and individual concerns and pressures.[61] Boer makes this point well when pointing out that "environmental decision-making so often causes deep social divisions and widespread conflicts…. The 'affected community'… is generally much more extensive than in other sorts of… disputes",[62] while Dryzec observes that such issues arise at the

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[58] Grove, R. H. (1988) Green Imperialism. Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism 1600-1860, Studies in Environment and History, Worster and Crosby (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

[59] Dryzec, J. (1997) The Politics of the Earth, Environmental Discourses, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p5

[60] For example, Julian Simon, Wilfred Beckerman (the latter of whom argues that the pollution problems in poor countries can only be solved through their becoming rich – a process that in itself ironically involves environmental degradation)

[61] Grove rationalises the growth of conservation in the colonial periphery through the social status and political power of the scientific community. A modern example can be found in the refusal by most countries of the developed (western) world to ratify the Kyoto Protocol to control the increase in CO2 emissions on the basis of its projected effect on economic growth.

[62] Boer, B. (1984) "Social Ecology and Environmental Law", Environmental and Planning Law Journal, September, p233

intersection of eco-systems and social systems.[63] Finally, Buhrs and Bartlett identify the "environmental problematique" as having three dimensions - these being ecosystems, resources and the quality of life.[64] Therefore, any environmental policy or debate must negotiate and endeavour to reconcile these three dimensions.

Consequently, what may first appear to be a problem requiring a straightforward scientific solution, may instead prove to involve troublesome and potentially insurmountable problems and dilemmas. Hajer uses the example of acid rain to illustrate this point, explaining that:

> Understanding the… problem not only involves the understanding of the phenomenon… but also involves questions of cost, abatement techniques, analysis of social and economic repercussions of the different remedial strategies, and ethical questions concerning fairness or the attribution of blame and responsibility.[65]

Highlighting these two issues does not suggest that debate about the "environment" should be abandoned as being too hard or too complex. What it does mean, however, is that the interconnections with social and economic themes must be acknowledged both in the formation of discourse and interpretation of its implications. For this reason, it is appropriate to locate environmental discourses within their historical (and epistemic) context.

The Principal Discourses of Relevance to the Environment.

Examination of available literature reveals a potentially bewildering array of labels granted different discourses across the spectrum. Dryzec, for example, analyses nine different discourses from Promethean through to green radicalism.[66] Fischer and

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[63] Dryzec, op. cit., p8.
[64] Buhrs, T. and Bartlett, R.V. (1993) Environmental Policy in New Zealand, The Politics of Clean and Green?, Auckland: Oxford University Press, p38
[65] Hajer, M.A. (1995) The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p45
[66] Dryzec, op. cit.

Hajer's edited work includes chapters on discourses labelled variously as eco-management, sustainability *et al*.[67]

As these labels are heavily value-laden, they tend to attract fierce debate as to their merit, with those ascribing to such discourses maintaining their "rightness" and generally the falsity of alternatives. For example, deep green ecologists reject the concepts of green rationality as "shallow", maintaining instead the need to redefine the human place in the ecology and to privilege the voices of other species. Arguments in favour for market-based mechanisms by economic rationalists are opposed by advocates of regulation who maintain such mechanisms create a "license to pollute".[68] Those advocating animal rights consider any system permitting the instrumentalisation of animals for human benefit as fundamentally wrong.[69]

However, this thesis is not about discourses that dominate environmental speech and thought in the present context, a context in which the environment is conceptualised and acknowledged, at least by some, as having its own domain. Mindful of the objective of this work, it is necessary to establish and justify limits to the discourses discussed in this chapter.

The title and focus of this thesis is "Uncovering 'Regimes of Truth': Locating and Defining Discourses Associated with Hydro-electric Development in New Zealand". The underlying theme that runs through the work is that of hydro-electricity providing a site for environmental battles in New Zealand, a theme that is echoed in the selection of the three case studies. Consequently, this theme justifies an exploration of the history of discourse of relevance to the environment in New Zealand from the beginning of European settlement in 1840, exploring events and developments in which a rupture or transformation of relevant discourse can be located. This section, therefore, traces discourses that are identified as most prominent and relevant within the specified timeframe, a process that involves two steps. First, the domain of such discourses is identified. Secondly, and given the link between ethics and discourse,

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[67] Fischer, F. and Hajer, M.A. (1999) Living with Nature: Environmental Politics as Cultural Discourse, Oxford: Oxford University Press
[68] Freeman, A. M. (1983) "The Ethical Basis of the Economic View of the Environment", in Van Der Veer and Pierce, op. cit., p318
[69] Prominent amongst these is Tom Regan - his position formulated in "The Case for Animal Rights" in Singer, P. (1985) In Defense of Animals, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, p13

the ethical grounding of each of these discourses is described. It should be noted that, given the environmental context of this discussion, of pivotal importance to this second step is an exploration of differing views as to the relationship between nature and the human race. Equally, it should be acknowledged that a discourse historically and consistently granted a particular label might have alternative iterations in different times and places.

By way of elucidation, discourses of relevance to the New Zealand environment that have emerged in different iterations within the socio-temporal contexts considered in this thesis are categorised according to their distance from two meta-ethical (or meta-discursive)[70] locations of "anthropocentrism" and "ecocentrism". It should be emphasised that such classification is in the interests of convenience and clarity and is not intended to be normative. This limited use reflects the lack of common acceptance of the meaning and significance of such labels, as well as their underlying values, a point made by Hargrove who *inter alia* challenges the validity of the "usual" practice whereby "traditional ethics is… considered to be anthropocentric in the sense that nature is valued only to the degree it is instrumentally valuable to human beings".[71] Consequent upon the uncertainty surrounding "anthropocentric", Boer prefers the narrower term "technocentric" to anthropocentric, "characterised by the application of rational and 'value-free' scientific and managerial techniques by a professional elite, who regard the environment as neutral stuff".[72]

However, for the immediate purpose, anthropocentrism is taken variously to mean "simple human chauvinism, with a narrow… sympathy", "only humans, as self-conscious evaluators can endow the world (or objects in it) with instrumental value by the act of valuing the world (or objects in it)"[73] or, in the words of the Greek sophist Protagoras: "Man is the measure of all things". Ecocentrism, its philosophical

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[70] Benton, L.M. and Short, J.R. (1999) Environmental Discourses and Practice, New York: Blackwell Publishers, refer to "ecological" and "technological" "meta-discourses" rather than to meta-ethics. However, given the link between ethics and discourse it would seem valid to talk in terms of meta-ethics.
[71] Hargrove, E. (1989) Foundations of Environmental Ethics, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, p10
[72] Boer, op. cit., p234
[73] Pojman, L. P. (2000) Global Environmental Ethics, Mountain View, Calif: Mayfield Pub, p141

opposite, "developed out of criticism of anthropocentrism and is used today as a collective term for all systems of values that are non-anthropocentric".[74] For that reason, some writers[75] prefer the term "nonanthropocentrism". However, to provide shape to the ecocentric location, others would grant ecocentrism a meaning of its own rather than as merely oppositional to anthropocentrism - for example Rowe suggests that ecocentrism "proposes an ethic whose reference point is supra-human, placing Ecosphere health before human welfare".[76] This latter definition is preferred in the following discussion.

By way of clarification then, a particular discourse may be referenced to the ecocentric meta-ethic if an ethical subject would privilege all species with an intrinsic rather than instrumental value. Consequently, the interests of humans should be balanced and judged against those of flora and fauna. However, the connection between these meta-ethics, individual ethics and discourses is neither direct nor singular. An ecocentric individual's values may be aligned with belief in an innate equality of species, some romantically or spiritually derived affinity or more extremely in the values of the "misanthropic deep ecologists"[77] represented by such groups as Earth First! (in particular the splinter group "Vehement" that advocates voluntary human extinction).

Against these, anthropocentrically focused interests, represented by such forces of "wise use" and economic rationalism can be arrayed. Amongst such advocates of such interests can be included the technocrat/economists speaking a la Prometheus that changing needs and innovation will ensure a never-ending supply of the resources necessary to maintain human progress.

A conclusion that can be drawn from the above discussion is that discourse permits individuals to share their ethical understanding of the environment with others. At the same time, however, it is inappropriate to assume that any specific discourse is directly and discretely linked to any particular environmental ethic. Thus, in exploring

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[74] Bosselman, K. (1995) When Two Worlds Collide: Society and Ecology, New Zealand: RSVP Publishing, p7
[75] For example, Wenz, P.S. (2001) Environmental Ethics Today, New York: Oxford University Press
[76] Rowe, J. S. "Ecocentrism and Traditional Ecological Knowledge", first retrieved from http://www.ecospherics.net/pages/Ro993tek_1.html, 4 December 2003
[77] Dryzec, op. cit., p157

discourses it is imperative to also acknowledge the multifarious ethical systems grounding those discourses, this consideration being the focus of the next part of this chapter in which selected environmentally significant discourses are considered in turn.

Modernist Discourse

In the Order of Things Foucault identifies the modern age[78] as one of the three great epistemes in (relatively) recent history (along with the renaissance and classical). "'Modernity' generally refers to that period of (western) history… which is characterised by scientific rationality, the development of commerce and capitalism, the rise of education, surveillance, urbanism and atheism",[79] a description resonating with Milovanovic's location of the emergence of Modernist thought in the Enlightenment.[80] Foucault defines the Enlightenment itself as a "celebration of the liberating potentials of the social sciences, the materialistic gains of capitalism, new forms of rational thought, due process safeguards, abstract rights applicable to all".[81] Consistent with how these and other writers have used the term, this discourse "assumes that individuals are more or less 'sovereign' over their worlds and potentially unified by the presumed commonality of Western goals".[82] One implication arising from the sovereignty of individuals is that instead of God or some yet to be discovered natural order being the basis of knowledge, man now assumes that role. That knowledge is revealed through man's ability to invent a world that privileges and reflects these "western goals" (economic value, standardisation and growth through development) as natural, normal or best.

It should be noted that in this instance the use of the word "man" rather than "human" is deliberate. Ecofeminist theory posits that the ways men and women relate to the environment are different, and that Modernism reflects concepts of patriarchy such as

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[78]Danaher, G., Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2000) "Understanding Foucault", St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, pxiii
[79] Ibid.
[80] Milovanovic, D. (1995) "Dueling Paradigms: Modernist v Post Modernist Thought", Humanity and Society 19(1), p1
[81] Ibid., p1-2
[82] Krause, S.D. (1996) Postmodernity, Rhetorical Situations, and a Definition of Immediacy, PhD Thesis, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, first retrieved from http://www.emunix.emich.edu/~krause/Diss/Chapter_2.html, 1 July 2003

domination and control that are the root of all environmental problems that are faced in the present.[83] "Nature" as the other to "Man" is merely instrumental within this discourse, having no inherent value,[84] a position "which implies a nonchalant and myopic harnessing of its causal powers with a view solely to the advancement of human interests".[85] As a consequence, such opposing and opposite values as aesthetics, variability and anti-development are also subjugated as "other".

Somewhat ironically, Modernism as defined with its secular, individual and capitalist focus is described as underpinned in part by Judaeo-Christian ethics.[86] The irony itself is implicit in the recognition that it was the "'great minds' of the West [that] began to disbelieve in the authority of the Judaeo-Christian God as the basis for the truth and the law that undergird society and culture".[87] However, the very meaning of this ethical system has come under scrutiny as two disparate interpretations involve seeing nature as a resource[88] or alternatively, humans as stewards of nature.[89]

The traditionally held belief is that this ethic "impl[ies] that humans may treat their natural environment as they like".[90] White attributes this belief to the idea that man was made in God's image and shares in His transcendence of nature and as a corollary, that Christian monotheism displaced the pagan concept of spirits within all living things.[91] Passmore puts it thus:

> What can be properly argued… is that Christianity encouraged certain special
> attitudes to nature: that it exists primarily as a resource rather than as
> something to be contemplated with enjoyment, that man has the *right* to use it

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[83] Dryzec, op. cit., p158, Palmer, C. (1997) Environmental Ethics, Santa Barbara, Cal: ABC-CLIO p17

[84] See Daly, H.E. and Cobb, J. (1989) For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Towards the Community, the Environment and a Sustainable Future, Boston: Beacon Press

[85] Soper, K. (1995) What is Nature?, Oxford: Blackwell, p156. Thus, *inter alia*, "nature does not exist, save as a source of matter to be rearranged in the human interest".

[86] For example, White, L. (1967) "The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis", Science 155, p1203

[87] Hurd, R.W. (1998) "PostModernism, A New Model of Reality", first retrieved from http://www.mckenziestudycenter.org/philosophy/articles/postmod.html, 11 February 2005

[88] Passmore, J. (1980) "Man's Responsibility for Nature", (2nd Edition), London: Duckworth

[89] Attfield, R. (2001) "Christianity", Chapter 7 of A Companion to Environmental Philosophy, D. Jamieson (ed), (2003 Edition), Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, p96-110

[90] Passmore, op. cit., p20

[91] White, op. cit.

as he will, that it is not sacred, that man's relationships with it are not governed by moral principles.[92]

Attfield on the other hand, sounds a caution as to both the above arguments. First, he argues that White has fallen prey to the "fallacy of origins".[93] In support of his position he cites Welbourn's view that "the function of ideas in history is to legitimise actions and institutions which are to be explained by more material considerations: thus new-found technological power may have been justified after the event by suitably selected and interpreted ideas".[94] Consequently, exploitation and despoliation driven by pure greed could later be purified by reference to philosophical imperatives. That having been said, however, he then concurs with White in wanting to question "whether either modern science or modern technology can be explained solely by the structure of society or by economic forces and without reference to belief in an orderly creation and in the propriety of using or moulding it for human benefit".[95]

Attfield then proceeds to examine the origins of the idea that man is superior to nature such that nature is there to be used according to man's whim and desire. While agreeing with Passmore that nature is not sacred within Christian tradition, he also asserts that concepts of domination are alien to the Christianity of the Bible. Rather he puts forward the argument that the concept is of Greek rather than Hebrew origin and that there is considerable support in both Testaments for a stewardship role for man rather than an exploitative mandate.[96] As support for this argument he cites not only certain passages (eg Chronicles 29:11-14) but also other writers.[97]

A tradition of stewardship, he finds:

> in Europe and lands of European settlement…, Judaeo-Christian origins but not confined to adherents of Judaism and Christianity, [a] belief that people

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[92] Passmore, op. cit., p96
[93] Ibid., p22
[94] As quoted in Black, J. (1970) "The Dominion of Man: the Search for Ecological Responsibility" Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
[95] Attfield, op. cit., p22
[96] Ibid., p26
[97] Black, op. cit.; Glaken, C.J. (1967) Traces on the Rhodian Shore; Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient times to the End of the Eighteenth Century, Berkeley: University of California Press

are the stewards of the earth, and responsible for its conservation, for its lasting improvement, and also for the care of our fellow creatures.[98]

Such debates appear to leave questions unanswered as to the nature and influence of the so-called Judaeo-Christian ethic. If "stewardship" grounds Modernist discourse, how then can the strength of the drive to change, to modify and to exploit be explained? Also, how can this apparently moral drive be reconciled with the purported amorality of Modernism? If it is premised that Judaeo-Christianity sees nature-as-resource, does it follows that any scarce resource will be valued by reference to maximum advantage? Does the alternative view (humans as stewards of nature), while discouraging indiscriminate use, still contemplate an imperative to maximise productivity?

These apparently unanswered questions suggests it is appropriate to look for other ethical systems that might contribute to the shape of this discourse, this conduit for individual ethical subjects to articulate and share their view of the world.

Kantian ethics could be considered. By way of reminder, Kant insists that an agent is moral only when acting according to a "true moral precept"- his "ought implies can"[99] reflects the notion that one's duty involves obedience to a categorical imperative which is neither derived from belief in a higher order nor dependent on positive consequences. This categorical imperative involves never treating a person as a means - for "person" read "rational being". It also has the effect of elevating humans (as the only rational being) above all other species,[100] with the inevitable corollary of placing man above nature:

> Animals are not self-conscious and are there merely as a means to an end.
> That end is man….. If he is not to stifle his human feelings, he must practice

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[98] VanDerVeer, D. and Pierce, C. (2003) "The Environmental Ethics and Policy Book" (3rd Edition), Belmont, California: Wadsworth/Thomas Learning, p45

[99] As quoted in Partridge, E. (2001) "Future Generations", Chapter 26 in Jamieson, D. (ed) (2001/2003) Companion to Environmental Philosophy, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, p377

[100] Eg, Wenz, P.S. (2001) Environmental Ethics Today, New York: Oxford University Press; Palmer, op. cit.

kindness to animals, for he who is cruel to animals becomes hard also in his dealings with men.[101]

Kantian ethics, therefore would justify, indeed require, decisions to be made in pursuance of the (high) moral duty of (superior) individuals. Values nurtured and accepted by a Western society that produced the colonists of the nineteenth century, would colour that duty as Western-style civilisation leading the primitive races out of their superstitious and brutish existence. It is argued that such a colour can also be granted nineteenth century ideas on conservation. In this latter context, Jepson and Whittaker celebrate Leopold's description of the second of Roosevelt's statements as to the fundamental values of the nineteenth century American conservation movement[102] ("that the human conquest of nature carries with it a moral responsibility to preserve threatened life forms") as "a milestone of moral revolution", "because it recognised that humans are citizens not masters of Earth…and that moral responsibilities extend… to relationships between the human species and non-human species".[103] However, when taken with the first of Roosevelt's statements "that needless slaughter of wildlife is cruel, unnecessary and barbaric", the scope of his sentiment would appear much narrower than an acceptance of the moral responsibilities of man as citizen, and instead is more persuasively seen as reflective of the notion of the moral absolute of the human to be kind in exercising his moral superiority.

Another candidate is Utilitarianism. The main proponents of the so-called "classical Utilitarianism" were Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, both of whom were regarded as social reformers of their day. Bentham's "principle of utility" involves determining what is ethically right by reference to "the total amount of net utility".[104] Utilitarianism, in its most hedonistic interpretation, would suggest that individuals need only judge an act in terms of how it contributes to their own happiness without concern as to the effect on others. However, with a focus on happiness as the most desirable outcome of any activity, Utilitarianism does provide space for decisions that

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[101] Kant, I., "Duties to Animals and Spirits" in Infield, op. cit., p239
[102] That predated the Progressive Conservation Movement (for explanation, see infra, p47)
[103] Jepson, P. and Whittaker, R.J. (2002) "Histories of Protected Areas: Internationalisation of Conservationist Values and their Adoption in the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia)", Environment and History 8(2), p129 at p130
[104] VanDerVeer, and Pierce, op. cit., p24

may indirectly benefit groups rather than directly benefit individuals if this is appropriate as a means of furthering overall happiness. For example, Mill for one was clearly a strong advocate of appropriate use of public funds, this including colonisation. "There need be no hesitation in affirming, that colonization, in the present state of the world, is the very best affair of business, in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can possibly engage".[105]

Wenz suggests that Utilitarianism does not necessarily involve man's utility being treated as superior to that of other sentient species.[106] *Prima facie*, this would appear to disqualify Utilitarianism as contributing to Modernist discourse given that the emergence of deliberate policies involving major modifications to land and ecology implicitly presume that the "rights" of some species are valued higher than those of others. However, and in light of Foucault's reminder that discourse as a social reality is specific to time and place,[107] Wenz's argument is best located within more recent environmental discourse and changing views as to the relationship of man to other species, a location suggested by the title to his book.

Historically speaking, exploring the influence of classical Utilitarianism on the shape of Modernist discourse involves considering plotting the emergence of Utilitarianism as a way of rationalising and justifying thoughts and actions. Nineteenth century Europe witnessed a growing pressure for democratisation and greater recognition and power for the middle and labouring classes. Old land-based social structures were giving way to those based on the application of technology. The middle class in particular benefited from this technology, while the needs of that technology included an educated workforce - ultimately increasing the ability of the labouring class to formulate demands and exercise power. With this power came demands for more equal distribution of wealth and higher levels of happiness for the greater number rather than the socially-privileged few.

It is thus suggested that the Judaeo-Christian, Kantian and utilitarian ethics, despite having very disparate objectives, contributed ideas that complemented each other and

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[105] As quoted in Wakefield, op. cit., opposite the title page.
[106] Wenz, op. cit., p84-7
[107] Foucault, op. cit., n47

that by the nineteenth century colonial period had coalesced into a Modernist discourse based on Western-privileged knowledge – reflecting concepts that happiness is derived from monetary value, resource use is inextricably linked to social progress and economic development is a metaphor for civilisation, or as Martin puts it, "the endless growth of capitalism, colonialism and Christianity seemed assured. Western civilisation had found all the answers, solved all the problems, or soon would, anyway".[108]

However, as suggested earlier, although "Modernist discourse" may embody a particular collection of values, it still contemplates various iterations. At the most extreme is what has been labelled "promethean"[109] or *cornucopian* "after the legendary horn of Amalthaea, an emblem of abundance".[110] A present-day writer most commonly associated with cornucopia is Julian Simon[111] who sees human ingenuity (through the perpetual[112] development and application of technology) as the means of keeping scarcity at bay. Thus, given appropriate incentives (price, availability of technology), resources *will* be brought into production through new and ingenious means, production itself *will* become more efficient and substitutes *will* be developed to replace diminishing supplies of a given raw material.

Such visions of cornucopia were reflected in early rhetoric about New Zealand that portrayed the country as a land bursting with fertility and plenty. The implication was that, as opposed to the exhausted lands of Europe, here was a country whose resources could never be depleted. It is arguable that such a discourse most closely reflects the presumption that resources *should* be exploited to the maximum level possible to provide maximum utilitarian happiness for (living) man.[113]

However, other variants of a Modernist discourse, while still clearly aligned with anthropocentrism, do not ascribe to the same idea that nature is some sort of bottomless grab-bag. Amongst such discourses can be included Garrett Hardin's

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[108] Martin, T.S. (1998) Greening the Past, Towards a Social–Ecological Analysis of History, Bethseda: International Scholars Publications, p93
[109] Dryzec, op. cit., p45-60
[110] Wenz, op. cit., p22
[111] Simon, J. L. (1981) The Ultimate Resource, Princeton: Princeton University Press
[112] He uses the word "infinite" when talking of the supply of natural resources
[113] Reflecting the concept of nature-as-resource.

"Malthusian" [114] arguments and Dryzec's "environmental rationalism". [115] This latter discourse has been manifested in the traditional meaning given to the word "conservation" (careful and non-wasteful use) and in the voice of the Progressive Conservation Movement. Although this formalised, institutionalised movement is acknowledged as emanating from America in the 1920s, a predominant theme of development in other western countries from the late nineteenth century became increasingly in accordance with the sentiments of "rational planning to promote efficient development and use of all natural resources". [116] A clear corollary to this way of thinking is the classification of land, either formally or informally, as useful/useless or as productive/ waste. Wasteland can be reclassified as productive once means were found to make it so. [117] Arguably these discourses are more closely aligned with the notion of man in a stewardship role over nature, a role that continues to mandate use while cautioning against misuse or overuse.

Another variant is what can be described as a New Zealand style Modernist discourse, [118] a discourse grounded in Utilitarian concepts (particularly capitalist) but with a twist. Romantic concepts of civilisation through the image of a garden and equality coalesced with utilitarian sentiments to privilege state-driven economic progress or growth as a metaphor for social progress or advancement. As evident in later chapters, this variant was to undergo a range of iterations in different historical contexts although its underlying themes were to prove enduring.

As a final point of general significance, the continued importance and endurance of Modernist discourse in the environmental context cannot be dismissed. Hajer refers to

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[114] Tragedy of the Commons. Hardin's position is described as "Malthusian" in reference to Thomas Malthus who predicted in 1798 that the uncontrolled expansion of the human population would result in scarcity and famine - "An Essay on the Principle of Population" in Hardin, G. (1969) (ed) Population, Evolution and Control: A College of Controversial Ideas, (2nd Edition), San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, p4

[115] Dryzec, op. cit., p62-83

[116] Hays, S.P. (1959) Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, p2. In the United States, Gifford Pinchot, who was the head of the Forest Service under Theodore Roosevelt, sought to apply conservation principles to the management of the forests. Grove discusses the pressure for conservation of forests in India. In New Zealand too, this concept was most clearly applied to forest policy (see discussion, infra, p125 post)

[117] See discussion relating to National Parks and reserves, infra, p148 post

[118] See supra, p16

Huber and Janicke[119] in identifying the emergence of policy-oriented discourse in environmental politics during the 1980s as a manifestation of Modernist discourse. Referring to this new manifestation as "ecological modernization", he defines it as a discourse "that recognizes the structural character of the environmental problematique but nonetheless assumes that existing political, economic, and social institutions can internalize the care for the environment".[120] In accordance with this, and implicit in its regime of truth, are the presumptions that environmental degradation is calculable, that environmental protection is a "positive-sum game" and finally, that such protection/control can be reconciled with economic growth.[121] Western values (which now include a cleaner environment) continue to shine through the discourse and it is the recalcitrance of those who do not ascribe to those values that prevents the solution of environmental problems.

Closer to ecocentrism are those discourses that to some degree value preservation and other environmentally positive outcomes as objects. Most clearly ecocentric would be discourses that assign an equal or higher value to species and features of the environment that they would to humans. As noted previously, Dryzec would place the misanthropic splinter group Vehement of the Earth First! "deep" ecologists[122] in the most extreme position through their advocated deliberate self-driven extinction of humanity. A little further away the land ethic of Aldo Leopold may be detected. This ethic "simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals; or collectively: the land. ... In short, a land ethic changes the role of Homo sapiens from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it".[123]

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[119] Hajer, op. cit., p25. The works he refers to include *et al,* Huber, J. (1985) Die Regenbogengesellschaft, Oekologie und Sozialpolitik, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer and Janicke, M. (1985) Preventive Environmental Policy as Ecological Modernisation and Structural Policy, Berlin: WZB
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid., p25-6
[122] This term was originally coined by Arne Naess (1973) "The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary", Inquiry, 16, p95, to distinguish deep from shallow ecology.
[123] Leopold, A. (1949) A Sand Country Almanac with other Essays on Conservation from Round River, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p239 at p239-40

However, despite Hay and Haward's description of the green movement in New Zealand having a "deep philosophical greenness",[124] it is argued that painting environmental discourse in New Zealand in deep green colours cannot be sustained. A search simply reveals a darkness, an emptiness that bears mute testimony to a "truth" that such speech or thought was and remains beyond the pale, outside a space shaped by power/knowledge of western society and a hegemonic Modernist discourse. In order to detect the first voices it is necessary to move further back along this continuum towards anthropocentrism. Such a retreat from the ecocentric meta-ethical location reveals two other discourses, the first of which is centred on a reservation of wilderness areas, and the second on specific environmental causes. These two discourses are considered in turn.

Reservation of Wilderness Places

This discourse legitimises the setting aside or reservation of specific areas or places, effectively as a metaphorical "other" to human activity and/or civilisation, thus representing them as preserved, as undamaged and *prima facie* preventing their exploitation for commercial gain. Such a discourse could only emerge within a socio-political context that acknowledges some value or values implicit in those areas so reserved.

A problematic implication arising from this discourse is that places can and should be protected from human influence (that is, be preserved) while one of the most compelling reasons for such protection is for humans to enjoy that very same wilderness - hinting of overtones of anthropocentrism, reflected in rhetoric that highlights aesthetic and spiritual satisfaction. Within this juxtaposition lies a possible paradox - what may be celebrated as natural or wilderness by a subject is a response to social conditioning; that conditioning is a function of a structure of social (human) values which in turn celebrate the human condition and its superiority over nature. Furthermore, the very vision of unspoiled nature as such a metaphorical other to human corruption suggests an ironic implication that is encapsulated in a quote that appears at the beginning of Darier's book - "grazing sheep can be beautiful, very

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[124] Hay, P.R. and Haward, M.G. (1988) "Comparative Green Politics: Beyond the European Context", Political Studies 36, p433

different from 'sulphureous [sic] vapours' though actually… no more natural".[125] Indeed, sheep introduced into an area may be *less* natural in a particular context than naturally produced vapours, both requiring and causing potentially significant environmental changes and problems (destruction of habitat, water pollution and damage to landscape).

Essentially then, it is arguable that what is perceived as nature is derived from culture, just as subject to discursive practices and domination as is artifice. While a particular area of bush may be celebrated in discourse as beautiful, virgin and peaceful, subjects may at the same time deny its traditional use, welcome the presence of introduced species of flora and fauna, accept the culling of naturally occurring species deemed too numerous or defined as pests, gratefully acknowledge access in the form of paths and roads and justify threats to its viability on the basis of the social (and economic) importance of surrounding land-use practices.

Reconciliation of these implications involves seeking the ethics that ground this discourse. Romanticism with its philosophy of nobility and reverence for the "rugged beauty and natural grandeur "[126] of nature, has been identified as influential in shaping protectionist sentiments. Romanticism has generally been held to be a reaction to the Age of Enlightenment and has come "to be associated with … ideas such as 'magic', 'suggestive', 'nostalgic' and above all with words expressing states of mind which cannot be described, such as the German 'Sehnsucht' and the English 'wistful'".[127] Within Romanticism, "Nature" is perceived as both an antithesis and an antidote to a world spoiled and corrupted by human (mainly industrial and urban) activities; as untainted and innocent, as epitomised in the shift from subordination to privilege of such terms as the savage (from barbaric to noble), tapu areas (from superstitious to sacred) and "wilderness".

Haila credits "US environmentalists in the 19th century" with first using "wilderness" as a symbol for caring about nature (as opposed to its symbolism as danger, the unknown or alien) when "nostalgic[ally] striving to get into contact with pure,

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[125] Raymond Williams (unreferenced), in Darier, op. cit., p1

[126] Benton and Short, op. cit., p67.

[127] Praz, M. (1965) "A new Sensibility", in Romanticism, Problems of Definition, Explanation and Evaluation, J.B. Halsted (ed), Boston: Heath, p58 at p62.

unspoiled nature outside of human influence, in a sanctuary of genuineness and originality".[128] This metaphorical "other" of human (more particularly western) society and its exploitation has proved powerful in the reservation discourse.

According to several writers, such Romantic concepts translated to the reservation of places as parks and reserves by way of the English country park. Shepard argues that "the English landscape garden park was an important first step in the process by which nature came to be perceived as natural scenery",[129] although, ironically, the point could also be made that such a park was far from natural, with its walks, vistas, constructed lakes and boundaries. Olwig and Olwig go further in explicitly identifying a link to the Romantic ethic.

> Such parks (as the English country parks)… were a representation of a positive longing for a better, more Natural era, and for a propertyless, egalitarian and democratic society…. It formed an ideological contempt to the consequences of expanding English capitalism.[130]

However, the discourse of reservation of wilderness areas is not only about nostalgia, seeking fulfilment of emotional needs. In this context it is informative to note that Alfred Runte attributes much of the success in the establishment of the original National Parks in America to nature preservationists arguing that the relevant areas (Yosemite (in 1864) and the Yellowstone (1872)) were "places not so much taken out from 'productive' use as being 'unsuitable for productive use'".[131] This discursive theme suggests that the Utilitarian ethic also contributed to the shape of the discourse, making it possible and legitimate for such a designation to be changed when and if this would increase overall happiness and societal well-being.

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[128] Haila, Y. (1997) " 'Wilderness' and the Multiple Layers of Environmental Thought", Environment and History 3 (2), p129

[129] Shepard, P. (1967) Man in The Landscape, NY: Ballantines

[130] Olwig, K.F. and Olwig, K. (1978) "Underdevelopment and the Development of 'Natural' Park Ideology", Antipode 11(2), p18

[131] Runte, A. (1973) "'Worthless Lands- our National Parks': The Enigmatic Past and Uncertain Future of America's Scenic Wonderlands", American West 10, p5

It has also been argued that such designation actually locates this discourse beyond anthropocentrism and closer to ethnocentrism, privileging the values of one human group over all others rather than just over other species - representing a form of domination, a taking and possession of land and resources for the use of the most advanced race of the privileged and superior species, a consequence also clearly in line with both Judaeo-Christian and Kantian ethics. This concept is reflected in some writers' views on the creation of National Parks in colonised countries, for example "to call an untamed area a 'national park' was to… bring it at least linguistically within the pale of civilization",[132] subjugating the voice of the "inferior" indigenous race(s) and denying legitimacy for its pre-colonised voice.

Whether or not this further refinement is accepted, discursive enunciations support an alignment of a discourse of reservation with human–centred values rather than with ecocentricism. This is an important point to make because while such alignment legitimises a reservation-focused discourse, it also contemplates later validation of use or exploitation in pursuit of the common good (Utilitarianism).

The final discourse to be discussed, and which shares some of the characteristics of the previous one, is initially difficult to categorise as either ecocentric or anthropocentric, having characteristics of both. This is a discourse that is centred on the celebration of an environmental "cause".

A Discourse of Causes

A sub-set of environmentalism is concern with the viability and well-being of specific species or groups of species, on both general and local levels. Stone makes a case for trees to have legal rights.[133] Regan argues that using animals as resources is fundamentally wrong.[134] Areas around the world have been declared world heritage sites in recognition of their ecological uniqueness. There have recently been moves to

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[132] Galbreath, R.A. (1989) Colonisation, science, and conservation : the development of colonial attitudes toward the native life of New Zealand, with particular reference to the career of the colonial scientist Walter Lawry Buller (1838-1906), D Phil Thesis (Waikato), p223

[133] Stone, C.D. (1974) Should Trees Have Standing? Towards Legal rights for Natural Objects, Portola Vly California: Tioga Publishing Co

[134] Regan, T. (1985) "The Case for Animal Rights" in P. Singer, op. cit., n69, p13

redefine some wilderness areas as refuges for threatened biota.[135] International conventions on whaling and trafficking in endangered species, despite moves to modify or reverse them, receive international recognition and support. Strict controls are in place for the use of the Antarctic.

It could be argued that such moves resonate with the deep green discourse described by Dryzec and, as such, *prima facie* validate a move in the balance of rights in favour of non-human species. Alternatively, such moves could be dismissed as iterations of previous enunciations of conservationist-flavoured discourse, albeit writ large. After all, even a cursory shuffle through history reveals species receiving protection from hunting or through legislated preservation of habitat, recognition and support in the media or campaigns, and the creation of charities and other groups seeking to help flora and/or fauna in their fight for survival.

What discourse then does this voice respond to? Is it a hint, an echo that in some way reflects the values of the ecocentric romantically-derived deep ecology,[136] or is it better seen as something less, a confirmation of traditional assumptions of relative specie superiority? To answer this question, it is useful first to explore in more depth the meaning and implications of "deep ecology" and "conservation".

As explained earlier,[137] "deep ecology" describes a movement "concerned with fundamental philosophical questions about the ways in which humans relate to the environment",[138] as opposed to the "shallow" ecology that is the focus of the mainstream environmentalists. Dryzec explains that deep ecologists "value species, populations, and ecosystems, not just individual creatures" pursuant to a fundamental concept of "biocentric equality".[139] He goes on to explain that the effective opposite

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[135] For example, whales, elephants, tigers
[136] Palmer considers that the "philosophical-political movement" that is deep ecology is much broader than ethics (op. cit., p15). Dryzec, op. cit. classifies it as a variety of the discourse of green Romanticism. However, insofar as deep ecology assumes humans should live in harmony with other species, for the immediate purpose it is defined as an ethic.
[137] Supra, n122
[138] Palmer, op. cit., p16
[139] Dryzec, op. cit., p156

to this concept is "anthropocentric arrogance",[140] a loaded term. Devall and Sessions add a second fundamental norm to this, that being self-realisation.[141]

According again to Devall and Sessions, "deep ecology goes beyond a limited piecemeal shallow approach to environmental problems and attempts to articulate a comprehensive religious and philosophical worldview".[142] Development of "deep ecological consciousness" can permit humans to "see through [their] erroneous and dangerous illusions of superiority" and separateness from Nature.

Deep ecology is not without its critics. For example, Bookchin, in advocating an alternative "social ecology",[143] strongly criticises the fundamental assumptions of deep ecology, including its principal metaphor - "humanity" as a "thing that is 'overpopulating' the planet, 'devouring' its resources, destroying its wildlife and biosphere"[144]- and accuses the deep ecologists (amongst others) of hijacking "ecology", using it as "though [it] were applicable to *everything* that involves environmental issues".[145] Finally, he scorns the "ecology" of deep ecologists, describing it as "spiritual eco-babble".[146] Despite these criticisms, the advocates of deep ecological principles consider a radical re-placement of humans within ecology is the only long-term solution to environmental problems.

Conservation, by way of contrast, has a far more specific focus. The meaning ascribed to this word has shifted somewhat over time and context between two locations. In its earlier manifestation, it was popularly taken to mean "the saving of natural resources for later consumption",[147] a concept that was to shape the approach of the Progressive

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[140] Ibid.
[141] Devall, B. and Sessions, G. (1999) "Deep Ecology", in DesJardins, J. (1999) Environmental Ethics, Concepts, Policy, and Theory, Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, p524 at p524
[142] Ibid.
[143] positing as a corollary that environmental problems can be solved only through replacement of authoritarian hierarchies- man over woman, man over nature, rich over poor- with "a confederal, directly democratic, and ecologically oriented network of communities" (Bookchin, M. (1994) "Will Ecology Become the Dismal Science'?", Which Way for the Ecology Movement? Essays by Murray Bookchin, San Francisco: AK Press, p21 at p29)
[144] Bookchin, M. (1999) "Social Ecology versus Deep Ecology", ibid., p531 at p532
[145] Ibid., p533
[146] Ibid., p534
[147] Passmore, op. cit., p73

Conservation Movement to management of resources.[148] However, particularly since the 1960s, an alternative meaning for the term has emerged, a meaning that relocates it from its traditional position within a progressive discourse to one arguably closer to ecocentrism. Consequently, conservation may be used to signify the *preservation* as an alternative to use of particular species or of habitats occupied by a collection of species, locating such species or habitat as a symbol for a quite specific discourse.

Given its characteristics as identified above, where then should a discourse of causes be placed in relation to deep ecology and to a conservation discourse? It is suggested that any close examination would fail to reveal a discrete shadow cast by deep ecology as relevant enunciations can be equally justified by reference to the practices of other discourses. Although a move to protect species and their habitat is arguably a consequence of valuing more than individuals, it does not necessarily involve (and in most cases fails to reveal) a fundamental rethink of the relationship between nature and mankind, or abandonment of illusions of superiority. It could be argued that far from a society redefining any association with nature through pursuit of such a discursive path, it draws on perceptions of its superior cognizance to achieve what is held by experts as best for that particular species. Nor does it necessarily (and in most cases will not) imply spiritual validation or justification for such decisions, these being far more likely to stem from scientific knowledge.

For example, protecting a species from being hunted may be due to its value to farmers, sentiment,[149] or its iconic status.[150] Efforts to protect habitat may arise from national pride, international shame or in pursuit of such a Utilitarian end as tourism. Such rationale for protection suggests a significant anthropocentric influence and seems more closely aligned with those (Utilitarian) ethical systems grounding reservation discourse than with some vague concept of biotic equality. Instead of a focus on places, value-laden language (beautiful, threatened, endangered, rare, unique, wild, intelligent, kind, regal, noble) is used to refer to specific species. Choices are made as to what of a selection of species is most deserving, the most

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[148] See explanation, supra, p47 and discussion in a New Zealand context, infra, in particular chapters 5 and 7.
[149] Thus the triumph of a campaign to semi-protect wild exotic horses in preference to native (uninteresting) tussock.
[150] For example, the koala or kangaroo (Australia), the golden Eagle (United States), Kiwi (New Zealand)

attractive or appealing; judgments are reached, from a position of claimed superior knowledge (or anthropological arrogance), as to appropriate contents and inhabitants of a given habitat, and what or who may predate on its populations.

Summary and Conclusions

The objective of this chapter was to provide theoretical grounding for the later Foucauldian analysis of environmental discourses in the New Zealand social context. To achieve this objective, the first part of the chapter distinguishes Foucault's concept of discourse from those of other theorists, both in terms of what it is and where it is located. The general conclusion that can be drawn from this discussion is that the term "discourse", while associated historically with language has, as a consequence of the work of such structuralists as Saussure, been liberated from representing action to being action. This liberation has made possible Foucault's repositioning of discourse as determining what is said and thought at both general (cultural) and specific (local) levels rather than as enunciations.

The second part of the chapter includes a consideration of the nature of, and theories on, ethics, this analysis being justified by the stated premise that discourse is grounded by ethical systems ascribed to by enunciators. In addition to covering the principal ethical theories, this section explores Foucault's potentially problematic treatment; problematic as he appears to deny the concept of fundamental morality that grounds Kantian theory or the presence of any eternal referent of "rightness". According to critics, this approach seemingly liberates all subjects to justify completely atomistic behaviour as "ethical". However, as also explained in this section, in his writings Foucault not only emphasises that with the disappearance of universal codes of behaviour the ethical subject *must* locate his or her own aesthetics, but also stresses that such a subject "is" a product of social expectations and pressures - including ethical systems.

The final part of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of the discourses of most prominence in the New Zealand historical context, these being identified as Modernist, reservation of place and reservation of specie discourses. Care was taken in this discussion to both issue a caution as to the nature and status of the environment

as a discursive concept, and to provide insight into ethical groundings of these discourses. Although historically located iterations of such discourses are emphasised in this discussion, present iterations are also referred to in order to provide insight into the nature of the present discourse.

The overall conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter, and one that is echoed in those that follow, is that discourses that emerged in New Zealand between 1840 and 2004 of relevance to what was said and thought about the environment cannot be attributed to one ethical system, but rather can be connected to ever-changing complexes of ethical beliefs, systems and values. The next chapter introduces the method to be applied in carrying out the study. In addition, it addresses some methodological issues that arise from the application of this method.

Chapter three

Method and Methodological Issues

Introduction

The previous chapter explored the nature of discourse and its relationship with ethics, with a particular focus on the way Foucault uses these terms in his writings. The nature of the ethical systems that ground specific environmental discourses of relevance in New Zealand's environmental past was also discussed. An important point emerging from this discussion was that dominance of a particular discourse presumes that its meaning system gains the status of truth, such that stories spoken from locations within that meaning system are privileged as true.

It is now appropriate in this chapter to deal with some theoretical issues relating to the selected method, a process that involves consideration of four questions. In addressing these questions, and where it provides support for the points made, reference will be made to enunciations of discourse within the environmental discourse domain

- How does a discourse become privileged as the "truth" while alternatives are subjugated?
- What can be identified as representations of "discourse"?
- Why is it appropriate to apply Foucault's genealogical method in the context of a study of environmental discourse?
- How can the use and construction of case studies satisfy the requirements for a genealogy?

The first of these questions is considered in the next part of this chapter. Such a discussion involves consideration of a duality or dichotomy that Foucault identifies as underpinning discourse, that of power/knowledge.

Discourse and Privilege as Truth

By way of a reminder, in major works such as the Order of Things, an Archaeology of the Human Sciences, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, and Madness and Civilisation, Foucault focuses on a concept of discourse which for him entails digging beneath the surface of what is said and thought in a particular socio-temporal or historical context to discover what permitted such things to be said and thought, that is, exposing the "systems that establish statements [enounces] as events".[1] The significance of such a focus turns on the definition of "system" as an archive, as a set of discourses "that conditions what counts as knowledge in a particular period".[2] However, for Foucault, there is more than just a connection between discourse and knowledge. Foucault, like the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche before him, links knowledge with power:

> We should admit… that power produces knowledge…; that power and knowledge directly imply one another (sic); that there is not power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.[3]

The implications of such a dichotomy include, as Danaher et al point out,[4] a deprivileging of *a history* of knowledge, and its replacement with a history of what was *accepted* as knowledge, itself linked with power. The consequences for historical analysis are profound - as Flynn describes it, placing power relations at the centre of Foucault's genealogies, "translates 'history' from a project of meaning and communication towards a 'micro-physics of power'".[5] McHoul and Grace put the relationship thus: "Power, because it cannot be separated from knowledge, is both that which dominates and that which selects".[6]

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[1] Foucault, M. (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, A. M. Sheridan Smith (trans), New York: Pantheon, p128
[2] Flynn, T. (1994) "Foucault's Mapping of History", in The Cambridge Companion to Foucault, Gutting, G. (ed), Oxford: Oxford University Press, p28 at p29
[3] Foucault, op. cit., p27
[4] Danaher, G. Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2000) Understanding Foucault, St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, p9
[5] Op. cit., p34
[6] McHoul, A.W. and Grace, W. (1998) A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, p86

Despite Foucault's treatment of these two concepts as interconnected, for the purposes of clarity they are discussed separately in the next part of this chapter. In this discussion, reference will be made not only to Foucauldian theory but also to how these terms are used by other theorists in the area.

Power

The term "power" is used in two main philosophical contexts: what it is and where it comes from. The narrowest meaning is that attributed by so-called pluralists (Dahl, Polsby, Wolfinder et al) (described by Lukes as "single dimensional")[7] and involves "a focus on behaviour in the making of decisions on issues over which there is an observable conflict of (subjective) interest, seen as express policy preferences, revealed by political participation".[8] In this scenario, a person who can impose his/her will or who can persuade others to his/her point of view has that particular and specific power "over" the other. It is therefore predicated that in the absence of observable conflict or demonstrable subjection there is no exercise of power by the strong over the weak.

Other theorists identify different characteristics of power and its exercise. The two dimensional view[9] maintains the pluralist approach that power is embodied in "concrete decisions".[10] However, such theorists go on to introduce "the mobilisation of bias" as influencing conflict resolution and thus the exercise of power. This bias is defined as "a set of predominant values, beliefs, ritual and institutional procedures (rules of the game) that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others".[11] As Lukes puts it, "their typology of power… embraces coercion, influence, authority, force and manipulation".[12]

 Lukes embraces and posits a "three dimensional" view of power which goes outside the individualisation of power which is inherent in both the single and two dimensional views, and outside the notion of power manifested and locatable only in the context of "actual and

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[7] Lukes, S (1974) Power - a Radical View, London: MacMillan, p15
[8] Ibid.
[9] Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M. (1970) Power and Poverty, Theory and Practice, New York: Oxford University Press
[10] Ibid., p7
[11] Ibid., p43-4
[12] Lukes, op. cit., p17

observable conflict".[13] However, he still sees power through the lens of domination. This reflects his belief that power means power "over" rather than power "to", or as Hoy puts it:

> … power is exercised by A over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests. A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do,… he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping, or determining his very wants.[14]

Nietzsche avoids connecting the possession of power with identifiable individuals. Instead he identifies power in terms of a "will to power"- a "will" that is exercised within a power structure. In a democratic structure, this eliminates the autonomy of the individual and compels compliance with the wishes of the "herd", thereby driving society towards mediocrity (a race to the bottom). This "will to power" drives all decisions and all actions whereby "creatures affirm their instincts to acquire power and dominance":

> … do you want a *name* for this world? A *solution* for all its riddles? A light for you too…?—*This world is the will to power—and nothing besides*! And you yourselves are also this will to power—and nothing besides! [15]

Foucault also disconnects power from the individual. First, he argues that it is not possible to perceive or describe "power" as being a discrete and identifiable phenomenon, stemming from a particular source: "power is not a Centre, a Source, an Origin, an Imposing Force. Power is relational".[16] Different groups and individuals exercise power in different ways and for different purposes at different times through discourse. "Power is no longer [since the displacement of autocracies with democracies as a form of Government] substantially identified with an individual who possesses or exercises it by right of birth; it becomes a machinery that no-one owns".[17]

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[13] Ibid., p23

[14] Hoy, D. C. (1986) "Power, Repression, Progress: Foucault and the Frankfurt School", in Foucault: a Critical Reader, D. C. Hoy (ed), Oxford: B. Blackwell, p135

[15] Denneson, T.J., Society and the Individual in Nietzsche's Will to Power, first retrieved from http://www.infidels.org/library/modern/travis_denneson/power.html, 26 July 2003

[16] Lemert, C.C. and Gillan, G. (1982) Michel Foucault: Social Theory and Transgression, New York: Columbia University Press, p27

[17] Foucault, M. (1980) "The Eye of Power", in Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977, C. Gordon (ed), New York: Pantheon, p156

Second, far from power being an instrument of repression, it should be seen as positive: "what makes power hold good… is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse"[18],[19]…: it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth".[20]

Third, power is all pervasive, all-reaching and both exerted and accepted by all within a given social matrix: "power…is a strategy, and the dominated are as much a part of the network of power relations and the particular social matrix as the dominating."[21],[22]

> Power is everywhere… because it comes from everywhere… the manifold relations of force that takes shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups and institutions, are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole.[23]

What Foucault appears to be saying, then, is that "there is no absolute top or bottom [to the spread of power], but rather a grid or network… which conditions what can be uttered in a language but does not determine which actual utterances emerge (and when) [or discursive practices]".[24]

From the above discussion it can be seen that Foucault does not perceive of power being "owned" by a given group or individual: "power, in the substantive sense does not exist".[25] "Many different forms of power exist in our society… What they have in common is a shared reliance on certain techniques or methods of application, and all draw some authority by

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[18] Ibid., p119

[19] Arguably, there are similarities between Althusser's vision of ideology and the Foucauldian concept of power. That this is inherent in Foucauldian theory on discourse is suggested by Pecheux: "Language is a culturally important material form of ideology. A 'discursive formation' is that which in a given ideology formation… determines what can and should be said." (Pecheux, M. (1982) Language, Semantics and Ideology: Stating the Obvious, Harbans Nagpal (trans), London: Macmillan, p111.)

[20] Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, London: Allen Lane, p194

[21] Hoy, op. cit., p123 at p128

[22] This view is at odds with the Marxian position that domination of the working class by the capitalists arose from the growth of the bourgeois economy

[23] Foucault, M. (1978) History of Sexuality, Vol 1 An Introduction (the Will to Knowledge), New York: Random House, p93-4, reprinted as History of Sexuality, Vol 1, an Introduction, 1990 by Penguin

[24] Hoy, op. cit., p142

[25] Foucault, M. (1980) "The Confessions of the Flesh", in Foucault, op. cit., n17, p198

referring to scientific "truths".[26] As "power is exercised rather than possessed",[27] Foucault does not attempt to define power but only where to look,[28] a search which in turn relies on an examination of power relations. What he is interested in is the power that allows something to be said or done in society at every level of activity.

Consequently, and strongly reminiscent of Althusser's concept of ideology, Foucault's concept of power is based on the premise that it is perpetual: "…the impression that power weakens and vacillates… is in fact mistaken; power can retreat…, reorganize its forces, invest itself elsewhere… and so the battle continues".[29] However, the focus of power shifts as resistance "refuses the techniques which allow for the exercise of power".[30] Manifest conflicts are not anomalies in the progress of society but are a function of shifts in power relations within that society.

It follows then that not all discourse that makes sense in terms of the rules of a particular language, even where that discourse is reflected in the history of that society, will remain accepted and acceptable, or legitimate. The anti-Semitic rhetoric of Hitler's Germany, for example, is not accepted as legitimate in contemporary mainstream German society. This abhorrence is reflected in anti-hate laws that prevent, *inter alia*, the offering of Nazi memorabilia to any resident. Another example can be found in the lack of legitimacy granted an alternative indigenous history for some colonised nations.[31] More pertinently, it can be persuasively argued that a capitalist focus on nature solely as a storehouse of resources, a position maintained by some "wise-use" proponents, is often dismissed as unacceptable by those speaking of the environment of various countries including New Zealand.

Selection of the term "legitimate" in these examples is deliberate given the connection of discourse with power. Discourse gains legitimacy within a given historical context because of power relations; shifts in those power relations is reflected also in changes in enunciations of discourse accepted as legitimate. However, change does not happen spontaneously but must be contextualised to take account of human agency that employs strategies that in turn allow that change. Foucault explicitly issues a reminder of such strategies with his focus on exercise

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[26] McHoul and Grace, op. cit., p65
[27] Foucault, op. cit., n20, p26
[28] Hoy, op. cit., p135
[29] Foucault, op. cit., n17, p56
[30] McHoul and Grace, op. cit., p86

rather than possession of power. "Exercise" of power requires that "one must acknowledge… that tactics are being used"[32] in seeking that exercise. This focus also requires recognition that even in the presence of the dominant discourse "there are potentially…sites where hegemonic practices can be contested, challenged and 'resisted'".[33]

As stated earlier, Foucault asserts in his writings that power does not exist in a vacuum; just as there can be no knowledge without power relations there can be no power without supporting knowledge. Thus the Marxian view of knowledge emancipated from power is nonsense - "since there is no knowledge that is not describable as part of a power network, the concept of ideology is misleading in hypothesising progress towards a non-ideological knowledge freed from power struggles".[34] It is therefore important to consider what is meant by "knowledge", the topic of discussion in the next section. However, to understand the nature of that interrelationship, certain misconceptions must first be dispelled.

First, Foucault's concept of knowledge does not envisage a causal connection such that acquisition of knowledge leads to power. "Knowledge is not gained prior to and independently of the use to which it will be put in order to achieve power… but is already a function of human interests and power relations".[35] This takes knowledge out of the category of a revelation or formulation of some objective truth that in turn drives changes to the balance of power within a society, and acknowledges its subjective nature.

Second, the relationship between power/knowledge and its effect on discourse determines what is accepted as true, not because a particular group has power over others but because

> it is not easy to say anything new; it is not enough for us to open our eyes, to pay attention… for new objects suddenly to light up and emerge out of the ground…. It [an object] exists under the positive conditions of a complex group of relations.[36]

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[31] An example that could be cited here is the sinofication of Tibet
[32] McHoul and Grace, op. cit., p86-7
[33] Weedon, C. (1987) Feminist Practice and Poststructural Theory, Cambridge Ma: Blackwell, p108
[34] Hoy, op. cit., p138
[35] Ibid., p129
[36] Foucault, op, cit., n1, p44

Therefore, privileging a phenomenon as "truth" or defining objects of discourse depends on the complex group of relations Foucault defines as power. It is now appropriate to explore the other aspect of the dichotomy - that of knowledge.

Knowledge

At the outset it can be argued that it is nonsense to talk of knowledge in a vacuum - that knowledge must *relate* to something. If that is the basic premise it is necessary then to consider the nature and position of the "thing". In considering this, a complication arises. Neither individual nor collective knowledge remains static, but each is shaped, modified and informed over historical time and geographical/cultural space. If knowledge about the thing changes, can it be argued that the thing itself remains static and unchanging?

One approach would be to apply a two-fold meaning to the term "knowledge" as defined and described by Russell,[37] these being knowledge of "things" that can be sensed and objectively measured ("reality"), and knowledge of "truths" (or beliefs). It would then be possible to acknowledge and take account of the existence of things (using "sense-data"- obtained from ears, eyes, tastebuds etc) and yet make space for alternative interpretations of process, events etc (truths) in the context of power relations.

A scientific "knowledge of truths" that gained acceptance during the Enlightenment, admitted only "truth" and its opposite - falsehood or error. Within this knowledge of truths empirical knowledge is the only path to truth,[38] a privilege extended to science whose business was "find facts which will rule out all the hypotheses except one".[39] Consequently, although Russell explains that philosophy involved certain *a priori* assumptions, it could be argued that he, along with other empiricists, continued to see *scientific* knowledge very much as a progression towards absolute and completely provable "truth" through its continued discovery.

For other traditionalists also, the term implies that a statement or action can be measured against some overarching set of values or an absolute and be assessed on that basis. As

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[37] Russell, B. (1959) The Problems of Philosophy, London: Oxford University Press
[38] Ibid., p71
[39] Ibid.

mentioned in the previous chapter,[40] Plato developed the concept of a "transcendent realm of ideals allow[ing] for a referential theory of representation and a unifying process".[41] Particular actions and words can then be judged against the prevailing "truth" to ascertain their "rightness". So too with monotheistic religion which presents a hierarchy of relative power and perfection presided over by an infallible (and external) God who represents the ultimate measure of truth.

This approach then predicates that the existence of a thing or the happening of an event cannot be suppressed, and is independent of any description or classification. At the same time, however, discourse is the conduit through which that event or thing comes to be understood. Thus a scientific discovery will become accepted as a "fact" only if capable of explanation; new territory is claimed for a colonising nation on being mapped and named. By extrapolation, belief can change as individuals become enlightened, informed, educated to see the facts, adding both to their own and to the collective archive of knowledge. Copernicus is rehabilitated as a great astronomer not a heretic, Mendel as a genius not an idiot, Scott a great explorer overcome by the unpredictability of natural forces lurking in the Antarctic rather than a fool who chose to ignore its perils.

This differentiation between the "fact" and its explanation implies that there is always a hitherto unknown reality somewhere out there in time and space. The mystery thus posed challenges detectives to find and articulate that reality. However, this implication begs another question: who (if anyone) then decides (and how) what is "fact" or reality and what merely a "belief" waiting to be confirmed or discredited? If there is such a separate reality outside discourse, where is it located?

Perhaps there is a "'reality' contained in empirical texts (however broadly that may be defined) – "answers to questionnaires, performed rituals and observed behaviours… letters, corporate reports, transcripts, interviews, archives, census tracts". That reality is then "mediated" by "theoretical statements" (an aspect of discourse), thereby gaining explicability within that framework. It is then the framework (interpretation) rather than the empirical evidence (reality) that may be questioned.[42] In accordance with this view, therefore, discourse

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[40] Supra, p22

[41] Quigley, P. (1992) "Rethinking Resistance: Environmentalism, Literature and Poststructural Theory", Environmental Ethics 14, p291 at p292

[42] In a similar process to that of Russell *et al* in distinguishing between fact and belief.

would be the medium through which messages about the reality are conveyed rather than the message itself.

