

IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

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Abstract

The thesis documents the historical, heritage and education context in Aotearoa New Zealand and discusses perceptions of values and identity in the postcolonial context. Previous research has examined the differing perspectives of indigenous peoples compared to European museum practice in the exhibition and preservation of cultural artefacts and the gradual progression towards collaborative working practices. However, the question of whether it is possible to teach awareness of those differing perspectives has been poorly addressed. This research builds on the current literature by exploring whether heritage professionals consider that it is possible to learn respect for differing cultural perspectives through the undertaking of training courses. In order to examine contemporary attitudes to communities and heritage institutions, knowledge and awareness of cultural values and perspectives on incorporating cultural values into educational programmes, the research investigation took the form of semi-structured interviews with 100 conservators, curators and educators working in New Zealand during the field research period of 2005-2006.

The participants' nationalities, professional working backgrounds and perceptions of cultural values, communities and education were examined, with the intention of determining their opinions relating to whether it was possible, necessary or desirable to incorporate cultural values into training programmes. The participants confirmed the view that museums are seen as the guardians of cultural artefacts and, therefore, they need to be inclusive of the communities who own those artefacts. My research findings indicate that an awareness of one's own values and the recognition of difference are fundamental to facilitating understanding of the values and belief systems of other people. The research suggests that acquiring language skills and studying within a culture, with the people of that culture, rather than purely theoretically, could assist in gaining greater inter-cultural awareness and respect for differing perspectives.

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Preface

The focus of this research arises out of my work experiences as a conservator in both the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Working in these particular countries, with their shared histories and yet distinctive cultures, gave me the opportunity to observe the similarities and differences between the two as regards approaches to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage.

After working in both the public and private sector as a conservator in the United Kingdom, I first visited New Zealand in February 1998, when I moved there to take up the position of Senior Paper Conservator at the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa (NLNZ) in Wellington. Over the next three years, I made many friends and gained an appreciation and growing awareness of New Zealand, and Māori, culture. One of the questions that occurred to me as I conserved the predominantly paper-based artefacts was whether the skills and ethical knowledge that I had gained through training and work experience in the United Kingdom were sufficient, or did there need to be a further 'cultural' awareness.

After leaving the NLNZ in April 2001 to return to the United Kingdom, ultimately to pursue a doctorate, the New Zealand experience stayed with me, informing my work and attitudes to the artefacts that I conserved. Prior to undertaking the PhD, I studied for a Master of Research (MRes) in the Department of Anthropology at University College London in 2003. The research methodology for the dissertation 'Cultural Context in the Preservation of Paper Heritage: Attitudes of Conservators and Curators in the United Kingdom' acted as a pilot project for the PhD. When the time came to develop a doctoral research project, I decided to return to the question of ethical knowledge versus cultural awareness. Ethics can be, and are, taught in both museum studies and conservation programmes. Is this the case for cultural awareness? As New Zealand and its bicultural environment first sparked my interest in this area, I decided to make this the location for my research, seeking to ascertain the educational experience of heritage professionals and their opinions regarding the feasibility of teaching cultural awareness.

I therefore undertook preliminary field research in New Zealand in 2004, before commencing my doctoral studies in September of that year. This visit enabled not only the re-establishment of friendships, but also the formation of a research community and the chance to discover how feasible my research was in the New Zealand context.

The following year I returned to New Zealand to undertake my field research. This lasted just over ten months, from the beginning of September 2005 to early July 2006, and I was again based in Wellington. The familiar location, and the support of friends, enabled me to settle in quickly, confirm times and locations for interviews that had been set up while in the United Kingdom, and make a start on the research interviews shortly after my arrival. The plan was to ‘front load’ the field research. Consequently, I set up and carried out the majority of the primary data collection in the first four months, travelling to five different locations around the North and South Islands of New Zealand, in addition to the interviews that I undertook in Wellington.

For the remaining six months of the field research, I was based at the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington (VUW). As a resident scholar, I had an office, computer and access to University resources and a stimulating research community and seminar series. This proved invaluable to the research, allowing me to begin preliminary analysis of the data, which facilitated the production of common themes and topics to discuss in a further ten data verification interviews.

Whilst working at the NLNZ, I had had the opportunity to undertake pronunciation classes in the Māori language, to learn about the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi and to gain an insight into Māori customs and protocol (*tikanga*). I was keen to further my knowledge of the Māori language (*te reo* Māori) and *tikanga*, and so during my field research in New Zealand I undertook various courses, including learning basic *te reo* Māori. The approach taken on the language courses was one that was grounded in *tikanga* – I learnt as much about what it was like to live in a Māori community and how to be received onto a *marae* (meeting area in front of the communal house) by the host community, as I did about the actual language.

Living in Wellington also gave the opportunity to partake of various cultural activities, not least because of the International Arts Festival, a two-yearly event, which took place during early 2006. As part of the festival, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa) hosted a number of events, which provided information relevant for the research, including talks by Māori master carvers, and a panel of museum curators who discussed issues relating to the presentation and understanding of *taonga* Māori (Māori cultural treasures) as art. Various international scholars visited New Zealand during my time there, including Elaine Heumann Gurian, the American museum consultant, who spoke on the subject of leading rebellious museums, and Professor John Borrows from the University of

Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, who gave a talk on indigenous treaties in Canada and New Zealand.

The opportunities and experiences on offer during my stay in New Zealand proved invaluable to my research, grounding me in the environment and culture. This thesis attempts to convey some of that sense of place and assess, through the experiences and opinions of my participants, whether 'cultural awareness' is a concept that can be transmitted through educational programmes aimed at heritage professionals.

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I am also grateful to the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, VUW, Wellington, New Zealand, especially Professor Lydia Wevers, for the opportunity to undertake a six-month resident scholarship at the Centre from January to June 2006. Thanks also to the other resident scholars and the Stout Fellow for their support and input and to Professor Richard Hill and Maureen West of the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit (TOWRU).

Whilst undertaking research for this thesis, I interviewed many people in New Zealand. I would like to thank them for their generosity in taking the time to share their professional experiences and opinions with me, so making this research possible.

I would also like to thank my family and friends, both in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. In the United Kingdom, to Karen, Julia and Tracy for your support and friendship over many years; to Vivian and Lena for sharing the journey and all that entailed; and to Katy for impeccable attention to detail. *Mihi* to all my wonderful New Zealand friends, in particular Sandra, Ruth, Chris and Jason. Many, many thanks for your support, encouragement, numerous coffees, lunches and a place to stay.

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A Note on Māori Language and Pronunciation

Prior to European colonisation and settlement of New Zealand, *te reo* Māori was not a written language and stories, histories, genealogies and customs were transmitted orally. The first book to detail the fundamentals of the Māori language was ‘A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand’, compiled by the missionary Thomas Kendall and Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge University, with the assistance of Hongi Hika of the Ngāpuhi *iwi* (tribe) on his visit to England in around 1820 (King 2003: 137). The first scriptures were printed in Māori by the mission printer William Colenso from 1835 and the first Māori language newspaper was established in 1842 (O'Regan 2006).

Therefore, the spelling of Māori words and the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants were influenced by nineteenth century spoken and written English. As both English vowel sounds and the New Zealand accent have since changed and developed, this has had an effect on the pronunciation of Māori words, with the result that many words in common usage in New Zealand, including place names, are frequently mispronounced.

The Māori language has five vowels, as in the English language, and ten consonants, of which two are digraphs: “a group of two letters representing one sound” (Allen 1992: 326). The consonants are h, k, m, n, p, r, t, w, ng, wh (the final two are digraphs). Vowel sounds can be of short or long length, with the long indicated by a macron over the vowel, for example, ā. It is important to include the macron, as two words may have the same spelling, but have separate meanings – it is the macron that determines which is which.

	Short length	Long length
A	As ‘u’ in but	‘ah’ or ‘are’, as in far, or father
E	‘eh’, as in pen	As ‘ai’ in pair
I	As ‘i’ in bit	As in the English ‘e’, e.g. me, or feet
O	‘aw’, as in awful	‘ore’, as in store
U	As ‘u’ in put	‘oo’, as in moon, or boot
R	Similar to the ‘l’ sound in English; the tongue is placed near the front of the mouth	
P	Softer and less pronounced than in English	
NG	As in ‘sing’	
WH	As in the English ‘f’, although this depends on the region	

Table 1 - Pronunciation of Māori Vowels and Digraphs

Each syllable in a word ends with a vowel as, for example, in the place name Hokitika – Ho-ki-ti-ka. In words with combinations of vowels, for example Aotearoa, each vowel is pronounced separately.

(Information taken from Foster 1987; Ngata 1993; Harawira and Karetu 1994; Reed and Karetu 1998; Ryan 2005).

Glossary

Various Māori words and terms have been used throughout this thesis. These are defined both on first appearance in the text, and are listed here (definitions taken from Walker 1990 [2004]; Allen 1992; Ngata 1993; Reed and Karetu 1998; Bishop and Glynn 1999; Caple 2000; King 2003; Mead 2003; Belgrave, Kawharu *et al.* 2005; Macalister 2005; Ryan 2005; McCarthy 2007a). Macrons, rather than double vowels, are used to indicate the double length of a vowel (e.g. Māori instead of Maaori), except in quotes where the original has not used macrons. All Māori words are italicised except in proper names or in quotes where the original has not used italics.

Aotearoa	New Zealand, the modern Māori term, often translated as ‘land of the long white cloud’
Conservation	The act of conserving or treating a heritage artefact, as in cleaning or repairing it, as opposed to just preserving it. “Aims through physical and chemical mediation with the object, to prevent further decay and reveal information about, and the earlier appearance of, the object” (Caple 2000: 38)
Conservator	While in the United Kingdom ‘conservator’ is used to denote someone who undertakes conservation work. In Europe the term ‘conservator’ more usually means ‘curator’, while ‘restorer’ is used to describe someone who undertakes conservation work. Therefore, the term ‘conservator-restorer’ has been adopted to cover the terms in different countries
Haka	Posture dance, war dance
Hāngi	Earth oven, food from earth oven
Hapū	Sub-tribe, section of a larger tribe, clan
Hei Tiki (see also tiki)	Flat figure of greenstone worn around the neck, neck pendent in the form of a human figure
Hongi	Touching or pressing of noses, greet, smell
Hui	A meeting or gathering, traditionally Māori and held on a marae, but no longer confined just to Māori
Huia	Huia bird, extinct bird, the tail feathers are used as a chiefly adornment
Ihi	Power, essential force, authority, dread, fear, vitality
Intangible	Unable to be touched, not solid; in this context oral histories, verbally

knowledge	transmitted stories or information, languages
Iwi	Tribe, bone, race, people, nation
Kai	Food, to eat
Kaitaka	Fine flax cloak, cloak with decorated borders
Kaitiaki	Guardian, keeper, caretaker, trustee, word designating Māori curators or other museum staff (literally one who cares)
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, trusteeship
Kākahu	Cloak, garment, put on clothes
Karaka	Native tree common in coastal areas
Karakia	Prayer-chant, religious service, incantation, invocation
Kauakaua	Native shrub or tree
Kaumātua	Elder or elders, male elder, respected elder, old man or woman
Kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy and principles, plan, policy
Kāwanatanga	Governorship, governor
Kete	Basket, usually of flax, bag, womb
Kiwi	National bird, inhabitant of New Zealand
Koha	Donation, gift given at pōwhiri, present
Kōhanga reo	Language nest(s), Māori language pre-school(s)
Korero	Speak, news, narrative
Koru	Folded, carved spiral pattern
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori-medium (language) primary school
Mana	Integrity, power, prestige, status, customary authority, respect
Manaaki	Care for, show respect, hospitality
Manaakitanga	The hosting of guests
Mana tangata	Human authority, the power acquired by an individual based on skills in a particular field
Māori	The indigenous peoples of New Zealand, who settled the country before the European colonial settlers. A person of Māori descent. The literal meaning of the word is 'ordinary', 'normal', 'natural'
Māoritanga	Māori culture, Māori perspective
Marae	Meeting area of Māori iwi or whānau, the area or courtyard in front of the meeting house, focal area of settlement, central area of village and its buildings

Mātauranga	Knowledge, information, education
Mauri	Life force, life essence, life principle
Mihi	Thanks, greet, greetings, acknowledge, respect
Mōkai	Servant, slave, pet, mascot
Mokamokai	Dried human head, often tattooed
Moko	Tattoo, incised body ornament
Moriori	Chatham Islanders, originally from East Polynesia, who have shared ancestry with Māori (King 2003)
Noa	Free from tapu, balance, neutrality, common
Pā	Fortified village, stockade, fortification, former name for marae complex
Pākehā	Non-Māori, European, Caucasian, white man; often taken to mean New Zealander of European descent
Pātaka	Food store, larder, pantry, storehouse
Pōwhiri	Opening ceremony, ceremonial welcome
Preservation	The act of preserving or the process of preservation. “Aims to retain the object in ideal conditions, so no further damage or decay will occur” (Caple 2000: 37)
Preserve	Keep safe or free from harm, decay; maintain in existing state
Preventive conservation	Akin to preservation; aims to address issues of storage, safe handling and carrying of objects, environmental controls and monitoring (e.g. light, humidity and temperature), producing copies of documents for researchers
Rangatiratanga	Chieftainship, kingdom, principality, sovereignty, chiefly authority
Restoration	“Returning an object to its original form or condition. It implies use of some material from the original and a resultant visual form which is very close to the original” (Caple 2000: 122)
Tangata	Man, human, person, adult person (sing.), people (pl.)
Tangata Whenua	People of the land, indigenous people
Tangi	Wail, mourn
Tangihanga	Funeral ceremony or rituals, mourning
Taonga	Tangible and intangible treasure, highly prized object, property
Tapa	Bark cloth
Tapu	Sacred, set apart, under spiritual restriction, forbidden, confidential,

	taboo
Te reo Māori	Māori language. English language is known as ‘te reo Pākehā’
Tikanga	Customs, customary rights and duties, obligations and conditions (legal)
Tiki (see also hei tiki)	Carved figure of human form
Tino	Absolute
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, paramount authority, chiefly control
Tūrangawaewae	A place to stand, home, standing in the tribe
Waka	Canoe, vessel, container
Wana	Inspire fear, awe
Wānanga, or Whare Wānanga	Learning, seminar; in this context Māori tertiary educational institutions, which further knowledge of Māori tradition and custom
Wehi	Fear, awe, fearsomeness, respect, terrible, formidable
Whakapapa	Genealogy, cultural identity, family tree
Whānau	In this context, extended family, now no longer restricted to Māori
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship
Whare	House
Whareniui	Large house, meeting house
Whenua	Land, placenta, earth, country, state

Abbreviations

AAG	Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council, UK
AICCM	Australian Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Material
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library (the research library within the NLNZ)
AM	Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira
ANZ	Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga
DPAG	Dunedin Public Art Gallery
EU	European Union (previously the European Economic Community, EEC)
Hocken	Hocken Library Collections Uare Taoko o Hākena
ICOMOS	The International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICON	The Institute of Conservation
MA	Museums Association, UK
MONZ	Museum of New Zealand
MRes	Master of Research in Anthropology
NLNZ	The National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa
NPO	The National Preservation Office Te Tari Tohu Taonga, NZ
NZCCM	New Zealand conservators of Cultural Materials Pu Manaaki Kahurangi Incorporated. Originally named New Zealand Professional Conservators Group (NZPCG)
OE	Overseas Experience
Stout Research Centre	Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria University of Wellington
Te Papa	Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand, Wellington
TOWRU	Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit
UN	The United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
VLE	Virtual learning environment
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui Aotearoa
WiPCE	World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education

Chapter 1: Introduction

To what extent is it possible to incorporate ‘cultural values’, or differing cultural perspectives, into the educational programme experience of heritage professionals? If it is possible, is it necessary or desirable, or might it be potentially cultural appropriation – speaking on behalf of others? Both museum studies and heritage preservation programmes consider ethical behaviour and codes of conduct when working with heritage artefacts. So are subject knowledge and an awareness of ethical practice enough, or does there need to be an additional level of complexity in the educational programme experience of heritage professionals who, potentially, will be working with artefacts from cultures other than their own?

This research has investigated the study and work experiences of heritage professionals working in museums, galleries, archives and universities in Aotearoa New Zealand during 2005 and 2006 and established their perspectives on cultural values. Based on the results of interviews with 100 individuals, this thesis explores the above questions, discusses the common themes identified and establishes whether, how and to what extent differing cultural perspectives might be incorporated into the educational programme experience of heritage professionals.

This chapter introduces the research and provides an overview of the thesis. It outlines the focus, theoretical framework and the methodology utilised in the data collection, and gives definitions of specific terms used in this thesis. Relevant ethical factors and the contribution that this research seeks to provide are also explored.

Research Background and Focus

My professional conservation work in both the United Kingdom and New Zealand prompted questions relating to the study and work experiences of heritage professionals.¹ Knowledge of ethics is an important aspect of a museum worker’s discipline. However, the question arose as to whether heritage professionals from a different culture from that to which the heritage belongs, with their knowledge of museum and preservation ethics, can

¹ The work experience was approximately ten years in the United Kingdom and just over three years in New Zealand.

gain a sufficient understanding of the host culture to enable them to respond appropriately to issues of display and conservation. Is this something that is necessary, or is an understanding of ethics enough?

One of the key influences on this research was the work of Miriam Clavir (1996; 1998; 1999; 2001). In her book 'Preserving What Is Valued' (2002), she discussed how museums are now working with Canadian First Nations in the preservation of their artefacts and assessed whether there was a conflict between museum and indigenous attitudes and priorities towards preservation. Her research included not only interviews with Canadian First Nations, but also a New Zealand case study. In this, she sought to ascertain the opinions of both Māori and *Pākehā* conservators on their working practices and whether, for the Māori conservators, cultural concerns regarding the artefacts, and the needs of Māori communities, conflicted with their professional training and ethics. Based on the opinions of her interviewees, Clavir proposed a model of preservation, which "involv[ed] both use and physical maintenance, incorporating such cultural elements as traditional care of regalia and common sense (e.g., not using objects in poor condition)" (Clavir 2002: 246). One of her aims in writing the book was to "provide a basis for self-reflection within conservation, especially in situations where conservation ethics and authority appear to be in conflict with others who have differing views, whether on preservation, science, or museums" (Clavir 2002: 249).

The current research builds on Clavir's findings and considers how the New Zealand heritage sector has changed since her original interviews in 1994. By taking her work as a starting point, the current research aimed to establish attitudes to the relationship between museums and communities in New Zealand and to explore whether it is possible to teach an awareness of the differing views that Clavir identified, in formal and informal educational programmes for heritage professionals.

In addition to the aim of building on Clavir's New Zealand case study, the research was located in New Zealand for a number of reasons. The recent impact of Māori cultural values on education and the bicultural nature of New Zealand society make New Zealand a useful case study (Laidlaw 1990; Williams 1990; Clifford 2001; Walker, Eketone et al. 2006). New Zealand has been described as "a laboratory whose isolation, size, and recency is an advantage, in which grand themes of world history are often played out more rapidly, more separately, and therefore more discernibly, than elsewhere" (Belich 1996: 7). This view is supported by Gibbs (2001: 674) who argues, "that the cross-cultural context

of Māori social research has significant methodological implications, some of which have relevance beyond the social sciences and beyond New Zealand” (see also Henry and Pene 2001; Tolich 2001; Tuhiwai Smith 2006). Therefore, New Zealand, with its indigenous Māori and European settler influenced society, demonstrates both indigenous and Eurocentric perspectives in the approach to heritage display and preservation.

As described above, my personal work experience is in the heritage sector. Prior to beginning my training as a conservator in 1991, I both practiced and taught a wide variety of art techniques. Since becoming a conservator, I have worked predominantly in national heritage institutions. It was, therefore, natural to undertake research in the sector with which I had the most familiarity, and in which I had the most contacts.

The experience gained whilst working as a conservator at the NLNZ and my ten months’ field research in New Zealand enabled me to build a rapport with the participants and aided a deeper understanding of the research situation. Being British meant that I was considered an ‘outsider’ in terms of my role as an interviewer. However, my previous experience of living and working in the country also placed me as an ‘insider’ with the consequent risk of ‘going native’, “whereby the study group, and not the community of researchers, becomes the main group with whom the researcher identifies” (Baxter and Eyles 1997: 509). Bernard (2002: 329) does not believe that this is, necessarily, a disadvantage. He feels that “total objectivity is, by definition, a myth” and that it is “more about producing credible data and strong analysis and less about whether going native is good or bad”.

Aim and Objectives of the Research

The research explores whether differing cultural perspectives can be incorporated into the educational programme experience of heritage professionals. This will be achieved through an exploration of the relationship between ‘cultural values’ and the study and work experience of heritage professionals. In addition, the research provides evidence for the hypothesis that, prior to 1990, the educational experience of heritage professionals, currently working in the New Zealand heritage sector, either did not include, or inadequately incorporated, differing cultural perspectives.² The research further

² The date of 1990 has been chosen for several reasons. The majority of the available literature, sourced to date, suggests that developments relevant to the current research have predominantly occurred from the late

investigates whether an awareness of ‘cultural values’ is of benefit to, in the case of New Zealand, bicultural understanding and how this might be achieved through an educational programme experience.

Utilising semi-structured interviewing, the object was to determine how heritage specialists responsible for the display and conservation of material culture in New Zealand were trained and whether their educational programmes incorporated an awareness of Māori and non-Māori cultural values.³ The research further sought to establish participant definitions of the term ‘cultural values’ and examine their opinions on the roles of heritage professionals and institutions. This then set the context for an exploration of the participants’ views, based on their study and work experiences, on whether it is possible, necessary, or desirable, to incorporate cultural values into educational programmes.

Outline of Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The research takes advantage of relevant literature in various interdisciplinary contexts. These include museum, preservation, anthropological, representational and cultural studies (for example, Geertz 1973; Karp and Lavine 1991; Simpson 1996; Lidchi 1997; Sandell 1998; Clifford 1999; Cohen 2000; Wilson and Hunt 2000; Hooper-Greenhill 2000a; Clavir 2002; Sandell 2002; Brown 2003; Kreps 2003; Peers and Brown 2003; Bennett 2004; Simms 2005; Corsane 2005a; Gurian 2006; Macdonald 2006; Smith 2006; Peers 2007; McCarthy 2007a).

The theoretical framework, set firmly within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, considers postcolonial theory and concepts of national identity, builds on current curatorial and

1980s/early 1990s onwards. Of these developments, the exhibition ‘Te Māori’ (tour dates – USA: 1984-86, NZ: 1986-87) and the designation of the Māori language as an official language in New Zealand (1987) have been described as pivotal. Research participants acknowledged this and suggested that many of the major changes in New Zealand society happened over the last 15-20 years.

³ In this thesis, educational programmes will refer to both formal and informal education. For example, degree programmes in universities, continuing professional development (CPD), and informal preservation workshops run by private conservators or the National Preservation Office, New Zealand.

heritage preservation theories, comparing Eurocentric and indigenous approaches, and briefly examines perspectives on values and the history and development of education.⁴

Previous research (Karp and Lavine 1991; Simpson 1996, 2001; Clavir 2002; Kreps 2003; Peers and Brown 2003; Kreps 2006; Peers 2007; Sully 2007) has demonstrated that, since the late 1980s, museum curators and conservators have started to work with indigenous peoples in the display, storage and conservation of their indigenous artefacts, for example, in Canada, the United States of America and New Zealand. This collaboration has enabled museum staff to take into account, and show respect to, indigenous perspectives and beliefs. Cultural context, the opinions of host cultures and the move towards a guardianship role on the part of heritage institutions all impact on decision-making processes relating to what cultural heritage to display or preserve and why. This, in turn, directly informs museum, preservation and cultural heritage education and policy and determines the knowledge, heritage and values passed on to future generations, so influencing their perceptions of themselves in terms of their place in a national identity.

However, two questions arise. Has the study experience of heritage professionals, currently working in the New Zealand heritage sector, taken account of both the collaboration with indigenous peoples and the bicultural and culturally diverse nature of New Zealand society?⁵ Is it possible to incorporate an awareness for differing cultural perspectives and beliefs into the educational programme experience of heritage professionals, with the aim of making ‘cultural awareness’ an integrated, sustainable and core part of future heritage training and practice?

The current research builds on this previous research by establishing, through qualitative interviews, the opinions of Māori and non-Māori heritage professionals in Aotearoa New Zealand as regards cultural values, their incorporation into training and utilisation in the

⁴ Various terms used in this thesis, including ‘indigenous’, ‘Eurocentric’ and ‘Western’, can be contentious or open to interpretation and so will be defined later in this chapter.

⁵ In this context, ‘heritage professionals’ includes both New Zealanders and non-New Zealanders, who have trained either in or outside New Zealand and who are now living and working in New Zealand. This definition, therefore, includes curators / archivists and educators employed in heritage institutions and universities for whom there is training in New Zealand, and conservators for whom there is no training in New Zealand.

work place, and the feasibility of learning or acquiring respect for each others' cultural perspectives on heritage curation and preservation.

The primary method, semi-structured interviewing, was chosen as it provided a controlled yet flexible system of asking pre-determined 'open' questions. Prior to the interviews, data analysis factors were devised in order to assist in the compilation of the questions and the interview questionnaire. I conducted all the interviews, with the majority being on a one-to-one, face-to-face basis; the exceptions were a one-to-one telephone interview and a face-to-face group interview with four participants. With the permission of the participants, all interviews were audio recorded and handwritten notes taken at the time of the interview. The interviews were undertaken in two phases in order to take advantage of the opportunity to verify the data whilst in the field. The majority of the data were collected using the questionnaire during phase 1 at the start of the field research. Phase 2 involved a smaller number of participants who were asked to consider and verify the phase 1 data through the discussion of specific topics derived from a preliminary analysis of that phase.

Coding was undertaken using the qualitative computer software package NVivo 7, which facilitated the organisation and management of the research data. Data analysis was carried out in two stages. As the intention was to identify patterns and common themes in the data gathered from questionnaire interviews and so suggest hypotheses, grounded theory was used as the basis for the analysis of the phase 1 interviews. The phase 2 data, being less structured than the phase 1, and concerned with data verification and the testing of hypotheses, utilised content analysis.

Defining Terms used in this Thesis

This thesis uses a number of terms that can be problematic and contentious. The purpose of this section is to present definitions that are meaningful for the current research and which provide clarity for the reader.

The concept of 'indigenous' is particularly contentious, with both indigenous peoples and the United Nations (UN) resisting the adoption of an official definition of the term (Galla 1997; see also Kenrick and Lewis 2004). The 'United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples', adopted in September 2007, did not give a specific definition, but instead stated that they affirmed that "indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples, while recognising the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different,

and to be respected as such” (UN 2007: 2). The dictionary defines ‘indigenous’ as “originating naturally in a region” (Allen 1992: 602; see also Ashcroft, Griffiths et al. 1998). For the purposes of this thesis, ‘indigenous’ refers predominantly to New Zealand Māori, the original settlers of New Zealand.

The word ‘native’ can be similarly problematic, as it has been used as an offensive term. As a noun (often followed by ‘of’), the dictionary (Allen 1992: 789) defines it as “a person born in a specified place, or whose parents are domiciled in that place at the time of the birth”, but it can be offensive when it refers to “a member of a non-White indigenous people, as regarded by the colonial settlers”. One of the definitions, when used as an adjective, is “indigenous (especially of a non-European); born in a place”. The word is also linked to a mode of behaviour, as in “go native (of a settler), adopt the local way of life, especially in a non-European country” (see also Bernard 2002; Dictionary.com 2007: native). It is in a negative context that Walker refers to the word, stating “the pejorative term Native [was replaced] in official usage with Maori” (Walker 1990 [2004]: 196).

‘European’ is used in a variety of contexts in the thesis. As an adjective, it is used to denote “of or in Europe; descended from natives of Europe; originating in or characteristic of Europe; concerning Europe as a whole, rather than its individual countries”, while as a noun it refers to “a native or inhabitant of Europe; a person descended from natives of Europe” (Allen 1992: 403). ‘Eurocentric’ is a relatively new term, originating in the early 1960s. It is defined as “centred on Europe and Europeans; considering Europe and Europeans as focal to world culture, history, economics, etc” (Dictionary.com 2007: Eurocentric). The terms ‘West’ and ‘Western’ (with initial capital letters) are potentially more challenging and, as Young (2003: 100) states, “there is no single undifferentiated ‘west’”. ‘West’ is defined as “European in contrast to Oriental civilization; the non-Communist States of Western Europe and North America” (Allen 1992: 1394; Dictionary.com 2007: West). ‘Western’ builds on this definition, as it is “of or relating to the West; of, pertaining to, living in, or characteristic of the West; Occidental” (Allen 1992: 1394; Dictionary.com 2007: Western). The term ‘westerner’, “a native or inhabitant of the west” varies in its capitalisation and is an Americanism dating from 1830-1840 (Allen 1992: 1394; Dictionary.com 2007: westerner).

In the context of this thesis ‘heritage professionals’ refers to curators, archivists, collection managers, conservators, preservation specialists, museum educators and university staff teaching on museum and heritage studies courses. The word ‘artefact’, denoting “a

product of human art and workmanship” is used in preference to ‘object’ (as in heritage object) in this thesis (Allen 1992: 60). Although the word ‘object’ is commonly used in heritage conservation, as it is an all-encompassing term, it could be open to misinterpretation. ‘Cultural heritage’ is referred to, usually in the context of an institution. Edson’s definition is relevant here, “a tradition, habit, skill, art form, or institution that is passed from one generation to the next” (1997a: 268).

In the primary research question (see below), the term ‘to incorporate’ is used. In this context, it means to “unite, form into one body or whole”, which was felt to be a stronger term than ‘include’, and so more accurately reflects the findings of this research, in which participants stated that cultural values need to be an integral part of an educational programme, not an add-on, or tokenism (Allen 1992: 599).

The word ‘awareness’ was used during discussions with participants on the subject and focus of the research. This was particularly the case during questions in section 4 of the questionnaire. In order to elucidate the questions further, participants were sometimes asked about the feasibility of raising awareness and respect for differing cultural values. ‘Awareness’, therefore, meant “conscious, having knowledge” (Allen 1992: 75; Dictionary.com 2007: awareness).

The term ‘cultural values’, which might also be expressed as cultural perspectives or attitudes, is ill-defined in the literature and open to interpretation. While a search for use of the term on the internet and in journal articles produced numerous results, very few definitive definitions were available and the phrase itself does not appear in the dictionary. One reason for this may be that the meaning behind the term varies across disciplines. For the purposes of this study, definitions of ‘culture’ and ‘values’ from the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, history, education studies, psychology, cultural studies and philosophy were examined as a means of providing a context for the research.

‘Cultural’ is defined as “of or relating to the cultivation of the mind or manners, especially through artistic or intellectual activity”, while ‘culture’ is “the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively; the customs, civilisation, and achievements of a particular time or people” (Allen 1992:282). Anthropologically, this is termed “the totality of ideas, skills and objects shared by a community or society” (Barnard 2000: 140). ‘Culture’ can also be extended to include “the system of values, beliefs and ideas that social groups make use of in experiencing the world in mutually meaningful ways” (Groenfeldt 2003: 920).

Williams (1973: 57) provides three definitions of 'culture'. The most relevant for the current research is the 'social' definition, "in which culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour" (see also Williams 1989). It is 'meanings', and also symbols, that Geertz (1973: 89) is concerned with. Eager to give a clear definition of a term that has acquired a "studied vagueness", he defines 'culture' as a "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (see also Hooper-Greenhill 2000b). However, Geertz has been criticised for his interpretivist approach and reliance on symbols within a culture (for example the Balinese cockfight) to represent the whole of that culture (Wedeen 2002; Singh 2004).

In philosophy, the term 'culture' has both a broad definition, which is used "to describe all aspects characteristic of a particular form of human life" and a narrow definition, which is taken "to denote only the [implicit] system of values" (Honderich 1995: 172). This narrow definition is described as being "the province of the humanities, whose aim is to interpret and transmit to future generations the system of values in terms of which participants in a form of life find meaning and purpose. [Culture] permits the self conscious evaluation of human possibilities in the light of a system of values that reflect prevailing ideals about what human life ought to be" (Honderich 1995: 172). This explanation is mirrored by that in psychology texts, which define 'value' "as an individual's conception of what is desirable; his abstract ideals about behaviours and goals. [Therefore,] his values reveal what he would like to be true" (Dobson, Hardy et al. 1982: 344).

These definitions are built on by Ratner (2000a), who draws on Vygotskian educational and activity theory in his discussion of 'concepts of culture'. Human agency has been shown to be an integral aspect of culture and in Ratner's theory of cultural phenomena cultural values are one important facet, although Singh argues, "cultural values only measure the behavioural aspect of culture" (Singh 2004: 95). Ratner's definition can be linked to those of Geertz (1973) and Williams (1973) as regards the significance of 'meanings' in 'culture'. Ratner (2000a: 8) places 'cultural values' together with meanings, schemas and concepts, explaining how "people collectively endow things with meaning. Youth, old age, man, woman, bodily features, wealth, nature, and time mean different things in different societies" (see also Ratner 2000b; Panofsky 2003).

In the context of this thesis, ‘values’ relates to “one’s principles or standards; one’s judgement of what is valuable or important in life” (Allen 1992: 1357; see also Edson 1997a: 271). They are the “guiding principles of a social group [which] shape the substance of thoughts and feelings ... through mediating between collective institutions and individual behaviour” (Groenfeldt 2003: 920). When values are shared in this way, they “tend to be transmitted from generation to generation and acquire public meaning and stability over time” (Singh 2004: 99).

As Ratner (2000a) demonstrated above, the principles can vary according to society and location and an individual’s values and behaviour may be learnt and internalised through socialisation and the transmission of ideas (see also Hoebel 1960; Murdock 1960; O’Sullivan, Hartley et al. 1994). However, this can lead to self-appreciation within a society and a lack of understanding and approbation for the norms of other cultures, even if they are also located within that society (Benedict and Mead 1960). In order to gain an insight into differing cultural values, Geertz (1973: 141) suggests studying “the behaviour of actual people in actual societies living in terms of actual cultures”, as it is this that leads to an understanding of “what values are and how they work”.

Certain Māori terms, for example *tikanga* Māori, *taonga* Māori, *kaupapa* Māori (Māori philosophy and principles) and *mātauranga* Māori (Māori knowledge), are used in this thesis, together with specific Māori words, as appropriate to the context. The words and terms are defined and explained when they first appear in the text; in addition, they are listed in the Glossary.

Research Questions

Primary Research Question

This thesis addresses the question, ‘to what extent has it been possible, and is it necessary or desirable, to incorporate different cultural perspectives into the education programme experience of heritage professionals working in Aotearoa New Zealand?’. The question sought to explore the experiences of heritage professionals working in the heritage sector in New Zealand during the research period of 2005-2006. It further aimed to establish their opinions on the feasibility and potential methods for incorporating differing cultural perspectives into educational programmes. Educational programmes provided the methodological tool for ascertaining their experiences and opinions.

The question can be broken down into a number of points in order both to elaborate on the meaning behind the question and to demonstrate how the question formed the basis of the interview questionnaire. By establishing the 'education programme experience' of the participants, it was possible to build a profile of a cross-section of the heritage industry in New Zealand over a particular time-period. The participants could also reflect on their own experiences, so providing the context for them to consider how any perceived omissions in the programmes that they undertook as students, could potentially be addressed in the future. This was determined through the first section of the questionnaire, which sought to establish participants' education and work experience and the fourth section, which examined their opinions of certain aspects of the educational programmes they undertook (the questionnaire had five sections).

The phrase 'different cultural perspectives' is central to the research and the question. In order to make the phrase meaningful, both for the participants and for this research, participants were encouraged to define the term 'cultural values' and discuss notions of significance through the second section of the questionnaire. Further background information on the concepts behind these terms was sought through section 3, which aimed to establish their opinions of the relationship between heritage institutions and communities. In addition, the intention of the third section was to provide a forum for discussing the definition and contemporary role of a 'heritage professional' and the developing and evolving relationship between heritage institutions and their users – the community.

Three main factors within this question – has it been possible, is it necessary and is it desirable – formed the basis of the fourth section of the research questionnaire. The first factor addressed the participants' study and work experience. Aiming to ascertain the types of study and training courses available to them, and whether the courses had included 'cultural values' (as defined by the participants), this part of the question sought to create the context for the other two factors.

