

The Tourist State: Performing Leisure, Liberalism, and Race in New Zealand. By Margaret Werry. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2011. xxxix + 313pp. NZ price: US\$25.00. ISBN: 978-0-8166-6605-8.

MARGARET WERRY uses New Zealand as a case study to construct a performance theory of the state in this sophisticated and very well-written book. She compares two strongly liberal phases in this country's history — the 1890–1914 Liberal era and the contemporary neoliberal period — to reveal a nuanced portrait of the involvement of minority populations in processes of liberal state-making and tourism. Although I disagree with the Foucauldian determinism that frames the analysis, I am forced to overcome my qualms about Werry's approach by her extraordinary analytical insight and integrative scholarship. I admire the depth of research, the quality of the theorising and the sheer verve of the writing. As Werry justifiably claims, her book develops a methodology of the politics of performance. She achieves this by bringing the tools of ethnographic performance into a broader analysis of the state's cultural poetics. By explaining how tourism is not only the cultural bedrock of the nation but an element in the government apparatus of the state, she has produced a convincing argument of the theory of performance as political mechanism.

Chapter one shows how forms of conduct are cultivated in tourism's spatial practices through a fascinating account of tourist development in Rotorua — the 'Māoriland' of the Liberal era. Werry describes three spaces of touristic biopolitics in Rotorua: the thermal spa; the sanitary reform of Māori dwellings in Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa; and landscape tourism in the thermal reserves. The second chapter recounts the transnational career of celebrity Māori guide, entrepreneur, entertainer and ethnologist Makereti Papakura. The guide's 'genteel encounters' are placed within a strategy that reframes the hospitality of tourist entertainment as both 'voluntary and reciprocal, rather than purchased or coerced' (p.61). However, Werry argues that Makereti's freedom came at a personal and political cost, as the prevailing liberal ethos made her a cultural ambassador for the Pākehā state as much as for Māori.

Chapter three depicts the spectacle surrounding the 1908 trans-Pacific tour of the US Fleet, its New Zealand welcome and its theatrical afterlife on the stage and streets of New York, as an act of military-diplomatic tourism. Here the author argues that this touristic exchange was a mechanism of the new global order — the establishment of US naval command of the Pacific 'saturated with political and racial significance' (p.103). Werry's reference to 'the soft politics of show business and the hard politics of military imperialism' (p.122) captures her vivid writing style, one that laces the narrative with numerous evocative images.

Chapter four brings us up to the present era of neoliberalism. Werry argues that ethnotourism is reshaped within the context of the contemporary bicultural state. The exotic entertainment and racial spectacle of the previous Liberal era is replaced by a new tourist experience, one characterised by an interest in cultural difference. She analyses this shift in an account of 'The Tourism Edge', a promotional documentary produced by Tourism New Zealand. Interviews with policy analysts, state agents, Māori promoters, entrepreneurs and managers reveal the nature of the brokerage role between Māori constituencies, the market in culture and the state. Here neoliberalism is about the 'marketisation' of everything, Werry uses the phrase 'enclosing the cultural commons' to bring 'the tourist trade in cultural knowledges, materials, and experiences' (p.143) into the core of state operations. The 'Free Independent Traveler' (FIT), seeking after indigenous experiences and the Pure New Zealand brand, is the post-racial tourist of neoliberalism where all is brought into the market, thereby 'curtailing the possibility for

an independent civil society' to dissent (p.185). Werry argues, convincingly I think, for tourism's central role in the knowledge economy world, writing that 'in place of race, FIT tourism installs indigeneity — as a brand with its own knowledge economy value' (p.175).

The chapter on the film industry addresses the inherent paradox between biculturalism, national identity and the recent emergence of indigeneity on the one hand, and the intrusion of the market into these spheres of culture and civic space on the other. Werry sees tourism and cinema as drawn together in neoliberalism using her analyses of two cinematic landmarks — *Lord of the Rings* ('a global racial fantasy' p.191) and *Whale Rider* — to tease out the ambivalence in 'postraciality'. Here the maintenance of white privilege and the invention of new forms of whiteness are contrasted with the post-racial claims of the new indigeneous brand. This theme is further developed in the final chapter about the 2011 Rugby World Cup promotional campaign. Werry uses the campaign to show how the tourist state exercises economic self-interest and pursues indigenous cultural expression simultaneously. In one of the abrupt but evocative turns of phrase that characterise her style, she says 'from Homo economicus the state forges homo Indigenalis' (p.242).