However, as stated earlier, Foucault considers discourse to be far more than a medium and that discourse "decides" or establishes what is truth, because power "produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth".[43] Also as discussed previously,[44] Foucault maintains that shifts in legitimate discourse are functions of shifts in power relations. Consistent with this stance, he rejects the notion that there is an absolute or measurable "truth". Truth is instead both relative[45] and specific to the historical context. "Each society has its own regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth; that is, the type of discourse which it accepts and makes true".[46]

This approach is similar to that of Nietzsche who defined truth as follows:

> A movable host of metaphors, metonymies, and anthropomorphisms: in short, a sum of human relations which have been poetically and rhetorically intensified, transferred, and embellished, and which after a long usage, seem to people to be fixed, canonical, and binding. Truths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions; they are metaphors that have become worn out and have been drained of sensuous force, coins which have lost their embossing and are now considered as metal and no longer as coins.[47]

However, it should be emphasised that a discourse that is defined and accepted as "truth" does not normally erase alternatives or deny their existence.[48] Rather it is a question of legitimacy - what is said or done is accepted as legitimate because it fits within and can "constitute

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[43] Foucault, op. cit., n20, p194

[44] Supra, page 62

[45] This very notion of relative truth, as maintained by the postmodernists, has vexed writers from other historical schools. Some maintain that with their focus on the pre-eminence of discourse postmodernists are denying existence and events - a "reality" outside discourse. Keith Windschuttle ((1997) The Killing of History: how literary critics and social theorists are murdering our past, New York: Free Press, argues at p104 that Carter's (Carter, P. (1987) The Road to Botany Bay: an Essay in Spatial History, London: Faber and Faber) claims that "by the act of naming [an aspect of discourse], space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, a space with a history" is "nonsense" because "the act of naming can be quite irrelevant to the occurrence of history".)

[46] Foucault, op. cit., n17, p131

[47] Nietzsche (1979) as quoted in Ricoeur, P. (1992) Oneself As Another, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p13

[48] Unlike the actions of the "Ministry of Truth" in Orwell's 1984 (the Ministry that was responsible for erasing any documentation that might contradict the prevailing "regime of truth").

practices"[49] according to the conventional regime of truth: "discourses do not 'possess' meaning. Instead, meanings are assigned to them, and these meanings are shared and social, emanating out of interaction, social groups and societal structures in which the discourse is embedded".[50] The "truth" discourse may dominate in such a way as to determine or limit the strategies that may be employed by those who resist or challenge.

If that position is taken, are individual subjects in a given society then subject to a tyranny exerted by the power/knowledge dichotomy, a tyranny from which there is no liberation? Reaching that conclusion could lead critics to suggest that power therefore dictates the boundaries, nature and distribution of knowledge (a form of censorship). However, as discussed in the previous section, the Foucauldian position is that power should not be seen only in terms of repression but also as a positive force - "without the exercise of power, knowledge would be left undefined, amorphous, and without any hold upon objectivity".[51]

In Foucauldian terms then, knowledge then needs power to define its shape. What then can be identified as "knowledge"? Nietzsche demanded that "a thing" be "conditioned" to be comprehended:

> The biggest fable of all is the fable of knowledge. One would like to know what things-in-themselves are; but behold, there are no things-in-themselves! But even supposing there were an in-itself, an unconditioned thing, it would for that very reason be unknowable! Something unconditioned cannot be known; otherwise it would not be unconditioned![52]

For Foucault, discourse provides that conditioning. As White describes it, discourse moves "'to and fro' between received encodations of experience and the clutter of phenomena which refuse incorporation into conventionalised notions of 'reality', 'truth', or 'possibility'".[53] At the same time "phenomena" can only be comprehended and categorised as "reality, truth or

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[49] Poster, M. (1982) "Foucault and History", Sociological Research 49, p116 at p129

[50] Hardy, C. and Palmer, I. (1998) Discourse as a Strategic Strategy, Working Paper in Human Resource Management and Industrial Relations, Department of Management, University of Melbourne, p4

[51] Foucault, M. (1982) Social Theory and Transgression, New York: Columbia University Press, p60

[52] Nietzsche, F. (1967) Will to Power, USA: Vintage Books, p55

53 White, H. as quoted in Lemert, C. "Postmodernism is Not what you Think", first retrieved from http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/txt/discours.htm, 2 July 2002

possibility" within a framework that admits it as such.[54] In other words, experiences inform and expand knowledge.

Foucault himself describes knowledge as "a group of elements, formed in a regular manner by a discursive practice"[55],[56] implying in turn the connection between discourse and knowledge - the meaning that establishes phenomena as discourse constitutes the knowledge. This also supports discourse being related to discipline rather than language *per se*. He also emphasises that both legitimated and subjugated knowledges can be found in many different locations. "Knowledge is to be found not only in demonstrations, it can also be found in fiction, reflexion, narrative accounts, institutional regulations, and political decisions".[57]

It is now appropriate to draw together these discussions of power/knowledge, to reaffirm Foucault's point that they "directly imply one another",[58] and shape the regime of truth implicit in the dominant discourse. In order to understand further this dichotomy and its relationship to discourse within the environmental context, the following part of the chapter revisits Foucault for guidance as to sources of discourse and, relying on that guidance, seeks indications as to the implications of such a relationship on the classification and privilege granted specific enunciations.

Representations of "Discourse"

As explained earlier,[59] Foucault defined discourse to include anything that has meaning. This "meaning" is related to its "domain"[60] which a discourse will delimit through the definition of its object "therefore… making it manifest, nameable, and describable.[61] Societal mechanisms

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[54] In their discussion on non-Foucauldian approaches to discourse analysis (see also discussion on the formal approaches (supra)), McHoul and Grace describe empirical approaches as "sharing Foucault's concern with discourse in terms of *knowledge*", in that such analysts are "concerned with the *commonsense knowledges* which ultimately inform conversational rules and procedures (ibid., p29, italics supplied). However, they also emphasise that in these instances "knowledge" is narrowly defined, referring to technical knowledge or know-how.

[55] Foucault, op. cit., n1, p182-3

[56] Hence, interpretation and evaluation of the past will depend on the interpreter's perspective. As Foucault explains, "it isn't science that says [that man progresses] but rather the history of science" (in Foucault, op. cit., n17, p50).

[57] Foucault, op. cit., n1, p183-4

[58] Foucault, n20, p27

[59] In particular chapter 2, p26 post

[60] Foucault, op. cit., n1, p45

[61] Ibid., p41

("institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, modes of characterisation")[62] enable the formation of such objects.[63] Kendall and Wickham give some examples of such mechanisms, these being "political parties, organised student groups,…university courses,... books,… newspapers etc… [that] allow [proponents] to point to [an] issue and to make arguments about it".[64]

Also as pointed out in the previous chapter,[65] Foucault asserts that the production of discourse is "controlled, selected, organized and redistributed"[66] by procedures. From this it can be hypothesised that the privileging of particular enunciations as truth involves ritual (a discursive practice). However, such a hypothesis does not assist in informing as to what those rituals are and how they will determine what is accepted as true.

A characteristic ritual that may identify enunciations as true within the dominant discourse is that of official sanction: statements, rules, judgments and reports emanating from or through official channels may be assumed to generate, reinforce or reiterate the official knowledge, whereas others that lack such ritual acceptance may be dismissed as illegitimate or banished to the periphery. To elucidate, some examples of particular relevance to the environment will be considered in terms of their ritualistic context of official sanction. However, in recognition that power does not rest with such ritualistic sanction, but may also be exercised through resistance, this discussion is then followed by a consideration of sources of discourse that may provide sites for the exercise of power by local knowledges. To provide support for the points made in this discussion, reference is made to local enunciative examples where they are considered relevant.

Court and Tribunal Judgments and Decisions

Of all the sources of discourse, Courts and Tribunals are amongst the most manifestly subject to overt and readily acknowledged ritual, with rules over who can speak, what can be said, when and how it can be said and the potentially punitive consequences stemming from breaches of the rules. Discursive practices of inquiry and cross-examination are implicit in a

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[62] Ibid., p45
[63] Ibid.
[64] Kendall, G. and Wickham, G. (1999) Using Foucault's Methods, London: Sage, p37
[65] In particular p31 post

process of "truth-making". The archive of knowledge compiled and added to through these discursive practices is equally a function of discursive formation, with legal rights, duties and responsibilities formulated and categorised by reference to formations formalised from time to time in response to changing societal demands.

For example, "environmental law" as a separate discrete area is relatively new. Traditionally, concepts of property and torts have been applied and developed by the courts as means of dealing with issues of pollution and rights to land and other resources. It is only since the 1980s that the "environment" has been recognised in both law schools and public practice as an area of specialised study and practice. Even such a recent increase in legitimacy is not sufficient for some - a tacit recognition of the power emanating from ritualistic recognition can be located in the closing remarks delivered by William Futrell at the Land Air Water (LAW) conference held in Eugene, Oregon, in 1995: "…environmental law is too limited in its ambition… [It] has been an afterthought to…the deeper bedrock law of the American system - the property, tort contract, liability, transactional, and constitutional laws".[67]

However, despite the privileged position of the judiciary as a source of legal knowledge, its power is not absolute. Development and articulation of case law is dependent on the convenience of the facts underpinning specific legal actions; statutory reform can overturn or change vast archives of legal knowledge virtually overnight; Parliament may take action to "correct" an unfavoured interpretation and application of written law. Thus the authority of Parliament to initiate transformations in discourse and determine direction must be recognised, as acknowledged in the following section.

Parliamentary Proceedings and Commissioned Reports

Parliamentary proceedings and reports either generated within Parliament or commissioned by it (Royal Commissions, Courts of Enquiry and Committees) are bound by extant and covert rituals with rules over who can speak as determined either by their electoral status or by the rules that govern procedure. In the case of Parliament (or a person or group authorised by Parliament to act in a particular way such as a Government official or administrative

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[66] Foucault, M. (1972) "Discourse on Language", in *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, op. cit., p215 at p216

[67] As quoted by Grossman, R. (1995) "Attacking Corporate Personhood: The Future of Environmental Law", Wild Forest Review, April, first retrieved from http://www.nancho.net/corperson/CPattack.html, 23 April 2000

tribunal), power to utter is ultimately subject to the power of the electorate. However, the electorate becomes in turn subject to policy-setting activities of Parliament or its delegates. Effectively, therefore, the exercise of (political) power moves through a network of conduits; only to a point can Parliament as the supreme legislator or law-maker act without regard to the wishes of the electorate. On the other side, the electorate can only exercise (political) power through mechanisms acknowledged as available for that purpose. Within this network, then, the success with which Governments and state bureaucracies suppress (or embrace) dissenting discourses is attributable to a far more complex set of reasons than the mere exercise of legally prescribed authority; in a democracy broadly-based strategies build support and/or consensus.

Given a situation of a supreme law maker (Parliament, albeit with such power limited to a defined locale) and ritual-bound process, it is of relevance to consider how environmental concerns appear on the political agenda for consideration. In simple terms the Minister for the Environment or the Minister for Conservation in New Zealand would be instrumental in so formulating and championing such a concern as they have both the political power and will to do so. But even since the establishment of these offices it is not such a simple process. Prior to their establishment in New Zealand under the reforms of the 1980's it was even less straightforward. The effect of an historical concept of a "unitary public interest represented by central government"[68] being embedded in the discourse, had profound effects on what people thought and said about the environment. Salmon alluded to the effect of this unitary concept:

> There is a tendency generally… to regard any proposal emanating from Government or from State Departments as being intrinsically good…. As a people we are insufficiently critical of Government, too apathetic…. Citizens are standing idly by while things which constitute their nation's heritage are systematically whittled away by an all-powerful state bureaucracy.[69]

A Minister for the Environment in New Zealand was first appointed in 1972 while the Ministry for the Environment and Department of Conservation were not created until 1986 and 1987 respectively,[70] yet issues relating to the environment had frequently and overtly

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[68] Memon, P.A. (1993) Keeping New Zealand Green, Dunedin: Otago University Press, p34
[69] Salmon. J.T. (1960) Heritage Destroyed, The Crisis in Scenery Preservation in New Zealand, Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, p10
[70] Under the Environment Act 1986 and Conservation Act 1987

been the subject of lengthy consideration and debate in Parliament and the object of official action prior to those dates. Such appearances of issues strongly suggest that their initial emergence was a function of social rather than political forces.

In support of this suggestion, Buhrs and Bartlett, suggest that "items … reach an agenda…because powerful interest groups compel government officials to consider them or because of the activities of … other agenda setters such as elected officials, party leaders, senior officials and advisors, protest groups, and journalists".[71] The implication of their argument is that a range of agenda-setters have power to compel policy-setters to act in accordance with criteria deemed important to those agenda-setters.

Buhrs and Bartlett provide further refinement of this position with their reference to relevant theories of agenda-setting. One in particular, developed by Kingdon, characterises the policy system as having three streams: problem recognition; generation of policy proposals; and political processes and events. These political processes and events include "interest group campaigns, elections, public opinion shifts, changes in administration, and government personnel turnover…. 'At some critical junctures the three streams are joined, and the greatest policy changes grow out of that coupling'".[72] Kingdon's "critical juncture" therefore, seems to be a site on which resistances may challenge the dominant discourse, with policy changes emanating from such challenges potentially reflecting a transformation of discourse. However, the success of resistances in achieving their desired outcomes is determined by the success of the politically dominant in using their own strategies of resistance. For example, Commissions and Committees can be used to channel and divide resistances and at times render them powerless, while administrative arrangements and allocation of responsibilities at cabinet and bureaucratic levels privilege particular discourses.[73]

If resistances to the dominant discourse are "political processes and events" where are these discourses located, and what strategies do they apply in limiting their domains? An exploration of some other sources of discursive enunciations may assist in answering this question.

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[71] Buhrs, T. and Bartlett, R.V. (1993) Environmental Policy in New Zealand: the Politics of Clean and Green? Oxford Readings in New Zealand Politics No. 3, M Holland (ed), Oxford University Press: Auckland, p21
[72] Kingdon, J. (1984) Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies, Boston: Little, Brown, p20, as referred to and quoted ibid., p22

Such sources could potentially be considered "unofficial", therefore reliant on violent appropriation of the official discourse or on gaining power through acceptance of an alternative discourse as truth. A helpful starting place from which to consider these questions is provided by Foucault, who, when explaining that the "truth" posited by resistances, while not "truer" than official or dominant truth, is no less true either. In this context it is helpful to consider a source of discourse that straddles both the "official" and the "unofficial", thereby contributing to the shape of the regime of truth and discourses of resistance.

Scientific Reports, Papers and Addresses

Foucault argues that:

> If one recognises in science only the linear accumulation of truths or the orthogenesis of reason, and fails to recognise in it a discursive practice that has its own levels, its own thresholds, its own various ruptures, one can describe only a single historical division….: a division between what is definitively or what is not yet scientific.[74]

Prima facie, this portrayal of "science" as monolithic, the opposite of the confusion that is not scientific, might suggest that labelling a discipline or discourse as science implies that with this order comes enduring "truth". However, Foucault refutes that suggestion by holding that what is accepted as "science" itself or as a branch of science (the discursive formation) is subject to change and interpretation. Foucault in his discussion refers to "pseudo-sciences (like psychopathology), sciences at the prehistoric stage (like Natural History), or sciences entirely penetrated with ideology (like political economy)."[75] Discursive practices (or rituals) such as experimentation, testing and observation serve as gatekeepers to what may be admitted as being in the true for that distinct area of knowledge or discursive formation.

As one consequence, social and political acceptance of discourse accepted by those immersed in the scientific discourse is never a given. Insofar as the environment is concerned, the legitimation of scientific "truth" is a function not only of the content of that truth but also of

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[73] For example the Department of Lands and Survey (with a longstanding policy imperative of change) had, until 1986 responsibilities both for development of "waste" lands and for conservation/preservation of specific areas.
[74] Foucault, M. op. cit., n1, p188
[75] Ibid., p178

its historical context. Consequently, nineteenth century pleas for preservation of indigenous vegetation were subjugated in the social context of progress; likewise, in the twentieth, warnings as to the adverse impact stemming from the creation of artificial lakes were subjugated in the presence of a discourse triumphant celebrating change.

For example, the signification in New Zealand of engineering as the "practical" science[76] was ironic in that it placed engineering in opposition to the biological and geological sciences whose adherents had expressed concerns about the damage to the environment being done in the name of progress. In an era concerned with the importance of growth, the ubiquitous importance of the "practical" aspects of science to such growth - "the technological revolution" - was the theme of a speech which identified the main contribution of this revolution as being to "the techniques of production in primary and secondary industry, and the efficiency of transport and communication".[77] This engineering discourse was not confined to academic outputs or technical journals but, as Foucault described in relation to madness, "it is also found in operation of legal texts, … in political decisions, and in the statements made and the opinions expressed in daily life".[78]

It is now therefore useful to consider other sources of discourse, which like scientific discourse, potentially contribute to the dominant discourse, but that might also provide sites for local discredited knowledges. As a starting point to this discussion it is useful to recall some examples of sources, each having their own discursive practices: "political parties, organised student groups,…university courses,... books,… newspapers etc".[79] Each of these will be considered in turn in terms of their discursive location.

Political Parties

The existence and policy positions of political parties both inside and outside Parliament effectively represent struggle, with bi or multi-partite support of policy, although not impossible particularly in specific instances or for particular purposes, being unlikely to

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[76] NZPA (1959) "N.Z. Engineer Deplores Low Status", New Zealand Herald, 14 November, p20 - reporting on an address made by the Chairman of the Wellington branch of the Institution of Engineers (Mr R.G. Brickell)
[77] Paper by Sir Douglas Copeland (Australian Administrative Staff College) read at the national convention of the New Zealand Society of Accountants, "N.Z. Has Clung to Primary Products and Traditional Markets for Too Long", as reported (1959) in the Otago Daily Times, 30 March, p4
[78] Foucault, op. cit., n1, p179
[79] Supra, p70

endure long-term. At the same time, however, any party must gain support from those able to provide the necessary electoral consent to their governance (the electorate). The short-lived Values Party is a good example of an organisation that was able to field a successful political resistance in New Zealand to a prevalent engineering discourse in 1972 through exploiting the groundswell of public concern over specific Government policy decisions during the period.[80] The failure of its proponents to win enduring support can be attributed in part to the larger political parties of Labour and National appropriating its discourse[81] and in part to the wider success of an engineering discourse in reclaiming legitimacy later in that decade, a success reflected in the National Development Act 1979.

Organised Student Groups

Such discrete groups are often seen as the focus of resistance to a dominant discourse, frequently through such enunciations as protest marches, demonstrations and articles in student newspapers. Although such enunciations may be dismissed as aberrant and foolish, such a resistance sometimes succeeds in capturing the popular truth. A good example was the popular opposition movement relating to the Vietnam War, which essentially began with student protests, but which became widely privileged as an appropriate and moral way of expressing democratic rights. Such privileging of protest action in this way is an interesting comment on the nature of discourse and its connection with power, particularly given Campbell's assessment of protest action as being "the preserve of extremist and subversive groups of the left and right, and especially of the former, where agitators seek to manipulate gullible people in order to subvert the established order".[82]

Although Kendall and Wickham specifically refer to "student" groups, perhaps given the high profile accorded student protest in France and elsewhere during the 1960s (a phenomenon identified as highly influential in shaping postmodern theory, Foucault's in particular),[83] it is important to recognise that such discourse may also emanate from popular movements having quite different involvements and foci. Therefore, it is necessary to extend this category to include any popular group or movement campaigning for change to the official discourse,

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[80] See discussion in chapter 8, particularly p231 post.

[81] A consequence alluded to by Buhrs, T. (1987) "Environmental Policy Development: the Case of New Zealand", Paper presented at the Australasian Political Science Conference, University of Auckland, p3.

[82] Campbell (1978) as quoted in Harris, P. (1979) Pressure Groups and Protest, Wellington, N.Z.: P. Harris

regardless of strategies that may be adopted. The one common thread all such groups or movements should share is in reference to their strategies; in accordance with Harris's description, those strategies must be directed towards gaining the attention and support of "targets".[84]

Thus in the case of agitation for change to policy or practice in relation to the environment, statements or actions of any volunteer organisations such as scenery preservation groups and those conducting environmental campaigns as well as those representing some sort of property rights would be discourse within this category – consequently, the labelling of a statement as being that of a "spokesperson" from one of these organisations would be seen as discursive practice that determines not only what can be said but also how it is perceived. More generally, such labelling has meaning in that it signifies the organisation itself – defining its domain along with the object of its discourse, thereby attracting adherents to the cause.

University Courses

University courses are traditionally viewed as contributing to a level of education wherein students begin to form their own knowledge and question perceptions of the world around them. According to Taylor, "Foucault wants to explain the modern technology of individuality as one of [the] products [of] …the rise of… technology of control…. What is wielded through the modern technologies of control is… concerned with… normalisation.[85] In this context, instead of education as a conduit for the student to enquire and challenge accepted norms and truths, it functions as an important "normalising process"; a means whereby "intellectuals"[86] are created. According to Smart, Foucault has argued that the "local and popular forms of knowledge have been steadily discredited, disqualified, or rendered illegitimate by the very institutions… within which the 'modern intellectual' operates".[87] If that point is taken, it follows that the content and approach of courses at universities and other

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[83] See, for example, Conley, V.A. (1997) Ecopolitics, the Environment in Poststructuralist Thought, London: Routledge, p3

[84] Harris argues that any pressure group is concerned with achieving "favourable target response" that is, it wants those who are in a position to do so to give it what it wants. Targets may change as the scope and depth of the issue change, implying that the discourse of the resistance is open to usurpation by other resistances as well as by the dominant discourse.

[85] Taylor, C. (1986) "Foucault on Freedom and Truth", in Hoy, op. cit., p68 at p75

[86] Smart, B. (1986) "The Politics of Truth and the Problems of Hegemony", in ibid., p157 at p164

[87] Ibid., p165

educational institutions is a strategy for suppression of the "local and popular forms of knowledge", both contributing to and supporting the regime of truth.

How then does Foucault see the development of courses in such specific areas as engineering and discrete scientific disciplines? Smart quotes from Foucault in support of his argument that "an extension of 'technico-scientific structures in the economic and strategic domain', a growth and diffusion of forms of scientific rationality, and the associated emergence of new forms of intellectual activity and office constitutes nothing less than a 'global process of politicisation of intellectuals'", thereby part of the "'political economy of truth' characteristic of Western societies".[88] Powell implicitly refers to this trend when he accuses the National Governments of the 1960s and early 1970s" of allowing "techno-departments [the Ministry of Works (MoW) and New Zealand Electricity Department (N.Z.E.D.)] to emerge as a new species of feudal barons - arrogant and supreme in their contempt"[89] in pushing their "one-dimensional belief that electricity alone would lead New Zealand to a new utopia".[90]

However, for Foucault all is not lost. Even with such normalisation and suppression, resistance is still possible for "radical intellectuals" who have the option "of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the present time".[91] Therefore, education and research may not only function as part of the hegemonic discourse but also offer a site of resistance.

Books

The encapsulation of the words and spaces making up the book or other writing within a set number of pages and two covers invites the reader to view it as a discursive unity with discrete contents and meaning. Discursive practices that include labelling such writing as "fiction" or "non fiction", novel or biography, literature or scientific, academic or popular also strive to symbolise the nature of these writings and the extent to which they reflect "reality".[92]

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[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid., p142
[90] Powell, P. (1978) Who killed the Clutha?, Dunedin: J. McIndoe, p3
[91] Foucault, M. "Truth and Power", in op. cit., n17, p133
[92] Visual representations could also be included under this head.

However, Foucault explains that there are difficulties attached to such a treatment:

> The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of reference to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network.[93],[94]

If it is accepted that a particular piece of writing is a "node within a network", then it is also possible to maintain that the written word may serve as a discursive medium through which a knowledge is shared. In order that such sharing of this knowledge occurs, it is necessary to locate an appropriate site within that medium. The site may be appropriate due to its symbolism achieved through classification and content. For example, a book identified as "definitive" or "official" suggests its success in encapsulating an aspect (or all of) of an accepted knowledge. A suppressed voice, on the other hand, may be heard through satire and/or fiction, a site which symbolises the subjection of such a voice within the power/knowledge framework.

Newspapers

The so-called "fourth estate", which does not necessarily include only newspapers as a medium but also may refer to television and other visual or sound-based media, is frequently regarded as a barometer of public opinion, providing opportunities for a range of views to be expressed. Its significance for the formation of discourse lies at least in part to the concept, popular in western societies, of "freedom of the press", a concept protected by the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 amongst others, and reflected in the reluctance of the Judiciary to prevent publication of particular information, while acknowledging the merits of legal action taken by a person seeking to prevent that publication.

Clearly freedom of the press is not total or unfettered in the sense of assuming an objective position outside the discourse, reflecting and privileging all knowledges. Discursive practices

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[93] Foucault , op. cit., n1, p23

[94] As part of this argument Foucault explains that literature is both a recent category of discourse and reflexive, without "intrinsic, autochthonous, and universally recognisable characteristics" (ibid, p22) that are different to those of discourses such as philosophy or science.

(editorial policy, advertising rules and considerations and ownership issues) control enunciations.

That aside, the fourth estate can exercise the power to shape or articulate public opinion, produce reality, and create regimes of truth, including providing a site on which resistances may challenge the dominant discourse. Two examples from 1959 and 1962 respectively suffice to illustrate its importance, both relating to the attempt by the New Zealand Government of the day[95] to maintain control over discourse relating to scenery preservation. These examples are both taken from the New Zealand Herald (an Auckland-based daily newspaper) and challenge both Government and its officials as follows. "Since it is the civil servants who are the main threat to our scenic assets, the idea [of leaving them to decide on their preservation] resembles the recruiting of a police force from the professional burglars' association"; [96] and "experience of Government activities…gives no confidence that a determination to preserve natural beauty can be taken for granted".[97]

Worthy of a specific comment in this context, and serving as an acknowledgement of its potential and real power, is a source of discourse sharing some of the characteristics of official sources, the fourth estate and other popular sources. This is the internet. The potential and present power of the internet as a communication tool is well recognised in recent literature. Wald refers to the central importance of the internet in "the greatest explosion of self-expression that the country [or the world] has known",[98] a place where everyone can find a place to speak (but does not necessarily mean anyone listens), while Stafford, Stafford and Schkade refer to reported research in asserting that modern society "is moving away from traditional mass exposure media, toward the more interactive collection of communication and commercial interfaces represented by the modern Internet".[99] The Economist describes the internet as the modern-day equivalent of the Coffee-houses (the "centres of scientific, literary and business exchange [and] political dissent").[100] To these characteristics and significance could be added the following; discursive enunciations reproduced and disseminated through the internet are independent of the fourth estate (therefore not

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[95] Labour Government 1959, National 1962
[96] New Zealand Herald (1959) "No Firm Promises given on Scenery", 25 November, p14
[97] New Zealand Herald .(1963) "Changed Power Picture at Manapouri", 14 February, p6
[98] Wald, R.C. (2003) "The Triumph of the Image", Columbia Journalism Review 42(4), p22 at p23
[99] Stafford, T., Stafford, M.R. and Schkayde, L. (2004) "Determining Uses and Gratifications for the Internet", Decision Sciences 35(2), p259 at p264
[100] The Economist (2003) "The Internet in a Cup; Coffee-houses", 369 (8355), p48 at p50

vulnerable to existent power relations), while the medium itself is receptive to a variety of formats (written material, photographic and moving pictures), can be accessed from a virtually infinite number of places and by a virtually infinite number of users, cheap to establish and maintain a presence as opposed to traditional mass-media and can incorporate material from other sources through links or the paste function. (In terms of the present thesis, it is worth noting that only in the third case study could the internet be identified as providing a conduit for discourse, given its historically recent emergence.)

In concluding this section, the assertion can be made that enunciations of discourse are all pervasive, limited only by the requirement that they have "meaning". All enunciations share commonalities of myth-making and instability while power relations mean that even enunciations privileged as "official" may not endure as part of a stable truth, but may instead be exposed to changes to the regime of truth brought about by a successful resistance that exposes the myths of a dominant discourse as lacking legitimacy. These changes are far from smooth and continuous but instead involve "sudden take-offs [and] hastenings of evolution".[101]

From the perspective of the current research it is necessary to look to the past, to the history of the present in locating such hastenings of evolution within and of discourse. This declaration in turn raises the issue of an appropriate method to be applied in explaining that past. In the introductory chapter, it was stated that the method of choice in this case is genealogy as described and applied by Foucault. Further elucidation of this method is provided in the following section.

Towards Defining a Method - the Study of History.

The implications of relevance to the context of this study arising from such a selection are now described, the discussion having two principal foci. The first part addresses concerns with the traditional empirical approach[102] to the study of history over its ability to fully

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[101] Foucault, op. cit., n17, p112

[102] The core tenets of empiricism have been identified as follows: rigorous examination and knowledge of historical evidence, verified by references; impartial research, devoid of *a priori* beliefs and prejudices; and an inductive method of reasoning from the particular to the general. (Green, A. and Troup, K. (1999) The Houses of History, A Critical Reader in Twentieth Century History and Theory, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p1)

explain inconsistencies in the attitudes towards, and treatment of, the New Zealand environment. These concerns are then used to justify the selection of an alternative approach to a study of the past. The focus of the second part of this section is on exploring that alternative approach. The genealogical method is introduced and both justified by comparisons to the empirical approach and defended against criticisms that have been directed against both its theoretical approach and application. The final part is devoted to a discussion of the implications of applying such a method to the genealogy of a particular discourse.

Empirical Method

According to Green and Troup, the traditional empirical approach to historical enquiry reflects the Enlightenment focus on the compilation and verification of scientific knowledge through observation. Leopold von Ranke, considered as one of its most influential early exponents, argued that historians should refrain from judging the past in light of their own beliefs, and to be objective and careful in their recording – "wie es eigentlich gewesen".[103]

Historians working within this framework might therefore interpret the past as:

> the stable, almost indestructible system of checks and balances, the irreversible processes, the constant readjustments, the underlying tendencies that gather force… the movements of accumulation and slow saturation, the great silent, motionless bases… covered with a thick layer of events.[104]

Thus, in the particular instance of environmental policy, practices and attitudes in New Zealand, "constant readjustments" (changes in attitude) are explicable given "irreversible processes" and "movements of accumulation and slow saturation" (advances in scientific knowledge and applications). Scientific discoveries and the development of technology lead to greater awareness and appreciation of both the potential and the limits of the environment. Acceptance of such a smooth progression in the past can also be translated to the present. It is thus possible to stand at the nexus of what is now and what is to be, mapping the events of the

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[103] Von Ranke as quoted in Breisach, E. (1994) Historiography, Ancient, Medieval and Modern, (2nd Edition), Chicago: Chicago University Press, p233
[104] Foucault, op. cit., n1, p3

past on a regular, logical, objective and scientific timeline, thinking and speaking in wise and informed ways of a better future.

Cousins and Hussain use the term "total" history to describe such an approach, explaining that it involves the historian approaching "all evidence as if it were a 'document', a representation'. The task of the historian is to interrogate a 'document' in order that the past might be truthfully and faithfully reconstituted",[105] effectively reassembling a jigsaw puzzle out of widely scattered pieces. As each piece can only fit in one place it is up to the historian to discover that one place. This analogy, however, poses a problem. The power thereby granted the present over the past has led critics to describe such history as "ahistorical… transcending time and space considerations".[106] The "truthful and faithful reconstruction" of the jigsaw is prescribed by "present-day imperatives",[107] the validation of present policies, practices and attitudes, and shaped by "the truth of propositions known to be true before the study of the past begins",[108] or ideology.

Consequently, the writer of that history - the historian, the recorder - as part of the structure, a product of hegemonic discourse - is rendered incapable of being objective. In other words the writer is part of the story, intervening and rewriting the past to justify the present, or as Foucault puts it, the "tendency of the present [is] to evaluate its own progressiveness positively".[109] Carr puts it thus:

> The facts of history never come to us "pure", …they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder. It follows that when we take up a work of history, our first concern should not be with the facts it contains but with the historian who wrote it.[110]

Significant in this regard is another criticism levelled against von Ranke's position. Despite the apparent scientific validity of von Ranke's insistence on impartiality and objectivity in historical analysis, his presumptions about progress led Iggers to conclude that his "impartial" approach, devised in a social and political context of upheaval surrounding the emergence of

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[105] Cousins, M. and Hussain, A. (1984) Michel Foucault, London: MacMillan, p82
[106] Stewart, R. E. (1992) "Pluralizing our Past: Foucault in Accounting History", Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal 5(2), p57 at p58
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid., p59
[109] Hoy, op. cit., p141
[110] Carr, E.H. (1987) What is History? (2nd Edition), London: MacMillan, p22

the European nation-state, purported to reveal "the existing order as God had willed it".[111]
Such an invisible presence on the historical stage would serve to justify as normal the human
progression onwards and upwards, with such progress directed, at least for Western writers,
along a path bounded by Western values, expectations and experience.

Raising such reservations about the objectivity of the empirical (total) approach to historical
analysis encourages a fresh look to be taken at the history of the environmental present,
eliciting new questions and challenges. The first question that might be asked is, why do
dissenters challenge *the* generally accepted truth that attitudes towards the environment have
improved as the body of scientific understanding has expanded? The dissenters might answer
with a barrage of questions of their own - if science has the answers or, given sufficient
resources, will be able to locate the answers, why do environmental problems loom bigger
and seemingly more intractable than ever before? Why were scientists, often perceived as the
source of "facts" about the environment and its use, at times in the past in the vanguard of
those campaigning for change, yet at other times challenged or ignored for questioning or
opposing proposed changes? Why were popular celebrations over successes in protecting this
species or that area overshadowed by official policies aimed at expanding commercial or
industrial activity?[112] Why were policies providing protection overridden by demands for
more power, better views and larger human populations?[113] Why was it legitimate to allow
threatened native species to succumb to the ravages of exotic populations protected for
popular reasons?[114] Ultimately, in light of the continued and seemingly endless and fruitless
debate on many environmental issues, it is argued that it is appropriate to dismiss *the* unitary
Environmental Truth, and instead enquire into the conditions that privilege certain discursive
enunciations *as* truth.

At this juncture it is timely to justify the selection of Foucault's genealogical method as the
means of making sense of the history of the environmental present. Such a discussion
involves first, a consideration of some important theoretical issues relating to this method

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[111] Iggers, G. (1997) Historiography in the Nineteenth Century, as quoted in Green and Troup, op. cit., p2
[112] The National Development Act 1979 that permitted the fast-tracking of Government sponsored industrial
projects, later considered an environmental and economic reversal, was passed a mere seven years after the
success of the Save Manapouri Campaign.
[113] Examples include the special legislation permitting lake-levels to be drawn below the minimum allowable
level during the power crisis in 1991 despite those levels being set to protect nesting grounds of threatened
species and the attempt by developers to subdivide areas of the shoreline around Lake Okarito, the nesting area
for the white heron.
[114] Native tussock affected by the wild Kaimanawa horses.

secondly an exploration of some methodological implications. Each of these is considered in turn.

Genealogy in Historical Analysis

Nietzsche applied what he described as a genealogical approach in explaining the family tree of moral systems. This same term was to be used later by Foucault in his discussion of such discourses/areas of power/knowledge as madness (insanity) and sexuality. In Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1979), for example, "he charts the transition from a top-down form of social control in the form of physical coercion meted out by the sovereign to a more diffuse and insidious form of social surveillance and process of 'normalisation'".[115] As Rabinow further explains:

> the role of genealogy is to record its history: the history of morals, ideals, and the metaphysical concepts, the history of the concept of liberty or of the ascetic life; as they stand for the emergence of different interpretations, they must be made to appear as events on the stage of historical process.[116]

In such contexts as these, and in many others by a miscellany of writers, has the genealogical method been used in the historical analysis of particular ideas and concepts. However, the proliferation of these analyses does not of itself explain what the term means or the implications that arise from its application to a historical problem. By way of insight, the following three subsections consider some of the theoretical, historical and methodological implications of genealogy.

Theoretical Issues

Both Foucault and his predecessor Friedrich Nietzsche maintain the view that a history *of* the present is not the same as a history based on presumptions held *in* the present. A history centred on the latter will be coloured by "the political and polemical interests motivating the writing of the history"[117] whereas a history of the present involves analysing the past "from a

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[115] Pinkus, J. (1996) "Foucault", first retrieved from http://www.massey.ac.nz/~alock/theory/foucault.htm, 2 July 2000

[116] Foucault, M. (1984) The Foucault Reader, P. Rabinow (ed), (1st Edition), New York: Pantheon, p86

[117] Hoy, op. cit., p6-7

question posed in the present".[118] Arguably, interrogating historical texts from within a framework shaped by present-day presumptions implies subjectivity in their selection and interpretation. This subjectivity then raises suspicion both as to the status and role attributed to those selected, and censorship of those excluded.

Given this suspicion, Foucault shrinks from any totalitarian concept of theory, seeing such monolithic structures as oppressive, self-justifying and violent. Consequently, instead of history being interrogated to prove a particular predetermined and favoured theory that privileges the present, the selection of events and documents is "governed by the type of problem which is being posed".[119] This does not mean Foucault does not embrace theorisation but in such a context, theories "are not intended as permanent structures, enduring in virtue of their universal truth. They are temporary scaffoldings, erected for a specific purpose".[120] Historical events should not be selected or interpreted to fit the favoured theory; a theory should enlighten as to the forces and contingencies that shape the present.

Cousins and Hussain use the label "general history" to distinguish this approach from empirical or total history, explaining that it involves "an inversion of the question of evidence".[121] Foucault refers to such an enquiry into the past as "genealogy", a means of "query[ing] the obviousness of basic categories by studying the circumstances in which they emerged or were produced".[122] Thus genealogy is mooted as making it possible to deconstruct the present through a study of subjugated or suppressed knowledges, thereby locating the potentially uncomfortable or hidden influences on developments and events.

Such a description of genealogy encapsulates its appeal as a method applied in a history of the present. More pertinently, a sense of concern with the cracks that appear in the seemingly impervious walls of a powerful environmental myth, maintained and defended through a self-interested discourse, drives the search for understanding, for deconstruction of such discourses so the shifts in power/knowledge might be revealed.

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[118] Foucault, M. (1988) "Michel Foucault, 'The Concern for Truth', interview with Francois Ewald", in Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, Lawrence D. Kritzman (ed), New York: Routledge, p255 at p262
[119] Cousins and Hussain, op. cit., p83
[120] Gutting, op. cit., p16
[121] Cousins and Hussain, op. cit., p83

Foucault goes to some pains to emphasise that genealogy is neither a theory nor a methodology, presenting "no global principle for analysing society".[123] Thus he offers only a provisional definition of the method, this being "a union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today".[124] Several implications can be extracted from this definition.

Firstly, Foucault's vision of genealogy is predicated on the ubiquitous nature of power within the social body, the exercise of which produces and shapes knowledge and that is in turn enabled through knowledge (Foucault's power/knowledge duality or dichotomy). Secondly, in acknowledgment of Foucault's point that power is never owned but can only be exercised, knowledge, memories and struggles are revealed by discourse, not only through enunciations but also through silences. Thirdly, and as a reminder of Foucault's concerns as to the totalising effects of theory, a genealogy of a discourse involves the explicit acknowledgement that "erudite knowledge" is privileged as such through discursive practices. Local memories are the silent voices, the hidden and suppressed knowledges that, through being banished to the periphery of the discourse are illegitimised. Fourthly, genealogy acknowledges an unstable present constructed on past struggles for supremacy over the discourse. Finally, Foucault envisages genealogy as a power strategy in its own right in that it informs tactics to be used in resisting a dominant discourse.

In acknowledgement of Foucault's denial of genealogy as a "global principle", the features as described above suggest that such a method may offer a means of deconstructing specific discourses (as opposed to some epistemic discourse) in order to uncover the power relations that sustain them. In particular, and of relevance in the immediate case, genealogy suggests an opportunity to open the curtain on the past, thereby exposing discontinuities and ruptures and furthering the understanding of present discourse.

By way of further justification for utilising a genealogical method for the study, it is important to establish the extent to which his work based on this genealogical method can be eligible for consideration as historical. Dealing with this issue requires that significant criticisms of both

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[122] Donnelly, M. (1986), "Foucault's Genealogy of the Human Sciences", in Gane, M. (Ed) Towards a Critique of Foucault, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p15 at p17-18
[123] Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds) (1991) The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, Harvest Wheatsheaf, London, p85
[124] Foucault, op. cit., n17, p83

the method and its application be identified and means of resolution be formulated. Such considerations are dealt with in the following section.

Implications of the Method in Historical Analysis

Flynn describes Foucault as a "historian of a sort" because all his "major works are histories of a sort"[125] although Gutting refers to ambivalent responses from working historians to Foucault's "seminal" work "Civilisation and Madness"[126] in exploring its right to be classified as history, and by implication Foucault's claim to be an historian. Criticisms identified by Gutting in relation to this work include "flying in the face of empirical evidence",[127] and its "resting on the shakiest of scholarly foundations".[128] Porter in particular is singled out as offering the most detailed analysis of the errors in Foucault's work,[129] questioning the validity of his claims of widespread confinement of deviants through western Europe, the mixing of the mad with other deviants, the Classical perception of madness and the emergence of the Lockean view.

Gutting accepts that such criticisms may be valid according to their tenor. However, he goes on to argue at some length that they either leave the essential message of the work unaffected or that the critics have missed Foucault's central point. According to Gutting, Foucault was not concerned with documenting specific events and actions that are the domain of the empirical historian. Anyway, these events and actions are the subject of endless debate as to their factual grounding or appropriate interpretation. Instead, Gutting explains, Foucault seeks to draw the reader's attention past this surface, this story, to the "categorical system that lay behind",[130] providing events and actions with meaning, offering contextual understanding and enriching the encounter for both researcher and reader.

Thus it appears that Gutting, while not denying the validity of some of the criticisms levelled against Foucault's works, prefers to brush them aside as issues of mere detail rather than

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[125] Flynn, T. (1994) "Foucault's Mapping of History", Gutting, op. cit., p28
[126] Gutting, G. (1994) "Foucault and the History of Madness", ibid., p47
[127] Midelfort, H.C.E. (1980) "Madness and Civilisation in Early Modern Europe: A Reappraisal of Michel Foucault" in Essays in Honor of J.H. Hexter, Malament, P. (ed), Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, p247, as quoted in Gutting, ibid. p47 at p48
[128] Scull, A. (1990) "Michel Foucault's History of Madness", History of the Human Sciences 3, p57 as quoted ibid.
[129] Ibid., p52
[130] Ibid., p61

fundamentally affecting the validity of the message or the method itself. Consequently, a researcher seeking to apply this method may take comfort from the apparent acknowledgement of the value of such an approach while at the same time endeavour to avoid accusations of inaccuracy by employing appropriate research practices, or observe Foucault's own description, "genealogy is grey, meticulous, and patiently documentary".[131]

Finally, what then are methodological implications that arise from using a genealogical method or approach in mapping the history of a particular discourse? This question is addressed in the following section.

Methodological Implications

The major implication of such a method lies in its refusal to accept legitimacy for the ultimate answer of "why". Both Foucault and Nietzsche emphasised that it is futile to search for the hidden "origin" or spark that ignited or revealed a hitherto hidden truth compelling a given transformation or happening, not because it is difficult to find but because, according to Foucault, "the deep hidden meanings, the unreachable heights of truth, the murky interiors of consciousness are all shams".[132] As Foucault puts it when discussing Nietzsche's approach:

> Genealogy does not oppose itself to history as the lofty and profound gaze of the philosopher might compare to the molelike perspective of the scholar; on the contrary, it rejects the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies. It opposes itself to the search for "origins".[133]

Foucault described "the endless search for origin"[134] as based on a supposition "that everything that is formulated in discourse was already articulated in the semi-silence that precedes it…. The manifest discourse, therefore, is really not more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this 'not said' is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said".[135]

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[131] Foucault, M. (1977) "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", in D. Bouchard (ed), Language, Counter-memory and Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews, New York: Cornell University Press, p139
[132] Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. (1983) Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p107
[133] Foucault, op. cit., n1, p140
[134] Foucault, op. cit., n131, p21
[135] Ibid., p24

His advice then is that any researcher into the past should instead focus on revealing the conditions that enabled the emergence of ideas and concepts that have become knowledge. "What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity."[136]

Such advice carries with it a second implication of the genealogical method, this one arising from the focus on discourse as a function of power relations. This involves the inference that any "historical beginning" is marked by dissension, disagreement, upheaval and subversion of the discourse.

> Genealogy is history without constants, tracing not developments, but struggles, not the reconciliation of knowledge and things but the violent appropriation of interpretation, not the process of coming to fulfilment, but the processes of contingent unities and dispersions. For the genealogist, the epistemological lesson of history is "its affirmation of knowledge as perspective". There is no outside from which to view history, since all history is struggle.[137]

This concept of struggle is important in that Foucault posits that there cannot be a triumphant discourse without a defeated one, as power is exercised through one discourse in opposition to another. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, every resistance to the exercise of power is directed to that exercise. Therefore, power strategies, previously concealed behind the regime of truth of the dominant discourse, can be revealed.

> One of the six identifiable characteristics of modern forms of struggle… is that they are "immediate" critiques of the instances of power closest to them…. It is the "strategic codification" of points of common resistance that makes radical change possible.[138]

With these fundamental signposts in place, the final question to be considered in this chapter relates to the use of case studies. Most specifically, the question that must be asked is: how can they satisfy the requirements for a genealogy? In answering this question it is important to discuss four aspects these being in turn, one, providing a rationale for the approach, two, describing the objective to be achieved by way of the particular case-study method, three,

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[136] Op. cit., n131, p142
[137] Ibid., p140
[138] Ibid.

justifying the selection of specific cases and finally reviewing the process of constructing those selected cases.

Case Studies - Rationale

As explained previously, genealogy is concerned not with origins but with details, not with interpretations but with developments. As a method it calls on a researcher to dig through the surface littered with enunciations to expose the practices and rules that controlled and empowered such enunciations. Hence any study of this nature is suited to an approach having a focus on depth rather than on breadth. For five main reasons case studies satisfy many of the requirements for such in-depth historical analyses. Firstly, they have temporal limits. This characteristic permits both a focus on detail and allows interpretations that may previously have been hidden from view to emerge onto the historical stage. It serves as a reminder of the importance of continuously interrogating the past, and avoids the trap of accepting the subjectively created myths and fables of previous discourses as *the* transcendent truth.

Secondly, case studies have spatial boundaries, specific to subject-matter, culture and/or geography. To again emphasise Foucault's point, genealogy is not a theory but a method which may be applied in analysing and explaining transformations (and endurance) of discourses. While it may be possible to extrapolate its findings to social discourse as a whole or to other discourses, this discourse-specific limitation is comprehensible given the definition of discourses in terms of discipline or cohesive groupings of statements as opposed to phenomena. At the same time, it serves to liberate thought from the tyranny of "what is known" to be the truth in accordance with a dominant discourse.

Thirdly, case studies provide a flexible focus for research, including description, illustration, experiment, exploration and explanation.[139] In this particular study their main purpose is to locate and explore the beginnings, the influences, on the transformation of environmental discourse, in accordance with the genealogical approach.

Finally, case studies are flexible in that they can provide longitudinal and snap-shot images of discourse. In this particular case the longitudinal study permits the plotting and description of

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[139] Scapens, R.W. (1990) "Researching Management Accounting Practice : the Role of Case Study Methods" British Accounting Review 22 (3), p259

the emergent power-strategies ultimately enabling the triumph of a resistance to the modernist discourse as defined.

The use of case studies then is considered to be suitable for genealogical study of a particular discourse or discourses. Given the focus of the thesis, it is now important to identify the objective of the genealogical study as this determines the nature of the case studies conducted.

Objective of the Genealogical Study

Scapens[140] identifies five main applications for case studies, these being description, illustration, experiment, exploration and explanation. The case studies presented in the third part of this thesis draw on relevant Foucauldian theoretical statements to both explore and explain available evidence (an inductive approach) rather than seeking to establish an hypothesis on the basis of observed phenomena with the objective of extrapolating to a generally applicable theory (a deductive approach). Furthermore, the genealogical approach applied in the analysis has a more general theoretical implication in that it offers a means of unravelling discourses that have an internal interest in self-perpetuation yet fail to respond to their extant or implicit ethical frameworks. Given these two objectives, it was necessary that the case studies selected on the basis of criteria that would provide such insights. Those criteria are outlined below.

Criteria

In selecting case studies as subjects for this genealogical analysis, several criteria were taken into account. Firstly, it was considered important they should occupy a space in terms of subject matter closer than just "nature" or "the environment". This would allow the depth of analysis of the relevant discourse(s) without the problems of comparability involved where seeking to relate discourses relevant to very different fields of activity. Given these considerations, the decision was made to confine the selection to case study instances within the same discursive field.

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[140] Ibid.

Secondly, they should involve discourses emerging at different times. Such a criterion made sense in light of Foucault's vision of discourse as being socio-temporally (historically) specific and allows attention to be drawn to similarities and differences between contexts.

Thirdly and finally, it was considered important that these case studies be specific to New Zealand given that the study involved an explanation of the influences on this country's environmental discourse.

On the basis of these criteria, and in consideration of their exploratory and explanatory powers, three case studies were selected for further study. These three studies all involve separate proposals to exploit water resources for power generation purposes although coincidentally two were geographically located in the same general area now known as the Fiordland National Park (previously granted reserve status as the Sounds Reserve). The first of these proposals was made in 1924 (the Bowen Falls) and the other in 1959 (Lake Manapouri). Both sparked public opposition. The third, while in the same general area (Southern South Island), was the proposal, first mooted by Meridian Energy (a fully Government-owned company involved in the power-generation industry) in 2001, to divert 73% of the mean flow of the lower Waitaki river through six hydro stations.

The first two case studies, while sharing certain important discursive similarities (as contextualised in chapter six and discussed in more detail in chapters seven and eight), differ significantly in the power-strategies adopted and in the outcome of the inter-discursive struggle. The third study is an interesting example of how the knowledge of past struggles can be applied tactically within a sympathetic historical context in exercising power over the discourse.

The final aspect to cover in relation to the selection of these case studies is their construction. This is the focus of this final section relating to the selection of case studies.

Construction

Given the historical nature and focus of the study, it was appropriate to adopt an archival approach to the research activity. For this reason, some comments on the nature and selection of such material are appropriate. As outlined and discussed previously, Foucault identifies a

range of mechanisms through which discursive objects may be formed.[141] In such cases the rituals that symbolise official sanction may be relevant in determining whether what is said or thought is accepted as "true". Hence, official papers and other documents reflect the dominant discourse as they are produced through the interactions and communications of individuals and groups within organisations granted official status. Organisations and individuals privileged in this way include Parliament and officials employed within Government Departments. Also included are commissioned reports and statements by those accredited as "experts" in accordance with the practices and rituals of the dominant discourse. Such official papers and reports are assumed to be reliable reflections of statements emanating from such official sources due to their legal and in some cases constitutional settings.

However, for the purposes of construction of relevant discourses, other sources were also relied upon, including contemporary newspaper reports, letters and opinion pieces, personal and representative[142] letters and, where considered relevant, secondary sources such as books and other accounts of the past. In particular, in-depth analysis of all three of the cases incorporates references to a range of documentary sources in order to highlight and identify both privileged and subjugated knowledges.

Contemporary newspaper articles and other pieces generally draw attention to conflict and in this way offer the possibility of alternative interpretations of official statements and policy. They also provide local perspectives on issues that might otherwise be interpreted from a central unitary position. The principal difficulty involved with relying on such sources lies in access. Lacking any comprehensive or reliable referencing system it is necessary to scan entire publications for extended periods in order to locate articles of interest or relevance. It is also unfortunate that some early newspaper archives are incomplete or in poor condition, a condition that must be overtly recognised and acknowledged when relying on such sources.

What is said in personal letters may be valuable in locating and tracking power strategies employed by those seeking to resist the dominant discourse and articulate objects within alternative discourses. Letters also further personalise issues raised and addressed in

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[141] As a reminder, examples of such mechanisms include "political parties, organised student groups,…university courses,... books,… newspapers etc… [that] allow [proponents] to point to [an] issue and to make arguments about it." (Supra, p70)

[142] Meaning those written by an individual purporting to write on behalf of an organisation or group. Many of these letters were available only from archival sources.

contemporary newspapers and thereby contribute to understanding of the exercise of power at the micro level. Consequently, such letters were consulted with a view to uncovering such strategies. However, two cautions should be sounded. Firstly, the availability of such letters is erratic. Their very presence in publicly accessible files hints at the absence of others. Therefore care should be taken to weigh their contents against what is said and recorded in other contexts. Secondly, a distinction should be drawn here between letters written to fellow participants in the struggle and those intended for opponents, in recognition that the context of the communication must be taken into account in determining its discursive meaning.

Awareness and management of these restraints and the variability of the material were fundamental to the analysis of the cases. Assailed with a veritable mountain of unclassified (yet incomplete) data raised the prospect that the material would be biased, with availability and quantity more a function of "political and polemic interests"[143] than reflective or representative of the various views seeking power through discourse. Given this concern, care was taken with selection and reporting of utterances.

Firstly, and in accordance with Foucault's point that "genealogy is grey, meticulous and patiently documentary",[144] all care was taken to comb through and record as much written material from primary sources as possible. This entailed frequent visits to the New Zealand archives (all four main centres), the Alexander Turnbull Library and public libraries holding relevant materials as well as such specialist repositories as the Energy Library in Wellington and the Hocken Library at the University of Otago. Secondly, this information was carefully and critically analysed not only in terms of what was said but also by reference to the source and recipient. This analysis revealed divergences between "official" and "unofficial" discourse and shifts in power relations over time. It was also useful in revealing the silences that bore testimony to the regime of truth. The final step involved applying Foucault's genealogical approach in tracing and documenting the historical environmental struggles. In this context, decisions as to what examples of enunciations should be included as evidence of such struggles necessarily entailed an acknowledgement that any attempt to recite all materials would provide little insight into discourse as defined by Foucault. Equally, choices could be seen as biased and incomplete by those approaching the analysis from another point of view. For these reasons, and in accordance with Foucault's genealogical approach,

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[143] Hoy, op. cit., p6-7, cited supra, p83
[144] Foucault, op. cit., n131

enunciative examples were selected as *evidencing* discursive "practices and rules"[145] and shifts in power relations rather than as pivotal or important in and as themselves.

It is important to emphasise that one possible source of information was not used at all, this being interviews with those individuals who were in some way involved, or connected to those involved, in the debate. The reasons for such exclusion relate first to the uncertainties involved in recall, particularly a lengthy time after the event. Secondly, there was the problem of managing the distortions arising from the testimony of witnesses and players involved in the second and third but not the first case study.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter begins by justifying the selection of discourse as the lens through which to look at New Zealand's environmental past. Despite criticisms as to the historical accuracy of some statements and assertions in Foucault's works (particularly Civilisation and Madness), the point was made that he was seeking what enabled events to occur rather than the events themselves. Ultimately, such a focus permits the reader to look behind the surface of the myth to the discursive conditions, to enrich their understanding of what informs our understanding of reality or truth.

The second part of the chapter explains how the reality or truth within a discourse emanates from power/knowledge. As opposed to theorists who perceive power in material and locatable terms, Foucault refined Nietzsche's imperative "will to power" in shaping the world to envisage it as ubiquitous and relational, used in different ways for different purposes. However, for both theorists power is intrinsically and inseparably linked to knowledge, hence determining the truth or reality.

The third section of this chapter identifies enunciations that, because they have "meaning" (a precondition Foucault determined as essential), can be accepted as discourse. Attempts were made at this point to interrogate historically and culturally relevant examples of enunciations to determine how power/knowledge legitimises such enunciations within the dominant discourse.

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[145] See page 88, supra

Finally, this chapter deals with the question of the approach selected for the in-depth contextually-based examination of discourses of relevance to the New Zealand environment. The point was made that genealogical case studies provide focus, permitting identification and exploration of the power-strategies and transformations of discourse within a specific historical context. In addition they make reference to events as evidence of transformations of discourse rather than as steps having inherent meaning as symbols of progress in accordance with some smooth "progressive" chronology. Furthermore, the selection of three case studies involving similar issues but within different historical contexts and involving different outcomes permits useful conclusions to be drawn as to the nature of those transformations.

Part II of this thesis traces discourses that have shaped environmental thought and practice in New Zealand from the beginning of European colonisation in 1840. The first of the chapters included in this part, Chapter Four, examines the nature and implications of a discourse celebrating change in accordance with European values, while Chapter Five incorporates an exploration of an emergent discourse of conservation in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The final chapter included in Part II, Chapter Six, provides historical context and justification for the case studies that follow in Part III, by way of its focus on the social meanings and implications of hydro-electricity.

Part II

Historical Context and Identification of Relevant Discursive Themes

Chapter four

The Creation of a Colonial Truth 1840-1890
Progress and Nostalgia

Introduction

The preceding two chapters of this thesis introduced and discussed concepts and constructs providing a theoretical and methodological framework for this study. This chapter, and the one that follows, traces relevant themes that emerged in discourse from 1840 (the official commencement of European colonisation in New Zealand) and 1910 (this date selected in recognition of an emergent conservation discourse).

More specifically, this chapter explores the historical context that enabled hydroelectricity to be privileged within discourse, particularly through a focus on the ethical systems that grounded such discourse. This examination is further enriched through reference to how discursive themes were reflected in a prominent enunciation of such discourses, this enunciation being acclimatisation. This enunciation has been selected given its celebration of man-driven and civilisation-advancing change to the native environment, a focus later echoed in the hydro-electric context.

To achieve these purposes, the focus of this chapter is on the following three questions.

- What do contemporary utterances suggest as ethical systems grounding and shaping nineteenth century New Zealand discourse?
- How were such ethical concepts manifested in the dominant discourse relating to the use and place of the environment?
- How does the particular context of acclimatisation contribute to an understanding of the nature and shape of this dominant discourse?

A Dominant Discourse of Progress - its Ethical Grounding

European settlement of the colony of New Zealand started in earnest in the 1840s, with the first fifty years characterised by dramatic changes to the landscape with deforestation, significant increases in population of European colonists and of introduced flora and fauna, along with a corresponding decline in numbers, varieties and ranges of indigenous species (and of Maori through a combination of disease, war and lower birth-rates). Much of this change to the landscape has been attributed to the prevailing Victorian attitude that "New Zealand lacked the imprint of the human hand",[1] and that the country could not truly be claimed until it had been conquered and reshaped in accordance with the colonists' perceptions of civilisation. "At the time a popular metaphor for the landscape was the garden, with its contrived arrangements of plants and animals, design and control".[2] Such contrivance effectively placed man at the pinnacle of life, measuring value and merit of species in accordance with anthropocentric (and ethnocentric) measures.