The objective of the second half of section 4 was to establish participant opinions on whether, in the future, it was possible, necessary or desirable to incorporate different cultural perspectives and the methods they would utilise to achieve this, if they were involved in the writing and development of an educational programme for heritage professionals. The intention of the preceding questions was to lead the participants to the

point where, having defined the context, they could determine, in theory, how an educational programme might be written to incorporate different cultural perspectives.

Secondary Research Questions

In order to formulate the interview questions, the primary research question was broken down into a number of secondary questions. These provide a link between the primary research question and the data, and will be utilised in Chapters 4 and 6 to aid the discussion of the research data.

- To what extent is it possible for heritage professionals working in Aotearoa New Zealand to define differing cultural perspectives?
- Are notions of significance and cultural significance relevant in addressing differing attitudes to curatorial and preservation priorities?
- Are heritage professionals cognisant of the tensions between Eurocentric and indigenous curatorial and preservation perspectives?
- To what extent does the notion of controversy reflect an awareness of differing cultural perspectives?
- To what extent have formal and informal educational programmes undertaken by heritage professionals currently working in Aotearoa New Zealand reflected differing cultural perspectives?
- Is it possible, necessary or desirable for formal and informal educational programmes to incorporate differing cultural perspectives?

Research Ethics

In undertaking research with people, various ethical considerations need to be addressed. Informed (also known as ‘real’ and ‘valid’ consent) and voluntary consent is vital (Kent 2000b). For the sake of the participants’ autonomy, they need to be fully aware of, and understand, the research context and focus, and the intended use of the research data (Kent 2000b; Tolich 2001; Wilkinson 2001; UoL 2006; Johnson 2008). Ideally, written consent to participate in the research should be obtained, particularly when information is gathered through interviews.⁶ Equally, it is important to ensure participant anonymity and

⁶ The current research obtained initial consent to participate in the project by email; further written consent, with a signature, giving permission to use the information collected for research purposes, was gathered at the conclusion of the interview, so ensuring that the participants were fully aware of the research subject and the information that they had given. See Chapter 2 and Appendix 1.

confidentiality, keep them informed regarding the on-going use and dissemination of their contributions and to maintain their trust (Kent 2000a). The interviewer can potentially be responsible for the emotional well being of the interviewee if they have divulged, or been encouraged to divulge, personal or sensitive information (Bernard 2002). It is, therefore, necessary to ensure that participants will not suffer any harm because of the information given, or its subsequent use (UoL 2006; see also Gibson 2008; Johnson 2008).

It is necessary to consider the reasons for undertaking the particular research topic and its potential effects on those taking part in the research (Crow 2000). In addition, Gibbs (2001: 676) believes that, “researchers have an ethical obligation to the research community to undertake research appropriately”. In her own research with a Māori community, she used semi-structured interviewing with ‘open’ questions.

Misrepresentation was prevented by framing “questions in terms of cultural metaphors, and responses [were] understood in that context, [with respectful,] open, honest, and timely communication, [leading] ideally to relationships of trust between researchers and researcher participants, [so establishing] the foundation of successful cross-cultural collaboration research” (Gibbs 2001: 684).

The question of power in the relationship between interviewer and interviewee is relevant to a consideration of ethics. By divulging information, the participant is potentially losing control of that data, so risking disempowerment. The interviewer needs to be aware of the dynamics of the situation and work in a way that empowers the participant, so leading to an equal and mutually beneficial relationship (Crow 2000). In New Zealand, the concept of *Kaupapa* Māori is also relevant to a discussion of power relations and ethics. *Kaupapa* Māori is “Māori-centred research. [It] is about bringing to the centre and privileging indigenous values, attitudes and practices” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 125). *Tikanga* Māori is therefore an integral part, enabling Māori principles and perspectives to lead the research process. Although essentially aimed at Māori researchers undertaking research with Māori participants, the methodology is also of relevance to non-Māori researchers who seek to empower indigenous participants and practices (Cram 2001).

One of the essential aspects of the research process when working with indigenous participants is to consider whether traditional knowledge is being investigated. Gibbs (2001: 680) acknowledges that there can be issues regarding the difference between traditional and non-traditional knowledge. She defines ‘traditional knowledge’ as “culturally sacred knowledge, traditional or customary ecological knowledge, knowledge

of genealogies, burial sites, specific cultural sites, and the like”, which means that it is considered *tapu* or sacred. Such knowledge is not meant for general dissemination (Cram 2001). Research information and contracts, therefore, should clearly state at the outset the intentions of the researcher regarding the type of knowledge required. Given this definition, it would appear that the current research into cultural values does not include, as such, an examination of traditional knowledge. However, it does refer to *tikanga* Māori, which has links to traditional knowledge. Therefore, only published works in the public sphere written by Māori academics were cited in any discussions of *tikanga* (for example, see Walker 1990 [2004]; Karetu 1992; Walker 1992; Mead 2003).

In addition to undertaking ethically appropriate research and considering the needs of the participants, it is important to be aware of researcher safety (UoL 2006). A recent report ‘Inquiry into the Risk to Well-Being of Researchers in Qualitative Research’ found that both physical and emotional harm were risks faced by qualitative researchers (Attwood 2007). Risk assessment is a necessary part of the research preparation process. The current research took place in major cities in a country where I knew people, had prior knowledge of many of the locations and felt comfortable. Care was still taken, however, to ensure that my whereabouts were known, particularly when visiting new areas or interviewing a participant at their house.

Research Contribution

Existing research has examined New Zealand and Māori values (Patterson 1992; Webster 2001) and work has been carried out into values and their relevance for the heritage and preservation professions (Rhyne 1995; de la Torre, Mason *et al.* 2000; Clavir 2002; de la Torre 2002). More recently, research examined cultural values transmission in classrooms (Qi 2003) and the benefits of reflexive practice in relation to ethical decision-making in conservation have been explored (Graves 2006; Graves, Bos *et al.* 2006). However, a search of the available literature suggests that research into cultural values or differing cultural perspectives and their possible incorporation into the informal adult and formal tertiary educational experience has not been undertaken from the stance of heritage, its exhibition and preservation, and the role and responsibilities of a heritage professional. Nor have the potential differences between the teaching of ethical practice and the transmission of cultural values in heritage educational programmes been addressed.

This research, therefore, seeks to contribute to the existing body of heritage related literature by investigating whether and how differing cultural perspectives could be

incorporated into the educational programme experience of heritage professionals, the necessity for doing this, given the ethical approach of many disciplines, and the desirability of such an action in a context sensitive environment. The investigation established that such a strategy was considered vital by the research participants and, further, identified three main findings. By becoming aware of one's own cultural values, it can be possible to recognise both commonalities and different perspectives, so gaining an understanding of the values and belief systems of cultures and societies other than one's own. Language acquisition was highlighted as one of the key methods in gaining awareness of a culture and its values. This gives insight into different worldviews, so facilitating understanding of cultural sensitivities. Although both museum and heritage preservation studies include ethical components, it was concluded that facilitating an awareness of differing cultural values would be of benefit. By incorporating both elements at the core of the course framework, it could be possible to combine best practice with an environment that encouraged self-reflection and an appreciation and understanding of other modes of behaviour. Future research will further examine these findings as the means for informing the production of underlying principles for curriculum development to be incorporated into the framework of heritage programmes for museological and conservation professionals.

Overview of the Thesis

The thesis, in eight chapters, comprises an overview of the methodology, a review of the relevant literature and a discussion of the research data. Preceding Chapter 1, the Glossary and information relating to the Māori language are given. Relevant documentation and additional data are given in the appendices.

The structure of the thesis places the methodology chapter after this introductory chapter. This allows the research to be placed firmly within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, and enables the discussion of the methodology to support the following four literary and research discussion chapters, which form the core of the thesis. These central chapters are presented as pairs, with each literature review supporting its companion research discussion. The final two chapters further support these core chapters, as they 'bookend' the thesis, providing an assessment of the research design and a concluding summary of research findings.

Research into the potential incorporation of differing cultural perspectives into educational programmes for heritage professionals was undertaken through a series of semi-structured interviews with curators, conservators and educators in heritage institutions and

universities. In Chapter 2, the relevant methodological literature is briefly reviewed, followed by a discussion on why semi-structured interviewing was chosen for this research. The interview process, including the choice of participants, the factors on which the interview questions were based and the sectional format of the questionnaire is detailed and justified. The methods of coding and analysis are also presented.

Chapter 3, the first literature review, conveys the Aotearoa New Zealand context, briefly documents its history and emergent national identity and provides an overview of the cultural heritage and preservation context. Chapter 4 continues the theme of setting the context for the research through an analysis of the participants' work and training experience and demographic information. The data are presented in the form of generalised participant profiles. Participants' experiential influences and attitudes to communities and heritage institutions are also explored in this chapter.

The literature is returned to in Chapter 5, with an examination of perspectives on values, and an overview of the history and development of the education sector. Chapter 6 presents the research data on perceptions of values, determining significance, the participants' study experiences and their opinions on the feasibility of producing an educational programme, which aims to raise awareness and respect for differing cultural perspectives.

An assessment of the interview responses and research design is given in Chapter 7, and the participant reactions to the research and the questions are explored. The strengths and weaknesses of the research, methodology, coding and analysis are also considered. The thesis concludes with a summary of the research findings and suggestions for further research in Chapter 8.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the research, set out the theoretical framework and methodology, and provided a structural overview of the thesis. Ethics, as they relate to the context of the research, have also been examined.

Certain problematic terms used within this thesis have been explored and definitions provided. However, their discussion merely emphasised the complexity of the concepts under review in this research and demonstrated that definitive definitions cannot be given for terms such as 'cultural values'. The difficulties encountered by the research

participants in attempting to define these concepts are placed in context by the lack of authoritative description in the literature.

The next chapter will examine the methodology, data collection, coding and analysis of the research data. It will provide an overview of the methods used, assess their viability through reference to the literature and justify their choice. A brief assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of using a computer software package for the data analysis is given.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodology and analysis utilised for this research, reviews the relevant literature and provides justification for the approach taken. It provides an overview of the field research, its location, the method of sourcing the participants, the production of the interview questionnaire and the interview process. The chapter also examines the collection, coding, analysis and verification of the data.

The field research, lasting ten months, took place in Aotearoa New Zealand from September 2005 to June 2006 (see Plate 1). It was divided into two main sections. Phase 1 (September to December 2005) was the most concentrated period, during which the majority of the primary research data were collected, in the form of interviews with 87 participants. From January to June 2006, I was a Resident Scholar at the Stout Research Centre. The residency facilitated the initial data analysis of the phase 1 interviews and the production of common themes and hypotheses. As a consequence of this, a further ten interviews, with 13 participants (phase 2), were conducted, at the same time as the residency, in order to verify the theories and models identified during the analysis and take advantage of the opportunity to carry out further interviews whilst still in the field.

The primary data collection technique utilised was semi-structured interviewing. This method was successfully piloted for the dissertation research (Atkinson 2003) undertaken as part of my Master of Research (MRes) degree. The majority of the interviews were conducted on a face-to-face, one-to-one basis, with the exceptions being a telephone interview during phase 1 and a group interview in phase 2.

Coding of the data for analysis was carried out using the qualitative computer software package QSR NVivo 7 (QSR 2003-2006). This proved to be an essential part of the data management, providing a method for organising and coding the large amount of data gathered. The subsequent data analysis, using grounded theory and content analysis, formed the basis of the research discussion and facilitated the identification of common themes within the data.

Aotearoa New Zealand Field Research: Location of Data Collection

Seven main sites within New Zealand were initially chosen for the research. Following discussions with potential participants, this number was eventually reduced to six (two regional sites are included in one of the main centres). The choice of these centres was

determined by the location of identified participants, the accessibility of the institutions, conference venue sites and existing contacts within the heritage sector.

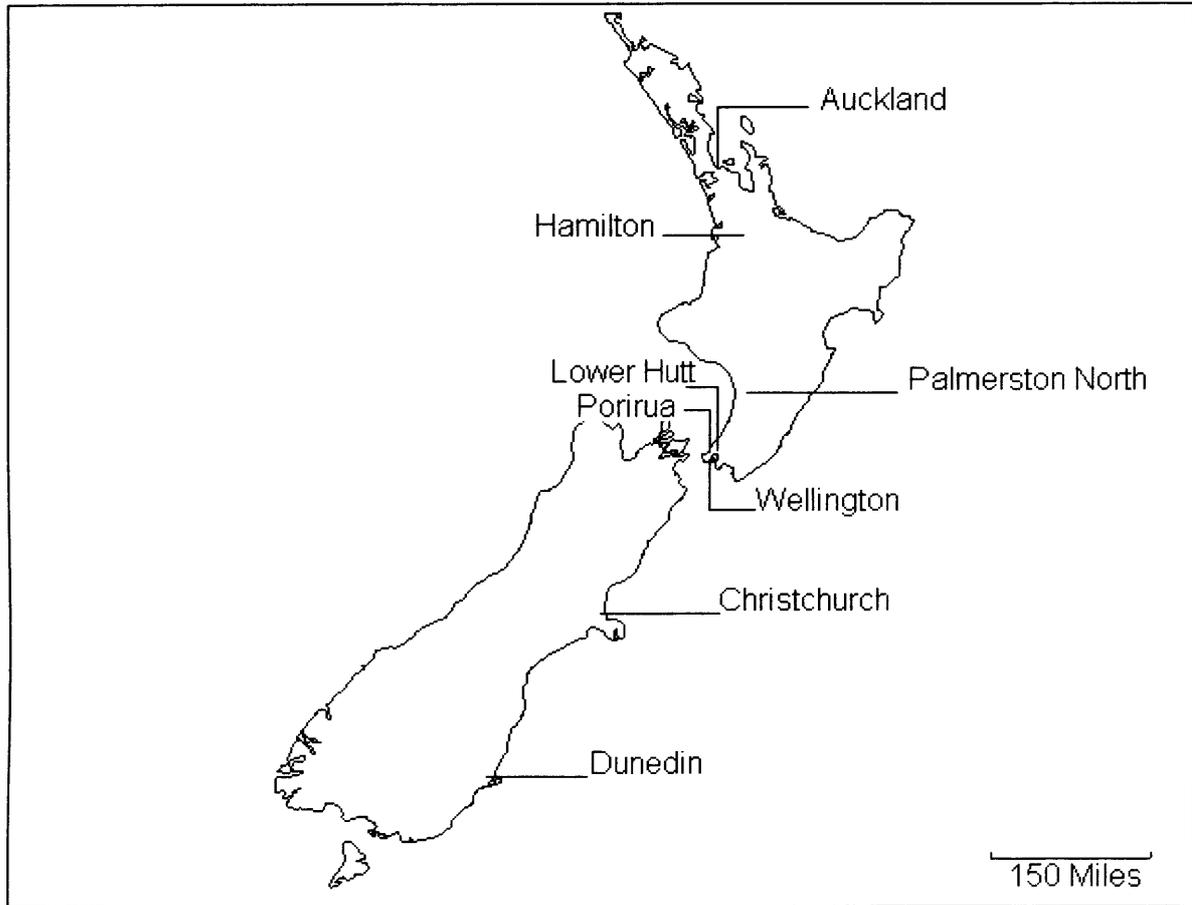


Plate 1 - Map of Aotearoa New Zealand

Just over half of the interviews (50 of the 97, or 51.5%) were based in Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, situated at the base of the North Island. This was predominantly due to my having worked at the NLNZ in Wellington from 1998-2001 and so the majority of my known contacts were based in Wellington. Besides being the parliamentary capital, Wellington is also known as the ‘cultural capital’, as it is the location for various national cultural institutions in New Zealand (WCC 2007; WellingtonNZ 2007). Within central Wellington these include Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand, the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa (which also houses the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), a research library) and Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga (ANZ). The Greater Wellington region is the location for two important cultural centres, the New Dowse in Lower Hutt Central and PATAKA Museum in Porirua City.

Three visits were made to Auckland during the ten-month field research, with 21.6% of the interviews taking place there. Auckland, in the upper North Island, is the business capital of New Zealand and is the largest city, with a population of 1,158,891 in 2001 (StatsNZ 2007a). Cultural institutions include Auckland Art Gallery Toi O Tamaki (AAG) and Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira (AM).

Although only two interviews took place during the one visit to Hamilton, this centre was chosen as I was able to combine interviewing participants with attending the 'World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education' (WiPCE) 2005, a conference which hosted 3000 indigenous peoples from all over the world. Hamilton, the location for Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga O Waikato, is situated in the west of the North Island, in the Waikato region.

The one visit to Palmerston North in the centre of the lower North Island was predominantly to interview participants at Massey University Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa. However, the opportunity was also taken to interview participants associated with Te Manawa / Manawatu Museum Services. Palmerston North accounted for 7.2% of the interviews.

Two South Island visits were undertaken. Christchurch, on the upper east coast of the South Island was scheduled to coincide with the 'New Zealand Professional Conservators Group Pu Manaaki Kahurangi Inc. (NZPCG) Conference 2005', at which I presented a paper.⁷ Known as the 'Garden City', Christchurch's cultural institutions include Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetu and Canterbury Museum (CCC 2008). Four participants from Christchurch were interviewed, including one by telephone, comprising 4.1% of the total interviews.

The second South Island visit was to Dunedin, on the lower east coast of the South Island. This city was predominantly colonised by Scottish settlers and its name means 'Little Edinburgh'. Cultural institutions in the city include Otago Museum, Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin Public Art Gallery (DPAG) and the Hocken Library collections Uare

⁷ The name of the New Zealand Professional Conservators Group Pu Manaaki Kahurangi Inc (NZPCG) changed in October 2006 to the New Zealand Conservators of Cultural Materials Pu Manaaki Kahurangi Inc (NZCCM).

Taoka o Hākena (Hocken), which are part of the University of Otago Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo. Interviews in Dunedin accounted for 13.4% of the total.

The Participants

In order to establish a research community from which to gather data, it is necessary to decide what type of data are required and who is best suited to provide that data. The two main types of data in social science research are individual data, from “a scientifically drawn, unbiased sample”, achieved through ‘probability sampling’, and cultural data, the method utilised in this research, which “require[s] experts” and is realised through ‘non-probability sampling’ (Bernard 2002: 142).

For the purposes of the current research, participants were chosen for their knowledge of the socio-cultural context (Bernard 2002). A useful exercise in the identification of a suitable research group to interview is the compilation of a list of factors against which the potential participants can be judged (see Table 2 below). These factors can include, for example, profession, nationality, location and age and are derived from the research focus, questions and relevant literature. Within the constraints of this list of factors the group of participants will, ideally, be as distinct and wide ranging as possible (Stroh 2000a).

The numbers of participants in qualitative research do not tend to form a sample that is statistically representative, nor are there sufficient interviewees to “provide an adequate basis for inferential statistics. The inferences that can be drawn from qualitative data are termed ‘common sense’ or logical, rather than statistical” (Stroh 2000a: 203).

The focus of the research was to discover whether the educational programme experience of heritage professionals, working in New Zealand during the research period of 2005-2006, included cultural values, and whether it is possible, necessary or desirable to incorporate different cultural perspectives into future educational programmes aimed at heritage professionals. Therefore, potential participants were chosen from two specific sectors for their ability to contribute to the research – curators, conservators and museum educators in the public and private heritage sectors, and staff in the university sector who either taught on museum studies or cultural heritage courses, or had research interests related to the current research area. Within these professions as many people as possible were contacted. While the aim was to seek a balance in terms of the professions, gender, age and ethnicity of the people contacted, the participants themselves determined their

inclusion in the research sample by their positive or negative responses to my requests for an interview. This introduced a random element into the purposeful sampling process.

Sector	Heritage (public and private) / university
Profession	Limited to those specifically involved in the exhibition, conservation, interpretation and teaching of heritage related subjects, namely conservators, curators / archivists / librarians, and educators in museums or universities, and those responsible for the strategic direction of heritage institutions, namely chief executives
Location	New Zealand, cities or conurbations with heritage institutions and universities
Types of institution	Museums, art galleries, archives, libraries, heritage trusts, universities, private heritage consultants, government ministries
Gender	Both
Age groups	Ranging from 20 – 80 in ten year blocks
Ethnic background	Range of nationalities and ethnicities representative of contemporary New Zealand

Table 2 - Participant Factors

Sourcing and Choice of the Participants

The participants were sourced and contacted prior to travelling to New Zealand. A variety of methods were used, including discussions with known contacts (both in New Zealand and in the United Kingdom), correspondence with individuals in museums, art galleries, heritage and government organisations, and using university websites and an internet database of conservation professionals as a contact resource (for the conservation database, see NZCCM 2007). During field research, contacts and interviewees suggested further potential participants and these were subsequently followed up.

The potential participants' backgrounds were checked, where possible, for suitability as regards their relevant knowledge in the current field of research. However, available information was not always up to date and this led, on occasion, to participants questioning why I had contacted them. This generated an email discussion, during which, if appropriate, I sent a copy of the interview questionnaire to the person to assist them in their decision regarding participation. Often the person would agree to contribute, but sometimes the discussion resulted in that participant choosing not to take part.

A number of factors can increase response rates when asking people to participate in the interview process. These include prior contact with individuals in the sample group, explaining how and why that person was chosen as a potential participant, explaining the subject and purpose of the research and ensuring confidentiality and anonymity (Oppenheim 1992). Non-response can be an important factor in the research process. Assessing why a proportion of the sample group declines to be interviewed or does not respond can lead to a more rigorous approach and, potentially, a greater success rate in future research.

From the participants sourced, three main categories were developed, comprising curators, conservators and educators. These categories were chosen as they were considered the best descriptors for the range of professions within the heritage and university sectors. The categories were deliberately broad in order to be able to encompass the wide range of job titles and roles represented in the sectors. Related professions such as archivists, museum education staff and chief executives of museums and museum organisations were allocated by the researcher to either the curatorial or education categories depending on which category was considered the most appropriate to their job title.

A small number of people in the area of policy, predominantly in the New Zealand government, were also contacted, with the intention of investigating governmental strategy towards the heritage sector. Unfortunately, there were no positive responses in this area and so the category of policy participants was removed from the participant factors (see Table 2 above) and the data analysis factors (see Table 3 below).

Method of Contact

Potential participants were contacted during August 2005, by email, from the United Kingdom prior to the start of the field research in New Zealand. In addition to the request for an interview, the email gave an overview of the research, an assurance of participant confidentiality and information regarding the academic purpose of the research and the format of the interview. Potential participants were assured that the data gathered would be anonymised and that, should any quotes from their interviews be used in the thesis, they would be contacted again, the quote and its context would be detailed and their permission would be sought for the use of that quote. Permission was requested both at the time of contact and at the start of the interview for the meeting to be audio recorded. The email also included a brief biography, which detailed my status in the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, and my work experience in New Zealand at the

NLNZ in Wellington. A supporting letter from my supervisor in the Department of Museum Studies was attached.

As I was already acquainted with a number of the participants, a slightly more informal email was sent to them in order to reacquaint the person with my background and to outline my research. Some of these participants had already been contacted during a visit to New Zealand in July 2004 on a preliminary field research visit.

Choice of Participants: Justification

As detailed in Chapter 1 and the Preface, the choice of the heritage sector for the focus of the research was determined by my own work background as a conservator both in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. This previous work experience in New Zealand informed and influenced the choices of interview participants and locations.

Approximately 28% of interviewees were known contacts in institutions that I either had worked in, or had had previous contact with. I had already established to some extent, therefore, the work and training background of some of the potential participants.

In addition to seeking as broad a range of people as possible within the heritage and education sectors, I was also concerned to avoid a limited range of research data and so contacted as many people as possible within the given parameters.⁸ This method proved to be extremely successful in the New Zealand context, with 64.3% of the people contacted agreeing to be interviewed and 51% actually being interviewed. It was also anticipated that the different nature and locations of the various heritage and educational institutions and the private practice companies would enable comparisons to be drawn, so providing a wide range of data for analysis.

The list of potential participants contacted for this research was derived from publicly accessible sources, but it was not intended to be a complete list of all the heritage professionals working in New Zealand at the time of the research, nor were the institutions involved meant to be a comprehensive representation.⁹ As part of the research discussion,

⁸ This was influenced by my experience of conducting research for my MRes degree, for which it was necessary to adjust the focus of the research due to the limited numbers of participants.

⁹ See Appendix 2 for information relating to the numbers of museums in New Zealand by region.

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the work, training and demographic statistics from the interviews were compared with documentary sources, where available, relating to the numbers of people working in the heritage sector, and with gender, age and ethnicity data to establish whether the data gathered for this research were representative of the sector as a whole. However, at the current time, no comprehensive survey has been carried out on the number of people working in the heritage sector, their roles, or the institutions they work in, although Museums Aotearoa undertook a museum sector web survey in March 2007, as a preliminary to a proposed, more in depth, study (MuseumsAotearoa 2007).

Setting up the Interviews

Prior to the start of the field research, a work plan was devised that scheduled the majority of the interviews for the first four months of the fieldwork. This then left a further six months in New Zealand for initial data verification and analysis and the opportunity to follow up on responses with participants as required while still in the field.

Following the initial email contact and receipt of positive responses, a timetable was drawn up detailing the various visits to be made within New Zealand between September and December 2005. Locations and dates were scheduled to coincide, where possible, with participant availability, but also prior engagements, such as conference attendance (for example in Christchurch and Hamilton). The intention, ideally, was to timetable two interviews per day, with each interview being scheduled to last from one to one and a half hours, although this did, inevitably, depend on the level of detail that each participant chose to give (for a discussion on scheduling interviews, see Bernard 2002: 218).

Production of the Interview Questionnaire

Before designing the questionnaire, the type of data collection technique and the selected sample of respondents was first established (Oppenheim 1992). The interview questionnaire was then developed using a variety of sources, including the data analysis factors (see Table 3 below) and the primary research question (see Chapter 1). Questions were also drawn from the questionnaire used while carrying out research for the MRes degree (Atkinson 2003) and from literary sources (Watson 2004: 6:348-350).

Establishing how workable the questionnaire was through a pilot project was an essential aspect of the research and, consequently, the interview process. This provided feedback relating not only to the questions, but also to the sectional layout of the questionnaire and

the order in which the questions were asked. This was a necessary part of the revision process, facilitating a more successful data gathering experience (Oppenheim 1992).

Heritage / education related professions	Conservator Curator / Archivist Educator: museum or university	
Location of training / work with dates	New Zealand and/or Overseas	Dates of training Dates of work experience
Knowledge and awareness of cultural values	Definition of general cultural values Definition of location specific cultural values Establishing whether an artefact: Is considered significant Is considered culturally significant	
Communities and heritage institutions	Attitudes to community involvement in heritage institutions Approach to controversial issues	
Training and cultural values	Inclusion of 'cultural values' in training undertaken by participant Whether and how participants would include cultural values in new training programmes	
Demographic information	Gender Age group Nationality / ethnicity / <i>iwi</i> (tribal) affiliation	

Table 3 - Data Analysis Factors

In the construction of the interview questionnaire, it was important to ensure that it addressed the aim of the research. The main intention of the questionnaire, therefore, was to provide cross-comparable information between participants, assess their attitudes to culture and heritage and establish their opinions on cultural values and their possible incorporation into educational programmes for heritage professionals. The sections and question order needed to be determined, together with the type of questions to be asked, for example 'open' questions (Courtenay 1987; Oppenheim 1992).

As the interviews were to be conducted using a semi-structured format, open questions were devised, with the aim of avoiding 'yes / no' answers (Stroh 2000a). In comparison to 'closed' questions, which offer a choice of pre-determined options to the respondent, 'open' questions allow for free ranging, spontaneous responses. This can lead to

unstructured answers that, initially, may not appear relevant or even answer the question. The process can be time-consuming, in terms of both interviewer time and coding (Oppenheim 1992). However, open questions and semi-structured interviewing allow for 'probing' of further information and a question can be discussed as part of the conversation. Clearly defining the intent of the question beforehand, though, especially if the participants see the questionnaire prior to the interview, is preferable.

Courtney (1987) and Bernard (2002) recommend that the questions be defined clearly and unambiguously and, where possible, the use of both long and compound questions, which can lead to misunderstanding and loss of information, should be avoided. Ideally, the questionnaire should also engage the interviewees, encouraging their participation and facilitating accurate, informative responses (Courtenay 1987). Acronyms and abbreviations should also be avoided, especially when interviewing people in different countries, where such terms may be unfamiliar. Ensuring that each question is relevant to the project and meaningful for the participants is also important (Bernard 2002). They may be more engaged in the process, and willing to participate for longer, if they can understand the structure and progression of the questionnaire. The addition of verbal or written explanatory links between sections can aid the sense of logical progression through the interview.

The order in which the questions are framed is an important consideration. Some people could consider opening with questions relating to personal information, such as age, intrusive. Deferring potentially threatening questions until part way through, or at the end of the interview when the interviewee is more relaxed, may be preferable (Oppenheim 1992; Bernard 2002). Ordering questions from general topics to the specific is known as the "funnel approach", whereby questions gradually become more specific throughout the questionnaire, building on the responses given (Oppenheim 1992: 110). There is, however, a possibility that a participant's responses may be contradictory, leading to inconsistencies in information as the interview progresses.

Some questions may be perceived as threatening by participants, with the result that they may seek to avoid responding, or give truncated or stereotypical answers. Introducing or discussing the subject, and possibly giving examples of previous responses, before asking the question can be advantageous in this situation, although apologetic wording should be avoided. A further solution is to restrict the length of the question or ask the question

indirectly (Courtenay 1987; Bernard 2002). Rephrasing of the questions can occur through discussion, enabling the participant to engage more fully with specific subjects.

Some questions may make assumptions or be, perhaps unwittingly, asked from a very particular perspective. While these can elicit informative discussions, especially in a semi- or unstructured interview, it is important to recognise one's own perspectives, "being mindful of one's own ethnocentricity and biases", noting how these can influence the phraseology of the questions (Baxter and Eyles 1997: 514). Trying to ensure neutrality in the wording of the questions and introducing the subject, especially if it could be considered controversial, prior to asking a question, can help to reduce any perceived threat or sensitivity (Courtenay 1987; Bernard 2002).

Overview of the Questionnaire

The questions were intended to lead the participant logically from one question to another and one section to another, with each section building on the last. Utilising a "funnel approach" the questionnaire began with broad background and attitudinal sections and led to very specific questions in the final section (Oppenheim 1992: 110). Participants were asked to provide the definitions of certain terms early on in the process, as it was hoped that they would then find it easier to apply that information in response to questions in later sections.

The wording of the questions was deliberately broad in the hope of eliciting considered responses and discussion, including in relation to the underlying meaning of the questions themselves. Participants sometimes queried the wording of a question and this initiated a discussion on how the question might be rephrased.

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) comprised an introductory page, which introduced the interview process, and five sections. Each section was allocated a letter and title, with the letter being drawn from a single word in the title, which most fully encompassed the subject of that section. The use of a letter facilitated reference to individual questions within a section, for example, V1 for the first question in the second section of the questionnaire (this system will be used in later chapters). The sections are as follows:

1. E: Work and Training Experience
2. V: Knowledge / Awareness of Cultural Values
3. C: Communities and Heritage Institutions

4. T: Training and Cultural Values

5. Demographics

The intention of the first section, 'E: Work and Training Experience', was to put the participant at ease, establish their work and training background and provide information with which to compare them to other participants. As with the final section, 'Demographics', this section was intended primarily to produce information that could be used statistically and to draw comparisons between factors, for example gender and location (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 3).

The second section, 'V: Knowledge / Awareness of Cultural Values', dealt primarily with participants' definitions and perceptions of the term 'cultural values', and as a sub-section discussed attitudes to cultural significance and heritage collections. The aim was for participants to define the term 'cultural values' for themselves, with the intention of enabling them to determine whether it was a meaningful phrase. This phrase and its definition were then returned to in section 4 (T), when participants were asked to identify whether their training courses had included what they meant by cultural values and to assess whether and how those cultural values could be incorporated into future educational programmes.

Section 3 ('C: Communities and Heritage Institutions') aimed to establish the participants' views on the responsibility of heritage institutions to the community, solicit opinions on whose voice is heard in exhibitions and discuss issues of controversy.

'T: Training and Cultural Values' (section 4) sought to establish which, if any, cultural values were included in the educational programmes undertaken by the participants, discover whether they thought that cultural values were an important aspect of educational programmes, and discuss how cultural values might be included in programmes for heritage professionals, both in New Zealand and abroad.

The fifth and final section, 'Demographics', was included to provide quantifiable information on the participants' gender, nationality / ethnicity / *iwi* affiliations, and their age groups. This section also gave participants the option of asking questions and offering comments.

The questionnaire was tailored very slightly for the three research target groups of conservators, curators, and educators, to make the questions more appropriate to individual

contexts. As stated above, other professions were allocated to these three basic groups, as appropriate, for example, archivists, librarians and chief executives were sent the questionnaire prepared for curators.

Data Collection: Interviews

Following an agreement to be interviewed, a date, time and place to meet were agreed with the participants. A small number of participants specifically requested a copy of the questionnaire prior to the interview. However, in the interests of treating all participants equally, it was felt more appropriate to send the questions to all the participants, rather than just the few who had requested them.

Providing the questionnaire prior to the interview proved advantageous, in that it allowed the participants to read the introductory first page relating to the interview process, so removing the need to explain this in detail, and it enabled the participants, should they wish, to prepare answers to the questions. Some took this opportunity, handwriting or typing answers onto the form. One disadvantage of the participants seeing the questionnaire was that the questions appeared to intimidate some of them. This occasionally resulted in some participants querying whether they were the correct choice of person to assist with my research, or they discussed the meaning of the questions in detail, sometimes seeking my answer to a specific question before they would give theirs (this will be discussed further in Chapter 7).

The interviews took place at a venue chosen by the participants, with the majority (84.5%) at their place of work. A small number (3.1%) were carried out in the home of the participant, while others (12.4%) were scheduled for public meeting places, such as cafes or communal working areas. This latter option was avoided where possible due to the background noise this produced on the audio recordings.

At the start of the interview, the participants were asked to confirm whether they were willing for the interview to be audio recorded, with all agreeing. All participants were assured, both prior to and at the interview, that their responses would be anonymous.

Participants were also consulted regarding the quoting of content from their individual interview audio recordings. The intention to do this was highlighted at the end of each interview. During the writing up of the research, the relevant participants were contacted with details of their quote and its context, permission to use it requested and comments

regarding its suitability invited. This form of ‘member checking’ enabled the participants to consider how their material had been used in the data analysis (Baxter and Eyles 1997).

At the conclusion of the interview, the participant was asked whether they had any questions or comments, offered a copy of their interview data and asked whether they would like a summary of the research findings (see the section headed ‘Feedback to Research Participants’). They were then requested to sign the last page of the interview questionnaire on which the interview notes had been made, thereby giving their consent to the information obtained in the interview being used for academic purposes. Obtaining the signed consent at the end of the interview ensured that the participants were giving their agreement to the use of the information for academic purposes with complete knowledge of the interview topics and conversation (Townend 2000).

Phase 1: Face-to-Face Interviewing

As stated above, the 87 phase 1 interviews were predominantly primary data collection, although opinions were sought, when appropriate, on data previously gathered. The interview usually started with an informal conversation, depending on the time availability of the participant. Depending on the level of acquaintance with the participant, this most often involved a discussion about the research and its aim and objectives. The interview proper would then start, with the questionnaire being used throughout. However, as the interview process followed a semi-structured format, there was the opportunity to include additional questions when appropriate. Occasionally, further conversation relating to the research and the ideas discussed followed the end of the formal questions. Participants were often more relaxed following the end of the interview and, in several cases, information relevant to the research, which had not been discussed during the interview, came out at this time (see Bernard 2002).

Face-to-face interviewing has the advantage over, for example, self-administered surveys or questionnaires, as they “often have a higher response rate [...] and] they offer the opportunity to correct misunderstandings”. Conducting interviews on a one-to-one basis facilitates a thorough approach, which is designed to draw out the participant’s opinions and encourage them to build on the information already gathered (Stroh 2000a). Their main disadvantages include being “expensive and time-consuming to conduct and to process, [...] the risks of interviewer bias and [they] are usually too expensive to reach a widely dispersed sample” (Oppenheim 1992: 102).

