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Therapy in Translation: Landscape Ideas from the Whau Lunatic Asylum and Unitec Campus

As noted by Julian Raxworthy,¹ landscape architecture is different from other design discourses, notably architecture, because of its utilisation of 'dynamic' construction media such as plant materials, soils and water, compared with the 'static' materials of architecture, colloquially described as bricks and mortar. This dynamic of plant growth and performative ecological processes leads to representation of change over time in any landscape.

The psychological benefits of gardens and landscape have been well documented.² The Unitec landscape is a field of remnants and features remaining from the days of the psychiatric hospital, such as the trees, landform modifications, productive gardens, and orientation to views. Along with historical photographs and texts the landscape reveals evidence of therapeutic intent in the design of the hospital grounds.³

This paper investigates how the therapeutic landscape of the 19th century can now itself be considered to be under therapy.

1 Julian Raxworthy, "Writing Gardens - Gardening Drawings: Fung, Bruier and Gardening as a Model of Landscape Architectural Practice," in *Landscape Review Special Issue: CELA 2001: Here and There?* (Christchurch, Canterbury: Lincoln University Press, 2004), 196-200.

2 Diane Relf, ed., *The Role of Horticulture in Human Well-Being and Social Development* (Portland: Timber Press, 1992); Rachel Kaplan, "The Psychological Benefits of Nearby Nature," in *The Role of Horticulture in Human Well-Being and Social Development*, ed. Diane Relf (Portland, Oregon: Timber Press, 1992)

3 Jeremy Treadwell, "Therapeutic Landscapes," in *Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand 15th Annual Conference* (Melbourne: Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand, 1998).

Unitec's Mt Albert campus history has several chapters evident in the landscape and the architecture. Evidence of volcanic activity 30,000 years ago, which formed Mt Albert - Owairaka,⁵ can still be seen in the rocky outcrops and cuttings of basaltic rock at the west and south of the campus. Maori settled around the Waitemata harbour in the 14th century. Rakataura, the tohunga of the Tainui canoe, was one of the first documented inhabitants of the area around the Whau river. Another famous character known to have occupied the site is Wairaka, the daughter of a Maori leader, who came with a party from the Tauranga area, and she is said to have stamped her foot in frustration and found a source of fresh water from what is now known as Wairaka spring.⁶ The land was purchased by the Crown from Ngati Whatua in 1848, and European settlers bought blocks of land and cleared it for farming. In 1855 Andrew Rooney purchased the spring site and it remained his property until 1873. He leased blocks to farmers, including James H. Hayr and Thomas Hicks.⁷ Landscape intervention and modification associated with colonisation by both Maori (700-1000AD) and European (from 1769) irreversibly altered the natural ecology through cumulative effects of fire, land clearance, over-exploitation of resources and introduced plants and animals.⁸ By 1863, the Crown had commissioned a 'lunatic asylum' and plans had been drawn up in England, and modified by Auckland architect James Wrigley. The imposing neo-classical building of locally made polychromatic bricks was opened in 1867. Over the next 50 years the main building was extended and several buildings were commissioned to accommodate more patients, up to the peak of 1200 patients housed in four major buildings (numbered 1, 6, 48 and 76 on the current campus map).⁹ Shelter belts, ornamental tree plantings, extensive vegetable gardens, grape plantings and an orchard are described and shown in archival photos from 1940-66¹⁰ (fig. 1). A successful livestock farm for the hospital (poultry, pigs, cows and sheep) was developed from the mid 1860s onwards, with the most fertile soils marked on early land sale plans from the 1840s being cultivated intensively as a market garden and later an orchard of about 1.5 hectares. Ornamental gardens were constructed around all buildings including residences, and these contained orchards that were maintained by both patients and gardening staff. The most recent era of land use is its conversion into an educational institute. The construction of the Carrington Polytechnic campus began in 1976 at the South end of the site. The buildings that comprised the Hospital remained as a working institution separate from the Polytechnic campus until the progressive purchase by the Education Department during the 1980s. ¹¹ Remnants of each of these eras are still visible on the site,

5 Ewen Cameron, Bruce Hayward and Graeme Murdoch, *A Field Guide to Auckland* (Auckland: Godwit, 1997).

6 Unitec Institute of Technology, *A Building Known as Carrington* (Auckland: Unitec Press, 1994), 2.

7 Lisa Truttman, *Wairaka's Waters: The Auckland Asylum Springs*, Historical, Rosebank Historical Society (Auckland: Lisa Truttman, 2007).