It is suggested that these ideas as to what the landscape should be like, with its emphasis on "design and control" reflected Utilitarian, and to a lesser extent Romantic, thought. An exploration of the validity of this suggestion, which follows in the next section of this chapter, centres on a term commonly used as a metaphor for New Zealand, particularly after 1840 and the ceding of sovereignty to the British Crown through the Treaty of Waitangi for New Zealand - the "Britain of the South".

The "Britain of the South"- an Economic Space or a Romantic Ideal?

This metaphor "Britain of the South" can be seen as having two possible meanings. One emanates from a desire to "civilise", to create a mirror image of Britain in the southern seas (a Romantic ideal).[3] However, other writers consider that economy, rather than an ideal of a

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[1] Holland, P., O'Connor K. and Wearing, A. (2002) "Remaking the Grasslands of the Open Country", in (2002) Environmental Histories of New Zealand, South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, E. Pawson and T. Brooking (eds), p69 at p75

[2] Ibid.

[3] Several writers make reference to this meaning, including Shepard. P (1967) Man in the Landscape, New York: Ballantines; and Park, G. (1995) Nga Ururora, the Groves of Life, Wellington: Victoria University Press, p67

garden/civilisation was the driving force.[4],[5] Both these possible meanings are explored in turn.

An Economic Space

In the years leading up to the Victorian era, colonisation was seen as a way of obtaining much needed raw materials that would contribute to the continued wealth and power of the colonising nation. More specifically for an overcrowded Britain, empty southern lands could prove useful as a destination for its surplus population who would then provide captive markets for Britain's expanding industrial output under the prevailing mercantile policy. Commercial investment in the exploitation of untapped wealth and riches of such areas would contribute to happiness for all[6] while the Empire's economic and military interests would be served through available safe harbours and resupply posts.[7],[8] Large groups of colonists such as the "lower class yeoman"[9] (farmers), with their dreams of wealth and independence thwarted in a Britain of declining rural incomes and enclosure of the common lands particularly in the south of England, could achieve their economic ambitions through migration to the empty[10] or under-populated colonies.

New Zealand appeared to satisfy all prerequisites for a useful and desirable colony for Britain, a conclusion reached by William Swainson (the serving Attorney General and Speaker of the Legislative Chamber) in 1856 when he described New Zealand in the following terms:

> …numerous safe and commodious harbours, - enjoying a temperate climate and a fertile
> soil, - abundantly watered, - rich in valuable timber, and not without indication of

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[4] Wynn G. (1977) "Conservation and Society in Late Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", NZJH 11(2), p124 suggests that the axiom of progress was the main driving force rather than aims to create a 'Britain of the South'.
[5] It is at least arguable that, given the anthropocentric focus of nineteenth century settlers, both the "civilisation" and economic concepts were neatly integrated and encapsulated by the displacement theory.
[6] John Stuart Mill, as quoted in Wakefield, E.G. (1849) A View of the Art of Colonization, in letters between a Statesman and a Colonist, London: J. Parker, opposite the title page, described his support thus: "There need be no hesitation in affirming, that colonization, in the present state of the world, is the very best affair of business, in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can possibly engage".
[7] McAloon,J. (2002) "Resource Frontiers, Environment and Settler Capitalism", in Pawson and Brooking op. cit., p52 at p66 describes "Cook's reports and species introductions [as foreshadowing] the way in which New Zealand would service the expanding British and American maritime fleets".
[8] A Mr Holloway, an official from the English Labourers Union, addressed a meeting in Dunedin in 1874 thus: "all this fine country wants is people, land laws properly administered (not like England's), manufactories in active operation, trade and commerce encouraged, its minerals properly developed and then,… at no distant day, New Zealand would become the Britain of the South" (speech reported in Otago Witness (1874) 18 April, p10)
[9] Fairburn, M. (1973) "The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier. An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940", NZJH 9 (1), p2 at p8
[10] Australia was treated as "terra nullius", an empty land apart from flora and fauna. Aborigines were thereby rendered at worst invisible and at best a variety of fauna.

mineral wealth, it would probably be difficult to find other portions of the earth's surface possessing so many advantages for British colonisation.[11]

Thus New Zealand's value lay in its identity as an economic cornucopia. This identity reflected in the rhetoric of early settlers referring to its natural abundance.[12] Uncrowded and unexploited, "here was untold industrial wealth latent in its vegetation, its timber, its minerals, its varieties of soil, its suitability for pastoral, agricultural, and manufacturing purposes, and in its fisheries".[13] Speculation that continued through the nineteenth century over undiscovered and yet to be exploited mineral resources fed into this concept of a cornucopia. Official reports[14] tended to be loaded with rhetoric as did those appearing in the popular media.[15] Their description of New Zealand as "a vast amount of fertile lands that have been given [by Providence] to the Empire",[16] placed a country bursting with resources in the British world and helped justify its political annexation.[17]

Such a location had implications for the natural environment. Perceiving the "Britain of the South" in economic terms involved assessing the value of "nature",[18] in particular the potential benefits of taming and civilising areas presently classified as "waste". This in turn incorporated two related concepts. The first of these concepts was commodification, or valuation of land and other parts of the eco-system in accordance with extrinsic (anthropocentric, principally market and productivity[19]) criteria rather than with intrinsic (spiritual or social) values.

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[11]Swainson, W. (1856) New Zealand : the Substance of Lectures on the Colonization of New Zealand, delivered at Lancaster, Plymouth, Bristol, Hereford, Kirkby, Lonsdale, Richmond, and the Charter House, London, London: Smith Elder, p1

[12] Fairburn, M. (1989) The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900, Auckland: Auckland University Press, p29 post

[13] Gisborne, W. (1888) Colony of New Zealand, its History, Vicissitudes and Progress, London: E.A. Petherick and Co, p1

[14] For example, Dispatch from Governor Grey to Secretary of State, 30 August 1851, in MacIntyre, W.D. and Gardner, W.J. (1971) Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p69

[15] Evening Post (1889) "New Zealand's Wealth", 3 January, p2

[16] Cargill, W. (1847) Otago: Plans for a Free Church of Scotland Colony, Letter to Dr Alcorn of Oban, London, in MacIntyre and Gardner, ibid., p24 at p25

[17] Thomson, A.S. (1859) The Story of New Zealand, London: John Murray, V1, p11 explains that following rumours that the French were intending to establish a colony in New Zealand "petitions were sent to both Houses of Parliament, praying them to annex the New Zealand Islands, 'the Britain of the South' to Her Majesty's domains".

[18] Within an anthropocentric domain, such would include land, flora and fauna - the "other".

[19] According to Park, op. cit., p319, "From Descartes descends the Western doctrine that reduces nature to senseless, valueless and purposeless objects".

An essential corollary to commodification is exchange through sale, a mechanism whereby economic values and improvement gains could be measured and acknowledged. In western-based economic terms, exchange value is maximised when the transfer of land and other resources entails minimum transaction costs, such that the person best placed to "improve" it can achieve that efficiently and at minimal cost. Ergo, the more people involved either directly or indirectly in decisions re the use or exchange of land and other resources, the more difficult, complex, drawn-out, expensive (or more inefficient) are those decisions. Therefore, the reasoning goes, the most efficient allocation of resources occurs in an environment where those resources are controlled by individuals and transferred in accordance with the free and unfettered market mechanism.

How these joint concepts of commodification and value through exchange were reflected in discourse is explored further in the following section.

Commodification and Value through Exchange

In 1839 Lord Normamby[20] instructed Hobson thus:

> To the natives or their chiefs much of the land of the country is of no actual use, and, in their hands, it possesses scarcely any exchangeable value. Much of it must long remain useless… but its value in exchange will be first created, and then progressively increased, by the introduction of capital and of settlers from this country.[21]

From the commencement of colonisation in New Zealand then, it was a presumption that commodification of land, the resource most usually identified as the source of wealth during the colonial era,[22] would both allow wealth of individual and community to be measured and personal endeavour to be rewarded.[23] Such a presumption was to be reflected in such policies as the drive for individualisation of ownership of land held in common within Maori Iwi (or tribes), the development of procedures for the ready transfer of such land, its valuation in terms of its potential for production and identification and ranking of conflicting claims to it

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[20] Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in the British Government.

[21] Lord Normamby to Hobson, 14 August 1839, quote taken from Instructions to Hobson, McIntyre and Gardner, op. cit. n14, p10 at p14

[22] Due possibly to two principal factors the shortage of spare cultivatable land in the colonising nations and the identification of colonies as the suppliers of raw materials.

in light of a productive purpose. By extrapolation, the underlying imperative of change was emphasised - that the person possessing or controlling a particular resource could develop wealth and production (the ultimate goals), by exploiting or using that resource.

The very approach to land sales established by the New Zealand Company strongly emphasised commodification, particularly in its insistence that the land, even in cases of surplus, should be dealt with in accordance with notions of "sufficient price". The particular principle entailed land be made available only to those who could pay for it (whose relative wealthy state demonstrated both the incentive and the character to contribute positively to the future of the colony); the money thus raised could be used to both pay the passages of those who would serve the new landowners and attract more settlers. Those wanting land in the new colony but who could not presently afford it would therefore have the incentive to work hard for their own future benefit and for that of the new colony.

This classification of land as a commodity, whether it be mountain, swamp, forest or plain, located monetary worth and its increase at the centre of discourse. Such a location that emphasised the "could" rather than the "ought",[24] incorporated themes of how mountains could be farmed, swamps drained, forest felled and plains carved up. This seemingly economically heroic (or less kindly philistine) focus led one writer, later to become renowned for his biting satire, to remark:

> I am forgetting myself into admiring a mountain which is of no use for sheep. This is wrong. A mountain here is only beautiful if it has good grass on it. If it is good for sheep, it is beautiful, magnificent, and all the rest of it; if not, it is not worth looking at.[25]

Two further examples confirm the importance of this tendency of settlers to consider resources, particularly land, in terms of production, extraction and, ultimately, financial return. The first involves the treatment of native biota, this treatment being evidence of the relatively low economic (and social) value put on such species, with active attempts to

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[23] Wakefield, E.G., op. cit., p28.
[24] See infra, p159 for reference to the significance of "ought" in the context of hydro-electricity.
[25] Butler, S. (1863) A First Year in the Canterbury Settlement, with other Early Essays, R.A. Streatfield (ed), London: Cape, p63

eradicate - as in the case of the kea, hawks, eels and some insects - and indifference.[26] This valuation is in marked contrast to views on exotic species, views that would consequently provide impetus to acclimatisation efforts.

The second example is provided by attitudes towards trees and forests. There is some early evidence of the recognition of the importance of forest cover, particularly on higher or poorer lands. However, trees were assigned a range of anthropocentric attributes (as timber, as soil retainer, as shade), attributes that echoed "progress and displacement"[27] and privileged fauna providing maximum value to settlers. Hence trees-as-timber, trees-as-servants would have greater merit than trees-as-scenery or trees-as-part of the local eco-system.[28]

This continued privileging of the land as a resource as a measure of economic wealth and progress, even as a metaphor for social "rightness", was to endure through the policies of successive Governments (which looked to the rural sector anyway as the basis for their support) aimed at maintaining a "rusticated" population.[29] To a large extent this was to succeed; by 1880, 43% of freeholders occupied sections of five or more acres within the counties and half of all adult males owned land, a state of affairs achieved through such mechanisms as the "country quota" (whereby rural electoral seats had fewer voters than their urban counterparts - a phenomenon that endured into the 1870s and beyond), the development of long-term leases as the basis for much rural land-holding (which encouraged development and "improvement" of marginal land) and economic and social policy that privileged the "yeoman farmer" who would use his hands to produce a future for his family.[30]

A capitalist theme of financial reward strongly influenced nineteenth century environmental discourse, with development through change the means of realising such reward. Settlers thus embraced mechanisms whereby such change could happen, looking to scientific theory and its

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[26] Star, P. (997) From Acclimatisation to Preservation, Colonists and the Natural World in Southern New Zealand 1860-1894, PhD Thesis, University of Otago, p46

[27] Galbreath, R. (1989) Colonisation, Science and Conservation: the Development of Colonial Attitudes Towards the Native Life of New Zealand, with Particular Reference to the Career of the Colonial Scientist Walter Lawry Buller (1838-1906), DPhil Thesis, University of Waikato, p19

[28] Star, op. cit., reminds critics on p58 that it is unreasonable to condemn New Zealand's pioneers because they were not "greenies", as even the scientists had not yet produced a theory "which stressed the links between a species' well-being and the state of its habitat".

[29] Fairburn, op. cit., n12, p175

[30] In this context, note the break-up of the large estates in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The privileging of the yeoman rather than the large landowners suggests a victory for a discourse of equality against a class-based social discourse. Of more immediate importance, a theme of occupation and development of rural land is prominent in nineteenth century discourse relating to the environment.

application as a means of achieving it. However, settlers did not all necessarily or solely see the New Zealand environment as a means of making money. There is adequate evidence to indicate that at least for some the aspirations went wider; that Romantic concepts also contributed to the shape of New Zealand civilisation.

A Romantic Ideal

Rapid urbanisation[31] and industrialisation particularly since the beginning of the nineteenth century, had caused some Britons, particularly those with available leisure time, to think nostalgically of a pastoral Britain now disappearing under the murk of industrial cities and into large enclosed economically driven farms. In both literature and art they discovered echoes of such a pastoral past in the works now labelled as Romantic. While "Romanticism" has been defined in various ways - from "a flight from reality"[32], [33] to "a response to revolution"[34] - those writers and artists in England who have been identified as Romantics[35] drew on common themes; "the isolation of the town from the countryside",[36] "the bleakness and misery of the industrial cities",[37] the peace and colour of the countryside[38] and the strength of nature compared to the weakness and corrupting influence of artifice.[39]

Such sentiments were characteristic of the Victorian middle class, that sector of society that, somewhat ironically, had also achieved rapid growth in its political and economic power. In Britain, this sector had been enfranchised through the Reform Act 1832, which reflected and assisted an increase in the social acceptability of success through personal effort and the political participation of those making money through trade, with a corresponding decline for

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[31] A demographic revolution reflected in "a massive influx into towns, with the resultant squalor and pauperism". (de Jouvenel, B. (1954) in Ashton, T.S., Hacker, L., Hutt, W.H. and de Jouvenel, B., Capitalism and the Historians, F. Hayek (ed) Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

[32] Hauser, A. (1965) in Romanticism; Problems of Definition, Explanation and Evaluation: J.B. Halstead (ed) Boston: D.C. Heath, p67

[33] As Foakes puts it: "By the end of the eighteenth century the disparity between the ideal order and the world… had become so great, the ideal so meaningless, as to destroy its usefulness even as a myth." (Foakes, R. A. (1965) The Need for New Symbols, as included in Halstead, ibid., p63 at p64)

[34] Hauser, op. cit., p77

[35] Poets such as Shelley, Wordsworth, Blake and Byron, novelists such as Goldsmith and the Bronte sisters.

[36] Hauser, op. cit., p75

[37] Ibid.

[38] John Constable (1776-1837) "the Haywain"(1819), "The Cornfield" (1826) and "Flatford Mill" (1816-17)

[39] For example, themes in such novels as Wuthering Heights (Emily Bronte) and Tess of the D'Urbevilles (Thomas Hardy) and paintings by Joseph M. W. Turner.

those previously enjoying power through inheritance, particularly those whose traditional wealth was based on rural enterprise.[40]

It was this same newly empowered class that produced those groups of colonists that writers have noted were motivated to emigrate by their lack of place in the "Old Country"; the "uneasy classes".[41] Such population surplus to requirements could establish their own place within the rural idealism, based on the glorified nature[42] of the Romantics.[43] Ownership and development of land in accordance with the ideal could therefore furnish not only a comfortable happiness in accordance with the tenets of Utilitarianism, but could also satisfy a deeper and more spiritual obligation.[44]

There are indications that a second class of colonists were driven at least in part by a different Romantically-derived motivation, this being a drive for social equality.[45] The works of the Romantics were available to an increasingly educated working class sector of the population[46] who had access to circulating libraries[47] and public galleries. Faced variously with a continued denial of political and economic power, a precarious position in the rural sector and undesirable conditions in the industrial cities, the respectable poor could imagine themselves in a kinder environment that offered not only prospects for a better economic future, but also opportunities for an improvement in their social situation and quality of life.

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[40] With the abolition of the so-called "Rotten Boroughs" which had been entitled to return a number of members of parliament grossly out of proportion to the number of eligible electors.

[41] Anon., (date unknown) "The New Zealand Company 1837-1858 – a Short History", first retrieved from http://homepages.ihug.co.nz/~tonyf/nzco/nzco.html, 14 February 2005

[42] Brooking, T. (1996) "Use it or Lose it", NZJH 30(2), p141at p146 describes "numerous politicians' speeches, newspaper editorials and even doggerel, [that] reiterated the view of British critics of industrialism that the transition from a rural to an urban society constituted some king of fall".

[43] Fairburn, op.cit. n9, considers that the dominant groups of nineteenth century settlers "equally idealised the soil-based family as the fundamental foundation of the social order".

[44] Judaeo-Christianity (for example, the parable of the talents)

[45] In this context see for example Thomson, J.A. (1918) editorial comment in New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology, V1, p134 at p137 in reference to acclimatisation: "They [the settlers] recalled the sport which was forbidden to all but a favoured few, but which they had often longed to share in…. and there rose up before their vision a land where all these desirable things might be found and enjoyed."

[46] Webb, R.K. (1963) in writing about Britain in the 1830's had this to say "In so far as I dare generalise about a national average… the figures would seem to run between two thirds and three quarters of the working classes as literate, a group which included most of the respectable poor" ("The Victorian Reading Public" in From Dickens to Hardy, London: Pelican Books, p149)

[47] Statistics quoted from one source suggest there were 5481 circulating libraries in Britain by 1850 - or 44.54% of all libraries (Alston, R. Library History Database, first retrieved from www.r.alston.co.uk, 10 September 2002)

In the context of New Zealand as a Romantic ideal, the irony implicit in the "nature" so loved of such Romantics cannot be ignored. Such nature, far from being natural, was itself an artifice that continued to locate man and his creativity at the centre of responsive, generous, gentle and fertile surroundings.[48] Such a message was conveyed by the New Zealand Company in its promotional materials to the point that "the colonists seemed to be bewitched and there was a feeling among them that they were moving towards rather than away from the civilized world".[49] Rather than granting a voice to an unspoiled and independent nature, the Romantics legitimised its adaptation in accordance with perceptions concepts of a garden as a metaphor for civilisation. The following sub-section explores this latter point in more detail.

The (Tamed) Environment as a Metaphor for Civilisation

The Age of Enlightenment had involved a greater awareness of things non-European. However, it was, "in short, an age devoted, at least in its dominant tendency, to the simplification and the standardisation of thought and life",[50] thus failing to appropriately encapsulate diversity. Eighteenth century Romanticism sought to recapture that diversity, to recognise emotions and to "enter as fully as possible into the immensely various range of thought and feeling in other men".[51] Despite this, "nature" and (civilised) man's relationship to it was determined in accordance with the discursive practices of the educated European, or as Quigley puts it, their "cultural and electro-chemical filters".[52]

Importantly, Grove, in his work on conservation in the tropical colonies describes "the physical or textual garden and the island"[53] as "two symbolic (or even totemic) forms… central to the task of giving a meaning… to the natural world and to the western interactions with it".[54] The reason for their importance, he explains, lies in their offering "a possibility of redemption, a realism in which paradise might be recreated or realised on earth, thereby implying a structure for a moral world".[55] The term "recreation" is of telling significance in

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[48] See discussion and reference to Olwig, K.F. and Olwig, K.(1978) "Underdevelopment and the Development of 'Natural' Park Ideology", Antipode, 11(2), p16, supra, p49 post
[49] Thomson, op. cit., V2, p14
[50] Lovejoy, A.O. (1936) "Romanticism and Plenitude" as reprinted in Halstead, op. cit., p41
[51] Ibid., p42-43
[52] Ibid., p303
[53] Grove, R.H. (1995) Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism 1600-1860, Studies in Environment and History, D. Worster and A. Crosby (eds) Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p13
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

this context. Although Grove views attempts to construct European-style beauty and landscapes as "a notion entirely contradictory, in practice, to the metaphor of the island as the location of an earthly paradise",[56] it is arguably entirely consistent with the privileged location of the English garden in a discourse of idealised civilisation. Such a location is reminiscent of that granted by Park when discussing Cook's visit to New Zealand in 1769:

> In naming… "Thames" he not only transformed it into an object for European understanding; he made it a symbol, invested with intent…. The Endeavour was a microcosm of a culture that aspired to order and improvement, to a time when the entire inhabitable world would be tilled like a garden.[57]

New Zealand was then a metaphor for utopian dreams. As Park explains, in "Sir Thomas More's Utopia,…. no utopian allowed land to go 'to waste'. 'Nature' didn't rate a mention."[58] Here an untamed (island) waste, the "wilderness, the nonhuman, the undomesticated"[59] populated by a race whose land discourse was superstitious, wasteful and barbaric, could be transformed, created as a garden paradise or utopia by the hard-working, superior British settler,[60] with its final outcome "well-tilled fields and villages peopled with families equat[ing] with progress and civilisation".[61] Consequent on this wonderful vision, in 1835 William Yate was to refer to the pleasing sight of "the British plough breaking up the deserts of New Zealand"[62] while the Aborigines Report of the House of Commons in 1837 included the somewhat grandiose and sweeping observation that "it is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters for some great and important purpose on the government of the world".[63]

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[56] Ibid., p65
[57] Park, op. cit., p25
[58] Ibid., p304
[59] Peterson, A. (1999) Environmental Ethics and the Social Construction of Nature, Environmental Ethics, V21, p339 at p340
[60] William Fox, painter and Premier as quoted in Orange, C. (1987) The Treaty of Waitangi, Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin, Port Nicholson Press, p303
[61] Brooking, op. cit., n42, p145
[62] Yate, W. (1835) An Account of New Zealand and of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island, London : R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, p194
[63] British House of Commons, Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) (1837) Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) ; with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index, London: House of Commons, 26 June

Ironically perhaps, in New Zealand this self-assumed superiority of the British settler was to become detached from its "English" past. While confirming the superiority of man over nature, and the superiority of the discourse of colonisers over that of the colonised, there were signs of a growing theme of resistance to concepts of class superiority within the colonising community. Although such a focus lies largely outside the ambit of this particular study, it is appropriate to make passing reference to this point as it is reflected in one of the themes contributing to the acclimatisation discourse, a discourse briefly considered later in this chapter.

Suffice to say at this juncture that a land ethic that embraced the concept of a conquered wilderness is grounded in Romantic ethical concepts. Correspondingly, defeat for the colonised New Zealand landscape was not only a matter of cultivation for pragmatic purposes of production and survival. It was also "knowledge [as] a thinly veiled will toward mastery".[64] The transformation of the New Zealand wilderness in accordance with the Romantic myth of a perfect English landscape would both affirm and reflect the European hegemony and its superiority, characteristic of the British colonial era.

Consequently, for early English colonists gazing for the first time on the alien and unexpected land they had sailed half-way around the world to reach, mastery and conquer can be seen as imperatives. With few or no other options available to them, colonists could draw comfort and relieve the pangs of homesickness[65] through hard work and dedication to create what they perceived as the ideal world shaped in accordance with, as both Wynn and Star put it, "a Western concept of progress".[66] As Wynn explains:

> …in an immediate and personal sense, migrants had abjured their roots and in the new and strange environment the past could be pushed out of mind by concentrating on the future. In the colony, the Victorian axiom of progress became a necessity for survival and a shield against despair.[67]

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[64] Quigley, P. (1992) "Rethinking Resistance: Environmentalism, Literature and Poststructural Theory", Environmental Ethics, 14 (Winter), p291 at p295

[65] "A fellow passenger" (1871) "To New Zealand with British Birds", The Otago Witness, 11 March, p5, referred to the introduction of small birds as "praiseworthy exertions… to render [the] country a true Britain of the South" and went on to say that "we felt we were in the society of dear friends so often associated with the best and happiest of hours in the old country".

[66] Star, op. cit., p50

In summary then, the first thirty years of European settlement in New Zealand was to be characterised by a drive for progress and change in accordance with Victorian ideals. The themes reflected in the discourse were Utilitarian, most specifically economic, and Romantic. Romantically inspired themes included the taming of nature and construction of a metaphorical civilisation (a garden) in accordance with a pastoral myth. However, a second theme, and one that endured in Government and social discourse, was of value implicit in ethnocentric hierarchical rankings.

These themes emerge most prominently from nineteenth century views and language on the acclimatisation of exotic species in New Zealand after about 1850. For this reason, an exploration of discourse in this particular context has been selected as contributing to an understanding of how these themes shaped both the dominant discourse and resistances to it. The final section now explores the third question identified at the beginning of this chapter, initially involving a brief overview of the regime of truth reflected in this particular context followed by a documentation of themes as identified above in terms of their emergence within that discourse.

Acclimatisation - A Reality of Discursive Themes

To put acclimatisation in context, the nineteenth century was the era of widespread introduction of exotic species into colonised lands as colonists sought to both supplant the local environment with their own and to celebrate the scientific history of the Enlightenment through experimentation. An examination of both contemporary and later writings suggests that a philosophical and pragmatic framework for nineteenth century acclimatisation was provided by the "displacement theory". The "truth" of this theory in the colonial context was based on the premise that an inevitable consequence of the introduction of stronger "Scandinavian" species would be the extinction of weaker indigenous species. Charles Darwin specifically applied the concept to the New Zealand situation when he explained that:

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[67] Wynn, op. cit., n4, p135

> …if all the animals and plants of Great Britain were set free in New Zealand, a multitude of British forms would in the course of time become thoroughly naturalized there, and would exterminate many of the natives.[68]

It is arguable that the displacement theory, despite shifting opinions as to its validity, is explicable on both Utilitarian (specifically economic) and Romantic grounds. It not only justified the replacement of "declining" and decadent species with stronger, purer and more vigorous colonists but also served to validate the Europeanisation of the country, as both the owner and source of an essential truth of progress and civilisation. The following section identifies the discursive themes epitomised within the discourse of acclimatisation.

Discursive Themes

Much of the sentiment in favour of acclimatisation can be attributed to nostalgia on the part of settlers, reflecting their belief that they would be happier if they could create the garden, civilise the strange land with what they (believed they) had left behind and thereby symbolically return "home". Thom alludes to this when he explains that "the settlers sought the things of home…. [with] crops, fruits berries and birds"[69] in order to counteract the despair arising from homesickness and a feeling of alienation, a sentiment reflected by "Aboricultus", when waxing lyrical on oaks "endeared to us by old associations as reminiscences of old England",[70] and by Sir David Wedderburn with his selection of value-laden adjectives when describing how "the *monotonous* dull colours of the indigenous evergreens are being replaced by the *fresh* green of the northern trees.[71] Consequently, many of the early imports of flora and fauna included game birds such as pheasants and quail, flora such as oak and elm trees and animals such as rabbits that had little or no immediate commercial value.

This mood in favour of acclimatisation of foreign species reflected also a privileged status for a garden created in accordance with European expectations. The allusion to "creation" within this context suggests something more than surrender to the inevitability of an unstoppable

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[68] Darwin, C (1899) The Origin of Species, by Means of Natural Selection (6th Edition), London, John Murray, Chapter XI, p152
[69] Thom, D. (1987) Heritage, the Parks of the People, Auckland: Lansdown Press, p72
[70] Aboricultus (1876) Letter to Editor, New Zealand Herald, Supplement, 24 August, p2

change. The outcome was celebrated as appropriate and desirable, epitomising the power and superiority of the Europeans. Of interest here is the attitude of New Zealand-born scientists such as Sir Walter Buller[72] and J.A.Thomson who articulated and privileged acclimatisation as an essential part of the civilisation process, a covert assertion of mastery. Thomson made this explicit. "Acclimatisation… has an intimate bearing on national sentiment. The similarity… to… the English countryside enables the New-Zealander to enter more sympathetically into the moods and thoughts of the great masters of English literature".[73]

A second Romantic theme identified earlier[74] was a yearning for egalitarianism, for freedom, a rebellion against the artificial class distinctions of the British past. Such a theme was important in shaping the specific discourse over non-domesticated animals imported into New Zealand, a point acknowledged by Arnold.

> [In England] hunting and fishing were class sports which became more and more fashionable…. While villagers craved for meat, they saw the wild creatures… protected by the Game Laws to provide sport for their "betters".[75]

However, acclimatisation cannot be seen only as furthering such Romantic themes. Decisions appearing to be driven by such ideals still frequently reflected at least a subsidiary economic theme. Deer could provide meat, the value of small birds, while appealing to "Fellow passenger" by their habits and behaviour, was principally "to the agriculturalist".[76] In addition, there are also specific examples of acclimatisation efforts that reflect the capitalist philosophy *per se,* including the importation of birds such as sparrows to "kill pests (caterpillars) for farmers. Rabbits were seen as the quick path to riches with a young settler from Nelson buying two (before he discovered they were both bucks!), in the hope of making "ten shillings a piece for… half a million offspring in three years".[77] A discourse that

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[71] Wedderburn, Sir D. (1876) "Lecture before Stroud Liberal Association on Australia and New Zealand, from Personal Observation", New Zealand Herald Supplement, 4 May, p1 (italics added)

[72] Buller, W. (1888) History of the Birds of New Zealand, (2nd Edition), London: John Van Voorst, pxliii

[73] Op. cit., n45. (Thomson was the son of G.M. Thomson (For further reference to G.M. Thomson, see discussion in chapter 7, infra)) Acclimatisation is thereby elevated to a higher plane- rather than a reflecting of mere nostalgia it assisted in civilisation, education and the development of philosophical reasoning.

[74] Supra, p110

[75] Arnold, R. (1981) The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s, Wellington: Victoria University Press: Price Milburn, p29

[76] Ibid.

[77] Turnbull, M. and McLaren, I. (1964) The Land of New Zealand, being a Companion Volume to The Changing Land : a Short History of New Zealand, Michael Turnbull (ed) London: Longmans, p61

demonised this latter importation as negatively impacting on the prosperity of pastoralist farmers led to the equally – or more devastating from the point of view of the native fauna – importation of mustelids from the 1870s onwards, a decision based on economic grounds and reflective of a triumph of capitalist sentiments.

Thus Utilitarian and Romantic discursive themes both legitimised and privileged acclimatisation on various levels. This is not to say that acclimatisation discourse was uninterrupted, lacking resistance and objection. However, reservations as to the merit of the displacement theory that grounded and drove nineteenth century acclimatisation activity appeared to have little impact on the shape of discourse. With Romantic and Utilitarian themes privileging acclimatisation, a voice of resistance was marginalised and subjugated, unable to triumph in a struggle for power.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter reveals the nature of discourse in New Zealand during the nineteenth century, a discourse of change that was grounded in two ethical strands, Utilitarian and Romantic. The themes that emerged within this discourse located land (and later other resources) as a commodity but in addition celebrated change not only in capitalist terms but also, consequential on the Romantic influence, as a triumph for civilisation on the establishment of a garden. By way of refinement to the points made in this discussion, reference is made to the example of nineteenth century acclimatisation as an enunciation of environmental discourse and contemporary thought.

However, as suggested in the introduction and as revealed in later chapters of this thesis, this discourse is defined as a Modernist discourse with a twist; Romantic concepts of equality and civilisation coalesced with Utilitarian ideas to establish a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse locating the State at the centre of resource development, and celebrating economic activity as a metaphor for civilisation. The environmental implications of such discourse now frame the discussion provided in the following chapter, a chapter that documents the emergence of a discourse of conservation near the end of that century.

Chapter five

The Beginning of the Conservation Era 1890-1910
Concepts and Actualisation

Introduction

The previous chapter was concerned with revealing discourse of relevance to nineteenth century New Zealand environment. Several important themes of this discourse were identified, these being described as grounded in Utilitarian and Romantic ethics. The conclusion reached from the analysis is that at the outset of European settlement in 1840 the New Zealand environment was seen as a clean slate on which European settlers could create a picture of perfection, a garden (of Eden) in accordance with European concepts. Such a picture was painted in the colours of a discourse celebrating the images of economic and social progress.

However, it would appear that at least later in the century, the progress legitimised within discourse became somewhat restrained by a concept of what has been labelled as conservation. The word "somewhat" as used in this context carries two implications. The first suggests that such a concept was not generally accepted throughout the range of social and political discourse. Secondly, "somewhat" can also be used to imply uncertainty as to the meaning and discursive location of "conservation". In addition to it being located within a developmental discourse, denoting a "wise use" or efficient use, it can also be found within a discourse of protection, preservation or non-use, quite a different idea and one that appears to conflict with the dominant discourse. Before proceeding further with this discussion, it is useful to clarify this difference:

> To conserve is to save, [but is] only the saving of natural resources for later consumption…. [Preservation is] primarily a saving from rather than a saving for, the saving of species and wilderness from damage or destruction.[1]

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[1] Passmore, J. (1980) Man's Responsibility for Nature, (2nd Edition), London: Duckworth, p73

If conservation within a nineteenth century New Zealand context reflected a preservationist theme, thereby moving discourse towards the ecocentric meta-discursive location, this has potentially profound implications in relation to later discourse and to the history of environmental discourse generally. However, if it embodied a more limited meaning- in line with concepts of "wise use"- the implications are far more limited. For this reason, it is appropriate and timely to explore the meaning of this concept within its socio-temporal context.

In an attempt to reveal this discourse of conservation, this chapter now focuses on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand context, with discussion centred on the following four questions.

- What principal themes shaped environmental discourse at the turn of the century?
- What are the principal themes reflected in "conservation" within late nineteenth century discourse?
- What do selected developments and enunciations suggest as to the discursive location of this concept by 1910?
- In light of the above, what conclusions can be drawn as to the location of a "conservation discourse" at the end of this historical period, that is, 1910?

The focus of the first of these questions reflects the Foucauldian concern with general history, and serves as a reminder that no discourse stands on its own, remote and isolated from its socio-temporal context. More specifically, and as Dryzec emphasises,[2] environmental discourse within its historical context lies at the intersection of scientific and social discourse; ruptures and reversals within such discourses also affect the environmental discourse. The next section then identifies and discusses some enunciations of such ruptures and reversals in attempting to locate conservation within the environmental discourse.

Environmental Discourse - Relevant Themes

It is important at this point to remember that Foucault explains that meaning is granted through discourse; without such privilege, phenomena are condemned to silence and

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[2] See discussion, supra, p35 post

powerlessness. A corollary in this context is that without meaning within the dominant discourse, "Nature" and aspects of an environment, including its occupants, would be left as powerless phenomena, subjugated as "other", without voice or recognition. Thus it is necessary to look for meaning and legitimacy within the discourse, while changes in that meaning and legitimacy suggest discontinuities.

As explained in the previous chapter, nineteenth century discourse of relevance to the New Zealand environment was grounded in two principal ethical concepts, these being Utilitarian (an economic concept of value based on commodity) and Romantic – (notions of familiarity and a desire for equality). It is premised that the persistence of such discursive concepts required that existent power relations be acknowledged in any struggles against the hegemony of a dominant Modernist discourse. To support this premise, what follows is an exploration of some of those sites within which resistance emerged. As part of this discussion, reference will be made to selected examples of enunciations of relevance drawn from specific contexts.

Productivity Value

Also as described in the preceding chapter, from the outset of European settlement land (and later other resources) in New Zealand had been commodified, a characteristic shared by other settler societies such as America and Australia. Much of the land controlled either directly or indirectly by Government (including Maori land) was classified as "waste".[3] Consequently, land was only privileged as valuable (a pivotal concept within a Modernist regime of truth) through becoming productive.

As discussed in chapter four,[4] implicit within this assumption of productivity value was the metaphorical treatment of New Zealand by colonists and visitors as a cornucopia, a land bursting with fertility and unbounded potential. Through European civilisation and cultivation this cornucopia could be persuaded to surrender its riches; through presiding over such surrender the European settler could justify his assumption of ownership. Also implicit was

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[3] The persistent inclination was for "the colonists… to regard any Maori land not under cultivation as waste lands waiting for their use…."(Star, P. (1997) From Acclimatisation to Preservation: Colonists and the Natural World in Southern New Zealand 1860-1894, PhD Thesis, University of Otago, p23). That this attitude persisted into the 20th century is evidenced by the words of the Annual Report of the Surveyor General in 1903 (discussed in another context infra) where "waste" was used to describe Maori land not under cultivation and Europeans held land as freehold estates.
[4] Supra, p101 post

rurally-based economic activity, especially farming, as a metaphor for civilisation within nineteenth century official and popular discourse.

However, within twenty years of settlement, the metaphorical celebration of farming as a normal state was threatened by a Nature that refused to admit defeat. On the conclusion of the land wars in the 1860s a European population expanding its range away from the towns increased pressure on more remote forest and swamp. However, attempts to use such land revealed its often marginal nature. In the case of forested areas, after their clearance under the assumption that its presence indicated fertility and therefore great potential for farming, it became apparent that large areas were of limited use.

Land continued to be classified, both formally and informally, as useful/useless or as productive/waste. However, reconciling encountered limitations with a discourse of European civilisation meant the location of these dichotomies within the discourse had to be changed. Rather than their being metaphors for "farmed" and "yet to be farmed", they now were more likely to mean "able to be farmed" and "not suitable for farming". Given such changes, and to provide meaning (albeit not economic value) to land *prima facie* unsuitable for development (farming), it was possible in a sparsely populated country like New Zealand for a Government to take steps to put it aside for other purposes. This approach has been described as "moving well beyond English precedents",[5] one Star justifies mainly for "sentimentality and pride"[6] as, by the beginning of the twentieth century, "the indigenous was no longer considered to have sustainable economic value".[7] However, it is also reasonable to conclude that island and paradise symbols of the dominant discourse were epitomised in the physical and discursive definition and circumscription of reserves.

Within a Modernist discourse then, alternative use of "worthless lands",[8] was enabled and legitimised - it was legitimate for areas that could not be civilised through change to instead be exploited in their natural state (through, for example, stocking with game animals or reservation for scenic or water retention purposes); land that had no perceivable or realisable

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[5] Galbreath, R.A. (1989) Colonisation, Science, and Conservation : the Development of Colonial Attitudes toward the Native Life of New Zealand, with particular reference to the Career of the Colonial Scientist Walter Lawry Buller (1838-1906), D Phil Thesis, University of Waikato, p205
[6] Star, P. (2003) "A Question of Attitudes", Environment and History 9(4), p463 at p466
[7] Ibid.

direct or indirect economic value could rationally be preserved for other (non-anthropocentric) purposes.

It could be argued that reference to such symbols to legitimise such preservation of land of no use for a productive purpose,[9] was a successful power strategy whereby a dominant Modernist discourse could be resisted. Equally however, it could be argued that such categorisation enabled reservation to be modified or displaced where other (civilised) uses for the area could later be discovered or developed particularly since there was, as Star explains no "overall concept of the environment".[10] By staying within the contours of the dominant hegemony and utilising structures accepted as "natural"[11] or normal, opposing voices remained oppressed, leaving it open for a pro-development discourse to again triumph.

In this context it is informative to briefly consider the early history of the National Park concept. Runte, when writing of the first of the American parks (the Yosemite (in 1864) and the Yellowstone (1872)) locates the concept within a Modernist discourse: "the dominance of material over aesthetic and ecological values was such that national parks were only designated on land which was regarded as waste or as worthless".[12] This theme was also reflected in the New Zealand setting as a local commentator explains: "the majority of our National Parks, at the time of their formation, were land areas with no alternative economic potential".[13] The only potential lay in the scenery.[14] It should also be noted that such discursive themes were not limited to enunciations relating to land, but were also echoed in statements about native flora and fauna.[15]

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[8] See, for example, Hall, C.M. (1988) "The 'Worthless Lands hypothesis' and Australia's National Parks and Reserves" in K.J. Frawley and N. Semple (eds), Australia's Ever Changing Forests: Proceedings of the first Conference of Australian Forest History, Canberra, p441

[9] See reference to the Scenery Preservation Board and attitudes of those involved in management of reserves infra, n100. Also, as Star explains, "when the Otago Acclimatisation Society proposed the reservation of Resolution Island they pointed out that 'its value as a place of settlement is small'" (p99)

[10] Star (2003), op. cit., n5

[11] Quigley, P. (1992) "Rethinking Resistance: Environmentalism, Literature and Poststructural Theory", Environmental Ethics 14 (Winter) p291 at p297

[12] Runte, A. (1973) "'Worthless Lands - our National Parks': The Enigmatic Past and Uncertain Future of America's Scenic Wonderlands", American West 10, p5

[13] Hedley, S. (1992) Parks or Playgrounds, An Analysis of the Concept of the National Park, Dept of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, Occ Paper No 8, p16

[14] Other campaigners sought support for enabling legislation for park areas by talking in the language and using the value- structure of the dominant discourse, which embraced both American concepts of "use" and English concepts of "scenery".

[15] For example, in his original appeal for protection of native birds, Potts located his argument within a Modernist discursive framework when he said that "many of the [species] are excellent as articles of food" (Potts, T.H. as quoted in Galbreath, op. cit., p184). Mr Tame Parata (Member of Parliament for Southern Maori)

However, in reaching conclusions as to the treatment of land and other resources in terms of their productive value, it should be remembered that the European settler in New Zealand was not exclusively driven by concepts of monetary value. While such ethical concepts were important in defining the meaning of the New Zealand environment, other more Romantically-derived sentiments were also of importance. The two identified in chapter four as most important in the nineteenth century were firstly, the garden metaphor - a therapeutic renewal and rebirth, a second chance to establish a paradise on Earth, and secondly a desire to realise dreams of equality.

In a context of a settler society almost entirely derived from Britain, the meaning of such sentiments would be most likely to be coloured by British values and represented by British trees, birds and animals. However, by the end of the century the profile of this society was changing, with an increasing proportion of the population identifying themselves as New Zealanders rather than Britons. This change had the potential also to affect the meanings attributed to aspects of the native environment, as explained in the next section.

Identification through Naming or Taking

Some New Zealand historians[16] have described a second generation of European settlers who by 1900 were identifying with New Zealand as their country rather than with Britain. Accompanying this change was a shift in focus from New Zealand as a Britain of the South to a nation with its own character and merit,[17] a shift reflected in the attaining of Dominion status in 1907. No longer did settlers necessarily identify solely with British symbols and sentiments. Increasingly, "some of the indigenous phenomena of New Zealand [was to be incorporated] into the rhetoric and symbolism of the settler society… indigenous phenomena for later generations seemed less "alien" than for earlier settlers.[18] *Prima facie*, such changes suggest a new subjectivity. Rather than individuals being British subjects in a far-away piece of Britain, endeavouring to civilise their surroundings and realise its value through change in accordance with Western ideals and meanings, they were acknowledging a new sentiment, a

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asked the Colonial Secretary whether the Government had considered taking steps to protect the weka because "the oil was useful for medicinal purposes" (NZPD (HR) Vol 103, 1898: 456).

[16] Galbreath, op. cit.; Star, op. cit.

[17] It should be emphasised that this did not mean a decline in the loyalty and ties colonists felt to "Mother England". It was only after many years and three wars that those ties began to loosen.

new meaning, for the land they lived in, one rich with its own natural symbols and metaphors, and possessing a voice demanding to be heard. It was now legitimate to talk of protection of species and areas and to elevate native species above their imported counterpart or predator.

The creation of such a sentiment would be possible only through a power strategy that would foster familiarity and sympathy. By giving areas of wilderness a name, definition and description that harmonised with prevailing beliefs, or by identifying and celebrating flora and fauna,[19] not only could the settler striving for connection accept those areas and living things as "theirs" but also accept them as part of New Zealand's particular brand of civilisation.[20] Paul Hamer discusses this concept in relation to National Parks, claiming that "the active incorporation of nature into the realm of settlement… was to lessen nature's threat and make it seem accessible to settlers".[21]

In addition, scientists as the group that had in the past assumed the role of supporting change[22] were more likely to identify themselves with New Zealand and aspects of its indigenous environment. Galbreath refers to a relevant example of this being the discussion on a paper presented by Buller during which Buller is congratulated for "protesting so strongly against the wholesale destruction of **our** native birds".[23] Such scientists were to contribute to the construction of a local body of scientific knowledge, naming and documenting the unique species within their habitats. In addition, some individual scientists occupying a privilege place within official discourse[24] began expressing concern as to the effect of past practices on the native populations. These individuals were now proposing and supporting the creation of reserves within which indigenous species might be protected

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[18] Gibbons, P. (1992) " 'Going Native': A Case Study of Cultural Appropriation in a Settler Society, with Particular Reference to the Activities of Johannes Anderson in New Zealand during the First Half of the Twentieth Century", PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, p11-12

[19] On stamps and other publicity material from 1898. According to Star,P. and Lochhead, L. (2002) "Children of the Burnt Bush, New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant, 1880-1930" in Environmental Histories of New Zealand, E. Pawson, and T. Brooking (eds), South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p119, in 1901 G.M. Thomson called for a "national garden in the centre of the colony", and in 1902 Harry Ell called for schools to be provided with pictures to make the new generation "more familiar with our beautiful flowers, and the more interesting specimens of the New Zealand native birds". (p132)

[20] "To call an untamed area a 'national park' was to… bring it at least linguistically within the pale of civilization", Galbreath, op. cit., p223

[21] Hamer, P. (1992) Nature and Natives: Transforming and Saving the Indigenous in New Zealand. M.A. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, p11 as quoted in Star and Lochhead, op. cit., p133

[22] See discussion in relation to acclimatisation, Chapter 4, p111 post

[23] TNZI 27 (1894) p650, during discussion on paper. For a short overview of Buller's paper, see infra, n127, per Hulke

[24] For example, W.T.L. Travers and Sir J. Hector

against destruction and predation, a significant change from the position earlier in the century when calls for preservation were ignored,[25] and the scientific message ambivalent.[26]

Star and Lochhead describe such a drive for protection through setting aside (taking) that emerged by the end of the nineteenth century as reflecting an "increasing sense of both response and responsibility towards the indigenous remnant"[27] which was "at times even noble"[28] (a change in power relations such that a new generation recognised and acknowledged the power of the native environment as opposed to defining it "stuff" or raw materials for the construction of a garden or for exploitation). These authors cite in support for their contention the reserving of Resolution Island, the protection under the Animals Protection Act 1907 of native species and the use of "European concepts of sanctity and preservation" by Te Heu Heu Tukino when gifting Tongariro and neighbouring peaks to the nation.[29]

However, an alternative interpretation of such taking was as an exercise of power. As mentioned previously,[30] some writers consider that naming is inherently linked with domination. Just as renaming a country or area is a demonstration of the dominance of the namers which silences the voice of the suppressed, dispossessing those claiming rights over a specific area creates a new subjectivity. *Inter alia*, Mackenzie argues that the creation of parks was "environmental engineering [having] serious implications for the indigenous peoples… symbolic of white encroachment and indigenous dispossession".[31]

It is also possible to consider this practice as the exercise of power by the scientific community, a move out of its past role of supporting themes of civilisation and the creation of an English paradise. Grove describes such communities on Mauritius and St Vincent as discovering that "the prescriptive precepts of climatic and Romantic environmentalism were

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[25] Potts to the Wellington Philosophical Society, TNZI 2 (1869) July 17
[26] Travers, W.T.L. (1869) "Two Lectures on the Changes Effected in the Natural Features of a New Country by the Introduction of Civilised Races- Advancement, Progress, Benefit", delivered at the Colonial Museum, Wellington, 7 August and 16 October, TNZI 2, p299 and 313
[27] Star and Lochhead, op. cit. p135
[28] ibid., p134
[29] ibid., p133
[30] Chapter 2, p51, post
[31] MacKenzie, J.M. (1988) The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism, Manchester: Palgrave Macmillan, p297 as quoted in Star, op. cit., n3, p224

highly effective in retaining and strengthening their political position and social agendas".[32] Similarly, in New Zealand, opportunities for research in the unique ecology that were rapidly disappearing under the European invasion would compel some to argue for its preservation.

By way of a conclusion, it would appear that by the end of the nineteenth century, the native environment had a voice, legitimised and acknowledged within the dominant discourse. However, it is also argued that this voice remained subject to ethical constraints inherent in the dominant discourse; although protection could be condoned, it would always be vulnerable to challenge and displacement by changes in value (perhaps through technology, discovery or social pressure). It is also suggested that value and change remained subject to the exercise of power and domination, suggestions explored in more detail in specific contexts. Prior to this exploration, however, it is important briefly to consider the impact of a final theme contributing to the shape of conservation in New Zealand; that of equality through intervention by the State.

Equality for All through State Intervention

Despite the New Zealand company's visions of a cross-section of immigrants to New Zealand coming from all classes and setting up the ideal society (based on the British class structure), many of the immigrants were "yeomen farmers", (or small land-holders from rural areas). Lacking practice and experience in political issues, this group have been described as "counter-pastoral", or "anti-Arcadian" in the sense of wanting an interventionist state rather than an absence of regulation of economic and social life".[33],[34],[35]

The willingness of such "yeoman" stock to effectively exercise their power through the State, and the consequential lack of necessity for the state to mediate the disparate views of interest

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[32] Grove, R. H. (1988) Green Imperialism. Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism 1600-1860, Studies in Environment and History, D. Worster and A. Crosby (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p301

[33] Brooking, T. (1996) "Use it or Lose it", The New Zealand Journal of History, Vol 30 (2), p141 at p149

[34] It is also possible to identify developments at the time in Europe as inspiring the drive for a society based on equality.

[35] This would appear to contradict the tenor of the parliamentary debate over the proposed forestry conservation legislation in 1874 (discussed infra, p128 post). However, the idea that the state should exercise power for the benefit of the dominant societal group (the settlers) by acquiring and developing "waste" lands as a resource is perfectly compatible with the logic that that group should then be able to use such a resource without restraint being imposed by the state - see discussion also page 134, infra.

groups, accommodated the decision of that Government to divert land deemed "waste", and in some cases acquire land both from Maori and settler to create reserves of various types, including scenic, domains and sanctuaries. Therefore, although the very idea of Government taking land to create reserves was a concept "no British government would have contemplated",[36] such an idea was legitimised in a New Zealand context of scattered pockets of population and land of variable quality.

It is important in this context that unlike the natural parks and country estates of Britain, these reserves were not owned by individuals who could afford to keep them for their private enjoyment. Instead, through their being public lands, anyone could claim "ownership" regardless of social or economic status. Where was the harm given both Government and sundry official assurances that no productive land would be locked up and that if the land thus reserved did prove suitable for settlement it would be released for that purpose?[37]

Thus the end of the nineteenth century saw a gradual acceptance of the legitimacy of protection of flora and fauna (in limited circumstances), some growth in understanding as to limits to land suitable for settlement, an increasing tendency amongst a new generation of settlers and scientists to identify themselves with "New Zealand" rather than with a "Britain of the South"[38] and a limited recognition of a role for the state in supporting notions of equality. It was in this changing political and social environment that particular developments occurred, hinting of a transformation of discourse, with a celebration of conservation discourse at the expense of development or progress. However, as a contra argument developed in the next section, the identification of such themes reveals neither the domain nor objects of such a conservation discourse.

By way of introduction to this section, it is important to consider the discursive location of the term "conservation".

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[36] Galbreath, op. cit., p249

[37] "It must be clearly understood that it has never been the practice of the Department to unduly withhold from settlement areas of rich soil and well adapted for pastoral or agricultural pursuits merely because they are also suited for scenic reservation" Department of Lands and Survey 1907 AJHR C-6

[38] In this context it is interesting to note that Sir James Hector, on a visit to lochs in Scotland wrote to Mantell: "This was the most enjoyable part of the trip as it was just like New Zealand again and clear of Railways and tourists" (from Hector to Mantell, 26 July 1875)

Nineteenth Century Conservation - Wise Use or Preservation?

As discussed previously,[39] the concept of "conservation" has been claimed and located within two quite different discourses, a developmental Modernist discourse within which it embodies a concept of wise use and a romantically-driven protectionist discourse which colours it with a preservationist meaning. Speaking in support of the latter meaning, Jepson and Whittaker challenge the claim by some environmental historians "that conservationist impulses of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century represent certain cultural perspectives and objectives of groups concerned with specific social, political and/or economic… goals".[40] These authors question such a conclusion and prefer to locate such values within a framework that acknowledges a moral relationship between humans and non-human species.

Similarly, Galbreath considers certain events and statements made during the nineteenth century embody acceptance of a conservation concept as preservation "long before it came into popular use in, for instance, Britain or the United States",[41] while Wynn describes the push for forest conservation as part of a campaign pursued by "ardent naturalists… in touch with the wider nineteenth century world of ideas".[42] One contemporary stand-out example cited as an advocate for conservation as preservation is Potts, who blamed the decline of native species on "indifference and inaction".[43]

However, it is of importance when considering the nature of discourse during this period that specific enunciations of support for conservation in the form of preservation met with mixed (mainly negative) success. Potts' initiatives in favour of forest and specie conservation failed, while W.T.L. Travers' plea to preserve the islands "from…destructive processes"[44] did not gain support. It is significant in this context to note that ultimately Travers himself denied the validity of his cause when by 1864 he had decided that native biota was of limited value, and that according to the tenets of the displacement theory, efforts to perpetuate the indigenous species would prove futile.[45] The support of some others who demonstrated support for the

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[39] Supra, p54

[40] Jepson, P. and Whittaker, R.J. (2002) "Histories of Protected Areas: Internationalisation of Conservationist Values and their Adoption in the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia)", Environment and History, 8(2), p129 at p130

[41] Galbreath, op. cit., p186

[42] Wynn, G. (1979) "Pioneers, Politicians and the Conservation of Forests in Early New Zealand", Journal of Historical Geography, 5(2), p171 at p179

[43] Galbreath, op. cit., p189

[44] As quoted in Star, op. cit., n3, p176

[45] Ibid., p94.

native flora and fauna[46] was both limited and ambivalent. Buller, while "lamenting the disappearance of the native birds approv[ed] the turning of the native forests in which they lived into 'smiling farms'".[47] Also, the enthusiasm of conservators for promotion of exotic biota rather than of the indigenous varieties,[48] appears far more in harmony with a regime of truth that celebrated change.

Other writers are a little less willing to privilege conservation as synonymous with preservation, preferring to give it a more limited definition as postponement or efficiency of use. For example, in the context of reserves and National Parks, Noble goes to some pains to point out the difference between conservation in its limited sense and preservation, identifying their creation as furthering a theme of *conservation*. In a similar way to Runte, Michael Roche, in providing historical background to his discussion of conservation in a later period, suggests that while land was set aside for preservation purposes in colonial societies such as New Zealand during the nineteenth century it was only land that could not be economically used and that the prevailing voice was one of wise use - which "developed as a Utilitarian approach to regulating natural resource use so that future needs were considered… although it was extended… to include aesthetic and ecological ends".[49]

Notwithstanding these debates over the place and meaning of conservation, developments occurring in New Zealand around the turn of the century have been identified as evidence of a new way of thinking about the environment.[50] Galbreath in particular maintains that by the 1890s there was some support amongst men of science in New Zealand for *preservation* of native species.[51] He also considers there to be a change to the generally accepted scope of the word "conservation", away from "management for future consumption" to "preservation of native species and natural scenery".[52] Indicatively, the report of an interview with the Premier (Hon. Richard John Seddon) by an "influential deputation of the Auckland Institute" emphasises that "the preservation of the flora and fauna of the colony is a matter of the

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[46] Including C. O'Neill and Sir J. Hector
[47] As quoted in Galbreath, op. cit., p403
[48] Star op. cit., p177
[49] Roche, M. (2002) "The State as Conservationist, 1920-60. "'Wise Use' of Forests, Land and Water", in Pawson and Brooking, op. cit., p183 at p184
[50] By such writers as Star, Star and Lochhead, Galbreath, Wynn
[51] Galbreath op. cit., at p122-3 identifies Travers, Buller and Kirk as supporters of those moves
[52] Italics added. Galbreath discussed the changes in meaning and the influences on that meaning in the New Zealand context more generally on pages 404-409

greatest interest and the gravest importance".[53] A debate in the House in 1893 was instigated by Thomas Mackenzie who moved "that conservators and rangers should be appointed to conserve our forests and *preserve* our rare native birds, also that the Act relating to cutting or firing native bush and the Act for the *preservation* of native birds be strictly enforced".[54] During this debate MacKenzie also made the point, seemingly remarkable in its historical context, that:

> It was clearly the duty of the country to insist upon the preservation of our forests, so that those who come after us might not look back to the time when we had the honour of governing the country and declare that we were nothing less than vandals.[55]

Despite such evidence, any conclusion that such a move indicates a change in power relations, a privileging of the native environment, should be advanced cautiously. One of the motivations for such a change in status and treatment for native species appears to be in response to the displacement theory - preservation would serve to delay their (sad but inevitable) disappearance. For example, as Star points out, in the prospectus to his "History of New Zealand Birds" published in 1873, Buller wrote that he had a duty "to collect and place on record a complete life-history of these birds before their final extirpation".[56]

Another enduring motivation behind preservation appears Utilitarian. Most specifically, those who spoke in the course of the debate initiated by MacKenzie spoke of Modernist themes with a focus on conservation as rational use,[57] reflected in, for example, suggestions that better access could be the means whereby Utilitarian benefits (through tourism) could be obtained through its use.

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[53] The outcome of that interview was a question placed on the order paper of the House and directed to the Minister of Lands, Mr J. McKenzie, as to whether any report had been received or would be requested by Government on the issue (NZPD Vol 129, 1893: 70, per W. Hutchinson). Mr McKenzie's response was in the negative on the report and that "if any birds were sent [to Resolution Island] they would be very likely to cross to the mainland" (ibid.) However, birds were being preserved on Little Barrier Island.

[54] Bush Advocate (1893) 8 July, p3 italics added. It is perhaps interesting to note that the paper was silent as to the Tongariro National Park bill, which had been moved for its second reading just two days previously.