There are four main categories of interviews, informal, unstructured, semi-structured and structured and they are undertaken in a variety of formats, most often face-to-face or by telephone (Bernard 2002: 203-206). The chosen data collection method for the interviews, semi-structured interviewing, is similar to unstructured interviewing in that it attempts to “get people to open up and let[s] them express themselves in their own terms, at their own pace” (Bernard 2002: 205). The main difference between the two methods is in the use of an interview questionnaire or pre-determined series of topics for discussion in semi-structured interviewing. By following a plan or questionnaire, control can be maintained over the interview, so that dependable, comparable data are gathered, but it is still possible to explore new ideas or topics as they emerge from the responses (Bernard 2002: 205).

This method is particularly good for “dealing with managers, bureaucrats, and elite members of a community – people who are accustomed to efficient use of their time”, as the participant can see that the interviewer is in control, but there is sufficient flexibility in the process to allow for topic exploration (Bernard 2002: 205). There does tend to be a greater degree of preparation required for this type of sample group in order to take full advantage of the potentially limited time on offer (Burton 2000b).

This type of interview also has the advantage over a survey, for example, as it can facilitate in depth research and incorporate additional questions, in particular the important ‘why’ questions (Stroh 2000a). In Stroh’s opinion, “interviews aim to be a conversation which explores an issue with a participant, rather than to test knowledge or simply categorise” (2000a: 198). The questions should be ‘open-ended’, enabling the participant to give well thought out, comprehensive responses, rather than simply ‘yes’ / ‘no’ answers. As a result of the flexible structure of this type of interview, it is very important to allow the participant the space to think and speak without being interrupted unnecessarily, otherwise key data can be lost (Stroh 2000a).

Wood (1987: 98) discusses various approaches to interviewing, recommending that while an interviewer should “maintain a detached attitude”, it is also important to “ensure that the interview is relaxed and friendly”. Demonstrating to the participant, through regular eye contact, that their responses are interesting and relevant is vital, and this is particularly important to remember when taking hand-written interview notes. Working through the questionnaire at the participant’s pace and responding appropriately to their body language is an important part of helping the person to relax.

Bernard (2002) proved to be a key text for information on how to conduct semi-structured interviews. His information is clear and accessible and the differences between the various types of interview processes are well explained and proved to be extremely useful for the current research. His discussion of interviewer bias was particularly relevant, given my association with the New Zealand context, my connection with some of the participants and the aim of the research. Stroh (2000a: 200) also touches on this, outlining how easily a researcher can influence their interviewee's responses, both through leading questions and the types of words that are used. Bias can also occur during the interview in the written recording of the responses, with selective hearing potentially being a problem if the confirmation of a hypothesis is being sought. This, and the subjective determination of precisely what is relevant in an interview, can also affect the coding and analysis of responses (Oppenheim 1992).

Establishing an equal conversation in semi-structured interviewing can be problematic, as there can be issues of power, bias and subjectivity (Wood 1987; Stroh 2000a; Bernard 2002). Although the interviewer may be perceived to be in a position of power, the information they gather is dependent on the interviewee, who may not be willing to answer the questions or engage in a dialogue and so a degree of confidence is required for the encounter (Burton 2000b). The participants may also have their own reasons for agreeing to be interviewed, seeking to gain information rather than impart it.

It is important to establish a rapport with an interviewee for the sake both of the participants and the quality of the research, although this, of course, is not always possible. Giving the interviewee as much information as possible was one way of assisting the establishment of a relationship. Prior to the interview, participants in the current research were sent a copy of the questionnaire. Although this did deter some people and led others to question whether they were the most appropriate people to be interviewed, I believe that it did assist the interview process, as the research and emphasis of the questions was clearly explained, so enabling more informed decisions about whether or not to participate.

Accuracy can be a factor in a participant's responses (Wood 1987; Bernard 2002). They may give the interviewer the information that they think the interviewer wants to hear, rather than an accurate reflection of what happened. Their own personal or political views, or opinions expressed by the interviewer may affect their responses. People may also believe that what they are saying is accurate, despite the fact that the situation happened many years previously and there is the risk of memory being distorted by experience and

time. Linked with this is the fact that societal norms and expectations can affect responses, with people tending to de-emphasise something that is deemed unacceptable by society (Bernard 2002).

Interviewers can have an effect on interviewee responses through a variety of means, including gender, age, nationality, class, accent and profession (Wood 1987; Baxter and Eyles 1997; Burton 2000b; Bernard 2002). Participants will, unconsciously, be affected by these factors and may agree or refuse to take part in the research, provide or withhold information as a result.¹⁰ Other concerns relate to whether participants are giving their own opinions or those of their institution, or are giving the responses that they think the interviewer wants, known as the 'deference effect' (Bernard 2002: 232).

It may be necessary to 'probe' for information, but without using overtly leading questions if possible; this ensures that it is the participant's information that is recorded and not the bias of the interviewer (Wood 1987; Oppenheim 1992). It is important to know when to probe or encourage, however, as a participant may be merely pausing and information can be lost if they are interrupted. Bernard (2002) also recommends letting the participants decide what information is necessary in order to answer the question or address the topic.

In addition, there can be cultural differences in approaching the interviewing of participants and it is important to be aware of this at the outset (Bernard 2002). Some cultures require quiet time for reflection between responses. For others this is not necessary. A situation where probing may be required is when the participant believes that the interviewer has more contextual information than they actually do. Again, this may be cultural or, in the case of my participants, it can happen when interviewing people in the same profession. A more in-depth knowledge may be assumed than, in reality, exists. Even if this is not the case, it is important for the participants to give the information in their own words for the sake of the research. In this case, it may be necessary to remind the participant of the artificiality of the situation and preface a question with 'for the sake of the interview...', or 'I am aware of this, but could you elaborate...' or, as Bernard (2002: 214) suggests, "this may seem obvious, but...".

¹⁰ It was suggested by colleagues that profession might have been a factor in whether or not potential participants responded favourably to a request for interview as part of my MRes research.

Making encouraging, but neutral, comments or sounds during interviews has been shown to extend the length of an interview (Bernard 2002: 212). However, oral historians (and transcribers) would recommend against this, as it can overlap with or mask the sound of the participant's voice on an audio recording, leading to loss of information (Fyfe 2006).

Participants who talk too much can be as problematic as ones that are unresponsive. It can be necessary to learn how to interrupt an interviewee in order to bring them back to the topic under discussion (Bernard 2002). This can be a concern for interviewers as some topics, for example cultural values, can be so wide ranging that a person recounting their upbringing may well be discussing the subject, but not actually answering, or appear to be answering, the specific interview question. A decision needs to be made at the time as to the relevance of the information, although this may not be fully known until the interviews are completed and each individual participant's responses can be placed in context.

Phase 1: Telephone Interviewing

One telephone interview took place as part of the phase 1 interviews. This again closely followed the structure of the questionnaire. Although the interview was still very much a professional conversation, it was shorter with fewer additional questions being asked. There was an awareness of the possibility of talking over one another due to a lack of visual signals, resulting in the process being slightly more inhibited than the face-to-face interviews.

Telephone interviewing is considered to be similar to face-to-face interviewing as it allows for a more personal approach than, for example, questionnaires or surveys completed by the participant. As the technique does not tend to be intimidating, it enables the use of additional or probing questions and discussion around the meaning of questions or phrases (Bernard 2002). It also has the advantage over a face-to-face interview in that geographical location and availability are not issues and it is often less expensive than travelling to meet with the person (Burton 2000a; Bernard 2002).

Interviewer bias can be as much of a problem with telephone interviews, as it is with face-to-face, but has the advantage of removing any reaction to the appearance of the interviewer. However, as with face-to-face interviews, the accent, gender and ethnicity of the interviewer can be a factor and the success of an interview can depend on the sound of a voice (Bernard 2002: 247-248). The lack of visual signals can also be a concern and this may be a contributory factor to the tendency for telephone interviews, which use open-

ended qualitative questions in order to gather data, to be shorter, with less in-depth responses (Burton 2000a).

Phase 2: Face-to-Face Interviewing

A further ten interviews, with 13 participants, were undertaken as part of the verification process, in order to discuss and gather people's opinions on the information collected. As with the phase 1 interviews, participants were sent a copy of the interview questionnaire prior to the meeting. This was essentially for background information, however, as these interviews were more informal and the people were asked to give their opinions on the information that had been collected so far.

All of the phase 1 interview questionnaires were reread prior to beginning phase 2 of the field research and notes were made of common themes or unusual comments, which could be seen in the data. These notes were used as the basis for the data verification discussions with interviewees in this second stage of interviewing.

Only the first section of the questionnaire, 'E: Work and Training Experience', was completed during the phase 2 interviews. The remainder of the interview took the form of a predominantly unstructured conversation, although some questions were derived from a list of topics produced when the phase 1 interviews were typed up. These questions were tailored, where possible, to the specific interests or experience of the participant.

These interviews were principally with participants who were unable to meet with me during the main interviewing phase (September to December 2005). The interviews took place in both Wellington and Auckland with participants who worked in the institutions that had been the main focus of the research.

Phase 2: Group Interviewing

One face-to-face group interview was undertaken at the start of the phase 2 interviews with four Māori participants. As all the individuals worked in the same institution and knew each other, there were not the logistical problems that can sometimes occur when trying to arrange interviews with more than one person (Stroh 2000a). Instead of choosing to be interviewed on an individual basis, they requested that they be interviewed as a group, a method that has similarities to the Māori *hui*. A *hui* is "a meeting, traditionally held on a marae and concerned with Māori matters, but no longer restricted in use" (Macalister 2005: 21-22). The term has passed into New Zealand English and is commonly used in newspapers to describe meetings.

As with the one-to-one phase 2 interviews, the intention of this group interview was to establish participant opinions on the data already gathered and the reasons for those opinions. The group meeting was used, therefore, as an opportunity to share information, discuss how these participants felt about cultural values and the way their culture was perceived, and to explore further some of the queries that had arisen during the interview process, especially in relation to the wording of some of the questions. The interchange of ideas and the exploration of reasons for opinions that a group interview enables is particularly interesting, although for this to happen successfully requires a supportive environment. Care must be taken to ensure that everyone has the opportunity to speak, although inevitably each participant will not have the opportunity to provide the depth of information that they would in an individual interview. Participant responses may also be influenced by the group context, with the result that the information gained from group interviewing may not be same as would have been obtained on an individual basis (Morgan 1997).

The role of facilitator requires more attention to detail in a group interview and s/he needs to be aware of the problems of leading questions or straying off the topic (Morgan 1997; Bernard 2002). One of the main advantages and strengths of group interviews, though, can be the free-ranging and unstructured nature of the conversation and to attempt to constrain this can affect the group interaction and so potentially lose useful information. Group interviews can also produce more information in a single session than several individual interviews and this in turn potentially enables a more efficient analysis of the data (Morgan 1997).

Hand-written note taking by the interviewer can be difficult in this situation, so audio recording is advisable. This, though, can be challenging to transcribe, as distinguishing between the voices, especially if more than one person speaks at a time, can be problematic. Identifying people by name occasionally during the interview can assist the transcription process (Bernard 2002).

Methods of Recording the Data

It is advisable to audio record the interview where possible, in addition to hand-written notes taken at the time or compiled later, in order to retain a reliable record of the interview and to carry out qualitative analysis. No one method should be relied on, as technical problems can occur with recordings and notes taken at the time or, in particular, later may contain discrepancies (Stroh 2000a; Bernard 2002). The phase 1 and 2 interviews were

audio recorded using a Sony ICD-MX20 Digital recorder, and notes were handwritten onto the interview questionnaires at the time of the interview. It was only possible to make minimal notes during the unstructured conversation in the phase two interviews and so, in this case, more reliance had to be placed on the audio recording.

An audio recording also provides a long-term research resource from which to work. It is crucial, however, to obtain permission to audio record the interview and to reiterate, when necessary, that the audio recording can be paused or stopped at the participant's request, should they feel uncomfortable, or they have indicated that certain material is confidential (Bernard 2002). The same is true for note taking. This process can make some participants uncomfortable, especially as eye contact is broken. They may wait for the interviewer to finish writing a sentence before continuing and this can lead to disjointed, and potentially shorter, responses. It is important to try to maintain a connection with the participants, through eye contact or sound, in order to assure them of your interest, while at the same time ensuring that the information is recorded adequately and accurately.

It was decided, given the number of interviews carried out, that full transcriptions of the phase 1 audio recordings were not feasible, due to time pressure. Therefore, the handwritten notes from the phase 1 interviews were typed up at the beginning of the phase 2 interviews and initial analysis of the data undertaken. On completion of the field research, time-coded summaries of the phase 1 audio recordings were produced. This method facilitated access to the data, but did not produce word-by-word verbatim transcriptions. However, the words spoken by the participant were used where possible and potential quotes were identified at this time. The time coding enabled reference back to the audio recordings and facilitated easy access to the relevant sentence or phrase. When typing the summaries, any questions and comments by the researcher were identified as such, to distinguish them from the participant responses. The use of Māori language in my questions and comments was also avoided in order to code the Māori words participants used and run queries on these words as part of the analysis. A professional typist transcribed the ten phase 2 audio recordings.

Methodology: Justification

Semi-structured interviewing was chosen as the basis for the doctoral research for a variety of reasons. As it was not possible to interview the majority of participants more than once, particularly outside of Wellington, the main base for the field research, this type of interviewing provided the best opportunity to gather the information required. It enabled

data collection related to what people thought, how they defined terms and why; something that would not have been possible with a survey or rigidly structured questions (Stroh 2000a). As a questionnaire was utilised for the phase 1 interviews and a pre-determined set of topics for the phase 2 interviews, this methodology had the advantage over unstructured interviewing as it offered the means to produce statistical data and compare the responses.

The aim of the methodology was to ask particular questions in order to elicit certain responses and so be able to cross-reference data analysis factors, but also have the flexibility of exploring certain issues in more depth, as in a professional conversation with a colleague. The intent, therefore, was to devise a clear plan of the information required, develop the questions accordingly in a particular order, but keep them mainly open-ended, so that there was more of a sense of a conversation than strictly controlled responses (Bernard 2002).

Work experience as a conservator of art, in both public institutions and private practice, assisted in the development of the questions and during the interview process. The aim of the research was to establish the 'cultural values' of the participants towards the exhibition and preservation of heritage, whether they consider that cultural values are currently being accurately reflected in educational programmes, and how those values might be transmitted through future courses, both formal and informal. This is a subjective area, which would not be helped by too tight an interview structure. As the majority of people interviewed were professionals in museum, art gallery and university contexts, it was accepted that their time was limited and so it was important to demonstrate that I knew what I wanted from the process, while at the same time leaving enough space to explore the subject fully (Bernard 2002).

The two exceptions to the usual research interview process were the telephone and group interviews. The telephone interview provided the means to interview a relevant participant who, otherwise, would not have been able to contribute to the research, due to time and location constraints. This method also provided an opportunity to compare telephone and face-to-face interviews and evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of both methods (see Chapter 7). The group interview provided a similar opportunity for comparison. Undertaking the interview with four participants gave an insight into group dynamics and the requirement on the interviewer to try to ensure that each person had the opportunity to take an equal part in the discussion.

Feedback to the Research Participants

An important aspect of this research is the empowerment of the participants through the sharing of information, where possible, and their ownership of their interview data (see Chapter 1, 'Research Ethics'). As stated previously, participants were sent an overview of the research and a brief biography in the initial email and a copy of the interview questionnaire prior to the interview. At the interview itself, they were given a one-page summary of the research together with an outline of my relevant experience and my reasons for undertaking the research.

Just prior to the end of the field research, participants were sent a letter, with a copy of their interview recording on a Compact Disc and a typed copy of the notes written during the interview.¹¹ At the end of each interview, participants were offered a summary of the research findings following completion of the doctorate. The majority of participants (98%) asked for summaries and copies of the thesis were requested by six organisations in New Zealand.¹²

Methods of Coding and Analysis

In order to analyse the research data, it is first necessary to identify themes and patterns through coding of the text. This facilitates the management and retrieval of "the most meaningful bits of our data", enabling the production of concepts and, through these, the analysis of the data (Coffey and Atkinson 1996: 26). By coding words, phrases or paragraphs in the data, links can be made between ideas, leading to the production of theoretical concepts. Coding is a means of "identifying and reordering the data, allowing the data to be thought about in new and different ways" (Coffey and Atkinson 1996: 29). Ideally, coding should not be a mechanistic process, but a method that engenders questions and facilitates a creative approach to the data.

¹¹ The Sony recording format was converted to Microsoft Windows WAV format to ensure its accessibility to all participants. Although only one participant requested a copy of the recording, it was decided to send a copy to all participants to ensure parity.

¹² Namely, Auckland University Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau, Massey University Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa, NLNZ, New Zealand Film Archive Ngā Kaitiaki O Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua, Te Papa and VUW.

The process of coding can be achieved from either a 'top down' or a 'bottom up' perspective. Utilising a 'top down' approach, overarching codes can be produced, perhaps based on the questions asked of the interviewees. From these, categories that are more detailed can be developed, which, in turn, leads to the identification of specific conceptual codes. With a 'bottom up' approach, the detailed specifics of the textual wording are addressed first. It is important to avoid over generalisation of categories, which contain so much information that it is not possible to analyse it and, equally, too detailed coding, which may lead to the inability to contextualise concepts (Coffey and Atkinson 1996).

Coding enables the researcher to gain a detailed picture of the data. However, it is then necessary to look at the research as a whole, once again, in order to gain an overall perspective on what has been achieved (Coffey and Atkinson 1996). This process facilitates the production of questions with which to interrogate the data for themes and patterns, both positive and negative. This analysis and interpretation of data leads to the formation of relationships between ideas, coding and data, so allowing the conceptualisation of hypotheses.

Grounded Theory

As the intention of the research was to gather people's experiences, opinions and perceptions of cultural values and their potential inclusion in educational programmes and then, based on that data, establish whether the participants thought that it was actually possible to incorporate values into programmes, a grounded theory approach was taken. The analytical codes and concepts were, therefore, not predetermined, but 'grounded' in, or drawn from, the gathered data (Stroh 2000a). Grounded theory, devised by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss (1967 (cited in Bernard 2002)), "is a set of techniques for (1) identifying categories and concepts that emerge from text, and (2) linking the concepts into substantive and formal theories" (Bernard 2002: 462-3; see also Borgatti 2006).

Following the production of interview transcript data, samples of text are analysed for common themes or patterns, from which comparisons can be drawn. Theoretical models can be developed from the perceived relationships between the themes, verified or refuted by reference to the data and illustrated by quotes from the interviews (Bernard 2002: 463). The intention of the quote is to aid understanding, supporting and clearly illustrating the analysis and theoretical model. However, it is not intended to replace the model.

In grounded theory, coding the data is an 'inductive' or 'open' process whereby repeated study and questioning of the texts enables understanding and the discovery of patterns or themes. It is in the examination and coding of participants' actual words – known as 'in vivo coding' – that themes are identified (Bernard 2002). Hierarchies of themes are devised, ranging from the detailed to the general, the abstract to the concrete (Borgatti 2006). Utilising this method, the data are examined without a prior hypothesis. A variation on this is the basing of primary themes on relevant literature or the research questions, which gives an indication of the direction of the research, and the addition of further themes derived from examination of the texts (Coffey and Atkinson 1996).

As part of the process of identifying, coding and analysing of themes, notes were kept of questions, ideas and theories relating to the data, as they occurred. This system is known as 'memoing', part of the grounded theory process, which enables the researcher to "become more and more *grounded* in the data ... [and] understand more and more deeply how whatever you're studying really works" (Bernard 2002: 463, [emphasis in original]). In the production of memos, it is as important to record thoughts and ideas about the data that does not fit the patterns, as data that does. So called 'negative' data can refute theories or models and may suggest new ideas for themes (Bernard 2002). Using this method, the theoretical model is continually modified to take account of the emerging grounded data patterns. Once a model has been developed, validation is required through independent testing. The current research carried out a series of interviews in the second phase of the field research in order to verify the information gathered in the phase 1 interviews. The coding and analysis of this data set enabled the validation of the model developed from the phase 1 interview data.

Content Analysis

A different method of coding and analysis was used for the phase 2 interviews. At the conclusion of the phase 1 interviews, preliminary analysis was carried out, so enabling the identification of common themes and patterns, which formed the basis of the discussions in the phase 2 interviews. Therefore, the phase 2 participants tested the initial hypotheses for verification. In order to validate or refute the hypotheses, and to test the theories and models developed during the coding and analysis of the phase 1 data, the phase 2 interviews utilised content analysis. The use of two different methods enabled 'method triangulation', so confirming the hypotheses (Baxter and Eyles 1997: 514).

Each of the ten phase 2 interview transcripts were split into two sections. The first section was composed of questions from section 1, 'E: Work and Training Experience', of the interview questionnaire. The second section comprised a conversation on a list of predetermined topics or questions. Based on these questions, codes were created and applied to the data, in order to identify concepts and themes (Coffey and Atkinson 1996). The intention of the coding was to establish the opinions of the phase 2 participants as to whether they agreed or disagreed with the data gathered in the phase 1 interviews. The whole text of the conversation was, in each of the ten interview transcripts, treated as a unit of analysis in order to compare the data across the texts and establish whether common themes had occurred (Bernard 2002: 479).

Using Computer Software to Analyse Qualitative Data

An organised system is required in order to explore the themes in the data and draw comparisons across responses. Utilising a computer software system for analysis can be preferable to traditional paper based or manual analysis as it enables the organisation of large amounts of data and facilitates the easy comparison of responses to specific questions (Stroh 2000a). Due to the large amount of data gathered for the current research project, QSR NVivo 7 was utilised to assist with the analysis of the data (QSR 2003-2006).

One of the main advantages of using a computer system is its speed in coding the data. As it is able to code one word or phrase in all the documents at the same time, the time and effort that this would take in a manual system can be focused, instead, on the data analysis. The software cannot do the analysis, but it can store, manage and retrieve the data, facilitating the means by which the analysis is done, potentially making it more effective and rigorous (Coffey and Atkinson 1996; Stroh 2000a: 230; Stroh 2000b).

The software system is extremely useful in that it is both able to display the frequency of words and code them across all the documents. This provides a clear, visual method of quickly assessing what the common themes are across the responses. Care must be taken not to ascribe more importance than is due to themes which are not common to all or the majority of the participants (Stroh 2000a). While they may be interesting, it is important to maintain the research focus. The software can also assist the researcher to think of new ways of analysing the data, to look behind the obvious in the data and see patterns that might otherwise be missed. Ordering the data, once codes have been assigned, into hierarchical 'family trees' can assist in the interrogation of the data and the building of relationships between concepts (Stroh 2000b).

Various computer software databases, including NVivo 7, are able to assist the researcher in building theory and conceptual networks (Stroh 2000a; Bernard 2002). They facilitate the cross comparison of data to confirm or nullify a hypothesis, for example whether gender and age is a factor in determining senior status in a heritage institution. Besides reducing the amount of time it initially takes to code qualitative data, additional codes can be quickly added, should further interrogation of the data be necessary.

It has been suggested that a disadvantage of using computer software packages for coding qualitative data is an over-reliance on the package, leading to a distancing from the data, to the detriment of innovation and creativity (Stroh 2000a; 2000b). It can be easy to become dependent on the software, with the risk of confusing coding with analysis. The software package is a very sophisticated organisational database, which enables the researcher to look at the data in a different way than that offered by manual coding, but it is necessary to remain aware that the input and theoretical analysis needs to come from the researcher.

Advantages and Disadvantages of NVivo 7

The main advantage of using NVivo 7 for analysis was in its organisational ability. As mentioned above, having the data in such an easily accessible form enabled comparison across questions and participant responses. This facilitated the coding of the data and so the identification of common themes and patterns. The software also has the facility for producing reports and exporting the data into other software packages, such as Microsoft Excel, for further analysis.

This particular software also has the advantage of being able to link documents to files within its database and add notes where necessary. Any additional information in the form of a Curriculum Vitae (CV) and the audio files can be linked to the relevant participant's data. NVivo 7 also has the facility for identifying relationships between information in order to assess evidence for or against a research hypothesis (QSR 2006). Computer software easily facilitates the future use of the data, the means to analyse it further and add additional data sets, particularly in longitudinal studies.

One of the disadvantages was the need to become conversant with the software before coding and analysis could begin. Although designed to look aesthetically similar to Microsoft Windows programmes and therefore encourage user interface with the technology, I was unable to take full advantage of the potential of the software due to the research phase at which I first started to use it. It is possible that, had I decided to use the

software in the first year of my studies, so becoming more fully acquainted with it then, the data analysis would have been more straightforward.

Coding and Analysis: Phase 1

The qualitative data collected for this research has been analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, with preliminary analysis being carried out during the field research. The handwritten notes recorded on the questionnaires during the phase 1 interviews were typed up in Microsoft Word, a summary of all the responses categorised by question was compiled, and common themes identified. Information from sections 1 ('E: Work and Training Experience') and 5 ('Demographics') of the phase 1 questionnaires was then entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to facilitate the production of quantitative statistics and profile matrices. During this process, the subsequent summarisation of the phase 1 audio recordings, and the coding of key words and phrases, analytical notes were made of any thoughts, ideas or findings. These were later used in the formulation of questions to interrogate the data.

On completion of the summarisation of the phase 1 interview questionnaires and audio recordings and the transcription of the phase 2 audio recordings, the written documents were imported into the qualitative computer software package QSR NVivo 7 for coding and analysis. Each question in the phase 1 questionnaires was then coded with its original questionnaire number in order to facilitate the comparison of responses at a question-by-question level. For example, section 1 of the questionnaire was designated E: 'Work and Training Experience'; question 1 of this section was therefore assigned the code E1. This proved to be an important preliminary step, as the data were then available for analysis and further coding both in their original format as an individual questionnaire and on a question / response basis.

Each participant is identified as a 'case' in NVivo 7. This terminology is used in preference to 'participant', 'informant' or 'interviewee', as it ensures that only one interview, plus any associated information such as audio files and CVs are coded to that case. If a participant were to be interviewed more than once, any additional data would be associated with the original case. All the cases that derive from a particular research data set are known as a casebook. A casebook was created for each of the two interview phases.

Data from section 1 and the demographics were coded as 'attributes', a system that enables the production and cross comparison of statistics, for example profession and gender.¹³ These attributes were then applied to each of the participants within each casebook and the relevant information based on the participant responses was entered. Each casebook, therefore, includes all the attributes assigned to each case and so contains a profile analysis of each participant; the attributes within the casebook were then used as the basis of a series of queries, so producing profile matrices (Bernard 2002). As the intention was to maintain the anonymity of the participants, generalised queries were run that compared, for example, participants' professions against their locations. The aim was to establish the 'shape' of the data and provide a clear, concise overview of the interview participants' work and training experience and demographical information in the form of statistical tables and charts (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 3).

Displaying the information in a table, chart or matrix enables both the researcher and the reader to gain an overview of the research results, to see the shape of the data and any patterns within it. This method provides a basis for the research discussion and facilitates the production of hypotheses and the testing of theories (Bernard 2002). These theories or ideas can then be expressed as 'causal flowcharts', depicting the relationships between variables (Bernard 2002: 437).

In order to develop material, which could then be examined for patterns and combined into hierarchical sets, a word frequency query was run on all the words in the phase 1 interview responses. This query generated a list of 8863 words, with the word Māori being the most frequent word, occurring 2224 times. Each word was considered in turn and, based on the initial analysis carried out during field research, if it was believed to be relevant, was coded. The NVivo term for these individual coded words is 'free node'. One thousand, seven hundred and seventy words were initially coded as free nodes. The advantage of using NVivo 7 for this coding was its ability to code every document in which the word appeared at the time the free node was created. As with the coding of the responses outlined above, this function enabled the cross-comparison of each word and its context across the interview responses.

¹³ The attributes include: gender, age group, nationality, ethnicity, location, profession, qualifications, workplace, type of workplace, time in present role, study location, work/studied outside New Zealand, location of work/study outside New Zealand and request for research findings.

NVivo 7 has the facility to group together the coded words or free nodes. The groups are known as 'tree nodes', which enable the creation of a hierarchical system, similar to the structure of a family tree. Various tree nodes were created and the free nodes were assigned to these groups as appropriate. For example, a tree node of all the Māori words was created so that these could be separately analysed from the rest of the coded words. Queries were also run in order to code various common phrases, for example 'cultural values', 'Te Papa' and 'human remains'. A tree node was then created to group these phrases together.

Following the coding of relevant words to form free nodes and their allocation to the hierarchical tree node groups, a series of questions, based on these words and phrases, the research question, its sub-questions, the interview questionnaires, themes from the literature and the preliminary analysis of the data, were formulated as part of the data analysis. These questions were grouped into categories or concepts and assessed for their direct relevance to the research focus. They were then used to interrogate the data through the running of queries in NVivo 7 and examination of the research texts. The aim of these questions was to produce data that directly answered the primary research question. These queries enabled the production of information which could be analysed in detail, thereby facilitating an in depth discussion of the gathered data from sections 2, 3 and 4 of the interview questionnaire.

Grounded theory was used in the identification of the themes and patterns sought in the data and to develop theories. The topics used in the interview questionnaires provided the starting point for the identification of the themes. As primary analysis of the data had been carried out during the typing up of the handwritten interview notes, these documents also formed part of this process. Therefore, some predetermined topics were examined prior to the identification of themes from the audio-recorded data.

As part of the analysis, responses across participants were cross-referenced for discrepancies, contradictions and uniformity of opinion. The underlying attitudes of the responders, for example whether their responses to a given question or situation were positive or negative, were also assessed. Besides seeking to validate the phase 1 responses through the phase 2 interviews, independent objective data, for example census statistics and policy documents derived from heritage organisations and government departments, were additionally used (Bernard 2002). Any unexpected opinions that arose during the

phase 1 interviews were discussed with the phase 2 participants (while maintaining participant anonymity) to establish why such a response may have been given.

The phase 1 interview responses were fully coded and analysed before the start of the phase 2 coding. There were two main reasons for this. The phase 1 interviews had been summarised, while the phase 2 had been transcribed, necessitating a different approach to the coding and analysis. It was also felt that, as the intention of the phase 2 interviews was data verification, it was first necessary to analyse fully the phase 1 responses before those in phase 2 could be assessed for their verifiability. Coding and analysing the phase 2 interviews separately also enabled the checking of the validity of the theoretical model developed as part of the grounded theory process.

Coding and Analysis: Phase 2

Following the coding and analysis of the phase 1 data, the attributes for the phase 2 interviewees were coded from their responses to questionnaire section 1, 'E: Work and Training Experience' and section 5, 'Demographics'. As with the phase 1 data, this enabled the production of relevant statistics and tables, which facilitated the comparison of factors across the two phases.

The remainder of the phase 2 data was gathered as part of an informal conversation, which was based on a list of predetermined topics and common themes derived from the phase 1 information. The topic subjects then formed the basis of the coding. Content analysis was used for the phase 2 analysis, in order to test the hypotheses derived from the analysis of the phase 1 data (Burton 2000a; Bernard 2002). As part of the analysis, key phrases and themes were identified in the responses and the texts were coded. This facilitated the verification or refutation of the theories. The number and type of Māori words used by phase 2 participants were also checked in order to draw comparisons with those used by phase 1 interviewees and to determine whether theories relating to the fluency of *te reo* Māori among heritage professionals was greater than among the general population.

Methods of Data Verification

Data from the phase 1 interviews were initially verified through the ten phase 2 interviews and the complete data set was then assessed and verified through secondary source documentation gathered while in the field and sourced through relevant internet sites.

The second source material included documentation from museum studies and cultural heritage programmes in universities in New Zealand, and census, policy and statistical data. These were available through Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga, ANZ, the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga and the Ministry for Education Te Tahuhu o te Matauranga, the Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, Museums Aotearoa Te Tari o Nga Whare Taonga o te Motu and Te Papa. Verification of the responses was also carried out when participants were contacted regarding the use of quotes, with any conflicting or ambiguous information being clarified at this stage.

Analysis and Verification Methods: Justification

Grounded theory was chosen for the analysis of the phase 1 interviews because it enabled the data to lead in the formulation of theories and hypotheses. This was the preferred method, as the amount of data gathered was considered so rich in detail, that to impose prior theories on it may have limited its scope in answering the primary research question. By using this method, the aim was to gain “an understanding of people’s ‘life-worlds’, [to try] to understand situations from the perspective of those being researched”, rather than being an objective onlooker (Stroh 2000a: 202).

While grounded theory facilitated the identification of hypotheses, content analysis enabled their testing. It is an effective means of assessing information through the utilisation of analytical categories in order to code the material and determine whether a hypothesis is null or valid. As the phase 2 material had been gathered by means of key questions and topics, these could be used as categories and codes to identify common themes and so assess the theories (Burton 2000a; Bernard 2002). By using two different methods of analysis, the aim was to produce a more rigorous and credible result. The intention of the second method was to verify the findings of the first, thereby strengthening the theories (Baxter and Eyles 1997: 514).

By undertaking initial data verification while still in the field, it was possible to take advantage of the opportunity to interview another set of people and to gather documentary sources that might not otherwise be accessible. The phase 2 verification interviews added a further layer of complexity to the information already gathered. It enabled the checking of inconsistencies in the information, sought alternative explanations for behaviour and facilitated a growing familiarity with the data. Further verification through secondary source documentation allowed for an objective assessment of the gathered data, assisting

the substantiation or repudiation of opinions and theories, through independent sources (Bernard 2002: 430).

Summary

This chapter has outlined the methods and techniques used for gathering and analysing the research data. The particular methodology was chosen because it was felt that it provided the best means of obtaining the information required, in order to address the primary research question. One of the main strengths of using semi-structured interviewing was its flexibility, as it could both provide a structure to support the key themes under discussion yet, at the same time, there was sufficient scope for exploration of additional topics and ideas of relevance. One of the weaknesses in the approach, though, could be in the specific questions chosen. One of the main intentions of the interview questionnaire was that it gradually built from one question or topic to the next, with the consequence that later sections were dependent on responses given at the beginning of the interview. In some cases, participants had concerns over the wording or intent of certain initial questions, which led to difficulties with later questions. However, the flexibility of this type of interviewing allowed for interpretative discussions, so enabling the participant the opportunity to express their opinions.

The next chapter will provide a historical overview of the New Zealand locale and discuss relevant curatorial and preservation issues. The intention is to introduce the overall context in Chapter 3. This will then be built on in Chapter 5 through a further review dealing specifically with the literature pertaining to values and education. Both chapters will provide the framework with which to support the research discussion in Chapters 4 and 6.

Chapter 3: Aotearoa New Zealand: The Historical and Heritage Context

This chapter presents a review of relevant historical, cultural heritage and preservation related literature. It introduces the Aotearoa New Zealand framework, discusses its historical development and contemporary context and provides an overview of relevant literature and theories pertaining to heritage curation and preservation. This chapter also serves as an introduction to the participant profiles and the discussion on heritage institutions, communities and notions of controversy in Chapter 4.

Previous research has examined issues relating to the history and future role of preservation, most notably in relation to the conservation of indigenous artefacts (Clavir 2001; 2002; Kreps 2003; 2006). Both the anthropological and the heritage preservation literature have examined postcolonial issues of indigenous rights, developing identities and the role cultural heritage plays in the empowerment and disempowerment of Western and non-Western peoples. This chapter situates this debate within the New Zealand framework, as the country provides a suitable context in which to study post-colonial issues of emerging cultural values and identity with its dual indigenous and colonial settler society (Keesing 1934; Laidlaw 1990; Williams 1990; Clifford 2001).

Historical development

The date of Māori occupation of New Zealand has long been disputed. Non-Māori historians in the early twentieth century collated Māori migration myths and from these suggested a discovery date of AD 925 – 950 and a settlement date of AD 1150 – 1350 (Hiroa 1949 [1987]; Sinclair 1959; Schwimmer 1966; Metge 1967). This became the accepted start date for Māori settlement. When Hanson (1989) questioned the basis on which these dates had been formulated in his controversial article ‘The Making of the Māori’, suggesting that this was a ‘cultural invention’, he was strongly criticised, not least by Māori themselves, who perceived the criticism to be of their culture – of Māoridom. One of the consequences of the article was that the subject of the Moriori people was again raised. It was suggested that these migrants, originating from Melanesia, were not only the first settlers in New Zealand, but that the subsequent Māori colonisers either had driven them from the land or had decimated their population. These opinions suggested, to some people, that as Māori were also colonisers and, as they were not the first settlers, they had no more right to the land than did the Europeans (King 1999). This situation had serious political implications for Māori land claims and calls for compensation through the

Waitangi Tribunal (an official body instituted in 1975 to examine Māori claims over land rights and to adjudicate on compensation for loss of land, where appropriate (Sharp 1997: 4)).

