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**Maori Stereotypes, Governmental Policies
and Maori Art in Museums Today:
A Case Study of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa**

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A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art Education

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

May 1999

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ABSTRACT

Maori Stereotypes, Governmental Policies and Maori Art in Museums Today: A Case Study of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Rohana Crelinsten

Maori art in New Zealand museums has a long history extending back to the first contacts made between Maori (New Zealand's Native peoples) and Europeans. The Europeans settled in New Zealand with a colonialist attitude, leading to the notion that the Maori people would soon be extinct. This promoted the vigorous collection of various samples of Maori material culture. Museums were then established to store these artefacts. Governmental policies dating back to the turn of the century, gradually influenced the ways in which museums dealt with these Maori holdings.

The current situation in New Zealand, particularly at the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* is largely a reaction to the past. Maori people are demanding that they have more say in the treatment of their taonga (treasures). Slowly, through decades of debate and reworking of policies, new standards are developing for the ways in which New Zealand museums collect and exhibit Maori art. This on-going process is a result of the enhanced sense of empowerment of Maori people in New Zealand today. Art educators in museums and schools can look to museums such as Te Papa Tongarewa for inspiration and guidance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank the individual encouragement and generous support of both my parents as well as the guidance and assistance of Dr. Elizabeth Saccá, my thesis supervisor.

I am enormously indebted to Sue Superville of *Te Papa* for her extraordinary enthusiasm, for all the 'goodies' transmitted, and for *every* question answered.

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INTRODUCTION

PERSONAL HISTORY

In 1982, my parents and I left our sixteen acre farm in the Eastern Townships, just outside of Montreal, Quebec. I was five years old. We were destined for Russell, a tiny town of less than a thousand people near the northern tip of New Zealand, in an area called the Bay of Islands. I attended the local primary school, which consisted of about one hundred children from ages five to eleven. After Standard Four (Grade Six), the local children must leave Russell for Intermediate School and then Secondary School.

About a third of the children in the class were either of Maori¹ or of partial Maori descent. The Headmaster of the school, Mr. Walker was also Maori. The first four years of my schooling were immersed in the Maori world as well as the Pakeha² world. We had Maori language classes and the school rugby team learned the haka (a traditional war chant sung before rugby games in New Zealand). Most of the history taught was focused on events involving Maori people in Russell, or the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, considered by some to be New Zealand's founding document.

Waitangi, is across the bay from Russell, about 20 minutes by ferry. Although not a cause for celebration throughout New Zealand, Waitangi Day certainly was at our school. Weeks of preparation culminated in 'Maori Day'. The children displayed their paintings and murals of Maori designs and mythical creatures which had been taught in class. We also put on a performance of traditional Maori action songs. This was followed by a traditional Maori

¹ Maori are the Native people of New Zealand

² Pakeha means non-Maori

feast, a hangi, which consisted mainly of mutton and kumara (sweet potato) cooked in a covered in-ground pit.

Four years later we moved to Auckland, New Zealand's largest city. The inclusion of Maori material in the curriculum remained the same as in Russell. This was the result of the teachers' enthusiasm that we be well versed in at least the basic elements of Maori culture. The New Zealand anthem which we sang every day, was also to be learned in Maori.

My parents took me to see the *Te Maori* exhibition at the Auckland Museum when I was about nine years old. I remember marvelling at the exquisite pieces of nephrite jade, and to this day I wear a jade hei-tiki (pendant in the form of a human figure) around my neck. I also remember my parents taking me to the Auckland Museum to see, among other things, the Maori performers.

My secondary education was in Hong Kong. The lifestyle was extremely different. As a teenager, I immersed myself in my new life, yet I always considered New Zealand to be 'home'. In 1992, I left Hong Kong, bound for Montreal. I had come full-circle.

It was not until December 1996 that I had the opportunity to return to New Zealand for almost an entire month. Apart from seeing my old friends, and visiting my old schools and houses, I had an intense desire to go and see those Maori performers at the Auckland Museum. While visiting a friend in Taupo, I was taken by boat to see some rock carvings. I was astonished to see an entire stone cliff on the edge of Lake Taupo that had been transformed by students from Auckland University's Fine Arts Department. They had carved a tattooed Maori chief's face in the rock, and all around the base were Maori mythical creatures and gods. It was so powerful. These experiences made me aware of the

vibrancy of today's Maori people.

I then realised that in my four years in Montreal, I had only met one young woman from Kanawake³, and that I had learned next to nothing about the local native communities, their art or culture. It is rare that I find myself with Native people in any situation, be it work, school or play. Different cultures, living side by side, yet completely segregated. There is so much to be gained by each side in an environment of mutual respect and cooperation. I think that one of the best qualities of New Zealand is the fact that the two main cultures acknowledge each other as vital elements which contribute positively to all aspects of society.

At CEGEP⁴ there were no courses offering Canada's history from a Native point of view in the History, Anthropology or the Art departments. If I was to educate myself about these peoples, I would have to do it in my own time. I looked forward to University, as I assumed there would be plenty of courses for me to take on this subject matter. This was certainly not the case.

Maori culture played a significant role in my childhood years. I grew to love the people, their culture and especially their art. The Maori days I had the pleasure to participate in remain as very fond memories of my childhood in Russell. From age five to eleven, I grew up in a bicultural environment where I went to class and played with Maori and Pakeha children.

³ Kanawake is a Native Reserve outside of Montreal, Quebec

⁴ CEGEP is the equivalent to the last two years of High School in Quebec

Since moving to Montreal, I have been very disconcerted with the way in which the people and government of this country continues to treat its Native people, and I see this being reflected in the museums.

I have researched the history and the current situation in Canada, and I find it hard to believe that so little progress has been achieved. My sentiments were reinforced during my 1996 trip to New Zealand. Maori culture in all its forms was flourishing. My childhood experience of growing up in such a fantastic country, along with my inspiring return journey, have led me to this thesis.

Museums, in general provide excellent venues for dialogue between cultures through the display of art and artefacts. The environment is conducive to sharing, to respecting, to understanding. I am delighted to have the opportunity to learn so much about New Zealand which remains very dear to me. I would feel rewarded if my thesis would provoke interest for others working in the same field. Perhaps the people of Canada will learn something from New Zealand, and begin to develop a new found respect for Native peoples in Canada, their art and culture.

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

My research was initially about First Nations here, in Canada. I read of the genocide of Native peoples (the actual extinction of various nations and the policies of assimilation) which took place in North America. I began to gather information about the current situation. I quickly learned that Native artists do not receive fair representation of their art in the Nation's more prominent art museums.

Lee Ann Martin's report, *The politics of inclusion and exclusion: Contemporary Native art and public art museums in Canada* was extremely helpful and insightful in terms of both the history of Native art in Canadian museums as well as the current situation. Her report which was submitted to the Canada Council also led me to a survey which was co-sponsored by the Canadian Museums Association and the Assembly of First Nations. It was called, *Turning the page: Forging new partnerships between museums and First Peoples*. These two reports led me to some articles about governmental policies relating to the inclusion of Native arts in museums, as well as the issue of repatriation. I was also made aware of the effects of stereotypes of Native people and their art on the museum world.

As the scope of this project widened with every article I read, it became necessary to set some boundaries, and considerably narrow its focus. It began to seem redundant to repeat the two projects mentioned above, as they both consisted of surveys of the more prominent museums in Canada, and their policies concerning Native art. I began to look to New Zealand museums to see the way in which they handled the inclusion and/or exclusion of Maori art in their museums. I was pleased to find that although the situation wasn't perfect it was certainly well advanced to that of most Canadian museums.

The words 'biculturalism' and 'partnership' appear to be central to any discussion involving Native art and museums in New Zealand. The *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* is the national museum of New Zealand. It appears to be excelling in its attempt to incorporate these principles in its policies. The museum is quite clear in the fact that it does have quite a ways to go before all parties are satisfied. It does, however, continue to work towards complete biculturalism at all levels of the institution.

The issues which will be discussed in the following chapters are intertwined. It is at times difficult to separate one from the others, all the while avoiding repetition. In the following section, I attempt to clarify the various chapters, as well as to provide an explanation for how they differ from each other and also fit together.

RESEARCH AND ORGANISATION

HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND

I begin with a brief history of New Zealand, as it seems essential to understand the events which preceded the current situation. New Zealand's history as a bicultural nation is not very long. It spans a period of approximately one hundred and fifty years. The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi set the stage for the development of a partnership between Pakeha and Maori in the governance of all aspects of New Zealand. Te Papa Tongarewa now uses the principle of partnership, as initially expressed in the Treaty, as the basis for its work towards biculturalism.

One of the most influential stereotypes in a discussion of Maori art in museums is the notion that Maori people would cease to exist after prolonged contact with Europeans. They would either die out, or would become indistinguishable from other members of society. The fact that Maori are today alive and thriving is a central issue in this thesis. In Maori culture, the past is very important. It is necessary for Maori to acknowledge and continue to look to the past for guidance in the present and the future. For this reason, in each chapter I have attempted to give the historical background to each issue discussed as well as following it up in the present. It is important to remember that Maori did not die out due to colonisation, nor did they remain a static culture. They remember and cherish their past, but continue to evolve.

I became especially aware of this situation when researching contemporary Maori art exhibitions in New Zealand and abroad. It is customary that taonga (treasures), be accompanied by living elders, knowledgeable in the protocols of their care. It is also an important part of exhibitions of taonga and contemporary art, that the living culture be

portrayed. This is most often achieved by live performers and artists being included in the exhibition.

HISTORY OF MUSEUMS

I have included this chapter to give a background to the current situation of museums in New Zealand. It is important to examine the reasons why early museums were established, and the policies which were adopted in terms of Maori art and artefacts. By looking to the past, one is able to see the changes which have taken place, as well as the process necessary for this change.

A history of the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* is also included. The museum has had four different names as well as occupying three different locations. The current building which the museum occupies, as well as the policies which the museum has adopted, are largely a reaction to the past. There is an ongoing effort to change the ways in which Maori art is portrayed and taken care of at Te Papa.

GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

While I was conducting research on the situation regarding Native art in North American museums, I came across two very different policies in the United States and Canada. Repatriation is a very important element of any discussion of Native art in museums, as many nations and iwi (Maori tribes) are working towards having the objects (and human remains) returned to their rightful owners. In the United States laws have been passed which have established protocols for addressing these situations. Museums are now required to inform Native groups of any holdings which may belong to them. However, in Canada, the government has not passed any laws which set firm boundaries, and prefers to

address each situation on a case by case basis.

The differences in these two countries' policies regarding museums holdings of Native art alerted my attention as to the significance of a government's role in the situation. New Zealand has quite a long history of governmental policies in this area. They date back to the turn of the century. The policies have been revised and reworked throughout the past hundred years, most recently in 1992. Action is also being taken by the Maori to have new acts passed into legislation. Should these policies be adopted, the ways in which taonga are handled will again change.

STEREOTYPES

Maori people and art have suffered from many of the same stereotypes as Native peoples in North America. This phenomenon dates back to the first contacts with Europeans and the fictional accounts which they brought back to Europe. The general population did not have any previous knowledge of Native peoples in these far-away lands. Explorers, therefore, had little difficulty convincing the public of the horrific events they had supposedly witnessed.

The most influential medium in creating stereotypes has been the film industry. Literature, painting and photography had considerable impact, but these media did not reach as broad and diverse an audience as films. The imaginations of the directors ran wild. White actors, painted to look like the Native people, portrayed uncivilised, barbaric cultures and societies, as well as fantasy-like utopias. The audiences thrived on these fictional creations.

These films, when shown abroad provided Europeans with their only knowledge of Maori and other Native peoples around the world. The films continued to portray Maori set in a Romantic past, most often referred to as 'Maoriland'. This created an image in which Maori were static and unable to change and adapt to their new surroundings.

This stereotype was imposed not only on the Maori in New Zealand, as the government attempted to 'civilise' them, but on their art. Taonga were seen to embody this past and were therefore collected as specimens which could represent a time which would soon cease to exist. Contemporary artists and people involved with the art world are attempting to change the ways in which people consider Maori people, their art and culture.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

This chapter focuses primarily on the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. This museum is the best example I have found of a museum working in conjunction with its Maori staff and local iwi to improve the way in which Maori art (taonga and contemporary) is addressed in its museum.

It seems logical to present the best example I can find. There are many differing opinions at all levels of the museum, from one extreme to the other. It would be inaccurate to say that there is a consensus on any side, hence, the ongoing discussion, debates, and reworking of policies.

I have presented an overall portrayal of the museum as it stands today, just over one year old. The permanent and temporary exhibitions have been addressed, as well as the policies currently in place, and future plans.

HISTORY OF AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Aotearoa, *The Land of the Long White Cloud*, is the contemporary Maori name for New Zealand. The Maori were the first inhabitants of New Zealand, having migrated from other Polynesian islands approximately 1,000 years ago. The archipelago 'Zeelandia Nova' was named by the Dutch navigator Abel Janszoon Tasman, after a Dutch province in 1642 (Salmond, 1991). Tasman came upon what is now New Zealand while seeking what was theorised to be 'Terra Australis Incognita'.

The most spectacular of Maui's⁵ exploits, the one most spoken of in oratory, songs and proverbs, was his fishing up the land. The North Island is Maui's Fish (Te Ika-a-Maui) and the South Island, according to its inhabitants, is the waka (canoe) from which Maui caught his fish. While the earth itself is Papa, the first mother, it was Maui who created these islands...

...The waka was lifted up then down, it spun round, and his brothers cried out in fear. But Maui would not let go his fish. He recited a powerful chant, and the fish came up. Soon it stretched out upon the surface, the vessel high and dry on its back.

Maui left for their home to make offerings to the gods, telling his brothers to leave the fish until his return. But the greedy brothers began to chop it up at once. It was not yet dead, and it thrashed and writhed into mountains, cliffs and gorges. That is why the lie of the land is now so bad.