[55] Op. cit., n50 p269

[56] Quoted in Star, op. cit., p120-121. As Star puts it at p121, "such a viewpoint was at exactly the opposite pole to any concept of indigenous conservation". The title of a paper Buller delivered to the Wellington Philosophical Society in 1894 was entitled "Illustrations of Darwinism, or the Avifauna of New Zealand considered in relation to the Fundamental Law of Descent, with Modification", TNZI 27, p75

[57] Examples being H. S. Fish who expressed regret that Vogel's scheme had not been carried out NZPD Vol 129, 1893: 263 , W.R. Russell who "would urge that the Government … should endeavour… to further exploit our magnificent scenery (ibid.) and Hon. W.P. Reeves who stressed that "it (scenery preservation) was a question of attracting the valuable tourist traffic of Australia and Europe" (ibid., p267)

Even enunciations that implied some appreciation for the natural state, including those of members referring to "beautiful timber",[58] "natural grandeur",[59] and "magnificent scenery",[60] (particularly that of A. W. Hogg who, in objecting to more roads through scenic areas, argued that "if they wanted to preserve beautiful scenery, the fewer roads and railways through it the better"),[61] should be treated cautiously. The subject of the debate was the management of native bush. MacKenzie was primarily concerned with its mismanagement (and waste). Such enunciations more closely reflected power relations between man and the New Zealand environment, and between European and Maori, rather than resistance to development and progress and to Utilitarian sentiments. Given this interpretation, it is of interest to note that Government was not prepared to entertain the idea of paid rangers, this being described as too expensive and not in accordance with present strategies of protection.[62] MacKenzie was requested to withdraw his motion. However, the Minister of Lands did propose that he and MacKenzie should meet to discuss alternative ways whereby MacKenzie's objectives could be achieved.

The above discussion suggests a contextual ambivalence towards the native environment and its occupants rather than a preservation sentiment. In an effort to clarify this situation further and thereby uncover the regime of truth of discourse relating to the environment, the next part of this chapter contains a discussion of enunciations within five selected contexts. These contexts have been selected on the basis that they suggest changes to the regime of truth and therefore of discourse. However, they also share a commonality of nineteenth century themes, albeit reshaped somewhat by a shift in historical context.

Acclimatisation - A Changing View?

As previously mentioned,[63] rabbits and small birds such as sparrows[64] had been early introductions while the first shipments of the Australian possum, sanctioned in the hope of a

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[58] Fish, ibid., p263
[59] T. MacKenzie, ibid., p262
[60] Russell, ibid., p266
[61] A.W. Hogg, ibid.
[62] Hon J. McKenzie, Minister of Lands and Immigration, Minister of Agriculture and Commissioner of Forests, ibid., p264
[63] Supra, p111 post
[64] The first release being by the Auckland Acclimatisation Society in 1867

fur trade being established,[65] is an enunciation that fits comfortably in a Modernist discourse. However, as discussed earlier, these were not the only introductions, but merely represented a vanguard for a veritable army of flora and fauna, deliberately or accidentally introduced, by direct Government action and by individuals for amusement, Romantic and Utilitarian purposes.[66] One of the most contentious introductions, as indicated previously,[67] was that of mustelids (particularly stoats and weasels) as "enemies of the rabbit". However, despite their enjoying state-condoned protection until 1903, by the 1890s mustelids were beginning to change in meaning within the discourse - as a problem rather than as a solution. Such a shift in location was to be epitomised in a speech by MacKenzie.[68]

This example is interesting as a demonstration of the power/knowledge dichotomy. In the 1860s, the landowners *knew,* despite argument to the contrary from the scientific centre (most particularly Alfred Newton, Professor of Zoology of Cambridge University),[69] that mustelids were their major weapon against the ravages of the rabbit. The exercise of economic and political power would serve to have such knowledge accepted as truth while that truth, manifested in importations, would ensure the continued acceptance of that knowledge.

However, by 1890, the political and economic power structure had changed. Discourse located the interests of the "yeoman farmer" and the service industries at the centre of both political and economic discourse. This relocation was acknowledged in the "political revolution of 1890"[70] and supported in part by refrigeration: "from 1895 onwards… the change-over from wool to mixed farming for frozen meat, butter and cheese, resulted in closer settlement and the rise of new industries such as freezing works, butter and cheese factories

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[65] Isern,T.D. (2002) "Companions, Stowaways, Imperialists, Invaders Pests and Weeds in New Zealand", in Pawson and Brooking, op. cit. p233 at p235

[66] Star, op. cit., argues (p90-95 in particular) that the "tangled skein of acclimatisation" is impossible to unravel, having "mixed and shifting motives behind it" (these being both Utilitarian and Romantic).

[67] Supra, p113

[68] Member for Clutha, NZPD (HR), 1893, Vol 129:262

[69] Newton to Buller, 23 July 1876 quoted in Buller "Notes on New Zealand Ornithology, with an Exhibition of Specimens" TNZI, (1896) 28, 326 at 329 as quoted in Galbreath, op. cit., p131.

[70] Le Rossignol J.E. and Stewart, W.D (1910) State Socialism in New Zealand, London: Harrap, describe the "legislation of the past twenty years" as socialistic "in that it has been brought about by a political uprising of the middle and lower classes against the rich" (p19). However, Hutchinson R.H. (1916) The "Socialism" of New Zealand, New York: New Review Publishing Association, p9 describes the political triumph for the liberals and their supporters as being "in another sense… no revolution, for though the seat of power may have been shifted, the economic and political structure… remained the same. Dominance had merely been transferred from the shipping companies back to the farmers; but this time it was to the smaller farmers who had enlisted the city labourers in their cause" (p9)

and other processing plants".[71] The pastoral farmer on the other hand, was facing falling economic fortunes and rising political pressures: "many large holdings…were mortgaged up to the hilt…. In many cases… the land itself, overrun by rabbits with which half-submerged runholders were powerless to cope, was deteriorating…."[72]

The groups who now held political and economic power had never supported the importation of mustelids. It was now legitimate to speak in terms of opposition and to condemn the decision, albeit a little late to have any practical value. Thus, although Galbreath points out twentieth century scientists are more inclined to blame the combined impact of the ship rat, destruction of the forest habitat and deliberate destruction by settlers for the decline in bird numbers and range,[73] mustelids must be to blame.

More generally, by the early 1890s popular local opposition voices to acclimatisation practices began to emerge, a vanguard of resistance to this practice. In 1894 an anonymous correspondent to the Otago Witness lamented: "It's surely a pity that colonists could not be content with what they found here, without importing creatures that exterminate the natives[74] while "Disgusted", in discussing the proposed introduction of the barn owl branded importations as "rubbish and vermin".[75]

However, the historical context of such voices must be acknowledged. Only the emphasis in the acclimatisation debate had changed. Instead of species that reflected the demands of the pastoral landowners (large trees and "useful" fauna) the emphasis shifted to species deemed to have a direct economic benefit either in creating jobs (pines and possums),[76] or for increasing the usefulness of lands otherwise lying waste. As a desirable side benefit, such species could

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[71] According to Pickering, B.B.M. (1949) State Policy and Hydro Electricity in New Zealand 1884-1925, M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand (citing Conliffe J.B.) p85-86. Morell, W.P. (1944) Britain and New Zealand, London: Longmans, Green and Company, explains it thus at p31-2: "closer settlement was achieved not so much by the taxation or repurchase of large estates as by a new extension of small farms" a development made feasible by the introduction of refrigeration in 1882.
[72] Morell, ibid., p28
[73] Galbreath, op. cit., 201
[74] Otago Witness (1894) "Our Native Birds" 26 April, p5
[75] Disgusted (1900) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 18 April, p6
[76] The 1906 Annual Report (H-2, App I) of the Tourist and Health Resorts Department stated that "In December last the Department decided to get some opossums (sic) for liberation, and procured through the offices of the Southland Acclimatisation Society twenty pair…. The undertaking was a very satisfactory one, only one animal having died in transit" (p5).

contribute to the search for equality, with any licensed individual having the right to hunt or fish.

Pertinent to this final point was the theme of a paper read at a meeting of the Otago Acclimatisation Society Council in 1903. The paper promoted continued introductions of exotic animals because, said the writer "In [New Zealand's] back country she has immense tracts of land which, as far as present knowledge goes, is valueless except for big game. [Deer and beaver] would add much to the interest of a tourist trip to the mountains".[77]

The above provides evidence for a conclusion that a discourse of acclimatisation had not disappeared, nor had it been wholly discredited. Instead of being coloured in large part by its nineteenth century role in establishing a European civilisation, the continued urge to acclimatise after the beginning of the twentieth century appears to be more aligned with a developmental discourse, whereby lands and other resources suitable for development should be more efficiently and effectively exploited, while those that were not - the wastelands - could still contribute to the economic and social shaping of a nation.

A second enunciation to be considered is that of forest policy, the reason for its selection being the emergence of a conservation theme in the discourse as early as the 1860s. *Prima facie*, this early appearance of such a theme challenges conclusions as to the central location of progress in nineteenth century discourse. The following discussion therefore, represents an attempt to address and explain this apparent anomaly.

Forest Conservation for Man

In examining the nature and history of conservation in this context, a useful place to begin appears to be Potts' urge in 1868 that Government "ascertain the present condition of the forests of the Colony, with a view to their better conservation".[78] Although this plea failed to gain support, it could be considered the first battle cry, a call for conservationists to rally around the flag, the first skirmish in a battle for power. Given this tentative interpretation, it is interesting to note that in 1872 the Commissioner of Crown Lands for Dunedin, a John Barron, explained to a local audience that "we are dependent on plants for our very

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[77] Otago Daily Times (1903) "Big Game in New Zealand, Suggestions by Mr St G. Littledale", 25 May, p3
[78] Cited in Thom, D. (1987) Heritage, the Parks of the People, Auckland: Lansdown Press, p76

existence".[79] He also made passing romantically-couched references to the "indiscriminate destruction" of "our woodland scenery"[80] and the effects on feelings of "the giants of our New Zealand forests".[81]

However, a closer examination of this address reveals its context of the importance of trees to the fertility and settlement of the area: "how much more readily would these [Otago] plains be settled on, if there were plantations of trees scattered over them?" In addition, English varieties such as the scotch fir, willow, oak and ash were identified as being ideal trees for timber, shade and as a positive influence on climate, with the indigenous "giants" rating scarcely a mention. Accordingly, the desirable objective of replanting could be most easily achieved should Government take the responsibility of devoting a "certain sum" "to the purpose of importing seeds of English trees… and having them planted over the colony".[82] As a further indication of what was legitimate within the regime of truth is that when the Otago Witness had published an account of his speech earlier in the year, the account had been silent as to his remarks about native bush. [83]

With reference to the Forests Act 1874, Wynn has described this legislation enacted by Vogel's liberal administration as part of a "lineage" of moves taken by "'a handful of prescient individuals' battling… against a society which placed no value on the indigenous environment"[84] and that those contributing to this lineage were an educated elite with a conservationist attitude. Such a description suggests a romantically-themed battle between a sorely outnumbered but gallant minority of wise knights against a mercenary, uncaring and brutish mob. However, as suggested earlier,[85] painting a picture of advocates of forest conservation in such strong protectionist colours appears to contradict assertions that nineteenth century discourse on the environment reflected themes of change.

More recently Wynn, in addition to acknowledging Vogel's reputation as an "impassioned advocate of economic expansion" [86] who sought to prevent "a future blighted by climatic

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[79] In an address to the Dunedin Mutual Improvement Society
[80] Script of speech reprinted in the Otago Witness, 27 July 1872 on p2-3
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] 25 May at p15
[84] Wynn, op. cit., n42, p176-7
[85] Supra, p122
[86] Wynn, G. (2002) "Destruction under the Guise of Improvement? The Forest, 1840-1920", in Pawson and Brooking, op. cit., p100 at p114

changes induced by deforestation",[87] also describes the opposition to the bill as largely based on the control that would be handed to the State, this opposition suggesting that the settlers preferred economic freedom.

In light of the above discussion, it is revealing to deconstruct Vogel's forest policy by reference to the two themes Wynn develops in his analyses. This deconstruction therefore addresses two aspects of relevance to the use and conservation of forests. First to be considered is the nature of the conservation message being imparted by those involved. The second aspect is the association of forest policy to the relationship between State and settler.

Turning first to the nature of the conservation message, Star considers the philosophy of most of those who were during this era were advocating native forest conservation, "…was determined by their identification of it as a resource for development which could be used more rationally; they had little concern for the bush beyond this",[88] with Vogel's policy firmly located within this framework as a "new approach to economic growth",[89] a conclusion reinforced by Beattie.[90]

Any labelling of it as driven by Romantic ethics raises worrying issues of contradiction in political and official thinking of the time, such thinking reflected both in this statute and in the Land Act 1877. In Vogel's speech promoting the forests' bill he explained that "in no case is natural bush, untended and unconserved, as valuable, commercially, as planted forest",[91] a sentiment reflected in the policy which involved, *inter alia*, the appointment of a Conservator of Forests. The first of these officials was a Captain Campbell-Walker whose arrival in New Zealand "to tour the forest districts of the colony… to gather information as to the renewal of forests when exhausted",[92] was briefly reported in May 1876.

Such statements from both Vogel as the sponsor of the bill and in the media, particularly when considered within the historical context, suggest that the appointment and responsibilities of the Conservator were reflective of conservation as a strategy to ensure a

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[87] Ibid.
[88] Star op. cit., n3, p188
[89] Ibid., p183
[90] Beattie, J. (2003) "Environmental Anxiety in New Zealand 1840-1941: Climate Change, Soil Erosion, Sand Drift, Flooding and Forest Conservation", Environment and History 9(4), p379
[91] NZPD (HR), Vol 16, 1874:84
[92] New Zealand Herald (1876) "Captain Walker - the Forests Department", 23 May, p3

continued supply, a responsibility far more resonate of wise and efficient use than with preservation. These characteristics also provide justification for moving such enunciations from politician and settler out of a protectionist discourse and into the centre of a Modernist discourse with its focus on economic progress.

It would appear, therefore, that at this time the native forest species were marginalised within a discourse that celebrated its replacement with imported varieties that offered greater prospects in both economic and social terms. As a corollary, within an historical context celebrating such truths as the displacement theory and progress measured in Western terms of value and civilisation, retention and protection of native species was dismissed to the margins of discourse.

Such an interpretation is also in accordance with the concept behind the Land Act passed three years later. This statute provided machinery that could be used to create forest reserves, but most of those actually created were for the specific purpose of preventing deforestation and therefore soil loss in headwater areas, a Utilitarian-inclined objective. In addition, the Act required that settlers legally occupying land bring it into cultivation immediately, and to be cultivating 20% of any given area within four years. Such an objective is philosophically opposite to any concept of conservation as preservation. It could also be seen as being at odds with wise use because in celebrating change it positioned any alternative as not normal and therefore generally illegitimate. Consequently, as Park explains, the Act "took to the lowland forests like a scythe".[93] Thus, despite the fact that "during the early 1880s the need for forest conservation was kept persistently before the Assemblies",[94] forest destruction continued unabated.

The second of Wynn's points - that opposition to the legislation was based on objections to control by the State - appears at first glance to contradict other statements that have been made as to the relationship of the nineteenth century New Zealand settler and Government, statements to the effect that Government was delegated "increasing responsibilities for decisions over everyday lives".[95] However, it should be remembered that the "yeoman farmers" were seeking new lands to conquer and expected to be supported either directly or

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[93] Park, G. (1995) Nga Uruora- the Groves of Life, VUP, Wellington, p305
[94] Thom, op. cit., p80
[95] See discussion supra, p123 and infra, p157 post

indirectly by the State in those endeavours. This is not the same as their being subject to State control or dictates that would involve their providing benefits for others. The latter was treated with suspicion as an attempt to usurp power.

> Most who spoke against the Bill expressed immediate concerns and specific anxieties. Individualism, self-interest, and material progress were the bedrocks of their understanding. They preferred the "gospel of trade" to official regulation; they railed against the government's "desire to become paternal" and argued that settlers should be "left alone" to conduct their lives.[96]

The Forests bill of 1874 and its philosophy was thus debated against a background of political factors as well as economic considerations, with Vogel's drive for conservation criticised not only as economically unnecessary but also as politically suspect. Such an interpretation is also in keeping with its historical context. The legislation came to the House during an era of constitutional unease caused in part by financial problems in the provinces. The proposed Act was seen by opponents as a strategy whereby Vogel was attempting to wrest power from the provinces and vest it in the centre through economic control and political domination.

Such an interpretation is implied by a comment in the Herald:

> It is important and curious to consider that in this matter an Assembly… attempted to take a shortcut on this question of constitutional changes, at the bidding of Sir Julius Vogel, who brought down resolutions at the end of a session with no previous thought because he had "taken the huff" at the remarks of Mr Fitzherbert about his forests scheme.[97]

In summary, Vogel had waged and won a constitutional battle on the field of a conservationist forest policy, defeating provincial interests and relocating political and economic power to the centre. However, this was to prove a pyrrhic victory because in addition to conservation providing a site for resistance to such centralisation, the appointment of a conservator by the Government (an outsider at that) challenged the privileged position of the local scientific elite as owners of knowledge supporting progress and change, a challenge that exposed the

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[96] Wynn, op. cit., n86, p115
[97] New Zealand Herald (1876) "Spectemur Agendo", 18 October, p2

vulnerability of conservation as an emergent concept. For many of them it was *true* that native species were weak (the displacement theory supported that conclusion), just as it was *true* that they were of little value compared to imported varieties and therefore should be replaced (a conclusion reached on the basis of common sense), alarmist warnings from overseas of the danger of wholesale deforestation would not apply in New Zealand.[98]

The debate and struggle over the nature, motivation and implications of this attempt to establish a conservation theme in relation to forestry offers an opportunity to explore and isolate power strategies that may be used by those seeking power over the discourse. By way of reminder, it is relevant to consider Foucault's explanation about the perpetuation of power. In Power/Knowledge he emphasises that "power can retreat…, reorganise its forces, invest itself elsewhere… and so the battle continues".[99] This specific exploration is centred on the individual appointed as conservator being located as metaphor for centralised state control of a forestry resource and for power over scientific discourse. As such, the individual was vulnerable to attack both from the scientific community and the media as critics of State control, a joint vulnerability explored briefly below.

As Galbreath describes it, the Philosophical Societies to which the scientists belonged, dismissed the need for, or the benefits of, conservation to the point that when the "newly appointed Conservator of State Forests, Captain I. Campbell-Walker, addressed the New Zealand Institute in Wellington on 'the climatic and financial aspect of forest conservancy as applicable to New Zealand'…. the assembled scientific gentlemen received his address in silence".[100]

In enunciations of popular discourse, most particularly in the popular press, such metaphorical treatment was manifested in a series of attacks, specifically in the New Zealand Herald. For example, in August the following appeared:

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[98] Grove op. cit., at p301 mentions A. von Humbolt's work on the effects of deforestation in Venuzuela ((1890) Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equatorial Regions of the New Continent 1797- 1804, H.M. Williams (trans) London, Vol 1V, p134-5) , but points out that such cataclysmic perils were outside the New Zealand experience. Also see Wynn, op. cit., n86 p115

[99] Foucault, M. (1980) Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977, C. Gordon (Ed), New York: Pantheon, p56

[100] Galbreath, op. cit., p192

> Before he came to the colony Captain Campbell-Walker published a little book
> entitled "the Correct Card, or How to Play at Whist: a Whist Catechism" … Sir Julius
> determined to save the erring whist players of the colony from ruin.[101]

Although seemingly directed at Campbell-Walker, it can be argued that a personal attack on a person in this official position also provided an opportunity to label Vogel's forest conservation policy as a demonstration of central Government's petty interference in the personal affairs and lives of the settlers. By September the attacks moved beyond the personal level to the general as a declaration of opposition against the whole concept of state-driven conservation.

> The great scheme for paying off the debt of the colony by improving the method of
> dealing with our own forests is, it seems, to be quietly buried; and we suppose that
> Captain Campbell-Walker, who was appointed to tell us all about Kauri trees and how
> to fell and cut them, will be discharged…. The scheme was an absurdity from the first,
> and we are glad that it is to be got rid of.[102]

This sentiment was also repeated on the following page.

> It is understood that the Government will not oppose … the abolition of the Woods
> and Forests Department. The respected head… Captain Campbell-Walker has
> displayed an undesirable taste in ponies… but nasty people said they would prefer to
> hear of his doing something somewhere in relation to woods and trees.[103]

So Vogel's attempt to embed forestry conservation into New Zealand's political, economic and social discourse in the 1870s was to fail given a regime of truth that celebrated and normalised change in accordance with Utilitarian and Romantic ethics. Not only did it lack wide popular or economic appeal but those in opposition remain deeply suspicious of the political motives behind it. With conservation marginalised, even the limited message of forest conservation was unsustainable without its acceptance as truth. The appointment of Conservator lapsed during Vogel's fall from political power and the financial aspects of the

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[101] New Zealand Herald (1876) "Spectemur Agendo", 12 August, p2
[102] New Zealand Herald (1876) "Spectemur Agendo", 21 September, p2
[103] "The Forest Scheme", ibid., p3

legislation repealed. Until his political resurgence and his second Forests Act in 1885, no money was provided by Government for forest conservation. At that point, with Thomas Kirk as Chief Conservator, some progress was made. For example, Kirk insisted that boundaries of state forests be clearly marked prior to any sale of adjoining land and imposed penalties for damage through misuse. However, as Wynn points out, his best intentions were frustrated by the attitudes of some of those in the field and difficulties encountered by his rangers in administering the regulations. His efforts in this context came to an end when his position was terminated with the change of Government in 1887 and the dissolution of the State Forests Department.[104]

Not until the end of the nineteenth century did the concept of forest conservation finally received some limited legitimacy, a privilege, albeit somewhat fragile, attributed by Wynn to three factors; the influence of members of the scientific elite (including Buller, Travers and Thomson)[105] who were concerned as to the effects of wholesale and unrestrained deforestation; a growing body of settlers who had occupied blocks of land long enough to observe its effects on the landscape, and adequate political support for an alternative discourse of conservation. There were also warnings sounded within Government Departments as to the need to conserve forests. However, such voices were also faced with pressures exerted by a shortage of suitable land for settlement, resulting in increasing pressure being brought to bear on marginal lands. Settlers eager for land were being pushed more and more into the poorer areas, with the provisions of the Bush and Swamp Crown Lands Settlement Act 1903 designed to make such lands more attractive as it became "more difficult… to maintain a supply of Crown Lands sufficiently good in quality… to meet the requirements of that large section of the people who [were] eager to undertake their reclamation and cultivation".[106] Perhaps the best that can be said in this regard is that, rather than the power/knowledge dichotomy suppressing conservation as occurred during the 1870s, it was now elevating and privileging this concept as true. In support of this contention it is possible to refer to official, scientific and popular discourses that were beginning to reflect a more aesthetic theme of conservation by the turn of the century. Such a concept is, for example, hinted at in the annual report of J.W.A. Marchant, the Surveyor-General[107] of the Department of Lands and Survey

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[104] Op. cit., n86, at p114
[105] John Turnbull Thomson, President of the Otago Institute
[106] Department of Lands and Survey 1904 op. cit., n102, pi
[107] J.W.A. Marchant

for 1903. In this report, Marchant used terminology such as "great beauty",[108] and "preservation of growth"[109] in advocating protective measures on behalf of the native flora and fauna.

However, the power of such aestheticism was limited; at the same time officially produced enunciations continued to emphasise economic reasons for conservation. One prime example of this can be found in the Financial Report of 1902 that prioritised conservationist objectives in the following manner:

> Special attention is being given to the reservation of forest; for maintenance of waterways; gradual distribution of rainfall; prevention of destruction of land; protecting the native flora and fauna, and doing all that is possible to preserve the beautiful scenery…so as to preserve all the places of natural beauty which serve to make New Zealand attractive, especially from a tourist perspective. [110]

Marchant's recommendations referred to above must be considered in the historical context and focus of his Department (of Lands). It was important for that Department to ensure settlement of lands took place in an orderly and considered fashion and that appropriate planning was adhered to. Taking that into account, a closer examination shows that much of the "preservation" as proposed was merely postponement of use, with "the milling of all suitable and accessible heavy-timbered lands and settlers to be advantaged by "the establishment of sawmills"[111] and the Government by "the royalties payable by the mills engaged in the utilisation of the timber".[112], [113] These royalties could then be used to support reclamation and improvement of the now denuded areas, rather than the trees being indiscriminately cut down and destroyed.

Given these conclusions, the reader might wonder what was driving Marchant's rhetoric about the beautiful bush. While advocating the "maintaining wherever opportunity offers strips and patches of bush, so as to preserve some remnants of the beautiful forest scenery of

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[108] Department of Lands and Survey 1903 AJHR C-13, p3
[109] Ibid.
[110] Minister of Finance 1902 Financial Statement AJHR B-6
[111] Op. cit., n108
[112] Ibid., p4

the districts",[114] and in accordance with continued scientific thinking of the extreme sensitivity of the native bush, a mere page later Marchant opines that "it will be very difficult, even under the most stringent regulations and safeguards, to preserve them, except in specially favourable localities". Such comments again appear more closely aligned with wise or careful use than with preservation of such areas in an unspoiled or unused state. What is also supportive of the location of this enunciation within a Modernist discourse as defined is an additional report[115] that included the responses to a circular sent to all Commissioners of Crown Lands in March 1902[116] requesting information and plans for conservation and reservation of forest lands (including those in private hands). In this context it is interesting to note the resolution from the Conference of New Zealand Horticulturalists that was selected to head the circular:

> That Members of this Conference deplore the vandalism, which is destroying, unchecked, our native flora, which we believe ought to be protected; and that we would urge upon the Government that they take such steps as they may deem necessary to preserve certain portions of the native forest of the colony, with a view to preserving the native flora and fauna.[117]

Prima facie, the inclusion of this resolution in Marchant's 1903 Departmental Report would suggest recognition of the plight of the native species (fauna as well as flora) and an attempt to identify and signal a policy of protection. However, further scrutiny paints a somewhat different picture. The circular went on to summarise the purposes of "reservation"[118] as listed in the 1902 Financial Report referred to above, this reference acknowledging the context within which the request of the Commissioners had been made.[119] This emphasis on these purposes was also applied in the responses from the Commissioners. In both cases the sound of the birds was all but silent, with the focus in both the Report and responses on the extent and nature of forests.

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[113] In his proposal that the Government should acquire lands, he proposed that it should be done "to insure the conservation of forest and scrub on the higher and poorer class of lands, and the milling of all suitable and accessible heavy-timbered lands", ibid., p3

[114] Ibid.

[115] Commissioners of Crown Lands, 1902 Forest Conservation: Reports by Commissioners of Crown Lands dealing on the Preservation of Native Flora, included in AJHR C-13B, p2

[116] Circular No. 507 reproduced ibid., p1

[117] Ibid.

[118] In the circular, Marchant refers specifically to "conservation or reservation of the forests" in his request for information.

[119] The information was requested under two heads - "climatic" and "scenic".

Thus was preservation defined and legitimised within the developmental discourse. In addition to protecting soil and playing a valuable role in moderating climate, scenery could be used to attract tourists, if not immediately, at least some time in the future, clearly a use for otherwise useless lands and in accordance with a Modernist discourse and Utilitarian ethical themes.[120]

Given Marchant's reports as the enunciation of the official discourse, perhaps the last word can be left to him, a last word that clearly places conservation in the context of a developmental ethos as at the beginning of the twentieth century.

> It is …necessary to retain for the extension of settlement all areas of bush lands suitable for the purpose, and to consider conservation of forests, except where milling-timber is involved or special beauty spots are to be found, as secondary to the profitable occupation and utilisation of land.[121]

However, other developments during this time appear to have more initial resonance as measures of protection of the indigenous flora and fauna. The most specific example was the creation of off-shore reserves. In 1872 Potts in an address to the Canterbury Philosophical Society,[122] had referred to "our fauna" and proposed the creation of island sanctuaries,[123] an idea repeated later by others (Martin (Nelson), Fenton (Auckland) and Buller). It was not however until Onslow (Governor of New Zealand until 1891) championed that cause, supported again by Buller, that the objective was achieved with the creation of island reserves, these being Little Barrier, Secretary, Resolution and later parts of Stewart and Kapiti islands.[124] As part of the attempt to further determine the shape and location of conservation within the dominant discourse, the following section then explores this manifestation a conservationist discourse.

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[120] Harry Ell, also, in his championing of reserves, believed that forests should be preserved for "scenery, for recreation, for land protection, to conserve timber supplies and for their potential value for tourism", Thom, op. cit., p119

[121] Annual Report for Department of Lands and Survey 1904 AJHR, C-1, pxviii at pxix

[122] Reprinted in Potts, T.H. (1882) Out in the Open : a Budget of Scraps of Natural History Gathered in New Zealand, Christchurch: Lyttelton Times

[123] Star, op. cit., p198

[124] The first bird to be protected after this development was the Huia (by way of the Protected Animal legislation).

Off-shore Reserves - Isolation for Preservation

The extant original purpose of the reserves was clear - to provide an isolated environment in which native species might survive and even flourish away from the pressures of introduced predators and human "civilisation". Indication of this can be drawn from the support for the establishment of the Resolution Island reserve. Proponents for this reserve argued that, despite its proximity to the mainland, predators such as mustelids could not gain access.[125] The Romantic theme of renewal or creation of an island paradise[126] was implicit within this discourse of isolation.

However, it is suggested that a somewhat different interpretation of the proposals is possible. The displacement theory continued to enjoy acceptance in at least some scientific circles as indicated by discussion at the Auckland Institute on the subject of native birds and their declining numbers. A.P.W. Thomas (Professor of Natural Science at the Auckland University College) opined to the gathering "the birds of New Zealand seemed to have less power of resisting their various enemies than those which had to go through keener competition".[127]

Buller had attributed the disappearance of the korimako from the North Island to "the observed natural law, that expiring races of animals and plants linger longest and find their last refuge on sea-girt islands of limited extent".[128] Later, he was to repeat this sentiment in the Onslow Memorandum where, as support, he quoted from Alfred Newton's address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science thus "…we ought to learn all we can about [these indigenous species] before they go".[129] Given Buller's long-held belief that the native flora and fauna were to die out anyway, Galbreath is of the opinion that Buller's use of the term "conservation" used in the Memorandum is more explicable as referring to a "policy or action of government intervention" as it was used during the 1870's debate of forestry

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[125] Hill, R. and Hill, S. in (1987) "Richard Henry of Resolution Island", Dunedin: John McIndoe, in Association with the New Zealand Wildlife Service, quote Mr R. Paulin (F.G.S.); G.M. Thomson; Otago Acclimatisation Society as expressing these opinions (p118-9). Buller, W.L. considered that as a result of the introduction of mustelids "all flightless birds were doomed to rapid extinction" and that "every lover of natural history will therefore learn with delight that Resolution Island is now being stocked with all these vanishing forms" ((1896) Notes on the Ornithology of New Zealand, TNZI 29, p203)

[126] Reminiscent of Grove's island symbolism

[127] As quoted in Star op. cit., p202

[128] Buller, W.L. (1877) "Notes on the Ornithology of New Zealand", read before the Wellington Philosophical Society, 22 September, published in TNZI 10, p211at p211. Such rhetoric is strongly reminiscent of a similar theme in literature - of the heroic noble savage facing his doom from modern civilisation.

[129] Quoted in Galbreath, op. cit., p227

"…rather than to the intended aim of preserving the flora or fauna of the island".[130] Such intervention would ensure that examples would remain, at least for a while, to allow study, documentation and specimen collection. In light of this it is both noteworthy and ironic that Buller diverted two rare (later extinct) Huia on their way to an island sanctuary in favour of providing Rothschild with two stuffed specimens for his museum collection.

As an aside, it should be noted that not all sectors of society were in support of the creation of such sanctuaries, these being evidence of failed resistances. For example, Galbreath discusses at some length the effect reservation of off-shore islands was to have on Maori populations. In this discussion he highlights the way that "moves to conserve the native fauna… were carried out within a continuing process of displacement of Maori people".[131] This concept of ethnic domination is also reminiscent of the displacement theory, as seen in submissions made to the Native Affairs Committee on the taking of Kapiti Island as a reserve. When the local Maori owners (Ngati Toa) protested at this taking, one of the committee members, Richard Monk, suggested that there should be a memorial[132] erected to "the history of Te Rauparaha and the Ngatitoa".[133]

Overall, the intention of those involved cannot easily be identified as reflecting a discrete Romantic ethic. Rather, they tend to reflect an ambivalent ethic, perhaps better described as a convergence of the developmental/Utilitarian and Romantic/nostalgic urges. Significantly, Buller continued to collect specimens for Rothschild's museum.[134] Charles Robinson, appointed as caretaker for Little Barrier Island pending completion of its purchase as a reserve, reported that the lower slopes would "make good grazing for sheep".[135] As late as 1920, when the Forestry Department requested the Commissioner for Crown Lands in Invercargill to report on the feasibility of a wood-pulp industry on Stewart Island he

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[130] Ibid. Of relevance is the theme of a previous paper read by Buller to the Wellington Philosophical Society on 27 June 1894, in which he explained "long before the effects of our drastic colonisation… many of the ground species were dying out, in obedience, no doubt, to the inscrutable law of nature whereby races of animals and plants… die out and give place to other forms of life" ("Notes on the Ornithology of New Zealand with an Exhibition of Rare Specimens", TNZI 27 (1894) p96).

[131] Galbreath, op, cit., p234. Hill and Hill, op. cit., explain at p117 that after the native owners of little Barrier had sold 3/10ths of the Island to the Government in 1892, they refused to complete the sale until certain grievances had been addressed. The Government was "obliged" to pass the Little Barrier Purchase Act 1894 in order to acquire it without further delay. Note the implied connection between Government action and a policy of conservation, a theme that echoes the push for forest conservation during the Vogel era.

[132] A physical reminder of a glorious past, now faded and extinguished!

[133] Galbreath, op. cit., p257

[134] Ibid., p290

responded: "It is… difficult to imagine anything more beautiful than its bush-clad shores and islands and its sheltered bays…. I consider it of great importance to preserve the natural growth on the most attractive portions",[136] thereby by implication allowing the possibility of such an industry on parts of the island considered less attractive.

Perhaps the best person illustrating this ambivalence is Richard Henry (custodian of Resolution Island but living on nearby Pigeon Island from 1894-1909), who has been described by his biographers as "one of New Zealand's first conservationists"[137] and a "remarkable and talented field naturalist".[138] Although the scientific value of some of his work has in some cases only recently been recognised,[139] he attracted contemporary media attention with his stories of life on the island.[140] Attributable at least in part to this media coverage, there was written evidence of both a political and a popular acknowledgement of the need for this off-shore reserve as protection against the ravages accompanying civilisation.

> [Resolution Island is a] reserve for the protection of indigenous birds, many species of which, but for the establishment of such a protected area, would… speedily become extinct, owing to …fire, … stoats, ferrets, wild cats and other natural enemies, and the reckless destruction indulged in by shootists.[141]

However, Henry himself seemed uncertain as to the protection afforded by island sanctuaries. When it was suggested that he capture takahes for the island he wrote:

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[135] Ibid., p403. Resolution Island was considered an area whose "value as a place of settlement is small". (Otago Acclimatisation Society Minutes, 11 September 1873, quoted in Galbreath, p199)

[136] Commissioner for Crown Lands to Undersecretary for Lands, July 1920

[137] Hill and Hill, op. cit., p19

[138] Ibid., p318

[139] For example, his conclusion that kakapo boom only in breeding seasons, and breed only when food is plentiful (ibid., p322)

[140] For example, Christchurch Press (1896) "An Interesting Work", 26 December, p6; Otago Daily Times (1903) "A Naturalist Amongst his Pets", 4 December, p4. Certain of his reports and writings were published in a book, Henry, R. (1903) The Habits of Flightless Birds of New Zealand: with Notes on other New Zealand Birds, Wellington: Government Print

[141] Ashburton Guardian (1897) "Resolution Island", 2 January. Maitland had written to the Surveyor- General the previous year in a similar vein: "Henry has reason to believe that the ferrets have made their way down to 'Upper Cove'….I think this clearly shows that our efforts to preserve these birds from extinction have not been undertaken a day too soon." (Maitland to Surveyor General, 18 June 1896)

On Resolution Island… they would be more likely to be stolen… and their skins… sold in America or some enemies [sic] country…. If I were a Rothschild[142] I would not grudge 20,000 and perhaps make a profit in honours out of the world's interest in them.[143]

Henry displayed keen interest in the indigenous fauna and laboured tirelessly on its behalf. Nevertheless, his attitude towards both flora and fauna reflect contemporary views of nature, as being a passive "other" to be stage managed or turned to the benefit of man. For example, he referred to the mainland bush as "dismal" and described the use of goats to replace the bush with grass as "a [potential] blessing".[144] At another time he proposed the introduction (but during breeding season only!) of the long-tailed cuckoo as a way of controlling the small birds that he had identified as a threat to native populations on the island.

In his report for 1909, after describing the numerous birds that could be seen on and around the island, Donne announced that "during April the Government decided to withdraw the custodian".[145],[146] The immediate reasons for this decision are somewhat uncertain. *Prima facie*, it could be acceptance of the vigorous and healthy state of the bird population. Another explanation may be the reservation in 1905 of what would later become the Fiordland National Park. However whether (or if so when) Resolution Island was ever included in this park remains obscure. When it was first created the Island was specifically excluded, along with those surrounding it.

Other evidence supports a very different explanation of the decision to withdraw a custodian. Henry had long expressed concerns to officials on the decline in numbers of birds on the island, and pessimism about their future, blaming imported predators and competitors

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[142] His view of such avid collectors as Rothschild may be explicable given his dislike and suspicion of Buller (Buller being a keen collector on Rothschild's behalf) – Hill and Hill, p275, and his consequential suspicion as to what Buller would do with certain of his notes and pictures of native birds. (Henry had given these to Lord Ranfurly who "wanted them for the british museum" (quoted in Hill and Hill at page 263)) but Ranfurly had sent some on to Buller.)

[143] Henry to Maitland, 17 January 1899

[144] Henry in Report to Maitland, 31 March 1897

[145] The aptly named Lt Goldfinch, who arrived on the reserve in October 1908, Henry having been appointed as a custodian for the reserve on Kapiti Island. According to Hill and Hill, op. cit., it was concerns over Henry's health (he was then 63) that spurred the move and that "Donne was happy to let him go" (p300).

[146] Particularly surprising in light of the threats that would face no restraint with the removal of their human guardian. Shortly after this the island was effectively abandoned as a sanctuary although apparently not officially de-designated.

(introduced birds) for their predicament.[147] Also, his calls for regulations to guard against poaching by "excursionists on schooners"[148] went unheeded.[149] As Hill and Hill put it, "by the early 1900s [the native birds] were under assault by men with guns and dogs, from mustelids, from introduced birds, and from rats: and they were disappearing rapidly".[150] On this basis it would appear that the decision to remove the custodian from Resolution was an acknowledgement of failure, as indicated by it being described as "the now abandoned establishment" in an article published in 1909 under the heading "Undesirable Denizens".[151] By 1918 speakers at an Otago Institute meeting were making reference to Stewart Island as the only South Island off-shore sanctuary.[152]

Finally, the administration of both Resolution and little Barrier Islands was transferred to the Tourist and Health Resorts Department in 1904-5 as a result of an "inter-departmental tussle",[153] a Department at this time under the supervision of J.T. Donne,[154] an avid acclimatiser, although it would appear the islands escaped his acclimatic fervour. It is puzzling as to why this was considered the appropriate home for this responsibility as protection for the inhabitants of the islands from human interference appears to be an antithesis to the overall philosophy of the Department. However, as it could with equal justification be argued that the creation of such reserves was contradictory to the focus of the Department of Lands and Survey, perhaps this transfer best illustrates the point that there was no clearly suitable department to take on this role, with Governmental institutions a conduit for the exercise of power through a Modernist discourse that celebrated progress or at least use.

These examples serve to sound a warning as to the possible fate of the off-shore reserves had they been discovered to hoard something of value - perhaps indicative of how deeply

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[147] Hill and Hill, op. cit., p296-7

[148] 1905 AJHR H-2. Similar sentiments were expressed in 1906 (H-2, p12)

[149] According to Hill and Hill, op. cit., at p292 "all Robieson offered was sympathy, feeble instructions and a vague promise of future legislation".

[150] Ibid., p297. Given the abandonment of Resolution Island in the face of unstoppable invasion by predators, it is interesting to note the renewed attempts on the part of the Department of Conservation to re-establish it as an off-shore sanctuary. (Griggs, K. (2004) "New Zealand Creates Two Giant Island Sanctuaries", the Science Site, first retrieved from www.thesciencesite.info/archives/**island**_sanctuaries.pdf., 10 February 2005)

[151] Otago Daily Times (1909) "The National Park, Undesirable Denizens", 21 October, p4

[152] Reported in the Otago Witness (1918) "A Tilt at the Acclimatisation Society", 17 July, p22

[153] Hill and Hill, op. cit., p287

[154] Donne had made the suggestion to his Minister in March 1904 because, he argued, the Department was "closely concerned with the preservation of flora and fauna in the colony", Memo to the Minister, 12 March 1904, as quoted in ibid., p287

ingrained was the development ethos both in and out of Government was Henry's observation that "a breeding pair [of Takehe] would be worth a couple of 1000£ in the market say nothing about the sentimental that might reach ten times that in these days of high priced fads"[155] and the first of the annual reports from Donne on the Little Barrier Island reserve in which, after reporting on the state of birdlife on the island he explains that "when the island became Government property it was estimated that there were some nine million feet of this timber [kauri] standing".[156]

By way of conclusion to this discussion, the creation of island sanctuaries such as Resolution Island can be contextualised as an enunciation of a conservation/preservation discourse legitimising the re-location of threatened species of birds to a kindly island paradise- a far more acceptable approach to their protection than alterations in management of their on-shore habitat.[157] Specifically and pertinently, preservation of on-shore natural features and scenery could be justified only if "no good agricultural or pastoral land would be locked up in unproductive reserves".[158] Consequently, therefore, any theme of re-birth or creation of an Eden could at best be condoned as being of secondary and provisional legitimacy to the productivity imperative.

A third example of relevance in mapping the meaning of conservation within this historical context is that of National Parks. Although an outcome of the same discursive framework as were off-shore reserves, the main motivation of advocates was to create pleasuring grounds in which items of interest and "natural curiosities" [159] could be preserved for the erudition and delight of "tourists and travellers".[160], [161] Hence, by naming an area a National Park, Utilitarian and Romantic concepts embedded in a Modernist discourse could justify and support the setting aside of land (particularly if unsuitable for settlement) that could then be admired and utilised in a legitimate way.

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[155] Henry to Commissioner of Crown Lands, Dunedin, 24 July, 1895
[156] Tourist and Health Resorts Department, 1905 AJHR H-2, p14-15
[157] Protection of mustelids remained until 1903 even in areas where there were no rabbits (Star and Lochhead, op. cit., p123)
[158] The Scenery Preservation Board (replacing the Scenery Preservation Commission in 1906 as quoted in Galbreath, op. cit., p403)
[159] Land Act 1884, s34
[160] Smith, L. (1902) Department of Lands and Survey, Wellington Office, AJHR C-13B, p11 at p12
[161] This is evidenced by the characteristics of National Parks in New Zealand with mountains, beaches and lakes being common scenic attractions. Skiing, water sports and other outdoor activities have become well embedded as appropriate usages.

As an aside, Star argues that this was ultimately beneficial to the environmental movement. Through this argument he is not suggesting that National Parks in their original iteration were a manifestation of environmental concern, but rather that it was possible for environmental concern to later become attached to the National Park movement. The reason for his conclusion is that tourism in the National Parks opened the door to environmental awareness: as tourists journeyed "to a scenic feature like the Pink and White Terraces, the chance of spotting a kokako *en route* was an added attraction". [162] For this reason it is relevant to explore how relevant discursive themes were manifested in this context.

National Parks - Promotion of the Public Pleasure

Within these words of "public pleasure" lies a clue as to how their advocates of the age comprehended the concept of National Parks - as the "extension of the concept of the public domain"[163],[164] which could be enjoyed by those seeking what they could offer in the way of scenery and other attractions. Evidence of this can be seen as early as 1876 with a call for:

> the Government … to become the possessors of at least part of this unparalleled region so as to make a public domain for New Zealand"…. It is very desirable that they should be set aside… as a park and pleasure ground for the colony, and for visitors who will thereafter throng to them from all parts of the world.[165]

Crucial to legitimisation of such an enunciation of discourse was the concept of the English "cultivated" park which, as explained previously,[166] underpinned the discourse of reservation or areas of wilderness. This would endure as a theme underpinning later arguments for reservation of marginal lands as parks as attractions for "a new breed of bourgeois tourists emerged who… combed the world for Natural landscapes which resembled those of the Natural parks of Britain".[167] However, this does not necessarily mean such tourists confined their attentions to these familiar landscapes. They also investigated the alien worlds of

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[162] Star op. cit., n3, p198.
[163] Galbreath, op. cit., p205
[164] Thom op. cit., p115 points out that the empowering legislation for both Tongariro and Egmont put them under the Domains Act 1881
[165] New Zealand Herald (1876) "Spectemur Agendo", 25 January, p2, referring to the lakes area in Fiordland
[166] Supra, p51, post
[167] Olwig, K.F. and Olwig, K.(1978) "Underdevelopment and the Development of 'Natural' Park Ideology", Antipode, 11(2) 1978, p16

primeval forest, soaring mountains and thermal wonders, possibly fulfilling their fantasies and dreams along the way.

In addition, the concept of National Parks served as a metaphor for equality, a point implied by Olwig and Olwig in accounting for the history of such parks. "The most Natural state of existence… is that which occurred during the paradisiacal 'pastoral golden age' of society. In that age, human society supposedly lived in leisurely egalitarian harmony with its physical environment and itself".[168] In New Zealand and other settler societies, the definition of nature was to move from that which was artificially created and highly symbolic to one more "virginal", disordered and accessible to all, regardless of social status or wealth.[169]

> It was the destructive penetration of a developmental capitalist form of society into a land inhabited by a people whose society and relationship to the environment was vastly different…. We see a transition from the predominance of the pastoral ideal of humanised nature to the wilderness ideal.[170]

However, that did not carry with it either a presumption or a policy that an area reserved as "natural" would be left free of interference or change.[171] Nor did it imply an understanding of the "environment" as a concept.[172] With the focus on "pleasure" it was legitimate to find ways of increasing that pleasure within the contours of the dominant development discourse. Such an increase may well allow the provision of recreational pursuits such as big game hunting. Of relevance in this context is the discussion relating to the gazetting of a large part of Fiordland as a reserve (later as a National Park). One of those advocating this was the Commissioner for Lands for Southland (John Hay, who also had a strong ally in Donne).[173]

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[168] Ibid., p17

[169] A response to the demand for egalitarian treatment by the "yeoman" settler.

[170] Olwig and Olwig, op. cit., p21. Here they were talking about North America but this argument is equally relevant in the New Zealand context.

[171] Richard Henry suggested that "goats would be bad for the bird reserve [on Resolution Island] but a blessing for the dismal bush on the mainland…. In long years to come they might extend the grass downwards [from the mountain tops] until it becomes valuable *when* deer are liberated" (Report to Barron, 31 March 1897, italics added). Although this comment pre-dates the reservation of what later became the Fiordland National Park, the same sentiments were applied to such parks after creation.

[172] A distinction must be made between the popular articulation and identification of environmental concern and the scientific concern over the plight of native species that predates even the creation of Yellowstone, the first National Park in the world.

[173] In 1903 (NZPD (H.R.), Vol 127, 1903: 261) F.R. Flatman asked Ward (Minister in Charge of the Tourist Department) "whether… 'the officers of the …Department are continuing their inquiries for big game suitable for acclimatisation' ". According to Thom, op. cit., "the arrival of … chamois gave particular pleasure to T.E. Donne" (p116-117).

> …I contemplate submitting for approval the reservation of the whole of what I may
> term the Sounds district as a national park. It may appear a very extensive reservation,
> but the country within the suggested boundaries is excessively rugged, and I may say
> quite unfit for pastoral purposes…any rents that may accrue from it …certainly would
> be very small in comparison to what might be derived therefrom from tourists and
> others were it stocked with big game, &c., and, moreover, the native flora and fauna
> would be preserved, which is very desirable.[174]

In this report, reference to the preservation of the native flora and fauna almost appears as an afterthought, something able to be sacrificed provided the principal aim of gaining profits from tourists and others is achieved. That is not to say there was no preservation purpose,[175] merely that such a purpose was just one of a variety of "uses" to which the area could be put. Therefore, an argument that could be raised as an alternative to that of Star is that the resultant cooperative association between tourism and the national park lobby was an "unholy alliance" resulting as it did in a persistent lack of focus and dedication to the concept of preservation (as opposed to conservation within its traditional meaning).[176] This was a problem that would manifest itself most markedly in later years and that would prove significant in terms of the development of environmental thought in New Zealand.[177]

The final and related, although relatively limited context in which the concepts relating to the emerging discourse can be considered, is that of scenery preservation in mainland scenic reserves. Identification of land for scenic reservation *per se* was ad-hoc and tenuous. Any designation as such could be overturned should another, more desirable, use be identified. While the Land Act 1885 was amended in 1892 to allow scenery as a basis for reservation, the "provision was seldom used before 1900",[178] despite the establishment and efforts of scenery preservation societies throughout the country.[179] Given its tenuous nature and perilous

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[174] Commissioner for Lands for Southland Report to the Secretary for Lands, 1903 AJHR C1, p66-67.
[175] The Otago Daily Times, op. cit., n151, reported that "Cabinet has decided to declare the National Park at the Southern Sounds and Lakes a sanctuary for native birds, in lieu of the now abandoned establishment at Resolution Island".
[176] Postponement of use.
[177] The significance of this theme is demonstrated in two of the three specific case-studies analysed in part III of this thesis.
[178] Star and Lochhead, op. cit., p123
[179] Star and Lochhead make reference to the work of the Taranaki Society in publishing a guide to Mount Egmont in 1892 (ibid., p124)

position, it is considered that this too is useful in enhancing the picture of conservation within the discourse.

Scenic Reserves - a Slice of Nature

By the end of the nineteenth century there was some move towards scenery preservation with descriptors such as "beautiful" and "unique" being applied. However, given that the Department of Lands (and Survey) had as its principal duty the "surveying, subdividing and preparing to sell for settlement all the remaining areas of crown land suitable to meet the requirements of the people",[180] any reservation of scenery would, indeed *should*, be effected only once that primary imperative had been achieved. Hence it was generally accepted and assumed that designation of land for the purposes of scenery reservation would be clearly ranked below that of settlement because in "places like the 40 mile bush… the destruction of the forest was unhappily a matter of necessity. There the country was suitable for settlement, and the bush must go".[181]

However, and entirely consistently with a discourse celebrating progress, there was growing awareness of the potential from tourism, an awareness evidenced *inter alia* by the 1893 debate on protection of forests,[182] the creation of the Tongariro and Egmont National Parks and the launching of various tourist initiatives by private enterprise. Official recognition of this potential came with the formation of the Tourist and Health Resorts Department in 1901.

Echoing explanations for the rhetoric surrounding the establishment of National Parks, Star and Lochhead consider that those seeking to promote scenery preservation positioned their campaigns in the tourism discourse because "promoting Utilitarian benefits offered the best hope of achieving protection until others shared their sense of reverence…. They would be regarded as 'fanatics not untouched with lunacy' if they stressed preservation for its own sake".[183] This is entirely compatible with Runte's worthless lands hypothesis and the need for those campaigning for preservation to identify anthropocentric values arising therefrom.

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[180] See, for example, Department of Lands and Survey 1905 AJHR C-1
[181] Hon. W. P. Reeves, in House debate on MacKenzie's motion, NZPD (HR), Vol 82, 1893:267
[182] See supra, p127 post
[183] Star and Lochhead, op. cit., p124

Consequently, in 1903 Mr Harry Ell (Member for Christchurch) introduced a Scenery Preservation bill, the principal purposes being firstly, to provide a mechanism for identifying areas of scenery that should be protected and secondly, to provide money which could be used in their purchase (if necessary) and maintenance. This was the first time that specific monies had been sought from Parliament for the purposes of scenery preservation so, despite a lengthy debate over *how much* was appropriate, the very fact the House was willing to entertain the idea that money *should be* allocated did demonstrate at least some appreciation of the growing discursive legitimacy for such preservation.[184]

The debate on the objectives of this Scenery Preservation bill reflects the ambivalence in society as to the relative importance of nature and development, an ambivalence possibly best encapsulated by letters referred to by A.D. Willis, one of the speakers in support. These letters signed by "A Hatrick", had been sent to the Hon. James Carroll, Native Minister, and to Mr Connor, Mayor of Wanganui.[185] In both these letters, despite making reference to the beauty of the wooded scenery on a particular slope, Hatrick speaks in the language of progress by warning of the adverse effects of clearance - specifically "much of it will slip into the river" and "it will bring a lot of timber into the river".[186] He then goes on to support the attempt to protect "all those places where the scenery was likely to attract the attention of visitors to our shores"[187] and expresses his confidence that "when the money came to be expended the people of the colony would, without exception, be very pleased indeed".[188]

Opponents argued that scenery preservation should only be considered once all areas were appropriately developed and serviced. For example, Mr F.Y. Lethbridge "thought the Government should put this Bill off for a few years, until the back-blocks districts were provided with something like decent roads, and until the country settlers were furnished with schools in which to educate their children".[189] Mr J. McLauchlan from Ashburton accused Willis of "being an old colonist who had fattened himself in the incredulity of the tourists, and

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[184] Star and Lochhead give credit for the successful passage of this legislation to "a decade of lobbying on…scenery preservation issues by the scenery preservation societies" (ibid., p127)
[185] NZPD (HR), Vol 127, 1903:86, per A.D. Willis
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.

yet refused to give to the poor settlers of the Waimarino Block the money that they required for their roads".[190]

However, the words of supporters of the bill demonstrate a more eloquent appreciation of the strategies of opposition and show a determination to overcome them. They succeeded to the extent that the notion of scenery preservation, limited though it may have been, triumphed over attempts to suppress it. T. MacKenzie suggested that scenery preservation did not have to come at the expense of roads,[191] while Seddon expressed the opinion that the "member for Ashburton …[was] unsentimental, and had no aspirations beyond that of a milk-pail".[192]

A further statement by Seddon goes some way to evidencing the growing appreciation (albeit limited in terms of place) in New Zealand of nature rather than artifice. On being challenged by McLauchlan on his remark about the milk pail (McLauchlan explaining that he "had aspirations higher than the loaves and fishes which the honourable gentleman was clamouring for") Seddon replied that "the honourable member had taken great pleasure in showing him over the Gardens at Ashburton, but he would remind him that there were other places in the colony quite as beautiful, only natural".[193]

The bill became the Scenery Preservation Act 1903. The Commission set up under this Act was ultimately to be responsible for recommending the reservation of some 50% of the land now incorporated in New Zealand's National Parks. However, it was to remain firmly embedded in a Modernist discourse with themes of celebrating use. Indications of this include the fact that after coming under the auspices of the Department of Lands - the Department charged principally with opening up Crown Lands for settlement - the new Scenery Preservation Board took over the work of the Scenery Preservation Commission. This Board was composed of the Surveyor General, the General Manager of Tourism and the relevant District Commissioner of Crown Lands.[194] In the Report on Scenery Preservation of the same year Kensington explained that "available funds… are devolved primarily to the acquisition of lands nearest the main routes of railways and traffic",[195] thereby implying that scenery

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[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid., p88
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] As reported in the Annual Report of the Department of Lands and Survey, 1907 AJHR C-13
[195] Ibid., C-6, p2

existed to be appreciated and decisions as to its preservation would be based on the criterion of maximum appreciation.

Summary and Conclusions - a Shifting Ground?

The five developments described in this chapter (a changing view on acclimatisation, forest conservation, creation of off-shore sanctuaries, National Parks and on-shore reserves) clearly show some urge at various levels in society in favour of conservation as at the end of the nineteenth century. However, the evidence suggests that concepts of preservation were of secondary importance, with conservation located within a dominant Modernist discourse celebrating use, most normally through change (progress). Such a location was supported within a regime of truth that acknowledged the superiority of European species and the primacy of the rural sector. It was only where such a use could not be normalised for a given place that an alternative meaning could be provided. However, even those meanings were so blurred or interwoven with other imperatives and motives such as recreation, tourism, and scientific and economic argument that a noble championing of the plight of native species and their environment is difficult to find. Consequently, it is unrealistic to argue that conservation in the sense of preservation became legitimised as an objective in its own right, instead resonating closely with a concept of wise use.

So it is within such an historical context that the discussion in the next chapter of this thesis turns to an examination and analysis of a particular context within which a dominant Modernist discourse was to triumph. The context is hydro-electricity. The triumph was to have profound effects on the shape of environmental discourse in New Zealand. The chapter that follows introduces the historical background to the industry, thereby providing context for the genealogical studies contained in the chapters that follow.

Chapter six

Hydro-electricity and its Place in New Zealand Discourse

Introduction

The previous two chapters of this thesis identify and trace themes embedded in discourse of historical relevance to the New Zealand environment. Chapter Four identified the themes along with their ethical grounding that were to dominate such discourse in the first fifty years of European settlement, focusing in particular on acclimatisation as a story within which those themes could be explored. Chapter Five then explored the location of those themes during the last part of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth with a view to determining the nature and meaning of the emergent concept of conservation. This final chapter in this part now refines the focus to a consideration of these discursive themes within a specific context, that of the hydro-electricity industry in New Zealand. In providing an overview of discourse within which the industry first emerged and gained legitimacy as truth, it establishes a framework for the context-relevant case studies that are included in Part Three.

By way of justification for selection of the hydro-electric industry as the focus of this study, it is more than coincidental that the sites on which conflict between a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse and a resistance promoting alternative values were, and continue to be, frequently located within the hydro-electricity context. At the beginning of the twentieth century this source of power suddenly emerged to occupy a privileged position, not only as proof of nature's subservience to man but also synonymous within social discourse as a metaphor for economic and social progress. Somewhat ironically, it follows that changing political fortunes for this source of power also echo ruptures and discontinuities in economic and social discourse.