King (1997; 2003) sought to quell the controversy in his 'History of New Zealand'. He detailed the origins of the Moriori, describing them as early Polynesian settlers of Māori ethnicity; he then outlined their migration from New Zealand to the Chatham Islands, to the east of New Zealand, and the subsequent colonisation of New Zealand by a further wave of settlers, the ancestors of the current Māori population. Māori settlement of New Zealand is now thought, from archaeological evidence, to be more akin to the late thirteenth century.

Abel Janszoon Tasman was the first European to discover New Zealand in 1642, but it was not until 1769 when the, then, Lieutenant James Cook set foot there, that the gradual colonisation of the country by Europeans began. Initially, it was predominantly sailors, whalers, sealers and escaped criminals from prison colonies in Australia that frequented the islands. French explorers also made contact with the Māori people, Jean de Surville shortly after Cook and Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne in 1772 (Belich 1996; King 2003).

European interaction with local Māori *iwi*, especially in the north of the North Island, led to trading and intermarriage. A number of Americans and Europeans, predominantly British, became members of local *iwi*, married within the tribes, fought with them against other *iwi* and had their faces and bodies tattooed (*moko*). They both lived, and were treated by Māori, as Māori. Some were kept as slaves, some warriors, while others attained the status of 'white chiefs'. The majority were men and these became known as 'Pākehā Māori'.¹⁴ One of the most well-known Pākehā Māori was Frederick Edward Maning, author of 'History of the War in the North of New Zealand, Against the Chief Heke' (1862) and 'Old New Zealand; A Tale of the Good Old Times' (1863). Born in Dublin in 1811, he lived in New Zealand from 1833-1882 (Maning and Calder 2001). Although there was a handful of women who married into *iwi* (either voluntarily or otherwise) and assisted in Māori / European interactions, they were not known by this term (Bentley 1999; see also Maning and Calder 2001).

¹⁴ *Pākehā* is the term for a non-Māori person; it is now often taken to mean 'New Zealander of European descent'.

In 1835, representatives of the British Crown drew up the ‘Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand’ in Waitangi. Although Māori had no input into the writing of the document, some *iwi* did sign it. However, a statement claiming that it was signed by a ‘Confederation of United Tribes’ was inaccurate, as there was not one cohesive Māori nation, but a collection of nations (King 2003: 154-5). The document had no constitutional status, and “an official in the Foreign Office in London referred to it as ‘silly and unauthorised’” (King 2003: 155). However, it “became a foundation for the assertion of indigenous rights, and it *was* another step in the direction of a formal constitutional relationship with Great Britain” (King 2003: 155 (emphasis in original)).

Trading with the country expanded further with the establishment of the New Zealand Company in 1838. Under the management of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the company started to buy land cheaply from Māori, with a view to making a profit from the European settlers who were starting to move to the country (Belich 1996). Wakefield and the company also had plans to set up a government in New Zealand, a situation that prompted the British Government to act in order to establish New Zealand as a colony. It was as a consequence of these actions, together with concerns over lawlessness and the safety of both British settlers and the Māori, that New Zealand was annexed and the Treaty of Waitangi was drawn up (King 2003).

The Treaty was to prove a key factor both in legitimising colonial rule in New Zealand and in the subsequent process of decolonisation of the country (Perrott 2005). It was signed by representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs in 1840 (London 1994; Cohen 1998). The two versions, one in English and the other in Māori, presented at the signing on 6th February 1840, in Waitangi in the north of the North Island, contained significant differences in wording within their texts, leading to disputes over their interpretation, which would ultimately have long-term repercussions.

The two groups interpreted concepts such as ‘governance’ and ‘sovereignty’ quite differently (Belich 1996; King 2003).¹⁵ In the Māori version of the Treaty, the word ‘sovereignty’ was translated as ‘*kāwanatanga*’, which literally meant ‘governorship’, a

¹⁵ Here sovereignty is defined as “supreme and independent power or authority in government as possessed or claimed by a state or community”, while governance is “government; exercise of authority; control” (Dictionary.com 2007).

very different concept. In contrast, in the 'Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand', sovereignty had been translated as '*mana*' (prestige, power, customary authority), a more appropriate comparison for Māori. The words '*tino rangatiratanga*' were also contentious. Māori understood this concept as being able to 'exercise their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures', in other words, have sovereignty over their lands. In the English version, however, the wording was somewhat less strong, stating that Māori could have 'full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties' (King 2003: 160). Therefore, by signing the document, Māori believed that they were granting the British the right to govern while, in fact, the British were establishing supreme authority over New Zealand.

Perceptions of the importance of the Treaty were also different. Many chiefs had signed the Treaty with their *moko*, rather than a signature, as this increased the *mana* and, therefore, importance of the document (King 1978: 14). New Zealand history indicates that it is debateable, however, whether the British placed the same level of importance on the document. These misunderstandings and misinterpretations were to have a fundamental influence on the historical and political development of New Zealand, which eventually culminated in the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975.

The Treaty itself (comprising nine original documents, which had toured the country being signed) was, after being saved from a fire, stored in a safe until 1908. At this time, it was found to have been both water and rodent damaged. The subsequent attempts at repair in 1913 further damaged the documents, causing more staining. It was not until 1977 and 1978, following over 15 years of exhibition, that initial conservation work was finally carried out. The final conservation of the Treaty was completed in 1987 and it was housed in its current secure display in 1990. Named the Constitution Room, the exhibition of the Treaty in its current surroundings in Archives New Zealand places it as the 'founding document' of New Zealand, a catalyst for the resurgence of Māori cultural identity and the land claims being negotiated through the Waitangi Tribunal (Archives 2000; SSC 2005).

In the decades after the signing of the Treaty, Europeans increasingly settled in New Zealand. Predominantly from Britain, but from various other European countries as well (particularly France and Germany), migrants moved to the major settlement towns of Auckland and Wellington in the North Island, and Christchurch and Dunedin in the South Island. Many of the settlers were poor people looking for a better life, where they could

work for themselves, rather than as servants, as had been the case in the United Kingdom. This founding sentiment has had an effect on the political development of the country, resulting in an egalitarianism that now permeates all levels of society (King 2003).

The effect of so many settlers, however, resulted in an increasing requirement for land. Some Māori *iwi* were apparently willing to sell land to Europeans; others lost their land through unscrupulous deals by an individual or several individuals within an *iwi*; still others had their lands confiscated when they opposed the rule of the British Government. This latter action led to wars over land between Māori and Europeans in both the 1840s and 1860s, known as the New Zealand Wars (Cannadine 2001). From having possession of all the land, pre-Europeanisation, by 1891 Māori held only 17% of the land in New Zealand and their numbers had also reduced from being 50% of the population in 1860, to only 10% in 1891 (King 2003). Some *iwi* suffered more than others did. If an *iwi* was believed to have harboured a fugitive, for example, then this could automatically lead to land confiscation. This was the case for a number of *iwi*, particularly Tūhoe, around the Bay of Plenty region. Between 1868 and 1872, at the time of the New Zealand Wars, they were associated with Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, who was believed, by some Māori, to be a missionary and resistance leader, but was considered an outlaw and murderer by the British (Belich 1996; King 2003).

Māori culture was gradually eroded through acculturation and prohibitions on speaking the Māori language. Instead of learning on the *marae* as was traditional in Māori society, children were taught in Native Schools using European methods of schooling (Bishop and Glynn 1999). The result of this policy is that many Māori are unable to converse in their own language. Today the majority of speakers are over 65, although there has been something of a language renaissance since the 1970s and it is now being taught again in schools, universities and on the *marae* (TPK 2006a; FairfaxNZ 2007a). The lack of language skills is still having a wide reaching effect on protocol on the *marae*, where it is traditional for the elder (*kaumātua*) to address the *iwi* and *hapū* (sub-tribe) in *te reo* Māori. This is currently not always possible and so it may be that a younger member of the *iwi*, who does not have the same tribal knowledge or status as the elder, is required to speak in *te reo* on behalf of the elder. This can affect the *mana* of the elder, potentially leading to tensions within the *iwi*.

Contemporary Context: A Developing Identity

A discussion of 'the other' is relevant in an examination of identity in a postcolonial context. Writers (including Said 1978 [1995]; Linnekin and Poyer 1990 [1996]; Friedman 1992; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Harrison 1999b; Young 2001; 2003) have discussed varying definitions. Taylor (1998: 202) defines 'the Other' as being "normally the 'marked' identity, named and described as in some way different. The 'unmarked' identity of the observer or speaker is not usually discussed; it stands as the taken-for-granted standard of normality against which any difference is measured". Identity, then, provides a relational point of comparison against which all others are judged. This is an observed behaviour in human (and other animal) societies. It is necessary to identify and categorise 'friends' and 'strangers' on a continual basis in order to establish social structures and hierarchies. Taylor's research builds on the work of Said (1978 [1995]: 7) who suggests that the image of Europe was "a collective notion identifying 'us' Europeans as against all 'those' non-Europeans". The result of this notion was the perception of a hegemonic culture through "the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures".

Indeed, concepts of national identity and nationalism are themselves influenced by Western experience and ideas. Smith (1991: 11) posits the view that "in the Western model of national identity nations were seen as culture communities, whose members were united, if not made homogenous, by common historical memories, myths, symbols and traditions"; so as individuals they could choose the nation to which they belonged. By contrast, the 'non-Western model' placed the "emphasis on a community of birth and native culture" whereby, regardless of where the person may choose to live, they belonged to the nation of their birth (Smith 1991: 11). Therefore, it is ancestry and genealogy that is considered important, rather than concerns over the expansion of territory. This conflict between the two ideologies can be observed through the effects of colonialism. The colonising nation seeks to impose its political and cultural ideals, its national identity, on those being colonised and they are expected to acquiesce in return for the 'benefits' bestowed by the colonisers (Smith 1991; Kaplan 2006).

Colonialism then, with the 'West', or occidental, representing the norm, the majority against whom everything else is measured, "brought a new form of identity, that of colonial subject: a second or third-class citizen relegated to the newly acquired and pejorative status of 'native'" (Jourdan 1995: 130). Harrison (1999b: 247) agrees, suggesting that cultural identity is akin to cultural knowledge, requiring protection from

acculturation as, “the aim of the majority group is not to incorporate the minority, but to dispossess, exclude and marginalize it”. The effects of colonialism on cultures, usually after the society has gained independence from its colonisers, are studied in postcolonial theory (see Ashcroft, Griffiths et al. 1995; 1998; During 2000; Young 2001; 2003).

Dealing with the framing of the subjects (the colonised) by the colonisers, resistance by those subjects and the aftermath of colonisation, postcolonialism seeks to develop “a body of writing that attempts to shift the dominant ways in which the relations between western and non-western people and their worlds are viewed” (Young 2003: 2). Essentially, it offers a “critique from the position of the victims, not [the] perpetrators” (Young 2001: 58).

Postcolonialism and issues of identity are linked, as decolonised communities attempt to develop their own voice, rather than the one of their colonisers (Fee 1995). However, if the culture and the language of the colonisers remain dominant, this may be detrimental to relations within the society and the ability to recognise cultural difference, thereby inhibiting the contributions that a culturally diverse population can make. Identity is further complicated by mixed ancestry. Individuals may choose to identify with one or other culture, be unaware of their true ancestry, or have had to learn the language and culture of their ancestors as adults (Fee 1995). Turner (1999: 419) considers these aspects of cultural difference as an essential factor in the evolution of New Zealand’s history and identity and their denial “marks the uncivil basis of its settler society”. Simon During (1995), however, appears optimistic about the future of relations in New Zealand. He suggests that, due to the renaissance of the Māori language, its use in place and proper names, and the relatively short European history, which means that memories of pre-colonialism have been passed down through the generations, New Zealand will be able to enter ‘the post-colonial condition’.

Various researchers have attempted to give an insight into the status of the Māori people. While Keesing (1934) discussed the beginnings of Māori resistance and resurgence in their culture, Ausubel (1961) described the effects of colonisation on Māori people and their culture, concluding that the Māori have survived, but at a cost to their culture, as their children were torn between the Māori and *Pākehā* worlds (see also Sinclair 1990). A more recent analysis of the effects of colonisation returned to the attempts to re-establish a Māori identity, the necessary protection of *taonga*, and the principles for Māoridom (Loomis 2000).

New Zealand started to develop a separate identity from the United Kingdom when it changed from a colony to a dominion in 1907 (King 2003). Although the country still answered the call from the 'home' country when it came to both the first and second world wars, New Zealand gradually began to form its own character. However, even in the middle of the twentieth century, the majority of *Pākehā* still identified culturally as 'British' (King 2003). Until the Second World War, many Māori still lived in rural tribal communities. Status was determined by *mana* and importance placed on *whakapapa* (genealogy). Despite the prohibition on speaking *te reo* Māori in schools, knowledge of the language was still strong among *kaumātua* and this, together with ceremonial *tikanga* helped to hold the communities together. This was to change in two to three generations, due to the effects of the prohibition and urbanisation. At this time, however, "tribalism provided much of the group vitality and competitiveness of Maori life. And most Maori continued to draw their strength and identity not from being Maori, but from being a known and knowing member of a particular hapu or tribe, and from being embraced by the people, history and traditions of that tribe" (King 2003: 365).

By the 1950s, however, many Māori were living in urban communities. This raised questions of how to maintain *tikanga* Māori, co-exist with Māori from differing *iwi* and develop a more cohesive sense of 'Māoriness' rather than individual tribalism (King 2003). In addition, *te reo* Māori was now being spoken by far fewer Māori. This decline in the language continued and "by the 1970s it was in serious danger of extinction as elderly native speakers died and were not replaced by younger ones" (King 2003: 477). Politically, Māori were being encouraged to integrate, although in reality, this meant 'assimilation', speaking English, living culturally as a Westerner and, essentially, becoming *Pākehā* (King 2003: 484).

Māori resistance movements started from the late 1960s. Initially concentrating on land, language and financial concerns, the protests gradually extended to include all aspects of Māori culture and values that had been affected by colonial policies. The resistance movements coincided with the changing relationship between New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Although New Zealand gained independence in 1947, the United Kingdom remained an important influence and source of trade, culture and immigrants. It was not until the 1970s, when the United Kingdom joined the European Union (EU) (then the European Economic Community (EEC)), with consequences for trade agreements, that ties between the two countries began to weaken (During 2000). However, despite this, and significant numbers of immigrants arriving in New Zealand from the Pacific Islands (for

example, 47,118 from Samoa), Australia and Asia (38,949 from China), the largest number of immigrants is still British (Belich 2001), of these 178,203 are English and 28,680 are Scottish. The next largest group is Australian, with 56,259 (StatsNZ 2008a).

From the late 1970s onwards, as Māori culture and language began to undergo a resurgence, and there was a move towards bicultural relations, *Pākehā* faced an identity crisis. This, together with the definition of *Pākehā*, has been debated by various researchers (Stirling and Salmond 1980; Lawn 1994; King 1999). Lawn (1994) compares and contrasts New Zealand *Pākehā* with South African whites and is critical of King's work and his views on being *Pākehā* (see King 1999). She concludes that there is much work to be done on Māori / *Pākehā* relations and their roles in New Zealand society as, although Māori have preserved their culture and language, it has been at a price, as loss of social cohesion, especially among Māori youth, is common (see also Rangihau 1992 [1975]). Stirling and Salmond (1980: 254) also highlight this lack of cohesion, emphasising the need for "interaction between [Māori and *Pākehā*, as it] is our strongest source of national identity".

So, at a time when Māori and other ethnic identities in New Zealand were becoming more confident and aware of who they were and what their culture was, *Pākehā* culture was much less definable (During 2000). Belich (2001: 542) asked whether a 'Te Pākehā' exhibition, in the style of 'Te Māori', would be possible (for a discussion of the 'Te Māori' exhibition, see 'The Curatorial and Heritage Preservation Context' later in this chapter). He suggested that it might, as New Zealand was in the process of developing its own unique culture. However, he was concerned, as he felt that, "the Pakeha 'cultural revolution' [was] incomplete and constrained, underfunded and hampered by the small size of its market". Part of the reason for this, he suggested, was dislike, by some European New Zealanders, of the name '*Pākehā*', which some people believed might originally have been derogatory. He felt that this was unlikely and that the meaning of the term had changed over time, just as it had developed from meaning all Europeans, to referring specifically to New Zealanders of European descent (Belich 2001: 543). King (1999: 134) agreed, stating that it was simply "a non-pejorative and indigenous word to describe those things and people in New Zealand that were not Polynesian in origin".

Today, mainstream *Pākehā* culture is still dominant in New Zealand, with 67.6% of people identifying as belonging to European ethnicity, compared to 14.6% who identify as being of Māori ethnicity (StatsNZ 2007j, 2007k).¹⁶ However, consideration is now being given to Māori cultural sensitivities, for example, in relation to their spiritual connection to the land and concerns over what they considered to be offensive museum exhibits. In 1998, the Waikato Museum of Art and History, following protests from *iwi* elders, removed an exhibition containing a work that had used *moko*. At the same time, Te Papa refused to withdraw the sculpture entitled ‘Virgin in a Condom’, which had caused offence to some Christian groups (King 2003). Instances such as this have led some *Pākehā* to feel that there may be too much consideration shown, that the emphasis is now on trying to understand the Māori perspective, with the consequence that *Pākehā* sensitivities over cultural icons are not fully recognised. As King (2003: 516-518) points out, New Zealanders of European descent – *Pākehā* – now find themselves in the position of seeking to be accorded the same respect as the indigenous peoples of New Zealand (see also Young 2003).

An exploration of the literature demonstrates that there has been a variety of both internal and external influences on *Pākehā* development from colonial settlers to present day members of Aotearoa New Zealand. Initially influenced by predominantly European, and particularly British, culture in terms of architecture, education, food, political and judicial systems, today it is possible to discern the more recent influences of America and Asia. These are most observable in architecture and the layout of towns, the wide range of cuisine available and television programmes. The latter are not only home produced, but also from the United Kingdom and America, and both the Māori and Asian populations (in Auckland) have their own television channels.¹⁷

¹⁶ Statistics New Zealand defines ethnicity as “a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. An ethnic group is a social group whose members have the following four characteristics: share a sense of common origins; claim a common and distinctive history and destiny; possess one or more dimensions of collective cultural individuality; feel a sense of unique collective solidarity” (StatsNZ 2001).

¹⁷ Māori Television started broadcasting nationally on 28th March 2004, while CTV8, Chinese Television Eight, is a Chinese language (Mandarin and Cantonese) channel, broadcasting in Auckland since 13th August 2007. Information taken from Māori Television (Maoritelevision 2006), and Chinese TV8 (CTV8 2007).

Mounting anxiety has been noted about the increased South-East Asian emigration, although migrant workers from China have been a part of the New Zealand population since 1865, when they started moving to New Zealand as part of the gold rush in Otago (South Island).¹⁸ At times, they have suffered more racism and prejudice towards their culture than Māori, and were severely disadvantaged by the poll tax laws levied on Chinese as they entered the country during the late 19th century. The tax was not abolished until 1944 and they did not receive an apology for their treatment until 2002, from the current government under Prime Minister Helen Clark (Belich 2001; King 2003).

Recently, migrants from Korea and India have joined the resident Chinese population, and Asian students make up a significant proportion (8.1%) of students at New Zealand universities (EducationCounts 2008). Indeed, between 2000 and 2005, the numbers of overseas students increased by 745% (Gill 2008). Interestingly, South Africans are one of the largest migrant ethnic groups next to Koreans, with 14,889 people identifying as South African in the 2001 census (StatsNZ 2008a). Two thirds of the Pacific Islanders who live in New Zealand are based around the Auckland area. Of these, there are seven main Pacific island ethnic groups, with the majority being Samoan (comprising 49% of the New Zealand Pacific population of 265,974). The other groups include Cook Island Māori (22%), Tongans (19%), Niueans (8%), Fijians (4%), Tokelauans (3%) and Tuvaluans (1%) (StatsNZ 2007f). Some Pacific Islanders have now become acculturated New Zealanders and have, over generations, lost the ability to speak their traditional languages.

New Zealand has been termed both a bicultural and a multicultural nation (King 2003). Although considered essentially bicultural as regards government policy (this can be seen in the bilingual – Māori, English – naming of most public sector departments), the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, perceptions of iconic figures and by national institutions such as Te Papa, the country is now rather more multicultural than otherwise. In this context, multicultural means “representing several different cultures or cultural elements”, i.e. ‘culturally diverse’ (Dictionary.com 2007: multicultural). Indeed, King felt

¹⁸ In 2005, ‘Aliens at my Table: Asians as New Zealanders see them’ was published (Ip Manying and Nigel Murphy (2005) Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd.). With a title adapted from the Janet Frame autobiography ‘An Angel at my Table’ (Janet Frame (2002) The Women’s Press Ltd.), the book explored New Zealanders’ concerns over the amount of immigration from Asia.

that, although biculturalism had its place, long term it was not a desirable or adequate model (King 1999).

New Zealand is rapidly becoming a fusion of European, North American, Pacific Island and Asian influences that, together with the indigenous Māori population, make up a unique culture. Auckland, the largest region with a population of 1,303,068, is evidence of the changing face of New Zealand. Described by various research participants as one of the most multicultural cities in the world, it has a substantial Māori (137,133 or 24.3% of New Zealand's Māori population live in the Auckland region), Pacific Islander and Asian population, as well as *Pākehā* New Zealanders and emigrant Europeans (StatsNZ 2007g; see also StatsNZ 2007h). Although, in a similar way to London, certain parts of the region can be categorised according to ethnicity or culture, with Auckland City being European and Asian, Papakura District European and Māori, and Manukau City European, Pacific Islander and Asian (StatsNZ 2007i). In 2006, 56.5% of the Auckland Region population identified as European (compared to 67.6% nationally), 11.1% as Māori (compared to 14.6% nationally), 14.3% as Pacific Islander (compared to 6.9% nationally) and 18.8% as Asian (compared to 9.2% nationally) (StatsNZ 2007h).

In contrast to Auckland, certain parts of New Zealand, notably Christchurch in the South Island, do remind one of an English town. Indeed, one of the research participants described it as “the Britain of the south” (participant 082). This is, to a degree, due to certain aspects of its architecture, which bear a distinct resemblance to Oxbridge colleges (although many of its streets are laid out in a grid pattern and so, to English eyes, appear influenced by American town planning). King (2003: 173) describes Christchurch as being “visibly English in character and appearance, and in the manners of its citizenry, for its first 100 years”. This may be due to the predominance of British settlers in this area and the city being established as a “Canterbury Association (Church of England) settlement in 1850” (King 2003: 173). Recent statistics indicate that Christchurch's population is 75.4% European origin, compared to 67.6% for New Zealand as a whole. In contrast, the city is under represented, in comparison to the rest of New Zealand as regards Māori, Pacific Island and Asian peoples (StatsNZ 2008b).

It has been suggested that the European settlers of New Zealand, like Canada and Australia, are seeking to ‘indigenise’ themselves, in other words, become indigenous in order to belong to that country, rather than being seen as, or feeling ‘alien’ (Goldie 1995). In addition, some *Pākehā* have voiced concern that their culture may suffer because of the

resurgence of Māori culture and their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Questions have been asked, by *Pākehā*, regarding their rights and the applicability of the Treaty to them (King 1999). So, as *Pākehā* have moved away from colonising and imperial notions of Māori culture towards a society in which different voices can be heard, they in turn have started to seek the respect that Māori are perceived to have. *Pākehā* do not wish to be “viewed by Maori as tau iwi or aliens, representatives of a colonising power that merely stole materials and cultural resources from Maori and gave nothing in return”, but as equal partners (King 2003: 518). They are no longer Europeans; they are indigenous New Zealanders who, like Māori, have a spiritual connection to the land (King 1999).

Traditionally, the Treaty of Waitangi is considered to apply solely to the descendents of the original signatories – Māori and New Zealand Europeans. However, the term ‘*Pākehā*’ originally referred to all non-Māori. Recently, questions relating to the applicability and relevance of the Treaty to people other than Māori and New Zealand Europeans have been asked. It has been suggested that the right to belong to New Zealand could be demonstrated through “commitment to the place’s founding principles [, as people] take on the reality of [their] legal (if not ethnic) role as ‘Pakeha’ and reject the long-standing fallacy that the Treaty is ‘not [their] business’” (Mok 2005: 161). By signing up to the principles of the Treaty, all New Zealanders could assert not only their right to live in New Zealand, but also their right to be different (Mok 2005).

In contrast to Mok’s viewpoint, the culturally diverse nature of New Zealand has led some people to question whether the Treaty is now relevant and how long the country can retain its association to the British Crown. However, despite the effects of colonisation, Māori people still wish to retain New Zealand’s links to the United Kingdom and the British monarchy, as they believe that they have a special relationship with the New Zealand government and the Crown through the Treaty of Waitangi. As King (2003) points out, only Māori have such a relationship. Other cultures, and indeed New Zealand *Pākehā*, lack this. The status of the Treaty, and through it the relationship with the British Crown, is believed to reinforce the current Māori position over claims to land rights when they are brought before the Waitangi Tribunal (Sharp 1997: 4).

Recent questions relating to New Zealand potentially becoming a republic were countered by the Prime Minister (WaikatoTimes 2007), but, as with Australia, this is a question that will continue to be asked. At the current time, the Treaty remains relevant and, indeed, teaching on the Treaty, its principles and the significance of Māori as *tangata whenua*

(people of the land), have been written into the new school curriculum that was launched on 6th November 2007 (FairfaxNZ 2007b). However, concerns over the length of time land settlement claims are taking has led to calls for a statute of limitation to be put in place, and this means that the Treaty continues to be a contentious subject (King 2003).

Although Māori people can be said, from certain viewpoints, to have made significant progress in self-determination, particularly in comparison to some indigenous people in other parts of the world, much remains to be done (Walker 1990 [2004]; Eaton and Watson 2007; FairfaxNZ 2007c). However, the situation has changed significantly since the 1970s. Then Māori radicals highlighted the fact that very little was being written about Māori history by *Pākehā* historians; it was as if Māori were being left out of the history of their own country and this needed to be rectified. People such as the historian Michael King began to address this deficiency, writing about Māori for both a Māori and *Pākehā* audience. By the early 1980s, however, opinions had changed. Māori still felt that their history needed to be told, not by *Pākehā*, but by Māori (King 1999). Today this is being done. Māori academics such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Margaret Mutu, and Ranginui Walker are redressing the balance, informing both Māori and *Pākehā* about *tikanga* Māori, *mātauranga* Māori and *kaupapa* Māori. Through acknowledgement of shared *whakapapa*, policies on biculturalism and bilingualism, and commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, Biasiny-Tule (2006: 176) suggests that “a collective vision for improvement [can be] agreed upon” (see also Salmond 2000).¹⁹

Such a vision, King (2003: 518) suggests, builds on the “relationship of mutual exchange that [began] as early as 1769”. Both Māori and *Pākehā* culture gained from this exchange, changing and developing as a consequence. While Māori may choose to represent their ancestors through photography instead of carving on the *marae*, *Pākehā* have incorporated aspects of *te reo* Māori into New Zealand English and have been influenced by Māori in terms of interaction between people, whether this is in relation to business, hospitality or funeral rites (King 2003: 519). By drawing on these original traditions, a sense of belonging and cohesion can be achieved within a nation (Smith 1999). This exchange of ideas and traditions continues today and is one of the reasons why New Zealand culture

¹⁹ A recent report by the Human Rights Commission highlighted New Zealanders’ growing acceptance of the increasing cultural diversity in the country (FairfaxNZ 2007d).

has moved away from its predominantly European roots and is developing towards a unique blend of Polynesian, European and Asian cultures (see also TeAra 2008).

The Curatorial and Heritage Preservation Context

This section outlines the history, development and influences on the New Zealand heritage sector. Attitudes to both curation and preservation are examined, with a view to determining changing perspectives within the heritage professions.

Curatorial Context

Colonial history has been a major contributor to the developmental influences on both European and non-European museums and their collections (Clifford 1999). As Simpson (1996: 2) explains, “colonialism has played a significant role both in shaping the collections in museums and in shaping the audiences that might potentially use them. It is this colonial legacy that museums must deal with today”.

The extensive collecting of, and demand for, ‘authentic’ artefacts originating from non-European cultures, particularly in the nineteenth century, was so pronounced that many European museums now have room to exhibit only a fraction of their ethnographic collections (Clifford 1988). So heritage appears to have “become a commodity to discover, preserve, and exploit in communities around the world” (Edson 2004: 334; see also Graham, Ashworth *et al.* 2005). Outside the museum environment, ‘heritage’ is considered to be unique, ever changing and developing, while within the museum it “is a means by which human beings orient themselves to their past, and many of the elements of the past – both real and imagined, cultural and natural, tangible and intangible – are organised chronologically” (Edson 2004: 341). Edson (2004: 338) suggests that a community’s heritage, and so cultural identity, needs consideration in order to demonstrate its uniqueness. “Verification of cultural values (heritage) also requires communication and the diffusion of belief. Furthermore, and possibly most importantly, the identity of each culture has to be recognised as containing a value that is universal”.

The notion of universality, however, is questioned when considering attitudes toward knowledge. One of the major differences, it can be suggested, between Western, ‘Eurocentric’, curating and the approach of some indigenous peoples is in the sharing of knowledge (Barth 1990; Simpson 1996; Brown 1998; Kasten 2002; Brown 2003). In the main, Western museums openly display artefacts, offering knowledge relating to their history and symbolism. Some indigenous societies, for example Australian Aboriginals

and indigenous peoples in North and South America, restrict access to their sacred artefacts, with only certain people being allowed to see or touch them, dependent on varying factors, including status, age and gender (Harrison 1995; Brown 1998; Harrison 1999a; Kelly and Gordon 2002; Brown 2003; Peers and Brown 2003). As values and beliefs differ across cultures, however, it is possible that there are some indigenous societies that are more closely aligned to Western modes of thought, although this may be the result of colonisation and acculturation (for a discussion of cultural difference, see Smith 2006). A search of the literature proved interesting in this respect, as it suggests that the majority of the available literature approaches this subject from the perspective of identifying the differences between Western attitudes and indigenous peoples, rather than any similarities.

Categorisation of artefacts in Western museums is, potentially, one of the differences between Eurocentric and indigenous curation (Kreps 2003). Western artefacts have often been categorised as ‘art’, ‘decorative crafts’, ‘natural history’, or ‘science and technology’. In contrast, artefacts from indigenous cultures have frequently been placed in ethnographic museums, sometimes irrespective of their function or the artistic intentions of their creators. Consequently, Western museums are increasingly facing censure regarding “the classification and values attached to objects [and] cultural bias in representing other cultures” (Simpson 1996: 2), from indigenous peoples whose sacred artefacts and human remains they hold and exhibit. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991: 392) explains that “ethnographic objects move from curio to specimen to art, though not necessarily in that order”. They move from being part of a collection – curiosities – to being individual artefacts – works of art and as such can be “moved from category to category” depending on purpose of the exhibition (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 393; see also McCarthy 2007a). Some indigenous peoples disapprove of this, stating that they prefer to decide for themselves the status of an object and whether it should be deemed ‘culturally significant’ (Heikell 1995).

This Western categorisation of indigenous artefacts has also been criticised by various scholars (Haas 1996; Gell 1999). One potential method, it has been suggested, of redressing the balance is to enable ethnographic museums to become places of living cultures. Indigenous peoples could then share equally the responsibility for “facilitating [their] self-representation [so enabling] museum visitors [to experience] the voices of living people belonging to an indigenous culture, not just voices from the past or from the academic knowledge of non-indigenous curators” (Clavir 1996: 100).

Clifford (1999) examined this question of whose ‘voice’ should be prominent in museums, in his discussion of collections and exhibitions of indigenous cultural property, in which he queried the appropriateness of curatorial knowledge, experience and nationality. There are many differences across cultures and societies regarding how people consider the meaning of heritage artefacts. Westerners often perceive exhibitions and displays of art and artefacts as collections of inanimate objects housed within glass showcases. The art can be variously appreciated as beautiful, historic, representative of a certain artist’s style, or symbolic of a country or religion, but there may be no spiritual connection (Hakiwai 1990; Simpson 1996).

Various indigenous peoples, including Māori, consider cultural property differently and a gradual awareness of this has developed. Despite displays of Māori artefacts in first the Colonial Museum and then in the succeeding Dominion Museum in Wellington, public awareness of Māori heritage was relatively limited until the ‘Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections’ exhibition toured New Zealand from 1986 to 1987 (Mead 1990; McCarthy 2007a).²⁰ The exhibition had originated as a major loan of *taonga* Māori to several museums in the United States, touring from 1984 to 1986. Although the artefacts were housed in museums around New Zealand, spiritually, the *taonga* belonged to the Māori people (Simpson 1996; Clifford 1999). Therefore, the exhibition organisers comprised both Māori and *Pākehā*, and Māori elders from the relevant *iwi* were consulted and their permission obtained for the treasures to tour. Māori consultants also travelled with the *taonga*. When the exhibition toured New Zealand, it led both to an awakening of interest in Māori culture amongst *Pākehā* and a growing awareness amongst Māori of the status of their *taonga*, how their culture was displayed in museums and the need for a Māori cultural renaissance (Mead 1986; Simmons and Penfold 1986; Karp and Lavine 1991; Thomas 1995a; McCarthy 2007a).

For Māori, their heritage artefacts are perceived of as sacred treasures or *taonga*, which represent or can provide a direct link to the ancestors, as “they are not only important sacred objects, they are animate, living beings, embodying the spirits and imbued with

²⁰ The New Zealand Geological Survey and Colonial Museum opened in 1865 under its first director, Dr. James Hector. In 1903, a new director, Augustus Hamilton, was appointed, who initiated an increased focus on Māori ethnology and research. The Colonial Museum was renamed the Dominion Museum in 1907 (McCarthy 2007a).

strong spiritual power” (Simpson 1996: 195; see also Jahnke 1999). Mead (1990: 281) agrees, affirming that the “identification with our artwork is very close. ... Since one of the basic themes of Māori art is commemoration of the ancestors, individual pieces of art are more than just objects. They are ancestors who are symbols of our identities as persons and as members of particular social groupings”. To isolate artefacts from their people, therefore, prevents any spiritual connection through touch, ceremonial rites or prayer, rendering the artefact just one of many museum collection items, instead of a means of spiritual connection.

Hakiwai (1990: 38; 1996), further explains that

“one of the roles of a museum is to portray (communicate, educate, exhibit and interpret) the indigenous people of the country. Should not this be done in a way that is acceptable to their culture? Māori 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”.

Māori people need to know that their *taonga*, language and culture are respected by museums. In order for this to happen, Hakiwai (1990: 38) believes that “a real Māori presence [is required] at all levels of the museum. ... The *mauri* (life-force) that each treasure possesses” will then be respected, rather than being “something to be denied or suppressed [and] 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 Māori cultural history; it will also give beauty and real credence to museums and the position they hold in today’s society”.

Further credence would be gained, Hakiwai (1990: 38) feels, by the use of “bilingual labels that portray the vitality and living qualities of our artworks, rather than labels which interpret phenomena according to Western academic practice”. Just as Western museums consider artefacts to be inanimate, so their labels are

“totally detached from the culture they wish to show. In museum displays [Māori] culture is also very often interpreted as an entity static and frozen in time, denying the continuity, development and dynamism with which all cultures are endowed. 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 Māori culture!” (Hakiwai 1990: 38; see also Hakiwai 1996; 2005).