And the fish's shape can still be seen. The head is in the south, the mouth being Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara (Wellington Harbour) and one of the eyes Lake Wairarapa. The heart is Lake Taupo - or some say the Urewera Mountains. The fish hook is Cape Kidnappers. The fins are Taranaki and the east coast, and the tail is Northland. (Orbell, 1995).

Maori, according to Williams (1975), means clear, fresh or natural; it also means usual or ordinary, not distinctive. In their encounters from the eighteenth century onwards with voyagers and settlers from the northern hemisphere, the original inhabitants recognised themselves as ordinary, as belonging to a collective group, different from the new arrivals.

⁵ Maui was a half-god, half-human who is portrayed as a trickster in many Maori legends.

To Europeans they began to describe themselves as Maori (Te Awekotuku, 1996).

At the time of the first Polynesian arrival, the islands of Aotearoa had existed in isolation for about eighty million years (Salmond, 1991). Maori prehistory covers a period of less than 1,000 years, from the arrival of the first Polynesian colonists in Aotearoa to the beginning of sustained contact with Europeans in the late eighteenth century. The Maori are closely related in language, culture and tradition to the inhabitants of other islands of Polynesia (the vast triangle stretching from New Zealand to Hawai'i and Easter Island). The exact date of the settlement of New Zealand is unknown.

Although some authorities still prefer the mid or late first millennium AD, the weight of opinion currently favours a date around AD 1000 or 1100, with some arguing for an initial settlement as late as AD 1300. Such a late date, however, demands a large founding population and very rapid population growth to reach the level of settlement evident by about AD 1500. The problem is largely due to difficulties of using radiocarbon dating to obtain a precise chronology during the short time-scale of New Zealand prehistory. (Davidson, 1996, pp. 8 - 9)

The settlement of New Zealand was the result of planned colonization by people prepared to make long voyages in large sailing canoes in search of a new home (Irwin, 1992). The first Maori settled mainly on the warmer, more luxuriant forest-clad North Island and only later made their way to the South Island (*Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, 1995a). By the eighteenth century, the bulk of the population was concentrated in the northern half of the North Island, with extensions down the coasts as far south as Hawkes Bay and Wanganui (Pool, 1991).

The Maori immigrants discovered a land unbelievably rich in game. There was a wide range of flightless birds, which were unused to mammalian predators. Most famous are the moa...[which] provided abundant meat, large eggs, strong bones for artefacts, and probably also feathers for clothing and adornment. (Anderson, 1989, p. 1)

Abel Tasman left a tantalising account of his brief and unhappy contact with Maori in the northern part of the South Island. Far more detailed records were left by English and French visitors in the late eighteenth century: Cook, Surville and Marion de Fresne. Their accounts and those of later visitors provide a rich source of information about some aspects of Maori life at the close of the prehistoric period (Salmond, 1991). It was these visits that shattered Maori isolation from where began the process of interaction which culminated in British colonisation in the nineteenth century.

At the time of James Cook's visit in 1769, the Maori population was an estimated 100,000 to 250,000, divided into about 50 *iwi* (tribes), each occupying separate territories. Today, Maori number about 579,714 (1991 est.), more than 16 percent of New Zealand's total population (3,681,546) (*New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1998).

These early European contacts with the Maori so often resulted in massacres and licentious conduct that a Church of England mission station was established at Russell in the Bay of Islands in 1814 by Samuel Marsden (1764-1838). Missionaries from other Christian denominations followed. Britain finally decided to take possession of the islands. In 1839 a naval captain, William Hobson, was appointed lieutenant governor of New Zealand (*Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, 1995a). Hobson was to draw up a treaty with the Maori, his instructions were from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Normanby.

The Queen...disclaims for herself and for her subjects, every pretension to seize on the Islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as part of the Dominion of Great Britain, unless the free and intelligent consent of the Natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall be first obtained. (Hakiwai, 1996, p. 66)

TREATY OF WAITANGI

On Feb. 6, 1840, at Waitangi, New Zealand, William Hobson and about 50 chiefs of the Maori tribes of New Zealand's North Island signed the *Treaty of Waitangi*, which formed the principal basis for the annexation of New Zealand by the British (*Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, 1995c). The Treaty was drawn up in two versions, one in English and one in Maori. Important differences exist between the two texts due to an inadequate translation of English into Maori (Hakiwai, 1996).

After a day of speeches and discussions by those chiefs who had assembled at Waitangi, Bay of Islands...the Treaty was taken around the country to secure other signatures from leaders in other tribal areas. Although over 500 Maori chiefs signed the Treaty, many Maori leaders never signed it because they either refused to do so or were not given the opportunity. (Hakiwai, 1996, p. 61)

The Maori recognized the sovereignty of the crown in return for full rights as its subjects and reaffirmation of their land ownership (*Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, 1995c).

Crucial to the *Treaty of Waitangi* is the land and its value and importance to both cultures, Maori and Pakeha. "To Maori people the *whenua* or land is a treasure handed down by our ancestors to be held in trust for future generations" (Hakiwai, 1996, p. 62). Britain proclaimed its sovereignty over all of New Zealand on May 22, 1840, on the basis of the treaty with the North Island chiefs and British claims to the discovery of South Island. Many European settlers, thwarted in their attempts to buy the land that they desired, refused to accept the treaty's validity on the grounds that the Maori did not represent an internationally recognized state (*Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, 1995c).

Retention of Maori land in Maori ownership has always been a desire of Maori people. In 1840 when the *Treaty of Waitangi* was signed, Maori owned 66,400,000 acres of land. By 1891 they owned a little over 11,000,000 and in 1975, when the Waitangi Tribunal was set up, only 3,000,000 acres. Today half the land of New Zealand is owned by the Crown or

reserved for public purposes, 47 percent is freehold land under European title, and three per cent is Maori, owned by thousands of Maori shareholders. (Naumann, Harrison & Winiata, 1990, p. 55).

The nineteenth century was a time of upheaval and struggle for Maori people. The missionaries were working hard to set up their mission stations to provide a Christian example to the Maori. The formation of the *Kingitanga* or Maori King Movement in 1857-8 was a Maori attempt to counteract Pakeha demands and to hold on to the prestige of the Maori race. Maori were excluded from the political decision-making process, and setting up their own form of government was a natural response against the colonial system and land sales. This conflict over land ultimately ended in the New Zealand Land Wars of the 1860s (Hakiwai, 1996). "In the interests of the safety of the settlers, no challenge to European power would be tolerated; the Maori had to adopt the culture of the new dominant people -- if this wasn't accepted voluntarily then it must be forced upon them" (Elsmore, 1989, p. 161). Legislation authorised the confiscation of lands from those in 'rebellion' in any district in New Zealand. Throughout the century, Maori discontent continued, as a result of the alienation of Maori land and the inability of Maori tribes to maintain the *mana* (power) over their lands, forests, fisheries and other prized possessions as guaranteed in the *Treaty of Waitangi* (Hakiwai, 1996).

The Waitangi Day celebrations, which are held annually, evoke mixed responses from both Maori and Pakeha, and land marches, land occupations, court battles, and government-tribal negotiations have become the order of the day. Eventually after over a century of political, statutory and judicial debate the government finally set up the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, a court of justice and legal advisory body that makes recommendations to the Crown based on the *Treaty of Waitangi*, to investigate Maori grievances. A law change in 1985 enabled the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate grievances going back to 1840, instead of grievances dating from after 1975 (Hakiwai, 1996, p. 65)

Throughout its 150 year history, the *Treaty of Waitangi* has been subject to numerous and differing considerations of its legal status, relevance, and standing as a living document within New Zealand's national psyche. While the last decade or so has seen a more consistent approach taken to the Treaty (particularly from the government), it would be wrong to suggest that there is yet a consensus as to what the Treaty means to New Zealand at either a local or national level. Despite its continued disregard by some within the country, the Treaty is increasingly looked to as underpinning the relationship between Maori (through iwi) and non-Maori (through the Crown). Seen by others as the founding document of New Zealand's nationhood, the Treaty is recognised by many New Zealanders as the source of the idea that biculturalism should be the fundamental basis for Aotearoa New Zealand society. The Treaty is also seen by many Maori as the starting point for discussions with non-Maori, and particularly government or local authority organisations (O'Regan, 1997). Struggles for land grievances to be addressed, calls for the *Treaty of Waitangi* to be honoured, and initiatives towards Maori self-determination and sovereignty are some of the events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that have shaped, and continue to shape Aotearoa New Zealand (Hakiwai, 1996).

In recent years, Parliament has chosen to refer to the principles of the Treaty in legislation, rather than to its explicit terms. For the purposes of the legal system, these principles are drawn from decisions of the Waitangi Tribunal, the New Zealand Court of Appeal, and the lower courts. The principles of the Treaty, as enunciated by the Waitangi Tribunal and the courts include the following, but continue to be refined and developed:

The Principle of government's right to govern -- this is recognised and acknowledged by iwi;

The principle of tribal rangatiratanga/self-regulation -- that iwi have the right to organise as iwi and, under the law, to control and manage their own resources;

The principle of partnership -- that both Treaty partners will act reasonable and in the utmost good faith;

The principle of active participation in decision-making -- that the Treaty partners will ascertain each others views and be willing to accommodate them;

The principle of active participation -- that the Crown will actively protect Maori in the use and management of their resources;

The principle of redress for past grievances -- that the Crown will take active and positive steps to redress past grievances and will avoid actions which prevent redress. (O'Regan, 1997, pp. 19 - 10)

HISTORY OF MUSEUMS IN NEW ZEALAND

THE ORIGINS OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

Throughout history, aboriginal art, and art considered to be 'primitive', has not been welcome in Fine Arts museums and galleries. Instead these art forms have been relegated to museums of science and natural history. Europeans determined, that the production of 'primitive' art did not change over time. Consequently, no progressive history could be established for such cultures (Podedworny, 1991).

The history of museum acquisition of Maori taonga is a complex one which stretches back prior to the founding of the first museums in New Zealand, and has yet to be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties. In the past, taonga were often acquired in ways which now look distinctly shady, and without having consulted the relevant Maori group. Gradually those practices have been superseded by a strengthening dialogue between the two main parties, museum staff and Maori (Hogan, 1995).

Maori were quick to realise the value of iron for the making of tools and its red properties for colouring cloth. Cook and other early explorers traded these and other items and in so doing, amassed large collections which returned with them to the Old World. As soon as the power of the musket was observed, the entire country was convulsed in an arms race, either to avenge past losses or to defend themselves against attacks which intensified trade even further.

As Government control over the country strengthened, secondary methods of acquisition were more frequently practised. When new settlers spread over the landscape the rate of

accidental discovery of artefacts hidden or lost in lakes, swamps, caves and under ground increased. Amateur collectors actively sought them. Sometimes artefacts were sold to a growing number of tourists who took them back to their own countries. "The dealing trade became quite profitable and a veritable flood of weapons, tools, carvings and pendants sailed away through the middle of last century" (Hogan, 1995, p. 272).

The origin of museums in New Zealand are not unlike those of Canada. In the early 1900s, collections belonged primarily to the wealthy and the scholarly as well as to early literary and scientific societies. The motivations for collecting artifacts were many. In New Zealand's case, as in North America, a principle motivation was to acquire the unique objects from what many Europeans believed was a dying race. They believed that the Maori race would die out as a result of the influence of European colonisation. Thus they were motivated to vigorously collect and photograph this 'noble' race before it met its inevitable fate.

Europe saw its mission in the colonies as a civilizing one. The underdeveloped peoples had to attain a Western level of advancement as quickly as possible.

A typical objective of early anthropological displays was to present artifacts from primitive societies as if they were specimens akin to those of natural history. Following the tradition of the cabinets of curiosities, primitive peoples were considered to be parts of nature like flora and fauna, and therefore their arts and crafts were to be classified and presented according to similarity of form, evolutionary stage of development, or geographical origin. (Hakiwai, 1990, p. 37)

This ambivalent attitude to artistic merit or lack thereof has a history that springs from the Western, or simply the European attitude towards the material culture of non-European peoples. This material culture is exhibited in museums to illustrate rituals, symbolize status and explain traditional agricultural techniques. That these objects are not only illustrations

of something else, but also have intrinsic meaning is seldom made clear to the visitor (Leyten & Damen, 1993).

The anthropological museums gave expression to these modern visions in their own way. Colonial museums in particular were primarily concerned with creating an image of the life and work of the 'natives' and with the salutary task of colonial government. The anthropological museums endorsed the myth that colonialism was justified because it guaranteed the advancement of its subjects. (Leyten & Damen, 1993, p. 19)

The current relationship between Museums and Maori philosophies on the nature of taonga is better than ever. Arguments for maintaining Maori culture instead of merely displaying it have been accepted. From the 1960s the awareness of the emotionally charged nature of the issue of rights to Maori taonga has increased among museum staff. Te Warena Taua, the Assistant Ethnologist at Auckland Museum since 1985, finds the notion of Maori taonga being owned by the New Zealand public ridiculous but admits some other staff members would disagree. He sees the Museum as physical caretaker for the taonga that live there. As individuals, some Maori are not inclined to accept the responsibilities for taonga, and on this basis it could be argued that a museum is the safest place for taonga. Sometimes the facilities for housing a particular taonga are not available, or people give taonga to a museum to stop family fighting about who should be holding it (Hogan, 1995).

HISTORY OF THE *MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA*⁶

Early in New Zealand's history the desire to find minerals such as coal and gold led to the appointment of some of the first scientists to be employed in the country. Until 1876, the country had been divided into provinces, each with its own government. Dr. James Hector, a doctor with interests in geology and botany, was appointed as Director of the Provincial Geological Survey of Otago in 1862 (Dell, 1965).

Hector began to collect rocks, minerals, fossils and natural history materials to illustrate the geology and natural resources of the Province, and took steps to establish a museum. In June 1864 Hector accepted the position of Director of the Geological Survey, an agreement which included the establishment of a National Museum.