To provide an historical framework for the genealogical case-studies that follow, this chapter documents and traces a knowledge that energy needs should be delivered through

large inter-connected, state-owned, hydro-electric schemes, based on altered landscapes.
This documentation involves considering four main questions:

- When did a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse emerge within the context of hydro-electric generation?

- What was the knowledge that privileged the regime of truth underpinning this manifestation of the Modernist discourse?

- What can events and developments reveal about the strategies applied to maintain the hegemony of the Modernist discourse through the hydro-electrical debate?

- What were the implications of these strategies for a resistance seeking power through an environmental discourse?

New Zealand-style Modernist Discourse in Hydro-electricity - the Point of Emergence

As identified previously,[1] Foucault identifies the modern age as one of the three great epistemes in (relatively) recent history (along with the renaissance and classical), while Milovanovic cites other writers in locating the emergence of Modernist thought in the Enlightenment, which he defines as a "celebration of the liberating potentials of the social sciences, the materialistic gains of capitalism, new forms of rational thought, due process safeguards, abstract rights applicable to all".[2] Modernity itself is generally used to refer to the period of western history "characterised by scientific rationality, the development of commerce and capitalism, the rise of education, surveillance, urbanism and atheism".[3]

Consistent with how these and some other writers have used the term, Modernist discourse as applied in this thesis, "assumes that individuals are more or less 'sovereign' over their worlds and potentially unified by the presumed commonality of Western

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[1] Supra, p40
[2] Milovanovic, D. (1995) "Dueling Paradigms: Modernist v Post Modernist Thought", Humanity and Society 19(1), p1at p1-2

goals".[4] The implication arising from the sovereignty of individuals is that instead of God or some yet-to-be-discovered natural order being the repository of knowledge, man[5] now assumes that role. That knowledge is revealed through man's ability to invent a world that privileges and reflects these "Western goals" - economic value, standardisation and growth through development - as natural, normal or best. "Nature" on the other hand is subject to an instrumental anthropocentric definition[6] within this discourse and values such as aesthetics, variability and anti-development subjugated as "other".

Before proceeding with the discussion, a reminder about the characteristics of relevant discourse is in order. In the New Zealand context, Modernist discourse was to assume a particular flavour in relation to two characteristics in particular. European settlers, the "yeoman farmers" had, from the first days of nineteenth century colonisation, granted the State the power to make decisions on their behalf over many aspects of their daily lives.[7] Consequently, rather than reflecting capitalism and urbanism, New Zealand-style Modernist discourse revolved around two principal objects, ruralisation of the population and the participation of the State as both director and player. An object of economic progress remained central to the discourse but romantic concepts of the (tamed) garden and equality assumed significance as metaphors for civilisation.

In nineteenth century New Zealand, such a Modernist discourse had privileged change to the surface of the landscape, an imperative that has been attributed to the original desire

[3] Danaher, G., Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2000) "Understanding Foucault", St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, pxiii

[4] Krause, S.D. (1996) Postmodernity, Rhetorical Situations, and a Definition of Immediacy, PhD Thesis, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, chapter 2, first retrieved from http://www.emunix.emich.edu/~krause/Diss/Chapter_2.html, 19 March 2002

[5] The use of this term rather than of "human" reflects the notion that man rather than "woman" embodies such values. Dryzec refers to these values when discussing the philosophy of eco-feminism: "The root of all environmental problems… is not anthropocentrism… but rather androcentrism "male domination of everything" (Dryzec, J. (1997) The Politics of the Earth, Environmental Discourses, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p158)

[6] "which implies a nonchalant and myopic harnessing of its causal powers with a view solely to the advancement of human interests" (Soper, K. (1995) What is Nature?, Oxford: Blackwell, p156).

[7] Beaglehole, J.C. (1946) The University and the Community, Essays in honour of T.A. Hunter, Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, p98 at p119. Maori on the other hand were more likely to be alienated than aided with the individualisation of land title, English concepts of value and such dichotomies as useful/waste.

of colonists to create the "Britain of the South" through productivity and civilisation.[8]

With its emphasis on an invented or created appearance, the sciences of botany and biology assisted this change most particularly with justifications for,[9] and assistance with, acclimatisation of exotic flora and fauna. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, some new meanings were being applied to the New Zealand landscape. Rather than advocating continued change, there were moves on the part of New Zealand-born scientists to gain acknowledgement of the values of the natural environment.[10] However, these moves were neither widely supported nor indicative of a change in the way individuals spoke and thought about the environment. Rather, the language of support and rationalisation for the establishment of National Parks and reserves indicates that such voices for the indigenous environment did little more than uneasily occupy a space within a Modernist discourse and a celebration of progress and use.

Even this uneasy and tenuous occupation was now threatened by the advent of new technologies that "enabled the Victorians to change their environment in a matter of years rather than the decades or generations of earlier times",[11] most particularly through engineering. The drive to "progress" was liberated from restrictions and limitations imposed by the physical environment. In a world of such "instrumental rationality", once science had "identifie[d] the underlying 'laws' of the Universe" "engineering [would] take that knowledge and apply it in an instrumental manner for the betterment of the world"[12] and allow society to realise a dream "that nature [be] tamed and made subservient to man".[13]

The effect of this rationality, to borrow from Lenk in another context, turns "Immanuel Kant's old dictum, 'Ought implies can', into a reverse technological imperative 'can

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[8] See discussion supra, p100 post

[9] See reference to Displacement Theory, supra, p111

[10] See discussions on the activities of Scenic Preservation Societies and on the support for the creation of National Parks, see supra, p148 post

[11] Wright, M. (1999) New Zealand's Engineering Heritage, Auckland: Reed NZ Ltd, p10

[12] Kavanagh, D. and O'Kane, P. (2000) "Poles of Engineering Design", paper presented at the Engineering Design in an Academic Environment, Special Conference of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

[13] Premier Sir Robert Stout (1885) on the opening of the Main Trunk Line as quoted in Wright, op. cit., p10

implies ought'".[14] Such a challenge involving the question of "can we do it?" rather than "should we do it", privileged technical achievement within the social discourse, a privileging implied by Wright with his observation that "the existence of … engineering works themselves was often held to be synonymous with 'progress'".[15]

What then is the meaning granted such achievement within the dominant social discourse of the era? As a point of general application, Foucault suggests that engineering during Victorian times (and arguably since) was a power strategy utilised by the State enabling surveillance of a population and its control. "Foucault has identified 19th century… engineers… as prototypical technicians of space who… redefined the nature of government and of society by extending an urban logic of government to the level of the state".[16] As a reflection of that interpretation, networks of roads and railways getting ever smaller with distance from hubs of local and central Government administration can arguably locate such hubs as a metaphor for power. Also, an environment centred on large industrial and residential buildings permitted the population to be organised, watched and controlled. Preference granted certain types of energy use and application established power clusters and structures.

Such governance and control enabled through engineering was not limited to the human subject but could extend beyond it to nature itself, silencing its voice through a language of instrumentality that ensured the maintenance of existing power relations and the suppression of the other. Engineering as such a power strategy is echoed in the New Zealand context, with such power originally exercised by the State through public works and infrastructure projects, ostensibly as protection against foreign incursion or private sector failure but also assuring the continued domination by the State. Consequently, the theme implicit in Vogel's public works policy of a "partnership between British investment and New Zealand development",[17] involved loans made directly to the New

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[14] Lenk, H. (1997) "Progress, Values and Responsibility", Techné: Journal of the Society for Philosophy and Technology, 2 (3/4), p2 at p7
[15] Wright, op. cit., p10
[16] Kavanagh, and O'Kane, op. cit.
[17] Morell, W.P. (1944) Britain and New Zealand, London: Longmans, Green and Company , p26

Zealand central Government, and the "initiative in public works… consolidated in the state".[18]

Through these public works that involved rail, road and other infrastructural construction, communications and land clearance, the land itself remained exposed to modification. Such modification in turn legitimised its control and its civilisation in accordance with the New Zealand discursive themes as identified above. However, the State was not limited to participation to infrastructural public works. It was also to play a major role in the exploitation of resources in a more general way. This role did not merely involve "the blanket of law enabling resource development",[19] but by the beginning of the twentieth century extended to a policy framework embracing public ownership and "pragmatic socialism" within a "public", Modernist-value driven discourse that both determined and shaped that exploitation.

In no context was such a policy framework more clearly displayed than in hydro-electricity which, as stated previously,[20] is claimed to occupy a privileged position within a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse. To map the impact of this positioning, it is now timely to locate the emergence of this manifestation. Prima facie, it would seem that this emergence can be located in an officially sponsored survey conducted in 1903.

To explain, in that year the New Zealand Liberal Government commissioned a survey of possible sites for hydro-electrical generation. The survey was conducted by L.M. Hancock (Californian Gas and Electricity Corporation) and P.S. Hay (Superintendent Engineer, Public Works Department), and has been described by Farrell as "the first major governmental act in the systematic development of hydroelectric power in New Zealand, and… the most momentous occasion in the history of the utilisation of power

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[18] Pickering, B.B.M. (1949) State Policy and Hydro Electricity in New Zealand 1884-1925, M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand, p24
[19] Wheen, N. (2002) "New Zealand Environmental Law", in Environmental Histories of New Zealand, Pawson and Brooking (eds), Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p261, at p262
[20] Supra, p155

resources".[21] According to Wright, this survey "prompted the Water-power Act 1903"[22] although the cause and effect link between its outcomes and the legislation is uncertain given that Hay's report was not completed until 1904 and Hancock's not until 1905. The reception given a previous report by E. Allo of the Department of Public Works and Hancock's preliminary report provided in 1903 was hardly enthusiastic, with T.E. Taylor (Christchurch) making a slighting reference to them during the second reading on the Water-power bill, to wit: "I think the Government knows now that [the preliminary reports] were not of much value".[23] In light of this comment and the chronology involved, it is perhaps better to attempt to associate the effect of the bill as an outcome of its historical context.

This preliminary conclusion begs the question: what shaped the discourse of hydro-electricity in New Zealand? The next part of this chapter is devoted to an exploration of this particular question. While it is acknowledged that a range of factors can be identified as contributing to that shape, in the interests of clarity, this exploration focuses in three themes considered to be of principal significance. These themes are as follows:

- Broad social and economic well-being is achieved through state direction and participation in the electricity generation business.
- Economic efficiency can best be achieved through large as opposed to small facilities.
- It is appropriate to focus on electricity from water rather than alternative sources such as coal.

The following discussion attempts to further explicate these themes in turn, allowing conclusions to be drawn as to their discursive implications.

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[21]Farrell, B.H. (1962) Power in New Zealand - A Geography of Energy Resources, Wellington: A.W. and A.H. Reed, p15. In the space of just one year from then the discourse was to both implicitly and overtly incorporate notions of large size and state control.

[22] Wright, op. cit., p64

[23] NZPD (HR), Vol 126, 1903: 790

Public Sector Focus

As indicated above,[24] commentators have considered that the move by Government to control of the hydro-electric industry determined its direction and speed of development. Such participation by the public sector in the exploitation of such "resources", despite it being potentially questionable in a time of laissez-faire capitalism, was not heretical in nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand with its particular brand of Modernist discourse. Thus, the legislation should be considered rather as a major feature of a broad and well-trodden historical path whereby the State as a metaphor for democratic rights should assume the decision-making power. The central position of such a metaphor within a regime of truth was demonstrated by a statement made by the Minister of Public Works:

> Taking the lakes of the south and the falls… and the many rivers… I think members will admit it is only right to say that the State- the people- should have in their control the power which is contained in those rivers, falls and lakes.[25]

The Act had as stated objective of reserving to Government exclusive rights to water-courses for the purpose of generating electricity, or as Pickering explains, "the sole right to use water…for the purpose of generating…here was made explicit and definitive".[26] It also implied "that the Government itself intended to enter the field as a producer of

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[24] Supra, p160-61

[25] W. Hall-Jones, NZPD (HR), Vol 125, 1903: p785) when introducing the bill for its second reading.

[26] Pickering, op. cit., p79-80. Thus the Act can be seen as an overt demonstration of central Government's intention to acquire and retain the title to all hydro-electric resources in the country, rather than in limited areas (Mining (Public Works Act 1882)) or for particular purposes (damming of rivers for irrigation purposes (Mines Act 1877))

electricity"[27],[28] but, like the reports, did not demonstrate any dramatic shift in philosophical direction.[29]

Looking back from 1903, water-power had been carving an increasingly prominent place in both official and popular discourse for over 20 years before the turn of the century. Reefton and Wellington had electric lighting from 1888[30],[31] with other municipal authorities such as Dunedin taking steps in that direction[32] or making arrangements for private companies to provide public lighting within the urban areas. Despite the separateness of such developments both in time and space, they shared the common characteristic of close supervision and control by the State, this level of supervision and control exercised through the medium of special Acts of Parliament.[33]

 The appearance of the first census returns on the use of water- power in New Zealand for industrial purposes[34] in 1874 acknowledged the privileged place granted this form of power within the regime of truth. In addition, events like the industrial exhibition of 1885[35] and the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition of 1889-1890 were instrumental in raising public awareness of electricity.

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[27] Pickering, op. cit., p80. The wording of s2(1) which carries this explicit message, is as follows: "Subject to any rights lawfully held, the sole right to use water in lakes, falls, rivers or streams for the purpose of generating or storing electricity or other power shall vest in His Majesty".

[28] Although the Mining Amendment Act 1891 had carried "the clear implication … that the development of hydroelectric schemes was to be by … government rather than by private enterprise" (Wright, op. cit., p37),

[29] Pickering provides an historical justification for the State's extant determination to retain title in 1903- with mining being so important from an early date and with water being so important for mining, the law governing its use and ownership was "rather different… from that in other countries" (op. cit. p65)

[30] "Significantly, it was indirectly connected with gold-mining" (Wallsend mine) (ibid., p49-50).

[31] Stratford (Stratford Electric Supply Company) was third in 1898.

[32] Others included the Christchurch City Council (1902), The Hawera County Electric Supply Coy (1902) and the Borough of Dannevirke - although this last scheme went no further (Birks (1924) "The Water-power Resources of New Zealand", The Transactions of the First Water Power Conference, London, 30 June- 12 July, p460 at 461)

[33] Pickering, op. cit., p69 post

[34] As cited ibid., p28.

[35] Pickering cites attendance figures of 132,787 out of a total Wellington population of 608,400 (op. cit, p25). A report on the exhibition (Nelson Evening Mail, 3 August 1885, p3) dwelt on the mayhem surrounding the opening, with "Ministers of the Crown, members of Parliament, and Consuls, all vainly endeavouring to gain admission".

Evidence of the latter can be drawn from media coverage of the 1885 exhibition held in Wellington. Most particularly, the locally published Evening Post included a supplement describing in detail the manufacturers' displays.[36] Such coverage extended to descriptions of overseas uses of electricity in public contexts, with descriptions of experiments being carried out in New York on running the elevated railways of that city on electricity water-power as the principal form of energy.[37] The first engineering school in New Zealand and, according to Wright, one of the first in the world, established in 1887 at Canterbury University College as "a testament to the importance of engineering and science in the Victorian period"[38],[39] developed an early focus on electrical engineering with its first Director explaining that "the teaching of applied electricity cannot be omitted from a modern system of engineering instruction"[40] and the opening of an electrical laboratory in 1901.[41]

By 1889 the hegemony of electricity generated from water-power was such as to drive the Otago Daily Times to observe:

> …it may appear strange when considering the amount of water power required for the driving of our mining and other more-or-less ponderous machinery that more coals… are not more in evidence…. Coal has a powerful rival in the almost unlimited quantity of waterpower…. It is safe to say that had it not been for this fact coal mining …would now be one of the leading industries of the colony.[42]

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[36] The Evening Post (1885) "Exhibition Supplement to the Evening Post", 3 August, p1, 2 and 3

[37] Otago Daily Times (1889) "Electric Railway Motors", Supplement, 2 November, p2

[38] Wright, op. cit., p55

[39]Although "engineering" was given a somewhat narrow definition in 1879 with "Engineering and science" described as including "natural science, chemistry, botany, model drawing, civil engineering, and navigation" (Haultain, Col., (1879) in Report of the Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand, Wellington: Government Printer, H-1 p57. Haultain was as a member of the Boards of Governors of St John's College)

[40] Scott, R.J. (1900) "Annual Report of the School of Engineering", quoted in (1987) Design for a Century, Neutze and Beardsley (eds), Christchurch: University of Canterbury, p58

[41] Wright, op. cit., p56

[42] Otago Daily Times (1889) "Mining", 17 December, p2. A week later the same paper reported the decision by the Sandhills Gold Mining Co to adopt electricity to drive the dredge - "the economy of employing a power obtained without the cost of fuel speaks for itself" (24 December, p2).

Seemingly strange at the time, but in hindsight coal was perhaps a less obedient servant, its uses less controllable, its extraction and transportation reliant on the compliance of a class of individuals (the miners) and on decisions by those involved in private enterprise. In this context it is indicative of Governmental concern over the lack of state control over the coal resources that Hon. R.J. Seddon, as Minister of Mines in 1891, had commented thus: "so far as our mines are concerned we have given away our birthright. Coal is the motive power of all our industries and our coal mines are held by private individuals".[43] In such circumstances waterpower, centred on state involvement and control, could offer an opportunity for a New Zealand style Modernist discourse that embraced and contemplated State participation and control to triumph over alternative private-enterprise and other self-interested resistances.

Consequently, not only do writers on the subject tend to treat the 1903 survey as crucial in establishing a direction for hydro-electricity development, but also, and perhaps more importantly in this context, they judge the survey of 1903 and its resultant reports to be a manifestation of a well-established discursive theme of State control and participation. For example, Jackson opines that the report mandated "direct, physical control [affecting] the speed, nature and direction of the industry's development".[44] He attributes this approach largely to the central importance of such a resource as water[45] and as a corollary to "an antipathy to private control of such a resource [that] was strong by 1896 [the year of the Electric Motive Power Act] and … grew even stronger as New Zealand moved into the twentieth century".[46] In making his argument, Jackson cites a proposal by a J.C. Firth to generate electricity from the Huka Falls as "one that led in the direction of direct intervention by government both local and central".[47]

Pickering also ascribes to this view, attributing Seddon's Government's refusal to allow Firth's scheme to go ahead as recognition that its approval would be "conceding a virtual

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[43] Quoted in Barker, R. (2001) An Outline of the Mining History of New Zealand, New Zealand Mining, 28, p36 at p39.
[44] Jackson, K.E. (1988) "Government and Enterprise; Early Days of Electricity Generation and Supply in New Zealand", British Review of New Zealand Studies, 1, July, p101 at p106
[45] Ibid., p104
[46] Ibid., p113

monopoly. So strong was this conviction… Seddon had the 'Electric Motive Powers Act' passed to reinforce the State's authority in this respect".[48] Martin considers the 1903 legislation to be a reflection of this traditional policy of intervention while the maintenance of State control over electrical generation, as legitimised within the dominant discourse, would assist in perpetuating existing power relations within society.

It is worth noting that sectors that stood to gain the most from wide-spread use of this resource had gained political power with the "political revolution"[49] of 1890 and the ascendance of Seddon's Liberal Government. Refrigeration had shifted the focus of prosperity from the pastoral sector to the smaller intensive operations, a shift that provided an opportunity to consolidate power through promoting secondary industries.[50] (Of note in this context, the first industrial uses of water- power outside gold-mining were by the Southland Frozen Meat Co and the Mataura Paper Mill.[51])

One corollary of the state control embodied in this legislation was that the location, nature and size of electricity generation facilities should be determined (and if necessary or desirable constructed) by central Government. While this mandate did not in itself (at least in the early years) prevent development by the regions, with such being undertaken by Southland amongst others, any such development required both the approval and the right to resumption by Government,[52] a requirement that arguably had the effect of both embedding and perpetuating the discursive themes of surveillance and control by the centre.

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[47] Ibid., p114

[48] Pickering, op. cit., p58

[49] Le Rossignol J.E. and Stewart, W.D. ((1910) State Socialism in New Zealand, London: Harrap), describe the "legislation of the past twenty years" as socialistic "in that it has been brought about by a political uprising of the middle and lower classes against the rich" (p19). However, Hutchinson (R.H. (1916) The "Socialism" of New Zealand, New York: New Review Publishing Association) describes it as being "in another sense… no revolution, for though the seat of power may have been shifted, the economic and political structure… remained the same. Dominance had merely been transferred from the shipping companies back to the farmers; but this time it was to the smaller farmers who had enlisted the city labourers in their cause" (p9) - (the more things change the more they stay the same).

[50] According to Pickering, op. cit., p85-86, citing J.B. Conliffe

[51] Ibid., p55

[52] The authority was granted via licenses pursuant to the Public Works Amendment Act 1908, S5, confirmed under the Electric Power-boards' Act 1918

Given the duality implicit in the regulatory powers of the State and its control of the resources, certain objectives could be achieved through statutory intervention. Most importantly, they could be the means of settling and developing areas presently considered too remote or "waste" and provide positive encouragement for people to remain in rural areas rather than moving to the cities. Support for this interpretation of developments is provided by Martin who, in discussing the Electric Power Boards Act, states that "the concept behind it was to reverse the existing concentration of electrical supply on cities and towns. The Act encouraged the extension… to rural districts, which would in effect be subsidised by urban areas".[53],[54]

A strategy of State control over electricity as the basis of economic and social development was to be reflected in control not only over generation rights but also over all other aspects of the industry (including transmission, distribution and sale). With supervision of sale of electricity manifested explicitly *inter alia* in the Electric Power Boards' Act 1918 under which local elected Electric Power Boards assumed responsibility for the retail level, by 1925 "central public control of… [generation] and local public control of … [supply] were firmly entrenched.[55],[56],[57]

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[53] Martin, op. cit., p70

[54] Also see Birk's paper (Birks, L. (1924) "The Water-Power Resources in New Zealand", The Transactions of the first World Power Conference, London, 30 June- 12 July 1924, London: Percy Lund Humphries & Co, p460 at p475), in which he explains that "New Zealand is experiencing an 'urban drift', and it is expected that the provision of the conveniences and comforts of electric power in the country district will do something towards checking this drift". Also in "Electric-power Service Lines for Country Districts", The N.Z. Journal of Science and Technology, May, p2 at p7, "electric-power supply to the back-country farmer is of such vital importance in helping to prevent the drift of population to the cities…."

[55] Jackson, op. cit., p107

[56] This vertical control was strongly favoured. Originally manifested in direct Government control over all aspects of generation and sale (in the case of the Lake Coleridge scheme), by 1918 there was a shift in thinking. According to Martin, op. cit., p70, Mr A.W. Rodger (Chairman of the Southland Progress League) was involved in formulating the original Electric Power Boards' bill. During the hearings by the Industries Committee in 1918, see discussion, infra, p179, post) Rodger argued that the practice of Government in "not only generat[ing]… energy, but [also distributing] it…" was "inimical to the best interests of the Dominion…. Government should generate the power…; districts should be formed… for the purpose of … distributing that power" (these districts being autonomous). (1918 AJHR I-12, p 119 at p120) (Although argued on the basis of equitable policy for all districts, the State would thus exercise power indirectly over the retail sector rather than directly)

[57] The Electric Power Boards' Act 1918, ss49-56 and 1925, ss76-78. Boards were also permitted to purchase electric energy and if necessary, to generate their own. It is important to note that ss 57 (1918) and 82 (1925) specifically refers to water resources and coal as alternative sources of energy, as emphasised by Sir Francis Bell (A.G.) during the debate in the Legislative Chamber on the second reading (NZPD (LC) Vol 183, 1918: 656), yet discourse and policy clearly favoured electricity generated through water power.

It is notable in this regard that the State occupied such a privileged position in the discourse that its determination to continue its power strategy could be made extant in enunciations made by those privileged to speak - when introducing the Electric-power Boards Bill in 1918, the Minister of Finance (Hon. Sir Joseph Ward) explained that "no works can be undertaken without the approval of the Engineer –in – Chief of the Public Works Department. This is a very important point because it ensures that no system counter to any Government system will be allowed to start".[58]

Such was the level of privilege granted state control as truth within official discourse, that when the Otago Daily Times made critical reference to a bill that would authorise the private development of the Waipori scheme to provide electricity to Dunedin: - "we are unable to see why, because the municipal authorities have been shortsighted, private individuals… should have obstacles put in their way",[59] the lack of response from Government sources suggests such a criticism was scarcely worth considering.

Public sector control and participation was however only one of the themes of the discourse. A corollary was the second theme; that facilities were to be big. The next section incorporates a discussion of the background and implications of this second theme.

Power Generation through Large Facilities

In the context of electricity generation and supply, Pickering argues that it was only the accessible technological advances of the end of the nineteenth century that made an electrical generation system (as opposed to small specific works) possible.[60] The commissioning and serious consideration of such a pivotal survey in 1903 was conceivable only because that technology was accessible.

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[58] NZPD, ibid., p656. So while Government at this time was not in a position to construct the network it could still control how others carried out the construction- that is, those works would be carried out "under… the supervision of Government" (Hon. Mr R. Moore, ibid., p657).

[59] Otago Daily Times (1904) "Editorial: Waipori Company's Bill", 21 July, p6

[60] Pickering, op. cit., p88, identifies such advances as including the multipolar generator "that made much larger generators practicable" polyphased currents and the tungsten filament electric lamp.

This accessibility had rapid and overt consequences in New Zealand. The conclusions and recommendations of the two reports on waterpower resources compiled by the Department of Public Works in 1903[61] and 1904[62] embraced a truth that electricity should be generated through large schemes. Any alternative was unthinkable, with the success of the Waipori scheme "demonstrat[ing] conclusively that large power schemes were not only practicable but also far more effective and profitable [than small ones]".[63]

The truth that generation facilities should be built on a large scale also carried an implicit corollary - the need for large capital sums. This corollary did not originate with the emergence of hydro-electricity, but had historically provided grounding for the State's involvement in public works since the time of Sir Julius Vogel (the erstwhile Minister of Works and sometime Premier responsible for the "Vogel Plan"). However, it was to be highly significant in the context of hydro-electricity as it was to justify not only the original assumption of power by the State but also its continued participation in recognition of the ability of the State to access the large sums of money required.

Such justification can be seen in the development of generation facilities at Lake Coleridge near Christchurch, a development financed by a loan authorised by the Aid to Water Power Act 1910.[64] (This Act was in itself a clear assumption of power by the State as a metaphor for democratic rights.[65]) This assumption was justified through an

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[61] Compiled by E. Allo of the Department of Public Works, referred to included in the 1903 Annual Report of the Department, AJHR D-1

[62] P.S. Hay, Department of Public Works, Report in 1904 AJHR D-1A

[63] Pickering, op. cit., p91. He also identifies the two gold-dredging plants established after 1900 (Fraser River (1901) and Lake Kanieri (1909)) and the Waihi Gold Mine plant at Hora Hora as contributing to this change.

[64] Lawrence Birks (Public Works Department) report in 1910 ("Hydro-electric Power Proposals, Report on"), AJHR C-1 App G, that warned of the need for cheap power if New Zealand was to remain competitive, was accepted as a truth statement, picked up in the budget speech of the same year and its message reflected in the statute of the same year. According to Birks, the initial amount borrowed by Government to finance this project was £5,000,000

[65] Hon. J.Rigg, in speaking in the debate on this legislation reflected the prevailing view that "it should be the duty of the State… to see that it returns a fair profit to the State… and that the whole benefit… should not go to those who are consuming the power which is supplied by Government" NZPD (LC), Vol 159, 1910:196

emphasis on the efficiency of large facilities, in contrast to "local schemes" which might be "10,000… or 30,000- kilowatt" and may be "absolutely out of date".[66] The national inheritance (the immense water-power resource) should not be sold "for a mess of pottage".[67]

More importantly, rather than the emergence of a multiplicity of small dispersed facilities that might also enable diffusion of power, the privileging of large plants enabled an "urban logic" of a centrally located and unitary Government to be extended to a formally planned centralisation of electricity facilities in both generation and distribution.[68] That this remained embedded as a central and essential truth is indicated in the Interim Report of the Public Works Department in 1917 on the North Island scheme - to wit: "the fundamental principle… is that of centralizing the power-generating plant and concentrating it into a few large units…. By this means both labour and fuel are economized…. For the last fifteen years the process of … concentration has been going on at an increasing rate".[69]

The final theme of the discourse was that water rather than coal should be the means of providing energy. Such a truth was not inevitable given the early prominence of coal in the discourse of development. Given that, the identification of strategies through which water came to occupy that place lends support to an overall picture of the usurpation of power.

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[66] NZPD (HR), Vol 159, 1910: 636, per Payne (Grey Lynn)

[67] Ibid., p637

[68] See discussion on regulation of distribution and sale, supra, p167. In this context it should be noted that alternative hypotheses for such State involvement may draw on economies of scale involved in large projects, and on excessive transaction costs implied within a fragmented approach to development. Consideration of such hypotheses, while acknowledged as potentially persuasive, are not directly addressed in the immediate discussion.

[69] Department of Public Works, 1917 AJHR D-1 App E, p49

Water-powered Electricity

Coal remained a major source of energy in New Zealand with 1 million tons being mined in 1900 and demand continuing to grow strongly both for electricity generation[70] and for steam during at least the first third of the twentieth century. In 1904, John McDonald talked of cities in England reverting to gas and away from electricity for street lighting: "There can only be one answer- viz, recognition of the beautiful effect of the intensified incandescent mantle, also its reliability and suitability"[71] and Noyes Bros reported to the Dunedin City Council that gas lighting could be cheaper depending on what mantle was used.

Despite these attempts to maintain the language of truth for coal, electricity generated from water was outstripping it, at least for some purposes, by as early as 1903. The Tramways Committee of Dunedin City Council still opted to convert the trams to run on electricity (appointing Noyes to manage this process),[72] while "ratepayer" "only [had] to take a walk at night to see the utter fallacy of Mr McDonald's assertions of the supremacy of gas lighting",[73] Scientific American was quoted in support of the growing use and cheapness of electric power in the United States[74] while the Dunedin City Council followed the Tramways Committee's lead in awarding the construction of the Waipori electricity scheme to Noyes.[75] Evidence of the success of water-power in gaining privilege within the discourse can be provided by way of a comparison of this decision with one from 1887 - when Mr Firth (of Huka Falls fame) offered to light the streets of Auckland with electricity, the Council "preferred to let a five year contract to the Auckland Gas Company for street lighting".[76] More generally, by 1921 hydro-electricity exceeded electricity generated from coal[77] and by 1923 31 hydro stations were generating

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[70] Jackson op. cit., cites Bloomfield in support of his statement that the demand for coal was sustained for such purposes until 1932. His view is that development of hydroelectricity was slow - "even by the First World War thermal generation still formed the principal source of electric power" (p116).
[71] McDonald, J. (1904) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 7 December, p2
[72] Otago Daily Times (1904) "City Council Reports", 7 December, p3
[73] Ratepayer (1904) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 8 December, p8
[74] Otago Daily Times (1904) "Electric Power in the United States", 8 December, p12
[75] Reported Otago Daily Times, 7 December 1904, p5
[76] Pickering, op. cit., p57
[77] Jackson, op. cit., p119

51.1% of the total electric power produced.[78] Hydro-electrical energy was now clearly "normal" while coal was forced to adopt a narrower role within a Modernist discourse.

In light of these themes of state control, large facilities and water, the culmination of relevant developments to this point can be summarised as follows; a political elite intent on maintaining dominance exercised power through a Modernist discourse that incorporated particular and generally (if not universally) accepted truths. New Zealand had almost unlimited resources of water; waterpower was incalculably superior to coal for most purposes and stations should be big, centralised and be mutually compatible within a single state-controlled and planned system. The State "owned" the necessary technico-scientific knowledge; the State represented the interests of New Zealanders; the State had access to the necessary funds to build such big stations. Given these truths, then, it was both appropriate and necessary for the social well-being that the State control the resource and its use.

More importantly and of greater social significance, through such control the state could (and indeed should) "engineer" the desired society; managing growth and its geographical and functional foci, and determining the nature and location of new economic activities. Such a country-wide approach to such development rather than a regional or district-focus could be justified not only "for the purpose of promoting the industries of the colony and placing them on a satisfactory basis",[79] but also of encouraging such activity in the smaller settlements, "helping to prevent the drift of population to the cities"[80] and thus avoiding "many of the evils of a crowded city".[81]

Within such a discursive context celebrating growth based on utilisation of hydro-electric resources for the benefit of New Zealand society, the environment remained silent.

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[78] Birks, "The Water-Power Resources in New Zealand", op. cit., p474
[79] Governor's speech NZPD (LC), Vol 132, 1905:2
[80] Birks, "Electric-power Service Lines for Country Districts", op. cit., p7. Pickering highlights as significant statistics on usage that reveal that during this era "the great bulk of electricity… was used for domestic purposes". (op. cit., p86)
[81] Hancock, L. M., 1905 AJHR D-7

Enunciations of alternative values continued, as suggested previously,[82] to occupy a space within the regime of truth embodied in the hegemonic Modernist discourse, hence managed in terms of "man's" abilities and values.

Thus the events of the first fifteen years of the twentieth century were the manifestations of a dominant Modernist discourse that in the New Zealand electricity generation context involved three themes of public sector involvement and control of large centrally planned and approved facilities and the use of water rather than alternatives. The regime of truth based on these three themes was to drive the discourse for the next sixty years.

What then is revealed through later events about the strategies applied to maintain the hegemony of the New Zealand style Modernist discourse? To provide an answer to this question, the following section documents how existing power relations were maintained through strategies that further defined the positioning of hydro-electricity as a metaphor for New Zealand style social progress.[83]

New Zealand-style Modernist Discourse in the Hydro-electric Context– Persistent Themes

Theme One -Wise Use

As a corollary to the use/useless dichotomy and a function of forest policy as adopted in New Zealand in the latter years of the 19th century, conservation during this era was very much one of "wise use". Resources should not be squandered, but should be used "wisely and well".[84] Equally it was untenable that they remain unused. Even the most economically efficient use of resources that had desirable scenic attributes must be determined because "we have to take a sensible view of the matter";[85] a failure to exploit

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[82] Supra, for example, p154
[83] Including in passing the subject of the first of the specific case studies addressed in this thesis- the proposal to dam the Bowen Falls in Fiordland, a proposal originally floated in 1915.
[84] Hunt, A. L. (1925) "The Bowen Falls Scheme - Explanation of the Proposal, Lively Debate", address to a meeting of the Gore Chamber of Commerce, Taira Ensign, 1 April
[85] Ibid.

them to their appropriate fullness would be shameful and wrong, sentimental and inappropriate.

Such a strategy involved bodies of water, both lakes and rivers being first and foremost defined as resources and only secondly as areas of natural beauty. A report written by Parry in 1920 judged the feasibility of schemes based on engineering considerations; specifically, the rivers of Fiordland were incorporated into the Reserve only because they were considered unusable for the purposes of generation.

Such classification and treatment implicitly confirmed the location of such bodies of water as waste within the discourse, thus leaving the door open to a redefinition of status should technology permit realisation of their economic potential, a location legitimised by a discourse celebrating use. This central location of use was to be reconfirmed and reinforced by what some historians have identified as a symbol of the emergence of the "New Zealand nation", this being the "Great War" of 1914-1918.

Theme Two – a meaning for "New Zealand"

On emerging from the conflict, New Zealanders were beginning to construct their own myth within which to view their subjectivity. With "the war to end all wars" over and with New Zealand too insignificant to influence the international political discourse, nationhood involved an imperative to locate and to justify its individual identity, rather than that of a "Britain of the South". It should be noted though, that despite an increasing tendency of second and third generation New Zealanders to identify themselves as such, the idea that New Zealand should cut the ties of Empire did not enter the equation. The loyalty to Britain was still very strong, the discourse of Empire remaining dominant. The search for meaning for New Zealand took place within the context of that Empire.

In 1918 Evan Parry, Chief Electrical Engineer in the Department of Public Works, submitted a report to Government in which he cited the war and its "international impact" as justification for his advocacy of "much larger power stations [and] interconnection of

[a] system used for various purposes, such as lighting, electric motors and electric-based industries".[86] This report, published prior to the cessation of hostilities and amid concerns over the apparent vulnerability of the New Zealand economy to isolation from its European markets and the levels of casualties amongst the working population, was to provide further justification for those seeking to maintain acceptance for large-scale construction and use of hydro-electricity in New Zealand as the driver for economic growth (and progress). Hydro-electricity was to be privileged with a central location within that growth. However, a discourse celebrating growth should not be seen in isolation, but contextualised within the wider social discourse. The implications of such positioning are identified in the next section.

Theme three - Water-power Achieves Social Objectives

During a House debate on Parry's proposals, the main justification for using hydro as opposed to coal was the relative cost efficiency, with hydro being described as more efficient per unit over the generating life of the plant. For example, Massey argued:

> …it will pay us to develop [water-powers] …, as by doing so we shall be able to supply automotive power at a minimum of cost, and certainly much more economically than can be done by…any other power available at present. I can imagine the saving it will be …when it will become unnecessary to haul hundreds of thousands of tons [of coal] across country.[87]

This theme (that hydro-electricity was almost always more efficient) was often to be emphasised with the extant cultivation of the treatment of state-controlled hydro-electricity as a metaphor for social well-being and economic progress.[88], [89] in particular

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[86] Cited by Martin, J. E. (1991) People, Politics and Power Stations: Electric Power Generation in New Zealand 1880-1998, J.E. Martin (ed), Wellington: Bridget William Books, p67
[87] NZPD (HR), Vol 183, 1918: 487-8, per Rt Hon W. Massey
[88] See discussion, supra, p162 post
[89] Such a theme was to be developed in the Industries Committee report also (see discussion infra, p179 post)

as a crucial support for the development of manufacturing industries and consequently for progress,[90] a theme also picked up by Mr C.H. Poole:

> …if we do not foster and encourage local industry by placing within the reach of the manufacturers the most efficient appliances we are not going to make of our local industry the success which is so important and so necessary to our working-people.[91]

In addition, Dr H.T.J. Thacker stressed one important outcome of hydroelectricity as being the "incidental marital bliss" from a cut in the "cost of living. It will cut out the use of coal and gas; and by doing so it will be one of the greatest benefits this country has ever had",[92] while Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Ward made the connection between hydro-electricity and social progress explicit with his "prophesy that when the water-forces throughout New Zealand are harnessed for use we will become one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world".[93]

The point should however be made that the discourse within which such notions of social well-being and economic progress were celebrated had also as an important theme the perpetuation and strengthening of the role of the State, albeit dressed up in popular rhetoric. Martin explains that "the war did prepare the way for later developments by encouraging the notion that the state had an essential role in achieving 'national efficiency'".[94] However, efficiency by itself appears not to have been the only object of the discourse; the long-standing ethos of State control continued as an under-current.

Statements of doubt or opposition to a network of Government owned and/or controlled stations were dismissed. Thus J. McCombs failed to win political support for his assertion that it would be practical from an economic perspective if "the farmer were to establish a

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[90] NZPD, op. cit., n87, p236, per W.A. Veitch
[91] Op. cit., n87, p469
[92] Ibid., p632
[93] Ibid., p629
[94] Martin, op. cit., p67

plant of his own and use petrol or coal to generate his own",[95] and the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Auckland Gas Company[96] failed to persuade with his economically-based claim that "electricity for lighting and power cannot be supplied to consumers in Auckland at lower rates than are already current in the city, if State enterprises of this description are to be placed on a self-supporting basis".[97],[98]

It should be noted that private enterprise was still granted a place within discourse. However, such a place carried with it subjection to Government control, and was implicitly granted on grounds of pragmatism rather than philosophy. Significantly in this regard, when challenged to provide an explanation as to why the Government was prepared to permit local bodies to construct generation facilities rather than doing all that was required itself,[99] Ward referred at length to the cost,[100] most specifically "we are not in a position to be able to provide, as has been suggested, £2,000,000 a year for these works".[101]

In this historical context the House Industries Committee was charged with identifying the future direction and policy for industrial development in New Zealand.[102] The findings and recommendations of this committee reflected the continued assumption of not only policy-setting power but also economic participation on the part of the State as a strategy for assuring a particular path of economic and social progression. Most importantly, there was a pressing need to transform the economic landscape:

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[95] NZPD op. cit., n57, p643-644
[96] In comment on the Department of Public Works 1918 Report on Hydro-Electric Development, North Island Scheme, AJHR D-1A. This comment is interesting in that it reflects concepts celebrated in the 1980s and 90s as to the importance of state-owned enterprises being economically efficient (see chapter 9).
[97] During the debate on the Electric Power Boards bill, Mr J. Payne described the Engineer for Auckland Gas (who supported this argument put forward by the chairman (ibid.)) as a "biased critic against electricity" (op. cit., n57 at p482).
[98] Referred to during the House Debate on the Electric Power Boards bill (ibid.)
[99] By Mr J. Craigie during the House debate on the Electric Power Boards bill (op. cit, n57). The legislation embodied a principle of a series of stations that could ultimately form part of a national network by empowering the Government to resume such generation facilities, a provision emphasised by both Craigie (at p645) and Ward (p649).
[100] Hon. Sir J. G. Ward, Minister of Finance. The speech, including interjections, covers just over 3.75 pages of the Parliamentary Reports (ibid., p629).
[101] Ibid., p649
[102] This bi-partisan committee of the House conducted hearings in various parts of the country during the Parliamentary recess 1918-19

> The Prime Minister stated that the financial responsibilities of the Dominion…
> are very heavy…. New Zealanders have… faith in the strength of the country to
> carry the heavy burden…. There will be room for industries which hitherto have
> scarcely been thought of, far less explored.[103]

In addition to the financial responsibilities, there were also issues of independence and vulnerability during wartime used to justify a focus on resource development: "the war [has] shown the necessity for each part of the empire to develop its own resources.[104] One year later, after the "war to end all wars" attention had moved to defining the meaning of New Zealand in economic terms. Consequently, the study question posed by the Industries Committee privileged growth as a focus for the "Dominion" with such words and terms as "the future", "a people" and "great opportunities" as opposed to an illegitimate path involving "aimless muddl[ing]" with reliance on "Providence".[105]

Similarly, the overarching tenor of its study would be on resource use as a means of increasing productivity of all sectors of the economy and recognition of the interdependence of these various sectors. Indication of this thinking can be seen in a range of contexts, for example, the debate in the House on the Committee Report:

> We have attached to our primary production a great many people who constitute the
> backbone of the country…. But alongside these primary productions we have
> secondary industries that are very important…. The skilled craftsman who lives in
> the city is as essential to the primary producer as is the primary producer to the
> skilled craftsman.[106]

Consequently, the committee focused its investigations and analyses on strategies and policies that through development of the economy would also achieve social ends -

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[103] Referred to in New Zealand Herald (1918) "Editorial", 1 July p4
[104] Industries Committee 1919 Report of the: together with Minutes of Evidence, AJHR I-12, piii
Industries Committee, op. cit.
[105] Industries Committee, op. cit.

promotion of the interests and wealth of the primary sector through the development of secondary industries. A clear planning or engineering strategy was highlighted by a challenge issued by the committee.[107] Of particular consequential relevance was the committee's focus on hydro-electricity, a focus that persisted despite some attempt by witnesses to identify problems involved in construction of such plants.

Confirmation and Legitimisation - The Industries Committee and the Hydro-electric Culture

The deliberations and report of the Committee were indicative of a clear imperative to continue and to expand the construction of large hydro-electricity stations requiring considerable up-front investment capital and skilled labour, with the Industries Committee Report referring to "our magnificent resources of water power"[108],[109] while ignoring coal for these purposes.[110] In brief, the development of hydro-electricity resources can be described as a triumph for an engineering discourse, both in terms of how land could be changed and in terms of the secondary effects of that change.

Much impetus came from the economic advantages its proponents described, given its touted value as an input into a range of industries, both secondary and primary.[111] Reflecting the official stance taken by Massey *et al* in 1918, a witness to the committee wished to "point out the tremendous stand-by losses connected with the steam plant as

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[106] NZPD (HR), Vol 184, 1919: 459, per C.H. Poole

[107] Industries Committee, op. cit.

[108] Ibid.

[109] As pointed out earlier (supra, p171), Jackson asserts that hydro generation outstripped coal generation by the early 1920s.

[110]The committee recommended nationalisation of all coal resources in order to "preserve the Dominion's industries and to secure in the immediate future the means for developmental activities" (I-12, p1x) but did not identify a role for coal in future electricity generation- neither did witnesses to the committee. It was as though the voice of this alternative had fallen silent or subject to disparagement only - for example, the statement by J.C. Cooper, (Managing Director, Wellington Farmers' Meat Company) "the possibilities of stoppages through want of coal are of such a nature that there does not appear to be any effective way to overcome them other than by the introduction of new power such as we are advocating" (p316).

[111] C.A. Statham (NZPD (HR), Vol 184, 1919:222), proclaimed that "we are just on the eve of a great industrial awakening, and we do not want to have the stigma that we have had to suffer from in the past - of sending our raw products to other parts of the world and buying them back again in a manufactured form".

compared with hydro-electric power".[112] Another witness reinforced that perspective by explaining that "in Timaru there is no need to stress the desirability of going on with the hydro-electric development…. If we get the Lake Coleridge power there will be other manufactories started in Timaru",[113] while others identified industries supporting the primary sector as both desirable and able in turn to be supported by hydro-electricity, such industries including lime extraction,[114] dairy-farming[115] and meat processing.[116]

In his lengthy and technical statement, Parry not only repeats the themes identified in his earlier report[117]- chief amongst them being the "principle… to provide such a general system of distribution that the supply of electric power is available wherever the circumstances are such as to need the supply"[118] but also goes on to discuss the potential for electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries, clearly indicative of the domination of the Modernist discourse. After pressing the point that "the supply of power should be available at the place where the ore is to be found" he identifies as an appropriate place "the South Island Sounds, where they have a harbour and water power and other facilities[119] all adjacent.[120]

Given these factors it is hardly surprising that the Industries Committee's treatment of hydro-electricity is largely based on its deemed pivotal role to industrial development of the regions,[121] hence its contribution to regional/rural population stability. Statements in the report reflect this theme, to wit:

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[112] H. J. M. Rodgers (Hastings), op. cit., n104, p268
[113] A.S. Callaway, Electrical Engineer, Timaru Borough Council, H-12. p136
[114] G.H. Buckeridge, Secretary of the Taranaki Executive of the Farmers' Union, ibid., p199
[115] T. Phillips, Waimate West County Council, ibid.
[116] Mr L. Oldham, Waitara Chamber of Commerce, ibid., p220; Mr J.C. Cooper, Managing Director, Wellington Farmers' Meat Company Ltd, ibid., p316
[117] Which was itself a reiteration of the report referred to in Martin, op. cit., n86
[118] Industries Committee op. cit., p8
[119] Presumably he was talking about timber, given the remoteness of the area and its identification as waste - thus the gazetting of a significant proportion as a reserve (later Fiordland National Park) since 1905
[120] Op.cit., n117, at p9. Parry also makes other references to the benefits of hydro-electricity for rural areas - on p8 when he explains that the "town dweller… does not…use electricity to the same extent as the farmer", and on p10 when he states that "the farmers are crying out for it".
[121] This sentiment was also to be echoed by Birks in 1924 ("The Water-Power Resources in New Zealand"): "an ample supply of hydro-electric power, particularly when it is widely distributed and available at the points of production of the natural resources, will be the main factor in encouraging [manufacturing]." (op. cit., n54, at p475)

It will be admitted that conditions of life and labour in the rural districts should be
made easier and more attractive, and one of the surest ways to accomplish this end
is to make electricity the ever-willing and able servant of the settler and farmer.[122]

Evidence supporting the contention that achievement of social objectives were seen as the
outcome is also provided by submissions to the Industries Committee. Cooper explicitly
addressed the issue of distribution of population thus:

By the development of power of this kind it will not be necessary to compel the
manufacturing population of this country to flock into a number of given centres, as
this power is just as cheaply obtainable in one part of the country as another. Each
district should have its own industries and so spread the population, avoiding by so
doing the necessity either of slums or congestion such as to be found in the
manufacturing centers of the Old World, or even in America.[123],[124]

Thus the deliberations and report of the Industries Committee were clearly in accordance
with a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse, in addition providing the final tick of
approval required for its mandating as the basis for economic and social planning. With
hydro-electricity as a metaphor for social progress, a discourse that embodied its
generation proved a successful power-strategy. Any challenge to the underlying discourse
would be a heresy given the belief of right-thinking members of society in the sanctity of

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[122] Industries Committee, op. cit., piii
[123] Ibid., p316
[124] This driver endured as an implicit and explicit theme within the prevailing discourse throughout the
period under discussion. For example, in 1945, the member for Patea (William Sheat) warned his
colleagues that "the drift of populations to the cities and towns…has been an undesirable trend… and we
must take practical steps to rectify that position"(NZPD (HR), Vol 272, 1945:320, during the House debate
on the Electricity bill which provided for the restructuring of the electricity industry through the creation of
the Department of Electricity and the Rural Reticulation Authority. In a similar vein, Sheat championed
rural reticulation of electricity as a way "to induce people to go out into… remote localities, for the double
purpose of relieving the congestion in the centers of population and of rehabilitating… second class land"
(during the debate on the budget of that year) NZPD (HR), Vol 269, 1945:549

economic growth and equality through prosperity for all.[125] Overwhelmingly, resistances did not seek legitimacy for an alternative discourse with its own regime of truth, they spoke in Modernist language[126] and as such were vulnerable to defeat.[127]

Such was the success of such a power-strategy that the Electricity Act in 1945 provided for the creation of a separate State Hydro-electric Department as well as the Rural Electric Articulation Council. The long-standing and persistent practice of allocating the portfolios of both Public Works and Electricity to the same Minister assisted the Ministry of Public Works in continuing to exercise power over the discourse and perpetuated the regime of truth of state control/participation and size. The reason? These developments privileged hydro-electricity as an object within the discourse rather than merely being one amongst many public works, a privilege that further symbolized its position as a metaphor for social progress.

Thus in 1949 it was legitimate to state that "there is nothing more important to New Zealand's economy than increased production, and there is nothing more important for production than increasing the supply of electricity",[128] in 1958 to describe it as "an

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[125] A quote carried in the Dominion (1926) "Fiord Power Plan, A Nitrate Scheme Licensed, to Yield 300,000 HP not above 1d Per Unit, Smith Sounds Waters Plus Lake Manapouri", 22 January, p8, is significant in indicating the widespread recognition of this New Zealand ethos: "As a matter of settled policy, approved by all sectors of the community, the development of large hydro-electric schemes will be mainly state enterprise" (source: (1928) The Undeveloped Resources of New Zealand - Opportunities for Investment of Capital, London: Baker and Wallis, p30)

[126] One exception that *prima facie* can be identified was opposition to the proposal by a syndicate (later a company) in the 1920s to harness the waters of the Bowen Falls to generate electricity. The resistance to this proposal, which was based on concerns over scenery, is the subject of the discussion in chapter seven.

[127] Its financial costs did cause a frisson of doubt during the historical period known as the Depression (National Development Commission (as quoted by Hon. R. Semple, Minister of Works, NZPD (HR), Vol 268, 1945:286)). Although this opinion ran contrary to the previously accepted truth that generation should continue to be expanded, that without such expansion economic and social progress would falter, it is understandable in light of the retrenchment policies pursued by the Reform Government pursuant to the knowledge that it was necessary to balance the budget during an era of chronic deflation. As such it should be regarded as an anomaly rather than reflective of an on-going trend. It was also possible later to ignore warnings as to the danger of its place in the centre of a growth strategy (Commissioner of Works (F.M. Hansen), in the Report of the Combined Committee on the North Island Power Supply (1955), as quoted in Martin, op. cit., p136 and Rupert Worley (1954) Present Day Review of the Government Undertakings in New Zealand of the Electric and Gas Services Relatively and their Bearing on the Dominion's Economy, Auckland, p2-3)

[128] Rt. Hon. S. Holland, Prime Minister, Sept 1949 as quoted by A.E. Davenport (General Manager of the State Hydro-electric Department (1951) in Address to SI Local Bodies Assn's Annual Conference, 10 October

essential commodity"[129] and in 1960 to agree "that the economic loss that would follow from any future shortage of power fully justified the rapid development of our power-producing schemes".[130] It seemed that nothing could stop the steam-roller of progress through the full-tilt creation of more and bigger hydro stations.

As reinforcement of progress in this context, in 1966 the Power Planning Committee's report identified the continued focus on large hydro stations (hydro being described as being able to produce power at 1/3 cost of any other generation facilities) and the Labour Party manifesto before the election recognised "the State's responsibility to plan the generation of electricity to meet the growing demands of a healthy developing nation".[131] With its identification of central power planning and large stations as a way of minimising the long-term economic impact of that looming shortage, it was untenable that demand should be controlled while there was a river left to dam.

Summary and Conclusions

The privileged place granted hydro-electricity within a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse as defined drew on realities of the social and economic benefits that such developments could deliver to a society that embodied the ethical virtues of rural life, wise use of seemingly inexhaustible resources and inventiveness, while also tacitly accepting the extant power relations as symbolized in the metaphor of a participating, supportive, all-knowing and benevolent state.

In effect therefore, hydro-electricity in its New Zealand-specific manifestation can be acknowledged not only as an enunciation of this discourse but as a metaphor for social and economic progress - as "engineering" civilisation itself. Such was the hegemony of this discourse that there appeared to be no room for a resistance with an unchanged environment as its domain and preservation as its object to seek to exercise power.

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[129] This official line was confirmed by the 1959 Committee to Review Power Requirements 1959 AJHR D-4A.
[130] Report of Committee II (1960) Proceedings of the Industrial Development Conference, organised by the Department of Industry and Commerce, Wellington, p112 at p115

Given the privilege of the engineering solution and the central location of hydro-electricity it is perhaps ironic that a Modernist discourse within the context of this industry also revealed sites, albeit limited and ephemeral, on which the resistance could challenge its hegemony. Such success did not come quickly or immediately, nor was it consistently achieved. By way of background for analysis of this success in particular situations,[132] the last section of this chapter briefly revisits some of the points made by Foucault about the opportunities for resistance to a dominant discourse in addressing the final question posed at the outset. As a reminder, the question entails the following: what are the implications for a resistance seeking power through an environmental discourse, where power strategies maintain the privilege of an engineering solution and a central location for hydro-electricity as a manifestation of a dominant Modernist discourse?

- **A New Resistance: working within a dominant discourse**

By way of reminder, Foucault asserts that any new discursive formation "does not occupy… all the possible volume that is opened up to it as of right…".[133] Instead, a "given discursive formation may reveal new possibilities"[134] in which resistances to the discourse may be enabled.[135] The implication that can be taken from this is that a resistance, speaking in the voice of a suppressed discourse will uneasily occupy a site within the dominant discourse, seeking recognition and legitimacy by using the language of that discourse. It is only on "the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who once used it"[136] that such an alternative discourse may secure victory, achieving dominance in its turn.

[131] New Zealand Labour Party (1966) "Fuel and Power", Labour Party Manifesto
[132] Case study on Manapouri, chapter eight
[133] Foucault, M. (1972) "Discourse on Language", in The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, A. M. Sheridan Smith (trans), New York: Pantheon, p215 at p216
[134] Ibid.
[135] See further discussion, supra, p33 post
[136] Foucault, M. (1971)"Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", in Foucault, M. (1984) The Foucault Reader, P. Rabinow (ed), (1st Edition), New York:Pantheon, p154

This line of reasoning leads to the conclusion that a regime of truth celebrating progress enunciated through hydro-electricity as a metaphor for New Zealand civilization, the articulation of any alternative values has to seek legitimacy within the dominant discourse. Therefore the shape of those alternative values is determined by the discursive rules; the extent to which those alternative values are deemed legitimate depended on their accordance with the prevailing regime of truth. Consequently, and of particular application to the discussion that follows, where an area containing a body of water is "waste" and is therefore legitimately set aside in its natural form, the opportunity remains for a knowledge conferring a greater value to be invented[137] by "practical men of science" contributing to the all-important "technological revolution".[138] Given this discursive location, the romantic ethos manifested principally in reserves and National Parks, could come into direct conflict with the drive to progress through technology.

In order to understand the strategic use of power, the final part of this thesis focuses on three genealogical case studies. One of the first manifestations in New Zealand of a conflict between a dominant Modernist and a suppressed environmental discourse was the proposal by a syndicate in the 1920s to harness the waters of the Bowen Falls to generate electricity. A second and later manifestation is in the debate over the proposal to raise the level of Lake Manapouri to maximise its production of hydro-electricity, this debate continuing for more than a decade from the early 1960s until 1972. The final case study involves the proposal by Meridian Energy (a State-owned company in the electricity generation industry) in 2001 to utilise the lower Waitaki river for the purposes of generating electricity. These studies are addressed in the following three chapters.

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[137] This is a reference to Foucault's treatment of knowledge and truth within discourse (see discussion supra, p64 post)
[138] Paper by Sir Douglas Copeland (Australian Administrative Staff College) read at the national convention of the New Zealand Society of Accountants, as reported, Otago Daily Times (1959) "N.Z. Has Clung to Primary Products and Traditional Markets for Too Long", 30 March, p4

Part III

Genealogy of Discourse on Hydro-electricity in New Zealand and Conclusions

Chapter Seven

Bowen Falls – an Acknowledgement of Subjugation

Introduction

The previous chapter incorporates a discussion of the nature and focus of Modernist discourse within the context of hydroelectricity in New Zealand. It identifies three themes reflected in this particular enunciation of discourse, these being Government control, the use of water power as the source of energy and the construction of large stations. In order to appreciate the effect of power-relations, and how those power relations affected the discourse, this chapter incorporates a genealogical study of a particular project proposal from the early 20th century. The reason for selection of this example relates not only to its position as the site of the first debate over a specific hydro-electric development, but also for its role in exposing tensions between a dominant Modernist discourse centred on hydro-electric development and a peripheral conservationist sentiment. In this context it is interesting to consider the description of the opposition to this project as the first major conservation campaign in New Zealand.[1] It is somewhat unfortunate that the written materials of relevance to this controversy are somewhat scarce and at times hard to locate. However, those that are available provide interesting and useful insights into the nature and themes implicit in the struggle, and are utilised for that purpose.