8 Geoff Park, *The Groves of Life = Nga uruora*. (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995).

9 Unitec, *A Building Known as Carrington*, 6.

10 Archive NZ, "DSCF 2847 Archive Sheet for ADZS A1560 1420 Box 5b. Main building, external photographs and aerial photographs including whole hospital, sports grounds, and farm. 1940-1966."

11 Unitec, *A Building Known as Carrington*, 2.

with Wairaka's spring, the pump house, remnant shelter belts and volcanic scoria dry stacked walls, heritage buildings, large amenity trees and large open lawn areas being strong features.

Many of the hospital buildings were remodelled to be teaching rooms and new plantings added, such as avenues of trees around the ring road and gardens in association with new purpose built buildings such as buildings 170, 172 and the sports centre. A garden to commemorate the New Zealand Centennial of Women's Suffrage was opened in 1993 (designed by the Landscape Department), and memorial plantings of trees have been continued nearby for staff members who have died. Auckland City Council required the design of a new wetland to treat increased storm water runoff from building developments in the 1990s, which was designed by Isthmus Group landscape architect David Irwin, and received an award from the New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects. In 2011 Unitec's management adopted a Sustainability Policy and funded several campus related research projects, including monitoring the Wairaka and Oakley creeks, and establishing a Unitec Arboretum, which was the author's project. These projects provide evidence of a revisioning for the campus landscape.

19th century Ideas of Therapy

Jeremy Treadwell asserts that NZ asylums were developed with the idea of a therapeutic, but controlling utopia for patients.¹² Hospital siting privileged elevation, views, and pastoral surroundings. Buildings with grand frontages favoured light and air with large windows and 'airing courts'. The idealized pastoral and treed landscape was also commissioned for exercise and for redemptive and curative rural work. Treadwell quotes Dr Truby King, who wrote from Seacliff asylum in 1891, "...walks in the grounds, or even definite forms of recreation, such as croquet, rounders, dancing etc. bear no comparison with useful outdoor work in influencing the insane in a healthy direction."¹³ As well as the idealized English park landscape of mostly exotic plants around the hospital buildings, the hospital operated both pastoral farming and horticultural activities. The Conservation Plan of 1994 describes that the former Carrington Hospital building 'sits in the remnants of a rural landscape which once dominated and which, tended by its inmates, provide the institution with much of its own needs.'¹⁴ Historical archives include journals of farm and horticultural operations and money spent. Figure 1 shows orchards, grape vines, vegetable gardens to the south of the main hospital block, now Building 1.

¹² Treadwell, "Therapeutic Landscapes."

¹³ Treadwell, "Therapeutic Landscapes," 2.

¹⁴ Jeremy Salmond, *Former Carrington Psychiatric Hospital: A Conservation Plan* (Auckland: Unitec Institute of Technology, 1994).



Fig. 1. Aerial photo from North West - Carrington Hospital 1966.
Archives New Zealand - File Sheet. BBAD 154 Box 3071 b 13/3/6
Hospitals, Reserves and Domains - Oakley Hospital.

A letter from F. B. Thomas on behalf of the hospital Superintendent to the Department of Health in Wellington (1966) documents a range of facts about the land utilisation at Oakley Hospital of the time. Of the total of 210 acres of hospital land, there are 103 acres of farm, stocked with 58 dairy cows, 317 pigs, 181 poultry and 39 sheep. 82 acres of land were occupied by hospital buildings, and 18.5 acres by market gardens and orchard. 156,100 lbs of vegetable were produced that year, which were all consumed in the hospital but milk sales produced profits of between 2-4000 pounds were reported, indicating a significant income stream for the hospital. There were 5 farm staff and 3 gardening staff employed.¹⁵ Treadwell's review of reports from hospital inspectors revealed analysis of "food, hygiene, health, the state of drainage and amusements to the patients" and also "preoccupations with the development of the gardens and farm, access of the patients to scenery and the avoidance of prison like surroundings."¹⁶ The amusements and recreational activities catered for on the hospital grounds, as seen in a range of archival photographs, included a full bowling green (fig. 2), cricket pitch and sports grounds.



Fig. 2. Bowling Green - where a carpark is now located.
Archives NZ - File Sheet. BBAD 154 Box 3071 b 13/3/6
Hospitals, Reserves and Domains:
Oakley Hospital (Wellington, 1930-1966)

The therapeutic value of the view

In order to provide views, asylums were generally placed on elevated sites, and the grounds around the hospital blocks were developed from pastoral to park like landscapes to provide an idealized English park view for patients. Landscape features that enhance viewing opportunities, such as

15 F. B. Thomas, "Auckland: Oakley Hospital," Archives NZ - File Sheet YCAA 1081 Box 18c 3/14 Land and Buildings 1954-1968. Memo, Department of Health, NZ Government (Auckland, 1966), 1-3.