The first national museum was a small wooden building, tucked in behind Parliament Buildings in Wellington. The colonial government at the time, called it the Colonial Museum. It first opened its doors in 1865, intending to document the resources of this 'fascinating new land.' The items most favoured for collection mirrored the particular scientific interests of its Director, James Hector (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. b).

The collection included specimens of rocks, minerals and fossils, shells, woods, fish, wool, native implements, weapons, dresses etc. (Dell, 1965).

⁶ This is the full name of the National Museum of New Zealand. 'Te Papa Tongarewa' is loosely translated as 'Our Place'.

It is obvious that from its outset the museum did not confine itself to geology, but acquired zoological and botanical specimens as well as Maori artifacts. In 1868, the large carved Maori house, Te Hau-ki-Turanga, originally built in Poverty Bay, was reerected in the museum. This house provided a setting for the inaugural meeting of the New Zealand Institute (now the Royal Society of New Zealand). Other Maori taonga were collected with the intention of providing a record of New Zealand's indigenous people and their past. As mentioned earlier, this activity was largely driven by the belief that the Maori was a dying race (Dell, 1965 & Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. b).

Due to many structural problems, Hector requested and was granted funding for an addition and improvements. Displays were reorganised and the museum reopened in January 1876 (Dell, 1965).

Considerable discussion regarding the recording of Maori history, art and culture, culminated in the passing of the *Maori Antiquities Act, 1901*. In 1896, Augustus Hamilton published *The Art and Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand* which has become known as Hamilton's *Maori Art*. This aroused much popular interest and established Hamilton's reputation in the field.

In 1903, Hamilton succeeded Hector as Director of the Museum. On appointment, his attention was directed towards the collection of a representative series of specimens of Maori art and workmanship. Hector had envisaged the Museum as covering natural history and the Maori, as well as geology but by his own admission it had developed largely into a geological museum. Hamilton changed the direction towards a museum of natural history and ethnology with additional interests in such topics as coins, tokens, stamps and the fine arts.

At that time, plans for the first public art gallery in Wellington were also gathering momentum. The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts had been operating since the 1880s and, funded through subscription, opened its first gallery in Wellington in 1907.

In 1929, the national government passed legislation that provided for a new National Art Gallery and changed the name of the Colonial Museum to the Dominion Museum. The new building to house these institutions opened in 1936. The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts wished to be included and so agreed to sell its land and donate the proceeds to the new organization with the provision that their collection be accommodated. New Zealand ceased to be a British Dominion in 1947 but it was not until 1972 that an Act of Parliament updated the museum's name to the National Museum (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. b).

A major breakthrough came in 1988 when the Government established a Project Development Board for the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. The team was led by a former New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Wallace Rowling.

His vision was that the museum should reflect the spirit and life of the nation, and that the exhibitions should collect and preserve the images of the past, because New Zealanders should be proud of their history, which forms a foundation both for the present and for the future. The museum should also speak with authority. The information presented must be credible and validated through research. The public must be able to trust what they heard and saw in the exhibits the Museum presented. (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. b)

Sir Wallace was personally involved in extensive consultation with iwi (Maori tribal groups). He also played an integral part in securing funding and unprecedented political support for a new national museum. A new Act was passed in 1992, which combined the National Museum and National Art Gallery to form the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, and provided a mandate for the making of a museum which the people could

be proud of.

Although, much loved, it became clear that the old National Museum no longer served the wider community. This was due to the evolution of new attitudes towards New Zealand's history and identity. There was a great need for a new museum that was more representative of New Zealand's culturally diverse society, and better able to accommodate a broader audience appeal, while communicating a sense of involvement, pride and celebration.

A designer for the building was found by way of an international architecture competition. From the start, the museum was intended to be a 'bicultural' institution in terms of its organizational structure as well as its architecture. In the brief provided for entrants to the competition, the building had to "powerfully express the total culture of New Zealand," and represent the "bicultural nature of the country, recognising the mana and significance of the two mainstreams of tradition and cultural heritage and provide for each to contribute effectively to a statement of the nation's identity" (Bossley, 1998, p. 18). This requirement alone pointed to the need to cast a wide net in the search for a design, and thus provide all architects with an opportunity to respond to the challenge (Hunt, 1998). The objective was not to purchase a design, but to select an architect who could demonstrate the creative ability to turn the vision of national identity into reality. The successful company was JASMAX of Auckland.

The design was careful to avoid the use of culturally significant forms, borrowed from either Maori or European heritages, as a strategy for depicting national identity. It looked at identity as a far more subtle and complex issue, needing to be evoked in diverse ways by the architecture of the museum. Several interrelated conceptual ideas distinguished the

original JASMAX scheme as unique amongst all of the submissions.

The architecture of the museum...would favour a threefold framework -- a framework encompassing Tangata Whenua (those belonging to the land by right of discovery), Tangata Tiriti (those belonging to the land by right of treaty) and Papatuanuku (the common land). (Hunt, 1998, p. 16)

The old museum finally closed its doors in April 1996 -- a new beginning for the national museum of New Zealand. On 14 February 1998 the world will be welcomed to *Te Papa -- Our Place*. (Museums of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d., p. 3)

STEREOTYPES

MAORI PEOPLE AND CULTURE AT THE TIME OF EARLY EUROPEAN CONTACT

Stereotypes of Maori people have a fairly long history, beginning, of course, with the arrival of the first Europeans to New Zealand, and the ethnographic accounts which they, in turn, brought back to people living in Europe at the time. The two places (New Zealand and Europe), were as far apart as one could physically get and still be on the same planet. The common folk in seventeenth-century Europe speculated about 'antipodes' or 'opposite-footers', people who lived on the opposite side of the globe and exhibited bizarre, anti-human qualities -- barking like dogs, wearing skins and walking upside down on the world (Andaya, 1988).

The lure that brought James Cook's expedition to New Zealand in 1769 was that same fantastic continent which Abel Tasman had sought: Terra Australis Incognita. Since 1642 Europeans had been preoccupied with their own endemic struggles elsewhere, but now and then Terra Australis featured in some plan for southern exploration, fostered by thoughts of gold and silver, rich trade opportunities and wondrous natural discoveries (Salmond, 1991).

When the Dutch first found New Zealand in 1642, Maori people already had a well developed culture. They lived and abided by certain beliefs and rituals.

Maori society was highly ritualised, although the rituals occurred within flexible parameters -- they presented a form of theatre, invited and ensured the presence of the deceased and the relevant deities, and protected the welfare of the community, guarding against the profane or hostile...Rituals of encounter, dialogue and farewell were also important, and continue to be enacted even in the 1990s, though with minor adaptations. The basic structure has remained: the keening chant of women, addressing the deceased, identifying the living; the exchange of poetic orations, usually between learned men; and the resolution of the dialogue by music and

chant. (Te Awekotuku, 1996, p. 29)

Whakapapa (genealogy) was the central principle that ordered the universe. The Kinship was elaborated in magnificent accounts of the mating and separation of the Earth Mother and Sky Father, when the world and its creatures were formed (Salmond, 1991). From the child of Papatuanuku and Ranganui came many offspring -- the various inhabitants of earth, sky and water; the first humans, and the rare half-human demigods of whom Maui the Trickster has been the most acclaimed (Te Awekotuku, 1996).

The world was thus populated by humans, who ventured across the vast ocean to explore and enjoy the many islands. They wished to explain for themselves and their descendants the realities of the world itself. Understanding the deities... also involved the understanding of the godliness in one's human self, and the need to balance and engage the spiritual realm with the physical, or human, is demonstrated by the significance of two pivotal elements -- tapu and mana. (Te Awekotuku, 1996, p. 26)

Through tapu and mana, a humble human may relate to the divine and to the ancestors and spirits. There are many meanings and conditions associated with tapu. First and foremost, tapu is the power and influence of the gods. The land has tapu as do the oceans, rivers and forests, and all living things that are upon the earth. Sacred items may be regarded as tapu, and at the same time, menstruating women may also be regarded as tapu. "Personal ornaments -- hair combs, earrings, and pendants -- were tapu, and especially if they adorned an aristocrat, for they carried his or her vital essence, and if handled inappropriately or malevolently, could cause considerable harm" (Te Awekotuku, 1996, p. 27).

Mana, like tapu, is a pan-Pacific concept. It has layers and levels of meaning: primarily, it is about power and empowerment, about authority and the right to authorise. Charisma, personal force, social status, princely charm, leadership inherited or achieved are all forms

of mana; it is a subjective human quality, measured by various means.

Just as taonga are rich with the tapu of their former owners or makers, they may also carry their mana. Management of the potent energies of mana and tapu required people trained in a specialized system of knowledge, skilled in the complexities of ritual and the protocols of mediating between the realms of spirit and humankind. Such training occurred in the whare wananga, the college of priests or higher school of learning, attended by carefully selected young people. They emerged as tohunga – priestly experts, shamans or specialists (Barlow, 1991 & Te Awekotuku, 1996).

The practice of tattooing (ta moko) came to New Zealand as part of the cultural template from Eastern Polynesia. Tattoos were created by piercing the skin with bone chiselles that have a serrated edge to hold and apply pigment. Because of the high risk of infection and disfigurement, tattooing was a profoundly tapu procedure.

Moko sites and design, as well as extent, varied between men and women, though in both sexes it marked rites of passage and significant events in one's life, besides being a premier fashion statement. Men were tattooed between the waist and knees. The full face moko was much more exacting and time-consuming, as a competent and experienced tattoo specialist considered the subject's bone structure, unique features and even such 'flawed' attributes as squinting and deep-set eyes, a low forehead or a broken nose.

Women generally had much less moko visible. It occurred on the upper lip and chin, with deep colouring of the lips and the nostrils also finely incised. Another favourite spot was between the eyebrows, on the central forehead (Te Awekotuku, 1996).

EUROPEAN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

Literature became the first mode of White representation of Native peoples. The fictional accounts that were related were taken to be truthful, accurate, nonfictional works which were read by Europeans living abroad. These works led to the beginning of a long history of stereotypes as they became the only knowledge Europeans had of Maori people.

Seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europeans drew upon their own traditions to describe exotic groups, and two main strands can be traced in their accounts of non-literate societies. One was the image of the bestial savage, sometimes gigantic and physically monstrous as well as brutally cruel. The other was the 'savage' as an innocent, happy child of Nature, free of the corruptions of 'civilised' society, "the Utopian inheritor of the biblical Garden of Eden" (Salmond, 1991, p. 95).

The Dutch descriptions of their visitors, in both text and illustration, contain some curious features. The Dutch sailors were used to bloodshed and fighting and had often been the aggressors against islanders. When abstracts of Tasman's journal were published in Europe, Maori were described as a bloodthirsty people (Salmond, 1991). Henrik Haelbos (1671) wrote, "The people were rough, uncivilised, strong, full of verve..." (translation: Andaya, 1988, p. 4). Other accounts seemed to tantalise the minds of the 'opposite-footers',

When the sun rises for us, then for them it sets; when it sets for us, then it rises for them. Our noon is their midnight, and our summer is their winter, and so everything goes in opposites, and the ancient scholars have discussed this in amazement and at some length. Perhaps this newly discovered New Zealand is equivalent to our [Netherlands] 'opposite-footers'. (Van Nierop, 1674, translation: Andaya, 1988, p. 1)

The contacts were brief and tenuous, and all attempts at communication failed. Each side had its ways of handling meetings between strangers. Maori tried both ritual challenges and shouted messages, while the Dutch responded with trumpet calls, cannon shots, and words from a Tongan vocabulary. In the end, the Dutch were sent away, “repelled by a maritime ambush in Taitapu and a barrage of rocks in the Three Kings” (Salmond, 1991, p. 84).

The Earl of Morton who was president of the Royal Society , had written a series of 'Hints', which among other things advised the explorer, Captain James Cook how to handle their meetings with local peoples, how to carry out the observations of the transit, how to recognise any continent that might be discovered and describe its inhabitants, how to examine metals and precious stones, and how to label plants collected during the voyage.

To exercise the utmost patience and forbearance with respect to the Natives of the several lands where the ships may touch.

To check the petulance of the Sailors, and restrain the wanton use of Fire Arms. To have it still in view that the shedding of blood of those people is a crime of the highest nature:- They are human creatures, the work of the same omnipotent Author, equally under his care with the utmost polished European; perhaps being less offensive, more entitled to his favor.

They are natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit.

No European Nation has the right to occupy any part of their country, or settle among them without their voluntary consent. Conquest over such people can give no just title; because they could never be the Agressors...

...The natural Dispositions of the people: Their progress in Arts or Science, Especially their Mechanics, Tools, and manner of using them; Their notions of Astronomy &c are principal objects of attention.

Or if they have any method of communicating their thoughts at a distance...

...Next the character of their
Persons
Features
Complexion
Dress
Habitations
Food
Weapons

Then may be considered, their

*Their tokens for
Commerce and if
they have any currency
that passes among them
in lieu of money, to
bring home several
Specimens from the
highest to the lowest
denomination

Religion
Morals
Order
Government
Distinctions of Power
Police
*

...the Natural productions of the Country, in the

Animal
Vegetable and
Mineral Systems.

Their powers in Medicine, whether Salutory or noxious, -- The other uses to which they are put by the Natives.

Lastly, to form a Vocabulary of the names given by the Natives to the several things and places which come under the Inspection of the Gentlemen. (Beaglehole, 1968, pp. 516 - 517, 519)

The Endeavour's⁷ visit involved a six-month circumnavigation of the New Zealand coastline where the vessel anchored in one harbour after another, meeting local people at sea and on shore, visiting their settlement and welcoming Maori visitors on board (Salmond, 1991).

Both Bank's⁸ and Cook's descriptions of Maori life were noticeably sparse in those areas where conversation and contact were necessary for good description, especially topics such as religion, healing, the roles of priests, and social relationships in general. Their accounts of the visible, material aspects of life, on the other hand, were meticulous, detailed and supplemented by the marvellous sketches and drawings by Parkinson and Spring (Salmond, 1991).