Prima facie, the outcome of the debate surrounding the proposal suggests the successful exercise of power by a conservation/preservation voice, a voice that successfully triumphed over a hegemonic New Zealand-style Modernist discourse. However, as an important initial point, it is posited that the controversy surrounding the proposal to exploit the Bowen Falls neither epitomised nor reflected a rupture in an historical continuity. Such a rupture would not occur for another half century.

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[1] Thomson, A.P. (1988) The Battle for Bowen Falls or Fertilisers from Fiordland, Wellington: A.P. Thomson, preface (A.P. Thomson is the grandson of one Mr George Malcolm Thomson, a member of the Legislative Council of New Zealand (the erstwhile Upper Chamber) who was unusual at the time in being an avid conservationist and a strong believer in the sanctity of the National Park ideal and who was one of the most vocal and politically influential opponents of the proposal. It would appear the original immigrants bearing this name were to proliferate; consequently there are several other individuals of that surname who appear at the periphery of this story. George Malcolm Thomson will be henceforth referred to as "Thomson". To avoid confusion, all others of that name have their initials stated as well.)

If then the controversy is not appropriately identified as a rupture, what is it? In addressing this pivotal question, this chapter is devoted to an exploration of what was said, and by whom, in reference to a proposal to grant a generating license over the Bowen Falls.[2] The story that forms the basis of the case study began in 1923, when a Joseph Orchiston[3] approached Arthur Leigh Hunt, a man described by A. P. Thomson as a "man of considerable vision",[4] with a suggestion that he develop proposals to generate electricity from the falls. This electricity could then be used to manufacture nitrate based fertilizers using a Norwegian patented process. Leigh Hunt was enthusiastic because, as he later explained, he saw the "cheap water powers… running to waste".[5] Consequently, in 1924, after forming a syndicate of like-minded individuals, he sought a license from Hon J. G. Coates (Minister of Works) to pursue the venture. Approval to develop proposals in support of an application for a generating license was given by Coates despite the fact that the falls were physically and symbolically located as reserve (later a National Park). This syndicate was originally known as the Milford Sound Nitrate Syndicate, but was renamed the New Zealand Sounds Nitrate Syndicate in November 1925, and in 1928 re-formed as the New Zealand Sounds Hydro-electric Concessions Ltd, a company finally liquidated in the 1940s without having realised its object.

The major debate involving the proposed scheme took place in the two years 1924-5 and was centred on two specific issues, these being the status (and sanctity) of areas designated as reserve and the relative importance of industrial development as opposed to other commercial (and non-commercial) activities. By way of historical contextualisation of these issues, the area surrounding the Bowen Falls was at this stage part of the area gazetted as the Fiordland Reserve, such designation due in large part to its classification as waste. However, at the same time, and in accordance with Modernist concepts of use, it had gained some legitimacy in terms of its potential to attract visitors (particularly tourists) on account of its scenic qualities.

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[2] Bowen Falls is the name given to the falls down which the Bowen River cascades into Milford Sound. Milford Sound is located in South Westland in the South Island of New Zealand.
[3] Ex-chief Telegraph Engineer
[4] Thomson, A.P., op. cit., p4. It is unclear as to why Orchiston approached Hunt - it may have had something to do with the range of Hunt's activities which, up to that time, had included flax milling, the railways, poultry farming, and the foundation of both the Farmers' Cooperative Distribution Co and the Dominion Farmers' Institute.

Given these qualities and their economic potential, A. P. Thomson[6] expresses the view that "it is… surprising that the Government departments most concerned, Lands and Survey and Tourist and Publicity, should acquiesce so readily and even in the case of the Lands district office should positively support the scheme".[7] Surely a department charged under statute with stewardship of National Parks and reserves[8] would safeguard them from the ravages of exploitation. More generally, surely a society having a growing appreciation of the natural landscape, as reflected in its commitment to the creation of reserves and with one of the first National Parks (Tongariro) in the world, would bitterly oppose industrial development within an area of scenic wonders.

However, it is only in hindsight that the stance of the Departments of Lands and Tourist and Health Resorts and the apparent passivity of much of the general public towards this proposal appear paradoxical within an era during which conservation values were accepted and legitimised. This paradox disappears when the pivotal positions of a useful/useless dichotomy and the concept of progress are understood, these being implicit in both developmental and conservationist discourses during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[9] If the proposal is considered in this socio-temporal context, political, popular and official support for it becomes not only less than surprising; it was entirely in accordance with the prevailing regime of truth.

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[5] Hunt, A. Leigh (1951) Confessions of A. Leigh Hunt, Wellington: A.H. and W.A. Reed, p90
[6] Op. cit.
[7] Ibid., p14-15.
[8] Relevant statutes were the Land, the Public Reserves and Domains and the Scenery Preservation Acts 1908 (in all cases representing a consolidation and/or amendment of previous legislation on New Zealand becoming a self-ruling Dominion in 1907.) The Land Act provided for designation and administration of reserves under the auspices of the Department of Lands and Survey (Part XI, ss 321-323). The Department was formed pursuant to the Land Act 1892 out of the Survey Department and Crown Lands Office, while the Scenery Preservation Act provided for the creation of a Commission charged with the responsibility of recommending to the Governor the acquisition (if privately held) and reservation of "lands possessing scenic or historic interest, or on which there are thermal springs" (s5). By Order in Council the Governor could vest control of such reserves in a local authority or board "with such powers and subject to such conditions as are declared" (s13). Finally, the Public Reserves and Domains Act provided for the reservation of uses as "mentioned in the Second Schedule thereto" (s2), the vesting of that land in local bodies or Trustees, and enforcement of the law by such designated persons. Where there was no such grant or vestment the Commissioner of Crown Lands in the relevant district would "have and exercise over such public reserve all the rights, powers, duties, and functions which he has over Crown lands". (s28)
[9] As analysed and described in chapters 4 and 5.

By way of reminder,[10] Runte posits a "worthless lands hypothesis" as support for his contention that a useful/useless dichotomy had grounded the language of those advocating the creation of reserves and acknowledged the legitimacy of the idea that superior man demonstrates domination over nature by "improving" it. Within the socio-temporal context that empowered the farming sector and perpetuated the ruralisation of the population, use through farming or other exploitive activity was the most socially desirable. The "other" to this privileged term was uselessness - the label applied to land that could not be brought into productivity despite the application of available technology. Such a dichotomous categorisation carried with it the implication that if a use could be found for the presently useless areas, this would be pursued - possibly through utilising/improving the scenery or identifying/creating other attractions for tourists.

Such a dichotomy was implicit in the dual role of the Department of Lands. In addition to its responsibility for reserves and National Parks of New Zealand, it was also charged with conducting "explorations and surveys" to assist in the Government's determination "that the settlements throughout the colony should be extended until every acre suitable for grazing or agricultural purposes not otherwise required for reservation or utilisation should be brought into profitable occupation".[11] Thus the recommendation of the Commissioner for Lands in Southland[12] on the reservation of what was to become the Fiordland National Park,[13] was based on an explicit assumption that any such preservation should contemplate and accommodate best possible use from an economic and social perspective. This statement, first quoted in chapter five, is worth repeating as an encapsulation of the domination of a Modernist discourse – even in the case of parks and reserves:

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[10] Supra, p55. Also see discussion on supporting contentions, p119 post.

[11] Secretary for Crown Lands and Surveyor-General, 1904 Department of Lands and Survey, Annual Report to the Minister of Lands (Hon. T.Y. Duncan) AJHR C-1, pi. For a discussion on the dissonance implicit in these two objectives, see supra, p151 post.

[12] John Hay, who also had a strong ally in T. E. Donne, Superintendent of Tourist and Health Resorts at the time. In 1903 (NZPD (HR), Vol 126, 1903:261) the Member for Geraldine (F.R. Flatman) asked Ward (Minister in Charge of the Tourist Department) "whether… 'the officers of the …Department are continuing their inquiries for big game suitable for acclimatisation' ". According to Thom, op. cit., "the arrival of … chamois gave particular pleasure to T.E. Donne" (p116-17).

[13] Only after the National Parks Act 1952. Up to that point it was gazetted as a reserve.

> … the country within the suggested boundaries is excessively rugged, and I may say quite unfit for pastoral purposes…any rents that may accrue from it …certainly would be very small in comparison to what might be derived therefrom from tourists and others were it stocked with big game, &c., and, moreover, the native flora and fauna would be preserved, which is very desirable.[14]

The discourse of the Tourist and Health Resorts Department similarly reflected this focus on usefulness. The reports of the General Manager, T.E. Donne (occupying an office first established in 1901) reflected this when recommending the reservation of the area around the southern fiords. Although at the outset seemingly reflective of a discourse of preservation - "In addition to its value as a scenic resort, it would prove a home for a number of native birds which (sic) are too rapidly disappearing", juxtaposed in the report is this seemingly contradictory statement. "As a big game forest it would also be invaluable".[15] This positioning appears also to locate Donne's statements within Modernist discourse, a conclusion validated also by the outcome of the process of reservation in this instance - "the recommendation … that the Government should reserve a large area in the Fiords County (sic)…(with the exception of such portions as may be suitable for settlement) for the preservation of native flora and fauna has been given effect to".[16]

Given that location, and to discover the nature of the challenge and its place in the discourse, a genealogical analysis of the case study of the Bowen Falls involves exploring the following questions.

- What shaped the discourse within which this debate took place?
- What techniques maintained power relations through the Modernist discourse?
- What tactics were pursued by a resistance seeking power over the discourse?
- What lessons can be learned from the failure of an environmental resistance to seize power over the discourse?

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[14] Commissioner for Lands, Southland, 1903 AJHR C-1, p66-67.
[15] Tourist and Health Resorts Department, 1903 Second Annual Report AJHR H-1, pxv.

The Shaping of Discourse

Foucault emphasises that discursive practices are historically specific. Consequently, and in order to ground this genealogical study, it is necessary to explore its socio-temporal context. What follows is a brief exploration of the factors that are identified as being of particular significance in constituting this context.

Prosperity through State-controlled Hydro-electricity as a Metaphor for Progress

By way of a reminder, one corollary of Modernist discourse involves a relocation of science from its place in the classical wings (with its regime of truth validated by reference to a "natural order"), to a position centre-stage – as truth that is "known" by man and realised through technology. Nature (natural resources) is then available for exploitation for the material benefit of man; reference to "resources" denies the legitimacy of inherent natural values.

In previous discussion within this thesis,[17] it has been further posited that a Modernist discourse as privileged in New Zealand involved a departure from its manifestation in Europe in two important ways; the regime of truth implied by a Modernist discourse in New Zealand celebrated ruralisation instead of urbanisation, and active participation by the State most particularly in the development of resources rather than relying on the activities and investment of private enterprise capitalism.

 As emphasised in chapter six, one resource of particular historical importance in New Zealand has been water. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the fast-flowing waters of New Zealand were utilised not only for agricultural purposes but also increasingly to generate electricity for mining purposes. From the beginning of the 20th century, the availability of requisite technology in this country with swift-flowing rivers, copious rainfall, scattered pockets of population and a tradition of centralist, socialist government policy, enabled and empowered a rapid expansion in

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[16] Tourist and Health Resorts Department, 1904 Third Annual Report AJHR H1 App I, p16 (from Acting Superintendent C.R.C. Robieson).
[17] For example, supra, p47

the use of hydro-electricity as a metaphor for social progress. "…We must encourage the use of our natural resources, create for our people a continual employment, so that they may congregate together and form towns".[18] Discourse embodied the "realities" of state control, large size and an emphasis on water-power as opposed to alternative sources of energy.

An important corollary arose from this dual assumption of power by the State. On the one hand was a legislative framework that secured the suzerainty over the resources to Government; no construction or development of those resources could take place without the approval of the Minister of Works, and remained subject to resumption by central Government at its behest. This exercise of control by the State did not remain confined to generation; by 1918 with the Power Boards Act central Government had assumed control through surveillance over the distribution networks as well. With such centralisation of power, continued hegemony for progress driven by a unitary state through the medium of hydro-electricity was assured.

It was possible within this framework of Government suzerainty and control to generate electricity for commercial purposes, although the electricity generated in that manner could not be commercially traded.[19] This apparent contradiction, or more appropriately exception, to the prevailing discourse is explicable within a context that elevated progress (or growth) to an unassailable status in a historically specific discursive context of "pragmatic socialism". While maintaining the supremacy of privilege for a (socialist) state it was at the same time legitimate (for pragmatic reasons) to celebrate (state-regulated) private enterprise ventures where Government was not willing or prepared to go.[20] Consequently, authorisation of private enterprise proposals that encouraged settlement of remote and empty parts of the country confirmed the metaphor embedded in the discourse rather than standing in contradiction to it.

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[18] McRae, F. (1925) "The Bowen Falls", Letter to Editor, Southland Times, 14 February. This focus on "coming together" is ironic given the prevalent and historical sentiment that urbanisation is an evil to be avoided.
[19] Public Works Act 1908, s269
[20] At the same time providing through statute for resumption of such work by the State.

By way of summary then, in a post World War One New Zealand, a Modernist discourse continued to privilege economic progress (growth), civilisation through change (or use), an emphasis on the rural sector (partly as a metaphor for romantic values of equality and a tamed space) and State involvement in the development and exploitation of resources. Private enterprise had a place but subject always to the broader social (public) good as embodied and symbolised by the State.

The hegemony of this historically specific discourse was so comprehensive as to colour what was said and thought about the place that was the Fiordland Reserve and, more specifically to the immediate case, was to shape strategies utilised by both proponents and opponents in seeking to exercise power. What follows is an analysis of those strategies of both those parties.

By way of introduction to the first part of this analysis, proponents of the Bowen Falls scheme tapped into an emergent New Zealand myth heavily coloured by themes of nationhood and social progress. In the interests of clarity, their specific strategies are referred to as "techniques" a term reminiscent of Foucault's use of the word in emphasising the "use" rather than the "possession" of power. According to him, anyone exercising power relies "on certain techniques or methods of application, and all draw some authority by referring to scientific "truths".[21] In this case "truths" were implicit in Modernist discourse as described and defined; therefore, it is arguable that the proponents sought to exercise power in accordance with those truths. By way of contrast, strategies applied by those seeking to challenge such truths are referred to as "tactics", for reasons that will become clear.[22]

Techniques for Maintaining Power Relations within a Dominant Modernist Discourse

The first technique involved drawing on an image of economic development well-established and legitimised in New Zealand discourse as a metaphor for civilisation, thereby portraying the proposal as an embodiment of that metaphor and a

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[21] McHoul, A.W. and Grace, W. (1998) A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject, Dunedin:University of Otago Press, p65
[22] For explanation and rationale, see infra, p204

confirmation of its truth. This image could then support enunciations as to the urgency and central importance of such a proposal – its rejection implied also a rejection of a central tenet of social discourse.

The End Result - the Engineering of Civilisation

Significantly, when Orchiston had originally sought support for his proposal to generate electricity from the Bowen Falls in 1917, attempts to gain George Thomson's endorsement, his application for a license from the Minister of Works (Mr Fraser), and his proposal to the National Efficiency Board[23] had all been unsuccessful. However, although Thomson "strongly opposed the Bowen Falls location",[24] it is notable that Orchiston's failure to obtain official approval was not connected to the Falls' physical location within the area officially denoted "reserve". Fraser's rejection of his application at the time was to the effect that "the extent of the electrical power which could be so generated and the National importance of nitrates… render it advisable that the state should control such an industry".[25] The Board, it would appear, neither considered nor discussed his proposal.[26]

Lawrence Birks[27],[28] suggested that Orchiston should consider using power from Lake Coleridge at least in the first instance, with Bowen Falls as a possible later development:

> …the public... would be educated up gradually, the farmers to use more nitrates and learning their value and the investors to realize that there is a real solid commercial basis to our splendid dreams of mighty power houses and a new civilization in the West Coast Sounds.[29]

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[23] A Board charged with enforcing economy and increasing efficiency during wartime.

[24] Thomson, A.P., op. cit., p3

[25] Minister of Public Works to Orchiston, May 18 1917.

[26] Thomson, A.P. op. cit., p3

[27] Lawrence Birks was at this stage Chief Electrical Engineer in the Christchurch Public Works Office.

[28] As Thomson, A.P. (op. cit., p4) points out: "neither [Birks nor Evan Parry, his immediate superior] raised any question about the availability of the Bowen Falls [despite its reserved status]…, nor was there any mention… of possible environmental effects", a silence explicable in terms of the socio-temporal context and the lack of any conceptualisation of the environment.

[29] Birks to Orchiston, 12 July 1917

The reference to "our splendid dreams" is interesting given its implication that the perfect state – civilisation - was a romantic (high-minded) end to a commercial means. Furthermore, this reflects a Modernist theme that nature could be only improved through human intervention. "Reserve" was a temporary label to be removed when the time was right - "it is evident that nothing would enhance the beauty of the scene at Milford more than white walls and red roofs and a little civilisation to brighten up the everlasting greenness of the bush".[30] This theme of improvement was to emerge from the proponents' case, most markedly after 1920, as indicated below.

In 1920 Parry wrote a report that cast doubt on the economic and scientific bases of the proposal.[31] However, the adventurers did not appear to seriously consider it in their deliberations except as an obstruction that had to be overcome in some way - "the Secretary conveyed the fears of Mr Fitzgerald that we may have difficulty in making out a good case in view of Mr Parry's pamphlet…. But the manufacture… was an industry which held very bright prospects indeed".[32],[33]

Notwithstanding their extant dismissal of these doubts and reservations, however, there was a perceptible shift in relevant enunciations with a focus on the industry as a means of achieving the all-important settlement and "civilisation" of the area. As in "an analogous case - The Falls of Foyes in Scotland" which were harnessed against the wishes of "the leisured and wealthy and artistic classes for the welfare of the local people…. beauty must be sacrificed".[34] The worthy hard-working sectors of the population would benefit from the establishment of the industry. With public welfare thus embodied in economic progress, cries in favour of preservation could be revealed as weapons wielded by the weak and irrational, - the "slobbering sentimentality" from

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[30] H. F. MacKenzie to L.O. Beal Esq, 29 October, 1917.
[31] Parry, E. (1920) "Nitrogenous Manures in New Zealand. The Proposed Utilisation of the West Coast Sounds for their Manufacture", New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology 3, p129.This doubt was later to be used by Thomson - when writing to Nosworthy (Minister of Agriculture) and seeking his support, Thomson urged him to listen to Aston (a fellow chemist) "who does not attach any importance to the manufacture of nitrates in New Zealand" (Thomson, A.P., op. cit., p7)
[32] The "pamphlet" referred to was the Parry's report (ibid.). Thomson A.P. suggests that both Orchiston and Hunt "must" have been aware of this report but "chose to ignore it" (ibid., p4). By 1923, it is evident that the members of the syndicate were aware of the adverse effect of Parry's recommendations but chose to dismiss them.
[33] Minutes of Meeting of Syndicate, 24 May 1923

those "who do not feel big or strong enough to retract [were now] defeated…. A more rational view of the situation can now be taken."[35]

The message highlighting this polarity between the positions of the rational realist and the sentimental weakling implied in the above was also repeated elsewhere. One of those further examples is worth quoting at length as it suggests how strongly such positions were held.

> I am utterly sick and tired of reading the lamentable effusions of a few extremists who wish to stop all progress for the sake of unattractive Native scenery or a few useless Native birds. I have been over sixty years in New Zealand and never found any practical advantage in either….
>
> Let me [say that] every fall, gully or lake in New Zealand where water power can be harnessed will be so harnessed in spite of all the unattractive native scenery.
>
> … We will make our own scenery a 100 times better than the Native…. We are here, and intend to improve the place.[36]

However, the actions and words of those supporting this particular manifestation of a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse were not limited to drawing analogies between this particular enunciation of industry and civilisation. They went further, seeking to establish and confirm the legitimacy of private enterprise in industries that defined "New Zealand".

We (Private Enterprise) Define a Nation

As pointed out previously,[37] the search for a separate and meaningful identity of nationhood for New Zealand after World War One involved both identification and

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[34] Southland District News (1925) "Should the Bowen Falls be Harnessed? The Story of an Analogous Case", 3 March
[35] Anon (1925) Letter to Editor, Mataura Ensign, 31 March
[36] Phillips, C. (1925) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 16 April
[37] Supra, p174

understanding of a cause and set of values in common with those of the Empire and identification of the means of contributing to that Empire in a significant way. Thus the Southland Times forecast that "the Sound would…become one of the most important places in the Empire"[38] if the industry was established because, instead of the Empire having to rely on outside sources for its nitric acid as it had to "during the recent war", it could obtain it from New Zealand. This theme was reiterated (and cultivated) by Hunt - "the nitrate industry will ensure the prosperity of agriculture… and assist in the defence of the empire and be our first tangible cooperation with the British Government towards the protection of Australia and New Zealand".[39] Given these confident predictions of future importance to the Empire, "the unknown condition of the fiords is a disgrace to New Zealand… and the honourable members of the upper house… ought… to hang their heads in shame".[40]

The use of terms such as "defence" and "protection" locates the Empire, including New Zealand, as a beleaguered castle guarding Western values (embodied in the Modernist discourse) against the barbarian and ignorant hordes. However, by standing together and ensuring that "every available asset …be utilised for the common good",[41] those values would endure. This success could be achieved through the drive and initiative of (a specific) private enterprise.

An essential corollary to this metaphor of strength through enterprise was a definition of what (or more accurately who) lay outside this discourse, prowling its boundaries, envying its success and seeking its destruction. Although not willing to state these sentiments in public, Hunt portrayed these outsiders as "the enemy"[42] in personal correspondence to supporters, labelling them as disloyal to New Zealand, the Empire and, by analogy, also to Western values. His words in this regard resonated with the metaphor of a battle; "the puny vision of LITTLE (sic) people" would prevent the

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[38] Southland Times (1925) "'The Bowen Falls', and Nitrate Production. The company's site, some interesting facts", 28 March
[39] Hunt, A. L. (1925) Letter to Editor, Evening Post, 30 April
[40] Old Victorian (1925) Letter to Editor, Southland Times, April 6.
[41] Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Otago Expansion League when changing from a position of opposition to support for the proposal (1925) 13th Annual Report and Balance Sheet, July, p10
[42] "We are still standing behind our guns which are pointed direct at the enemy, and hope for a capitulation before very long"- Hunt to E.R. Bowler, 5 May 1925

creation of "a Nation until their influence is absolutely overpowered".[43] Moreover, these "little" people were not just lacking in vision but may be positively treasonous. This last is somewhat more than hinted at by Hunt when he opined to Dick that they "were up against the insidious influence of the Chili (sic) Trust" and that the level and nature of opposition "does look as though there is more than enthusiasm behind it".[44]

These outsiders/enemies could be defeated only through exposure. To this end, both Hunt and Orchiston targeted Thomson through publicising his involvement in an abortive previous scheme to harness the waters of the Caswell Sound for the same purpose.[45] Orchiston began by posing a question as to why Thomson had changed his mind about such a scheme between 1909 and 1919.[46] Hunt followed with the suggestion that Thomson's motivation to be involved in the earlier scheme was self-serving and that his opposition to the syndicate arose from jealousy - if Thomson had been given a good fat bonus by the Government and been allowed to proceed with his earlier attempt "then all was **right** and **proper**" but now the syndicate sought to achieve without a bonus then it was "**wrong** and **improper**".[47] One of Hunt's correspondents applauded this attempt to discredit - describing it as "depriv[ing] Mr G.M. Thomson of …peace and rest of mind".[48]

A similar theme can be detected in Hunt's suggestion to Coates that the most vocal instruments in opposition (the Otago Daily Times and Evening Standard) had no external credibility due to the close relationship of the Amenities Society (which was opposed) to these newspapers.[49] In this same letter he emphasised that the "truth" of the arguments of the proponents was so self-evident that many erstwhile opponents were now in support - including the Southland League,[50] the Southland Times and Southland News papers and the public of Gore who now displayed "a fixed

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[43] Hunt to G.D. Dick, Secretary of the Southland League, 8 May 1925. This letter was immediately an expression of frustration at Dick's inability to persuade either his fellow members of the League or the Farmer's Union to make representations to Coates in favour of the scheme.
[44] Ibid.
[45] This proposal was put forward in 1909
[46] Orchiston, J. (1925), Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 4 April
[47] Hunt, A.L. (1925) "New Zealand Life", New Zealand Forest Magazine, 15 May p17
[48] Bowler to Hunt, 5 April 1925
[49] According to Hunt, the Secretary of the Amenities Society was the sub-editor of the Evening Standard and the President a Director on the Board of the Otago Daily Times (Hunt to Coates, 7 April 1925)

determination that nothing would prevent both Otago and Southland from reaping the benefits". By way of contrast, Mayor Popplewell who remained opposed to the proposal had now been marginalised and enjoyed "little influence".

Finally, when faced with growing public and political opposition to the proposal, Hunt blamed his difficulties on political intrigue rather than any "untruth" of the proposal and its worth:

> [o]ne southern Minister largely ow[ing] his seat to the support of a powerful citizen of his town, who was a devotee of the claims of the Bowen Falls, and this man threatened to put him out of office if our license was not cancelled [He did not say whom].[51]

As well as attacks on individual opponents, disarming the resistance also involved denying legitimacy for its voice. At first, this technique involved inflating the meaning, discursive validity and significance of the enunciations of the proponents while diminishing those of its opponents. For example, it was appropriate and right to admit that damage was likely but to deny its relevance to commerce.

> We admit that the scheme would divert 95% of the normal flow…. We however submit that the BF are not the only ones in and around Milford Sound and it is doubtful if a single tourist especially visits the sounds for the sole purpose of viewing the BF.[52]

In this atmosphere of heightened public awareness of the proposal and sensitivity to it, it was necessary to admit to the possibility that damage could be done but either to trivialise it - "the proposal involves but a small part of the National Park, and if the workers… set out on a campaign of destruction, the area… must be limited",[53] or to justify it by reference to Government authorisation and support. Such treatment resonates with the privileged position of Government and its agencies within

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[50] "J.E. Winslow, late secretary Southland League… who has actively opposed us… now writes… 'Leigh Hunt converted me re Bowen Falls…[no] more opposition from me'".

[51] Ibid. By process of elimination it could have been only one of two people (either Hon. G. Anderson (Mataura) or Hon. W.D. Stewart (Dunedin West). Alternatively, he could have merely been justifying his failure to achieve wider and loyal support in the area.

[52] Hunt to Coates, 3 October, 1923

[53] Southland Times (1925) Editorial, 18 April

discourse - with officialdom not only determining resource use but also by analogy, and perhaps more importantly, being privileged as the repository of knowledge and wisdom as to the most appropriate use. This particular point was stressed by both Coates and Hunt - Coates in responding to the Southland Progress League when he emphasised the proviso in the license that "necessitate the works being carried out with the least possible disfigurement from a scenic point of view", while Hunt at a tripartite meeting of the Otago Expansionist League, the Amenities Society and the Chambers of Commerce argued that the license if granted would require the syndicate to comply with conditions that were intended to "protect bird life and to avoid the destruction of forests. There would be no vandalism, no smoke, no fumes and practically no noise".[54] Anyway, this (minimal or non-existent) damage would be a small price to pay for the improvements in access, facilities and attractions for the tourists.[55]

At the same time it was strategically appropriate to deflect criticism for potential damage by directing attention to the sullied record and limited responsibilities of the relatively minor Tourist and Health Resorts Department. This strategy could serve a dual purpose. First, it could discredit in advance any attempt the Department might make to oppose the proposal.[56] Secondly, anyone looking to the Department for support in speaking of resistance could find their words discredited by association.[57] Alignment with a Department that not only managed a relatively low-value industry (tourism), but also did it poorly (just look at the damage), could be refuted by those linking the interests of the country quite clearly with those of the groups holding political and economic power. "Who are more important to this country, the tourists… or the farmers? Hysterical and ungrammatical cries about the scenery of the sounds are valueless".[58]

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[54] Thomson, A.P. op. cit., n1, p11.

[55] Hunt, A. L. (1925) Letter to Editor, Free Lance, 23 May. In response to Nosworthy's "lament that we might 'mar' the sound as a tourist resort", Hunt quoted the following extract from the leading article in Dunedin's Evening Star on Waipori Falls, "in the outward tokens of power-generation [is] an added interest instead of a blot on nature's scenic effort".

[56] Hunt, A. L., ibid., "the damage to the bush on the Track is done, not by the casual tourist, but by the servants of the Department"

[57] Thomson (1925) "The Bowen Falls", Letter to Editor, Southland Times, 3 March

[58] Southland (1925) "The Bowen Falls", Letter to Editor, Southland Times 2 February

These arguments are entirely consistent with the regime of truth of a historically specific iteration of a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse. They implicitly distinguished between "bad" damage (that having no commercial value or detracting from commercial value) and "good" damage - a side-effect, and thereby insignificant, of development. An anonymous correspondent in Southland encapsulated this distinction as follows:

> If it comes to a question of scenic beauty or public welfare, the beauty must be sacrificed every time…. A similar argument to those used by the opponents to the scheme might have been urged when the beautiful native bush was being cut down…. But who will say that the bush beauty ought to have been preserved and the agricultural and pastoral prospects left to go to the devil?[59]

Similarly consistent with this regime of truth was a third and related technique employed by the proponents of the scheme, this being the representation of the scheme as the best option for creating or extracting value.

We (Private Enterprise) Will Make the Best of Resources

In 1923, Hunt, described by A.P. Thomson as a "man of considerable vision",[60] was, as previously explained,[61] enthusiastic about Orchiston's proposal. What is revealing and consistent is his later explanation for his enthusiasm (particularly given the existence and influence of the American Progressive Conservation Movement) to wit: "all these things [hydro-electric resources] were given for a wise use and ought not to be locked up".[62] Such wording suggests a view of Nature as a storehouse. Further, it is not only advisable or possible to utilise such resources but is a "technological [and potentially moral[63]] imperative",[64] a view clearly in accordance with technology-driven progress and civilisation and grounded in Utilitarian ethical principles. Additional statements by Hunt and others reinforce this conclusion. For example, in

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[59] Anon (1925) "Should the Bowen Falls be Harnessed?", Letter to Editor, Southland Daily News, 3 March
[60] Thomson, op.cit., n1, p4
[61] Supra, p188
[62] Hunt, A. L. (1925) "Water-power Resources", New Zealand Forest Magazine, April 15, p3
[63] This wording suggests an ethical responsibility rather than a desire.
[64] See discussion supra, p159.

answering his own question - "are these waters going to be left useless or is private enterprise going to be allowed to exploit them?",[65] Hunt argued that "only 5,200 people see the Sounds each year, and what is the use of scenic resorts if nobody saw them?[66]

As correspondence between Coates and Hunt reveals, commercialisation was quite clearly paramount in Coates' mind - "the establishment of a large industry… would obviously increase the… traffic enormously, even if two or three of the falls were utilised to such an extent as to remove their scenic value".[67] Given the comparative importance of industrial use, arguments in favour of preserving scenic values for tourism could be dismissed. Tourism was a use just like any other, and the human benefit resulting from that use must be balanced against all others. Even if the value of tourism was acknowledged (and it could be within the discourse and still admit to the superior claims of development), concerns about the effect of harnessing the waters could be easily addressed through the application of science: "there would not be the slightest difficulty in turning the water over the falls for an hour or two".[68]

Judgments as to the relative benefits or values involved in alternative uses were echoed in another context also. When the Otago Institute raised the broader issue of National Parks and the lack of a board with powers to administer the National Parks in the South Island, its letter was referred to the Commissioner of Lands (Mr K.M. Graham) who indicated support for the scheme.

> It is difficult to conceive how the proposed scheme, if carried out under proper control and safeguards, can be anything but an added attraction for visitors to undertake the Milford Track journey, and the economic aspect of the scheme in view of the increasing need for cheap fertilisers is such that it seems to me

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[65] Hunt at the meeting of the Gore Chamber of Commerce, reported in Tairua Ensign (1925) "Gore Chamber of Commerce Convened Meeting, the Bowen Falls Scheme – Explanation of the Proposal, Lively Debate", 1 April
[66] Ibid.
[67] Coates to Hunt, 13 March, 1924
[68] Horn, J. (M.P) (1925) Letter to Editor, New Zealand Herald, 5 April

that every facility should be given to private enterprise to establish the new industry in the best place and under the best possible circumstances.[69]

However, he also suggested an alternative site in Doubtful Sound for the enterprise, identifying the "Sutherlands" as the most suitable. This area had been acquired by the Crown for tourist purposes, again resonant with the concept of tourism being just another use rather than a special type of use.

It is now appropriate to focus attention on the resistance and its attempts to gain power over a discourse whose themes appeared so hegemonic, so deeply embedded in thought and speech as to raise despair in those cultivating an alternative voice. The next part of this chapter involves an exploration of *tactics* employed by those opposing the development. Given the domination of a New Zealand-style Modernist in this socio-temporal context, "tactics" is a deliberate choice of term, implying opportunism rather than consistency and persistent reiteration and reinforcement of a single position. Such terminology is borrowed from de Certeau who acknowledges the implications of domination/subjection on avenues available to a voice or voices of resistance. Tactics, de Certeau explains, are "opportunities seized 'on the wing'… victories of the weak over the strong [where the weak occupy a tenuous and temporary position in a discursive space, that space being equated to] a rented apartment".[70]

The Tactics of a Resistance Seeking Power over the Discourse

Foucault explains that a discourse does not fill all discursive conditions of possibility; that there is room for a resistance to occupy space within it. In this particular instance the resistance was to adopt tactics that clearly acknowledged the hegemony of the dominant discourse. Recognition of power-relations reflected in such hegemony affords an interesting opportunity to consider how micro-power can be exercised within the space shaped by a dominant discourse.

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[69] Ibid. This reply indicates how deeply embedded the Modernist discourse was in official attitudes and policy but seems, somewhat ironically, at odds with traditional socialist-influenced attitudes towards development.

Prior to this exploration, a preliminary point needs to be made. In recognition of the impossibility of defeating a hegemonic Modernist discourse, tactics used by those speaking of opposition involved subverting the vocabulary of those exercising power, seizing advantages as they drifted by and taking advantage of spaces on the periphery of discourse carelessly left temporarily vacant. Consequently, rather than attacking the basic ethical principles legitimised through discourse, thereby risking marginalisation or banishment to an empty space outside the regime of truth, the resistance spoke of nationhood, of values and of rights.

What a Nation Should Be

The Southland Progress League was the first organisation to receive confirmation of the rumours that Coates had given the Syndicate approval to formulate a license application.[71] The same day, Thomson clearly articulated his opposition by reacting publicly as follows:

> I shall do all in my power to stir up public feeling against any filching of our valued scenic reserves. We want in this young country to cultivate the aesthetic sense of the community; the commercial spirit can take care of itself.[72]

The image he sought to convey thereby was of an innocent and trusting public having something of value being stolen from them by (possibly unscrupulous but certainly powerful) "commercial spirit". Such an implication is reinforced by Winsloe's somewhat blunter warning in the Southland Times that the efforts of the "moneygrubbers" wishing to desecrate the area would lead to New Zealanders being "described as a Nation of Shopkeepers and a Generation of Vipers".[73]

In addition to this image of a virtuous and ethical nation, however, there is evidence to support the suggestion that, in seeking to exercise power, opposition to the proposal

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[70] De Certeau, M. (1984) Practices of Everyday Life, Berkeley: University of California Press, pxix
[71] Coates to the League, reported in the Otago Daily Times (1925) 16 February as referred to by Thomson, A.P., op. cit., p5
[72] Thomson (1925) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, February 16 as quoted in Thomson, A.P., ibid.
[73] Winsloe, J.E. (1925) "The Bowen Falls - Milford Sound", Southland Times, 21 January

moved further towards the centre of a Modernist regime of truth with a focus on the well-established and legitimised concept of conservation as wise use rather than a more tenuous and uncertain theme of preservation. This assertion is developed below.

The Use of Resources – Wise Use

In Thomson's opinion, wise use did not require the use of the Bowen Falls, indeed it militated against it. This particular attraction had a greater value to New Zealand left untouched. "Those who take the 'most beautiful walk in the world' so much advertised by the Tourist Department, find this lovely object at the end of their tramp."[74] Alexander Bathgate, described as a conservationist, spoke in a similar vein:

> The interview of the Southland League with the Hon. J. G. Coates… was not reassuring, as apparently the Minister fails to appreciate the enormity of the proposal if he thinks that any requirements, no matter how stringent, can protect the unrivalled charms of Milford from very serious deterioration.[75]

It is of note that Thomson emphasised that his opposition was confined to the choice of location. If it were important to the country to have such an industry, there were alternative sites. He urged the proponents to consider Caswell Sound,[76] justifying this choice on the grounds that it was one with "no special attractions for tourists".[77] By these words he acknowledges the dominance of Modernist values of use, an acknowledgement that carries an interesting implication.

Prima facie, this suggestion appears paradoxical given his purported belief in National Park and reserved areas. If he was opposed to exploitation of these areas, how then could he justify such a suggestion? This apparent paradox is explicable if his position is seen as ironical. Having decided that the Caswell Sound scheme was uneconomical,[78] holding to the belief that New Zealand did not require such

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[74] Thomson as quoted in Thomson, A.P., op. cit., p5-6
[75] February 18, as quoted in Thomson, A.P. ibid., p7
[76] This was the site of Thomson's original proposal that had been "claim-jumped by the Government" (Thomson, A.P. p18) but anyway, he explained, he had later reached the conclusion that it would not have been a paying proposition
[77] NZPD (LC), Vol 207, 1925:807.
[78] Ibid.

fertilisers, and possibly with some inkling as to the enormity of the investment required for Manapouri, it is at least possible to conclude he decided that he could best achieve his object if he purported publicly to support it, yet subverting its vocabulary and arguments.

More generally, and in an ironic twist, proponents of the scheme found their own vocabulary used against them. As identified previously, these proponents applied a dichotomy - use [by private enterprise]/ uselessness of this particular "resource" in its present state and subject to Government control. Implicit in this dichotomy was a celebration of private enterprise - only it could ensure wise and efficient use of such resources and the development of civilisation. Relying entirely on Government to develop such resources was taking the country into a dangerous situation.[79] However, and despite enunciations that support a role for private enterprise in this context, such a theme was of limited legitimacy within a discourse which embodied a belief that Government acted for the benefit of all, a position sharply in contrast to the selfish and self-centred motives of private adventurers.

Seeking a wider legitimacy for private enterprise enabled opponents to utilise another tactic in resisting the proposal, this being the role and interest of the collective (through Government) in determining the direction of civilisation. Did not the people of New Zealand, as constituent members of a democracy, have a greater right to benefit from such a resource than did a small group of adventurers?

Value - a Socialist Thread

Enunciations reflecting alternative values were to hint at a new dichotomy that placed such discursively legitimised ethical themes of equality and the garden as a socially responsible reality against an "other" of the selfish and irresponsible, a dichotomy echoed in Thomson's call to "every good citizen to preserve this heritage intact, and not allow it to be destroyed in the supposed interests of a few speculators".[80] Such a dichotomy can also be detected in his appeal to Hon. W. Nosworthy[81] for support for

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[79] Hunt to W. Barton, 19 March 1923
[80] Thomson, A.P., op. cit., p13
[81] Minister of Agriculture and of Tourist and Health Resorts

Thomson's contention that removing the protection of a National Park without parliamentary approval could be politically damaging and challenged as a challenge to democratic values.[82] This was also reflected in a letter to the Southland Times: "has the Government the right to take away any of the rights and privileges of the public in regard to National Parks or scenic reserves? These things are unalienable and can be altered only by Parliament."[83] "Matanga" also echoed this dichotomy in his or her eloquent and literary objection to "honourable men" who cannot be trusted by others:

> …they have been known to carry daggers and to plunge them in a little too freely into a vesture loved of the people. Before they get into tempting proximity to New Zealand's "garment of praise", it behoves someone to search them very thoroughly.[84]

As a corollary to this socialist thread, and similarly reflective of romantic ethical values, the image of the "garden", as reshaped by the legitimacy for conservation, could provide space within the discourse to speak also of aesthetic values. An exploration of a power strategy drawing on such values is provided below.

An Unspoiled Picture

By way of introduction and reservation, and in accordance with the specific historical location, such utterances did not so much reflect an *alternative* to Modernist "truths" but should be seen more as a metaphor for scenery, a view tacitly acknowledging the lack of a discrete space for an alternative discourse. Civilisation and its advancement remained central. However, it should also be remembered that such a location for civilisation within New Zealand discourse did not necessarily link it with a standard Modernist metaphor (industrialisation). Although economic progress remained

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[82] This is interesting given that although 940,000 hectares were set aside for those purposes in 1904, Fiordland was not officially constituted as a National Park until 1952. Until then as explained previously (supra, p188), it was deemed a reserve. This interpretation is supported by information provided by the Department of Conservation on their website (http://www.doc.govt.nz/Explore/001~National-Parks/Fiordland-National-Park/Fiordland-National-Park-General-Information.asp). Hence, references by Thomson and others to the National Park are more indicative of social perception than of regulatory recognition, an inference hinting of Romantic ethical principles.

[83] Thomson (1925) Letter to Editor, Southland Times, 3 March

[84] Matenga (1925) Letter to Editor, New Zealand Herald 28 March, as quoted in Thomson, A.P. op. cit., p9

important, a peripheral conservationist discourse could validate alternative values – if the passing opportunity was successfully exploited. In this instance higher ideals of man in preserving what was good and pure were elevated above those proponents of the scheme who could be portrayed as unable or unwilling to consider a higher law of perfection, rendering such people as engineers and farmers as somehow other than "normal",[85] to be both pitied and scorned. For example, "Vigilant" described "Mr J. Orchiston MIEE" as "an engineer whose soul is never stirred by nature's beauty… and whose object is utilisation of everything for the creation of wealth"[86] while Thomson suggested that "members of the Southland Branch of the Farmers Union [were] blind to scenic effects."[87] Similarly, organisations such as the Otago Expansionist League, the Amenities Society and the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce when passing resolutions condemning the proposal, could do so by appealing to the higher instincts of the supporters of those proposals: "…they should all deplore the fact that one of their outstanding scenic resorts [Bowen Falls] should be interfered with for commercial purposes.[88]

On the 2nd May 1925, and in this context of debate and dispute, Coates opened the Monowai Power Station with a speech about the hydro-electric potential for Southland. Nowhere in this speech did he refer to the Bowen Falls proposal. A.P. Thomson believes that by this time Coates was having serious doubts as to the advisability of the promises he had made to Hunt.[89] Also Dick, Secretary of the Southland League,[90] informed Hunt about a letter originally written by the General Manager of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts (a Mr B. Wilson). In the letter Wilson had expressed the opinion that "it was absolutely certain that the proposed scheme was as dead as mutton". A.P. Thomson's conclusion that Coates had gotten cold feet about the Bowen Falls' proposal is supported by the fact that Coates later granted Hunt a license to exploit the waters of Lake Manapouri (also even then within the area reserved as the Sounds' Reserve). This development was itself ironic given the tenor of many of the enunciations in opposition to the Bowen

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[85] Matanga, op. cit. Matanga put it thus: [Engineers] deal with figures… and will doubtless be ready to supply, from tables, a reliable estimate of the influence of the scheme upon the scenic delight that the Bowen gives to the average scenic susceptibility of the normal, not engineering, mind."
[86] Vigilant (1925) Letter to Editor, New Zealand Herald, 31 March
[87] Southland Times (1925) "The Bowen Falls", 3 March
[88] Dunedin Chamber of Commerce (1925) Meeting of the Executive, 27 February
[89] Thomson, A.P., op. cit., p14.

Falls scheme, yet one that attracted little attention from those same opponents. In September, the syndicate's provisional license to exploit the Bowen Falls was withdrawn.[91]

Referring back to the pivotal question asked at the beginning of this chapter, does this seemingly triumphant outcome for those opposed to the project signal a rupture in an historical continuity? The final part of this chapter provides a conclusion to the story and an appraisal of the extent (if at all) it did indicate a shift in the regime of truth.

Summary and Conclusions – a Positive Outcome?

There is little direct indication as to the immediate reason for the cancellation of the license, but is likely to be related to economic rather than conservation/preservation concerns. It is possible that the doubts as to the scheme's commercial feasibility, as well as more pressing problems facing the Government of the day,[92] was enough to kill it as far as Coates was concerned.[93]

One conclusion that can be reached on scrutiny and analysis of the available evidence is that Modernist discourse and the language of development, technology and civilisation reigned supreme, those attempting to speak outside its language and its rules considered deluded or wrong. Within such a discursive space, the reservation of land does not assure its protection against commercial exploitation. Rather the legitimacy of commercial ventures relies on the ability of a private or public sector entrepreneur being able to identify a means of conversion from useless to useful, from waste to productive. Restrained from challenging the legitimacy of this change in categorisation by the discursive practices of the Modernist discourse, a resistance must acknowledge the restrictions imposed by the existent power relations and seek sites within the discourse from which to challenge this enunciation. Although there is the possibility of triumph, such triumph may be ephemeral as ultimately such tactics and restraints leave the domain of the Modernist discourse unchanged, its ethical grounding unquestioned, its hegemony unchallenged.

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[90] G.D. Dick to Hunt, 22 April 1925
[91] Ibid.
[92] Such as a growing rate of unemployment.

In this immediate case, the resistance could only seize tactics on the wing, opportunities made available within the framework of that dominant discourse that permitted alternative voices to be heard. It could not be located in an environmental discourse; such a discourse and its domain would not be established for another 40 years.

A further and somewhat ironic conclusion that can be reached is that although short-term and limited victory over the discourse may be achieved through the exercise of micro-power, a hegemonic discourse may at the same time be strengthened. This strength arises from "power reorganis[ing] its forces, invest[ing] itself elsewhere",[94] its speakers learning from the experience in developing new power strategies that further limit the sites previously available for resistances thus obscuring alternative regimes of truth. Consequently, resistances may be further restricted in seeking legitimacy for enunciations.

In order to gain further insight into techniques for the maintenance of existing power relations and tactics through which power may be exercised to change a regime of truth, it is enlightening to move forward in time to the late 1960s, to revisit a debate that came to symbolise the battle between developmental and environmental values. This debate, involving proposals to raise the level of Lake Manapouri for the purposes of electrical generation is the subject of the second case study, presented in the following chapter.

[93] As hinted at by Thomson, A.P. op. cit., p14.
[94] Foucault, M. (1980) "The Eye of Power", in Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977, C. Gordon (ed), New York: Pantheon, p156

Chapter eight

The Manapouri Campaign - A Triumph for a Subjugated Discourse

Introduction

The previous chapter traced the genealogy of what has been described as the "first major conservation campaign in New Zealand".[1] It could be considered major in that it was the first significant challenge to a hegemonic Modernist discourse. It is also important as the first such campaign that challenged the legitimacy of a regime of truth that had placed hydro-electricity at the centre of Modernist discourse as a metaphor for economic and social progress. However, it must also be concluded that resistances to this particular manifestation of this discourse continued to acknowledge existent power relations, with subjects continuing to speak in Modernist terms; therefore, even with the failure of the proposal, the enunciation failed to demonstrate an alternative discourse located discontinuously with previous discourse.

The focus now shifts to what has been heralded as the "first great conservation success",[2] this being posited as a successful resistance to a dominant Modernist discourse (as defined).[3] This challenge was later encapsulated within and identified with the Save Manapouri Campaign, launched to fight the construction of a high dam on Lake Manapouri in the Fiordland National Park as first proposed in 1959, and enabled by changes in the historical context that weakened the domination of the discursive space by an outdated Modernist discourse.

Given the iconic status of this campaign in the annals of New Zealand's environmental memory, and its location as a rupture point within a discontinuous history, this chapter is devoted to a genealogical study of the campaign and its

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[1] Thomson, A.P. (1988) The Battle for Bowen Falls or Fertilisers from Fiordland, Wellington: A.P. Thomson, preface
[2] Peat, N. (1994) "Manapouri Saved! New Zealand's First Great Conservation Success Story", Dunedin: Longacre Press, title
[3] Supra, p16

discursive outcomes - asking how it was that a conservation/preservation voice previously subjugated to a hegemonic Modernist discourse and the economic progress imperative, could move to the centre of the historical stage, exercising power, its enunciations accepted as truth, its domain acknowledged as both discrete and legitimate?

In answering this fundamental question, it is necessary to isolate the tactics through which resistance was able to emerge victorious from the struggle. As in the previous case study, "tactics" in this context are taken to mean "opportunities seized 'on the wing'… victories of the weak over the strong, [where the weak occupy a tenuous and temporary space within the dominant discourse] like a rented apartment".[4] Victories may still be achieved through the use of such tactics by those resisting the dominant discourse, despite techniques whereby those exercising power through that discourse seek to subjugate and suppress. Ultimately, and possibly dependent on a resistance being able to usurp a larger and discrete space, such victories may involve a reversal of forces and shifts in power relations.

By way of reminder, critical to an understanding of such victories is an appreciation of power/knowledge, those terms linked by Foucault as a dichotomy through an implication that there can be no power relation without a field of knowledge that is accepted as true. At the same time what is acknowledged and accepted as truth is relative to power. This dichotomy is in turn is connected to discourse in that knowledge is defined as "a group of elements formed in a regular manner by a discursive practice". Without the regularity provided by a discourse, there is no knowledge. In the absence of knowledge, there is no power.

Consequently, to gain insight into the outcome(s) of this struggle between a dominant and a suppressed discourse, and to move beyond a subjective and mechanistic documentation and classification of techniques and tactics as "better", "foolish" or "stronger" it is important to ground their success or failure according to how they maintained, enforced, challenged or usurped the existing power/knowledge dichotomy.

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[4] De Certeau, M. (1984) Practices of Everyday Life, Berkeley: University of California Press, pxix

An initial review of what was said and thought within the discursive space that embraced the debate over the future of Manapouri reveals changes to the meaning and use of tactics and techniques over four relevant time-periods, (1959-1963, 1963-64, 1968-69 and 1970-72). These four time-periods can be grouped chronologically in two sets of two. However, it is not just chronological tidiness that drives such categorisation, it also informs the answer to the principal question posed at the beginning of this case study.

In brief, the justification for the organisation of these time periods is as follows. The first two periods show the dominance of a Modernist discourse as defined, although a shift in tactics by an "environmental"[5] resistance between the first and second period merits separate attention as it suggests the dynamic character of this resistance and alterations to the power relation supported and defended by the existent regime of truth. The events and enunciations of the second two periods evidence a rupture in continuity and finally triumph of a conservation/preservation resistance in gaining power over the discourse. To fully appreciate the nature and extent of this triumph, it is important to both consider the changes in the socio-temporal context that permitted it to happen and to plot the tactics used by the resistance in achieving this triumph. This analysis is supported by reference to enunciations drawn from the discourse over Manapouri and, where pertinent and supportive, from related debates and developments.

To achieve the objective as implied by this question posed in the present, this chapter addresses the following four questions.

- What evidence is there of the hegemony of a Modernist discourse within the relevant socio-temporal context?
- What effect did the domination of the Modernist discourse have on the exercise of power by an opposing resistance?

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[5] More accurately defined as a conservation/preservation discourse as the "environment" was still to be conceptualised (see discussion, supra, p34). Consequently, this resistance will be identified as preservation/conservation in recognition of the relevant historical context.

- How did Government's adherence to the Modernist discourse permit "truth-saying" within the discursive practices of an alternative environmental discourse?

- How does this study contribute to an understanding of the regime of truth of as "environmental discourse"?

Evidence of a Hegemonic Modernist Discourse

When in 1959 the Crown (Labour Party Government) signed the agreement with Consolidated Zinc (Comalco), an Australian company to harness Lake Manapouri for electricity generation purposes, it tacitly assumed that "right-thinking" members of New Zealand society accepted as true and normal the ethical principles grounding a Modernist discourse (By way of reminder, and as posited previously,[6] such a Modernist discourse in the New Zealand context implied, *inter alia*, a central role for Government as a metaphor for democratic and social values and a champion for those ethical principles, through their embodiment in the words, actions and institutions of official policy-setting bodies.[7] As Peat puts it "the development ethic…was all powerful. It was driven by State bureaucrats and politicians".[8])

Consequently, a hydro-electricity generation station at the head of Lake Manapouri, to be dedicated primarily to the needs of an aluminium smelter with any excess of production being made available to the national grid, was clearly legitimised within the prevailing discourse. It was also possible to celebrate an engineering triumph symbolised in the raising of the levels of both Manapouri and its neighbouring lake Te Anau, originally by as much as 94 feet in the case of Manapouri, although that was later revised to something around 27 feet for Manapouri and 2-3 feet for Te Anau.

It would appear that within such a socio-temporal context the domain of any (environmental) resistance would be restrained and circumscribed by the discursive

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[6] For example, supra, p60

[7] Sinclair put it thus: "The prevailing religion is a simple materialism. The pursuit of health and possessions fills more minds that thoughts of salvation", as quoted in McLauchlan, G. (1976) The Passionless People, Auckland: Cassell, p13. Writing somewhat earlier, McCormick, E.H. (1940) Letters and Art in New Zealand, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, p63, attributed this ethos to "Vogel's effervescent 'progression, progression, always progression'".

[8] Peat, op. cit., p2-3

practices of a dominant Modernist discourse. A useful metaphor to describe this position is that of de Certeau's - the uncertain and uneasy occupation of a space defined within the Modernist estate, with the rent set for continued occupation being tacit acknowledgement of Modernist values, its field of knowledge and adherence to its discursive practices and rules.

Accordingly, the hegemony enjoyed by this dominant discourse did not overtly deny a voice to alternative conservation/preservation values. As documented in preceding chapters, there was such a long-established voice for conservation in New Zealand. However, as "the term conservation was little used [outside specific and quite clearly defined contexts] and tended to be associated with a narrow, non-progressive outlook",[9] or as the "other" to progress, this voice must seek legitimacy within that discourse, its values subverted to the Modernist cause. Thus, it was appropriate to "know" and appreciate conservation values as challenges to particular applications of technology but not as dissonance with the "rightness" or application of the discourse.

Such a place within (general) discourse for conservation was encapsulated by a contemporary politician who defined progress as involving the "forces of Nature [being] applied, through the ingenuity of man, to raw materials for the betterment of mankind",[10] a sentiment echoed in an Evening Star editorial that described protest against the proposal to raise the lake as "a striking example of how realities can be submerged under the love of natural beauty. The 'save Manapouri from the despoilers' move is warping calm judgment".[11]

The effect of such dominance then was to determine the shape of a suppressed conservation/preservation voice, a power relationship further revealed through the following discussion.

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[9] Memon, P.A. (1993) Keeping New Zealand Green, Dunedin: Oxford University Press. Memon was using the term in its "preservation" sense rather than "wise use", the prevalent meaning during the first part of the period during which the Manapouri issue came up for debate (see discussion infra).
[10] NZPD, Vol 324, 1960:2121, per F. J. Kitts
[11] Evening Star (1960) "Editorial", 28 October

Resistance and a Dominant Modernist Discourse

A study of the first two time periods outlined and justified in the introductory section of this chapter reveals how Modernist discourse dominated enunciations within the Manapouri context, thereby enabling maintenance of the existing power relations. However, the potential for resistances to exercise power over the discourse is indicated by tactics used during the second of these two periods to challenge the dominant discourse. Consequently, mapping of shifts and changes that took place within and between these two periods can assist in identifying both the nature of the domination and the shape of the conservation/preservation resistance.

1959-1963 - Tactics of Compliance

Primary material drawn from this era suggests that such was the domination of Modernist discourse that alternative values could only find legitimacy within the Modernist space. This quest for accommodation within this space by a conservation/preservation resistance forced a diffusion of interests, a reluctance to identify any single, universally supported theme or voice. It was legitimate to identify with a cause but only if that cause did not challenge the "rightness" of the Modernist discourse and what could be known within it. Consequently, a Nature Protection Council formed in 1950 by such organisations as the Auckland Botanical Society, Federated Mountain Clubs, Forest and Bird Protection Society (later granted "Royal" status (RFBPS)), Scenery Preservation Society (SPS), Forestry League, Native Plant Protection Society and the Royal Society was not privileged even by its members with a separate and cohesive voice. Instead, each group and society was to maintain its separate (local) persona. Such fractionalisation was also echoed in the specific Manapouri context during this period, with localised resistance*s* embodying separate, albeit overlapping, sets of values ranging from commercial tourist values (Manapouri Progress League, Boating Club) to non-human ones (Royal Society and the RFBPS).

At the same time, causes and concerns judged incompatible by those speaking of Modernist values, were dismissed as illegitimate. Such an effect arose somewhat ironically from the status of those most likely to be involved in resisting aspects of

progress – the white middle class.[12] Although societal power relations enabled such interests to get their cause(s) onto the political agenda and into the popular arena, their discourse could be dismissed and subjugated as selfish. Progress was "known" to benefit all whereas such pleas were sectional, idealist, emotive and unrealistic, unsympathetic to the wider (democratic) good.[13] As an example, "Factual" asked:

> How long will it take to make a certain class realise that scenic beauty has fallen before progress since time began and that a thousand comforts they enjoy today are due entirely to the fact that man has allowed nothing to stand in the matter of advancement and bodily needs?[14]

Consequently, a proposal made by such groups drawn from this "certain class' for a Nature Conservancy, armed with statutory powers and responsible directly to Parliament[15] could be banished by a dominant political will to a committee with little power and charged with the responsibility "to coordinate conservation and beautification with engineering development when in the course of such development… it is necessary to exploit the natural resources of scenic resorts and national parks".[16] Later pressures for a greater conservation voice could be institutionalised within the machinery of the state as a Nature Conservation Council by way of the Nature Conservation Council Act 1962. What is most revealing is that with the knowledge within Modernist discourse centred on progress, the brief of this Council, as with the committee before it, embodies a tacit assumption that questioning *whether* development should occur is illegitimate. It is only appropriate to explore ways in which the effects on scenery (for the benefit of man) can be minimised. Also the subsuming of conservation/preservation within the formal structures of the State would permit official rituals and power of official discourse to continue to dominate.