Often through colonisation, then, the European style of curation has greatly influenced indigenous curators in various parts of the world. Certainly, until recently, Māori artefacts in New Zealand were placed in ethnographic galleries (MONZ 1998b; 1998c; 1998d; 1998e; 1998f). Many Māori felt dissatisfied with the treatment that their *taonga* and culture had received from museums, leading to calls for repatriation of indigenous artefacts, the need to examine access and ownership and ultimately questions relating to the function of museums (Thomas 1995b). Attempts to address some of these challenges have been “described by some as the ‘new anthropology’ of museums, [as] indigenous and native peoples worldwide are taking more pro-active attempts at reclaiming their cultural heritage” (Hakiwai 1999). These claims were supported in 1992, when the ‘Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value’ stated, “the Treaty of Waitangi is the historical basis for indigenous guardianship. It recognises the indigenous people as exercising responsibility for their treasures, monuments and sacred places” (ICOMOS-NZ 1992: section two).

In New Zealand, *Pākehā* and Māori issues of identity, the exhibition ‘Te Māori’ and the Māori cultural resurgence initiated the establishment of “successful partnerships [between some museums and] tribal groups, [while] some tribes have begun to set up their own tribal museums or culture centres” (Hakiwai 1996: 57). The tribal museums or Māori *marae* museums are intended to act as both a focal point for activities and a means of preserving and interpreting the collection for young Māori and non-Māori (Herle 1994; Simpson 1996). They are also an important means of income for the *iwi* community, which is lacking when *taonga* is stored in national museums.

When the Museum of New Zealand (MONZ) reopened on 14th February 1998, as Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand (known simply as Te Papa, or ‘Our Place’), it was not only to a new building and location, but also new status for Māori heritage. All artefacts, both Māori and non-Māori were accorded equal standing in the museum (MONZ 1998a) and the curators of the Māori collections are known as *kaitiaki* or guardians. National museums can be said to be representative of a nation’s cultural values and identity, as they “are major apparatuses in the creation of national identities” (Hooper-Greenhill 2000a: 25) and consequently they, in particular, face issues over their collections and what they choose to display (Clifford 1999; Duncan 1999; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000; Williams 2001; Kaplan 2006). Increasingly, indigenous peoples are included in discussions on how existing collections are treated and the development of exhibitions (Rowlands 2002; Gurian 2005). This is the case with Te Papa, but it is particularly through

exhibitions that museums can face censure and criticism and it is difficult for them to escape involvement in the competing, political interests of numerous groups (Karp and Lavine 1991).

Te Papa has faced criticism over perceived inconsistencies in its displays (Williams 2001), potentially reacting differently to Māori and *Pākehā* sensitivities (Harper 2003), avoidance of certain historical subjects and “attempt[s] to construct for the visitor an artificial biculturalism” (Williams 2005: 94) (for specific examples of criticism and controversy, see Chapter 4). Its emphasis on commercialism has also been commented on. When entering Te Papa, it is the shop, café and interactive environments that one first sees; the exhibits are reserved for the upper floors (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000). Te Papa is proud of its bicultural policy and this has elicited both positive and negative reactions. Tramposch (1998) explained Te Papa’s position on this, seeking to counter criticism (see also Wedde 2005). At the same time, however, Tapsell (1998), writing from the perspective of Māori involvement in museums, was highly critical of Te Papa’s bicultural policy, its meaning and implications for Māori, and the appropriation of Māori motifs (see also Williams 2003; Moss 2005).

The exhibition ‘Te Māori’ proved to be a turning point for Māori culture in New Zealand (McCarthy 2007a). The resultant resurgence in Māori culture and a growing awareness of the importance of heritage and *taonga* among both Māori and *Pākehā* in New Zealand led to a reassessment of curation practices by Māori people working in heritage related sectors (Clifford 1988; Mead 1990). Because of ‘Te Māori’, museums and galleries in New Zealand now have a greater knowledge, and so respect, of Māori beliefs, engendering, as Mead (1990: 271) explains, “a positive feeling of pride at the achievements of the ancestors and [...] an expectation that the art objects will do great things for our national *mana*” (see also Hanson 1989; Harple 1996). Māori as well as *Pākehā* are now employed as curators and this has led to a change in attitudes. In exhibitions and displays it is now common to see “pieces of greenery, the foliage of trees [...] placed in front of, or on, Māori *taonga* in museum displays, put there as offerings by Māori staff or, in their absence, by *Pākehā* staff” (Simpson 1996: 197; see also Hakiwai 1999; 2005; Kreps 2006).

These offerings are a demonstration of remembrance and the spiritual link with the objects, as

“To the Māori, *taonga* are imbued by the artist with *ihi* and *wana* (power and authority), and also with *wehi* (fear) (Mead 1985: 23). In

some museums one might also find a bowl of water at the entrance to the gallery or the stores where Māori *taonga* are located, available for those who wish to use it to sprinkle water on themselves, after coming into close contact with the strong spiritual forces of the *taonga*” (Simpson 1996: 197; see also Clavir 1996).

If these ceremonial rites or *karakia* (ceremonial prayers) are not carried out or due respect shown, then it is believed that the sacred objects could “cause harm to the community or to those handling them. [...] In museum collections, such objects, removed from their proper cultural context and ceremonial care, are believed to present danger to staff handling them” (Simpson 1996: 200).

Indigenous views on curating are now influencing Western ways of working with museum artefacts. O’Hanlon has stated that he feels that “there is at present considerable scope for re-thinking, or at least expanding, the *raison d’être* of ethnographic and archaeological museums”. He suggests that instead of museums being the sole custodians, we should consider how the collections can be the focus of “relationships – with source communities and with all those who were instrumental in the objects coming to museums and for whom the objects continue to have, or come to have, significance” (O’Hanlon 2001: 3).

Museums, then, appear to be moving towards “a new, more mutually beneficial relationship [...] enhanced by the freshness and uninhibited activities of new museologists who lack the culturally focused intellectual myopia of many curators trained in the European tradition” (Simpson 1996: 5). Rowlands (2002) supports this, suggesting that, for exhibitions of ethnographic materials, the majority of museums now consult with the appropriate indigenous communities and are working towards a collaborative strategy.

Preservation Context

The present role and potential future issues relating to heritage conservation are currently subjects for discussion (Antomarchi 2000; Clavir 2001; Federspiel 2001; Oddy 2001; Viñas 2002). A dialogue has grown up between museum specialists and the source communities, from which the artefacts originated, over the last ten to 15 years.

Conservation ethics and practice have developed to incorporate the needs and opinions of indigenous peoples as regards their heritage. Ethical issues relating to indigenous knowledge, identity and the repatriation of heritage now face museums, as the rights and concerns of the source communities are included in the decision-making processes (Welsh, Sease *et al.* 1992). This potentially affects both the preservation of the museum collections and the development of the conservation profession (Carter 1994; Clavir 1996; Brown

1998; Clavir 1998; 1999; 2001; 2002; Prott 2002; Brown 2003). This can lead to challenges for conservators, particularly those working on ethnographic artefacts, if “cultural concerns are seen to be given precedence over the physical preservation of the collections in the museums” (Clavir 1996: 100).

An artefact is not simply a historical, aesthetic object to be placed on display, but is “inseparable from identity and well being and has particular cultural meanings” (ICOMOS-NZ 1992: section two). Artefacts contain spiritual knowledge that can provide a living link to a particular ancestor, and should therefore be greeted appropriately and treated with the respect that that ancestor deserves (Clavir 2002). Preservation is therefore of importance to Māori, even if it is decided, perhaps for specific cultural reasons, that a particular artefact should not receive conservation treatment. As ICOMOS-NZ (1992: section two) states, “indigenous conservation precepts are fluid and take account of the continuity of life and the needs of the present as well as the responsibilities of guardianship and association with those who have gone before”. Intangible as well as tangible knowledge therefore needs to be considered and it is suggested, “the best way of conservation and preservation is to make sure that the living cultures themselves are passed on in the traditional ways to the next generation” (PIMA 2000; quoted in Putt 2001: 64).

The notion of authenticity is extremely important in Western culture and conservation (Lowenthal and Binney 1981; van Mensch 1990; Oddy 1992). An artefact must have an authenticated provenance, proving that it is the work of a specific artist, and any conservation treatment must be fully documented, describing the inclusion of any modern or contemporary materials so that there is no doubt as to their origins (Appelbaum 1991; Bradley 1994; Keene 1996). Some non-Western societies view authenticity differently. A Japanese temple, for example, may be reconstructed using new materials, but following a thousand year old tradition. It is “the spirit, the purpose and the past associations of the place [that are] important and not the physical material itself” (Caple 2000: 121; see also Staniforth 2000; Graham 2002). Comparisons can be drawn between Japanese attitudes to conservation and restoration and those of Māori people. When Rangiātea Church in Ōtaki (north of Wellington) was destroyed by arson on 7th October 1995, less than a year after it had been restored, the local *iwi* pledged to rebuild a replica of the church. For them, “although the physical structure of Rangiātea no longer [existed], its inner purpose [had] not disappeared” (Royal 1997: 14). The replica opened in 2003; in 2007, some of the items salvaged from the fire, which had been designated as *taonga*, were placed in the new church (Maclean 2007).

As the status of Māori heritage in New Zealand museums has gradually changed alongside a Māori cultural resurgence and developing national identity, so the conservation profession has had to adapt and incorporate new working methods and approaches (Barton 1984; Evans 1995; 1999; Clavir 2002). Conservators of Māori descent are able to act as mediators between museums who display, store and preserve Māori artefacts and a particular *iwi*, for example, who are perceived to be the cultural owners of those artefacts. Decisions concerned with determining the cultural significance of Māori heritage are now being made by Māori in accordance with their cultural beliefs and priorities, rather than, as was the case in the past, by Europeans with colonial influenced attitudes and considerations (Heikell 1995; Clavir 2002; Ngulube 2002). In addition, conservation treatment decisions are made in consultation with the Māori community. This raises awareness of conservation and the necessity for it, presenting options for the community as regards the preservation of their artefacts (King 1978; Anderson 1994; Hilliard and Evans 1994; Heikell 1995). It is their responsibility, after hearing the conservation options, to make the decision regarding whether to conserve the artefacts or not. This decision, Heikell (1995) states, must be respected, even if the decision is not to treat the artefacts, so potentially presenting an ethical dilemma for the conservator (see also Clavir 2002: 227).

The subject of ethics is fundamental to the conservation profession and is of relevance to the current research. During the relatively short history of the conservation profession, the priority has been to preserve collections in perpetuity.²¹ For, as Ward (1986: 9) states, “the conservator’s duty must be to ensure the preservation of the collection for as long as possible. The demands of long-term preservation, then, must always take precedence over the advantages of short-term use” (see also Smith 2006). This philosophy has been one of the reasons for conflict between policies of access and conservation in museums, and in working with indigenous peoples over the loan or repatriation of their cultural treasures.

Western conservation practice determines that all conservation treatments have to be justified; this involves ethical decision-making. In addition, conservators seek to treat all artefacts with equal respect and to the same standard, regardless of their monetary value or

²¹ Although various dates have been given for the beginning of the conservation profession, including 1888 in Germany and 1919 in the United Kingdom, many conservators are of the opinion that modern conservation dates from 1966 when the River Arno in Florence flooded, causing wide-scale damage to many national treasures (see Oddy 1992; Plenderleith 1998; Caple 2000).

status (Clavir 2002). In order to assist with this, many heritage and conservation organisations have drawn up codes of practice, which set out ethical principles and standards (see Caple 2000; Pye 2001). In the United Kingdom, guidance on ethical practice can be obtained through The Institute of Conservation (ICON) (ICON 2008) and the Museums Association (MA) (MA 2007), who has recently published their 'Code of Ethics for Museums' (see MA 2008). In New Zealand, Codes of Ethics are published by the NZCCM (NZCCM 2008) and by Museums Aotearoa Te Tari o Nga Whare Taonga o te Motu (MuseumsAotearoa 2003; 2008).

To proceed with a treatment that does not consider all the ethical implications may risk the significance or integrity of the artefact and the artist's original intent. The integrity of a work of art was fundamental for the art historian, James Beck (1992: 1), who proposed 'A Bill of Rights for a Work of Art'. In this he stated, "all works of art have the inalienable right to live an honourable and dignified existence". Although, as Ward (1986: 11) points out, "respect[ing] the integrity of the object ... is one of the most difficult criteria to uphold because it is inherently subjective" (see also Volent 1994). So, while it may be possible to maintain the original intentions of the artist when the work was made (if these are known), it is not possible to return the artefact to its 'original state'. This "is a mythical, unhistorical idea, apt to sacrifice works of art to an abstract concept and present them in a state that never existed" (Philippot 1996: 273; see also Phillips 1997).

However, conservation is a profession that is "governed by absolute respect for the aesthetic, historic and physical integrity of the object or place [and] by a high sense of moral responsibility" (Matero 1993: 16). Pye (2001) adds to this the 'intangible meaning' of the artefact, a concept that is connected to conservation treatments. Just as an artist's reworking of an original work becomes part of that artefact's history, so any conservation treatment is also part of the history, but it must be documented as such, otherwise there is the risk that any treatment compromises the artist's original intent (Ashley-Smith 1982). Artists may choose either to remake a piece of work, as part of the development of their work, or to replace an artefact that has been damaged or destroyed. Although the second version may differ significantly from the first, the original concept of the artist will have been upheld. In this instance, it is both the intention and the integrity of the work that is important, not the materials. This can be likened to the reconstruction of Japanese shrines, or Rangiātea Church.

A publication that moved away from an emphasis on the scientific approach to conservation treatment to address some of the ethical issues relating to the conservation of indigenous artefacts was by Wolfe and Mibach (1983). The authors were concerned with the integrity of the artefact, but from the perspective of its spiritual as well as physical well-being. In suggesting methods of working with sacred artefacts, they sought to collaborate with appropriate representatives, taking account of particular sensitivities. Caple (2000: 61) also discussed the need for collaboration. He outlined how, by the 1990s, the wording in codes of ethics developed from an emphasis on the integrity of the artefact to one that highlighted “the conservator’s responsibilities both to the ‘owners and custodians’ of cultural property and ‘to the people or person who created it’” (see also Antomarchi 2000).

Clavir (1996; 1998; 1999; 2001) has further built on this work. In ‘Preserving What Is Valued’ (2002), she explored the differing viewpoints of conservators and indigenous peoples in Canada and New Zealand. Considering values as well as ethics, she highlighted the difference between the two in terms of groups and individuals, with ethics being regulating codes for groups, while for individuals they are behavioural value statements (Clavir 2002: 27).

In conservation, besides taking account of the artist’s intent for a work of art, there has been a gradual move towards considering the spiritual values of the indigenous originator or representative and seeking to combine this, as a profession, with ethical modes of practice. Considering indigenous perspectives, however, can cause conflict, as the originators may seek to use the artefacts, for example, in ceremonies, a situation that, from a conservation viewpoint, may risk their long-term preservation. However, preservation is important for both museums and indigenous communities. It is their underlying perspective that differs. For museums, it is the “physical and intellectual means” that is considered, in other words “the cultural product”. Indigenous peoples give priority to “continuing and/or renewing past traditions...that is, preserving the culture’s past by being actively engaged in it and thereby ensuring that it has a living future”, which can be expressed as “living the tradition” (Clavir 2002: 245). In order for both perspectives to be respected and understood, there needs to be a balance between the requirements of the artefact and those of the originating cultures (Clavir 2002: 64).

The New Zealand government sees itself as a guardian of cultural heritage. In their 1998 report, the Ministry of Culture and Heritage Te Manatū Taonga (1998: section 6) states,

“the government has developed a guardianship or *kaitiaki* role in ensuring that objects and places of cultural significance and intangible treasures are preserved and, where possible, are made accessible to present and future generations”. The government works closely with Te Papa and the NLNZ. The latter is a government department, while the former was established under the ‘Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992’, which combined the original National Museum and the National Art Gallery (TePapa 2008c). As part of its remit to guard and preserve New Zealand’s national treasures, Te Papa is responsible for National Services Te Paerangi, which works with museums and *iwi* throughout New Zealand, encouraging leadership and best practice (TePapa 2008d). The National Preservation Office Te Tari Tohu Taonga (NPO) is based at the NLNZ. Comprising a National Preservation Officer and a National Preservation Officer Māori, the NPO is responsible for working with institutions and community throughout New Zealand, offering advice and carrying out workshops (NLNZ 2008). Both Te Papa and NLNZ work with local museums, heritage institutions and Māori and non-Māori communities on the preservation of their *taonga* and cultural artefacts. They also work closely with the NZCCM and Museums Aotearoa as regards appropriate preservation advice and museum policy.

If indigenous peoples are consulted over the conservation of their heritage, it “means that treatment decisions are based on the priorities of the community, [as their] customary rights and ‘ownership’ of [the] works [are acknowledged]” (Heikell 1995: 1). As a Māori paper conservator in New Zealand, one of Heikell’s responsibilities was to provide Māori communities with information relating to conservation, its purpose and necessity. These communities could then make informed decisions as to whether an artefact should receive conservation. If the decision was not to conserve “then you step back and let the ‘owners’ decide the future of their works. [...] In order to develop an appropriate approach to conservation you must have dialogue and a partnership with the people who have cultural ownership of a work. This in turn builds trust between the cultural owners and the conservator” (Heikell 1995: 1).

Whiting (1995: 2), a Māori conservator of built heritage, adds,

“The conservation of Māori buildings has developed in New Zealand out of both a cultural base and a European conservation philosophy. Māori history is carried in material culture but also in spiritual and cultural mediums. They are all dependent on one another and important to sustaining Māori as a people. To conserve the material culture requires an understanding and participation in the culture itself

to ensure the maintenance of all values and relationships significant to an object or structure”.

Conservation research has determined the correct conditions necessary to ensure the long-term survival of artefacts (Oddy 1992; Knell 1994; Caple 2000; Pye 2001). However, Simpson (1996: 197) suggests that moving sacred (indigenous) artefacts “to the museum dooms them either to unnatural preservation or cultural neglect”. Despite the fact that museums are considered to be the best places for the long-term preservation of objects, Simpson (1996: 200) believes that lack of funding has resulted “in storage facilities which pay little concession to basic conservation requirements and none at all to the cultural sensitivities and beliefs of the spiritual owners” (see also Clavir 1996). Concerns, therefore, about the most appropriate approaches to the preservation of indigenous materials have been growing and, increasingly, museums are working with indigenous peoples in the exhibition and conservation of their cultural treasures (Peers 2000; 2001; Clavir 2002; Rowlands 2002; Stewart 2007).

One example of the need for such collaboration is when drawings or photographs of indigenous peoples and their rituals have either been executed or taken without their permission (Brown 2003). In the case of photographs, some Māori refused to have their photograph taken because they believed that the image was a living person, that it was their *mauri*. While a person’s *mauri* could be felt, through the photograph, then it was alive, regardless of the fact that the person was dead. By being photographed, a person would lose some of their *mauri* and so their spiritual protection (King 1985; 1999: 86).

Where photographs have been taken, their interpretation can vary depending on who is constructing the narrative (Peers 2007). As with other artefacts that are now housed in museums, photographs can be inaccurately described or their contents suppressed. However, when the images are reunited with the descendants of those in the photographs, they can provide the means to “[unlock] both history and memory” (Binney and Chaplin 2003: 100). Although many Māori may have refused to have their photograph taken, when they do see a photograph of a member of their *iwi* or *hapu*, they greet the image as if it were the living person (King 1985; 1999). Edwards (2003) suggests that by returning the photographs to the relatives, so invoking memories of the people and the time in which the images were taken, history can be reclaimed through visual repatriation (see also Herle 2000).

If photographs were taken without permission, this can cause a dilemma for conservators and the long-term preservation of the images. Given their origins, the question arises as to whether they should remain a part of the museum collection, in storage or on display, continuing to undergo conservation treatment if necessary, or should they be allowed to degrade and so risk becoming too fragile for display or research (Brown 1998). As Edwards (2003) highlights, visual repatriation can be very positive, but this may conflict with both the collection and exhibition policy of the museum and potentially the wishes of the donor who, in making the bequest to the museum, might have added the stipulation that the objects be made available to researchers.

It has been suggested that the repatriation of burial goods or remains may result in their destruction or burial, or at the very least, the objects may be placed in conditions unsuitable for their long-term survival (Pickering 2001; see also ENIAR 2002; Jenkins 2003). From a preservation viewpoint, then, some museum and scientific staff are of the opinion that it would be safer for the stability of the goods or remains to be left in their present environments (Jones and Harris 1998; Schutkowski 2001; Cox 2003). This would also enable further scientific inquiry into the effects of disease, malnutrition, degenerative conditions and injuries. Many indigenous peoples and various European academics counter this view. They highlight the ancestral and spiritual connections to the remains and the loss of honour and self-respect as a result of their absence (Kinzer 2001; Stack 2001). Fforde (2001: 6) points out that it is possible to find a common ground. “Acknowledging the right of legitimate claimants to determine disposition of remains leads to a resolution of this issue, enables equitable discussion and does not necessarily preclude scientific research”.

New Zealand conservators, both Māori and *Pākehā*, consult with Māori communities in relation to the conservation of indigenous artefacts. *Karakia* are an important part of the conservation and exhibition process, as ceremonial prayers and *hongi* (the touching of noses in greeting) take place prior to the unpacking of any *taonga* Māori and their acceptance into that new environment.²² Respecting the ancestral spirits is, therefore, an

²² Personal experience from working in Conservation Services at the National Library of New Zealand (1998-2001).

important aspect of working with Māori artefacts (although this is not restricted to Maori artefacts, see Herle 1994).

This is also the case when works are loaned, as for example with the exhibition ‘Te Māori’, when one particular item may be chosen as the representative of the Māori people. The *taonga* is considered to be a specific ancestor, and so not to send that artefact on loan for whatever reason is to deny the ancestor its right to represent its people. It was felt, in the case of ‘Te Māori’ that “if any exhibition was to travel to the United States, [...] a particular carving known as Uenuku [...] must lead the way just as he led the Māori people to New Zealand” (Harple 1996: 297). These decisions can cause conservation concerns when the artefact is in a very fragile condition, as in this case, and so it is important for conservators and Māori people to work together to ensure that the work can safely represent its people (O’Biso 1987).

Exhibitions like ‘Te Māori’ represented a resurgence in Māori culture and led to discussions regarding the appropriateness of preservation measures. Because artefacts have been preserved in museums, however, indigenous peoples can gain knowledge about their culture that may otherwise have been lost. As Simpson (1996: 249) explains, “over the last 40 years or so, many indigenous peoples have experienced a rediscovery and an increased pride in their cultural heritage [leading to] a desire to preserve traditional skills and knowledge as a means of reclaiming their history and reinforcing their cultural identity”. As “a growing number of indigenous peoples [seek] access to [museum] collections [they learn] about their own histories, cultures and traditional skills and [so] assist in the preservation or revitalisation of traditions”.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the Aotearoa New Zealand context, briefly outlining its history and emergent national identity. Developments in the heritage sector, specifically relating to curation and preservation, have been discussed. Both from a social and cultural point of view, New Zealand is now moving towards an integrated multicultural perspective, which takes account of the cultural diversity of the country and indigenous sensitivities regarding the exhibition and preservation of *taonga* Māori.

The next chapter is the first of two that presents a discussion of the research findings. Building on the literature examined in this chapter, Chapter 4 introduces the research data through an examination of the participant profiles and interviewee attitudes to communities

and heritage institutions. The profiles place the research group within the contemporary New Zealand context and examine how relevant theories of identity are in relation to this sample set. By examining attitudes to communities and heritage institutions, the chapter sets the context for further research discussion in later chapters. The research will determine how the New Zealand heritage sector has developed from an essentially European and North American influenced field in terms of museum practice, to one that seeks to take account of indigenous perspectives. This has led to an environment that has relevance for other cultures coming to terms with their colonial past.

Chapter 4: Setting the Context: Participant Profiles and Attitudes to Communities and Heritage Institutions

This chapter introduces the primary data collected from the interviews in phases 1 and 2 by providing generalised profiles of the participants, based on sections 1 and 5 of the questionnaire, and discussing participant perspectives on the relationship between communities and heritage institutions. Building on the historical and heritage literature explored in the previous chapter, the discussion sets the data within the New Zealand heritage sector context. Relevant charts give an overview of the research data and introduce the profile information. In the second half of the chapter, tables provide a summary of the key elements of the discussion.

Context: Participant Profiles

This section provides a summary of the research participants, through figures of statistics, based on the coded attributes from the casebooks in NVivo 7 (see Chapter 2). Information relating to gender, age groups, location, profession, nationality and ethnicity, qualifications, type of work place, work/study outside New Zealand and its location has been given, followed by comparisons of various factors, for example, gender and profession. In order to set the research data in context, relevant statistical comparisons have been drawn with information from the heritage sector and the New Zealand census.

The statistics illustrated by the charts were used in order to examine potential patterns in the data. Following initial analysis of the data, various questions were devised, for example, ‘is there a correlation between participant factors as regards who determines that heritage institutions have a responsibility to involve communities in decision making?’. The information gathered from these questions was entered into an Excel spreadsheet to determine whether there were any relevant patterns. The results were then compared against the statistics for the total number of interviewees to establish whether any of the patterns were significant, and the data were assessed against the overall research context. The results inform the discussion in the second half of this chapter, and in Chapter 6.

From the 126 people who originally agreed to take part in the research, 100 were interviewed. Of the 26 interviews that did not take place, reasons included the inability to find a suitable date and time, particularly in relation to location, and the person reviewing their decision to take part following the receipt of the interview questions.

Gender

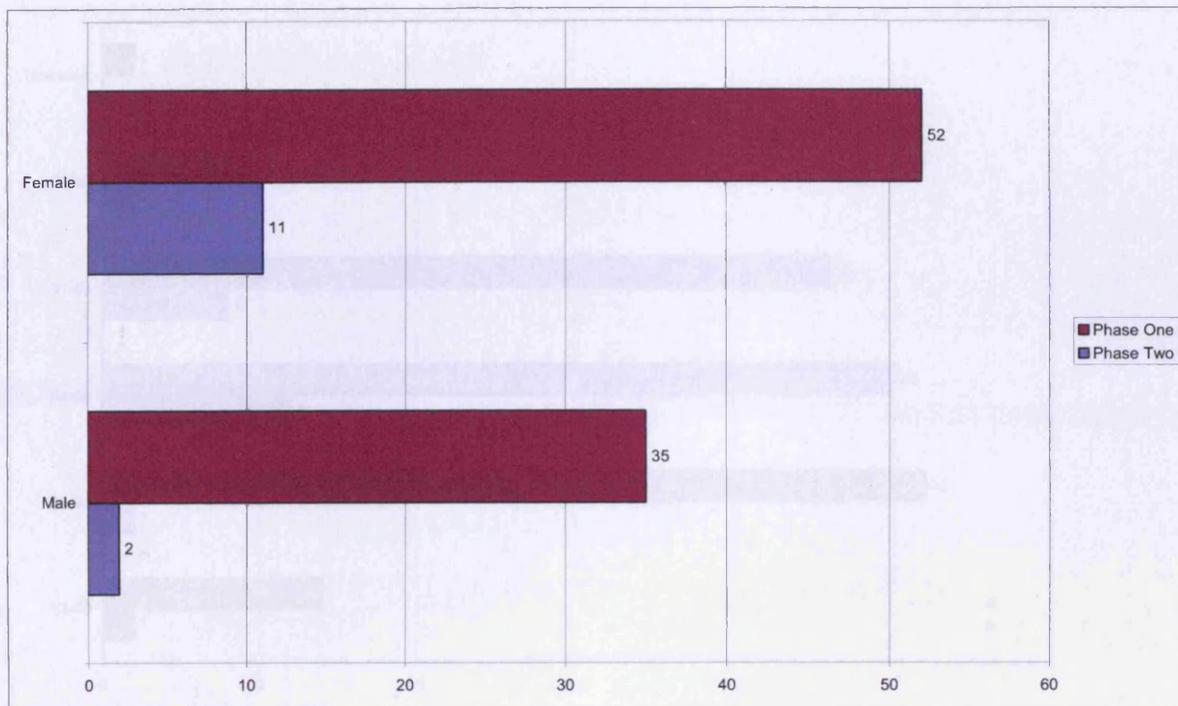


Chart 1 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by Gender

As can be seen from Chart 1, nearly two-thirds (63%) of the participants interviewed were female. The non-participant statistics were similarly female dominated (see Appendix 3). These figures are comparable with statistics from the 2001 New Zealand census, which gives 59% of people employed in the museum industry as being female. The numbers of women employed as art gallery or museum curators are 54% of the total (compared with 47% of the total employed population), however, female archivists only account for 48% of the total (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

Age Groups

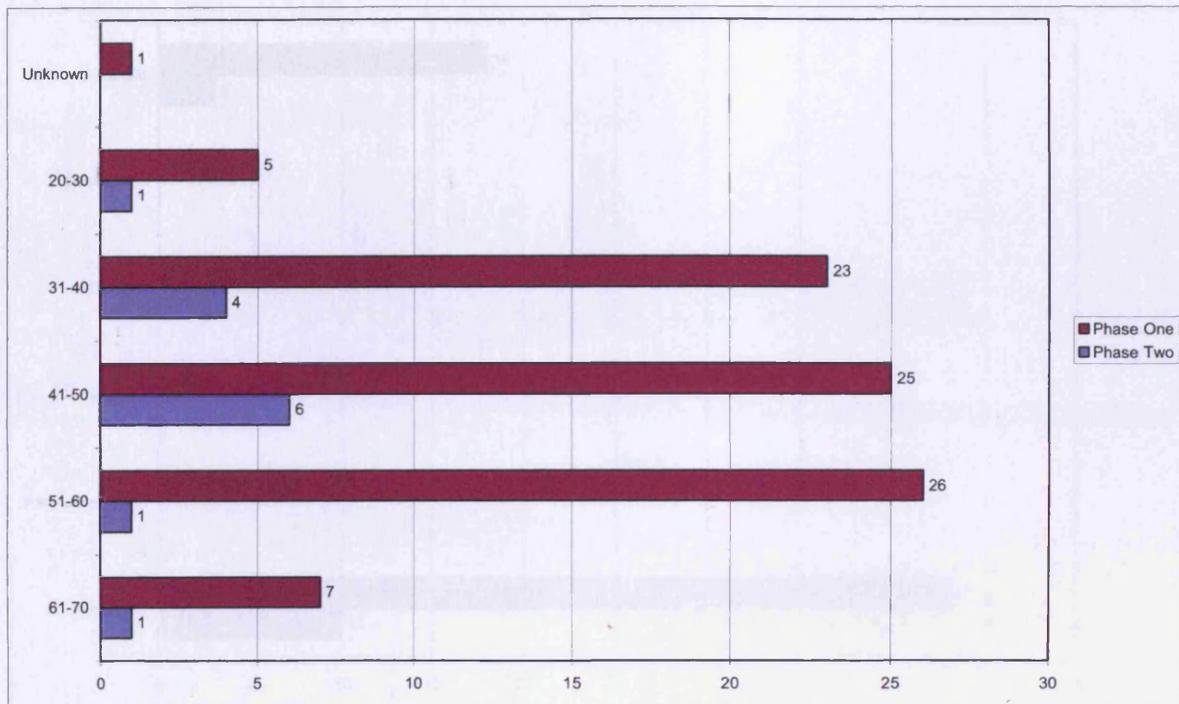


Chart 2 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by Age Group

In contrast to the figures presented in Chart 2, which shows that 34% of the people interviewed were under 40 years and 66% were over 40 years, in the 2001 census 49% of people employed in the museum industry were under 40 years (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

Location²³

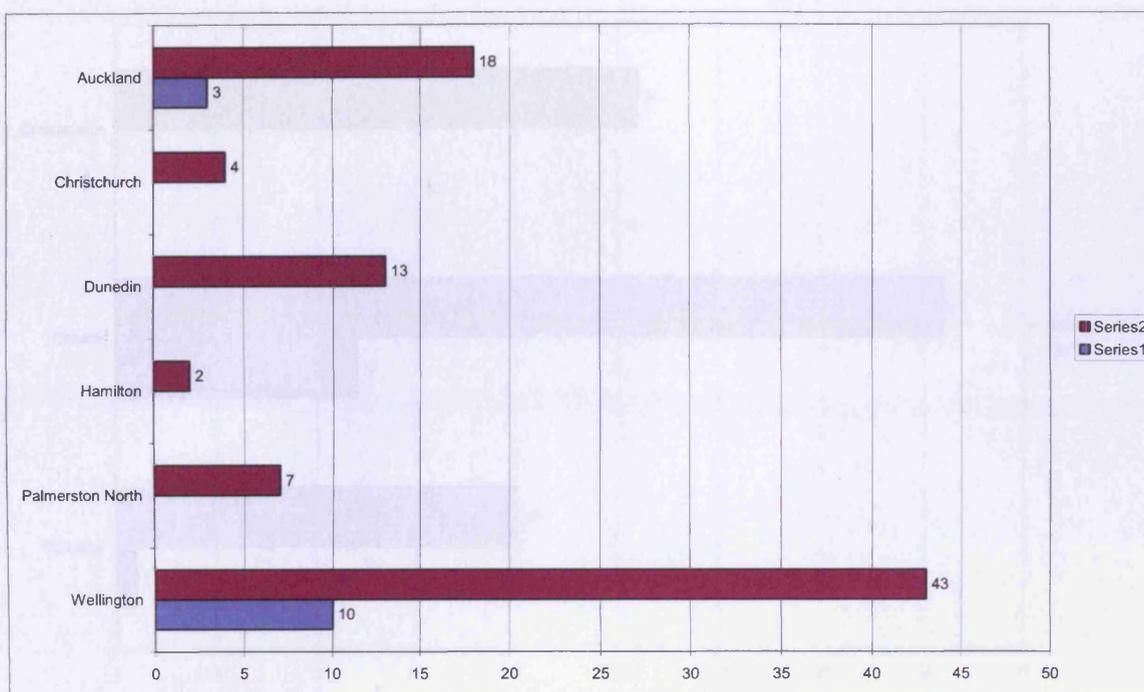


Chart 3 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by Location

Wellington was both the base for the field research and the location of many of the known contacts. This is reflected in the figures shown in Chart 3. However, the numbers also give an indication of the number of large heritage institutions and paid employees (as opposed to volunteer run museums) located in Wellington, compared to other centres (for a discussion of the numbers of paid and volunteer workers in museums in New Zealand, see (MuseumsAotearoa 2007)). These figures are comparable to 2001 census data, where just over half of those employed in the sector were located in Wellington or Auckland (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

²³ The place names detailed in the chart are the various locations for the interviews.

Profession²⁴

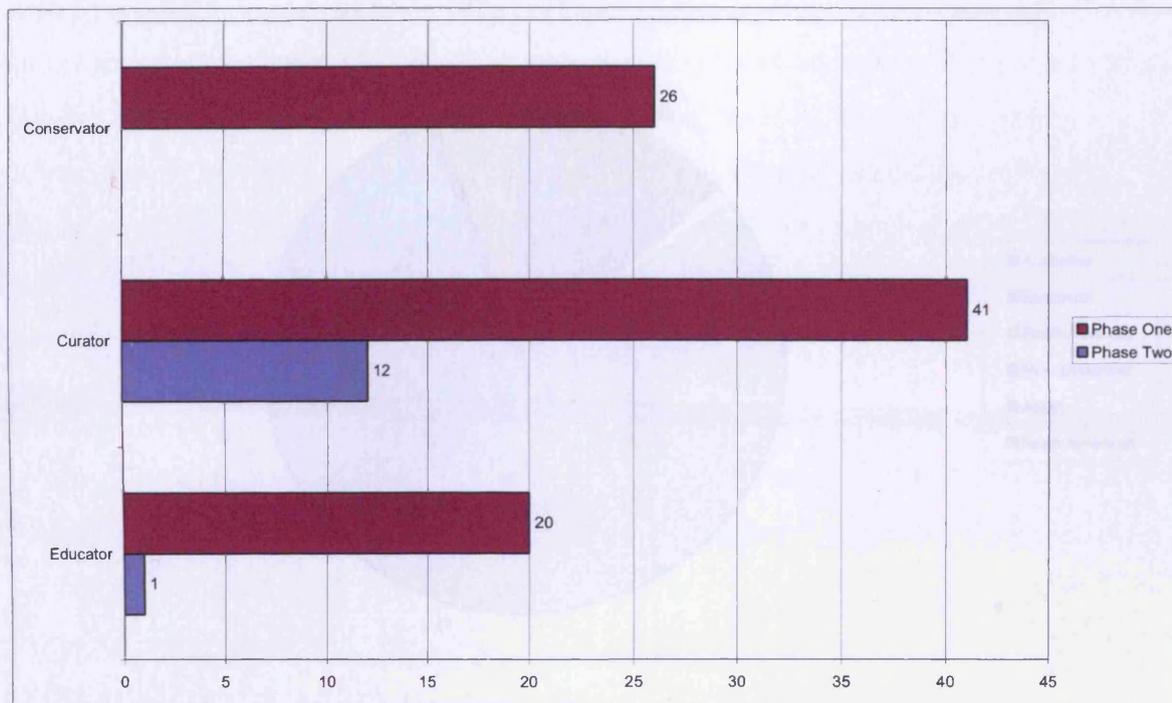


Chart 4 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by Profession

Curators are noticeably more numerous in the figures in Chart 4 than the other two professions. A potential reason for this is the museum and cultural heritage related training opportunities in New Zealand (in universities in Auckland, Palmerston North and Wellington), compared to the lack of training for conservators, for whom the nearest training centre is currently Melbourne, Australia.