⁷ The Endeavour was Captain James Cook's ship

⁸ Crew member on the Endeavour

The men are the size of the larger Europeans, Stout, Clean Limnd and active, fleshy but never fat as the lazy inhabitants of the South Sea Isles are, vigorous, nimble and at the same time Clever in all their exercizes....[The men were] a very dark brown Colour with black hair, thin black beards and white teeth...[The women were] rather smaller than European women, but have a peculiar softness of Voice which never fails to distinguish them from the men tho both are dressd exactly alike. They are like those of the fair sex that I have seen in other countries, more lively, airy and laughter-loving than the men and have more volatile spirits, formd by nature to soften the Cares of more serious man who takes upon him the laborious toilsome part as War, tilling the Ground &c. (Beaglehole, 1962, p. 11)

This was a far cry from the miserable toil-worn drudges depicted by some other early European writers (Salmond, 1991).

Cannibalism is one of the main stereotypes about Maori people which has evolved and lasted until today. Citing Banks and Cook, Salmond writes,

The local people were questioned about cannibalism, as they had already heard about the practice...they answered in the affirmative saying that they eat the bodies only of those of their enemies who were killed in war. (1991, p. 176)

However, Pickersgill wrote:

We saw one of the Bodys and two arms with flesh upon them which we saw eat this is the first Proof Possitive we have had of the Inhabitants being CANIBALS and I believe these are the only People who kill their fellow creatures Purely for the meat which we are well Assured they do by their laying in wait one for another as a sportsman would for his game and they carry this detestable crime so far as to glory in carrieing in their ears the Thumb of those unhappy sufferrs who fell in their way. (Pickersgill, 1769, p. 60a)

ART FORMS

Painters and photographers seem to have been more content depicting a more positive image of Maori people. Painters, such as Godfried Lindauer depicted several chiefs of various tribes, including some that signed the *Treaty of Waitangi*.

A major part of the interest in portraying Maori people was due to the notion of the 'Vanishing Race.' People felt that Maori people were eventually going to disappear from the earth, they would either cease to exist or would not be distinguishable from other New Zealanders. Artists felt it was both necessary and their duty to record the people and their way of life while they still could. The titles of Charles Goldie's paintings illustrate this belief, which still existed in the 1920s: *The Passing of the Maori*, *The Last of Her Tribe*, *One of the Old School*, and *A Noble Relic of a Noble Race* (Blythe, 1994, p. 59).

The word 'Maoriland' was widely used to describe the romantic, sentimental, and nostalgic way in which New Zealand and Maori people were portrayed in literature, paintings, photographs and films.

From a historian's point of view, "Maoriland" was a sentimental and romantic cliché of the British imperial age, that first came into vogue in the 1880s. Though it never had an agreed upon definition, it was mainly an exotic and utopian synonym for New Zealand. It appeared in the titles of innumerable books of poetry, short stories, and periodicals of the time. Most of all, Maoriland was useful in the promotion of travel and tourism - on postcards, in photography and painting - and those always featured romantic landscapes populated by exotic natives. (Blythe, 1994, p. 16)

In these films and books, characters consisted almost exclusively of Maori Noble Savages, both fictional (beautiful maidens, princely warriors, and powerful demi-gods) and nonfictional (idealized warriors of the 'Maori Wars') (Blythe, 1994).

The majority of stereotypes which continue to exist in today's society are the results of films depicting Maori people. Between 1840 when New Zealand was annexed, and 1931 when it attained full national status via the Statute of Westminster, the Empire was clearly the dominant state of mind (Blythe, 1994).

During the 1920s, there was an unprecedented shakeup in leisure entertainment activities as theatres opened all over New Zealand. Hollywood Studios gained economic control through the practice of block-booking and by providing a reliable supply of films. New Zealand's 'official culture' was worried about harmful effects of American films, as they were cheap and trashy which led to new measures being introduced in 1928. This resulted in preferential treatment for British films through quota requirements and a preferential film-hire tax (Blythe, 1994).

Maoriland was much affected by Hollywood -- initially in rural and small-town New Zealand and later in the urban areas. It produced those young Maori who came to town on Friday nights dressed like their Hollywood film heroes, challenging the prevailing British codes of behaviour (let alone traditional Maori codes). In the Eighties they dressed as street-smart hybrids of Rasta. Back in the Twenties and Thirties, they dressed as cowboys and there was much agonizing over whether Maori parental control was inadequate, whether Maori sexual attitudes were just plain different, and whether films were liable to encourage Maori youth into criminal behaviour. (Blythe, 1994, p. 19)

The official culture of New Zealand therefore aimed to tame these Maori within the sentimental images of Maoriland.(Blythe, 1994).

The most striking feature of American, British and French films shot in New Zealand between 1910 and 1930 is that they are all set in Maoriland. For some reason the Maori seemed to inspire a large number of timeless romances. This is immediately obvious in the films' titles: *The Romance of Hine-Moa*, *Under the Southern Cross* and *Hei Tiki*. Within the timeless eternal live various Maori Nobel Savages, Romeos and their Juliets, wise

chiefs, and heroic warriors, all quite unlike their European counterparts in that they are not subject to the ravages of time, history, or society (Blythe, 1994)

In *Hei Tiki*, Alexander Markey begins his film with an on-camera introduction using particularly representative speech in that it encapsulates most familiar images and stereotypes of Maoriland:

It was my privilege to live four thrilling years among the most extraordinary natives on earth on the North Island of New Zealand, where...this record of an ancient people was created...I found the Maoris fascinating, their Isle of Ghosts enchanting, their friendships exhilarating, and I'm keen to share with you the pleasure of my experience with them. Forget your cares and problems for a brief interlude and join me on a voyage to the Isle of Ghosts. You will feast your eyes upon a sight no living white man has seen before. (Markey, 1935)

Markey goes on to describe how this film is inhabited not by actors, make up, or painted scenery, but by "the remnants of a vanishing race of native noblemen and women -- the Stalwart people of Maoriland" (Blythe, 1994, p. 21).

In 1927, the following comment was made, referring to the film *The Romance of Hine-Moa*: "For the first time, a film has been acted entirely by Maoris, who in less than a century have emerged from savagery and barbarity to a high state of civilisation," (Blythe, 1994, p. 27).

Easily the most popular story in New Zealand films and novels, even into the 1980s, features romantic liaisons between Maori and Pakeha. Curiously, they have almost always ended unhappily. "Allegorically, most of them are historical romances that work out the national dilemma: how can Maori and Pakeha be brought together in the shadow of the wars that followed the Waitangi Treaty" (Blythe, 1994, p. 34).

The main period of racial conflict was over by the late nineteenth century, and the transfer of exotic trophies, totems, and legends from Maori custody to newly established Pakeha museums, private collections, and literary anthologies. Not only did these trophies provide excellent devices for attracting tourists (and ethnographers) to New Zealand, they also provided a reservoir of images on which to build the burgeoning post card industry and early tourism films. The Maori were, from the beginning, a key part of that package, and at the turn of the century, Thomas Cook Tours were advertising them in the following way: "The Maoris, whose presence, together with their strange habits, customs, and legendary lore, adds greatly to the interest of a visit to New Zealand...they are undoubtedly a splendid race, although, unfortunately, the type met with along some of the well-worn tourist routes presents anything but a fair representation" (Blythe, 1994, p. 50).

As the transfer of Maori land and taonga continued in a seeming exchange for 'progress', Europeans found it necessary to preserve tokens of Maoriland before 'it' became extinct. Maoriland developed into a tourist attraction, being displayed as model villages, in thermal areas, on river boat tours, and in museums. Contrary to the prevalent illusion, communities of Maori and mixed Maori/Pakeha were all over New Zealand and were not dying out by any means (Blythe, 1994).

In 1954, *Dances of the South Pacific* featured the dances of New Zealand Maori, Tonga, Fiji, Samoa and Tahiti. The film lumps all Pacific people together, and strangely enough, uses books, maps and memoirs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to open and close the film and link various sequences together. The narration reproduces the 'Noble Savage mythology' it finds in the memoirs. An example is the fear of the lurking dark side: "[the Fijians] can still look as frightening in full regalia...as did their forbearers who were notorious cannibals" (Blythe, 1994, p. 109). The film conveys "South Pacific culture" as

something that exists only on ceremonial occasions and for the pleasure of outside observers, tourists.

In Robert Steele's *Songs and Dances of Maoriland* (1959), times have changed and the Maori have accepted their new surroundings and new beliefs. Their original chants have been superseded by songs with European and American tunes. "But their natural sense of harmony is still heard...[and] the natural dignity of the people is reflected in their art, which is both utilitarian and decorative. The old tools are discarded now, but the ancient designs remain as they have always been..." (Blythe, 1994, p. 110).

The classic film of the genre is *Maori Arts and Culture No. 1: Carving and Decoration* (1962), written and directed by Ronald Bowie at the New Zealand National Film Unit. It is a much more complex film which takes as its central problem the fact that "the native arts have languished, almost disappeared." It opens with the loss of Maoriland: a lush orchestrated score, followed by a harp, and expressionistic orange/red light bathing Maori 'art objects' in the Dominion Museum (now Te Papa Tongarewa). This gives the impression that the objects are not simply decontextualised, but dead. The narration then states that "these early people had an inborn sensitivity to match the style of decoration to the everyday articles they ornamented." It seems that when those early people died out, they took their inborn sensitivity along with them and only the everyday articles now remain.

It's in and around...community halls that are found most of the art forms which have survived from the vast rich field of Maori culture, for here they are still functional...the spirits of the ancestors and gods have departed, and with them the skills of those ancient carvers. But a new art form is emerging, less artistic perhaps, but with a clear social purpose. And as the younger people feel the lift of fresh inspiration, New Zealand Maori art may once again achieve greatness. (Blythe, 1994, p. 112).

It is simply a sign of the times that the director of this otherwise well intentioned film did not bother to get a Maori perspective on its subject. Cultural difference is denied, historical identity affirmed, and Maori art and culture placed within the same aesthetic as the greatest works of European art and culture. One is left with yet another version of 'the Fall', but redeemed by the promise of the future resurrection and salvation of Maori art.

There is an imperative within the institution of Western art aesthetics – museums, art galleries, films – that art objects be represented in the most visually stunning terms possible. Films, like museums, use an expressionistic lighting (and camera style) to construct a technologically enhanced mystique around art objects now that their original meanings do indeed seem dead. At best it is a mystique designed to resuscitate the presence and threat of 'violence' and 'savagery' discovered there by earlier commentators on the Maori. At worst, films (like museums) sanitise those features of cultural difference which might revitalize its own values. Consequently, the history of how the art objects happened to become 'art objects' in the first place is repressed. As the years pass and the exotic passes into the merely familiar, it becomes necessary to conceal the fact that the art objects are dead through the process of museumification. Such a dreadful fate is hardly conducive to a national cinema of progress, which is why films conceal this fate with technology and scientific theory, in the process 'saving' the art objects. For good reason, Maori people are calling for the return of their taonga (Blythe, 1994).

Te Maori: A Celebration of the People and their Art (1985) was produced by the National Film Unit and Thomas Horton Associates to capitalize on the *Te Maori* exhibition of 1984 - 1987.

Young Maori living in large cities must adapt to a dominant European culture. For many, never having learnt their Maori language, history or tribal values, they live somewhere between two cultures, neither white European nor secure in the odyssey of their own people. (NFU/T. Horton Associates, 1985)

The 1970s and 1980s saw a revival of Maori culture. Maori began questioning their role in society as Maori film-makers 'celebrated' their culture and attempted to counteract stereotypes. A centrifugal expansion of Maori identity and the mythology of Aotearoa began to take place. It was no longer politically acceptable to use a totalizing term like 'Maori' without also being duly attentive to iwi affiliations. The museum was no longer the internal confinement of exotic images of past New Zealand culture and history, nor was the art gallery the return home from the world of living taonga. New Zealand itself has become the museum, the art gallery, the nostalgia for a disappearing difference between Maori and Pakeha (Blythe, 1994).

In the New Zealand film *Utu* (1983), set during the 1860s, some of the early sequences show Maori warriors shooting up the crockery, heaving a grand piano off a second story balcony, chopping off the head of the local Minister of the Church and generally offending British sensibilities. Local reviewers reacted by criticizing what they took to be the negative stereotyping of Maori people.

"MAORI ART AS ART"

Traditional art history has proven most detrimental to the study of 'Maori art as art.' Ethnocentrism has also played a large role. By the early 1900s, Europeans writing about world art, including cultural sociologists, functional anthropologists, as well as art critics and historians, applied Western art criteria in their attempt to 'decipher' this 'primitive' art. In doing so, they established and at the same time decimated that understanding of non-western art as something primitive and static. This led to its marginalization outside the rubric of 'fine art.' Perceived through anthropological methodologies, the material cultures of various non-western groups were interpreted in terms of their sociocultural relevance. Objects, whether subtitled "art" or otherwise, were deemed utilitarian while their maker was labelled a craftsperson. Even more detrimental to the study of Maori art is that it has been considered anonymous and timeless. The art was thought to have been produced as a reflection of community and cultural tradition rather than an individual expressive response (Podeworny, 1991).

Traditionally, because Maori art was not considered to be Fine Art, it found its home in museums of natural history and science. The ethnographic museum gallery was born in the 19th century when at the heart of 'Maoriness,' was the belief that Maori cultures were technologically and intellectually inferior and incapable of surviving in competition with European New Zealand society. "This rhetoric of salvage, the ability to determine what deserves to be kept, remembered, and treasured is the product of an ideology of conquest" (McLoughlin, n.d.).