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[12] In marked contrast to the silent Maori voice.

[13] In E.E. Schattschneider's famous sentence "The flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent" ((1960)The Semi-Sovereign People, A Realist's View of Democracy in America, Orlando: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, p35).

[14] Factual (1958) Letter to Editor, Evening Post, 30 October, p12

[15] To be charged with "co-ordinat[ing] conservation policies which were at present left to seven different Government Departments and several national societies working under 13 different Acts" (Mr J. Newman, President of the Travel and Holidays Association, as reported in New Zealand Herald (1959) "Nature Conservancy Sought", 23 November, p16)

[16] When Cabinet approved the proposal (20 March 1960) it was "aware of criticism… at *disturbance* (not *destruction*) of the country's scenic attractions" (italics added)

This seemingly comprehensive regime of truth of Modernist discourse is reflected in the marginalisation of resistance, as demonstrated in two instances pertaining to the Manapouri context. The first of these is the banishment to the margin of the political face of conservation/preservation values - the National Parks Authority.[17] Cleveland considers that "the Authority seems to have accepted its status as little more than an appendage to ministerial policy-making,….a lame watchdog",[18] an acceptance seemingly reflected in the Chairman's acknowledgment that "it is within the competence of Parliament to enact further legislation varying the terms of the trust or enabling or validating acts not within the scope of the existing Act".[19] Consequently, "the Board … should concern itself with the preservation of scenery",[20] a statement that effectively endorsed the truth of progress.

Such marginalisation is also apparent in the response received from the Crown Solicitor on the legal right of the Authority to challenge any change to the lake level consequential on the project - "clause 2 of the agreement contemplated that the lakes be raised and there was no authority whatsoever either in the Act or in the agreement which would permit the Crown to object…. Still less was there any inference that the Authority had any standing except through the Minister of Lands",[21] and its banishment from discussion as to the logistics involved in maintaining scenic values. Ultimately, its only achievement during this period was a Government promise that it be consulted over the approach to foreshore clearance, a token at best.[22]

Voices expressing such values from outside the official discourse fared little better. With official discourse as a metaphor for truth, utterances emerging from unofficial sources could be summarily dismissed or subverted. Specific submissions made

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[17] Empowered under the National Parks Act 1952 to ensure that "scenery of such distinct quality or natural features so beautiful or unique… would be preserved in perpetuity for the benefit and enjoyment of the public" National Parks Act 1952, s3(1)

[18] Cleveland, L. (1972) The Anatomy of Influence, Pressure Groups and Politics in New Zealand, Wellington: Hicks, Smith and Sons Ltd, p38-9

[19] Submission of the Director-General of Lands in his role as Chairman of the Authority, to the Lands Committee considering the 1960 petition submitted by the Forest and Bird Protection Society, as quoted in NZPD, Vol 324: 2114, per R.G. Gerard.

[20] Hearing on the legal validity of the proposal, held 12-13 March. The investigation was identified as case 765.

[21] From Crown Solicitor to National Parks Authority 1 April 1961

[22] Whether the Authority actually gave its approval to plans to clear the foreshore is doubtful - although it was reported in April 1961 that the Authority had discussed and given its approval to the proposals, this was later denied.

during the Lands' committee hearing on a petition against alteration in the lake levels were dismissed, and by implication both the message and the makers, on the basis that the RFBPS and the SPS did not have "all scientific data, tests and statistics and that was conclusively proved".[23] Gotz went further in overtly denying the truth of statements, and by implication the motives, of J. T. Salmon, one of the prominent campaigners, whom he accused of using "extravagant language" in making "statements… that are wrong".[24]

Similarly, in a later debate, a challenge to the legality and enforceability of the agreement on scenery preservation,[25] despite legal backing from Professor H. Gray from the University of Canterbury,[26] was portrayed as ungracious, ill-intentioned and untrue. In this portrayal both the merits and validity of the challenge to the agreement are open to doubt due to the source of the officially condoned information, both legal - "we on this side of the House are only laymen, and have to be guided by the best legal people we can find, those of the Crown Law Office"[27] and technical - "engineers" and the "company's independent consultants".[28] The use of such labels implies that by virtue of the central position in the discourse occupied by (official) intellectual and scientific knowledge, opposing enunciations emanating from other sources and expounding alternative values must be by analogy wrong and untruthful.

More generally, enunciations in opposition could be subverted, locating those articulating such enunciations as well meaning but perhaps naïve if they did not support the tenor of the proposal – therefore, in order that they could be recognised as speaking in accordance with what was considered true it could be assumed that they did support it. Through the use of patronising descriptors, such as "sincerity", "belief"[29], "sensible"[30] "earnestness"[31], and "honest",[32] legitimate alternative values

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[23] NZPD, op. cit., n19, p2118 per N.J. King.
[24] F.L.A. Gotz, ibid., p2129
[25] Ibid., p2187
[26] R.E. Jack described it as a "sinister joke [with]… no legal force"(ibid., p2126), quoting Hamish Gray (Professor of Law and author ((1961) "The Sale of Lake Manapouri", Landfall 15, p386) who had described this agreement as "not worth a tin of fish".
[27] Hon. C.F. Skinner, Minister for Agriculture, ibid., p2127.
[28] New Zealand Herald (1960) "New Threat to Scenery, Dissension in South", 13 January, p5
[29] J.C. Edwards, ibid., p2116
[30] F.J. Kitts described the Forest and Bird Protection Society rather patronisingly as "a group of good sensible citizens who… show no wish to hold up very necessary developmental work" (ibid., p2121)
[31] J.H. George, ibid., p2116.

could be embraced within Modernist discourse because the voice of the reasonable and moderate resistance recognised the truth - that technology could overcome *valid* concerns (problems) to order to permit progress and improvement to be achieved.[33]

These examples demonstrate the significant extent to which the power/knowledge dichotomy as embodied in a Modernist discourse, selected and privileged as true those enunciations reflecting its values and observing its prescribed rituals. Importantly also, with the privileging of progress through development as normal, alternative or "other" values could only ever be defined or legitimised in accordance with that state of normality.

By 1963 however, there were some scattered mutterings of recognition of a less desirable and socially acceptable side to a Modernist regime of truth as reflected in "official" attitudes to the Manapouri situation. One extant and pointed example involves the use of satire encapsulated in a cartoon entitled "the Modernist" showing a Manapouri covered in power lines.[34] More importantly, it was now considered possible to enunciate on the potential of unconventional actions and words as a possible tactic through which to challenge the existent regime of truth. Indicative of this is a statement by the SPS suggesting a need for "vigorous public protest".[35]

It should be noted that with the use of public protest in particular being restrained at the time by its broadly accepted placement outside the boundaries of socially acceptable ritual,[36] such enunciations posed a risk that alternative values for Manapouri would remain on the periphery of accepted discourse. However, the very preparedness of individuals to float such possibilities suggests protest was gaining

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[32] Rt Hon W. Nash (Prime Minister) ibid., p2130

[33] Hon J.R. Hanan was then was able to refer to "New Zealand's finest panorama… merged in harmony with one of man's greatest engineering achievements"(ibid., p2142), while Kitts argued that: "… in some cases the utilisation, for the benefit of mankind, of the forces of Nature placed there by the Almighty, can enhance the beauty of an area" (ibid., p2121)

[34] New Zealand Herald (1963) 14 February, p6

[35] New Zealand Herald (1963) "Proposal to Raise Lake Opposed", 21 May, p7

[36] Although anti-war, civil rights and anti-nuclear protests and other unconventional actions had become increasingly "popular", particularly by groups in the United States of America having little political or economic power, the traditional view of such behaviour in New Zealand at this stage was epitomised in the reaction of "the public" to stirrers and trouble-makers involved in industrial direct action.

legitimacy as a way of refusing techniques for the exercise of power, while exploring ways of infiltrating and subverting Modernist concepts of knowledge.

In exploring this suggestion, it is timely to consider the second period during which a conservation/ preservation resistance acknowledged the discursive practices of a Modernist discourse. What distinguishes this period from that immediately preceding is a growing reluctance of this resistance to adhere to those discursive practices.

1963-1966 - Redefinition of a Rented Space

Foucault makes the point that a "given discursive formation may reveal new possibilities",[37] new sites on which resistances may be enabled, providing opportunities to exercise power over the discourse. If it is suggested that resistances were thus enabled during this period, what then were the "new possibilities" revealed by a Modernist discursive formation? An exploration reveals two principal possibilities, each of which will be considered in turn.

The first of these was provided by a change to the nature and position of the parties involved. Referring again to De Certeau's metaphor of the rented space, this period could be described as one in which the occupiers sought to define their rights as tenants against a management purportedly accountable to them but manifesting hostile intentions. Instead of a struggle between an alien company and a Government (as a metaphor for democratic rights of New Zealanders), paradoxically the Government itself had assumed the role of developer while purportedly also continuing to represent those interests.

With such a shift and redefinition of roles, there was the opportunity to put pressure on the link between truth and official sources, fostering doubt as to the veracity of statements and assurances. It was also possible to explore the subversion of established ritual.

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[37] Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* A. M. Sheridan Smith (trans), New York: Pantheon, p67.

A tactic now enabled involved interrogating information on which judgments and assurances about Lake Manapouri had been based. A report from a consulting engineer advising the SPS and RFBPS stated that F.P. Askin (Chief Civil Engineer (Power) Ministry of Works), in refusing to supply figures on the diameter of the tailrace, responded with "don't you trust us"?[38] (the implication being no), Nelson was "at a loss to see how [the Government's estimates of costs]… can be correct [given extra construction and clearance of the shoreline]",[39] while the Press criticised the NCC being asked by Government to reconsider its warning as to the unpredictable consequences of the planned increase.[40]

Such challenges to the credibility of "official" statements carried a wider implication, that the sources themselves could not be trusted. Words such as "desecration" and "misguided… MPs" could then be applied to discount claims of support in "the South" for the proposal to raise the lakes,[41] increases in lake levels equated with irreversible damage and thus contrary to previous assurances -"if the levels of the lakes are raised…the scenery-preservation clause… will be known for what it is, a bitter sop given… to cover unthinkable, deliberate destruction",[42] and metaphors of criminal activity ("legalised rape"[43] and "the Massacre of Manapouri")[44] applied to Government plans for the area. Comalco did not escape adverse comment either, despite its now secondary role; hints were made as to the ethical character of its alter ego with suggestions that "there could be a kinder hand".[45]

Exploring means of subverting of the rituals of the Modernist discourse to the conservation/preservation cause was the second principal tactic enabled. Symbolic of this are the notes for a speech given by the chairman of the National Parks Authority in 1963. Significantly, this institutional embodiment of a discourse of conservation/preservation had acknowledged its subjectivity in 1960. Now, without

[38] Report to the Scenery Preservation Society and The Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society, 11 September 1963

[39] Nelson to Hon W.S. Goosman, (Minister of Works) 28 January 1963

[40] "The affair will do nothing to remove the impression that the Ministry [of Works] has developed a high-handed liking for its own way in anything it touches and resents any check on its authority" (Editorial, The Christchurch Press, 18 September 1963)

[41] Mathieson, D. (Member of Forest and Bird Society) (1963) Letter to Editor, Weekly News, 17 July

[42] Forest and Bird (1963) "Manapouri and Te Anau in Grave Peril", 151, p2

[43] Dominion (1963) "'Legalised Rape' of Lakeside Beauty", 4 October

[44] Weekly News (1963) "The Massacre of Manapouri", 17 July

[45] Lush, A. (1963) "There Could be a Kinder Hand on Manapouri's Future", Weekly News, 14 August.

any alteration to its legal and official status, the chairman was willing overtly to question the accepted truth.

> Incidentally, a Minister of the Crown is reported to have said "the raised lake would be lovelier than the present lake". I cannot believe [this word crossed out in the original notes and replaced with "imagine"] any Minister could really believe such appalling piffle.[46]

Such subversion can be detected in other iterations. Rather than waiting politely and patiently for sanitised information to be provided by the Ministry of Works, Nelson registered his "earnest hope that information [provided to the Ministry of Works by contractors on the site]… should be made available as early as possible".[47] Rather than relying on official sources to inform the public through official news releases, non-"responsible sources" [48] would give an alternative truth. Rather than quietly following channels peripheral to the exercise of power, as when the SPS and RFBPS agreed to request the National Conservation Council to "examine the Manapouri power project", they did so only on making clear their reservations as to its effectiveness and positioning within existing political power structures.[49]

With their language and their diffused values subsumed within the "reality" of progress, a second possibility for conservation/preservation resistances involved speaking in a single voice on a cause that could be acknowledged as legitimate within the Modernist discourse. Opposing the use of the lake would never gain legitimacy within the prevailing regime of truth. Instead, legitimacy required that all involved, whether in favour or against the use of the waters of Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau, "know" the truth of an alternative way of speaking - in this case the maintenance of normal lake levels. Thus the purpose of a petition in 1963 was enunciated as follows: "we are not opposing the use of the surplus waters of the lakes…the object of the

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[46] Public address by McCaskill, Christchurch, February 1963
[47] Nelson to Private Secretary, Minister of Works, 22 July 1963
[48] Evening Post (1963) "Manapouri Press Releases to be Screened", 13 July, p16
[49] Scenery Preservation Society (1963) Annual Report, extract refers to the reservations on the parts of both Nelson and Cooke as to the possible consequences of the lake being raised. Also see Nelson to Scott (23 May 1963) in which he decried a comment by F. R.Callaghan "the Royal Society man on the National Parks Authority [reported in the Evening Post] that the lakes must be raised".

present petition is simply that the levels… should not be raised unless it can be demonstrated that there is no possible alternative".[50]

Despite continued dismissal of the legitimacy of the object of an unspoiled and unchanged lake within Modernist discourse,[51] it was to ultimately gain an unassailable status in the discourse, as a catch-cry or symbol. Furthermore, it was cultivated as a metaphor for nature, thereby potentially granting it a wider and socially significant meaning. Such potential was foreshadowed when the President of the RFBPS called for "active cooperation…ensuring protection, disseminating material for inculcating the love of these things into the public"[52] and in his suggestions that in articles opposing any rise in the level "more [should be] made of the nature side…. Aesthetically, unspoiled, scenic, charm, botanically…. That is, the preservation of natural plant associations on the… shores to be inundated.[53]

In addition, the use of such a tactic revealed the opportunity for cultivating an independent existence for the "preservation" of nature in accordance with romantic images of "unique scenic gems of unsurpassed natural beauty"[54] "inviting men to adventure, inspiration and refreshment".[55] Such images were to foreshadow a later liberation of nature from its instrumental position in the Modernist discourse and from its association with technology as a device for the creation of a fabricated beauty.

In summary then, this particular period saw the awareness of the resistance as to the techniques of power and clarification of its object. Such awareness was reflected in a

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[50] Statement by the President of the Forest and Bird Protection Society's Wellington Branch, 15 October 1963, reprinted as "The Manapouri Power Project", in Forest and Bird 150, November, p8

[51] At a conference held by the NCC in February 1963, Cook met with Goosman and other Departmental heads. He described the discussion as "friendly", yet in May "Goosman asserted that after Lake Manapouri was raised it would be 'better than ever'" (extract from Cook to Nelson, 29 July 1963). What is of particular note here is the silence of Comalco- despite it being the subject of criticism, the representatives preferred to leave it to Government sources to respond to enunciations of opposition.

[52] Forest and Bird (1964) "Extracts from the President's Address to the N.Z. Scenic Reservation (sic) Society, Christchurch, June 1964", 154, p26 at p27

[53] Nelson to Cook, comments on the Scenery Preservation Society's draft submission to the National Conservation Council, 29 August 1963

[54] Nelson to Holyoake, 23 February 1963

[55] This was also reflected in the tone of a letter from Nelson to Goosman (28 February 1963) when in thanking Goosman for a meeting at which information about the project was provided, suggested that "in the enthusiasm for their [engineers] work, they fail to comprehend… the aesthetic and cultural values…."

heightened public and media interest and awareness, numerous articles, letters to newspapers and opinion pieces on the lake and the effects on it being raised. Despite this expansion in number and range of enunciations, however, articulations of resistance to the proposal to raise the level of the lake continued to derive their meaning from the anthropocentrically-based regime of truth of the Modernist discourse and the central position of progress within it, institutionalised and embodied as knowledge within both State and society.

Ultimately, however, and somewhat ironically, the very institutionalisation of the Modernist discourse was also to reveal the sites on which conservation/preservation values could seize power over the discourse, as opposed to exercising micro-power within it. Although the fabric of Modernist discourse continues to be revealed and echoed through enunciations, by 1968 changes in tactics can be identified, tactics that proved successful in enabling a conservation/preservation resistance to modify the discursive space.

Such tactics overtly denied the accepted rituals of the dominant discourse in favour of "unconventional" acts, [56] a manifestation of what Cleveland describes as "political involvement on the part of a considerable number of individual citizens who ordinarily would not concern themselves with extensive political activity".[57] By 1970, the resistance was actively seeking to define the domain of an alternative discourse. Through its knowledge coming to be accepted as true, it would finally be successful in usurping power with Modernist discourse in turn relegated to an uneasy occupation.

In order to identify and account for this success it is now necessary to turn attention to the latter two time periods as identified and justified in the introductory section to this chapter.

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[56] Any that involves "showmanship" or "display" for the purposes of attaining an objective or set of objectives (Lipsky, M. (1968) "Protest as a Political Resource", American Political Science Review, 62(4), p1144 at p1145).

[57] Cleveland, op. cit., p35

A Changing Space

1968-9 - Modification of the Space

Identification of this period as one in which the resistance successfully modified its own discursive space does not imply that power did not continue to be exercised in accordance with the discursive practices of Modernist discourse. It was - but the available discursive space had expanded and changed, now amenable to a wider range of potential values and objects. The following discussion traces the changes to the socio-temporal context that enabled and legitimised unconventional acts, then relates those acts to the changes and expansion of the available discursive space.

As an initial point, when discussing the use of unconventional actions and words, it is important to clarify what is meant and why a resistance may choose to use them. Extrapolating from Lipsky's work on the nature and place of protest, the discussion involves identifying direct action and other similarly high profile activities as "unconventional" within the space of a dominant discourse. Also considered unconventional for the immediate purpose are actions and words that run contrary to expectations - such as alliances between groups having different paradigms, and support from those traditionally speaking in accordance with Modernist discourse.

Where a Modernist discourse is hegemonic, acting unconventionally may be the only way for a subjugated voice to attract attention to the cause, particularly where compliance with the discursive practices and rituals of the dominant discourse has perpetuated that subjugation. What then were these "unconventional actions and words" and what enabled their use?

Direct Action

Compared to the previous profile of protest and other high profile action as subversive to the natural and accepted social order,[58] by the late 1960s there was a noticeable

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[58] Traditionally, in New Zealand such actions were confined to labour disputes, most noticeably and prominently the bitter and long-running Waterfront dispute in 1952

increase in the range of New Zealanders willing to express concern and dissension with official discourse reflected in Government policy. It was now legitimate to speak outside formally established and condoned rituals and to think unconventionally. The major growth initially occurred in the context of anti-war protest, most specifically the Vietnam War to which New Zealand was committed under the ANZUS treaty. The local anti-war protests and demonstrations reflected developments in the United States of America where by 1967 "millions of ordinary Americans were drawn into protest actions".[59]

However, significantly, the use of such actions ultimately expanded beyond the specific context of anti-war protest, becoming manifest as conduits for the expression of opposition to nuclear arms, and ultimately concerns about various types of pollution. Through this conduit then the use of public protest marches and other high profile expressions of dissent had moved from beyond their traditional boundaries (the labour area) into the wider community, becoming widely accepted and condoned as the appropriate means of expressing concern.[60] However, protest could only be a means of gaining attention. To exercise power over the discourse, to carve a domain for an alternative discourse and to establish an enduring legitimacy, it was necessary to win hearts and imaginations. Thus the use of protest was linked with metaphor.

Metaphor

Associating protest with a range of "richly symbolic issues"[61] from inflation[62] to apartheid[63] enabled those seeking to exercise power over the discourse with a focus, an identity and a rationale for their position. Lake Manapouri in particular was to become one of those richly symbolic issues - a metaphor for multi-dimensional values of scenery, peace and human rights. Such values were later to be reflected in a song

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[59] McKinnon, M. (1973) Independence and Foreign Policy, New Zealand in the World since 1935, Auckland: Auckland University Press, p167

[60] The editor of the New Zealand Methodist was reported in the Evening Post (10 February 1970, p12) as of the view that demonstrations on matters of principle were one of the "few signs of moral and political vigour in contemporary New Zealand" ("Editor Upholds Public Right to Demonstrate"). More than coincidentally, this article was beside a feature article by "KLB" entitled "Manapouri: Silent Lake of Sorrows".

[61] Cleveland, op. cit., p26

[62] Campaign Against Rising Prices (1968-9) that threatened to boycott certain products but, according to Cleveland, "seemed to have lacked the power to carry out its threat". Ibid., p27

[63] Halt All Racist Tours (HART) and Citizens' Association for Racial Equality (CARE)

("Damn the Dam", emphasising romantic images of birds and beauty, with the death of both portrayed as the direct sacrificial consequence of "man's progression"),[64] advertisements (one that appeared in the Dominion stressed the natural beauty of the lake and its importance as "part of our heritage and our future")[65] and the issue of "shares" as a fund-raising venture (promising a perpetual dividend of the "retention of Lake Manapouri in its natural state" to the "New Zealand Public").

Acceptance of the validity of such values was enabled by the growth and public prominence of the hippie counter-culture during the latter part of the 1960s that promoted love, peace and romantic values, collective action and rebellion against symbols of authority. Implicitly anti-progressive, it also conveyed distrust of industry and its profit motivation. "Nature" on the other hand with its images of flowers and implicit spirituality, was the fount of goodness. This counter-culture also encouraged criticism of science and its outcomes, principally the use of nuclear energy, war-related damage and pollution. While this counter-culture never gained mainstream acceptance either in its birthplace America, or in New Zealand, the messages conveyed through its focus on imagery (particularly the damage able to be done to nature through the application of technology and the questionable motives of those in authority) were incorporated into conservation/preservation discourse. The sharing of these messages in turn was enabled, somewhat ironically, by the growth in communication technology, as further explained below.

Imagery

The increasingly accessible visual medium of television was particularly suitable as a means of presenting romantic images of beauty and tranquillity as opposed to the more ephemeral and uncertain economic benefits that were claimed by politicians and officials as flowing from maximum possible power utilisation. Secondly, and more specifically, it could be used to communicate images of the lakes in their natural state to that majority of New Zealanders who had never been to the area.[66] Thirdly it could support the metaphors of the hippies and other groups with vivid illustrations of the

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[64] Written and sung by John Hanlon, released as a single in 1973
[65] Dominion (1970) 21 November

environmental and human costs of defoliants used in Vietnam and footage on the damaging effects of industrial development on the natural landscape in other parts of the world. Finally, it was the ideal means to capture the passion, the immediacy and the dynamics of large numbers of people grouped together united in a single cause, something never previously possible.

Within this context, the Save Manapouri Campaign was launched, "a nationwide campaign, hard-focussed and determined".[67] The very name (changed from the original "league") was explicit and suggested a dynamic, highly charged and significant *cause célebrè,*[68] an image of beauty and freedom under threat from the barbaric and unfeeling (foreign) developers with an interest only in money. Society could be enlightened and educated in alternative values, while a Modernist discourse was no longer all-powerful. In this context, the theme and peaceful/serious tenor of marches and demonstrations, roadshows[69] and public meetings[70] appealed not only to those traditionally grouped as conservationists or preservationists but also to others who had their own particular agendas, such as opposition to foreign investment and objection to industrial development.

With the failure of a Modernist discourse to fill the discursive space, the resistance could annex that space, ultimately liberating the object of natural lake levels from domination by Modernist values and allowing the knowledge embodied in the subjugated discourse to be seen as somehow "better" (more idealistic) embracing concepts of nature, beauty and tranquillity. Celebration of these concepts, while moving the focus from anthropocentric values, did not necessarily compromise or deny them, as demonstrated by a range of enunciations relating to outcomes and costs of foreshore clearance. The Department of Electricity endeavoured to cost the exercise through classifying different areas as "priority" (those areas most likely to be visited), down to "conspicuous" and finally "less frequent", or those that did not require such thorough treatment. On the basis of this clearly anthropocentric-driven

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[66] Thereby helping to counter any suggestion that those opposing the scheme did not know what they were talking about.
[67] Peat, op. cit., p52
[68] One of the essential requirements for successful protest. (Lipsky, op. cit.)
[69] Various members of the SMC (starting with the Chairman, Ron McLean and his daughter in the summer of 1969) were to tour the country, making speeches and rallying support for the cause.
[70] Beginning with a large meeting in Invercargill, originally the centre of support for the project.

categorisation and a trial clearance carried out in 1968, the general manager of the NZED considered it feasible that the clearance could be completed to an acceptable standard for less than $5 million. The message of the resistance however was that such a focus was scientifically and aesthetically wrong, a message that invoked a promise by politicians of an open chequebook to ensure it was achieved to a satisfactory level. It was then possible to maintain that the touted benefits from raising the levels - more electricity and therefore greater efficiency and return - would disappear. The magnitude of these touted benefits was uncertain anyway; estimates were downgraded several times during the 1960s (from $19 million/pa in 1963 to $10 million possibly rising to $20 million in 1968).

Despite such incursions by a conservation/preservation resistance, a Modernist voice appeared to remain in control, at least from an outside perspective, of the discursive space. The one object of the resistance - the level of Lake Manapouri – could still be managed within the existing power relation through the simple expedient of delaying the decision.[71] Such a delay meant statements by the resistance could be portrayed as premature, irrelevant, unnecessarily emotive and of trivial importance. This technique appeared at first to be successful in holding the position for the Modernist discourse - despite the Labour candidate winning the Marlborough by-election in early 1970 by a significant margin over the National party candidate, "there [was] no evidence that the Manapouri issue played a significant role ….it was not even among the top half-dozen topics raised".[72]

However, from then until the elections in November 1972, a gap first appears then widens between the extant modern values of progress and use and non-monetary, non-human values. This gap has major discursive significance. To elucidate, as Foucault

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[71] Before the November elections in 1969, and fully aware that it would be some time before the lake would have to be raised, the National Party promised a Royal Commission- to take place after the election- to enquire into the decision to raise the lake, while Holyoake hinted that New Zealand might not be contractually bound to do it. This promise effectively defused the issue for supporters and it went on to win the election. It is telling that once the election was over the victorious National Party sought to replace the promised commission with a Cabinet Committee- a move suggesting a lack of genuine intention. In the end, the pressure was such that the Cabinet Committee inquiry was followed by one conducted by a Commission which published its findings as Commission of Inquiry into the Proposal to Raise the Level of Lake Manapouri for the Purposes of Generating Electricity (1970) Report, Wellington: Government Print.

[72] Evening Post (1970) "Labour Scores Shock By-election Victory; Price Increases seen as Major Factor", 23 February, p9

points out, validity of a discourse comes from its domination of knowledge articulated and explicable within its domain. The privileging of enunciations within a discursive framework as "true" entails acknowledgement of the discourse as the basis of "truth", normality or reality. Such acknowledgement necessitates emergence as a separate and distinct discursive formation. This for a discourse incorporating alternative values necessitates a separation, a removal from the shadow cast by a Modernist discourse into its own "normal" space, thereby rendering the erstwhile dominant discourse to an uneasy occupation.

Arguably, the conservation/preservation voice cultivated this gap through a quantum shift in tactics, enabling victory for a hitherto subjugated and manipulated discourse. In order to appreciate the magnitude of this victory, it is necessary to consider two questions. First, what were the social, political and historical conditions permitting such a shift of tactic? Secondly, what tactics enabled the reversal of power relations and the appropriation of power?

1970-72 - A Space of its Own

It can be argued that the shifts in tactics were enabled by the privileging of the *environment* as a discursive concept as opposed to the more diffuse and uncertain "conservation" and/or "preservation". The redefinition of the discursive space during the latter part of the 1960s had provided a romantic face for this as yet undefined concept, with the legitimisation of non-monetary values. However, this in itself sparked no rupture, no shift from the progressive ethical values embodied within Modernist discourse, including that specific to the immediate historical context. Such is the privilege granted science and its application within such discourse, that it was only if the resistance could in some way subvert the privileged vocabulary of science would it be able to exercise power.

Such an opportunity was revealed by the scientific face now granted the environment as the focus of a body of knowledge, this privilege being symbolised by two events. The first of these was the extant support of the newly elected United States President Richard Nixon, for the environment, this support being symbolised by the federal National Environmental Policy Act. The statute recast the federal Government's role:

formerly the *conservator* of wilderness, it now became the *protector* of earth, air, land, and water. Critics have cast Nixon's conversion in this context as a cynical attempt to distract public attention from the Vietnam War, disarm the growing American environmental movement and gain power for Government in its relationship with American business. Nevertheless, this development proved significant in that it legitimised environmental discourse on scientific grounds[73] not only in America but also internationally. Such legitimisation was further confirmed by Nixon's 1970 State of the Nation address in which he explicitly supported the first Earth Day. This support had the effect of introducing ecology, with its attachment to scientific "truth", into the popular lexicon,[74] thus providing it, and its associated themes of the environment, with a respectability that could be exploited by the environmental discourse.

The second significant event was Europe's first Nature Conservation Conference held in Strasbourg, which was intended not only to draw the attention of governments to pollution problems but also to "make as much noise as possible so public take notice".[75] Although New Zealand did not join other non-European countries in sending observers to this conference, the issues that were considered by the delegates (water and air pollution arising from industry, land use and urbanisation) also received coverage in the local papers.[76]

These conditions in themselves could not secure domination for a discourse embodying alternative values. As Foucault explains it, a subjugated discourse gains power by "the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who once used it".[77] Such empowerment involves two corollaries. Firstly, for a resistance to triumph over an erstwhile dominant discourse, tactics that acknowledge, respond to and suit the given

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[73] Munroe, Sir L. (1970) "Ecology - the Great Issue of the 1970s", Evening Post, 25 February, p16
[74] Ibid.
[75] Evening Post (1970) "Startling Details Likely on Pollution", 9 February, p15
[76] For example, Lane, G.R. (1970) "Man Brings Death to Islands of Paradise", Evening Post, 3 February, p12- talking of the effect of commercial land use on the islands of the pacific; Stewart, Dr G.F (1970) "Lots of Talk but Little Action in New Zealand about Control of Pollution", Evening Post, 1 June, p25 and articles on the damage caused to Lake Rotorua by sewage discharge.
[77] Foucault, M. (1971) "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", in Foucault, M. (1984) The Foucault Reader, P. Rabinow (ed), (1st Edition), New York: Pantheon, p88

socio-temporal context in which they are used, must be utilised. The second corollary is that techniques for the exercise of power that have been successful in the past now no longer work against those tactics but merely look uncomfortable and out of place.

Given those corollaries, in seeking how this hitherto subjugated discourse appropriated power in the case of Lake Manapouri, it is timely to consider tactics applied by what it is by now possible to tentatively identify as an "environmental" resistance.

Power over the Discourse - Tactics

The range of tactics used by the environmental resistance during this final time period can be classified under two principal headings, usurpation of the vocabulary of the erstwhile dominant discourse, and the subversion of its rituals. These are discussed in turn.

- Usurpation of Vocabulary

With a new scientific respectability for environmental issues, coupled with the economic discourse cultivated during the latter part of the 1960s, it was possible for the resistance to speak in both these respectable, mainstream voices, usurping vocabulary previously privileged as true within the Modernist discourse, and annexing the rational high ground. *Inter alia*, this legitimised enunciations by the resistance that reflected privileged discourses - science or economics - rather than just emphasising romantic and unquantifiable ideals. This shift is important given that such ideals tended to be a characteristic of earlier enunciations and was now tacitly acknowledged as a weakness that those speaking in its voice overtly sought to dispel. Indicative of this change in context and tactics is a comment made by McLean: "the whole concept [of raising the lake] is based on ignorance of the true and full facts…. Exhaustive studies have been done… by many people of great experience and ability…. This is the basis of our strength, not mere emotionalism".[78]

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[78] McLean to Minister for the Environment (D. McIntyre), 4 February, 1971

Specific examples of such discourse-referenced enunciations can be identified. These include comparing the official (but uncertain) forecast of benefits (not taking into account the likely costs of rehabilitation) from the smelter of $20 million to the "actual" income from tourism of $19 million that would be threatened by a damaged lake,[79] challenging the official wisdom that regulating the water-flow "in accordance with good engineering and hydrological practices" required that the lake be raised,[80] trivialising the extra power able to be generated from a raised rather than an normal lake, criticising the plans for shore rehabilitation as unscientific, inadequate and unrealistic.[81] More generally, the validity of the original decision to utilise the waters of the lake in 1960 was called into question through challenges to the truth and veracity of the scientific advice provided to the serving parliamentarians.[82] In addition, the Modernist technique of connecting reality to expertise was ironically mimicked by way of a "teach-in"[83] where "top-level experts…can give the public the real facts".[84]

With resistance exercising power from within a discrete space and staking a claim to the scientific and economic "truth", even the efforts of proponents to support the proposal started to sound ironic and outside the regime of truth. Hence a suggestion that "it is the opinion of some… that the usefulness of the beaches of lake Manapouri as picnicking places has been exaggerated on account of the… sandflies",[85] was dismissed. In addition, the "cause" or symbolic object of the discourse was so ubiquitous, so generally championed, that the opinion of an engineer who argued that

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[79] Evening Post (1970) "Save Manapouri Campaign 'Happy' With Commission" 21 February, p4. Also see Evening Post 8 June 1970, reporting the General Manager of the Tourist and Publicity Department- "Raising Lake Would Affect Tourism", p20

[80] Manapouri-Te Anau Development Act 1963 s4, and 1963 agreement cl. 1

[81] For example from McLean to McIntyre, op. cit., n78 "The whole concept is based on ignorance of the true and full facts…."

[82] Te Anau Preservation Committee, op.cit. It is suggested that a focus on the shortcomings of Government officials rather than politicians precluded any possible accusations that the resistance was seeking to overturn democratic structures.

[83] Reported in Evening Post (1970) "Damage to Manapouri Shoreline Permanent if Lake is Raised, says Botanist",(19 February, p28) Speakers included MacKenzie, Hutchins and Salmon. These speakers stressed the damage and loss with a raised lake compared to a trivial loss in production if it were left unchanged.

[84] Chairman of Save Manapouri Committee (Jack Harris), ibid., p17

[85] Memorandum from The General Manager, NZED to his Minister, 28 August 1972

alternatives to Manapouri would involve pollution and that "those advocating 'Save Manapouri' have another think", could be rationally ignored.[86]

Also, assurances of the Director–General of Forests that the "quite inadequate investigations into the techniques and costs [of shoreline treatment]" and the "period…between the start of vegetation clearance and the filling of the lake when the lake will look extremely ugly", would nevertheless result in "relative rather than absolute"[87] scenic and tourist losses, and that Manapouri would "probably still be a beautiful lake by world standards",[88] rang an ironic note. That ironic location was further enforced with his further comment about Lake Monowai. Even the "unsightliness of Monowai",[89] he wrote, "is mainly in the foreground….. Looked at from a distance Monowai can still look attractive".[90] (As the vehicular approach to Monowai is over a rough track, and visitors arriving that way do not catch sight of the lake until close to its shoreline, it is difficult to accept this statement except as a reflection of a (distorted) Modernist truth.)[91]

As well as claiming these truths, the resistance was to claim "conservation" through usurping its meaning to an environmental domain. As mentioned previously,[92] although there was some fleeting and subordinate association of this term with preservation as early as the 1880s, conservation traditionally tended to be associated with careful use of scarce resources. Salmon had acknowledged this connection in 1960, when he explained that "conservationists are concerned with the proper

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[86] Robinson, L. M. (1970) Letter to Editor, Evening Post, 17 February, p14. Ironically, and perhaps indicative of how metaphor had subverted the discourse, McLean, despite well-voiced concerns as to the long-lasting disposal issues, argued that "the real answer is an atomic station" (McLean to McIntyre, 4 February 1971).

[87] Report from Director General of Forests (A.P. Thomson), (1970) "Lake Manapouri Shoreline Treatment", 26 February

[88] Ibid.

[89] The lake whose appearance was often cited by the resistance as the compelling reason why Manapouri should not be raised.

[90] Op. cit., n87

[91] Another similar example can be found in internal NZED comments on the (8 July 1972) submission from the Te Anau Preservation Committee that raising Lake Te Anau would permanently destroy its scenic values – "scenic beauty does not lie solely on the immediate lake shore. It is the panorama… which completes, if not dominates, the picture" (from Blakely to MacKenzie, General Manager, NZED)

[92] See discussion, supra, p138 post

maintenance of the balance of nature… while permitting utilisation by man for his economic advancement".[93] In 1968 Selby saw it as involving management of output and profitability, decisions essentially guided by "economic concerns".[94]

By 1970, there are the first clear indications of conservation symbolising the recognition and retention of environmental values disconnected from utilisation. For example, MacGregor stressed a protectionist link where particular resources could not be renewed.[95] Although the notion of "wise use" might still be implied by the term, it was now also just as appropriate to subordinate this notion to subjective people-related "inspiration, enjoyment, recreational and other benefits".[96]

The importance of usurping the term conservation to preservation cannot be over-emphasised, as knowledge embodied in the newly privileged ecology legitimated a theme of protection (preservation) as a means of controlling the negatives relating to man's exploitation of the physical environment. This in turn enabled a move from physical environment issues being problematised within a Modernist regime of truth to a separate and discrete voice in respect of the wider environment. It was now legitimate to warn of the inevitable (but also to stress the quantifiable uncertainty of)[97] consequential damage to flora and fauna of changes to the level of Lake Manapouri[98] and to urge Government to strengthen the NCC with "scientific staff".[99]

Subsequent attempts to reclaim conservation for Modernist discourse did not succeed. Such attempts were made - two examples being firstly, a report from the Minister in Charge of Publicity that recommended that Government portray itself as a "prime mover in nature conservation and improvement of natural assets" and re-channel the

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[93] Salmon, J.T. (1960) Heritage Destroyed, the Crisis in Scenery Preservation in New Zealand, Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, p15. A similar definition was used by the Royal Society when promoting the concept of a Nature Conservancy.
[94] Selby, M.J. (1968) "Conservation and Social Attitudes", Soil and Water 5(1), p10, at p11
[95] New Zealand Herald (1970) "Disagrees on 'Conservation'", 11 February, p6
[96] Heine, A.J. (1971) Report on Nature Protection Council Origins, p5 (Heine was President, Hutt Valley Conservation Society)
[97] MacLauchlan, J.R. (1970) "Visit to Manapouri Renews Fears about National Parks", Evening Post, 24 February, p24 reporting the Chairman of the National Parks Authority (J.R. MacLauchlan) as "gravely concerned at the lack of adequate scientific investigations".
[98] Both the NCC and Mark made submissions that fish and wildlife would suffer to the Commission of Inquiry in to the Proposal to Raise the Level of Lake Manapouri for the Purposes of Generating Electricity, op. cit., at p24-25

efforts and commitment of the "cause- minded public" into a "worthwhile government-sponsored cause"[100] and secondly, efforts by Hon. Les Gandar[101] to re-define the term as wise use.[102] However, such techniques just looked uncomfortable and out of place in the altered discursive space.

The second principal tactic adopted by the environmental resistance in achieving victory over the discourse involved the subversion of accepted rituals, a tactic that enabled a conservation/preservation centred resistance to position itself as a voice for democracy. This tactic is the focus of the following section.

- Subversion of Ritual, a Voice for Democracy

In consolidating a wide range of interests with a single object, the environmental resistance to the proposed alteration to Lake Manapouri could stand as a symbol or metaphor for democratic values, a metaphor arguably surrendered by the National Party Government through its insistence on the sanctity of the contractual arrangement with Comalco. It was advantageous in this context for such a resistance to publicise allocation of shares to local body and central politicians with hints of political patronage,[103] and to locate the Commission and its findings as a challenge to sovereign rights and popular expectations.[104]

The number and range of popular groups registering their support for the cause precluded any assertion by Government that the values articulated by the resistance were peripheral and guaranteed the success of the petition launched in January 1970

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[99] Evening Post (1970) "Proposal to Raise Lake Draws Wrath of Alpine Club" (report of speech by the President, F. Newmarch), 17 February, p10
[100] Minister in Charge of Publicity (1970) Policy - Nature Conservation, Report to Cabinet, 9 February
[101] Minister of Fuel and Power, Electricity and Science
[102] Hon. L. Gandar, 4 August 1972 in speech to a meeting of the Manuwatu Officers Club. He gave the same speech at a meeting of the Miramar National Party.
[103] Referred to by Peat, op. cit., p49
[104] Butterfield, L. (1970) Evidence presented to Commission of Inquiry, quoted in Peat, ibid., p68

in attracting more than 250,000 signatures.[105] This popular support in turn minimised the ability of the dominant voice to challenge the petition's validity.[106]

The success of this resistance in subverting the rituals of the dominant discourse through the democratic metaphor is particularly prominent in two particular instances. The first involved efforts to win back power to a Modernist discourse by regaining sovereignty over ritual, while the second challenged the Government in its legal role.

- *Sovereignty over Ritual*

Hon. Duncan McIntyre was appointed as the first Minister for the Environment (in addition to Lands – the department responsible for the administration of National Parks) after the 1969 elections. Ironically, although the creation of this portfolio was likely to be intended to disarm the resistance, it was to prove subversive, providing a conduit through which the alternative voice could wear down the established monolith of the State-sponsored developmental ethos. Perhaps encouraged by this association of the Lands voice with the environment, and after its exile to the periphery, the National Parks Authority Chairman felt empowered to declare that "the authority will continue to strongly oppose the use of National Parks for purposes inconsistent with [the] Act".[107]

A similar outcome arose from attempts to channel and control the discourse through the medium of the NCC. McIntyre urged conservation groups to unite behind the Council as a means of getting their message across – "band[ing] together through the Council…theirs would be a call very hard to ignore",[108] and suggested that the Council could advise groups on technical and scientific issues as well as advising Government on conservation issues. However, in light of the history and position of this Council, an emergent resistance was not prepared to surrender its hard-won

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[105] The use of this tactic could be considered curious given the failure of previous attempts. Launched before the Royal Commission began its inquiry and finally heard by the Petitions Committee after the Commission had reported back to Parliament, the petition could be considered an ironic comment on the privilege granted a contract with a foreign company over democratic rights.
[106] As demonstrated by the failure of Allen's attempt to discredit it by claiming that a large proportion of the signatures came from minors
[107] MacLauchlan, op. cit., n97
[108] Evening Post (1970) "Should Give God Back New Zealand's Ruined Countryside" (report on speech to the South Island Publicity Association), 13 February, p17. A similar message was given at a Rotary Club Lunch meeting on 6 April.

independence. It had broken out of the limitations imposed by the discursive practices of the Modernist discourse and no longer felt obliged to play by its rules. Instead, this environmental resistance exposed its truth of the political farce of the NCC, a perception acknowledged by the Council itself in a letter to McIntyre thus, "…the current public awakening has prompted questions about what the Council has done or is doing".[109] The leader of the Labour Party (Norman Kirk) in referring to the pending Commission, dammed the NCC with faint praise when suggesting the Commission "would be no more effective than the NCC in protecting the scenery",[110] while delegates at the 3rd National Conference of the Save Manapouri Campaign resolved that its "constitution, membership, financial structure and support… be re-examined…. And that the council be given the power to delay, for proper investigation, any project that it considers detrimental".[111]

- Challenge to Legal Role

Democratic wishes as embodied in this resistance were to clash head-on with the contractual rights maintained by Comalco. The Commission of Inquiry's principal finding - that the New Zealand Government (the "Crown") was under a contractual obligation to raise the lake - put Government under increasing pressure. With the resistance on one hand rejecting the "truth" of the Commission's finding, the Government was faced with a company on the other under no legal obligation to re-negotiate the 1963 agreement. Consequently, Comalco refused Prime Minister Rt. Hon. Keith Holyoake's request to "to consider renegotiating again".[112] Still adhering to a Modernist belief that "most thinking people still believed in …development",[113] the representatives for Comalco reiterated that the lake must be raised in accordance with the agreement. Importantly also, one of those representatives also emphasised that it "had gained the confidence of investors by saying that they could rely on stable government and good economic management". If the New Zealand Government was seeking a solution to the impasse by seeking renegotiation, did that imply it was

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[109] National Conservation Council to McIntyre, 23 March 1972
[110] Evening Post (1970) "No Labour Commitment to Raise Manapouri", 12 February, p13
[111] Save Manapouri Campaign (1971) Third Annual Conference, Wellington, 19 June
[112] Notes on Meeting Held between Ministers and Members of Comalco, 27 November 1970
[113] C. W.Turner (previously Engineer-in-Chief, Ministry of Works) speaking on behalf of the company.

economically uncertain and politically unstable? In its wish to retain power it could not afford to appear so.

However, Comalco did offer the Government a possible solution to its dilemma by proposing to pace its demand for electricity "in its belief that the solution to the whole problem was largely a question of time". Given that the NCC had recommended that the dam should be constructed to allow the lake to be raised at some future time if it was "proved that sufficient power cannot be generated or supplied from alternative schemes at a reasonable price",[114] a recommendation that resonated with its earlier urge for preliminary reports prior to any rise in lake levels,[115] this seemed to offer an opportunity for Government to reassert its power through a technique that had worked in the past - that of delay. As had been the case in the past, in the cool atmosphere of re-consideration, the resistance would surely acknowledge the regime of truth of a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse by agreeing to this proposal, both in terms of the importance of progress and the central location of the State in decisions on the use of resources.

Such an outcome was confidently anticipated by the NZED - in an undated Fact Sheet it explained "raising of the lake level… will not happen without parliament's authority…. The Government prudently has made provision to allow it to be done when parliament so directs." Such heavy emphasis on "prudence", "parliament" and "authority" are telling metaphors for responsibility and justification. It was at this point however, that the resistance demonstrated most clearly its successful subversion of ritual, simply by refusing to agree. In addition it made clear the non-negotiable nature of its position; nothing less than an assurance that the lake would never be raised would suffice.

It is possible on the basis of the above discussion to suggest that this environmentally focussed discourse had achieved the status of a new discursive formation with its domain separate and distinguishable, its rituals identified and legitimised. It was characterised not only by its dismissal of the supremacy of New Zealand-style Modernist values and celebration of alternative values of conservation/preservation

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[114] Submission to the Petitions Committee 1963, and the basis of that petition (see supra, n50)
[115] NCC (1963) as reported in Evening Post, 24 September

but also in its new iteration stood as a metaphor for popular values, calm, moderation, a united voice and social responsibility, as encapsulated by McLean:

> We could, as you know, step up the campaign… but have instead called our people off in order to give a calmer atmosphere…. There is widening and widespread support for our campaign and this can easily be developed at any time. You are aware of this and my refusal to allow undesirable and ill-considered "direct action" to take place. Some political reaction may be unavoidable.[116]

In addition, this iteration implied more than celebration of a range of ethical values and responsibilities. Since its launch in 1969, the Campaign had held annual conferences; the political dimension of its voice was acknowledged with Sir Keith Holyoake opening the conference in 1971. Furthermore, his speech described the "Save Manapouri Campaign [as] democracy at work at the grass-roots level.[117] That he both attended and addressed the conference in such a manner and with such a theme is symbolically significant in providing legitimacy to this iteration of resistance,[118] and indicative of its growing power to establish its own rituals, including those previously the domain of a dominant discourse.

Consequently also a matter of some significance, the Labour Party aligned itself overtly with the Campaign. Open declarations of support from 1970 and Joe Walding's attendance as Deputy Leader of the party at the 1971 conference strengthened this link such that Labour could then wield political power through this discourse. This political exercise of power was to culminate in a landslide victory in the 1972 elections against the now unpopular National Government. The cause of Manapouri's natural levels had proved pivotal in the political discourse.

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[116] McLean to McIntyre, 4 Feb 1971
[117] Recorded in the Minutes to the Conference, 19 June 1971. These Minutes were sent to McIntyre at its conclusion.
[118] An alternative interpretation, which would have been valid at an earlier time, was that such attendance was an attempt to subvert the language of the conference to the dominant discourse. Such was the power over the discourse exercised by a conservation/preservation resistance that this was no longer possible.

Potentially of wider significance in this context, is the first positive move taken at the 1971 conference towards a new direction for the environmental voice in New Zealand, a move enabled and supported by the lessons learned from the history of the campaign. This initiative ultimately resulted in the disparate groups being willing to look past their differences to create an umbrella organisation CoEnCo (New Zealand Conference on the Environment and Conservation), demonstrating a voice independent of Government (as opposed to the NCC).[119] As such, CoEnCo represented far more than collaboration to achieve a particular goal such as the "Save Manapouri Campaign". An environmental voice could be the means for establishing the environmental positions along a wider discursive front. In relation to this last comment, it is noteworthy that in 1976 the organisation was renamed ECO (Environment and Conservation Organisations of Aotearoa New Zealand) a name that better reflects both its role as an umbrella for 70 non-profit groups active in the environmental context and its enduring nature. As an aside of relevance in the specific context, this development legitimised the refusal of the Campaign to agree to delay the decision of whether or not to raise the lake - as McLean put it: "it would be unfortunate… if the new federation were to inherit a legacy of continued recrimination over the Manapouri issue".[120]

However, the triumph documented in this case study must be contextualised and evaluated by reference to the tactics applied by the resistance, a resistance that moved in a redefined discursive space over the relevant time-span. A brief revisiting of those tactics raises a somewhat troubling question; did a focus on Lake Manapouri compromise the ability of an environmental resistance to exercise power over the wider discourse? The conclusion section of this chapter summarises the tactical changes of the resistance and draws some conclusions as to the discursive outcome.

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[119] McLean to Holyoake, 6 May 1971, "You may be interested to learn that the SM organisation is in the process of moving into negotiations with other conservation bodies, with a view to forming a national conservation federation and we are hopeful that … an atmosphere of mutual confidence and cooperation can be maintained".
[120] Ibid.

Summary and Conclusions – a Changing Power Relation

In the first half of the decade of the 1960s, a conservation/preservation voice arguing against an altered Lake Manapouri struggled to find legitimacy within a discourse celebrating joint concepts of economic growth and social development. Attempts to seize opportunities to exercise power over the discourse were frequently met with hostility or indifference.

By 1969, however, a resistance representing these alternative values and recognising the value of speaking in a single voice for a single cause, was able to take advantage of a shifting and enlarged discursive space enabled by changing rituals and definitions, a new legitimacy for romantic ethical values and technology to apply a wider range of tactics aimed at winning hearts and minds. By 1970 the range of tactics available to this resistance also allowed it to clarify and define its discursive space by seizing the authority and scientific rationale from Modernist discourse, tactics enabled by the failure of those speaking of Modernist values to recognise and acknowledge the shifts in the discursive shape.

By 1972 an alternative voice had won hearts and minds through a judicious combination of mastery over knowledge and normalisation of its values. The discourse had successfully filled an empty space, claiming it as its own. Within a relatively short chronological time, factions observing different ethical values demonstrated their willingness to move into and jointly occupy this space, although remaining unwilling to entirely surrender their individual persona. However, the campaign provided the impetus for CoEnCo, awareness of the value of a single environmental voice (awareness invaluable for later environmental campaigns) and helped set the stage for institutional changes to environmental management.

However developments and policies since 1972 do not speak strongly in support of a new paradigm. Rather, the effect of a focus on a single object in the Manapouri issue has reinforced the direction of New Zealand environmental discourse down a cause path. Discussion of this, and the lessons that can be learned from both the contextual focus and the method that has been applied, is considered in the context of the third case study, that of Project Aqua.

Chapter nine

Project Aqua – Images of Virtue

Introduction

"Project Aqua" was the name given to a proposed project first floated in 2001 by Meridian Energy (a fully Government-owned company involved in hydro-electricity generation). The stated purpose of the project was to divert up to 73% of the mean flow of the lower Waitaki River, in the South Island of New Zealand, through a canal incorporating six generating stations before returning the water to the river six kilometres above the sea. In April 2004, citing concerns over water rights and escalating costs, and in the face of opposition to the project, Meridian announced its decision to abandon the project.[1]

By way of elucidation, and in substantiation of the assertion that an environmental discourse based on conservation/preservation has shaped a paradoxical environmental myth in New Zealand, the genealogy presented in this chapter is centred on the creation and exploitation of image as a means of exercising power within the socio-temporal (historical) context of the discourse around Project Aqua.

This genealogy is temporally located beyond the cancellation of the project in April 2004, and makes reference to a range of materials from different sources, including publicly available records of relevant articles and correspondence (principally those published in the Otago Daily Times), project-specific technical and publicity material from Meridian Energy and published political Statements.

As a general introductory point, image-making can be considered a characteristic of a broader discursive framework in which a business enterprise (and arguably other collective and singular interests) seeks to establish a profile through association with a cause or purpose that may or may not have direct links with the products or services it

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[1] Although according to information emerging during the submissions hearings into the bill providing for a water allocation process (see further discussion infra, p260 post) Meridian has decided not to re-sell land it acquired for the purposes of the project (New Zealand Herald (2004) "Meridian Energy holding on to Project Aqua Land", 23 July)

supplies. This strategy, sometimes called cause related marketing or CRM has been identified in research as contributing to buyer behaviour in such countries as the United States of America, Britain, New Zealand and Australia.[2] More specifically, in an historical context of concern over the definition and resolution of environmental problems and issues, "green marketing" may involve a focus on environmental causes, thereby establishing a framework within which business can speak through a conservation/preservation discourse. Local examples of such image-making include campaigns by Mainland Cheese to establish breeding grounds for the yellow-eyed penguin, sponsorship of the Clean Up New Zealand Campaign by Warehouse and Shell New Zealand's sponsorship for the Sustainability New Zealand "Investing in Partnerships" Conference 2002.

Prior to the exploration of image making in the historical context, some preliminary points should be made about events in the period between 1972 and 2003, including changes to power industry structure and management of the New Zealand environment since 1990, points that colour the later discussion.

The significant events are as follows. Firstly, despite the apparent success of a conservation-based discourse of resistance to progress as signalled in the preservation of Lake Manapouri at its natural level, what Wheen describes as "developmentalism resurgent",[3] succeeded in establishing a "think-big" official discourse during the late 1970s. Under the National Development Act 1979, the Minister of Public Works was authorised to override local planning rules and processes to "fast-track" large projects deemed of national significance. Among such projects can be included the high dam on the Clutha river and the Motonui synthetic fuel plant. Although this Act was later repealed and the concepts of "fast-track" and "think-big" banished to the periphery of political and popular discourse, such terms retain meaning within New Zealand environmental (and economic) discourse as metaphors for profligacy, destruction and foolishness.

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[2] See, for example, Cavill and Co (2004) "Heart & Sold: Australian consumers speak from the heart on Cause Related Marketing"http://www.cavill.com.au/crmheartandsold.asp, first retrieved 4 August 2004, and Business in the Community (date unknown) "How do you influence 37.5 million people and benefit society?" http://www.crm.org.uk/press2.html, first retrieved 5 August 2004

[3] Wheen, N. (2002) "New Zealand Environmental Law", in Environmental Histories of New Zealand, Pawson and Brooking (eds), Melbourne: OUP, p261 at p266

The second event is located in political discourse with the adoption of a mixed member proportional electoral system from the 1996 General Election. One effect of a shift from the previous "first past the post" system has been to require negotiation and compromise on the part of the largest political party in Government as a means of gaining support from smaller parties who might be either in formal or in informal alliance arrangements. Through such a mechanism minority interests and issues may gain recognition and enable the exercise of power.

The third event is the restructuring of the electricity industry over a period commencing with the creation of the Electricity Corporation of New Zealand in 1987[4] up to 1999. This event can be understood within a broader agenda of market deregulation originally adopted by the Third Labour Government on its election in 1984 and pursued by National on its re-election in 1990. This agenda involved not only corporatisation/privatisation but also in some cases dismantling of industry structures. In the instance of the electricity industry, this agenda involved unbundling of the industry both vertically and horizontally. Retail power reticulation facilities (power lines) were legally separated from retail power supply. National reticulation was separated from generation with Transpower created to undertake that operation. Finally, in 1998, 30% of the generating facilities originally wholly controlled by the New Zealand Electricity Department (N.Z.E.D.) and later the Government-owned Electricity Corporation of New Zealand ("Electricorp"), were transferred to a new SOE (Contact Energy) which was later sold,[5] with the balance of Electricorp's assets transferred to three purportedly competing State-owned corporations. The extant objective of such a radical restructuring of the industry was to make the sector more efficient, innovative and more responsive to market forces.

While an analysis of the social and economic consequences of this restructuring is beyond the scope of this study, it is worth noting that while the various companies involved in generating electricity remain in State ownership, [6] Government ostensibly

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[4] As a State Owned Enterprise (SOE) under the State Owned Enterprises Act 1986
[5] A cornerstone 40% shareholding to the American Edison Mission in March 1999, with the balance on public float.
[6] With the exception of Contact Energy.

locates itself outside the decision-making process (placing responsibility on the companies concerned to determine and justify their decisions on economic grounds).

The final event of relevance to the context of this study involved the refocusing of environmental management in New Zealand, most specifically through institutional restructuring[7] and legislative rationalisation through the Resource Management Act 1991. This Act, based on a central concept of sustainable management, requires that in general, applications for use of resources be subject to scrutiny and assessments as to their environmental impacts, and that negative impacts be managed, mitigated or eliminated. It is worth noting in passing that the central concept of "management" conveys the image of superior mankind making decisions about an (inferior) nature.

The fundamental question informing the analysis in this chapter is as follows – what can be learned from discursive enunciations relating to Project Aqua as tactics exercised through a conservation/preservation discourse? As a means of answering this question, this chapter is arranged to address the following.

- What evidence is there to validate assertions of image as a principal theme in discourse?
- With reference to the above, what do the tactics employed in this context reveal of the role of image?
- What does the above analysis reveal about environmental discourse of the present?