I have two disagreements with Werry's position: one over race, the other concerning Māori-Pākehā bifurcation. In her explanation, race is essentialised as a logic of governmentality. Yet, at the same time (and this is a strength), she rejects such essentialisation in her analyses of race, and now indigeneity, as political strategies. However, such political strategising is attributed here only to the state. I would argue that it is a strategy used by emergent elites, including Māori. Marrying Foucaudian governmentality with race, as Werry does, creates a theoretical straitjacket. Although racialisation can and does serve as a strategy for managing populations, one that she vividly captures in the tourist encounter, it is a strategy that does not belong only to the state. However, a Foucaudian governmentality approach with its emphasis on practices, techniques and conduct frames human acts within determinist political and historical state processes. By attributing a racial logic to all processes of governmentality, Werry inserts race into this determinism. Agency is assigned to the interests of the 'racial' state in her resistance to, even dismissal of, the liberal human agent. According to Werry, even the creative performance found in tourism is fundamentally shaped by the racial impetus at the heart of the liberal state's governmentality. *Lord of the Rings*, 'Jackson's racial mythology machine' (p.236), is given as an example of this. The government's sanitation campaigns in Rotorua are also explained within this race logic. She refers to these campaigns as an 'alliance of tourist aesthetics with government surveillance to both justify and strategize governmental incursions into Māori domains' (p.27). Yet, a more thorough understanding of the history of sanitation in New Zealand at the time would show the government interest in drains, toilets and rubbish collection was not confined to Māori.¹ The insistence of the logic of race at the heart of governmentality leads to the Māori-Pākehā bifurcation which weakens the argument. The dualism is at odds with the social reality of ethnic and cultural fluidity and leads to the tendency to romanticise Māori and vilify Pākehā — a strong but regrettable theme of biculturalism.

My resistance to Foucaudian determinism and race essentialisation should not detract from the book's brilliant analysis of the role of tourism in state formation. A real strength is Werry's theorisation of the role of tourism in the global neoliberal market. She calls tourism 'a border art, one between cultures and markets' (p.244), claiming that 'the doing of tourism helps to give the state its "effect" — its appearance of solidarity' (p.xv). Her understanding of the shift from race to indigeneity as a political strategy (although limited by her insistence that it is the state's strategy, as I note above) contributes to recent literature that places indigenous politics within capitalism's management of peoples to place.² Finally, Werry says the book develops the methodology of performance studies

by bringing 'the tools of performance analysis to the ethnography and anthropology of the state — the state's cultural poetics' (p.xxxii). This gives this book an important role in performance studies literature and in methodology more widely.

ELIZABETH RATA

University of Auckland

NOTES

- 1 Pamela Wood, *Dirt: Fifth and Decay in a New World Arcadia*, Auckland, 2005.
 2 T. Li, 'Indigeneity, Capitalism, and the Management of Dispossession', *Current Anthropology*, 51 (2010), pp.385–414; E. Rata, 'Encircling the Commons: Neotribal Capitalism in New Zealand since 2000', *Anthropological Theory*, 11, 3 (2011), pp.327–53; P. Sutton, *The Politics of Suffering: Indigenous Australia and the End of the Liberal Consensus*, Melbourne, 2009.

Te Hao Nui/The Great Catch: Object Stories from Te Manawa. Edited by Fiona McKergow and Kerry Taylor. Random House New Zealand/Godwit, Auckland, 2011. 296pp. NZ price: \$65.00. ISBN: 978-1-869797-18-8.

THE SHEER COMMITMENT needed for the production of a book such as *Te Hao Nui* will be appreciated by readers. This is a book which assembles a diverse range of objects, with perspectives from over 30 different contributors. The purpose is to commemorate Te Manawa Museum's first 40 years, and it does so through 40 objects selected from about 45,000. The concept of showcasing collection objects in books is a long museum tradition and one with mixed results. It has certainly been explored for quite different purposes, resulting in educational guides, encyclopaedic catalogues and celebratory works. As a broad concept it still enjoys popularity in New Zealand, and Te Papa leads by example with *Icons Ngā Taonga* (2004), *Te Papa: Your Essential Guide* (2010) and the soon to be released *100 Amazing Tales From Aotearoa* (2012). We need to ask, however, whether *Te Hao Nui* is a great catch or just another museum popular publication destined to languish on a coffee table? Local museums now face huge financial challenges and the ominous spectre of restructuring,¹ raising questions about the future role of culture and heritage. The kaupapa of both *Te Hao Nui* and Te Manawa are so deeply intertwined it is difficult not to examine issues about the responsibilities of New Zealand museums currently under wider discussion in the museum profession.

Te Hao Nui is organised into short chapters encompassing each of the 40 objects and ordered by the year in which they were donated or loaned to Te Manawa. The final selection results in a combination of time periods, materials, aesthetics, places and people. Confronted with the first object I was admittedly dubious about the choice of a paperweight as the opening act. However, Paul Husbands demonstrates his ability to transform a seemingly ordinary object into the profound. As one of the founding objects in Te Manawa's collection, this paperweight provides a superb anchor to the commemorative goals of *Te Hao Nui* as well as drawing us into a net of connections illustrating a small museum's role in 'big picture' histories. Husbands does this by celebrating the efforts of Palmerston North women during the Second World War in sending care packages to the disenfranchised Free Polish Army, who in return gifted this object, handmade in part from used aircraft or engine parts. The journey of this object from display in the local department store, to being a possession of the city, in custody of the Public Library, until forming part of the original collection of Manawatu Museum, gives a glimpse of Te Manawa's history and collection development.

A remu marereko (fan of huia tail feathers), Mere Ngareta's kahu kiwi (kiwi feather cloak) and Puketōtara Pou, all on loan to Te Manawa, tell stories of different cultural