16 Treadwell, "Therapeutic Landscapes," 5.

mounds and hahas can be identified in various New Zealand asylums, and at Unitec, the south-west courtyard of Building 1 still includes a retaining wall which provides elevated space with a view towards the south.

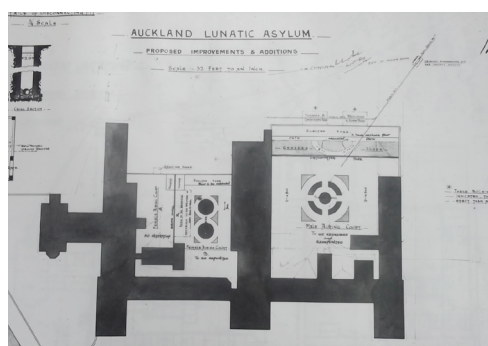


Fig. 3. Airing Courts - proposed improvements & additions
Unitec Facilities Management onsite architectural archives,
"Proposed improvements and additions to Airing Courts,"
Image from MoW portfolio 1374-1 (Unknown date).

The belief in the value of providing spaces for outdoor exposure to sun and air can be clearly seen in (fig 3.) which shows a plan of the 'airing courtyards' on the south side of the Auckland Lunatic Asylum. The 'proposed improvements & additions' to the separate male and female 'courts' are shown to include central formal gardens, shelter sheds and asphalt surface treatment. Today these spaces are still used as outdoor courtyards for eating, socialising, sun bathing, getting fresh air and as entertainment spaces with music for occasions such as orientation and graduation functions.



Figure 52 Carrington Hospital building from the north entrance ca.1895, Auckland Institute and Museum, neg. C21140

Fig. 4. Carrington Hospital building from the original north entrance ca. 1895
(Auckland Museum neg C21140, published in the Conservation Plan)
Salmond, Former Carrington Psychiatric Hospital:
A Conservation Plan - cover.

The original entrance to the hospital is shown below (fig. 4).¹⁷ It is grand and austere, and would have been seen clearly from the intersection of Carrington and Great North Roads. In the 1950s, State Highway 16, known as the Northwest motorway, was cut into Great North Road and a bridge across to Carrington Road built. This changed the access to the hospital significantly with no corner entrance possible. A series of side entrances along Carrington Road were established, and more recently, a cycleway along the north boundary, which links into the wider western motorway cycleway.

¹⁷ Salmond, *Former Carrington Psychiatric Hospital: A Conservation Plan*.

Treadwell highlights the value placed on both gardens and the view for asylum patients:

"In 1875 an asylum Inspector, Mr Hamilton reported to the Colonial Secretary on the asylum at Sunnyside in Christchurch, '...I have only to add, that since then a spacious and well planted garden and shrubbery and a recreation ground have been finished and got into good order. The use of it, or even the lookout over it from the windows and balcony cannot fail to be conducive to the cheerfulness of the female patients.' The architecture here through the window and balcony becomes a mechanism for delivering the therapeutic benefit of the view."¹⁸

Plantings and gardens reinforced the nostalgia for the English park through the layout with groupings of trees in groves as well as shelter belts. English oaks and planes are common exotic species in the campus tree collection, along with trees from many other parts of the world, such as North and South America and Asia, including several rare species. Other 19th century parks in Auckland display a similar range of tree species, such as Monte Cecelia and Western Park.

Unitec Campus Today

How has this idea of nostalgic idealism of a therapeutic utopia of the Whau Asylum translated to the Unitec campus as a tertiary education institute of the 21st century? Contemporary urban ecology and green infrastructure planning models can be used to analyse the role and function of campus in the present day Auckland city. The once isolated utopian hospital site is now understood as a large green open space within wider urban landscape systems. The treed park-like landscape is still a well recognized characteristic of the campus, which is in contrast to the surrounding suburban neighbourhood and very different from the highly built up tertiary campuses in Auckland's CBD which have little green space. Unitec's website demonstrates this: "A green oasis not far from the city. Our Mt Albert campus is a 55-hectare oasis of trees, lawns and gardens - just 10 minutes from Auckland's central business district."¹⁹ The trees on campus still provide the park-like environment intended for the hospital grounds, and more so as they have grown and become more mature, as can be seen by comparing aerial photos from 1966 with those of Google Earth views today.