Once it could be said that the Maori were divided (among themselves) and conquered (by the British). But Pakeha now find that the Maori are looking to return the favour and to find their own place in the sun. (Blythe, 1994, p. 279)

GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

Museum collection policies differ, yet have in common one factor — *caveat emptor*. If a museum acquires an artefact; be it as a gift, purchase, bequest or deposit, which the donor did not have legal title to, it may lose the object. Similarly if the conditions of acquisition by any of these methods are not fulfilled, or the details of the transaction are not properly recorded, the item may be reclaimed later (Eutick & Cordato, 1983). Generally, Maori people, and many other non-Western groups, do not regard their taonga as things which can be owned by one or two people but as belonging to the group, an association which is strengthened by the passing of generations. The problem is then, that 'property' which European law and usage regarded as alienated from Maori owners, is now regarded by Maoris as remaining rightfully theirs (Hogan, 1995).

The Colonial Museum first opened in 1865. To begin with, the emphasis fell on the natural sciences rather than on ethnology. The museum's director, Sir James Hector, had little interest in Maori ethnology, and it remained for Augustus Hamilton to make up for lost time when he was appointed Director in 1903 (Dell, 1965).

The 1901 *Maori Antiquities Act* was to apply to "...articles manufactured with ancient Maori tools according to Maori methods," but excluded private collections not intended for sale. Under the act no antiquity could leave the country without first being offered for sale to an authorised representative of the Governor. Trying to export an antiquity without permission allowed the Crown to seize the article, but the action could be reversed. Seemingly they had trouble policing this as in 1904 an *Amendment Act* was passed, instituting twenty-four hours notice of export to Customs and a penalty of up to one hundred pounds for successfully smuggling something out. Private collections were now

included in the act (Hogan, 1995).

The 1908 Act was simply a consolidation of the preceding acts. The problems were taken in stride until 1962 when legislation changed quite dramatically. The *Historic Articles Act* was applied to almost anything made by Maori or other Polynesians before 1902, along with any written material of national importance which was over ninety years old, as well as certain specimens of native animals, plants and minerals. The Minister of Internal Affairs was entitled to advertise any article submitted for export approval in the Gazette, to see if anyone within the country was willing to buy. If the owner did not accept any of the offers made, the Minister was still able to refuse permission. Notifying the public of an article's availability at least gave any group who wanted their taonga back a chance to purchase it, assuming they could raise the money. If the price was too high, stating the case to the Minister might have influenced his decision (Hogan, 1995).

The 1975 *Antiquities Act* is the most recent, and the first to completely ban the export of antiquities. A provision states that the Secretary of Internal Affairs may advertise a particular type of artefact as no longer coming under the Act. The Secretary now had to consider, along with historic, scientific and archaeological importance, the 'spiritual and emotional associations' of the artefact for any group within New Zealand society (section 6). The Act also controls the movement of antiquities within the country. A dealer must inform an authorised public museum of every artefact which passes through his or her possession, and the museum in turn must provide a certificate of examination and a registration number for each article. The dealer is required to forward details of the artefact, such as its previous owner and new owner, its registration number, and a description, to the nationwide register at Te Papa Tongarewa (Hogan, 1995).

The 1993 *Historic Places Act* imposes penalties of up to \$40,000 for damaging any site under jurisdiction although the minute an artefact comes out of the ground, it falls under the *Antiquities Act* (Hogan, 1995).

The acts establishing New Zealand's four largest museums and the *Antiquities Act 1975* are the only acts of parliament that relate directly to collections of taonga Maori or instruct any museums in their relationship with iwi. This chapter reviews acts and relevant government department discussion papers that contribute to museums' operating environment. The acts of Parliament that established New Zealand's national and principal regional museums have all been readdressed by Parliament since 1992. The present acts include the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992* which gives recognition to and provides for iwi input to some degree (O'Regan, 1997).

The *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* has no legislative requirement for Maori representation on its trust board of six to eight members. The members are selected by the Minister of Cultural Affairs who advises the Governor-General. It is possible that the Museum could have a totally Maori or non-Maori trust board. The Act directs that trustees should be selected on management and academic ability, and does not give regard to 'cultural competence'. The museum trust boards retain overall responsibility for the policy, direction of development and general apportioning of funding to various sectors of the museum's interests. The number of trustees formally appointed by iwi is likely to be considered by some Maori communities as only a token inclusion in the decision-making at a governance level. One of the main reasons for this is that for most of the regional museums, trustees are appointed by iwi of that region. However, as Te Papa is considered to be a 'national' museum, there are no pan-New Zealand iwi with the nationwide mandate to nominate trustees.

Te Papa has legislative scope to establish committees of iwi representatives to advise on and/or manage affairs of concern to Maori. Te Papa has established Nga Kaiwawao, a Maori advisory committee, whose members are selected by the museum itself.

The 1992 Act requires the Museum to recognise the aims, aspirations and employment requirements of the Maori People. The need for substantial involvement of Maori people as employees of the Board is recognised. Given that this is the only passage in the Act that gives any specific regard to Maori input, it is implied that the principal means of securing iwi involvement in the organisation is through the employment of Maori staff. The Act also requires the Museum to take affirmative action securing and sustaining adequate Maori staffing input. It is required to eliminate barriers that 'cause or perpetuate...inequality in respect of the employment of any persons or group of persons' (O'Regan, 1997, p. 15).

Te Papa is a Crown-owned and -operated organisation, but as there is no mention of the Treaty in its founding Act, it has no direct obligations.

The term 'taonga' today is generally translated as 'treasure'. It has been adopted by numerous museums to describe themselves in Maori. The terms 'whare taonga' (treasure house), and more recently 'whare pupuri taonga' (house holding treasure) have been widely employed as the standard Maori term for museums. 'Taonga' has been incorporated into the names of several museums and related organisations, not least of which are the *Museums Association of Aotearoa New Zealand Te Ropu Hanga Kaupapa Taonga* and *Taonga o Aotearoa National Services of the Museums of New Zealand*. The term has been widely employed to collections specifically of Maori origin, in some cases to museum collections generally, but not so much to contemporary Maori art. It is debatable whether the term 'taonga' was intended by the scribes of the Treaty to include antiquities of Maori

origin, or have future relevance to museums. However, adoption by museum establishments of the term 'taonga' to describe themselves and their holdings has been open and unforced, and done during a time when the meaning of the term's use in the *Treaty of Waitangi* has been more clearly recognised. The museums of New Zealand have in effect written themselves into moral, if not legal, obligations under Article II of the Treaty. The significance of either version of the Treaty to this discussion is that iwi's exclusive ownership of their taonga is protected to them for as long as they wish to hold it. They could, therefore, claim such ownership before the Waitangi Tribunal. Any taonga that have been recovered from the ground could be included. Exclusive ownership of taonga, unless explicitly forsaken, could be claimed by iwi. This is supported by the principle that the transfer of land does not include the transfer of 'riches' beneath the surface, such as applies to minerals. It is further supported by the Crown's claim, under the *Antiquities Act 1975*, to the ownership of antiquities regardless of the ownership status of the land from which they derive.

Most of the interest museum organisations have shown in the Treaty reflect the *principle of partnership* (see History of New Zealand). This is seen as working towards meeting mutual interests. The principle of active participation is reflected in the way that museums are looking to secure formal iwi involvement in the committees or boards that direct the museums. The principle of tribal rangatiratanga/self-regulation, is not, however, so well reflected. If taonga Maori are in any way considered 'iwi resources', this principle may be seen to imply the transfer of authority over taonga from museums to iwi. It may also imply within some larger staffed museum organisations, possibly radical changes to management structure and procedures (O'Regan, 1997).

The *Treaty of Waitangi Act, 1975* (and its amendments up to April 1995) is concerned primarily with establishing the Waitangi Tribunal and defining its authority, particularly with regard to land matters, State Owned Enterprises, Crown Forestry, and commercial fisheries.

As 'Treaty partners' are recognised as being the Crown (the New Zealand Government) and the various iwi, redress to iwi for any breaches of the *Treaty of Waitangi* is the responsibility of the Crown. No museum itself is obliged to redress Treaty claims. This is not to say that any collections that came into possession of a museum following an alleged breach of the Treaty are not subject to claim. The Crown has outlined its approach to the settlement of claims in a series of three booklets entitled *Crown Proposals for the Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Claims*. The settlement processes identified are only for claims against land and natural resources. They do not consider anything that pertains to museums, unless by coincidence a museum is located on Crown land under claim or proposed for use in redressing claims (O'Regan, 1997).

In Western tradition, cultural property usually refers to *physical* evidence of a certain stage of a culture's development, such as works of art or archaeological and historical objects. Intellectual property usually refers to *intangible* things such as knowledge, ideas, secrets etc., which are produced by the laws relating to intellectual property.

Maori and other indigenous peoples have indicated that they do not draw this distinction between cultural and intellectual property, and that they take a more holistic approach to the issue. (Ministry of Commerce, 1994, p. 4)

A number of recent documents have sought to address these concerns, including the *Draft Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights* of 1993 and the *Mataatua Declaration* of 1993. The *Draft Declaration Of Indigenous People's Rights* is probably the most 'formal' of the current instruments addressing indigenous peoples' cultural and intellectual property.

Article 29 reads:

Indigenous peoples are entitled to the recognition of the full ownership, control and protection of their cultural and intellectual property. They have the right to special measures to control, develop and protect their sciences, technologies and cultural manifestations, including human and other genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs and visual and performing arts. (*Mana Tangata, draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples*, 1993, p. 24)

The implications of this are clear, and extend beyond museum interests in taonga or 'antiquities'. Although not specifically spelt out, antiquities would be covered in the term 'cultural property'. Article 13 states:

Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of human remains. (*Mana Tanaga, draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples*, 1993, p. 21)

Article 16 also reads:

Indigenous peoples have the right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations appropriately reflected in all forms of education and public information. (*Mana Tangata, draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples*, 1993, p. 22)

The *Mataatua Declaration* is the result of the *First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, which was held at Whakatane in June 1993. The declaration begins:

[We] Declare that Indigenous Peoples of the World have the right to self determination; and in exercising that right must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property. (*Mana Tangata, draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples*, 1993, p. 51)

The *Mataatua Declaration* is not enforceable in New Zealand, nor internationally. But for iwi who wish to subscribe wholly to it, it certainly makes for an uncompromising starting point in any discussions on these issues. With no other documents available with

comparably strong New Zealand flavour, iwi are likely to give increasing consideration to the Declaration when addressing heritage and arts issues. Should the New Zealand Government work towards recognising this claim, iwi would have increasing authority over Maori collections in public organisations, including museums. The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* is less demanding than the *Mataatua Declaration*, but arts and heritage organisations may have greater pressure brought to bear on them through this document when it is finalised. As a United Nations document, it will have a high degree of influence on the New Zealand Government, at least in policy development, if not immediately in law.

As discussed earlier, the *Antiquities Act* of 1975 is the current legislation that aims to provide protection for New Zealand's moveable cultural property. Te Papa comes under this Acts administration. The proposed *Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Bill* is intended to replace the *1975 Antiquities Act*. As the 'front-line' administrators of the *Antiquities Act* in relation to artefacts, museums have had a significant say in the future of newly found artefacts. This will change under the new law which proposes that iwi will have the definitive say in deciding the future of newly found taonga. The prima facie ownership will change from the Crown to the iwi. The proposals relating to Maori cultural property were approved by the government in 1992 and include:

Repeal the presumption of Crown ownership of newly found Maori or Moriori⁹ cultural objects and vest ownership of such objects with the appropriate iwi;

Provide mechanisms for Maori and Moriori to determine who shall have custody of such objects;

Regulate sales of Maori cultural objects subject to export control. (Department of Internal Affairs, 1995, section 6)

⁹ The Moriori are of the same ancestral origins as the Maori (Polynesian), however, they occupy the Chatham Islands

Should a museum wish to express an interest in the future management of newly found taonga, they may have to deal with the iwi concerned, rather than with the Department of Internal Affairs. For newly found taonga at least, iwi are going to have a considerably greater authority in the iwi-Museum relationship than they have at present. Also, museums wishing to continue to collect newly found artefacts will have to attract iwi support for any role they may have in the management of such taonga. Iwi may be interested in the provision of quality storage facilities, security, and possibly, display venues. The law will not require retrospective changes to ownership in favour of iwi. It will add significant weight, however, to any iwi claim for taonga held in museums. Legal recognition of iwi ownership of newly found taonga would be in effect a statement by the Crown that iwi are the rightful owners.

While the *Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Bill* would empower iwi in their interests in artefacts, it has no influence over human remains unless these have been modified to 'artefacts'. It is unclear whether moko-mokai (preserved tattooed heads) would be considered artefacts. The collection of Maori human remains by New Zealand museums is probably the 'collection' issue requiring the most urgent discussion in any pursuit of bicultural or culturally sensitive museum operations. It is also the subject on which any iwi is least likely to be flexible. Human remains in New Zealand are governed by the *Human Tissues Act 1964*.

The proposed changes to the law move considerably towards recognising the claims of indigenous peoples in the *Draft Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights 1993* and the *Mataatua Declaration*. While the law will not in itself change the past, it will provide for less contention between iwi and museums over further taonga found.

CURRENT SITUATION

Fuelled by a growing Maori population increasingly confident of itself and its direction, the presence of Maori culture, history and language in New Zealand's cultural life has been enormously enhanced over the past few decades. Maori affairs in one form or another feature in school and university curricula and are slowly but surely becoming more prominent on radio and television; traditional and contemporary Maori arts are flourishing.

In 1982, the first Kohanga Reo was set up in New Zealand to provide early childhood education based on immersion in Maori language and culture. Kohanga Reo are preschools where only the Maori language is spoken and where children are nurtured in an environment that reflects Maori cultural values and traditions. In 1992 there were already 719 Kohanga Reo, and in 1996 there were over 800 (Hakiwai, 1996). The establishment of these schools illustrates the seriousness and dedication of contemporary Maori people to promote and celebrate their language, art and culture.

Ethnologists, curators, anthropologists and archaeologists have found themselves under increasingly critical Maori scrutiny. People who have devoted their professional and scholarly careers to Maori culture, history and prehistory are being challenged by a growing determination that Maoris should define and interpret Maori culture. The view that Maori heritage, to which Pakeha have only secondary claim, is gaining widespread acceptance among Maori people. The idea that primary proprietorship of Maori culture should lie with ethnic Maoris is implicitly accepted throughout New Zealand and is reflected in legislation dealing with Maori land and language, historical places and national parks, and in the administration of arts and heritage.