²⁴ The professions detailed in the chart are the three main categories from which the participants were drawn.

Nationality / Ethnicity

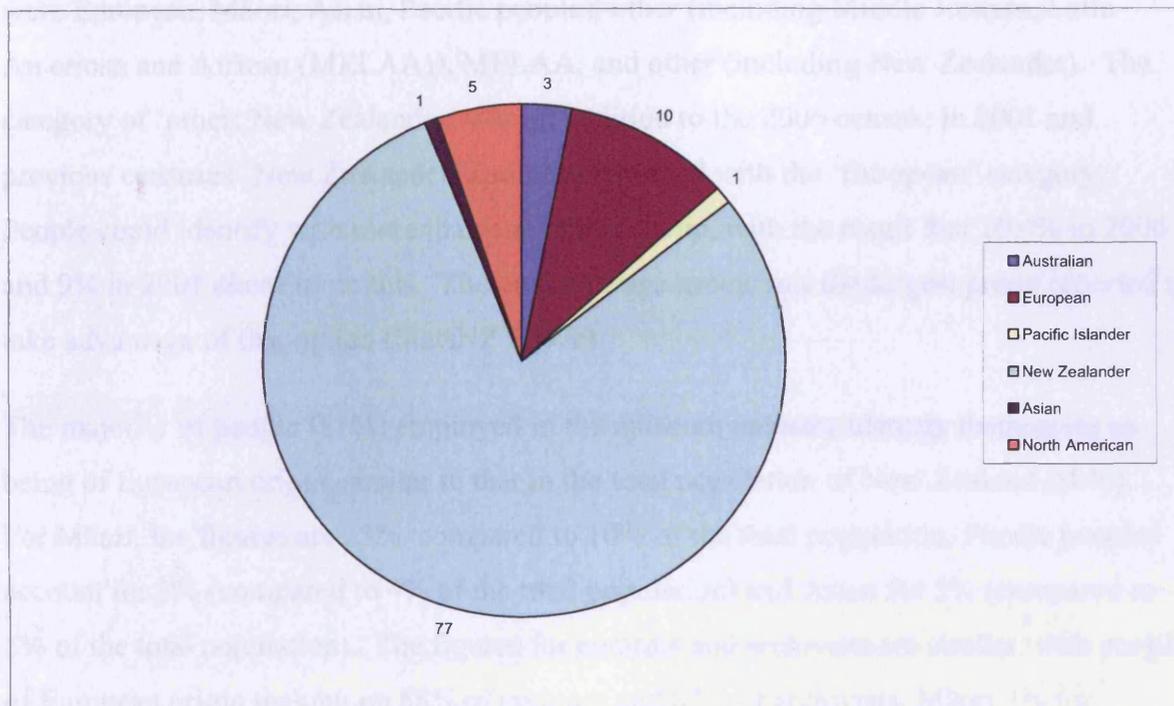


Chart 5 - Totals for Nationality / Ethnicity (summarised by researcher)

The term 'European', in the legend of Chart 5, refers to a participant from the continent of Europe or from the United Kingdom. It does not refer to a New Zealander with European ancestry. 'European' can be a confusing term in New Zealand, as it could refer to a person from the continent of Europe or a New Zealander of European ancestry. When questioned about the term 'European cultural values', a substantial proportion of participants asked for clarification over the word 'European'. The term '*Pākehā*' avoids this confusion and is the preferred descriptor by some people. However, as it is a Māori word used originally to differentiate non-Māori from Māori, it is a term that is not popular with everyone. *Pākehā* is now generally accepted to mean 'New Zealand European', or 'New Zealander of European origin' (see Glossary). The New Zealand census currently does not give *Pākehā* as a category; its closest alternative is 'European' (StatsNZ 2007c). The term 'New Zealander', above, incorporates both Māori and non-Māori ethnicity.

In the demographics section of the questionnaire, participants were asked to self identify in terms of nationality and ethnicity (see Table 11 in Appendix 3). This question made some people uneasy and so was rephrased several times before the problem was resolved. This demonstrates that when people are not given specific categories from which to choose, they self identify in very broad terms, with the only substantial categories being 'New Zealander' and 'New Zealander *Pākehā*'. This flexibility in definition is reflected, to a

certain extent, in the New Zealand census data from 2006. In this census, the categories were European, Māori, Asian, Pacific peoples, other (including Middle Eastern, Latin American and African (MELAA)), MELAA, and other (including New Zealander). The category of 'other: New Zealander' was an addition to the 2006 census; in 2001 and previous censuses 'New Zealander' had been included with the 'European' category. People could identify with more than one ethnic group, with the result that 10.4% in 2006 and 9% in 2001 chose to do this. The under-15 age group was the largest group reported to take advantage of this option (StatsNZ 2007c).

The majority of people (81%) employed in the museum industry identify themselves as being of European origin, similar to that in the total population of New Zealand (80%). For Māori, the figures are 13%, compared to 10% of the total population, Pacific peoples account for 2% (compared to 4% of the total population) and Asian for 3% (compared to 5% of the total population). The figures for curators and archivists are similar, with people of European origin making up 88% of curators and 87% of archivists, Māori 7% for curators and 9% for archivists, Pacific peoples and Asians 2% both in each role (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

Qualifications

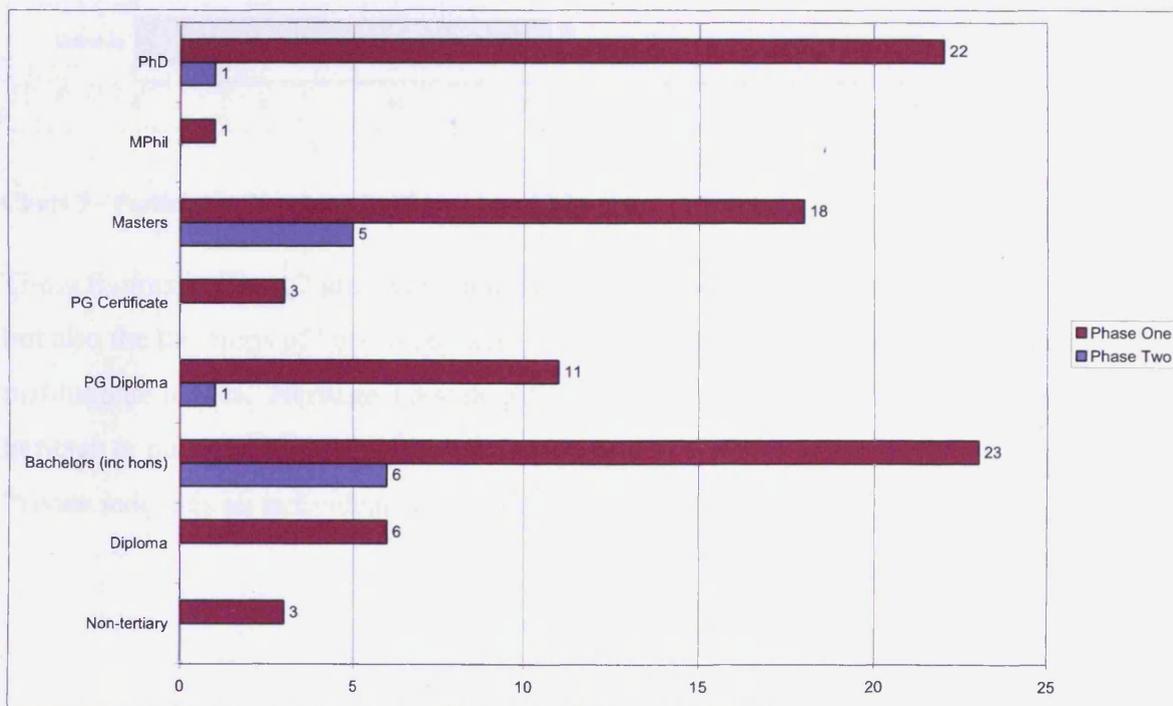


Chart 6 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by Qualifications

As can be seen from Chart 6, the majority of participants had a higher education qualification. It is interesting to note that almost as many research participants had a doctoral qualification as had an undergraduate degree.²⁵ These figures are comparable to those in the 2001 census, which states that people working in the museum industry tend to be better qualified than the population as a whole, with curators and archivists having predominantly tertiary qualifications (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

Type of Work Place

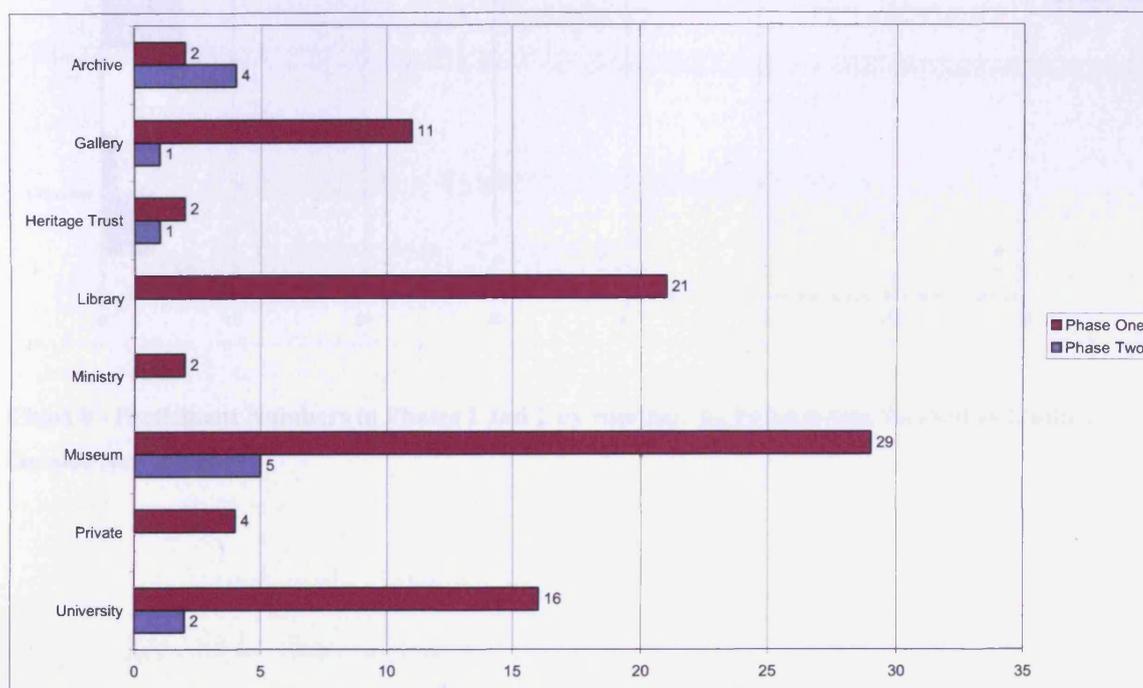


Chart 7 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by Type of Work Place

These figures in Chart 7 are, again, indicative not only of the types of institutions visited, but also the locations of known contacts. The categories are generalised from the institutional names. Heritage Trust denotes an organisation whose main business is heritage or museum related, while Ministry refers to specific government ministries. Private indicates an individual who is working as a self-employed consultant.

²⁵ The figures compiled in this chart refer to the participants' highest qualifications, for example if a person had both bachelors and masters qualifications, then the masters qualification was recorded in these statistics.

Worked or Studied outside New Zealand

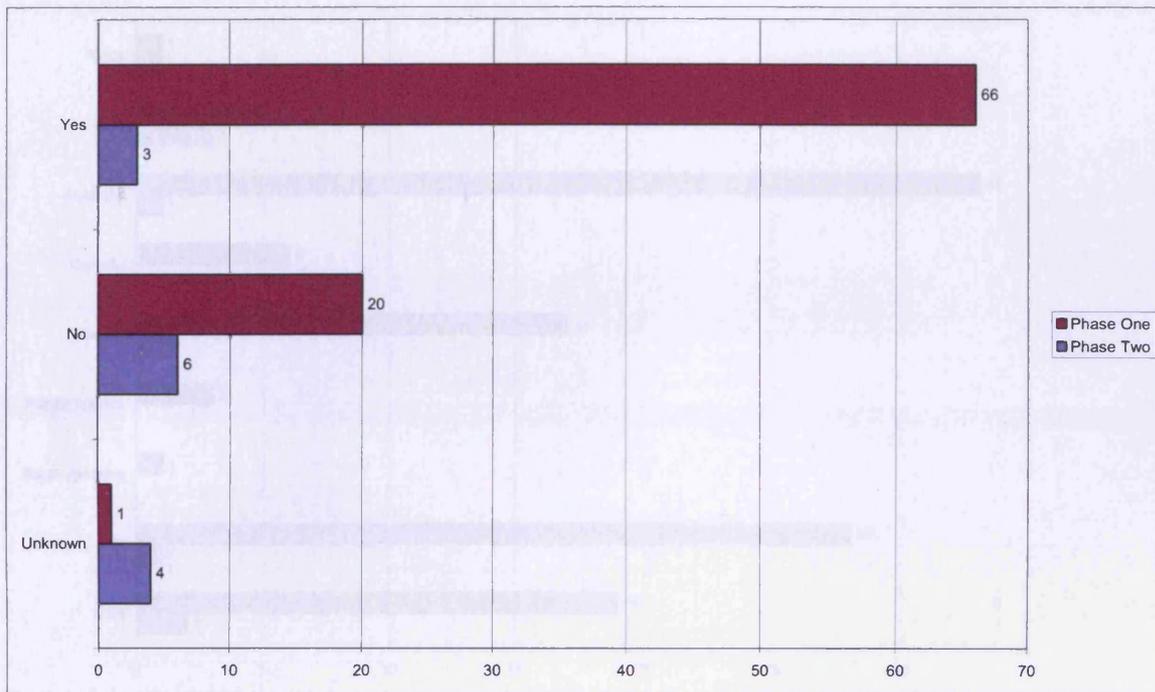


Chart 8 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by whether the Participants Worked or Studied Outside New Zealand

As the figures in Chart 8 and Chart 9 show, the majority of participants in both phases were aged 25-34 years. The majority of participants in both phases were female. The majority of participants in both phases were employed. The majority of participants in both phases were from the Auckland region. The majority of participants in both phases were from the health sector. The majority of participants in both phases were from the public sector. The majority of participants in both phases were from the tertiary sector. The majority of participants in both phases were from the tertiary sector. The majority of participants in both phases were from the tertiary sector.

Location of Work or Study outside New Zealand²⁶

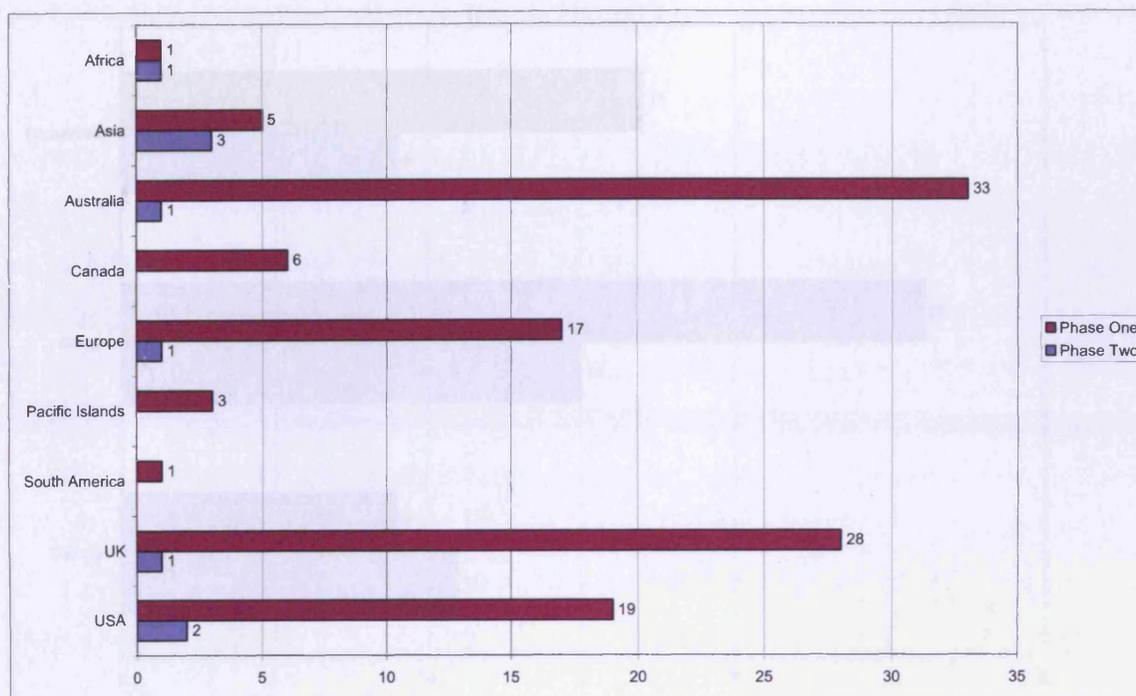


Chart 9 - Participant Numbers in Phases 1 and 2 by the Location of Work or Study outside New Zealand

As the figures in Chart 8 and Chart 9 demonstrate, travelling abroad for study and work is common for heritage professionals and, indeed, is the norm for many New Zealanders. The term 'OE' or 'overseas experience' is part of the New Zealand language (see NZGovt 2003; Inkson 2007). As can be seen from the figures, Australia is the most common destination, but Western Europe and North America also feature strongly. In some professions, such as conservation, it has been, and continues to be, necessary to travel abroad, in order to obtain training. This, combined with the preferred study and work destinations and the settlement of New Zealand by predominantly European settlers, has led to a heritage sector that has been strongly influenced by Western museum practice.

²⁶ These are composite figures – an individual may have worked or studied in multiple locations.

Gender by Profession – Phases 1 and 2

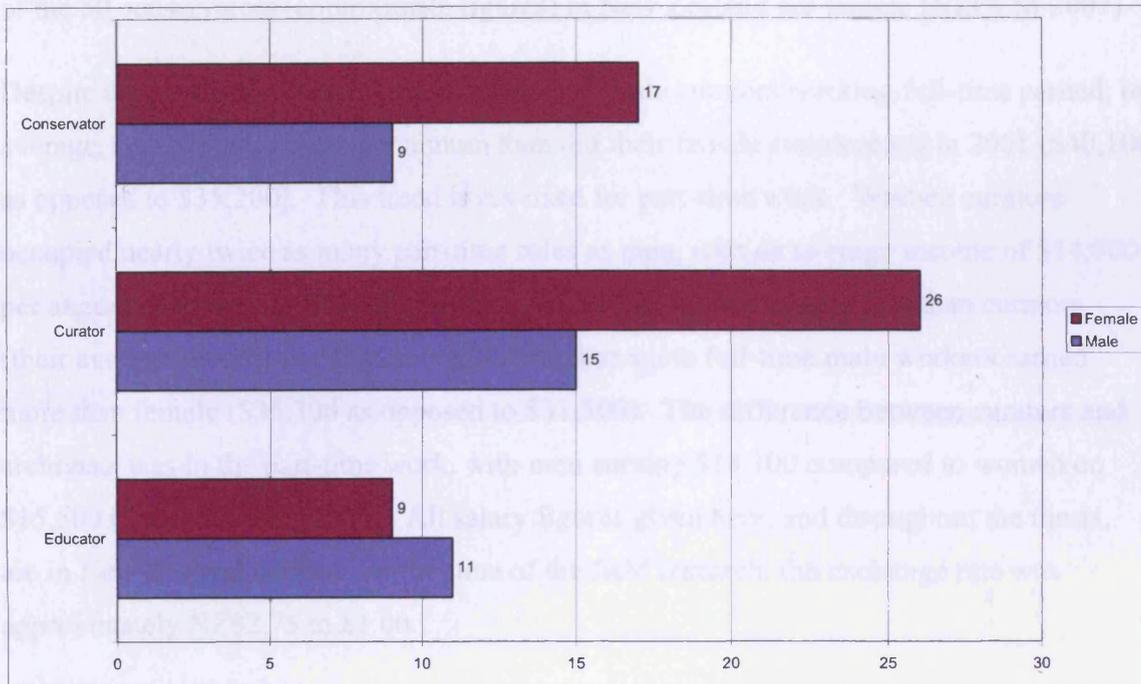


Chart 10 - Gender by Profession – Phase 1

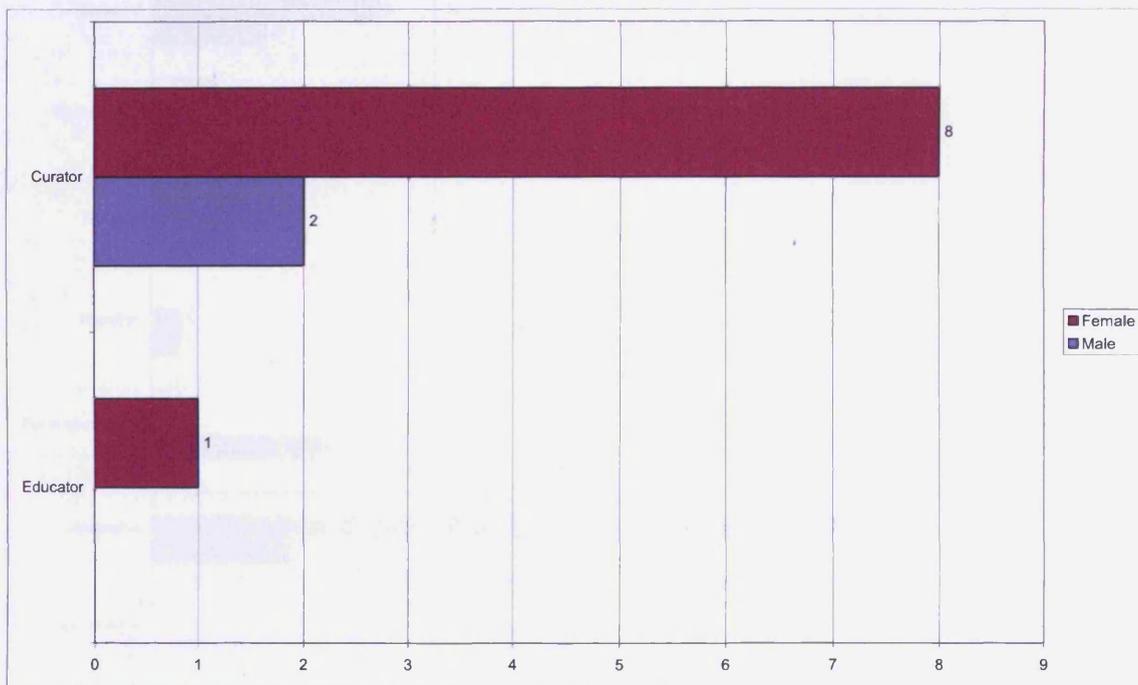


Chart 11 - Gender by Profession – Phase 2

As stated previously, 63% of the participants were female and the majority of people working in the museum industry are women (StatsNZ 2005; 2006). Official figures are not

available for the gender balance of the conservation profession, but sources suggest that 31 of the 50 conservators (approximate figures) in New Zealand are female (NZCCM 2007).

Despite the profession being female dominated, male curators working full-time earned, on average, nearly \$5000 more per annum than did their female counterparts in 2001 (\$40,100 as opposed to \$35,200). This trend is reversed for part-time work. Women curators occupied nearly twice as many part-time roles as men, with an average income of \$14,900 per annum compared to \$12,500 for men. Archivists tended to earn less than curators (their average income per annum is \$34,400), but again full-time male workers earned more than female (\$36,300 as opposed to \$31,500). The difference between curators and archivists was in the part-time work, with men earning \$18,100 compared to women on \$15,500 (StatsNZ 2005; 2006). All salary figures given here, and throughout the thesis, are in New Zealand dollars. At the time of the field research, the exchange rate was approximately NZ\$2.75 to £1.00.

Location by Profession – Phases 1 and 2

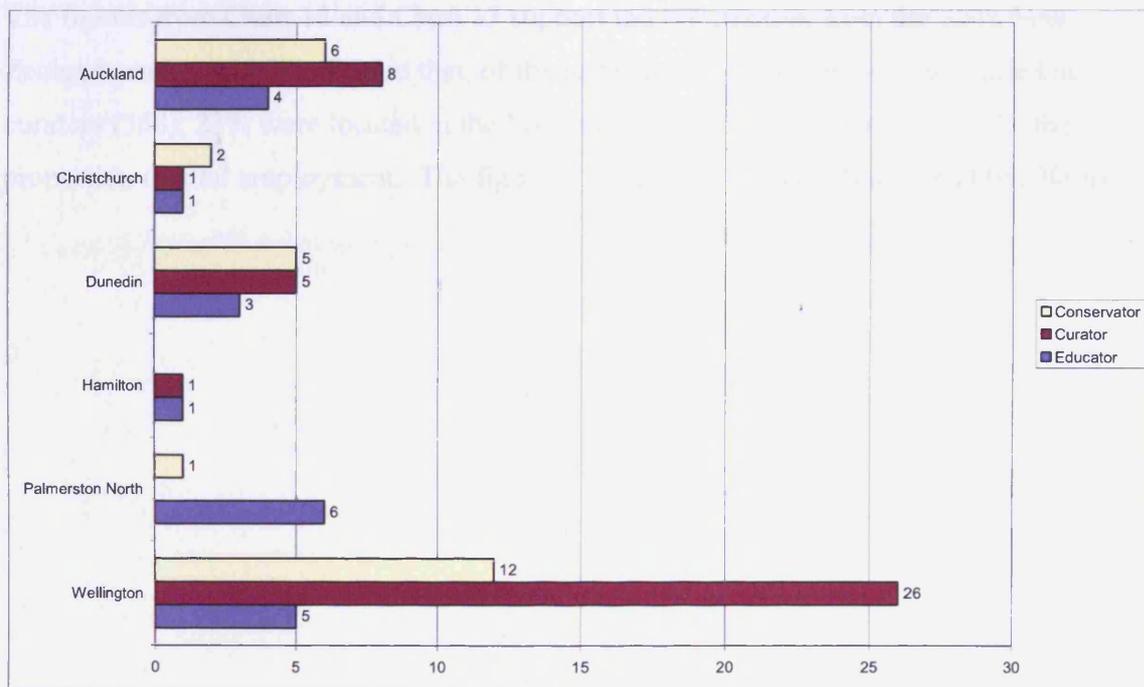


Chart 12 - Location by Profession – Phase 1

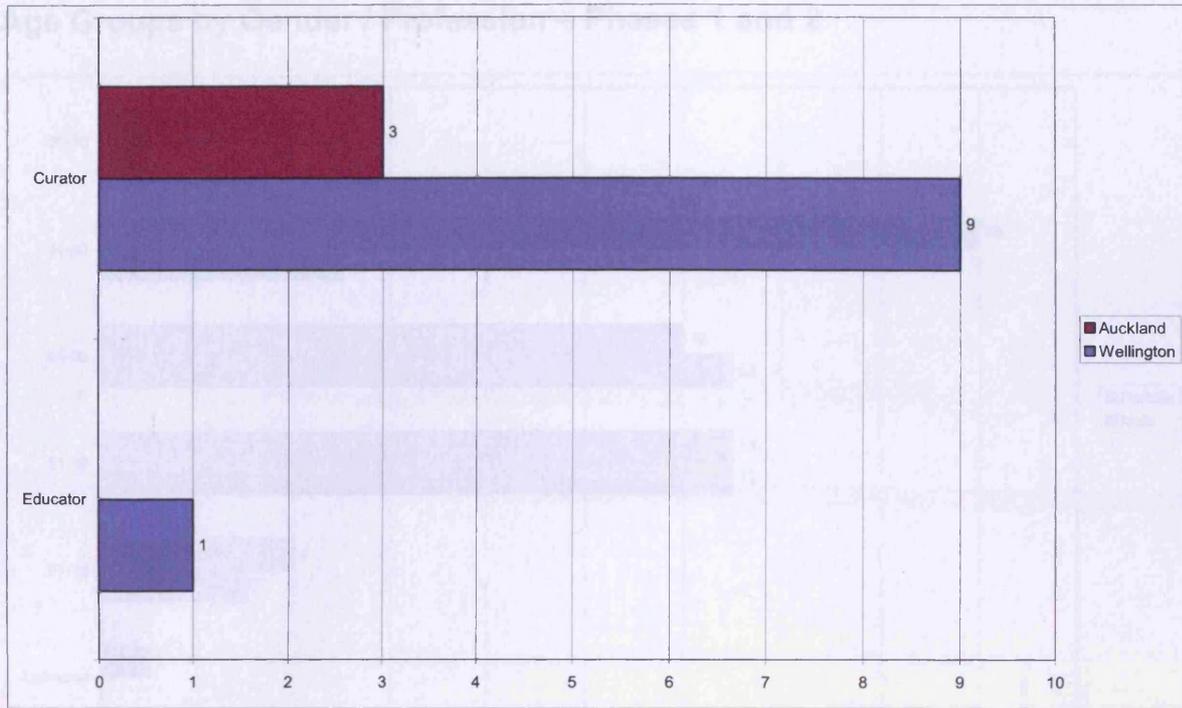


Chart 13 - Location by Profession – Phase 2

The figures from Chart 12 and Chart 13 support the information from the 2001 New Zealand census, which indicated that, of the total number of people who identified as curators (558), 23% were located in the Wellington region, compared to 12% for the proportion in total employment. The figure is 29% for archivists (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

Age Groups by Gender / Profession – Phases 1 and 2

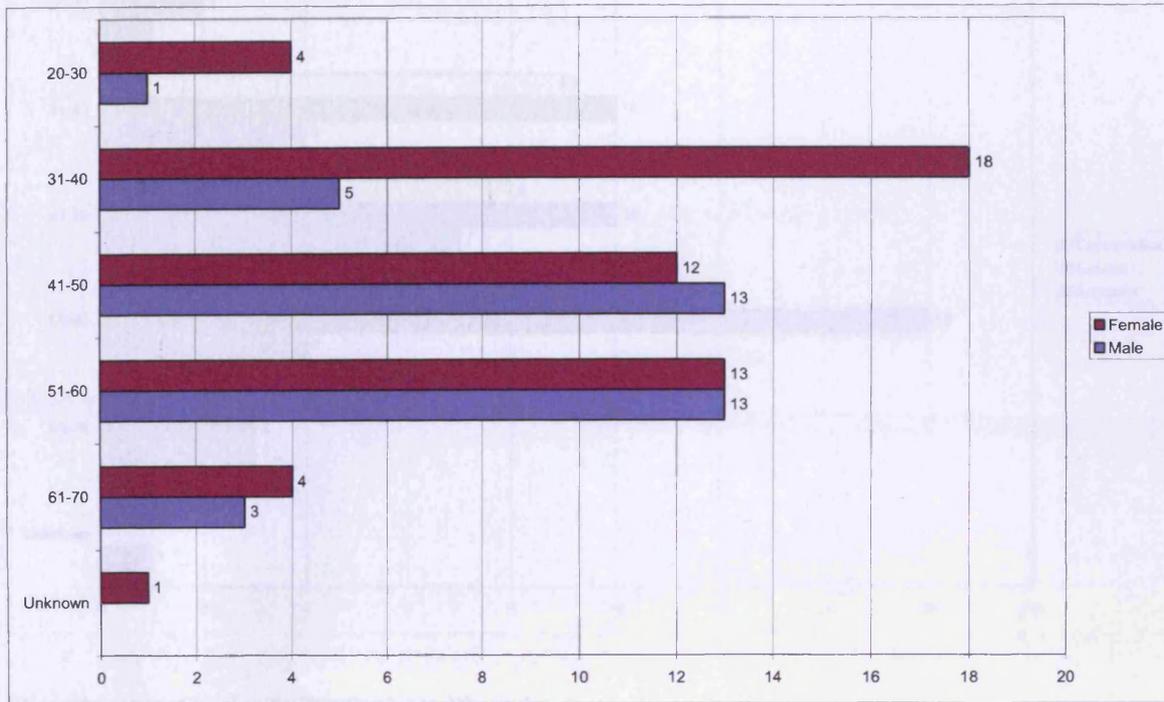


Chart 14 - Age Groups by Gender – Phase 1

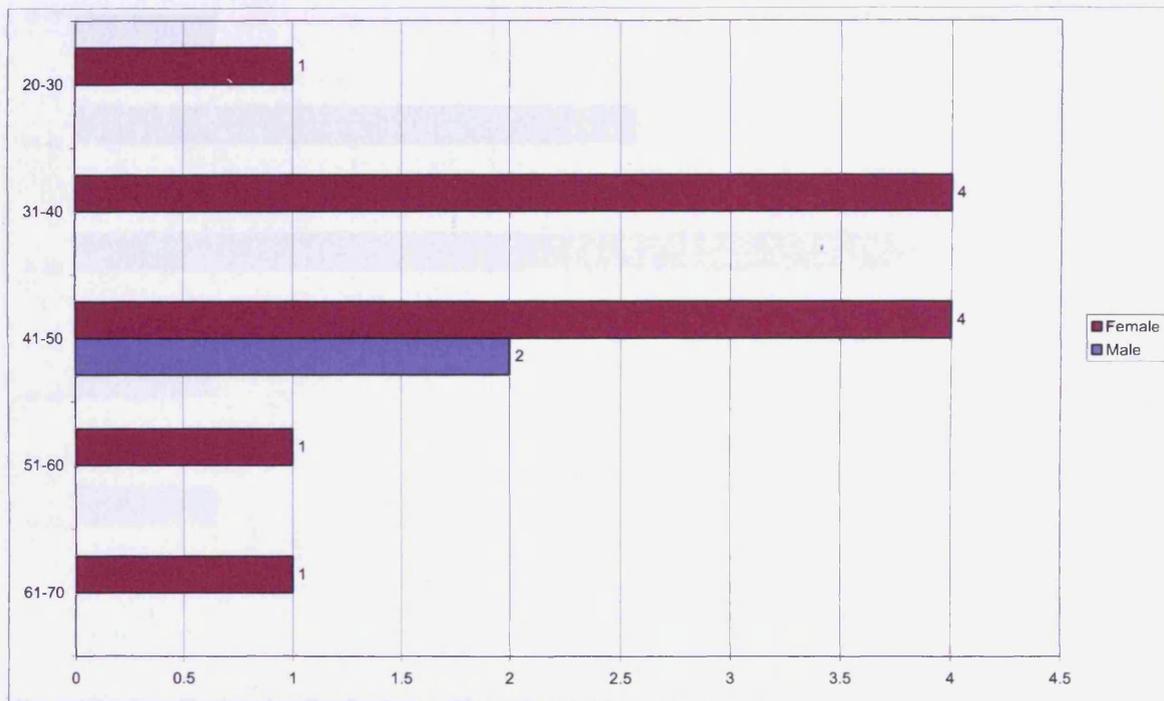


Chart 15 - Age Groups by Gender – Phase 2

The figures in Chart 14 and Chart 15 suggest that, of the people interviewed, as the older members of the profession approach retirement, the younger members joining are more likely to be female.