The Place and Power of Image

It could be argued that myth, imagery and metaphor have no place in an "information age"; with scientific truth they can be discarded as clothes that no longer fit. However, and by way of reminder, it is suggested in the introduction to this thesis that myth is a mechanism through which members of the human race can use imagery and metaphor in making sense of a bewildering and paradoxical material world.

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[7] See reference to these institutions supra, chapter one, p3

This argument raises the issue of the nature and implications of this so-called "information age". The term is often used in a somewhat trite and hackneyed way both in New Zealand and elsewhere to refer to the array of information sources made available through technological advances. Not only is there ready and cheap access to the written word, but also to high quality visual materials on television, cinema and the internet. An educated member of such a privileged society can read, see or download this uncensored or interpreted material at any time, place and through a variety of media.

However, it is strongly arguable that this technological world of ever-increasing volumes of "information", most notably that available on the internet, also ironically increases the power of image and metaphor as individuals seek a way through a bewildering material world. (It is perhaps significant also to observe that many of the references for this chapter are taken from the internet – a further comment on its impact).

It is now appropriate to draw on relevant enunciations in tracing links between image as truth and tactics used in successfully defending a conservation/preservation discourse. As an initial point, tactics centred on image are nothing new; those opposed to the Bowen Falls proposal spoke in metaphor, the Manapouri campaign demonstrated how successful metaphor could be in enabling the defeat of a progressive voice as a scientific, sensitive, reasonable and democratic resistance could wrest the moral and pragmatic high ground from an outdated, selfish, irrational and alien "other" in the shape of "Government" and (foreign) business. It should also be emphasised that despite structural and systematic changes to the nature and discursive location of the electricity generation industry, image-centred tactics continue to draw on the lessons of the past.

An initial perusal of enunciations of relevance in the context of Project Aqua invites the audience to accept the purity and goodness of the opposition, to celebrate a true battle between a determined although embattled force intent on "saving"[8] the river

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[8] Otago Daily Times (2003) "Anglers Encouraged to Oppose 'Water Grab'", 13 December, p17

from "devastation"[9] by a Government owned "energy giant".[10] However, a closer examination reveals image reflected as truth; image becomes a discursive mechanism privileging historical opposites as metaphors. Thus special interests *are* popular in that they are shared by all, cooperation *is* domination, renewability *is* destruction, disinterest *is* preference and national interests *are* alien.

By way of elucidation and expansion, the following part of the chapter is devoted to exploring such metaphorical couplets. In the interests of clarity and illustration, each is considered in turn in the context of a particular target of relevant discursive enunciations.

Special Interests are Popular (Groups as Representatives for Us)

The Symbol of the River

As a reminder, the "Save Manapouri" Campaign as a *cause célèbre,* tapped into powerful values of democracy and beauty in establishing a regime of truth of conservation/preservation, thereby defeating a modernist discourse of progress through maximum use. Such a tactic carries a further implication; a *cause célèbre*, a symbol, can serve as a defensive façade for special interests, projecting a public persona of monolithic, impervious solidarity.

Just as in the case of Lake Manapouri, the "Waitaki river" is richly symbolic for different groups with widely varied objectives and priorities. A scrutiny of some such interests also reveals some ironic overtones. For example, for farmers, the river is a (re)source to be used for irrigating chronically dry farmland, feeding a vision of renewal. However, such renewal also enables heightened levels of farming activity and productivity, run-off and therefore pollution of the river itself. This use for farming was a principal one threatened by the proposed reduction in water that would follow from Project Aqua.

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[9] Bruce, D. (2003) "Waitaha 'Deeply Hurt' by Project Aqua", Otago Daily Times, 4 June, p1 and 3
[10] Norris, J. (2003) "Waitaha Comment Rare", Otago Daily Times, 5 June, p16

Other groups include anglers and ecologists. Anglers consider the river to be a "unique angling experience"[11] (for exotic game fish introduced to the New Zealand water-ways by nineteenth century acclimatisation enthusiasts), a view supported by the Otago Fish and Game Council[12] while ecologists consider it as a system vulnerable to man-inspired and wrought changes[13] (although an alternative argument could be made that such changes have been happening to the river for over a century, leading one player to describe the river as an "ecological shambles").[14] Other meanings granted the river include a source of potable or drinking water (therefore vulnerable to higher concentrations of pollution with a diminished volume of water), a site for recreational activities such as kayaking and swimming, and scenery attracting tourists and holiday-makers. This multifaceted location also offers an opportunity to attack a discourse of statutorily managed development embodied in the Resource Management Act[15] and to attack "Government" as a symbol of distance, distrust and destruction.

Such special interests are revealed in organised opposition to the idea of Project Aqua. The Waitaki River Users Liaison Group (WRULG) (whose membership was predominantly that of fishing lobby groups) [16] can be ranged alongside other groups with seemingly quite different agenda – for example, the Aoraki Water Trust and Irrigation North Otago (INO) were two farmer interest groups seeking water for irrigation purposes - while members of "Waitaki First" (described by one of the instigators as being "for people who want to oppose the power scheme, but feel they do not belong with existing organisations") [17] could feel a connection to the cause

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[11] NZFFA (2004) NZFAA Project Aqua and Waitaki called-in Application Submissions, first retrieved from http://www.geocities.com/ken_sims_98/nzfaa/ProjectAqua.html, 5 March 2004

[12] Bruce, D. (2003) "Using few remaining rivers 'misguided', Fish and Game concerned at power policy", Otago Daily Times, 9 June, p19

[13] Bramley, T. (2003) "Effect on River Incalculable", Otago Daily Times, 6 September, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 June 2004

[14] Comments reported in Smith, J. (2004) "Ngai Tahu Still Silent on Aqua", Otago Daily Times, 8 January, p2

[15] McPhee, M. (2003) "Red Tape and Green Myths make the Problems Worse", New Zealand Herald, 24 April, first retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/, 1 June 2004

[16] Membership included The Salmon Anglers Assn, The Federation of Freshwater Anglers, Oamaru Anglers Club, Waimate Rod and Gun Club, Waitaki River Access Group, Glenavy Fishing Camp, Kaik Fishing Reserve, Waitaki Bridge Camp, Kurow Rod and Gun Club, Anglers Action Group Christchurch, NZ Professional Fishing Guides Assn, North Otago Forest and Bird and nominated and co-opted individuals.

[17] Bruce, D. (2003) "Aqua Opponents Launching Waitaki First Lobby Tonight: to suit those people who do not fit into existing organisations", Otago Daily Times, 19 June, p25

through the medium of influential "real" people (film actor Sam Neill and ex-All Black Laurie Mains),[18] and the Green Party of Aoteoroa (Green Party).

The Manapouri experience taught how important it was for interests to bury their differences, their different understanding of the lake as a symbol, and to flaunt their unity of purpose. Similarly in the instance of Project Aqua, it was significant that despite the differences in the focus and objectives of various groups they were able to speak in similar language through a haze of togetherness. From such a position of popular and singular strength it was then possible to reject poll findings (favourable to the project) on the basis that "some people … did not fully understand the impact or effects"[19] and, more generally, to brand Meridian's claims as misleading.[20]

To provide further elucidation on this point, it is appropriate to consider the role of a particular technology in enabling such groups to cultivate an image of togetherness and mutual purpose.

The Power of Us and the Internet

 As a reminder, the groups opposing the Manapouri project were able to take advantage of the medium of television to convey *our* message about the *real* beauty of the lake in its *natural* State, a message asserting its role of enlightening the ignorant. At the same time, and by implication, the dubious value of the other or *their* [Comalco and the Government's] estimates of economic or social benefits arising from any change to its level, could reasonably and rationally be challenged.

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[18] Bruce, D. and Sonti, C. (2003) "Big Names put Weight Behind Waitaki First", Otago Daily Times 18 July, p2

[19] Bruce, D. (2003) "Seay Rejects Ignorance on Aqua Claim", Otago Daily Times, 17 November, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 June 2004

[20] Otago Daily Times (2003) "Meridian Spokesman puts Spin on Poll Results", 8 December, p25 Stevenson, J. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 14 June (citing the Clyde Dam project in challenging claims about employment opportunities provided by the scheme); Slee, R. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 30 November (citing the Clyde Dam project in questioning the projected costs of the project) (all letters first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 June 2004) and Fitzsimons, J. (2003) "Credits Only when Credit's Due", 10 December, first retrieved from http://www.greens.org.nz, 5 March 2004, (questioning whether the projected costs are based on carbon credits awarded under the Kyoto Protocol); Rae, S. (2004) "Simulation of Scheme Faulted", Otago Daily Times, 2 January, p13 quoting Helen Brookes (Chair of Waitaki First) – "can we be confident that the … canal walls… will always be covered in grass as they are in the simulation"?,

In addition to the traditional avenues of exposure such as the press,[21] and art both formal[22] and informal,[23] a potentially far more powerful source of discourse - the internet – presented new possibilities for the range of groups and interests opposing Project Aqua[24] for tactical use of the metaphor of "us" as "Us".[25] Most active in such cultivation was WRULG which, on its homepage[26] drew on a range of resources to emphasise long-term and wide-reaching damage and threats posed to the local environment, society and economy by Project Aqua. These threats and damage included loss of water quality, impact on recreation and potential limitations imposed by the scheme on tourism and other commercial a activities in the area, ecological consequences (the vulnerability of some of New Zealand's "rarest species") of increasing access to the river and potential social problems (as opposed to a long list of social advantages from leaving the river alone).[27]

The organisation itself was privileged as the representative of the Us that stood as a guard against these threats through its connections to ethical individuals and as a gateway to the fourth eState. This latter was implicit in the links provided on its homepage to large numbers of articles and letters on the subject of Project Aqua that had appeared in the Otago Daily Times.[28] Another active user was the Green Party which provided links both to its own political press releases and to Waitaki First, thereby assisting with publicity for the latter's public fora and addresses.

Such busyness, the central message of commonality and togetherness conveyed by the links (to issues of common and general concern) thus transported special interests

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[21] Most prominently the Otago Daily Times

[22] Smith, J. (2003) "Hotere Gives Politicians Ticking-Off over Aqua", Otago Daily Times, 29 November, p2 referring to the participation of Ralph Hotere in one of two art exhibitions "Artists Against Aqua" and "Powers of Protest".

[23] Otago Daily Times (2003) "Prominent Project Protest", 4 December, p17 reporting on the creation of a "giant protest billboard" on the side of a resident's house in Oamaru

[24] Although a detailed analysis of the use and impact of the internet in relation to Project Aqua is outside the scope of this case study, it is of interest to consider how this relatively new "source" of discourse provided an opportunity for the dissemination of "truth" by those parties involved.

[25] It is emphasised that not only did these groups use the internet, Government, Meridian Energy and The Ministry for the Environment also relied on this medium. Relevant applications are referred to where relevant.

[26] http://www.waitaki-river.org.nz

[27] For example "a community that has a major unpolluted river system readily accessible will have advantages over other communities in the future as they pollute and abstract their rivers to extinction", first retrieved from http://www.waitaki-river.org.nz/issues, 5 March 2004

[28] For example, for December 2003 alone there are links to 65 articles that appeared in the Times relating to Project Aqua

onto a popular stage. Despite the range of organisations and the interests they represented, they spoke if not with a common voice, at least with a shared one, in a language that an ethical and responsible audience could understand and synthesise.

The above analysis implies a strategic application of image involving a definition of special interests as general. What follows is discussion of a second such metaphor applied in portraying attempts by Meridian Energy to convey an image of reasoned and sensible cooperation as the opposite; selfish and high-handed.

Cooperation is Domination (Meridian Energy as Big Business)

By way of brief reminder, in 1987 the New Zealand Electricity Department was disestablished and replaced by the Electricity Corporation of New Zealand (Electricorp).[29] Further reforms in 1999 saw Electricorp restructured as three competing State-owned enterprises (Meridian Energy, Genesis and Mighty River Power). It is arguable that a major consequence of this restructuring was to complete the process whereby the electricity generation industry was dislocated from its historical social development roots and its corresponding social meaning within a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse as defined, a dislocation foreshadowed during the Manapouri era. Instead, generating companies became [big] businesses and therefore not to be trusted.

How could Meridian exercise power over the discourse, establish an image as a friendly, open and cooperative partner working towards a common environmental, economic and social good, thereby denying legitimacy to forces of opposition? Surely in an information age the answer lies in environmental reason, knowledge and scientific "facts". Understanding the Manapouri past of suspicions over secret agenda and ulterior motives, Meridian, by fully disclosing scientific and social assessments and cooperating with the media and interested groups, could then not be accused of censorship, of hiding the truth or unfairness.

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[29] A State Owned Enterprise

Thus Meridian Energy sought the moral high ground through language reflecting urgency, depicting the benefit, the importance to the public in addressing "New Zealand's looming energy crisis".[30] There was a desperate need to address the issues immediately, otherwise the country would not be able to meet its growing demands for energy and its economic base and well-being would be under threat. Any significant delays to the project that may be caused by opposition would only make the situation worse.

Pressing home this morally and socially vital message were themes of "sustainability" and "environmental responsibility"[31] echoed in large volumes of technical data made available through the company's website.[32] The twelve chapter Environmental Assessment Report prepared for Meridian (as required under the Resource Management Act as part of the consent process) addressed the technical issues connected with the project and their abatement, as well as providing illustrations and visual simulations of the predicted effects. Other links and wording speak of social and environmental commitment, its "aim to become the best performing sustainable energy company in Australasia",[33] the on-going public benefits to be derived from the creation of artificial lakes and the on-going dedication to water quality. In addition, conflicting messages from articulated interests, instead of being confronted and cast down, could be managed away[34] within the context of a message of fairness to all.

However, despite such tactics of inclusion and disclosure, it became increasingly uncertain that a discourse of urgency and public good spoken by Meridian could win hearts and minds. Part of the reason for this uncertainty may be a "right twist" in Government policy since 1986, a twist that contributed to the shape of the historical context by introducing extant imperatives for companies such as Meridian to make decisions on investment in accordance with commercial requirements and within the resource management regulatory regime. Compliance with these imperatives

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[30] Sheen, G. (2004) "Project Aqua: the Long Wait for an Answer", first retrieved from http://stuff.co.nz, 5 March 2004

[31] Meridian Energy (2003) Assessment of Effects on the Environment, May, Overview 1-3

[32] As at 23 June 2004 there were links to no fewer than 118 reports and illustrations on Meridian Energy's website (http://www.meridanenergy.co.nz/ProjectAqua)

[33] Taken from Meridian's Half-yearly report for December 2003 (http://www.meridianenergy.co.nz)

[34] Meridian proposed a joint venture to the applicants for water rights for irrigation whereby Meridian would help with the construction of an irrigation project in return for it moving to the front of the water consents queue.

ironically revealed a level of distrust as to Meridian's motives, therefore providing an opportunity for a range of opponents with different interests to dismiss "factual" and cooperative enunciations by Meridian as both selfish and misleading.[35]

Such a negative theme runs both overtly and covertly through what was said by various opponents to the project. For example, such enunciations refer variously to "destructive abusers…polluters, irrigators, hydro-electric dam promoters and others who think a free lunch should be there for the asking",[36] the "overall arrogant attitude"[37] of a company who wished to "capture the resources of the river for commercial purposes", therefore "leaving [only] one third for general public use",[38] the criminal nature of "the wanton destruction" that is "pure unadulterated greed"[39] of a company that will reap the benefits while "you and me [sic] will be the losers"[40] and to the company and its supporters as selfish and self-serving.[41]

Opposition to the company as the persona of hydro-electricity also provided a site from which attacks could be launched on hydro's historical location in discourse as renewable, clean and socially important, instead being banished and dismissed as obsolete, irrelevant and destructive. This metaphor is considered in the following section.

Renewability is Destruction (Meridian Energy as the Symbol of an Outdated Ethos)

Aqua (Latin for water) metaphorically suggests renewal within a history of civilisation through progress. The provision of water to a parched environment causes

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[35] Even after the announced abandonment, Meridian has been described as "duplicitous", accused of pinning hopes for the Project on "national importance" provisions being considered for the Resource Management Act, Taylor, K. (2004) "Aqua Revival Prospects Alarm Conservationists", New Zealand Herald, 29 July, pA2

[36] Henderson, G. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 27 October

[37] Hayward, S. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 5 June

[38] McMillan, A. (2003) "Meridian Energy's Project Aqua Proposal for the Lower Waitaki River" To Environment Canterbury, Submission on Annual Plan, 9 June, first retrieved from http://www.geocities.com/ken_sims_98/nzffa/ProjectAqua.html , 5 March 2004

[39] Turner, G. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 1 December, p14

[40] Thomson, K.A. (2004) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 18 February

[41] Grimwood, H. (2004) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 5 April ("Blackouts? Shortage of electricity? These scare tactics …. Are expected from those with a personal interest in expansion"), Martin, D. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 3 December (So, Meridian is planning …a $6 million community trust….. Who is the Waitaki District Council fighting for?")

it to flourish, to become green; water washes away dirt and pollution, rendering the area clean and fresh, water sustains life both in and around it. More specifically, within an energy context, water used to generate electricity remains available for further generation and for other purposes. On the other hand, coal and similar geothermal inputs, in addition to being perceived as environmentally undesirable (dirty and polluting), can be used only once and as resources will ultimately be exhausted.

Drawing on historical privilege granted to hydro as the "best" generation system, the rhetoric from Meridian championed the project as the most realistic and acceptable solution to a dilemma posed by growing power requirements in a present where the only practical alternative lies in such options as coal (undesirable due to its contribution to global warming) natural gas (with the Maui field largely depleted) and wind/solar (having visual and other environmental drawbacks and unreliable for large-scale generation).[42]

However, the range of negative reactions to this discourse of renewal suggests that the historical message privileging this form of generation as a "truth" has lost legitimacy. Rather than non-specific "water" as the (renewable) instrument of generation the focus of discourse is now embodiment of water in a symbolic place (in this case the Waitaki), with its metaphorical emotional significance (that would be irrevocably affected and destroyed by the development).

Meridian was accused of "using a tactic of corporates who lack moral capital" in advertising "investment in new … capacity from 'renewable' sources",[43] (the use of speech marks suggesting the dubious merit of this term "renewal" being applied to hydro-electricity, a ethical fraud connected to an dubious past). Warnings need to be sounded as to the suspect ethical values of such corporates because without scrutiny they would drag the country back to a dubious and illegitimate past - "we seem to be slipping back to the view … promoted in the early 1980's that rivers were a

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[42] This dilemma is implicit in the heading given to a reported speech by Keith Turner (Chief Executive of Meridian) three days after the announced cancellation of the project – "It's Blackouts or Coal, says Meridian Boss" (Dann, L. (2004) New Zealand Herald, 31 March)
[43] Wallace, C. (2004) ECOlink, Newsletter for Members and Friends, March, p1

renewable resource",[44] posing in turn the danger that a "superb braided river"[45] was "being destroyed".[46]

Building on this importance of an unchanged "river" as an image central to a present discourse of preservation of symbols, hydro-electricity is "past its use-by date".[47] Project Aqua as a large-scale project at odds with a vision of "small, flexible, future oriented projects",[48] is "the last twitch of the Think Big cadaver",[49] echoing of past and illegitimate profligacy. Instead, "it is time [New Zealanders] stopped destroying natural rivers just to heat…towel rails".[50]

As a corollary to the fundamental shift from water-as-source to water-as-symbol, is the emerging legitimacy within discourse of electricity generation from fossil fuels, a legitimacy at odds both with discourse that celebrated the emergent hydro-electricity in the early 20th century and also with those "clean green" symbols that constitute the New Zealand environmental myth defined in chapter one. This in itself is an interesting reflection on the narrow meaning ascribed to the "environment" within that myth.

Of further note in this context, is the seeming emergence of coal from obscurity to claim the right to speak. Within days of Project Aqua being officially cancelled, not only did Keith as the spokesman for Meridian refer to this fuel as the only option to Aqua, Roger Sowry[51] suggested "coal was looking like a … realistic answer",[52] a message reflecting published views of an Auckland academic[53] and a West Coast

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[44] Bruce, D. (2003) "Using Few Remaining Rivers 'Misguided'", Otago Daily Times, 9 June, p9
[45] Eddy, D. (2004) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 23 February, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004
[46] Walton, J. K. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 30 November, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004
[47] Op.cit., n44
[48] Green Party of Aoteoroa (2003) "Think Big? Think Again say Greens", first retrieved from http://www.greens.org.nz, 5 March 2004
[49] Bruce, D. (2003) "Group Hears Alternatives to Project Aqua", Otago Daily Times, 27 June, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004
[50] Gibb, J. (2003) "Greens Set to Fight for River", Otago Daily Times, 21 June, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004
[51] The National Party Spokesperson on Energy
[52] Fallow, B. and Young, A. (2004) "Higher Prices and Blackouts Loom after Plug Pulled on Project Aqua", New Zealand Herald, 30 March, first retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=news&thesubsection=&storyID=3557747, 1 July 2004
[53] de Freitas, C., op. cit.

local authority politician.[54] It is perhaps noteworthy in this latter case to remember the relative social and economic subordination of the West Coast with the decline in the demand for coal and closing of other extractive industries in the region. With national power shortages looming, coal "would [in turn] bring growth and job security to [the] region", a privileged position that would in turn increase its economic and political power.

In conclusion to this section it can be argued that in its historical context a cooperative and participative Meridian Energy was located not only as a metaphor for dominant and untrustworthy big business but also as a symbol of an outdated concept of electricity generation from hydro resources. The third metaphor to be considered is that of disinterest as interference, such metaphor being of particular relevance to Government, a consideration that is the subject of the following section.

Disinterest is Preference (Government as a Champion for Sectional Interests)

By way of reminder, and relevant to this context, successive New Zealand Governments have historically occupied a central location in Modernist discourse in the New Zealand context, particularly in relation to the construction, ownership and management of power generation facilities. During the latter years of the Manapouri campaign this was to have an effect on power relations with an overt and enduring challenge to the deemed trustworthiness of the Government in upholding democratic rights.

Reinforcing its location at the centre of hydro-electricity is the asynchronicity revealed in a present overt policy of hands-off ownership within Government-derived discourse. To explain; when the Labour Government was returned to power in 1999, it did so during a debate on appropriate strategies to deal with the predicted future shortages of electricity generation capacity. In the face of accusations by members of the National (principal opposition) Party that Labour was "sitting on its hands",

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[54] Devereaux, M. (2004) "Mayor Backs Coal-power on West Coast", New Zealand Herald, 31 March, first retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=news&thesubsection=&storyID=3557911&reportID=5 , 1 June 2004

treating the companies as "its cash cow",[55] members of the Labour-led Government emphasised the determination of the Government to not only continue State ownership of the three State-owned generation enterprises but also to "manage" them.[56]

Although what was meant by such "management" was not made clear, moves have been made to regulate line charges and require the construction of reserve facilities (as a buffer against power shortages) while Hon. Peter Hodgson (Minister of Energy) in the context of Project Aqua implied in 2002 that it means something more that neutrality -"it is true that the Government has the Resource Management Act under review in respect of sustainable energy".[57]

 This seemingly inherent contradiction in the relationship between the Government and the State-owned generation companies is notable because it provided an opportunity for both opponents and proponents of the scheme to tactically portray Government as either untrustworthy or ill-advised, a portrayal most clearly echoed in a statement by Gerry Ekhoff of ACT, when he pointed out that "it [is] a Labour Government that owns the 'greedy' Meridian Energy Corporation. The destruction … was all Government-owned, operated and sanctioned".[58]

The tactical application of metaphor to portray an image in this particular context is best explored through a Government-sponsored proposal to provide a mechanism for the allocation of water from the Waitaki River (the Consent Management (Waitaki Catchment) Amendment bill 2003).

The Bill as an Enunciation of Discourse

By way of introduction, the Resource Management Act 1992 provides a "first come, first served" mechanism for the allocation of rights to such resources as water, unless the regional authority responsible for the resource has established an allocation model

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[55] NZPD Vol 594, 2001: 10950-51, per G. Herlihy
[56] NZPD Vol 600, 2002: 16157-58, per D. Cunliffe
[57] NZPD Vol 603, 2002: 1031, per Hon. P. Hodgson (Minister for Energy)
[58] Ekhoff, G. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 5 December, p18 (in response to opposition to the project by Greg Turner, professional golfer (op. cit., n39))

in anticipation of this possibility arising. A principal implication is that if one applicant or group is successful in gaining approval to use a certain quantity or volume of the resource, later applicants may resort only to what is left, rather than seeking to share proportionately in the entire resource. The Green Party attributes this situation to a prejudice at the time of the Act "against anything called planning", and lays the blame for an historical failure to consider cumulative effects of a series of resource applications on the regional councils.[59]

In such a context, Meridian opposed an application by a farmer to use underground water originally coming from the Tekapo River and one later filed by the Aoraki Water Trust to build a canal from Lake Tekapo (both these proposals involving the extraction of water upstream from all Meridian's control structures) on the basis that previously awarded resource consents "gave access to all the water in the Waitaki system".[60] It also unsuccessfully applied to the High Court to have the Trust's application struck out.

Specific to the immediate context, Meridian was now applying to Environment Canterbury to take 340 cumecs (cubic metres per second) from the lower Waitaki for Project Aqua, but had to take its place in the queue behind both Aoraki Water Trust (seeking 15 cumecs) and INO for 25 cumecs.[61] Applications filed by another 37 groups and individuals sought a total of 4.6 cumecs, with more applications in the pipeline. Drawdown from the first two applications, if permitted, would leave a volume of water insufficient to satisfy the stated requirements for the Project Aqua scheme; granting the consents for Meridian would leave little for other applicants and other "passive" users (including anglers and boat owners) of the waterway.

The image of "the country's largest remaining braided river"[62] being reduced to a "muddy trickle"[63] as a potential consequence of the series of consents being granted

[59] Fitzsimons, J. (2003) "RMA (Waitaki) Bill – First Reading" (speech to the House of Representatives), 11 December, first retrieved from http://www.greens.org.nz, 5 March 2004
[60] Bruce, D. (2003) "Water Claim Worries Action Group", Otago Daily Times, 14 June.
[61] Ministry for the Environment (2003) "Regulatory Compliance and Compliance Cost Statement: The Waitaki Catchment – Water Allocation", first retrieved from http://www.mfe.govt.nz, 11 July 2004
[62] Gibb, op. cit., n50
[63] Blakeley, J. (2004) "John Blakeley: Solution to Power Needs is Blowing in the Wind", 9 February, referring to the Green Party not being prepared to support Project Aqua, pA17

in an uncoordinated way was emphasised by those opposing the project when calling for a water allocation plan. It has been suggested that compelling Environment Canterbury to establish such a plan prior to hearing applications from Meridian Energy,[64] and arguing for "equitable sharing"[65] of the river amongst interested parties would delay the process for Meridian, make it more expensive and raise the possibility of the whole project being untenable.

Against the wishes of Meridian Energy ("who 'actively advised' against it"[66] and who sought unsuccessfully to get Government support for its alternative version of a draft bill which proposed tradeable water rights and preservation of its water rights to the upper Waitaki),[67] Hon. Marian Hobbs (Minister for the Environment) sponsored an amendment to the Resource Management Act to provide a structure to address these competing demands. This bill's description in a Cabinet Minute as providing "for a process to consider the merits of all competing water uses and [which] confirms a framework for the allocation of water"[68] is reiterated on the Government's website,[69] Hobbs' introduction of the bill to the House[70] and in Government press releases.[71]

However, despite the continued cultivation in official discourse of the Government as a disinterested and neutral bystander in the process, those seeking power over the discourse portrayed the bill as a biased and favourable intervention by a centre worthy of distrust and dissent. As well as the contextual implications arising from such assignment, this raises wider implications in terms of the regime of truth ("its 'general

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[64] Bruce, D. (2003) "Residents want Water Allocation Plan", Otago Daily Times 12 June, p11

[65] McMillan, A. (2003) "Meridian Energy's Project Aqua Proposal for the Lower Waitaki River", New Zealand Federation of Freshwater Anglers Inc Submission to Environment Canterbury on the 2003 Annual Plan, 9 June, p1

[66] Ansley, B. (2003) "Down by the River", New Zealand Listener, Vol191 (3314), p2 at p4, quoting Alan Seay, spokesman for Meridian Energy

[67] Taylor, K. (2004) "Waitaki River Legislation Threat to Nation's Electricity Supply, MPs Told", New Zealand Herald, 16 February, first retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=news&thesubsection=&storyID=3549383&reportID=5, 1 May 2004

[68] Cabinet (2003) Minute of Decision (CAB Min (03) 29/9, 2.1)

[69] For example, New Zealand Government (2003) "Improved process sought for Waitaki Applications", 15 August and (2004) "Ministers to host Waitaki Catchment Public Meeting", 20 January, both first retrieved from http://www.beehive.govt.nz, 11 July 2004

[70] Hobbs, M. (2003) Resource Management (Waitaki Catchment) Amendment bill 2003, first reading (speech to the House of Representatives) reprinted on http://www.beehive.govt.nz, first retrieved from that site 11 July 2004

[71] For example, New Zealand Government (2004) "National Hopelessly Confused over Waitaki", 19 March, first retrieved from http://www.scoop.co.nz, 11 July 2004

politics' of truth")[72] and the place of official enunciations. Both these implications are considered in the discussion that follows.

- *The Bill: Its Meanings*

Two particular meanings granted the bill stand out, the first being the emotive and pejorative "fast-track". Although arguably this term was used mainly to refer to the statutory process laid down,[73] it also by inference and extrapolation embraced the bill itself. The negative meaning attached to "fast-track" can be traced back to the now-repealed National Development Act 1979, that as a reminder authorised the Government, through the medium of the Minister of Public Works, to override local planning rules in granting permission for developments deemed to be in the national interest and that was acknowledged at the time as involving "a cost to the environment".[74] As Buhrs and Bartlett explain, the "think-big" projects enabled under this Act are now "widely denounced as disasters by environmentalists and economists",[75] including the Clyde Dam, significantly located in the same area (Central Otago) as was the proposed Project Aqua scheme) and that resulted in diversion of the river and social upheaval with the relocation of the local population and the destruction of apricot orchards.

The use of such a term to describe the bill was almost guaranteed to arouse opposition. Such effectiveness is revealed through its use in a wide range of enunciations, including the popular media,[76] statements by pressure and lobby

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[72] Foucault (1980) Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977, C. Gordon (Ed), New York: Pantheon, p131

[73] The bill received its first reading on 3rd December, was referred to the Local Government and the Environment Select Committee on the 10 December and was due to be reported back to Parliament by the 15th March.

[74] Auckland Star (1981) "Environment must Suffer, says Birch", 25 March, p12. (Hon. William (Bill) Birch was the Minister of Works at the time and the individual most associated with the Think-big programme)

[75] Buhrs, T. and Bartlett, R.V. (1993) Environmental Policy in New Zealand, the Politics of Clean and Green? Oxford Readings in New Zealand Politics, Auckland: Oxford University Press, p96

[76] For example, Otago Daily Times (2003) "Outrageous Legislation", Editorial, 9 December, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

groups[77] and political statements.[78] Of particular note, and indicative of the perceived value of this metaphor in a struggle for power in the political field, the National Party and ACT on one end of the political spectrum and the Green Party on the other all persisted in using this term to describe the legislation, despite repeated (yet seemingly ignored and dismissed) denials by Hobbs of this being either the purpose or effect.[79]

A second meaning attributed to the bill was as a metaphor for inappropriate exercise of political privilege both by and through an uncaring and remote central Government "a body of people who have never, or seldom, visited the Waitaki River",[80] from the local people to whom it rightly belonged; as a mechanism that would render both the statutorily prescribed process and the locally elected bodies superfluous and powerless.

Clearly then the bill constituted an "outrageous" ploy to push "pet …projects" on the part of an untrustworthy Government, an underhand "a tried and true method … - wait for the Christmas break, introduce controversial legislation and hope the public is too weary to notice" to ensure it passed. [81] Under the powers granted the Minister for the Environment in the bill, "Hobbs could select a 'bunch of puppets'".[82] Consequently the bill is tantamount to "a gross abuse of power"[83] by a hypocritical Labour Government "which had blocked private sector developments like the Dobson scheme on the West Coast, [and] now be creating special rules for its own company".[84] Such themes were echoed by the Green Party (albeit in a framework of cautious support for the measure as remedy for past local failures) when referring to "the possible abuse of the Environment Minister's power" and the possibility that

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[77] Examples of such statements include one by the Kurow Aqua Liaison Committee (KALC) (Otago Daily Times (2003) " 'Draconian Legislation', KALC Says", 12 December, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004)
[78] Examples include Nick Smith (National Spokesperson for the Environment) (Otago Daily Times (2003) "Mixed Reaction to Bill: National Claims Aim to Fast-track Power Scheme", 5 December, p17), Jim Peters (Member of New Zealand First on the Local Government and the Environment select committee considering the bill) (Otago Daily Times (2003) "Hard Line Likely by United", 12 December, p2), and Shirley, K. (2004) "Fast-track Project Aqua Fizzer", ACT New Zealand Press Release, 12 February first retrieved from http://www.scoop.co.nz 5 March 2004
[79] Examples include New Zealand Government (2003) and Otago Daily Times (2003) "Legislation aimed at Best Decision on Water Use", 10 December, p15 (Hobbs criticising the Times' Editorial on the 9th)
[80] Dickie, C. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 3 September, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004
[81] Editorial, op. cit., n76
[82] Ibid.
[83] MacKenzie, D. (2003) "Special Legislation Opposed", Otago Daily Times, 10 December, p17
[84] Ibid.

"these appointees could be "political appointments" in the worst sense of the term".[85]

Such branding of Government as untrustworthy, greedy and insensitive to local feelings and needs also made it possible to equate what was presented as a national imperative (the increased generation of electricity) to hostile "values" of a rapacious and alien "North". Those "other" values were clearly opposed to ethically superior southern environmental and social small town values.[86] Enunciations of Maori values aligned with such alien values could also be dismissed as not in accordance with what other (non-Maori) thought those values should be.

National Values are Alien (The Majority as a Thief)

The rhetoric applied in enunciations stressed the threat of destruction of local values, with one correspondent to the Otago Daily Times stressing such a "huge disruption" to the lives of the local residents with the construction programme that things would never be the same,[87] while another warned that mooted benefits for the local work-force and economy would be only "temporary".[88] Another correspondent referred to "well-informed" opinion opposed to the "sacrifice" of "a beautiful river system" so valuable for (local) tourism,[89] while an article by Bruce dwelt on the threat of destruction to a "hidden treasure"[90] and its potential as a tourist attraction.

Such local values, which would in no way be enhanced or supported by Project Aqua,[91] were thus in stark contrast to selfish and mercenary alien values of an urbanised North that "filches" "our" surplus of electricity, to be "squandered in the expanding ghettos of Auckland",[92] destroying the symbolic heart of a community just

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[85] Green Party of Aotearoa (2003) "Greens Question Waitaki Plan", Press Release 3 December, first retrieved from http://www.greens.org.nz, 5 March 2004

[86] Ansley, op. cit., quoting James Kerr, shearing contractor of Kurow

[87] Hayward, S. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 5 June, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

[88] Stevenson, J. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 14 June, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

[89] Duff, A.V. (2004) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 13 March, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

[90] Bruce, D. (2003) "Aqua Seen as Threat to 'Hidden Treasure'", Otago Daily Times, 13 June, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

[91] Galvin, B. (2003) Letter to the Editor, Otago Daily Times, 8 December, p8 talks of "our South Island picture post-card scenery".

[92] Witherow, D. (2003) "Ngai Tahu Taonga, For What It's Worth", Otago Daily Times, 12 December, p15. Witherow was described as a "Dunedin armchair philosopher and environmentalist" at the bottom of this article.

to keep the (artificial) lights going.[93] Rather than the project being located in the national interest, Project Aqua was thus symbolic of "the administrative power of the North over the South",[94] a corollary to a Government pandering to voters on the North whose economic activities are subsidised by the foreign exchange earned in the South.[95] This theme was also reflected in a reaction to Hodgson's rationale for the use of Waitaki ("the river is there, the water is there") – on that basis surely "the Waikato and Wanganui (sic)"[96] should be used instead because that is where the demand for power could be identified.

An image of "the North" as a greedy taker proved sufficiently powerful to drown efforts by Alan Seay, Meridian's spokesman, to assure readers of the Times that Project Aqua would benefit the South Island first, and to warn that the Cook Strait cable would in the near future be unable to carry sufficient load to the south to cope with demand, in a sea of scepticism.[97] Indicatively, and somewhat ironically, a later proposal for a combined (and smaller) hydro generating and irrigation scheme on the river floated under the auspices of a "nine-member think tank,[98] is described as enabling "North Otago to get the most benefit out of our water".[99]

In a similar way, a Maori discourse with a central theme of progress was also seen as alien, such that that reports that Sir Tipene O'Regan (a former trust chairman and "Kaumatua"[100] of Ngai Tahu) described the river as an "ecological shambles" that would be improved for the benefit of all, and a criticism of the media for a lack of "genuine analysis" and a failure to consider the national interest[101] drew howls of

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[93] This was a theme of a political cartoon that appeared in the Times in December – in response to a small boy's question to his father of what they would do for holidays when the river disappeared, the reply came – "I'll take you to Auckland to see the bright lights"

[94] Guthrie, D. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 12 September, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

[95] Morahan, J. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 23 September, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

[96] Hayward, S.R. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 21 October, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 1 May 2004

[97] Otago Daily Times (2003) "South Promised Top Priority for Power", 3 December, p17

[98] Reportedly established by the chairwoman of Waitaki First (Dr Helen Brooke), (Bruce, D. (2004) "Irrigation and Hydro Power Plan for River", Otago Daily Times, 22 June, first retrieved from http://www.odt.co.nz/, 21 July 2004)

[99] Ibid.

[100] Term used by Tahu Potiki, Chief Executive Officer, Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu for O'Regan, in refuting suggestions by Michael Bayley in a letter to the Editor, Otago Daily Times, 6 December 2003, p38 that the lack of opposition by Ngai Tahu smacked of a secret deal between it and Meridian.

[101] Comments as reported in Smith, J. (2004) "Ngai Tahu Still Silent on Aqua", Otago Daily Times, 8 January, p2

protest, his comments castigated as "utter rubbish",[102] his labelling of opposition as hysteria described instead based on "personal assessments of the documented environmental impacts"[103] and by implication both his and Ngai Tahu's motives in relation to the environment questioned.[104]

Such dismissal is interesting in itself, given the significant change in the Maori economic and political voice since the 1960s. With a full analysis of that change beyond the scope of this thesis, suffice to note that Maori environmental discourse is often located within the wider social discourse as a metaphor for conservation. Given that, critics could label O'Regan's, and by inference a Ngai Tahu discourse, as so captured by mercenary values that its ethical base was valueless,[105] instead validating the "deep hurt"[106] of an alternative culturally appropriate (but politically silent) "low-profile" Waitaha Iwi (legally deemed part of Ngai Tahu under the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998).

What insights are offered by the above analysis of the discourse surrounding the now-abandoned Project Aqua, as to environmental discourse in the New Zealand of the present? In drawing conclusions to this discussion, the following section develops and explores those insights.

Environmental Discourse of the Present

There are three main insights provided by the Project Aqua genealogical study as to the nature (and limitations) of present discourse on the New Zealand environment.

Firstly, that this project was abandoned in the face of warnings emanating from Government and business sources of the dangers to the New Zealand economy of potential chronic shortfalls in electricity generation capacity and the environmental impact of such alternative sources to hydroelectricity as coal and nuclear energy,

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[102] Leckie, F.G. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 4 December, p20
[103] Mark, A. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 19 January, p12 (Alan Mark is an ecologist who was also heavily involved in the Manapouri campaign)
[104] For example, Donaldson, P. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 9 December, p18; Anderson, M. (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 2 December, p16; Bayley, M (2003) Letter to Editor, Otago Daily Times, 6 December, Witherow, op. cit., n92
[105] [Ngai Tahu] are opportunists, not conservationists…. Mercenary considerations have always been paramount". Witherow, ibid., reacting to O'Regan's description of energy as the "South Island's defining issue" (2 December)
[106] Norris, op. cit., n10

demonstrates the power of the (defensible) symbol or cause. Although the project was portrayed as economically and nationally important, even urgent, and as the environmentally "best" solution to the looming shortfalls in electricity supply, a discourse celebrating largely local and conservation/preservation values succeeded in relegating economic, developmental and even alternative environmental voices to the periphery. This success suggests a relocation of power from a discourse centred on the imperatives of economic progress driving decisions about resource use and exploitation to one celebrating the special character of a particular piece of the environment.

Secondly, however, the study also reveals that this "relocation" is a function of the continued celebration in environmental discourse (or more precisely, a conservation/preservation discourse) of symbols – in this instance of specific "priceless rivers"[107] and other features of the landscape as opposed to such discredited symbols as "big business", "Government" and "alien" that now stood as metaphors for threats to local and social values and knowledge. Although it could be argued that such celebration is an outcome of a link between such discourse and Romantic ethical values, analysis of enunciations suggest that the defence of such symbols of the landscape as Waitaki are just as explicable for their place in a local knowledge incorporating and valuing symbols on the basis of assessments of economic importance or recreational contribution.

The strength of this local strand in a conservation/preservation discourse is further evidenced by a new proposal that has emerged on the heels of the demise of Project Aqua.[108] This proposal would involve *local* participation, financing and construction, be centred on the special interests of the *local* areas (for irrigation, electricity supply and "recharging" (refilling) of local streams and rivers) and effectively free the virtuous *local* area from dependence on a greedy and demanding outside "other".

Finally, a discourse that celebrates symbols as truths carries within it its own illusions. In denying a new historical context this discourse becomes disconnected from a

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[107] Theme of Statement by Dr Helen Brookes, the Chair of Waitaki First as reported in the Otago Daily Times, 5 January 2004, p9 (Rae, S. "The Lower Waitaki 'Not For Sale'")
[108] Supra, p266 and n98

shifting and changing ethical base, rendering its speaker, again to paraphrase de Certeau, the occupier of a rented apartment that no-one owns.[109] Vulnerable and in a state of sleepy complacency this occupant fails to realise the threat posed by a Trojan horse that provides cover for those who move stealthily in the darkness to seize power over the discursive space.

Specifically, in the context of the environment, a worship of symbols provides a site for a resistance to usurp the vocabulary of an environmental discourse. Specifically, nuclear energy becomes identified as a clean alternative (within the bounds of the Kyoto Protocol) to coal and therefore provides the logical solution to the problem of supply [110] (despite long-term environmental concerns). The expansion of wind power is considered appropriate as an environmentally desirable solution[111] (despite its associated noise, visibility and destruction of bird-life),[112] while fossil fuels (provided they are used somewhere else) are better than the destruction of "our priceless rivers for the sake of political purity".[113] (After all, what difference in the general scheme of things "would one more coal station make…?")[114]

Summary and Conclusions – the Power of the Environmental Symbol

The case study that formed the basis of this chapter was "Project Aqua", a proposal by Meridian Energy to re-channel up to 73% of the mean flow of the lower Waitaki river through six separate hydro-electric stations. Analysis of enunciations reveals how metaphor and image were used to establish the river as a symbol, thereby reinforcing the regime of truth of a conservation/preservation discourse, and defeating discourse framed by warnings as to shortages of generating capacity, limitations to options imposed by New Zealand's international obligations, a Maori discourse of progress and appeals to the national interest.

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[109] De Certeau, M. (1984) Practices of Everyday Life, Berkeley: University of California Press, pxix
[110] Young, A. (2003) "MP Suggests Nuclear Fix for Power Woes", New Zealand Herald, 22 April
[111] Blakely, op. cit.
[112] de Freitas, C. (2004) "Coal's the Best Answer to Electricity Shortages", New Zealand Herald, 2 April
[113] Walton op. cit., n46
[114] Ibid.

At the same time, however, the analysis exposes the potential and demonstrable subversion of this discourse by interests and concerns not necessarily ascribing to an environmental ethic, a finding that echoes the warning and implication sounded in the introduction to the first chapter of this work and that suggests that a discourse of conservation/preservation claiming sovereignty over an environmental domain also exposes its weaknesses. With shifts in power relations, a truth of the past becomes an illusion or myth of the present.

Perhaps a close analogy for the New Zealand environmental discourse of the present is of a bright and beautiful illusion shored up and decorated by those who have an inherent interest in its perpetuation, and offering a focus of worship and celebration for those who believe – provided they do not get close enough to see the cracks and tawdry gild.

It is now appropriate to consider the theoretical and methodological implications of this initial conclusion. The final chapter that follows explores the theoretical findings that emerge from the genealogical studies that have been conducted and, in addition, considers the broader contribution to research provided by a focus on discourse and Foucault's genealogical method.

Chapter ten

Conclusion

The Environmental Myth is the Environmental Truth

Introduction

The conclusion reached in the previous chapter strongly suggests that New Zealanders continue to think of the environment in terms of symbols that imply cleanliness, lack of damage and careful management. The central location of such symbols provides ethical virtue for an international reputation as "100% Pure New Zealand". This reputation in turn supports and legitimises environmentally-focused commercial activities such as tourism and agriculture and commitment to such international environmental initiatives as the International Whaling Convention and the Kyoto Protocol.

However, it is also possible to draw on emergent statements that frame an alternative and less comfortable reality. This reality encompasses contaminated land and waterways, ravages posed by intended and accidental acclimatisation, unwise and profligate resource use, a wide range of native species vulnerable to threats of extinction and cursory and inadequate treatment of water and air pollution problems. It would also appear that such a reality cannot be banished to an imperfect and now illegitimised past but remains to haunt the present. Arguably too, a theme of commercially stimulated resource decision-making endures in a present discursive location for the "environment", rendering it heavily politicised and vulnerable to the exercise of power by those seeking to further ends that may sit at odds with an environmental ethic.

In acknowledgement of the location of discourse at the intersection of power and knowledge, and in recognition that the "truth" of discourse is a function of its historical context, the challenge accepted in this study was to reveal a history of present discourse of relevance to the New Zealand environment, a challenge necessitating the selection of an appropriate structure.

Summary of Chapter Contributions

The first part of this thesis both justifies and describes the theoretical framework for the later analysis of the empirical data. In preference to having one chapter devoted to a theoretical review, and in consideration of the additional methodological implications and method-related issues that arise from the selection of a discourse approach, a discrete space was devoted to an exploration of the meanings, connections and relevance of "discourse" as a valid theoretical construct. The three points of general importance emphasised in this analysis are first, what is said and thought about the environment within a given historical context are merely the surface indications (enunciations) of what can be said and thought; *discourse* is the social practice that empowers, permits or validates enunciations within the historical context of utterance. Second, the argument is made that discourse is grounded in ethics, such that discourse provides a conduit through which individuals can "share" their ethical beliefs. Third, the dynamic relationship between discourse and ethics was portrayed, such that shifts in ethical systems as measures of rightness imply also shifts in discursive regimes of truth. With the selection of discourse as an approach to the study validated and explained, it was possible to examine discrete discourses on the treatment of the New Zealand environment with reference to their ethical grounding.

With the case made for a discursive approach, it was then appropriate to address a range of implications and issues arising from the selection of a genealogical method, particularly in terms of their impacts on the conduct of an historical study and the supporting research practices. Of underlying importance in supporting a genealogical method is the recognition of discourse as a practice in which power and knowledge intersect. Equally important is the recognition of discourse as a function of temporal and social context, empowering individuals to speak and think in certain ways.

Historical specificity for discourse suggests that movements in the power/knowledge duality also relocate the intersection in discourse, involving redefinitions of truth. These redefinitions draw in turn on underlying ethical "systems", again historically specific and contingent. This historical specificity is acknowledged throughout the thesis, most generally with an emphasis on a post-colonisation temporal theme which

is echoed both in the mapping of nineteenth century and early twentieth century New Zealand environmental discourse and in the selection of case studies.

The effect of this emphasis can be seen in the focus on discourse largely emanating from European sources. Ironically, perhaps, and although the power implications of such an emphasis are outside the scope of this study, this focus in and of itself is a comment on the overwhelming dominance of a European discourse in the colonial historical context. At the same time, however, this focus also tacitly recognises the subjugation of other voices by marking their silence.

Arguably, a changing environmental "truth" is reflected in the growing support for conservation in New Zealand during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a particular emphasis on activities and areas considered to reflect specific values or worth. However, an examination of relevant enunciations suggests a discourse of conservation occupied an uneasy and limited position on the margins of a New Zealand-style Modernist discourse celebrating progress, use and participation by the State.

Such a location sets the scene for further and deeper exploration of discourse of relevance to the environment, an exploration involving a tight framework and specific focus. Both these are provided by way of selection of an appropriate, relevant and informative context, this being hydro-electricity. This form of energy generation has, virtually since its emergence, maintained and defended a central, privileged location within social, political and economic discourse in New Zealand. In addition, the history of hydro-electricity echoes changes perceived by some as shifts in environmental paradigms – from an urge to alter an impassive landscape within the limitations imposed by its shape and structure, to the celebration of technology as a weapon for the defeat of nature, to disillusionment and disquiet with such celebration.

The three case studies echo this hydro-electric focus, although centring on three discursive events separated in time and, in the case of the third and final case study, somewhat in geographical location. They serve also to symbolise stages in the historical period commencing with the emergent "big power" era (characterised by State participation in, and control over, large networked generating facilities utilising

water power) and concluding with its dying echoes implicit in "the last twitch of the think-big cadaver".

Specifically, the first case involves a proposal originally floated by a private syndicate in 1924 to harness the waters of the Bowen Falls (located in the Fiordland Reserve, later the Fiordland National Park) to generate electricity. The second case study focuses on a later proposal to raise the waters of Lake Manapouri, geographically proximate to the Falls. This proposal was justified as maximising the generating capacity of a power station. The final case study, bridging a gap between the past and present, is centred on the proposal to divert a high percentage of the mean flow of the Lower Waitaiki river through six generating stations. This final study, while exposing shifts in power relations between a modernist and conservation/preservation discourse in New Zealand, also reveals a paradox implicit in present environmental discourse in New Zealand. This paradox, as articulated in the introduction, emanates from the commercial and social commitment to an environmental image of "100% pure". Such commitment, in establishing a positive force for its retention and cultivation, also suppresses challenges to its legitimacy and truth.

The third case study suggests firstly, that despite the triumphs for an environmental resistance embodied in the outcomes to the Manapouri campaign, evidence supporting claims of shifts in the New Zealand environmental paradigm between the past and present is less than convincing, secondly that "environment" within social discourse is susceptible to manipulation and subversion for ulterior ends, and finally, that perceptions of the "environment" remain narrowly focused. This conclusion that echoes the title to this thesis; that an environmental discourse, encapsulated in a social context that is in turn shaped by a network of social, political and individual concerns and pressures, will always remain subject to challenge from outside.

Further clarification of the focus and theme, and the contributions to knowledge made by this thesis, is the central purpose of the next part of this concluding chapter.

Major Focus and Theme

In pursuing a Foucauldian enquiry into what enabled speaking and thinking about the environment within the relevant socio-temporal context, the subject has been deliberately dismissed from the centre of the discourse, as determiner *of* the truth to a position within the power networks that determine whether what he or she says is privileged *as* truth. Such dismissal both acknowledges the role of discourse in effecting power/knowledge and its definition by Foucault as that which determines what can be said and thought about things.

The essential premise adopted in this study is that a regime of truth that privileged "civilisation", economic growth and a participative/cooperative State shaped a New Zealand-style modernist discourse as defined. Located at the centre of this regime of truth, and serving as an enduring focus both for enunciations privileged as true and for resistance against these truths is hydro-electricity. The success of challenges to this regime of truth was a function of tactics appropriate within their historical context. Consequently, their identification and analysis provide insight into both the potential and limitations to strategies that may be used to seize power.

A major theme that resonates throughout the analysis of the historical context and all three case studies is a focus on symbols as objects within an environmental domain which has in turn been shaped by a persistent conservation/preservation discourse. Ironically, as these symbols are valued not only for their environmental meaning but also for various other economic, social and/or political purposes, a conservation/preservation discourse remains vulnerable to subversion and annexation.

In addition, it is argued that those speaking through a conservation/preservation discourse cling to illusions; that conservation and preservation will both protect and save. Ironically however, the successful conservation of a symbol of a river in the present empowers a suppressed discourse of electricity generation based on non-renewable sources of energy to exercise power in the future. More generally, it is suggested that conservation of symbols as a legitimate alternative to exploitation through other means renders them vulnerable to threats of overcrowding and/or neglect.

Finally, a focus on conservation and preservation can potentially also involve suppression of the seemingly ever-expanding broader environmental discursive field, leaving it exposed to occupation through power strategies exercised by an emergent resistance.

A shifting theme of conservation/preservation shadows the historical narrative. This narrative takes the reader on a journey from the beginning of the era of restricted change with a focus on acclimatisation, settlement and superficial landscape modification where the core values grounding the dominant discourse, particularly its "ownership" of scientific knowledge, severely restrict the extent to which any alternative voice in favour of conservation/preservation can be recognised. A fleeting shadow is cast by conservation/preservation but such voices speak only in whispers and as such can be ignored or drowned in the clamour for change.

This panorama of civilisation through change is followed by a plunge through a narrow corridor of an emergent conservation era when themes of conservation are disguised as those of progress. The existence of this corridor is tenuous and fragile, threatened on all sides by an emerging technology permitting large-scale landscape modification, promises of rural riches and prosperity as the basis for a rural civilisation, and official, social and industry discourse celebrating economic growth (a theme echoed in the support for electricity-based industry within the Fiordland Reserve). Despite this the shadow is now clearer, bigger and more pronounced, echoed in gains (albeit limited in extent and context) for a conservation cause.

The corridor appears wider and stronger, extending into the surrounding discursive domain within the "greener" historical context of the Save Manapouri Campaign. Alternative values of conservation/preservation are articulated in stories of moderation, scientific truth and reason, achieving victory over the discourse and conquering the weakened symbols of an archaic Modernist regime of truth. However, even then, the finality of this victory is doubted. This corridor harbours whispers of a bloodied but unbowed progressive/modernist discourse plotting incursions, issuing forth to subvert and to occupy – on the banks of the Waitaki river Modernist forces subvert conservation/preservation themes of moderation and reason to claim a superior moral and social position.

This seeming endurance and "reality" of the values of this modernist discourse must therefore colour any conclusions that can be reached about the nature and characteristics of discourse relating to the environment, and a myth which shapes and defines the environment and its problems.

Contributions to a Critical Understanding of Environmental Discourse

This thesis contributes to the understanding of an existent myth that shapes New Zealanders' perception of their environment. As suggested at the outset, individuals may believe that their agents provide care for its flora and fauna through Government policies and institutions. Elected representatives preside over decisions on resource use within a legal and policy framework that takes into account the impact on the landscape and ecology. Such representatives also seek scientific advice in providing for the maintenance of threatened populations. However, such presumptions fail to explain the contradictions and discordant notes that sound amongst the celebratory peals.

The study reveals much about the causes of such discord. A focus on conservation in New Zealand environmental discourse is echoed through the time periods covered by the study, as indicated by the instances identified. Examples include the acclimatisation debate during the 1860s, where those seeking to prevent importation for preservation reasons lost to the economic force of the pastoral lobby. Similarly of note are the issues raised in respect of island sanctuaries where success was achieved only within the framework of a Modernist discourse. Such a discourse also framed and dictated the arguments used to support the establishment of National Parks and reserves, and, most specifically, was to profoundly influence what was said and thought within the contexts of the Bowen Falls, Manapouri and Waitaki case studies.

The three case studies reflect a similar strategic theme of saving that area, this species, that outlook, this lake or waterway. Such fights have relied for their success on defining a cause having characteristics that reference publics identify as valuable and worth maintaining but that ironically may have little to do with overall long- term environmental or social wellbeing.

This narrow focus continues to characterise environmental discourse, as suggested in the introductory chapter, examples including the stand against nuclear testing and ships and New Zealand's stance on whaling. Such a cause focus is acknowledged as a well-tested strategy whereby a resistance can successfully challenge a dominant discourse. However, it is also argued that with environmental causes shaping the domain of environmental discourse, the wider domain of more widespread environmental dilemmas such as global warming and pollution is awarded cursory and erratic treatment at best.

Contributions to Debates on Methodological Inquiry

This study is positioned in the historical locale. As such, it is possibly open to criticism on a general level by historians for its focus on discourse rather than on a grand narrative built on an underlying assumption of progress and acknowledgement of an external truth waiting to be discovered by the external observer. However, in refuting such criticisms, it is maintained that such a discursive approach to history, in rejecting objectivity, can challenge the accepted regime of truth.

On a more general level, this thesis posits the potential for a study applying a Focauldian method to unravel discourses that have an inherent interest in their own perpetuation. Through a focus on the exercise of power through discourse, silent voices can be detected, hidden secrets revealed, assurances and promises seen for what they are - expressions of self interest dislocated from an articulated grounding ethic, strategies to maintain existing power relations through the creation of illusions deluding, feeding and subjecting Foucault's "docile bodies".

Other Contributions

With the level of popular and official debate on the New Zealand environment and a continuing emphasis on the importance of economic growth, it is perhaps surprising that the common centrality of hydro-electricity in both those debates has not received greater attention in histories written on this area either generally or in specific contexts.

This thesis contributes by uncovering relevant discourse within the context of hydro-electricity, acknowledging its privileged past status as a metaphor for New Zealand-style civilisation and its more recent dismissal and re-creation as a desecrator of conservation/preservation symbols. In addition, the study reveals the importance of hydro-electricity as a metaphor for the nature and shape of environmental discourse in New Zealand and reveals the tenuous position of a myth that relies on conservation/preservation illusions.

Summary of Contributions

This thesis provides an alternative way of theorising about official and popular debate within an environmental context. In an historical context muddied by a confusion of reversals and ruptures, it offers the prospect of an alternative understanding of the nature of the New Zealand environmental myth through a methodology based in the general field of Foucauldian discourse and genealogy.

The findings challenge popular beliefs over how a discourse of environmental responsibility has triumphed over a now illegitimate and banished past, ultimately raising doubt as to the security and philosophical endurance of such a discourse. In exposing its vulnerability to subversion by interests with ulterior motives and interests it raises challenges for individuals and groups who seek to articulate environmental concerns.

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