Parks are an important and varied category of landscape architectural production, celebrating the use of planting and landform and creating open space, distinguishing it from its urban or developed surroundings. Although as landscape typology the park has an ancestry that is many centuries old, public urban parks gained significance during the nineteenth century providing public open space in cities. Frederick Law Olmstead designed public parks like New York's Central Park and Boston's "Emerald Necklace" of connected linear parkways to provide nearby nature for human recreation as well as ecological services such as water management and wildlife habitat etc. This began the

¹⁸ Treadwell, "Therapeutic Landscapes," 6.

¹⁹ Unitec Institute of Technology, *About us - Mt Albert Campus*, ed. John Correll, http://www.unitec.ac.nz/aboutus/campuses-and-maps/mt-albert-campus/mt-albert-campus_home.cfm (accessed 20 January 2014).

transition from the English landscape style park with a focus on aesthetics through to parks with a stronger emphasis on ecological function.

Parks have become understood to be part of the spatial network of open green space and vegetation which makes up the urban forest, with many functions, including pollution and storm water absorption, air cooling, ecological habitat and as access corridors, as well as human psychological and recreation benefits. At Unitec's Mt Albert campus, students, staff and the public use and value the park-like grounds.

The next section analyses the particular values and functions which the campus has in its wider context and proposes retrofitting strategies to transition the campus, by design interventions and management, which draw from urban ecological models, from its 19th century park character towards an enhancement of its urban forest function.

Contemporary urban ecology and green infrastructure planning models suggest that the Unitec campus is a valuable green patch in the matrix of patches and corridors in central west Auckland.²⁰ Oakley Creek, Unitec, Chamberlain golf course, Western Springs Park, MoTaT and Meola Reef form a network of green space with multiple values including ecological, recreational, heritage and transit functions. Theorists have discussed the principle of planning urban open space with reference to natural processes. Ian McHarg, in *Design with Nature*, advocates the use of mapping as a tool for analysis in this regard.²¹ The green network around Unitec can be seen to relate well to the landform and water catchments systems of Oakley and Meola Creeks, as visible on the aerial photo in (fig. 5.)

Contemporary aerial mapping technology such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS), enables landscape architects to analyse the landscape to avoid erasure of the underlying ecological systems. Forest clearance by Maori and early European settlers and subsequent pastoral farming practices removed vegetation for the most part, indiscriminately, without identification of sensitive soils, slopes, or water pattern consideration. Mapping technology now enables new models for farming and subdivision design, such as integrated catchment management and conservation subdivision models.

Colonial views of exploiting the land can be seen to have been replaced by a desire to preserve wilderness and bring nature back to the city, evidenced in the trends to plant native spaces in both gardens and public space, and also to improve ecological function seen in the practice of re-vegetation of areas such as riparian margins, wetlands and steep slopes to promote functions such as animal habitat, air cleansing and water management rather than cultivating comparatively low productivity grass swards. These practices may be conceptualized as society's intent to provide 'therapy' for the landscape, mitigating or healing the damage done in the past, to restore a healthy ecology and water quality, as expressed by Jane Amidon.

20 Johan Colding, "The Role of Ecosystem Services in Contemporary Urban Planning," in *Urban Ecology: Patterns, Processes and Applications*, ed. Jari Niemela (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

21 Ian McHarg, *Design with Nature* (New York: Wiley, 1992).

“There is an increasing tendency to use plant communities as biological and cultural agents of change on the land; no longer mute form in a spatial or graphic composition, plant species are selected as much for their ability to alter aspects of the existing environment – be it contaminated soils, degraded water systems, eroding shorelines, polluted air, or levels of solar radiation – as for their visual and structural characteristics.”²²

Sustainable campus framework

The context and uses of the Unitec campus described above demonstrate potential for design and management of components of both biological and human use. Unitec's Sustainability Policy, adopted in 2011, has provided impetus for the consideration of campus environmental planning and management, and has provided funding for several research projects, including the Unitec Arboretum. An important aspect of the role of trees and plants on campus is their role in water management on site. 19th century park design, with groves of specimen trees and large areas of grass, do not work effectively as storm water infrastructure. Both artesian and storm water flows across campus to end up in Oakley Creek and then the estuary at the north west corner of campus. Plants all across campus play a role in this filtering of sediments and pollutants, but most importantly the plants along Oakley Creek and in the storm water retention ponds and waterways. The storm water retention project, required by Auckland City Council when Unitec applied for consent to build new buildings and car parks in the 1990s, was designed by Isthmus Group Landscape Architects, and plays an important role in removing sediment from car park run off before it flows into Oakley Creek. Progressive phases of re-vegetation of the Wairaka stream have been undertaken annually for Arbor/World Environment Day, as a project under the Sustainability Policy.