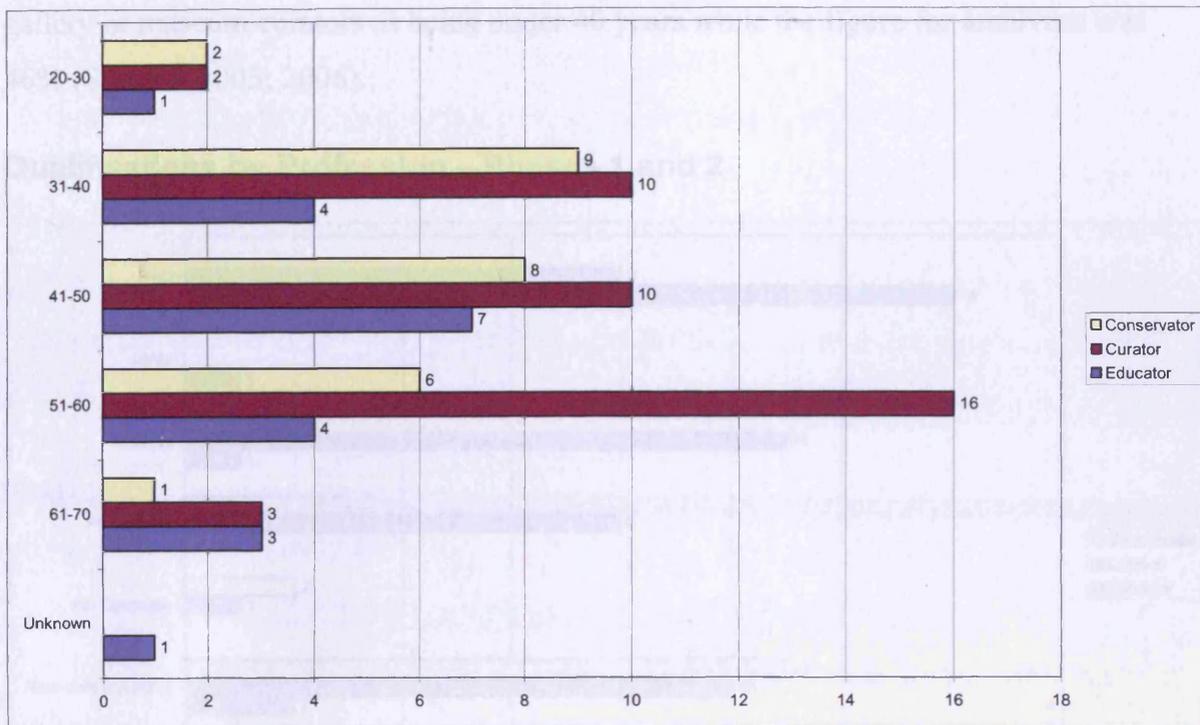


Chart 16 - Age Groups by Profession – Phase 1

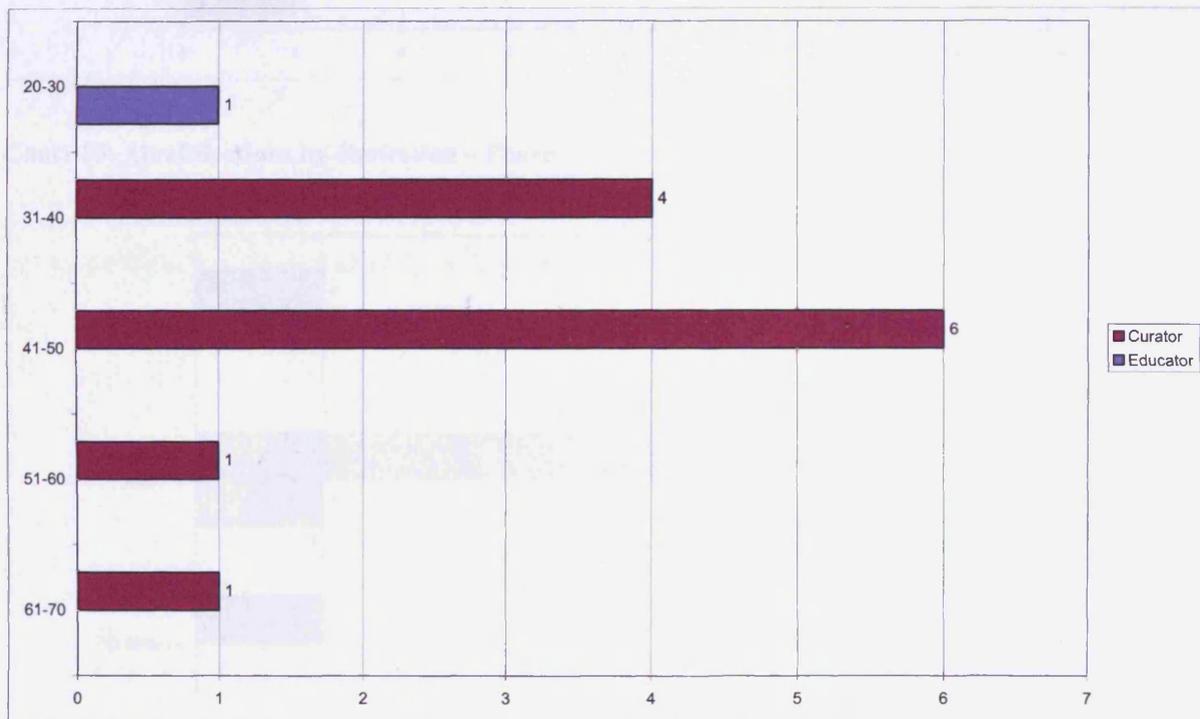


Chart 17 - Age Groups by Profession – Phase 2

The figures in Chart 16 and Chart 17 suggest that, of the people interviewed, the 41-50 age group is the most consistent in terms of numbers of participants across the professions. The research data indicate that the conservation profession is, currently, younger overall than the curatorial profession. Census data from 2001 gave 42% of those employed as art

gallery or museum curators as being under 40 years while the figure for archivists was 46% (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

Qualifications by Profession – Phases 1 and 2

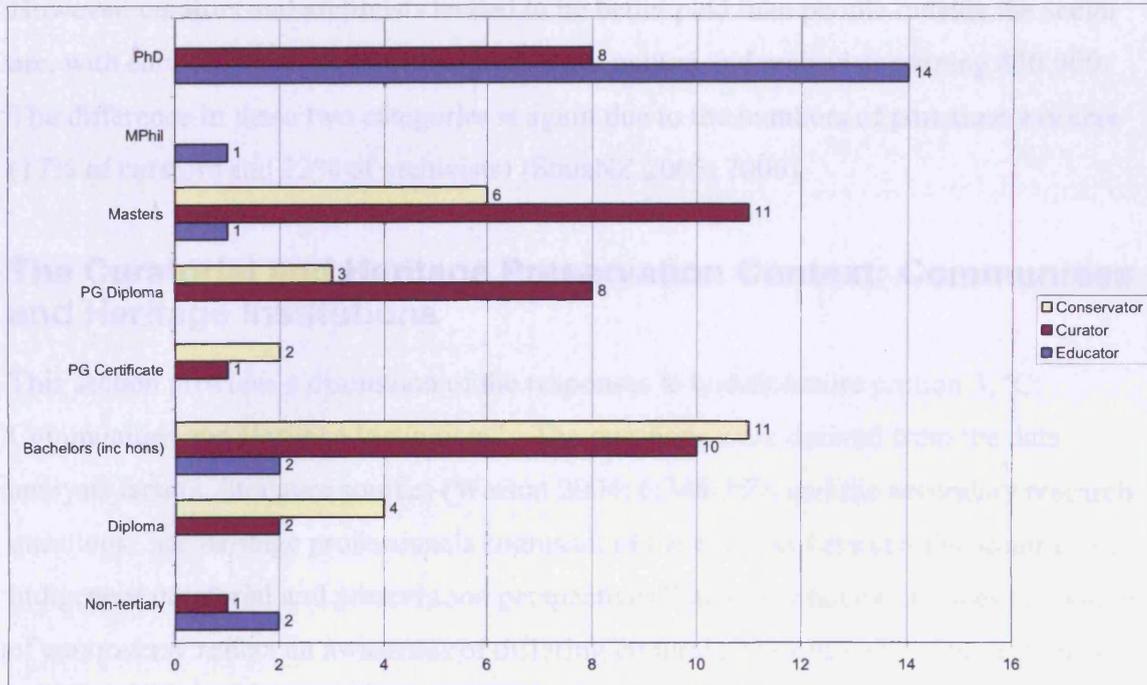


Chart 18 - Qualifications by Profession – Phase 1

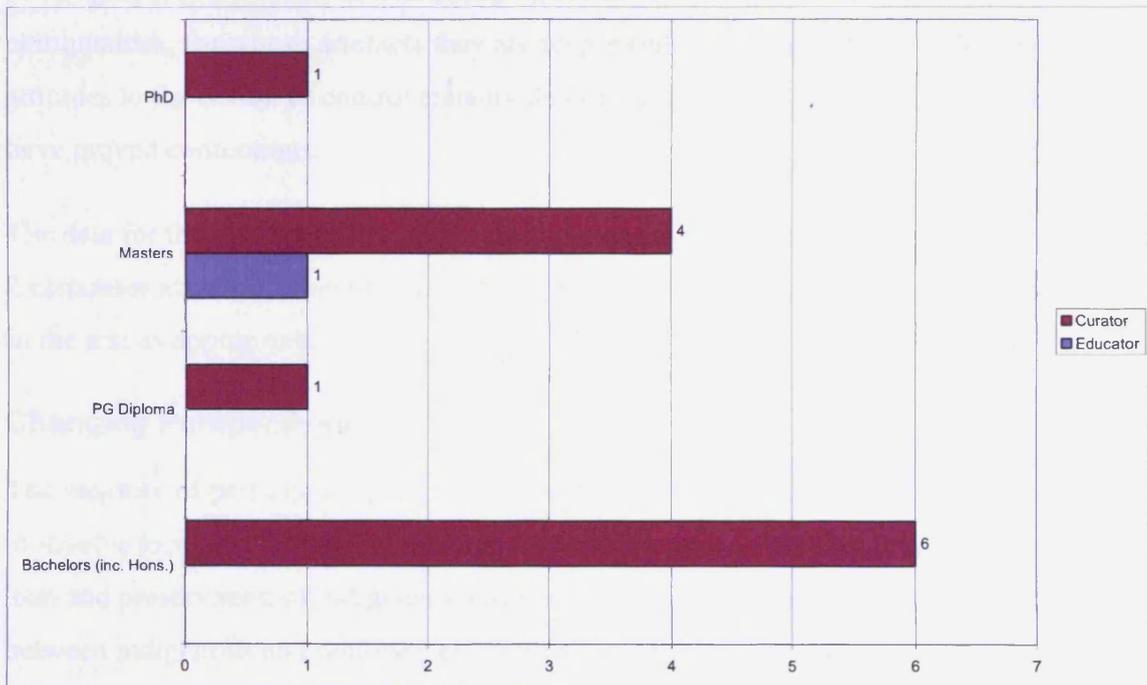


Chart 19 - Qualifications by Profession – Phase 2

Despite workers in the cultural sector having a higher level of education than across the working population as a whole, people working in the museum industry in 2001 earned, on average, less per annum than people in the total working population (\$26,400 compared to \$27,700), as a consequence of the numbers of part-time workers (30% of the industry). However, curators and archivists tended to be better paid than people outside the sector are, with curators on an average of \$33,800 per annum and archivists earning \$30,900. The difference in these two categories is again due to the numbers of part-time workers (17% of curators and 22% of archivists) (StatsNZ 2005; 2006).

The Curatorial and Heritage Preservation Context: Communities and Heritage Institutions

This section provides a discussion of the responses to questionnaire section 3, 'C: Communities and Heritage Institutions'. The questions were derived from the data analysis factors, literature sources (Watson 2004: 6:348-350) and the secondary research questions: 'are heritage professionals cognisant of the tensions between Eurocentric and indigenous curatorial and preservation perspectives?' and 'to what extent does the notion of controversy reflect an awareness of differing cultural perspectives?'. The section is divided into two parts. Drawing on participants' experiences of working in heritage institutions or with heritage organisations, the first half of the section aims to establish the development of the sector and its changing relationship with the local and national communities, for whose artefacts they are responsible. The second part will further debate attitudes to the notion of controversiality and discuss specific examples of exhibitions that have proved contentious.

The data for the discussion are drawn from the phase 1 questionnaire responses. The phase 2 responses are used, where relevant, to support or refute these data and will be identified in the text as appropriate.

Changing Perspectives

The majority of participants (80.1%) affirmed that a heritage institution has a responsibility to involve local and national communities in discussions on the acquisition, exhibition, loan and preservation of indigenous and non-indigenous artefacts. A distinction was made between indigenous and non-indigenous artefacts by seven (8%) of the participants. They felt that there should be community involvement concerning indigenous artefacts, but were less sure about non-indigenous artefacts.

“When you get away from [the] structure [of committees] then you’re faced with the problem of who has the right to speak – this can get very problematic, when someone is given the authority and later others say, ‘actually they never had that right, we do not agree’. There are lots of very tricky problems, especially over consultation, but that doesn’t mean don’t do it. Part of that practical side of it is who is going to control the budget for the community, who do you consult with, how would you decide on the results of that consultation? Would the majority rule, how would it actually work? Even just with the Maori community, it does involve an enormous amount of extra resources, even down to the level of food and drink, travel, *koha* [donation, gift], this has to be acknowledged, because obviously there is a finite budget” (participant 064).

There was no discernable correlation between any of the factors in their participant profiles and the fact that they made this distinction. However, they may have suggested it because there is now more recognition of Māori rights, perhaps due, in part, to the ‘Te Māori’ exhibition and, following that, Māori participation in museums, both as workers and visitors (Thomas 1999; Hakiwai 2005; Butts 2007; McCarthy 2007a). ‘Te Māori’ raised awareness of *taonga* Māori among both Māori and *Pākehā* New Zealanders. However, there has not been a specific awareness-raising exhibition for European New Zealanders, perhaps because the majority of exhibitions of New Zealand or European art would already be seen as an affirmation of the majority culture. These exhibitions, though, are the norm and so the values inherent in them are implicit. When an exhibition such as ‘Te Māori’ goes on tour, the values become explicit through the involvement of Māori *iwi* and the *pōwhiri* (ceremonial welcome), which accompanied the opening at each tour venue. Therefore, there may be an association for some people between indigenous cultural treasures and community involvement that is not automatically the case for non-indigenous artefacts.

Meeting the needs of the community and forming relationships with them was considered important for the life of the institution, as it facilitated a balanced view. Participants wished to encourage all New Zealanders, both Māori (who were described by participant 047 in this context as *tangata whenua* – people of the land) and *Pākehā*, to be more proactive, through participating in the running of institutions, thereby enabling the museum to be a mouthpiece for the community. It was suggested that European influenced museum practice had isolated artefacts from communities, turning museums into storehouses, with the original owners potentially being unaware of the fate of their *taonga*. However, this way of working was now considered inappropriate and so was gradually changing. Museums now have more of a social function and are more accountable to the community,

who provide the primary source of funding. Participants felt strongly that institutions are only temporary guardians of the collections and the artefacts become alive when they are made accessible to the source communities – the originating culture – with whom the *mana* of the *taonga* resides as they have knowledge of and a connection to the artefacts (see also Hakiwai 1990; Mead 1990; Jahnke 1999). One participant went further, suggesting that heritage institutions were part of a colonial legacy; instead, the *marae* was the home for Māori and *taonga*.

“The *marae* is the quintessential home for Māori. The *whare* [house] encapsulates what it is to be Māori – it is inter-connectiveness with the land, with the people, with the ancestors. Although there is a problem, what do you do with the *taonga* you have, that are not part of all that. I am a great believer in the distributed national collection; as soon as you centralise a collection, immediately those people that held that *taonga* lose some connection” (participant 060).

Hakiwai (1996: 58) supports this view, describing the *marae* as “like a home away from home ... [it] is regarded as a *tūrangawaewae* or ‘place to stand’ for all Maori people”.

The guardianship role or *kaitiakitanga* of museums has developed since the ‘Te Māori’ exhibition in the mid 1980s, and is connected to the increasing numbers of museum staff who identify as being of Māori ethnicity (see Tamarapa 1994; Hakiwai 1999; Butts 2007). With Māori curators or *kaitiaki* on the staff, greater links have been made with various *iwi* around New Zealand, facilitating connections between the people and their *taonga* and storing and displaying the artefacts in a manner which is both culturally appropriate and takes account of professional museum practice (Tapsell 2003; Hakiwai 2005). As a result of this, a number of museums have established Māori teams or individual positions, which act as mediators between the institutions and *iwi*. These are complex negotiating roles, which require both knowledge of *tikanga* Māori and an understanding of institutional practice and politics. Problems can sometimes occur over the status or *mana* of the individual liaison person or their *iwi* affiliations, as there may be differences of opinion over the correct course of action between different *iwi*.

“One of the things in the Dr. Hocken collection, that he was terribly interested in documenting was funerals, *tangi*, so he took lots and lots of photographs. Initially we thought that there would be huge problems about exhibiting images of death, [as] ... these things are hugely tapu, [so] we should not be making a feature out of death. But subsequently one of the descendents of the chief whose *tangi* Dr Hocken photographed ... was just delighted to see them and she had a completely different perspective to the one we thought she would have. She desperately wanted them shown, as she had never seen

these pictures before. She also thought that the whole way in which the body was presented and the relatives were decorating it was a huge anthropological interest” (participant 039).

This links with participants’ concerns regarding community spokespeople. Participants felt that it was important to know who to talk to, who to establish as a representative, especially in the Māori community, where knowledge, status and *mana* are important.

Some participants felt that it was not practical to involve the community in all the decision-making, as this would inhibit the efficient running of the institution. It was suggested that this could be overcome, though, through communication, collaboration and trust.

“[The workers] have the expertise in the field, we understand the culture, but there has to be agreement, communication and conversation between the two parties. ... The community has an important role, but they need to share dialogue with the museum expertise, especially as the community may not understand how museums work. There needs to be a mediator between the museum and the community, so that the two can work together” (participant 091).

In this way, the community would be involved, so providing a balance and equality in the ‘telling of the stories’. Input would come from both sides – the staff responsible for curating the exhibitions, who have institutional and museum practice knowledge and community members, who have a particular relationship with the collection artefacts. In the opinions of the participants, the resulting exhibition could provide a forum for discussion. This was felt to be a key role for museums. By providing a ‘safe, neutral environment’ in which to discuss potentially controversial issues, it was considered that museums were playing an important community role (this will be discussed further in the section, ‘Notions of Controversy’).

Ultimately, participants believed that respect was paramount, as this was about empowerment – both for the self and for others. Museum workers do not have a ‘right’ to determine which histories heritage institutions tell, but they should have the skills to facilitate the process. In this way, they are a conduit between the collections and their interpretation. Although curators have specific viewpoints, if an exhibition is produced in a culturally sensitive way in collaboration with the community then, potentially, a balanced and unbiased opinion can be presented, ideally using bilingual or multilingual signage. Participants gave an example of a specific exhibition, which had taken place at Te Papa in 1999. They explained that particular aspects of the exhibition, which told the story of the Moriori people of the Chatham Islands, had been criticised by academics, but the Moriori

people themselves had chosen the content of the exhibition – they had determined their history (see King 2003).

It was felt that, in the New Zealand context, active dialogue aimed to find the compromise between curatorial knowledge, the needs of the community and the needs of the collections. It was now considered more of a partnership, an attitude influenced in part by the Treaty of Waitangi, the ‘founding document’ of New Zealand, which is considered “a charter for equality between Māori and *Pākehā*” (Walker 1990 [2004]: 396; see also Butts 2002; Belgrave, Kawharu *et al.* 2005; McCarthy 2007a). One of the two core principles of the Treaty is ‘partnership’, which places certain obligations on the descendants of the Treaty signatories as regards how they act. One aspect of this “is a duty to make informed decisions through consultation”, a process that is considered to be “upholding and strengthening the Treaty partnership” (SSC 2005: 14-15).

The research data demonstrated that of the 87 participants in the phase 1 interviews, 66 people felt that decisions relating to the histories that museums tell needed to be collaborative or negotiated between the institution and the community. Ten people gave unclear responses and six did not respond. Of the 66, seven thought that there should be collaboration, but that ultimately it was the worker’s responsibility. Only five participants thought that it was the sole responsibility of the worker and one person thought that it was not their responsibility at all. Nine of the 66 respondents had a problem with the word ‘right’, stating that they found it rather autocratic and wanted to discuss the question and its genesis. Of the nine participants who had a problem with the word ‘right’, six were New Zealanders, two were Australian, six were conservators and all had worked or studied abroad.

Interestingly, the data show that it was predominantly New Zealanders who had a problem with the word ‘right’. This may be due to the heritage sector being more liberal, the bicultural nature of New Zealand society or, given that two other people were Australians, the fact that they had all come from countries with indigenous peoples (for a discussion of contemporary New Zealand society see King 1999). The figures here demonstrate that conservators (six out of the nine) have a problem with an autocratic word like ‘right’. This may be due to conservation ethics, which encourage conservators to treat all artefacts equally, regardless of their monetary value (Matero 1993; Clavir 2002). Clavir also highlights the importance of collaboration, negotiation and partnership in relations between museums and communities. Drawing on interviews with New Zealand conservators, she

states that “it was important to all the conservators that the Maori community be given detailed information so that it could make informed decisions about preservation” (Clavir 2002: 227).

Notions of Controversy

The majority of participants (74.7%) stated that controversial subjects had a role in museum exhibitions, that they needed to be addressed and that a museum was an ideal place for it, as it provided a safe forum for discussion, which could be impartial and accurate, reflecting all sides of an argument. This would make the museum relevant. Communication and discussion were thought to be an important aspect of putting on displays of potentially sensitive material. “We need to move towards the community being inside the institution. If you are doing programmes that cause significant offence, it’s not whether you should be doing it or not, it is your relationship with those people” (participant 018).

Only one person was not happy at all with the idea of controversial subject matter and three others qualified what they said by suggesting that some subjects needed to be omitted. Various participants made provisos in their responses. Fourteen people (16.1%) thought that the subjects needed to be balanced and impartial (85.7% of these were New Zealanders); a further 17 (19.5%) stated that exhibitions should not be controversial for the sake of it. Of these, 76.5% were New Zealanders, with the most common type of work place being a gallery. These concerns correspond with the idea that museums should provide a safe forum for discussion. Alternative phraseology was suggested as being more appropriate, including provocative, challenging, edgy and meaningful, contemporary and culturally sensitive. These suggestions tended to be by participants who had made provisos to their responses.

One participant stated that, ideally, controversial subjects would not be avoided, but thought that politically they probably needed to be. Another pointed out that many subjects were already avoided or not represented, for example, the lesbian and gay perspective, but that, often, it was just a question of timing before these subjects were discussed. It can be inferred from the research data that, in common with participants’ opinions that cultural values evolve and change, opinions relating to controversiality alter over time with subjects becoming more (or less) acceptable. The data also suggest that there is potentially a degree of censorship, perhaps unconscious and, again, this can be linked to some participants’ reflections on the courses that they undertook as students,

when they stated that the values of the majority population were implicitly, and possibly unintentionally, incorporated into educational programmes (see Chapter 6).

Seven participants pointed out that it was a question of what was considered controversial – various subjects, which had been expected to cause offence, for example to Māori people, often did not. A museum liaison person may have raised concerns, but when the appropriate community or *iwi* members were consulted, they stated that they were willing to have the subject discussed and displayed. In this context, one of the academic participants pointed out that a museum would not know in advance which subjects would prove controversial. Often the subjects that are discussed as being potentially controversial, and so are planned for, prove not to be offensive, while others, which have been considered unproblematic, have proved to be offensive.

Over half of the phase 1 participants (57.5%) felt that all subjects would be suitable, if the exhibition was sensitively done and there was no sense of sensationalism, bias, or of one group taking over a display to the detriment of other groups, particularly as propaganda for specific causes. It was felt that it needed to be balanced and relevant to the mission of the museum. However, some specific examples of exhibitions that had proved to be controversial were mentioned, together with subjects that participants would prefer not to see as part of an exhibition.

Exhibitions that had been considered controversial included ‘Pictura Britannica’, which included a work by the artist Tania Kovats, the ‘Virgin in a Condom’, and ‘Parihaka: the Art of Passive Resistance’, which explored the invasion of Parihaka *pa* (fortified village), Taranaki, by British soldiers in 1881. The former went on display at Te Papa in 1998, the year the museum reopened at its current site, while the latter opened at Wellington City Art Gallery in 2000. ‘The Virgin in a Condom’ provoked much controversy and protest during the exhibition with demonstrations by Christian groups taking place outside the museum and suggestions of ‘blasphemous libel’ (Ahdar 1999; see also Round 2005). Criticisms were also levelled at Te Papa’s bicultural policy, with suggestions that while Te Papa refused to remove the offending work from display, they would not have allowed a similar insult to be perpetrated upon a Māori *tiki* (carved figure of human form) (Harper 2003; see also King 2003). ‘Parihaka’ was controversial as it dealt with a difficult period in New Zealand history, when Māori and the British Crown were at war, Māori land was being confiscated and Europeans were settling the country in increasing numbers. One community, at Parihaka, decided to resist the British through passive, rather than

aggressive means and, although the outcome was invasion of the *pa*, the story remains an example of non-violent resistance, which has recently inspired an international peace festival (Bornholdt 2000; CGW 2000; Ramsay 2007).

Colin McCahon, a *Pākehā* artist, was considered both significant and somewhat controversial by two participants in his use of Māori words in paintings, although McCahon's status as an artist would now indicate that this technique has gained more acceptance. The exhibition by Archives New Zealand, about the aeroplane that crashed into Mount Erebus, Antarctica, in 1979, told the story of what happened but, in order to avoid controversy and out of respect for the relatives of the disaster, photographs of the bodies were not shown (see Archives 2007b).

Various people (26.4%) gave examples of subjects they would prefer not to see in an exhibition, for example, ones that were stereotypical, were offensive to cultural sensitivities and, in particular, human remains. In this context, a *Pākehā* conservator was adamant that she did not want to see what she termed 'unaltered' human remains on display, however, she did not consider the display of the Egyptian Mummy in the collection or the Māori preserved tattooed heads, *mokamokai*, to be a problem. She explained that by 'unaltered' she meant not wrapped or not tattooed.

Cannibalism was also mentioned. This subject was being debated at the time of the interviews and it was suggested by five people that political correctness was preventing an in depth discussion, as it was felt that Māori people were not happy with that aspect of their past being discussed. However, a programme being broadcast on TVNZ television at the time of the interviews, contradicted this view. 'Frontier of Dreams', with input from a number of leading New Zealander historians, both Māori and *Pākehā*, discussed the subject and placed it in its historical context, perhaps indicating that sensitivities were changing (TVNZ 2005; MCH 2006; see also TeAra 2008). Religion was also a cause for concern for participants, in particular respectful representations of Christianity and Islam, which may have been a reflection of the political situation at the time of the interviews.²⁷

²⁷ The cartoons depicting the Islamic prophet Mohammad had just been published in New Zealand newspapers.

Subjects that participants stated they were happy to see discussed included repatriation and the Treaty of Waitangi. It was felt that more information should be made available and contemporary issues be debated. When asked whether heritage institutions lead or follow societal trends on these sorts of issues, one participant stated that,

“You can make arguments for and against [this], but if museums are to make a difference in the communities in which they are located, then they have to do a bit of both. So that means that sometimes they take the lead, they uncover and reveal particular issues, but they do also do it in such a way that it does not become so cacophonous with all these different voices, they do it in a way that assists in laying out the issues” (participant 017).

Gurian (2006: 48) provides a useful definition of museums and their role. She emphasises their importance in “the building and rebuilding of community” and believes that they “can foster societal cohesion and civility”. In this, she appears to agree that part of the role of a museum is to provide a forum for discussion and to respond to issues in society as they arise (Gurian 2006: 65; see also Knell, MacLeod *et al.* 2007).

Summary

This chapter has examined the data related to the work experience and demographical information provided by the participants. It has placed the information gathered into context by examining secondary sources relating to census statistics and government policy. Participant attitudes to communities and heritage institutions and their opinions on the subject of controversy have been explored. From the data it can be concluded that communities and heritage institutions need to work closely together in order to take account of the perspectives of source communities and to make institutions relevant to contemporary society. This must not be done to the detriment of the collections, however, or the efficient running of the institutions. Controversy was established as an important and relevant aspect of exhibitions; however, it needed to be sensitively done, rather than purely as a means of attracting additional visitors.

By establishing both the attitudes to communities and heritage institutions and the collaborative priorities determined by participants, the context has been set for an examination of participants’ opinions relating to the concept of cultural values and the viability of incorporating them into educational programmes for heritage professionals. The next chapter will first set the context for the data discussion, by examining the literature related to values and education in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Chapter 5: Values and Education: The Aotearoa New Zealand Context

This chapter provides a review of relevant anthropological, sociological, historical and educational literature. Its aim is to build on the New Zealand framework outlined in Chapter 3 through a discussion of the literature relating to values and the development of the education sector. The work on values further develops the overview of the subject presented in the section ‘Defining Terms used in this Thesis’ in Chapter 1, and so in this chapter is confined to the New Zealand context. This chapter also serves as an introduction to the data analysis in Chapter 6 of participants’ opinions on cultural perspectives, attitudes to the notion of significance and consideration of the possibilities of incorporating cultural values into educational programmes.

Previous research has examined location and profession specific values (Patterson 1992; Clavir 1998; Webster 2001) and investigated knowledge transmission and theories of education in a New Zealand context (Metge and Kinloch 1978; Bishop and Glynn 1999; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Hemara 2000; Tuhiwai Smith 2006). The current research aims to build on this existing literature base by examining whether the value systems underlying the practices that they advocate can be incorporated into educational programmes.

An Introduction to Perspectives on Values

Webster (2001) sought to establish the ‘personal, social, public and cultural values’ in New Zealand. The current research aims to investigate a small aspect of values, from the perspective of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, Webster’s work will be important in providing an introductory overview of the subject (see also Metge and Kinloch 1978). He established that, rather than fitting into the simple categories of Māori, *Pākehā* and Pacific Islanders (his work did not include a survey of Asian cultures in New Zealand), New Zealand ethnicities were far more complex. He suggests that “*Kiwi* seems to qualify as the true generic term for all [New Zealanders]”, with seven other categories being identified, “*New Zealander, Pakeha, European, Maori-Maori, Maori New Zealander, Pacific Peoples and Asian*” (Webster 2001: 150 (italics in original)). This would appear to support the complexity of descriptors chosen by people when completing the census in New Zealand (StatsNZ 2007c) and the responses given by participants in the current research to the question of nationality and ethnicity (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 3).

Webster observed differences between the various groups in terms of values. Three 'white' groups were identified, New Zealander, *Pākehā* and European. People who identified as 'New Zealanders' appeared to be more democratic, less discriminatory and more willing to participate in their community and culture than those who identified as '*Pākehā*'. *Pākehā* tended to be older, more traditional and religious, have less formal education and were less in favour of Māori rights. However, they did strongly identify with the country. Webster (2001: 115 (italics in original)) suggests that the word 'conservative' could be applied to this group. *Pākehā* are not only "distinct from the *New Zealander*" they are "defined by his or her not being *Māori*". 'Europeans' was a category in which people had either been born in New Zealand or in the United Kingdom or Ireland. Again, they tended to be older, more traditional and less favourable towards Māori rights and the Treaty of Waitangi, but were far less likely to identify with New Zealand as a nation (Webster 2001: 98-120).

The two Māori groups, 'Māori-Māori' and 'Māori New Zealander' displayed differences in the sense that the second group demonstrated more of an affinity with conventional New Zealand culture than the first and so could be described as being more similar to the 'New Zealander' category. Māori-Māori demonstrated strong family and community relationships and were less individualistic. They were more traditionally religious, but this was not linked to deep-seated ties with the church or Christian beliefs. For this group, the community is both the family and the parent, with children being brought up in the community and evidence of intense respect and commitment between parents and children (Webster 2001: 121-137). In contrast to the 'European' and '*Pākehā*' groups, 'Māori-Māori' placed great emphasis on the Treaty "as both foundational for New Zealand and the basis for real rights and focussed re-allocation of resources" (Webster 2001: 137).

The final group identified in Webster's survey is the 'Pacific Peoples'. This category appeared to be more homogenous than the two Māori groups, demonstrating an affinity with tradition and placing importance on family, community and the church, but less on connection with New Zealand as a nation. These values appear strong in the older sections of the Pacific communities, but this is changing among the younger members (Webster 2001: 138-149).

To non-New Zealanders, New Zealand's cultural identity and values can be observed in the use of indigenous iconography. The spiralling fern leaf, or *koru*, the *haka* (posture or war dance) performed by the New Zealand All Blacks at the start of rugby matches and the

kiwi (New Zealand national bird), both the name for New Zealanders and a trade name on certain products (Gentry 2006), all epitomise the country (for a discussion of intellectual property rights, see Barclay 2005; Mills and Maniapoto 2005). Within the country, New Zealanders are described in the following way, “an unwillingness to be intimidated by the new, the formidable, or class systems; trust in situations where there would otherwise be none; compassion for the underdog; a sense of responsibility for people in difficulty; not undertaking to do something without seeing it through” (King 1999: 178-9). In King’s opinion (1999), non-Māori can be as committed to the land and saving its flora, fauna and resources as Māori; they can both be *kaitiaki*.

One of the core principles of the Treaty of Waitangi is partnership and this “entails respect, and respect, in turn entails a willingness to understand ... the partner’s point of view, the partner’s world-view, the partner’s values” (Patterson 1992: 10). However, this must not be done in such a way that it is “tokenism [as that] is damaging and degrading” (Patterson 1992: 11). This view is supported by participant responses in the current research (see Chapter 6). They considered raising awareness and respect for the cultural values of differing cultures to be of paramount importance, but if this was to be part of an educational programme, then it must not be done in a superficial or tokenistic way.

New Zealand has developed on principles of egalitarianism and individualism (Trevor-Roberts and Ashkanasy 2003); the phrase ‘a fair go’ is highly representative of the society as a whole (Fleras and Spoonley 1999).²⁸ This attitude derives from the culmination of several generations of European settlers who, seeking a new life away from the overpopulation, persecution and traditional inequalities of Europe, sought to own their own land (their own ‘quarter acre’), establish businesses and trade links, and be their own masters (Belich 1996; King 2003). However, over the past 160 years, since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, these aims have brought the European New Zealanders into conflict with the indigenous Māori who, traditionally, place an emphasis on the relationship with the land and ancestors, close family ties, a strong community and customs. In the early part of the twentieth century, Māori perspectives on *Pākehā* were relatively negative. They placed their values in opposition to those of *Pākehā*, which they described as “self-centred, materialist, acquisitive, unfeeling about their extended family

²⁸ For an alternative view on the subject of egalitarianism, see Hardie Boys 1997.

and callous in their treatment of the dead” (King 2003: 374). Such an opinion was indicative of the social and cultural divide between the two groups at that time.

While certain places such as the Treaty house at Waitangi may have epitomised a national unity for some *Pākehā*, for Māori they were indicative of the lack of adherence to the principles of the Treaty by the British and later the European New Zealanders. Waitangi is still a site for conflict, as it is seen as “a powerful symbol of discontent and broken Pakeha promises” for Māori activists (Gentry 2006: 24).

Different attitudes to buildings are also highlighted by Schrader (2006). He suggests that, for *Pākehā*, buildings are functional; they are not a conduit for emotions and so are undervalued, resulting in their being demolished. This is in contrast to Māori, for whom the component parts of the *whareniui* (large house) on the *marae* represent specific ancestors and gods and detail “the history of an iwi, connecting the present to the past and providing members with a unique sense of place” (Schrader 2006: 173). Schrader (2006) suggests that Māori *iwi* would rarely allow the demolition of a *whareniui*. This opinion is interesting, because it appears to be in contrast to perceived notions of authenticity and preservation in Western societies. As outlined in Chapter 3, in European and North American museum and preservation practice, it is the original ‘authentic’ materials that are given precedence, while for some other societies, for example in Japan and, to a certain extent for Māori, it is what the building represents that is important, rather than the original materials. These views may be representative of the New Zealand, rather than a Western European, context. This will be discussed further in the next chapter in relation to participant opinions on the differences between European and New Zealand cultural values, as examples given include value statements towards built heritage.