As I mentioned in the Chapter entitled, *History of Aotearoa New Zealand*, the word *Maori* is said, among other things to mean ordinary. In light of this, the inhabitants of today's New Zealand described themselves as *Maori* to explorers and settlers in order to distinguish themselves. This is not to say to all Maori considered themselves to be one homogenous group. In fact, today many people prefer to associate themselves with their *iwi* (tribe), or even *hapu* (sub-tribe), rather than the all-encompassing term, *Maori* which has been used for so long. There is no one Maori view, vision or plan for the future of biculturalism in New Zealand, or even museums. This is one of the main reasons why the process of changing and adapting traditional museum practices to incorporate Maori views is so slow. The question remains as to who is qualified to present the 'Maori view', and of course, this question is unanswerable. There is no one person who can make these extremely important decisions on behalf of all Maoris living in New Zealand and abroad. The process requires constant contact, discussion, debate, argument, etc. and hopefully, by taking all interested party's views into account, a consensus can and will be met which will respect all people, art and objects.

Even kaitiaki¹⁰ Maori groups have some hierarchies clearly visible within them. Authority comes from a combination of factors including competency in Te Reo Maori¹¹, status within the organisational structure, age, iwi affiliations, tenure, and, not least, personal abilities and forthrightness.

¹⁰ KAITIAKI MEANS GUARDIAN

¹¹ THE MAORI LANGUAGE

TE MAORI

Te Maori, an international exhibition of Maori art, continues to challenge and question the New Zealand museum world, its roles and functions and the attitudes it reflects. The exhibition toured the United States and New Zealand between 1984 and 1986. This exhibition was unique and special, because for the first time in New Zealand's history the Maori people were, in large part, in control of their artistic heritage (Moko Mead, 1984). "It was a momentous and historic occasion when our ancestors, as represented by these treasures were freed from their dark and cold resting places in the galleries and basements of our museums to experience, once again, the light of day" (Hakiwai, 1990, p. 35).

The exhibition opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1984. The mana of the venue and the event, and the highly tapu nature of the taonga on display, required the presence of distinguished elders and experts in New York, and wherever the exhibition was subsequently shown. Although *Te Maori* completed the process of recontextualising taonga from anthropological museum artefact to aesthetic art object, to Maori they are neither art nor artefact. Maori had no word for art; they had no concept of 'art', of objects created for the primary purpose of aesthetic gratification. Taonga are perceived to be numinous, living, organic, sometimes individually named beings, and as such must be treated with dignity and reverence. Maori visitors were allowed to interact with the taonga, treating them as living links with the ancestors, touching them, weeping over them, placing sprigs of greenery as offerings, and so on.

MAORI ART IN MUSEUMS

Current treaty negotiations, in which the government attempts to settle past grievances and land claims, have profoundly affected museums. Museums are western constructs which contradict Maori ways. There are many people who believe that Maori taonga do not belong in museums at all, whereas others believe museums to be safe resting places for their taonga. It is an ongoing debate within New Zealand's museum profession.

The principles of the Waitangi Treaty partnership are fully articulated with the *Museums Association of Aotearoa, New Zealand*. Maori and Pakeha are equally represented on its council and the association's code of ethics incorporates Maori perspectives. Some museum institutions are appointing iwi liaison officers whose responsibilities include creating closer ties with local iwi, servicing Maori advisory boards and guiding policy development, recruitment and training, as well as ensuring that Maori culture, protocol and practices are appreciated in all aspects of museum work (Legget, 1995).

One of the roles of a museum is to portray, (communicate, educate, exhibit and interpret) the indigenous people of the country. Hakiwai, who is the curator of the Maori collections at the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, asks, "Should not this be done in a way which is acceptable to their culture?" (1990, p. 38). He goes on, "To have our treasures imprisoned in big glass nineteenth-century-style showcases, with uninspiring and impersonal labels set against drab colourless backgrounds, is not my idea of Maori culture" (1990, p. 38). Hakiwai continues:

Maori culture in the context of a museum means being able to touch, caress and hold and talk to one's ancestors as represented by the *taonga* and by the artists who fashioned them. It means being able to be reassured that our artworks are being looked after and made welcome in the museum. It means acknowledging and accepting the importance and meaning of the Maori language and the part it plays in

all aspects of Maori culture. It means having a real Maori presence at all levels of the museum. It means respecting the life-force that each treasure possesses. Rather than being seen as something to be denied or suppressed, it should be seen as the future strength and vibrancy of our society contributing to the betterment of museums at large. Not only will this enhance Maori cultural history; it will also give beauty and real credence to museums and the position they hold in today's society. (Hakiwai, 1990, p. 38)

TE PAPA TONGAREWA

The *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*, may be leading the field in setting appropriate standards for care, storage and handling, devised by Maori staff after consultation with Maori iwi. On February 14, 1998, the museum was opened to the people of New Zealand for the first time. The opening was an outstanding success, receiving national acclaim and international attention. Public support and enthusiasm for the new museum has been little short of overwhelming. Visitor numbers exceeded both the most careful projections and the most optimistic expectations. In the twelve months following the opening, about two million people visited the museum, almost three times the experts' projection for the first year (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1998). Te Papa has five basic corporate principles: 1) Te Papa is Bicultural; 2) Te Papa is customer focused; 3) Te Papa speaks with the authority that arises from scholarship and matakura¹² Maori; 4) Te Papa is commercially positive; and 5) Te Papa is Waharoa (an entryway to New Zealand and a catalyst for New Zealanders to explore and study their cultural identity through stories and objects) (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1998).

The *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* is a forum for the nation to present, explore, and preserve the heritage of its cultures and knowledge of the natural environment in order to better understand and treasure the past, enrich and meet the challenges of the future. Te Papa is a place which engages New Zealanders in the exploration of their cultural identity and the natural environment through exhibitions and other programmes focused on New Zealand, its place in the Pacific and the world. A range of educational and cultural services are provided for all people who live in New Zealand or who visit it (Museum of

¹² Knowledge of things Maori

New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a).

LONG TERM EXHIBITIONS

There are ten exhibitions permanently on display at Te Papa Tongarewa.

Parade is a bold, provocative and sometimes shocking meeting-place, where the creative genius of New Zealanders across a dizzying variety of fields compete for one's attention. Bruce Farr's boat design skills alongside Ans Westra's revelatory photographs of Maori life. On one level, a celebration of the things that have made New Zealanders known in the world; on another, an inquiry into how we come to value certain objects over others, and how certain achievements from the past continue to play a vital role in our understanding of New Zealanders. The exhibition contains a plethora of objects, some which people consider to be art, others which they don't. The exhibition features works by famous New Zealand artists, as well as everyday objects created by New Zealanders such as fridge models and jigsaws. The exhibition features several informative and interactive aspects designed to draw the visitor into the experience.

Airline crockery, world-beating yachts, photographs that kicked up a storm, fashions we'd like to forget, Goldie paintings. High culture meets the stuff of everyday -- the good, the bad, and the undecided -- in a wonderful walk through New Zealand's rich and quirky visual history. (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a)

Passports is an exhibition which tells of New Zealand stories of journeys and arrivals. The exhibition covers a thousand years of emigration and immigration to New Zealand. It focuses on the nineteenth century onwards and allows people to learn about the varied people who migrated to New Zealand, what they brought with them, and what they chose to leave behind. The exhibition focuses on all nationalities other than Maori.

As a visitor to this exhibition, you will embark on your own dynamic, interactive journey of discovery...get involved in the great personal stories of your ancestors...delve into the personal stories, objects, and images of over fifty migrants from different ethnic origins, from 1808 until today...discover who brought with them, as their precious luggage, jandals, marmite, beer and rugby...

The cultural richness and diversity of the regional lifestyles of British and Irish migrants are screened on video and maps. Images of other regions, including China, India, Dalmatia, Greece and the Pacific, tell of other regional lifestyles. (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a)

On the Sheep's Back is an exhibition which humorously tells of the importance wool has played in the evolution of New Zealand and its people. Sheep are one of the most instantly recognisable emblems of New Zealand and this exhibition cleverly weaves and connects the lives of New Zealanders to the woollen industry, in an often witty and surprising manner.

The theme of a wool shed, with its wooden walls and floors, photomurals of shearers at work, old wool press and record-breaking shearing pieces, provides a nostalgic setting for 'Shear Hard Work'. It is here that the stories of the shearing gangs are told.

Within 'Grassy Empires' we discover when the first sheep arrive and how from 1861 to 1995, sheep numbers increase from 2.7 million to nearly 50 million, and the area of sown grass increases more than one hundredfold. (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a)

Exhibiting Ourselves explores how New Zealanders have projected a sense of national identity to the rest of the world through major international trade expos.

For the 1851 Crystal Palace Great Exhibition, New Zealand chose, among other things, a bottle of iron sand from the South Taranaki and a salted mullet to stand for the nation. Nearly one hundred and fifty years later, at the Seville Expo, New Zealand was represented by Kiri Te Kanewa's voice, bottles of wine, and All Black jerseys.

This is an exhibition about national confidence and expression. (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a)

Signs of a Nation is a contemporary commentary on the *Treaty of Waitangi* and its centrality to the wider New Zealand Community. The exhibition is also responsive to

contemporary events and provides a forum for New Zealanders in which new analyses -- creative, intellectual, and social -- can occur. An exploratory atmosphere is encouraged with facilities for debates and book launches (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a).

Bush City is a recreated habitat island offering a 'short walk in the New Zealand bush' and accessed by bridge over a manmade lagoon. Visitors pass through an interpretive kiosk before crossing a typical New Zealand swing bridge suspended over a rushing freshwater stream and lush tree ferns. The exhibition includes glow worm caves, a wetland, a lava flow, and an area where one may dig for fossils.

Mountains to Sea is a magical display of New Zealand's diverse range of creatures and plants, from tiny insects to twenty-metre-long blue whales. Six distinct ecosystems are brought to life -- alpine, bush, freshwater, coastal, open ocean, and deep sea. Displays of over 2,500 native plants and animals give the visitor a wonderful closeup view of New Zealand's diverse range of natural inhabitants.

Awesome Forces is an exhibition focusing on the natural forces that created and transformed New Zealand: what they are, what drives them, and what effects they have on the landscape and people. Located between the exhibitions *Awesome Forces* and *Mountains to Sea* is a fascinating light and sound show about the traditional relationship between Maori and the land and life of New Zealand.

Mana Pasifika is a vibrant exhibition encompassing ceremonies, music and dance, food and feasting, costume and regalia, warfare, sport, and religion. The exhibition celebrates the cultures of Polynesia and Fiji and explores how they have influenced and impacted on

New Zealand. Some of the challenges of moving to New Zealand and living there are also uncovered.

Mana Whenua is an exhibition which captures and conveys the richness, complexity and dynamism of the Maori people, the tangata whenua, or indigenous people, of Aotearoa New Zealand. The concept *Mana Whenua*, like the exhibition has many years of meaning and tells of the important relationships and values of Maori people to the land, as well as to the wider culture. *Mana Whenua* resonates with the voices of the Maori people and taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down), such as kahu (cloaks), the meeting house, Te Hau Ki Turanga, and the storehouse Te Takinga. These taonga reconnect through whakapapa to the living descendants of today in dynamic and meaningful ways.

Mana Whenua presents and celebrates the mana of Maori culture through taonga like waka (canoes), waiata (songs), korero (talk) and most importantly, people. *Mana Whenua* is about journeys and voyages through time from the early ancestral waka voyages from Hawaiki, through the medium of the modern day voyaging waka Te Aurere. It also includes personal stories from the Ngati Hinewaka people of Palliser Bay about their experiences in reconstructing an early 16th century wharepuni¹³.

There are many underlying themes and stories to *Mana Whenua* but the unifying concept is whakapapa and identity. Personal stories and narratives combine with the whakapapa of taonga to evoke an experience with which Maori and many other peoples will readily identify. Contemporary Maori artworks explore and reinforce the continuum of tipuna¹⁴

¹³ A Wharepuni is the main house of a village, usually a dormitory or guest house

¹⁴ Tipuna means ancestors

culture and whakapapa, linking past generations to present day descendants and the dynamics of cultural continuity.

Maori taonga are imbued with life and spirit and *Mana Whenua* has acknowledged this through extensive consultation and partnerships with iwi. The empowerment and governance of Maori in the development of the *Mana Whenua* exhibition is ground breaking and real. The direct involvement of iwi in the selection, presentation and interpretation of taonga Maori ensures that the exhibition speaks with the mana and authority for the people rather than from the 'other' perspective. The special relationship between Maori people and their taonga is a vital living dimension for Te Papa Tongarewa now and into the future (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d a).

Te Hau Ki Turanga, a meeting house, is the central focus of the exhibition. The meeting house is one of the oldest and most significant carved meeting houses in existence. The exhibition makes good use of oral tradition in Maori culture as when visitors enter the meeting house, they are able to sit and experience a sound and light show. Voices are heard, telling the stories depicted in the carvings.

Contemporary art exhibitions are also integrated in the exhibition. This is important as it celebrates the fact that Maori is a living culture which did not die out with European settlement and colonisation. There is also a series of changing iwi exhibitions which are put together by an iwi in consultation with the museum. This provides iwi with an opportunity to share their own stories using traditional or contemporary art forms. Maori culture has an important history which needs to be presented. However, the culture is not stuck in this history, but is very much alive and thriving and changing. The sound and light show is very important for two reasons. It incorporates the Maori oral tradition, and as museums

are educational institutions, it incorporates Maori ways of education, i.e. information being passed on from one generation to the next by recounting stories (Taonga of the People, 1998).