The Unitec campus links to 'corridors' along Oakley creek and transport corridors such as paths, roads, motorway and the railway. This Green Network may be seen as part of the Urban Forest of Auckland, which includes all vegetation on public land, reserves, street trees and private gardens. By linking cycle and pedestrian ways through the campus it can contribute to a 'liveable' or 'walkable city' concept. Improvements to safety aspects of campus, particularly in the valley of the Oakley Creek walkway, are also important considerations for enhancing public use.

The Auckland urban area is flanked by two large tracts of native forest, found in the Waitakere and Hunua ranges. Habitat connections for bird and insect fauna could be strengthened between these forests, by planning enhancement of, and increased connectivity between large green open spaces, such as the Unitec campus, its neighbouring parks, and other urban forest components. Development of further tree plantings for the arboretum and riparian planting of Oakley Creek will also contribute to the ecological function and carbon sequestering capacity of the campus. The campus provides a generous recreational facility in the Mt Albert community for walking, cycling, learning to drive, orienteering etc. There are opportunities to interpret and improve access and

²² Jane Amidon, *Radical Landscapes, Reinventing Outdoor Space* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 9.

mapping of these opportunities, particularly in regards to walking and cycling routes. Productive gardens continue to be maintained, providing educational experiences for students rather than therapy, but also allotment gardens for community groups and families.

Unitec has an impressive range of natural and cultural features on campus, which could be better interpreted for its staff, students and wider community. These include the tree collection, storm water retention pond system, Oakley Creek, Maori history and culture in the Wairaka spring and the Unitec Marae, flax and cabbage tree collections, food forest, hortecology sanctuary, and the specialist interest group activities such as apiary club beehives, Project Crimson etc. We pride ourselves on 'real world learning' at Unitec, and yet could make much more use of the campus for teaching purposes. Again interpretation, such as a visitor's guide and interactive map on the Unitec website would be an ideal resource for all current and potential users of the campus grounds. Links with community interest groups using the campus must be continued and strengthened, particularly those which support sustainability goals such as increasing biodiversity, restoration planting, food production and soil management. Sustainable waste management and energy consumption systems on the campus could also be highlighted to the public.

The Unitec campus is located close to a large number of open green spaces, including Chamberlain golf course, Western Springs Park, the Auckland Zoo, sports grounds and the Museum of Transport and Technology (fig. 5). The western edge of the campus is bordered by the Oakley Creek Reserve, which is both a vegetated riparian corridor and public walkway, with access from the campus to Great North Road. The northern edge of the campus links to the North West cycleway associated with the motorway transport corridor.

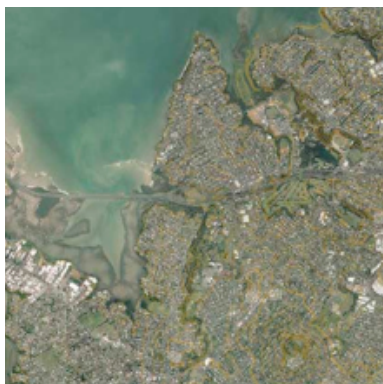


Fig. 5. Satellite image of Unitec campus in its wider Urban Forest context.

Public walkways and cycleways border the campus on east and west boundaries, linking to major arterial and motorway transport corridors, with a new motorway extension tunnel planned for the western boundary under Great North Rd. The western rail corridor is also nearby the eastern boundary with Carrington Rd. Members of the public use the site for fitness and pleasure walking, dog walking, cycling and driving lessons. Interest groups use the site for activities such

as orienteering, bee keeping, community gardening etc. There is also a Friends of Oakley Creek conservation group. These community uses of the campus contribute to the ambience and liveability of Mt Albert as a suburb and Unitec as a campus.

Unitec Arboretum: Project Outcomes

As part of the Bachelor of Landscape Architecture second year studio programme, students were asked to develop design strategies for the Unitec campus. The brief included the design of a new pedestrian and cycle path from the North to South end of campus, and to consider how the campus could operate more effectively in the Urban Forest of Auckland, with particular emphasis on tree plantings to develop the Arboretum. A number of student design concepts have been presented, showing a range of possible design strategies, which Unitec could develop, including developing plantings designed to provide food and habitat for bird species, large orchard plantings, plantings based on historic associations and memory and signature plantings based on the wind conditions in particular parts of campus.