TE MARAE O TE PAPA TONGAREWA

Te Marae o Te Papa Tongarewa is a gift from the Maori people of New Zealand to all New Zealanders, no matter what their cultural background. The marae is functional and living. It was formally dedicated on November 30th, 1997 (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a). It is envisaged that Te Marae will be a popular place for conferences, debates, forums and seminars that relate to the bicultural nature of New Zealand. Te Marae is unique in that it belongs to all cultures of New Zealand, whereas marae are traditionally tribal-based. The museum has established a protocol, in association with iwi which maintains the integrity of the marae as a Maori institution, yet works for all iwi and other ethnic groups.

Cliff Whiting, kaihautu (leader) of Te Papa and principal carver of Te Marae said that the challenge in making this marae was to cover it in images that express its belonging to all New Zealanders. When you enter the marae through the main gateway, there are carvings which depict those who voyaged to New Zealand, including Kupe (one of the first Maori people to land in New Zealand from other pacific islands), Captain James Cook and more recent migrants.

Whiting said that the closest pakeha structure he could find that related to what a marae is about, is the church, particularly those decorative cathedrals in Europe. He said that in the churches there is a strong reference to genealogy and spirituality, and these are the main

concepts of a marae.

Visitors were not only allowed to enter the marae while the carving was going on, they were welcomed. Traditionally, the process of carving is highly tapu, and no one but the carvers may enter the unfinished house. Whiting's approach was very different. "Who was the iwi here? It was only us! And, of course, the board. They're the iwi -- and none of them told me to make it tapu!" (French, 1998, p. 72).

There are traditional and modern themes in the carvings, which are shaped using hot water and then painted bright colours. Figures depict Maori creation stories, legends such as Maui, and Maori creatures, as well as figures representing later migratory groups who brought with them such things as new religions, a different justice system, and industry. Particular attention is paid to Pacific Islanders, Asians, the English and Celtic (Where cultures meet: Te Papa's Te Marae belongs to all cultures of New Zealand, 1998).

TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS

Temporary exhibitions are extremely varied at Te Papa Tongarewa. They range in length from a few months to more than a year. The museum has several short term exhibitions at any one time. Two recent exhibitions are *Facing It: Art Now Looks Back* and *Goldie*.

Facing It: Art Now Looks Back was specially commissioned for Te Papa's opening. It was shown from February 14, 1998 to February 1999. The exhibition was an interactive, international, multimedia installations project and explores the Museum's dual role as preserver of national treasures and creator of fresh artistic possibilities.

Artists from four countries were invited to use technology to investigate, reanimate, reinterpret items from Te Papa's collections. New Zealand artists Lisa Reihana, Maureen Lander, Greg Semu and City Group worked with Canadian artist Luc Corchesne, Australian Destiny Deaco, and English artist Steven Pippin.

What will a contemporary video artist make of the classic poses and types of photographs of Maori in the nineteenth century?

What will a contemporary, interactive video artist from Quebec make of the personal narratives of modern New Zealanders? (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a)

Goldie has been displayed from April 2nd of this year and will remain until to July 18th, 1999. The paintings of Charles F. Goldie are among the most immediately recognisable images of New Zealand's past. Eighty-six paintings, supported by drawings, photographs and artefacts, have been lent from museums and private collections in Australia and throughout New Zealand.

At the heart of the exhibition, organised and toured by Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki, are the famous Maori portraits dating from the first two decades of this century. These were the years in which Goldie worked with many of the rangatira who were the last to wear ta moko (traditional Maori tattooing).

The exhibition is also a celebration of the people Goldie painted. For descendants of the Maori rangatira and eminent Pakeha portrayed, these images are more than works of art. Many Maori have made pilgrimages to honour these whakaahua (ancestral depictions). The works are also valued for their realistic representation of the intricate narrative contained in ta moko (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a).

TE PAPA SCHOOL PROGRAMMES

Te Papa staff have worked closely with educators to develop specialised school programmes that are tightly linked to the curricula. As a result, classroom experiences can be both enriched and extended at the museum. Most programmes are offered in English or Maori. The curriculum-linked programmes are focused on Te Papa's five exhibition zones: Natural Environment, Art, Maori, History and the Pacific. Additional programmes are offered in these curricula areas: Social Studies, Classical Studies, Science, the *Treaty of Waitangi*, and Taha Maori¹⁵.

The programmes are divided into age groups. They are offered for mainstream schools wanting experiences in issues relating to New Zealand in general, and in Maori for Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa (primary immersion schools). Another programme in English but focusing on things Maori, is available for mainstream schools.

Among other things, there are several programmes addressing Maori issues for various ages. For Early Childhood students, Maori legends such as Maui are reenacted for the children in a fun and playful manner. For primary school children, customs, world views and mythology are combined with taonga in an informative presentation. For secondary school students, a programme called *Is it taonga?* offers a challenging look at diverse taonga, traditional and contemporary. Another programme, *What is New Zealand Art?* gives an exciting historical survey of art in New Zealand including contemporary Maori art and the work of women artists (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d. a).

¹⁵ TAHA MAORI MEANS THE MAORI PERSPECTIVE OR VIEWPOINT

BICULTURALISM AT TE PAPA

Since its onset, biculturalism has been one of the founding principles of the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. Biculturalism exists in the architecture of the museum.

Here you get a marae that's built into the building. It's not added to, it's not put on top of, it's built into the architecture of the place. And of course, it's going to be very difficult to change it, especially now that it's there in people's minds. I've always said that this goes a long way towards the recognition of the bicultural approach in the building...

...The idea of pressure coming from both sides is enacted in the wedge space at the heart of the building that separates the Tangata Whenua side from the Tangata Tiriti side. The wedge contains the exhibition about the *Treaty of Waitangi, Signs of a Nation/ Nga Tohu Kotahitanga*. (French, 1998, p. 70)

The seeds of biculturalism at Te Papa had already been sown in the late 1980s when the Development Board made a major move when it started talking to Rongowhakaata¹⁶ about Te Hau Ki Turanga. The board took on a new approach of asking iwi, rather than demanding. The partnership idea grew out of the consultations the Development Board had with iwi. At the same time, the central concept of mana taonga¹⁷ was developed by iwi working with the Development Board. This has had a major effect on the way the *Mana Whenua* exhibition was developed. Partnerships were formed with a number of iwi, from which arose the development of the policy for biculturalism which was based on the principles of the Treaty (French, 1998).

Te Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act of 1992 requires the Museum to "have regard to the ethnic and cultural diversity of the people of New Zealand..." and to "endeavour to ensure that the Museum expresses and recognises the mana and significance

¹⁶ Rongowhakaata is the tribe who gave Te Hau Ki Turanga to the Dominion Museum many years ago.

¹⁷ 'Mana taonga' means that iwi who have taonga in the museum have a right to be consulted in the way those taonga are handled, used, exhibited, and interpreted.

of Maori, European, and other major traditions and cultural heritages, and that the Museum provides the means for every such culture to contribute effectively to the Museum” (O’Regan, 1997, p. 16).

To help develop a picture of the current status of ‘bicultural developments’ in New Zealand museums, two surveys of the museum community were conducted in 1997. The *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*’s National Services worked in partnership with the *Museums Association of Aotearoa New Zealand Te Ropu Hanga Kaupapa* for this project. “The impetus for this work came from kaitiaki who work in museums and associated cultural heritage organisations. Over a number of years, they have discussed and raised issues regarding Maori representation in the museum workforce and specific questions about bicultural development and appropriate practices around the care of taonga Maori” (O’Regan, 1997, p. 5).

The first survey was simply to establish which of the museums had an interest in this subject. The second survey was designed to explore the collections of taonga Maori held, museum practices and policies pertaining to matters Maori, and the degree of Maori involvement in the organisations. The project considers only organisations whose principal function is to be a ‘public museum’. Several issues were clarified by the survey. However, for other issues, the survey reinforced the fact that there is no consensus as to how to deal with these problems (O’Regan, 1997).

There are varying opinions within the museum community on the question of ownership of taonga Maori, but some clear trends can be observed from the survey. There is a definite distinction made between ‘historical’ collections and contemporary works of art. Holders of the latter saw their ownership or ‘trusteeship’ as securely founded in their arrangements

with artists, or having gained clear legal title to the art. As a result any other notion of ownership is seen to be irrelevant. This may be a strong legal position at present, but it does not take account of tribal, cultural or intellectual property rights where, depending on the content of the art work, the rights of a group may be thought to exceed those of an individual. Museums holding large collections of taonga Maori by and large saw Maori as 'spiritual' or 'cultural' owners of the collections, but themselves as the 'physical' or 'legal' owners. From the responses to the survey, it seems that the larger the collection of taonga Maori, the more likely the museum is to consider its holding as a trusteeship for the iwi (O'Regan, 1997).

The term repatriation, technically meaning 'restoration to one's country', has been often employed within New Zealand to refer to the restoration or return of taonga to iwi. It usually implies the physical removal of an item from a museum's collections, although the restoration of 'authority' and 'ownership' without physically transferring the taonga may also be considered. There are three major factors which museums dealing with these situations would consider: 1) the ongoing care, storage and security of the taonga; 2) the verification and exclusivity of an iwi's cultural ownership; and 3) any legal obligations of the museum to past donors. It seems that the repatriation of taonga to iwi stimulates the 'preservation' part of the museological brain, more than the part concerned with the more pragmatic issues of programmes, promotion, and visitor numbers (O'Regan, 1997).

Museums were asked to describe whether they had any special provisions which they give Maori collections on account of their different cultural nature, and how any 'cultural requirements' in storage, handling, and display are determined. Te Papa Tongarewa has established processes to either provide directly for the 'cultural requirements' of taonga, or to empower others who wish to provide for these. Museums seem to have general

understandings that as a whole, contemporary art works do not require 'cultural' provisions. There are no firm written policies or instructions on the provision of cultural care (O'Regan, 1997).

Te Papa Tongarewa is situated in Wellington, New Zealand's capital, and therefore has a large matawaka¹⁸ urban Maori population, but note the particular linkages they have with the tangata whenua of their immediate regions. The format for the relationship with Maori is enshrined in legislation for Te Papa Tongarewa, although the museum places emphasis on advancing its process, implying that while it is happy with the course being followed, it is not yet satisfied with the level of iwi participation achieved. Te Papa has a number of programmes and activities that involve Maori groups, for which they both receive advice from senior Maori staff and Maori advisory committees. Te Papa sees itself as providing services to Maori, including access to research services such as its specialised library, research assistance, conservation advice and the loan of taonga to iwi (O'Regan, 1997).

At Te Papa, senior Maori staff decide what, if any consideration will be given to things that relate to Maori, including displays, research or collecting Maori items. Te Papa Tongarewa has become a major employer of Maori, having had almost no Maori staff in 1980. Almost all of the active Maori participants identified by the museum in 1995 were paid staff. There is however, a relatively small number of Maori in managerial positions.

The principal matter that needs to be addressed is the matter of museum's credibility with iwi. Strategies for achieving this are discussed in the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa draft bicultural development plan for 1998/99*.

¹⁸ Matawaka are a group of people defined by linkages to waka (canoes)

Te Papa's main objective is the acquisition of works of art, artefacts, and specimens relating to the cultural heritage and natural environment of New Zealand, the Pacific, and the world. The bicultural strategy is to assist with the development and implementation of Government policy on the repatriation of taonga to New Zealand, to consult with iwi when acquiring taonga from auctions and sales for the national collection, and to secure contemporary Maori works for future exhibitions (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1998a).

In order to ensure that collections are managed in accordance with professional standards as well as statutory and cultural requirements, Te Papa has four bicultural strategies: 1) To establish and maintain beneficial relationships with iwi in order to facilitate the museum's kaitiakitanga (guardianship) of taonga and the continuing development of iwi; 2) to exercise the kaitiakitanga of taonga in a manner consistent with the rangatiratanga (leadership) and tikanga (rules and protocols) of their iwi; 3) To develop records of taonga which incorporate their iwi ownership and world view; and 4) To provide a forum for the sharing of different perspectives and understanding of issues concerning the kaitiakitanga of taonga (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1998a).

Te Papa has adopted several policies targeting Maori audiences. These are a few examples from a list of more than ten: 1) At least one exhibition every two years in the short term programme is formulated with Maori as the key target audience; 2) 100% of Te Papa Onscreen text entries must be available in English and in Maori with the museum providing translation services; and 3) All Maori items for sale in the museum shop have labels which include the craftsperson, their iwi and the storyline of the piece (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1998a).

The bicultural strategies of Te Papa in terms of exhibitions and visitor programmes are: 1) To promote the continuing development of exhibitions in partnership with iwi; 2) To plan and implement events/programmes which include partnerships with iwi; and 3) To expand on exhibitions by providing wāharoa/entryway to New Zealand through programmes with iwi who wish to introduce visitors to their unique communities and lands. Te Papa is establishing a plan to implement a campaign for the use of Te Papa as a venue for national hui (meetings) by organisations dealing with issues of direct relevance to iwi. A process has also been established for identifying and receiving exhibition proposals from iwi and Maori groups.

CONCLUSION

IMPLICATIONS FOR ART EDUCATION

The inclusion of Native art in both museums and school curricula has several important implications for art education, Native and non-Native peoples. A museum should act as a resource, answering questions coming from educators and the general public. These answers should lie in the exhibitions held within the museum, their collections and their research.

A museum such as Te Papa Tongarewa, should increase one's awareness of the contribution Native peoples have and continue to make to society. Through permanent exhibitions of taonga and contemporary Maori art, the museum enhances the public's awareness of Maori history, art, culture and tradition, and shared history, art and culture that continue to evolve. Not only do these exhibitons serve to educate the non-Native public, they serve to reinforce sentiments of pride among the Maori population.

Major exhibitions of Native art which attract thousands of local and international visitors may sensitise art educators to acknowledge and accept Native art forms as 'art.' With equal attention and value being given to Native as well as non-Native exhibitions, the museum can play a role in altering stereotypes of Native art and people and replace these with well informed appreciation and respect. Educators will begin to realise that Native art does indeed have a lot of value, which may strengthen courses in Studio Art, Art History and Art Education. It may also strenghten teaching of elementary and secondary students.