Unitec's role in providing ecosystem services would be further enhanced if areas of 19th century park lawn and specimen trees were redesigned to meet the criteria of an 'ecological patch'.



Fig. 6. Student ecological analysis showing green patch 'potential' for the Unitec Arboretum.

Key considerations for ecological criteria are increasing the size of vegetated 'patch' areas and adding understorey planting to provide cover as habitat for both native and exotic species biodiversity, food and habitat opportunities for birds and insect fauna (see fig. 6). This will also increase functions such as air purification, water shed management and temperature moderation.

These patches also have potential to link to corridors of street trees, residential gardens, nearby open space and parks, transport and extensions of the Oakley Creek waterway.

Unitec Arboretum development

Through Unitec Sustainability funding, the Arboretum project sought to answer the following question: How can the Unitec campus and tree collection be developed into a sustainable

arboretum? An arboretum is a well-tended park displaying a wide range of managed tree species, which are documented, labelled with their botanical names and intended at least partly for scientific study. It may be a stand-alone entity, or part of a botanic garden, which would have an associated library and herbarium of pressed samples.

Potential was identified for the existing tree collection and campus environs to gain an increased community or public profile if developed into an arboretum, through documentation of existing trees, interpretation of the collection through labelling and QR coding 100 top trees, and also extending Unitec's library collection of reference books. A website has also been developed (fig. 7), which includes an interactive map, video clips, a self guided walk guide, and links to the database of tree information and Facebook page, increasing the potential for community knowledge and involvement in the Unitec campus project. Planning for new plantings to extend existing themes is also under way.

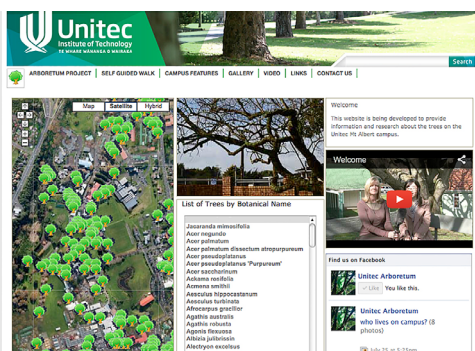


Fig. 7. Unitec Arboretum website homepage
Unitec Arboretum website home page, ed. John Correll,
<http://www.unitec.ac.nz/unitec/trees> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Conclusion

Consideration of current Urban Forest and Urban Ecology models has provided insights into the landscape design processes apparent on the present day Unitec campus. The remaining 19th century park features of the hospital era, such as green open space with mature trees, lawns and gardens remain well regarded by staff and students today, along with the elevation, views and airing courtyard features of the architecture. Productive gardens continue to be maintained, providing educational experiences for students rather than therapy. However the reappraisal criteria and outcomes discussed for the campus provide new contributions and potentials for the wider Auckland urban forest. The therapy offered to patients in the hospital era is perhaps now applied to the landscape, in the re-vegetation and management of waterways, exotic pest control, establishment of a Sustainability Policy and the Unitec Arboretum, along with wider linkage to green networks. The complex relationship between the park and its surroundings and the processes by which the park came into being, has proved valuable for the Unitec campus, where the retrofitting of site elements and plantings show potential to transform the spatial relationships between the

campus and its surroundings, reframing the understanding of the campus as a place of special significance in the community. The redefined Unitec Arboretum will contribute to Unitec's goals for a sustainable campus environment, by enhancing the ecological and social values of the campus and its trees, increasing public participation and identification with the Unitec campus. The therapeutic utopian landscape of the asylum has translated many values to the educational institute, both as an integrated part of a wider urban ecological system and also as an individual site with special heritage character.

Attitudes to the landscape have altered significantly in translation between the 19th and 21st centuries. The campus landscape is now valued not only as a resource to be exploited for the therapy of patients, and an artefact to be viewed for its visual values, but more as a resource itself needing therapy, restoration and nurture, in order to best provide ecological and cultural services. The Unitec Sustainability Policy, and the projects it has funded seek to provide this therapy for the landscape in riparian restoration planting, ecological and water quality monitoring and the establishment of the Unitec Arboretum as part of the wider Urban Forest of Auckland. Compatibility comes in the continued use of productive garden areas for community use and teaching, on-going visual amenity of the park like grounds and has been enhanced by restoration planting, water quality and pest management programmes and an educational website, information and interpretation.

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