Today, an exhibition portraying a country's Native peoples positively can give a global message. This is achieved through mass media, especially the Internet. Educators can look to exhibitons at Te Papa for inspiration. Those teachers who live nearby, can take advantage of the museum's educational services and bring their students to see the exhibitions first hand. Others can take advantage of the wonderful and informative web site which the museum has created. The people at the Enquiry Centre are also more than happy to answer any questions pertaining to any aspect of New Zealand, be it art, politics, the people, or sheep.

Art educators from museums and schools have so much to learn in terms of creating more inclusive art curricula. By visiting museums such as Te Papa, an interest may be sparked within these educators, to broaden their own art education, and in turn broaden their students' education.

CONCLUSION

Governmental policies and the awareness of stereotypes have played a tremendous role in the evolution of New Zealand museums. From their anthropological onset, these museums have evolved into respected places of authority on the history, art and culture of New Zealand and its people, both Maori and Pakeha.

Stereotypes have greatly influenced the ways in which Maori art has been regarded over the past one hundred and fifty years. The notion that Maori would soon be an extinct race led to active collecting of Maori artefacts. These artefacts were displayed in anthropological museums.

Films also contributed to the perpetuation of certain stereotypes, which served to reenforce the notion that Maori culture was not living, but existed only in the past. The British imperial framework praised the Maori for their successful leap from savagery to civilisation, yet continued to portray them in a historical setting. Contemporary Maori art was therefore not accorded the respect it deserved, and so was not actively sought by the museum world.

The perseverance of the Maori people coupled with many decades of hard work have altered some of these more detrimental stereotypes. Contemporary art and taonga is now beginning to receive the reverence it warrants.

Governmental policies are also becoming more and more stringent regarding the ways in which taonga are dealt with in and out of museums. The earliest act dates back to 1901. It restricted the export of taonga from New Zealand. This act has been amended and changed over the past one hundred years to include the mandatory registration of any newly found and existing taonga with the national centre at Te Papa Tongarewa. The most recent acts are the museum acts of 1992. They govern individual museums and set standards for the care of taonga, as well as the degree to which Maori people must be represented within a museum.

Te Papa Tongarewa has transformed itself and emerged as a standard-setting bicultural organization. Countries around the world could gain insightful knowledge from this exercise to correct misguided practices of the past. The Treaty of Waitangi and the spirit behind it serves as the foundation for the new and museologically creative ways the museum is organised and plans its programmes. Maori people are rewriting New Zealand's history from their point of view. They are reinterpreting the old paintings, the old books

and the old films.

During my research, I became so much more aware of the wrongdoings of explorers and later settlers, of their disdain of Native cultures. I found it so refreshing to go back to my childhood roots and to discover that New Zealand is a leader in competently and effectively rectifying past errors.

I grew up from the age of five to twelve in this wonderful environment, where cultures managed to live together in relative harmony. My research has been delightful in the sense that I have seen the people of New Zealand talking together, respecting each other and showing incredible good will to move forward together with mutual respect and acknowledgement of cultural differences that can only serve to enrich each other.

Tiny New Zealand, far away in the 'antipodes', part of *Terra Australis Incognita* is today a democracy to reckon with. Its youth, its isolation, its sparse population perhaps contribute to its search for an identity all its own. A nation's identity need not reflect a homogeneous society. New Zealand has confirmed that diverse cultures are enriching and not conflictual.

Other museums, and museum with Native holdings, worldwide, are the institutions which have the most to learn from Te Papa Tongarewa. The process which the museum has taken to develop its policies grew out of a partnership with Maori peoples, embodying the ideals of the *Treaty of Waitangi* and releasing its intended spirit. Te Papa Tongarewa is an enlightened beacon arousing the inherent promise of being an authoritative bicultural institution.

The policies of the government of New Zealand are reflected not only in its portrayal of culture through its museums, but also in its emancipated role in education, the management of natural resources, foreign policy and tourism.

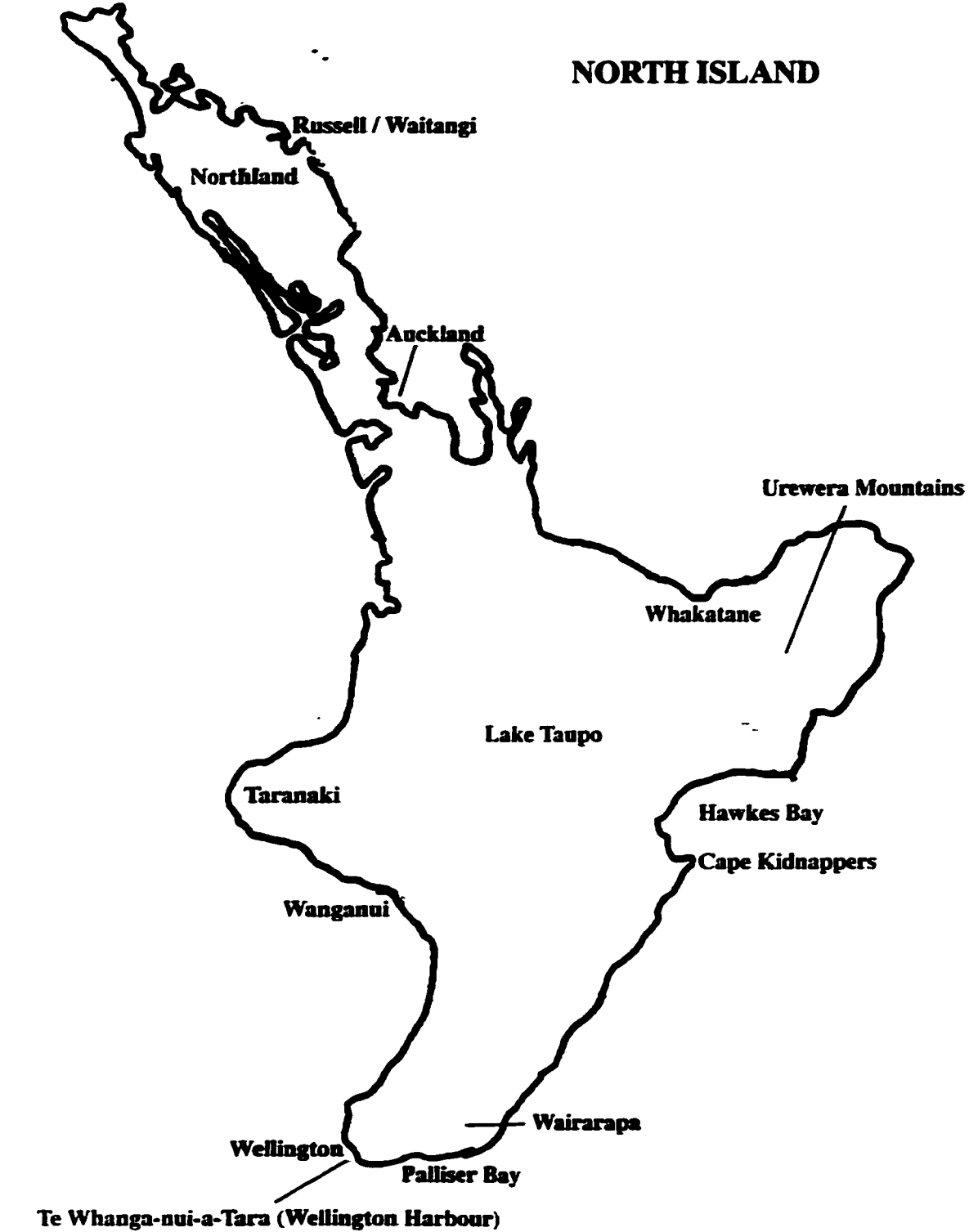
Blythe, in his book, *Naming the other: Images of the Maori in New Zealand Film and Television*, (1994) realistically acknowledges the individual New Zealander:

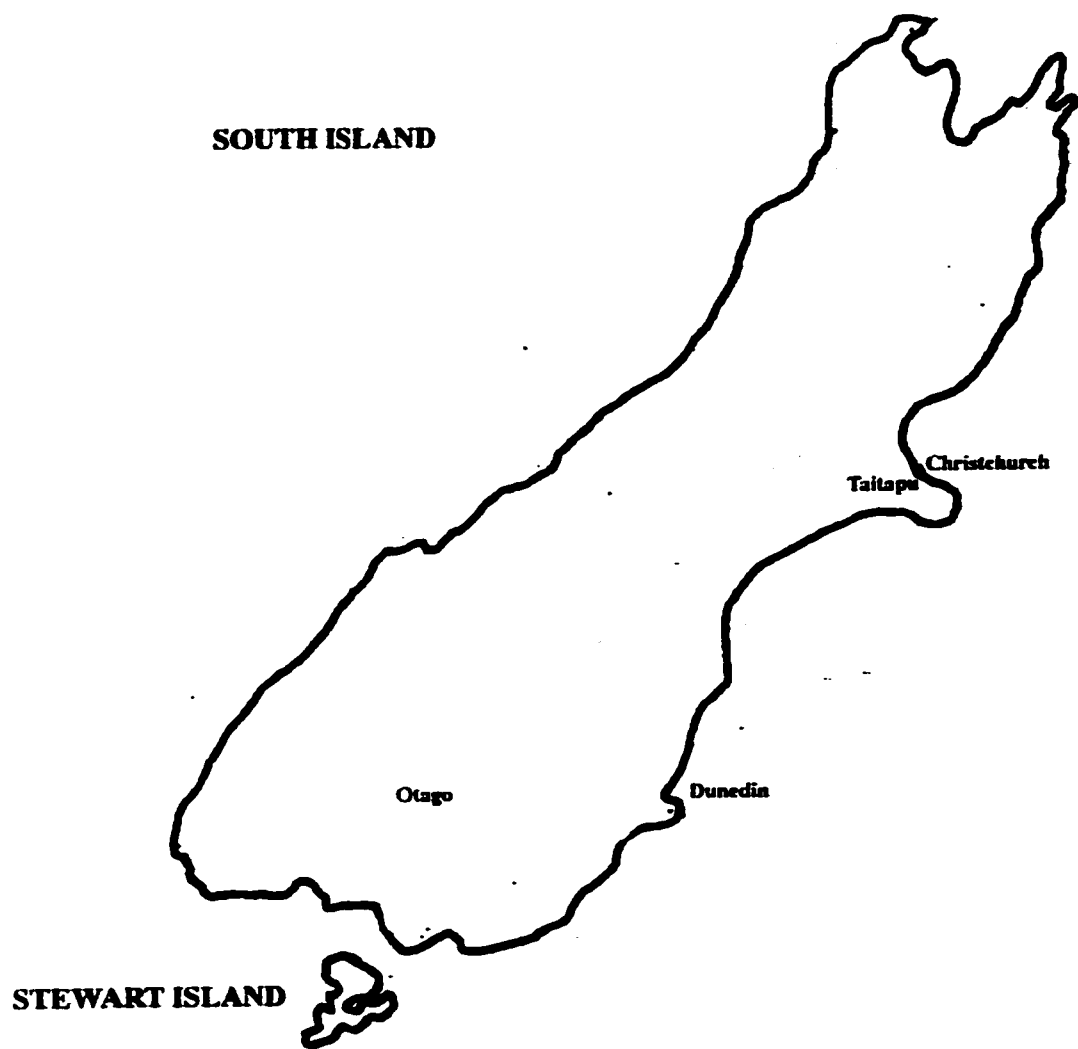
There have always been many New Zealands, never just one: imperial New Zealand, Maori New Zealand, Official New Zealand, your New Zealand, my New Zealand. Official New Zealand exists within the framework of nationalism: one small ship-of-a-nation state drifting toward antarctica with 3.4 million people on board, sailing in search of the obligatory national identity, well stocked with sheep, kiwi fruit, sporting venues, beautiful landscapes, and a sometime great notion of a nuclear free zone. (p. 5)

MAP OF NEW ZEALAND

☞ Three Kings Islands

NORTH ISLAND





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GLOSSARY OF MAORI TERMS¹⁹

Aotearoa	Land of the Long White Cloud, a contemporary name for New Zealand
haka	posture dance
hapu	sub-tribe, section of tribe
hui	gathering, meeting
iwi	tribe
kahu	cloak
kaihautu	leader
kaitiaki	guardian
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kaumatua	patriarchal head of household, elder
kaupapa	foundation, body
Kingitanga	Maori King Movement
kohanga reo	Maori language programme, kindergartens providing total-immersion in Maori language and culture
korero	speech, talk, conversation
kumara	sweet potato
Kura Kaupapa	primary immersion school
mana	power, prestige, authority

¹⁹ Translations are taken from *Maori art and culture*, 1996.

maori	clear, natural, ordinary
Maoritanga	‘Maoriness’, Maori ways
marae	open space in front of the meeting house
matauranga	knowledge of things Maori
matawaka	group of people defined by linkages to waka
moko-mokai	preserved tattooed heads
pa	fortified settlement
Pakeha	person of European descent
rangatira	leaders
rangatiratanga	regulation, leadership
taha Maori	Maori perspective or viewpoint
ta moko	traditional Maori tattoos
tangata tiriti	those belonging to the land by right of the treaty, Pakeha
tangata whenua	people of the land, original inhabitants
taonga	possession, property, anything highly prized, particularly cultural property, treasure
tapu	under religious restriction, sacred
Te-ika-a-Maui	Maui’s fish (The north island of New Zealand)
tikanga	custom, way of doing things
tiki	human figure form in carving
tipuna	ancestors

tohunga	an expert to communicate with the gods
waiata	song
wairua	spirit, soul
waka	canoe, loose association of tribes
whakapapa	genealogy, line of descent
whanau	extended family
whare	house
wharepuni	main house of a village, usually a dormitory or guest house
whare wananga	higher school of learning, college of priests
whenua	land