Land was one of the first areas of conflict between Māori and the settlers, particularly in their different attitudes to it. Land is “essential to Māori cultural identity because land more than any other element informs Māori values” (Edwards 2005: 10). Settlement negotiations through the Waitangi Tribunal over lands confiscated by the British Crown are still ongoing. As more land is reclaimed or compensation granted, Māori cultural identity is further acknowledged and strengthened (Edwards 2005).

From a spiritual perspective, land has become as equally important for *Pākehā* as Māori (King 1999). In a recent study, expatriate New Zealanders stated that it is land (together with sea and sky) that defines them, encouraging them to return to New Zealand (Brown 2005). This is confirmed by Gentry (2006: 13) who explains how “our sense of [place]

remains unique, [as] our identity and our very sense of authenticity ... are inextricably bound up with the places we claim as ‘ours’”. For Michael King (1999), the landscape of New Zealand was fundamental to both his writing and his way of life. This can be seen in his autobiographical book ‘Being Pakeha Now’. He believed that as Māori and *Pākehā* were both immigrants, they “became indigenous at the point where [their] focus of identity and commitment shifted to [New Zealand] and away from [their] countries and cultures of origin” (King 1999: 235). In this sense, the landscape had incorporated both peoples and so, despite their confusion over identity and the fact that they might feel guilt over the actions of their forefathers, it was fine to be ‘*Pākehā*’ (King 1999; see also Belich 2001; Salmond 2006).

In Māori culture, *taonga* represents a connection with the ancestors. To touch a sacred or culturally significant artefact is to make a connection with an ancestor, and the spirit of the person who created the artefact (Hakiwai 1990; Mead 1990). Through the repatriation of *taonga*, Māori believe that they are welcoming home a lost relative. Human remains elicit an even more marked response. “Genetic inheritance is seen as a cultural heritage treasure within the Māori worldview because the *whakapapa* is handed down from one generation to the next” (Davies 2001: 2). In contrast, Western societies seek to understand the past through archaeology, “the only ‘science’ that has the ability to objectively reconstruct and explain the past in culture without written histories or texts” (Smith 2006: 284). This difference in worldview and values has led to conflict between scientists and indigenous peoples (Smith 2004). While ancient human remains may be seen as a source of scientific information for Western scientists, for some indigenous peoples the length of time since that ancestor died is irrelevant. Consequently, “the age of human remains does not necessarily temper, as it tends to do in the West, the intensity of the ancestral link that some Indigenous communities may have to the remains” (Smith 2006: 286). Ancestral remains continue, therefore, to be a respected part of the community, with ancestral spirits taking part in ceremonies and watching over the people living today. The loss of ancestral remains and cultural property can have severe detrimental consequences, as “in some cultures, it [...] results in the dislocation of the body and the accompanying spirits from the land in which the deceased was buried. [...] It is believed to result in spiritual disharmony which impacts adversely upon the health and well-being of the whole community” (Simpson 2001: 1).

Edwards (2005: 8) describes *tikanga* Māori as “a framework of ideas and thoughts of values and beliefs organised as appropriate behaviour” (see also Mead 2003). These

values and beliefs are in flux, “able to adapt to changing circumstances and to vary from person to person and group to group” (Patterson 1992: 15). Essentially, though, Māori values, as an ideal, are about respect and balance. Although it is a hierarchical society, each person is considered to be descended from the gods, so has *mauri*, and is part of the community, so is respected. Each society has both good and bad aspects and the community works to maintain a balance between these (Patterson 1992).

An examination of current New Zealand values demonstrates the progression of a nation over a relatively short time-period. Initially indigenous values had priority, at a time when small numbers of settlers were trading, intermarrying and communicating with Māori in *te reo* Māori and Māori themselves were in the majority. This, in turn, gave way to the colonisation and acculturation of Māori, as Europeans became the dominating culture. Finally, the country has made progress towards decolonisation and the establishment of a bicultural society in which both Māori and *Pākehā* perspectives are recognised. Other factors have affected New Zealand values, however, namely Pacific Island and various Asian cultures, leading to a culturally diverse society with a blend of unique influences.

The values of New Zealand society appear, then, to derive from a combination of factors – the indigenous Māori, the European settler past and the current migrations from Asia and Europe. From European cultural domination, the country has now moved to a position where non-Māori can write as ‘other’, “measuring themselves in arguments framed by Māori” (Brown 2005: 12).

A Brief Overview of the History and Development of Education

During the early stages of contact between Māori and Europeans, missionaries learnt *te reo* Māori and, in 1820, compiled a book on its grammar and vocabulary (King 2003). Māori embraced this development from a purely spoken language to a written one and, consequently, literacy rates were high (O'Regan 2006). One of the results of this was the publication of newspapers in *te reo* Māori between 1842 and 1933. Today these provide an important insight into historical events and the perspectives of Māori, *Pākehā* and the governments and organisations of the time (NZDL/ATL and WaikatoUniversity 1999; Curnow, Hopa et al. 2006).

By the late nineteenth century, however, with increasing numbers of settlers moving to New Zealand, Māori people were experiencing the beginnings of acculturation of both their language and culture. The history of the Native School system in rural Māori

communities demonstrates that suppression of Māori language and culture was an established part of schooling for young Māori in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The Native Schools Act had been passed in 1867, which prohibited the use of *te reo* Māori in schools. It was believed that speaking Māori would inhibit the learning of English and so hinder Māori progression in the *Pākehā* work place (O'Regan 2006). This resulted in the loss of *iwi* knowledge to pass on to future generations (Timutimu, Simon et al. 1998; Bishop and Glynn 1999; Henry and Pene 2001; O'Regan 2006), a situation that was blamed on Māori “opposition, indifference, wilfulness and limited capacities” (Hemara 2000: 5), rather than the direct consequence of settlement government educational policies.

Certain *iwi* knowledge was considered *tapu*, a concept that “can be interpreted as restriction, prohibition, or sacredness” (Brown 2000: 2; see also Mead 2003), and so could not be written down. For Māori, “knowledge is a *taonga* (treasure) handed down as ‘*taonga tuku iho*’, that is, as a precious gift from the ancestors and as such is *tapu* (sacred)” (Bishop 1998: 429; see also Brown 1998; Gibbs 2001). Māori believe that “knowledge is powerful and is to be treasured and protected for the benefit of the group, not for the individual. The gaining of new knowledge in a Maori context is to enhance the lives of all the participants involved” (Bishop 1998: 429). Without the spoken Māori language, however, the spiritual connection to ancestral knowledge could not be orally transmitted and so was in danger of being lost (King 1992 [1975]: 13; Clavir 2002).

This loss of knowledge relating to *tikanga* Māori and *mātauranga* Māori was extremely detrimental to Māori society. However, there has been a gradual resurgence in this area over the last thirty years, as a result of the ‘Whakatipuranga Rua Mano’ strategy in 1975, which aimed to reverse the decline of *te reo* Māori through the establishment of Māori language programmes in schools and higher education (Edwards 2005; O'Regan 2006). *Te reo* Māori was designated an official language in New Zealand in 1987 (StatsNZ 2007d), and today both it and *mātauranga* Māori are being taught in schools and universities (Mead 2003).

Local communities work with schools and universities in this resurgence of language and culture, further promoting an awareness of Māori cultural values (Barr 1994).²⁹ *Kōhanga reo* ('language nests' or Māori language pre-schools) is an important part of this, facilitating "Maori-preferred pedagogies: looking, listening, imitating (modelling) and storytelling" (Bishop and Glynn 1999: 79). The success of these schools led to the establishment of Māori-medium primary schools, or *kura kaupapa* Māori, which were an alternative, but state-funded, method of schooling in the New Zealand educational system (Bishop and Glynn 1999). Many Māori did not feel that they had equal status in *Pākehā*-medium schools. However, "in *kura kaupapa* Maori, to be Maori is to be normal. Maori language, knowledge, culture and values are valid and legitimate" (Bishop and Glynn 1999: 82; see also Tuhiwai Smith 2006).

In 1993, at a meeting of indigenous peoples in Whakatane, New Zealand, 'The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples' was produced. Various points were discussed, notably human remains, cultural objects and knowledge. Writers affirmed that "Indigenous Peoples are capable of managing their traditional knowledge themselves, but are willing to offer it to all humanity provided their fundamental rights to define and control this knowledge are protected by the international community" (Kokiri 1993: preamble; see also Galla 1997; Jones and Harris 1998).

Māori have also adapted to new forms of record keeping and so certain tribal *whakapapa*, history and knowledge, traditional stories and songs now exist in written form. These have become a means of empowerment with the facility to provide documentary evidence of the loss of land, culture and language (King 1978: 10; Stirling and Salmond 1980; Sinclair 1992 [1975]; Heikell 1995). Stirling and Salmond (1980: 250) explain, "[Māori] elders published traditional material in the Journal of the Polynesian Society and sought to use the country's education system to transmit understanding of Māori language and culture. This was despite a considerable mistrust of European knowledge".

²⁹ This is comparable to the resurgence in minority languages in parts of Europe. However, although the resurgence can lead to an increased national pride, it can be a cause of conflict if speakers of the language are given priority over non-speakers, for example in job recruitment (see Grant and Docherty 1992; Devichand 2007a; Devichand 2007b).

One of the important factors for New Zealand is the Treaty of Waitangi and the place it holds in New Zealand society, culture, law and government. In the education sector, consideration of the principles of the Treaty (and through it, the Waitangi Tribunal) has been a factor both in the designation of *te reo* Māori as a *taonga* and in its becoming an official language (O'Regan 2006). The first Māori university, 'Te Wānanga o Raukawa' in Ōtaki (*Wānanga* – Māori tertiary educational institutions), had been established in 1981 and gradually Māori Studies departments developed in state universities. The Treaty of Waitangi continues to be of immense importance when considering government policy on education in New Zealand. This is demonstrated by its incorporation into the Ministry of Education's 'Draft New Zealand Curriculum 2006' and the necessity for teachers to demonstrate knowledge of the Treaty, as well as *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori (MinEduNZ 2007; Patara 2007). The development of New Zealand's education system, and its attempts to incorporate the principles of the Treaty into the educational curriculum, further demonstrate the efficacy of basing the current research there. Establishing the experiential influences on the participants within this bicultural and culturally diverse environment is an important aspect of determining whether the incorporation of abstract concepts is a possibility.

Education in New Zealand has been moving towards biculturalism since the 1980s with the development of more culturally appropriate research (Gibbs 2001). An indication of the changing nature of New Zealand culture is epitomised by the research being carried out by Māori scholars (Bishop and Glynn 1999; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Utilising *Kaupapa* Māori, "a term used to describe traditional Māori ways of doing, being and thinking" (Henry and Pene 2001: 235) and *whakapapa*, Māori researchers are now writing about the Māori worldview and their cultural identity. This is in contrast to the majority of research into Māori culture and society, which was, until comparatively recently, undertaken by non-Māori. Māori became increasingly uncomfortable with this situation, resulting in a suspicion of non-indigenous scholars and their motives (Edwards 2005). One of the earliest books to include articles by Māori scholars was edited by Michael King (self-described as a *Pākehā* New Zealander), which was originally published in 1975. In his revised edition of 'Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga' (*Māoritanga* – Māori culture or perspective), King (1992 [1975]: 7) writes,

"in the 1990s there is scarcely anybody who would regard it as appropriate for a book such as this to be initiated and assembled by a Pakeha editor. The climate was very different in the 1970s, however, when [...] other than on marae, there were few Maori voices heard in

the public debate on the relevance and role of Maoritanga in the modern world”.

Various Māori researchers including Bishop (1998), Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and Henry and Pene (2001) have developed their work through *Kaupapa Māori*, which had enabled them to carry out culturally appropriate research, or “Maori-centred research [as it] is about bringing to the centre and privileging indigenous values, attitudes and practises” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 125; see also Henry and Pene 2001). Ideally, this type of research will lead to “a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 20). Gibbs (2001) discusses Bishop’s work (1996) on *Kaupapa Māori*, which “suggests that Kaupapa Maori addresses Foucault’s ‘productive function of power-knowledge’ by deconstructing the disempowering hegemonies that have marginalized Maori and their knowledge and prevented Maori from controlling their own knowledge” (Bishop 1996; cited in Gibbs 2001: 678).

Mills (2003: 68) in her examination of Foucault’s work discusses his interest in “the processes which led to certain facts being known rather than others”. In the context of *Kaupapa Māori* then, this suggests that it is European knowledge that has become known both about, and instead of, indigenous knowledge. This is perhaps because, in Europe, prominence is given to the availability and accessibility of the written word. This is in contrast with indigenous cultures that, founded on oral tradition and non-verbal modes of communication, may seek to prevent knowledge exchange, because of the sacredness of that knowledge, or through fear of adulteration and appropriation of their culture (King 1978; Stirling and Salmond 1980; Harrison 1992; 1993; 1995; 1999a).

In Foucauldian terms, “this production of knowledge about economically disadvantaged people plays a significant role in maintaining them in this position” (Mills 2003: 70). So, in this discussion of research and methodologies, European knowledge, which is publicly shared, dominates and also assimilates indigenous knowledge, often, it has been suggested, to the detriment of indigenous knowledge (see also Bishop 1998; Brown 1998; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Brown 2003).³⁰ By using *Kaupapa Māori*, Mills (2003: 72) explains,

³⁰ See also research by Dr John Preston, Reader in Lifelong Learning, Competitiveness and Social Cohesion, at the Institute of Education, University of London. His work questions the hidden privileges of being ‘white’ from an educational perspective (Preston 2007).

indigenous (and non-indigenous) researchers can resist the Western system of power-knowledge research, which was “proposed as global objectives systems of knowledge, but which were in fact, formulated from a Western perspective with Western interests at their core” and ensure that more culturally meaningful research is undertaken (see also Gibbs 2001).

When Western methods of research are thus disempowered, indigenous ways of working through the host culture can be considered, giving the opportunity for a more equal, ‘interconnected’ relationship between the researcher and the research participant. In the case of Māori culture, “Maori values and ways of giving and gaining respect and trust are thereby invoked in the research process” (Gibbs 2001: 678). By striving for equality in this way, the researcher can maintain their academic objectivity and control. Yet through their “repositioning [...] from a position of ‘speaking for’ the ‘other’, of ‘empowering others’ or ‘emancipating others’, to a position of partnership, [they can work] collaboratively ‘with those traditionally ‘othered’ as constructors of meanings of their own experiences and agents of knowledge” (Bishop 1996: 230; quoted in Gibbs 2001: 679).

An understanding of indigenous values in education is important when considering the work of Bagnall (2002: 78) in his discussion of student learning and university provision. He suggests that universities will become more dependent on the “cultural contexts in which they are situated” as a consequence of offering students a greater variety of learning options, for example, virtual learning environments (VLE). However, he advocates that the cultural context of the university that develops and teaches the course has an impact and that “the values of the ‘providing culture’ will inevitably be an implicit aspect of the course”, so such a course can only be ethical if that context is understood (Bagnall 2002: 86). Therefore, when students study in overseas universities, they take their culture with them. In contrast, when overseas students undertake distance-learning programmes in their own countries, “the providing university ... becomes the intruder, the invader, the coloniser [purveying a] largely Western, English-language set of cultural values” (Bagnall 2002: 86).

However, the student will still be within their cultural context and so will retain their ‘cultural baggage’. Although the course that they are undertaking may bring with it implicit values, the context in which the learning is situated will be familiar and so those values will be explicit. The students may therefore benefit from an intercultural exchange of ideas, thereby becoming more culturally aware of their own values, ‘voice’ and identity,

those of the society in which they live, and the potential ethnocentric bias of the educational institution with whom they are studying (see MacBeath 2006; Chang 2007; Kim 2007).

Summary

This chapter has examined the literature relating to perspectives on values and the history and development of education in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, so providing the background for the research discussion in the following chapter. New Zealand's development as a postcolonial society can be tracked through both its emergent national identity and its changing values structure. Values are constantly evolving and in flux, and New Zealand provides a clear example of this, in a society which combines both indigenous and European settler values.

As the next chapter will demonstrate, whether there has yet been a blending of values is open to debate, but distinct influences from each of the two main cultures in New Zealand can now be seen, for example, in the use of Māori words in New Zealand English, rather than just the values of the majority culture. The education sector has undergone radical changes in New Zealand over the last twenty to thirty years. The teaching of Māori language in schools is now part of the national curriculum and families have the option of having their children taught in *kohanga reo* and *Kura Kaupapa* Māori schools (Bishop and Glynn 1999; Patara 2007). These changes are also contributing to evolving values and a developing national identity. The next chapter will examine the data relating to these factors and seek to establish whether a participant's study experience and evaluation of the term cultural values is influential in their opinions relating to the incorporation of cultural values into programmes.

Chapter 6: Cultural Values in Education

This chapter provides an analysis of the primary data on the perceptions of values, and on education and cultural values, collected from the interviews in phases 1 and 2. Grounded theory and content analysis formed the basis of the coding and analysis.

The research sought to establish to what extent has it been possible, and is it necessary or desirable, to incorporate different cultural perspectives into the education programme experience of heritage professionals working in Aotearoa New Zealand. By examining the interview responses through the secondary research questions and the questionnaire themes, this discussion argues that the majority of the participants did not feel that the courses that they undertook as students included cultural values. However, they considered that it was, nevertheless, a vital pedagogical aspect that needed to be addressed at a fundamental level in heritage education programmes.

Perspectives on Values: Knowledge and Awareness of Cultural Values

This section assesses participant responses to questionnaire section 2, 'V: Knowledge / Awareness of Cultural Values'. Set within the context of the literature relating to perspectives on values in New Zealand, the section aims to address two of the secondary research questions. These are: 'to what extent is it possible for heritage professionals working in Aotearoa New Zealand to define differing cultural perspectives?' and 'are notions of significance and cultural significance relevant in addressing differing attitudes to curatorial and preservation priorities?'. The section is divided into two parts. Drawing on participants' experiences of working in a bicultural environment, the first half of the section aims to establish their definitions of the term 'cultural values' and to assess their perceptions of the term within location specific contexts. The second part examines opinions relating to the significance of artefacts and assesses whether participants differentiated between works they deemed to be 'significant' and those they considered 'culturally significant'.

As with Chapter 4, the data for the discussion are primarily drawn from the phase 1 questionnaire responses, with phase 2 responses being used to refute or verify the findings as relevant.

Defining Cultural Perspectives

In response to the question, ‘V1: what does the phrase cultural values mean to you?’, phase 1 participants stated that cultural values are constantly changing, that there are two main aspects to cultural values – the traditional and the contemporary – with the latter being more fluid, and that museums needed to adapt to this. A variety of common themes emerged from participants’ definitions of the phrase ‘cultural values’ during the phase 1 interviews. The most numerous of these (words used by three participants or more in their definitions) are listed in Table 4.

Words (in order of most commonly used)	Number of participants who used the word	Percentage of participants who used the word
Respect	18	20.7
Important	11	12.6
Other(s)	10	11.5
Own (as in one’s own values)	9	10.3
Things	8	9.2
Difference(s)	7	8
Time / past	6	7
Maintenance, preservation, <i>tikanga</i>	5	5.7
Principles, everything, behaviour, ethics	4	4.6
Attitude, influence, awareness, recognition, tradition, perspectives, beliefs, unique	3	3.4

Table 4 - Common themes relating to the phrase 'cultural values'

This list indicates that, for the sample group of participants, the concept of respect is most clearly associated with the phrase ‘cultural values’. Previous research by Webster (2001) also demonstrated that the notion of ‘respect’ was important to New Zealanders (see also Patterson 1992). Webster’s research (2001: 161-162) placed the word ‘tolerance’ as being closely associated with respect. In the current research, however, only one person mentioned ‘tolerance’.

Participants’ use of the word ‘respect’ in their examination of this phrase is interesting, as definitions of ‘culture’ and ‘values’ from the literature do not include the word ‘respect’ (see Chapter 1). There are various reasons why participants may have preferred ‘respect’

as a definition. New Zealand is considered by some to be an egalitarian society (Trevor-Roberts and Ashkanasy 2003). One of the main reasons that migrants left the United Kingdom and moved to New Zealand in the nineteenth century was the chance to own land and work for themselves (Belich 1996; King 2003). This has led to a society with fewer class related restrictions, so giving more of a sense of equality. New Zealand was also the first self-governing country where, in 1893, women gained the right to vote (Archives 2007a) and the heritage sector employs a greater percentage of women and is more culturally diverse in its workforce than New Zealand as a whole (StatsNZ 2005; MuseumsAotearoa 2007). For Māori people, respect is an important concept, linked with hierarchy and status within the community (Patterson 1992). These factors were potentially influential in the notion of respect being of significance to the participants.

The wording of the responses also indicated why 'respect' was a primary concern. It was pointed out that all societies have cultural values – they relate to what people believe in. Participants thought that it was important to be able to listen to others and be open to their opinions. Of equal importance, was being comfortable with one's own culture and being able to defend it. Values were thought to be about behaviour, context and the way people act. They are sets of principles, by which people guide and define themselves and one needs to be respectful of those values or principles and acknowledge the people of different cultures for who they are. Participants felt that people needed to put themselves in the position of having to learn, as this facilitates the identification of common points of understanding and misunderstanding.

Therefore, the data indicate that values are about respect, but also about knowing that artefacts have a meaning that extends beyond their physical appearance and history. Artefacts can have a different meaning for their owners, as the artefact is a signifier, with both a tangible and intangible background; they are part of a living culture. Land, art, language and heritage were also of importance as regards the meaning they could have for different cultures. Being able to recognise this and cultural differences were considered vital.

For one particular participant (054), values were based on common sense and the idea that people should love and respect each other. He pointed out that proverbs are still considered very powerful by some Māori people, giving adhesion to Māori society and providing an illustration of the *tikanga* surrounding Māori language. Some Māori dictionaries (Ryan 2005) include a section on Māori proverbs and Patterson (1992)

explains the importance of Māori proverbs in his book, 'Exploring Maori Values'. In order to provide an example, Participant 054 quoted the proverb "people come and go, but land remains", which, for him, illustrated the concept of Māori values and the importance of land to Māori.

Land is highly prized by Māori. Their word for it is '*whenua*', which also means 'placenta', 'country' or 'state'. Mead explains, "whenua, as placenta, sustains life and the connection between the foetus and the placenta is through the umbilical cord. This fact of life is a metaphor for whenua, as land, and is the basis for the high value placed on land" (Mead 2003: 269; see also Edwards 2005). Participants also considered heritage important. *Taonga*, or cultural treasures, are considered ancestors, living beings, which deserve the respect of being introduced to guests, whether on *marae* or in museum collections (Mead 1990).

The phrase 'cultural values' proved problematic for six participants. Some associated 'values' with money and so were unhappy with the phrase. One participant claimed that the phrase meant nothing – 'cultural' was an overused word, while another suggested that cultural integrity would be more useful, as 'cultural values' was a non-specific phrase. It was also suggested that the phrase was one that was more widely known in the United Kingdom than in New Zealand. However, in subsequent interviews, when attempts were made to corroborate this, the majority of participants indicated that they were familiar with the term and intimated that most people should be aware of the meaning of the phrase.

Eighteen participants or 20.7% used the word 'respect' in their definition of cultural values. Of these, 15 (83.3%) were New Zealanders, ten (56%) were female, 12 (67%) were based in Wellington, 13 (72%) worked in a museum, ten (56%) were curators and 12 (67%) had worked abroad. The figures for the numbers of New Zealanders are comparable to the total number who took part in the research (80%), as are the numbers for the curators (53%) and for people who had worked abroad (69%). The percentage of females is lower, 56% compared to 63%. However, the numbers for people based in Wellington (67%) are considerably higher than for the total number of participants working there (53%), which is potentially due to Wellington's position as the 'cultural capital' of New Zealand. The figures for people working in museums are also higher, 72% compared with 34% of the total participants. It can be concluded that, of the people in the research sample who work in museums, the notion of respect is highly significant. The importance placed on this concept is supported by Besterman (2006: 440), who states,

“museums have an opportunity to reflect, respect, and nourish the human spirit as well as intellect, and to celebrate different ways of seeing, studying, and comprehending the world. ... The ethical museum is trusted in a society of diverse cultures and values, and becomes a safe place for peoples of different beliefs and backgrounds to meet and find common ground”.

In considering European cultural values, various participants (25.3%) highlighted preservation as being central to the European ethos – the preservation of buildings, antiques and art. This emphasis on preservation can be seen in Table 5.

Words (in order of most commonly used)	Number of participants who used the word	Percentage of participants who used the word
Preservation	22	25.3
Age related (i.e. old, age)	11	12.6
History	8	9.2
Religion	7	8
Collecting, monetary value, authenticity, artefact based	4	4.6
Museum practice, tradition, identity, respect	3	3.4
Not spiritual, integrity, display, genealogy, Eurocentric, high culture, provenance, dead past	2	2.3

Table 5 – Common themes relating to perceptions of European cultural values

This set of common themes is in contrast to those for the phrase ‘cultural values’, with the words ‘respect’ and ‘preservation’ transposing their positions. The data suggest that this is due to perceptions of age in Europe, in relation to architecture and heritage collections. Participants considered Europe to be a collecting society, with an emphasis on who the collectors are and what has been collected (see also Pearce 1995; 1998). They primarily considered it to be concerned with tradition, the past (in the sense of being obsessed with time), class and religion; again, these were mentioned in relation to architecture.

European societies were described as being more concerned with artefacts and their age and value (often monetary), with the ‘preservation of the dead past’, than with people. In this context, due to their relative recentness, Australia and New Zealand were considered by participants to be more concerned with cultural rather than monetary values.

Interestingly, Keene (2005a: 169) disagrees with this assessment of New Zealand.

Drawing on data from UNESCO, it is New Zealand that is described as an “example of [a country] where the economic value of culture is stressed”. However, it is unclear from Keene’s work and the information to which she refers (Culturelink 2006), whether the economic concerns in relation to culture are related to compensation for land and cultural rights under the Waitangi Tribunal. As will be seen from Table 6 and the discussion below, the research participants did not refer to economics in combination with an assessment of New Zealand values.

Participants felt that there was an obsession with high culture and origins in Europe, as people there tried to preserve buildings from pollution and urban expansion and yet were blasé about heritage. It was felt that this was probably due to the abundance of old buildings and artefacts in Europe compared to New Zealand, where there was a concentration on the 19th century. Three participants felt that it was possible that people in New Zealand had not yet realised that the 20th century needed preserving as well (see also Schrader 2006 for a discussion on this subject). People suggested that, although the New Zealand museum sector is based on the model in the United Kingdom and Europe, there is a difference in New Zealand due to how young the museums are.

The Elgin (or Parthenon) Marbles were mentioned by six participants and one person added that her perception of Europe was of a place that had taken many heritage artefacts from other nations and cultures. She thought that there might come a time when the various cultures would want their artefacts back and wondered how this would be dealt with. Henning (2006: 315) suggests that, in a sense, the British Museum has dealt with this issue through the use of computer graphics, thereby ‘virtually restoring and repatriating’ the marbles and so “implicitly den[ying] the necessity for a real return of the Elgin Marbles to Greece” (see also Corsane 2005b; Gerstenblith 2006; Kaplan 2006). The concept of power was mentioned in relation to acquisition of artefacts, as they were seen as symbols of power or knowledge. Power was also linked to individuals, in terms of the sovereignty or autonomy of an individual. It was felt that Europe imposed a structural hierarchy, but also encouraged an ‘audacity of vision’, for example in the work of artists such as Leonardo da Vinci.

In the opinion of a Māori academic, curators in Europe see culture as being somewhere else, so making Māori the exotic other, which is out of touch with the real living culture. He felt that there was a cultural arrogance in Europe, with a lack of consideration for the living relationships and cultures of Māori and other indigenous peoples. In contrast to this,

another participant described some of the similarities between Māori and European values. For him, European values related to places that have a sense of loss enshrined in them, for example Auschwitz. He felt that there was a connection and respect for that place, as Māori have a spiritual connection to the land.

Forty-six out of 87 participants gave clear responses indicating what they thought European cultural values were. Fourteen were unsure, some stating that they could not say or did not know, and another 14 indicated that Europe had many different countries, each with their own values and these were all different from the United Kingdom. Thirteen people gave unclear or non-specific responses; six gave no response and 16 drew a comparison between Europe and New Zealand. The only common factor between the four people who both said they were unsure and made a comparison between Europe and New Zealand was that they were all New Zealanders. The ability to draw this comparison, despite professing a lack of knowledge, may be due to the European influences on New Zealand society.

Responses to the question of New Zealand cultural values elicited responses relating to the influences on, and development of, identity. One participant felt that New Zealand had now moved away from European cultural values and was more a mixture or blending, but also distortion, of European and Māori values. It was felt that this was particularly the case in relation to *whakapapa* and aspects of Christianity and Māori beliefs. For example, there may be both prayers and *karakia* at a *tangihanga* (funeral ceremony). Another interviewee disagreed, stating that this was a post-modern construct. These contradictions can be observed in the common themes listed in Table 6.

Words (in order of most commonly used)	Number of participants who used the word	Percentage of participants who used the word
Influence from Europe	13	14.9
Changing (values and society)	12	13.8
Mix of cultures (currently living in NZ)	11	12.6
Western / Europe influenced museum practice	9	10.3
Bicultural	8	9.2
Unique, different from Europe	7	8
Similar to Europe, identity	6	6.9
Awareness of other cultures, blend of NZ and	5	5.7

Māori values, respect for other cultures		
Influence from UK	4	4.6
Geography, <i>whakapapa</i> / genealogy, multicultural, distinctive	3	3.4
Fairness, similar to UK, preservation, collecting, authenticity, Māori culture, egalitarian	2	2.3
Treaty (of Waitangi), partnership	1	1.2

Table 6 - Common themes relating to perceptions of New Zealand values

It was suggested that there are still issues of validation for *Pākehā*; they need to endorse the fact that they are in New Zealand. Goldie (1995) endorses this, suggesting that *Pākehā* wish to be seen as indigenous, rather than ‘alien’. Various non-New Zealand participants suggested that New Zealanders were not yet sure what their values were or what their identity was. This can be seen from the top three words or themes in Table 6. Participants describe New Zealand as a country that is still influenced by Europe, but is in the process of change and is now recognised as having a mix of cultures making up its population. In addition, the data demonstrate that almost identical numbers of participants stated that New Zealand was unique and different from Europe, as stated that the country was similar to Europe.

In contrast to *Pākehā* seeking validation, it was felt that Māori culture was now recognised as a magnificent indigenous culture. This view is supported by During (2000) and Belich (2001). Māori have been influential on New Zealand perspectives, offering a different way of looking at things, in comparison to the European norm. However, colonialism was still considered a tragedy and this was probably a factor in *Pākehā* perceptions of themselves. The country was changing, however, and one participant felt that there was a strong individualism in New Zealand, which was different from anywhere else, although there were similarities to the United States of America. He felt that there was a sense of egalitarianism and a willingness to live and let live, and that people were considered responsible for themselves. As stated earlier, New Zealand is generally recognised as an egalitarian society (Trevor-Roberts and Ashkanasy 2003), but only two participants highlighted this.

The importance of geographical location and time were mentioned. It was felt that New Zealand was a country that was shaped by both geography and the fact that it is an island nation ‘at the bottom of the world’. This gives the country a particular perspective. In

addition, in contrast to Europe, it was suggested that New Zealand does not have a sense of deep time, although the values do include Māori creation myths. A *Pākehā* curator pointed out that New Zealand has both 1000 years and 200 years of history, but New Zealand is considered a young culture, with contemporary cultural values.³¹ This is advantageous for new projects and ideas.

Continuing the theme of geography, six participants considered the South Island to be quite different from the North Island, indicating that it was both conservative and more obviously influenced by Europe. These participants were drawing on personal experience, as they had all lived, studied or worked in the South Island. The South Island may be more conservative because of the greater number of European New Zealanders compared to the Māori population and so there have been fewer developmental influences on the European culture. As smaller numbers of Māori people originally settled in the South Island (in 1901, the Māori population in the South Island was only 1400, compared to a total Māori population of 45,000) compared to the North Island (King 2003), they were quickly outnumbered by the European settlers, leading to rapid developments within Māori culture. In addition to this, throughout New Zealand, Māori people inter-married with Europeans. This was particularly the case in the South Island, as “there was apparently a persistent preference for Pakeha husbands among Ngai Tahu women, [with the result that] the majority of Ngai Tahu were of mixed race by 1878, and the last ‘pureblood’ was said to have died in 1910” (Belich 1996: 256). Despite this, they are still strongly Māori, in terms of language and protocol (King 1999).

Participants emphasised the uniqueness of Māori culture in New Zealand. This culture, together with geography, politics and a sense of place, has been influential on New Zealand’s development into a bicultural and multicultural or cultural diverse society. A *Pākehā* conservator suggested that New Zealand and its cultural heritage field led the world in cultural respect for indigenous people, while another participant felt that New Zealand is a world leader as regards working with indigenous people. In this context, the importance of recognising multiple perspectives was stressed. This was reiterated by another participant, who had trained in Australia and worked in New Zealand, who

³¹ For a discussion of Māori history and their perceptions of *Pākehā* notions of history in New Zealand, see King 1997.

considered Australia to be behind New Zealand in relation to its treatment of its indigenous people, but felt that New Zealand still had progress to make, for example in the use of bilingual signage. However, some progress has been made as regards place name signage and bilingual names for government departments as part of the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement process (O'Regan 2006). Concern was also expressed by participants in relation to the inappropriate use of Māori culture to promote New Zealand commercially, with no real respect for the principles of the culture. Aspects of Māori culture have also been appropriated by various commercial organisations. Mills and Maniapoto (2005) give the example of the production of a male character for Sony Playstation, who wears a chin *moko*, a tattoo that, in Māori culture, is specific to females (see also Barclay 2005).

The assimilation of Māori words into New Zealand English was considered healthy, but some participants emphasised that New Zealand is actually a multicultural, rather than a bicultural, country. They felt that New Zealand was in a transition period from biculturalism to multiculturalism, a situation that required a balance of views and values. Despite this, the data indicate that people were more conscious of the bicultural elements in New Zealand society, as more than twice as many participants made reference to the term biculturalism as multiculturalism (see Table 6).

The issue of multiculturalism, or cultural diversity, can be linked to concerns over the long-term relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi and the development of New Zealand society and culture (see also King 1999; Mok 2005). The Treaty has been described as 'the founding document' of New Zealand (Archives 2000; SSC 2005) and is central to government policy and the work of the Waitangi Tribunal. However, when questioned about New Zealand cultural values, the data indicate that participants did not automatically associate the Treaty and its principles with the concept of cultural values. Only one person, a Māori educator, mentioned the Treaty as a signifier of the understanding between Māori and the Crown, in connection with this question. One of the core principles of the Treaty – partnership – also warranted just a single mention, in the context of the relationship between museums and *iwi*.

On the subject of museums in New Zealand, participants pointed out that these were a European invention – Māori people did not have such things before the arrival of European settlers. In fact, museums can be daunting to Māori, who believe that *taonga* need to be with the people, particularly *tapu* artefacts. This is an interesting point as, particularly during the phase 2 verification interviews, the researcher realised that the research and

questions were addressed from a British or Western European perspective. In a sense, some of the questions did not have any real meaning for Māori. As heritage professionals working in museums, they may have understood the question and its context, but it was not necessarily an intrinsic part of their culture. When asked questions about how Māori people displayed or preserved their *taonga* before Europeans settled New Zealand, they replied that the majority of artefacts were not made to be preserved and displayed, as they are in museums. Some high status *taonga*, for example feathers from the *Huia* bird (now extinct), which were headdresses for Māori chiefs, were kept in wooden boxes decorated with carvings, known as *waka huia* (*waka* is canoe), and stored in the rafters of a *marae*. However, most artefacts were considered useful tools, part of a living culture, but when damaged, they were returned to the ground and a new one was made. Participants pointed out that the obsession with preserving artefacts, thereby removing their purpose other than to be on display, was not a Māori way of doing things; rather it was a Western one (see Hakiwai 1990).

It was suggested that a number of the larger museums in New Zealand were now considering Māori perspectives, but the majority of smaller museums, particularly those run by volunteers, still tended to be run solely according to European museum practice (see also MuseumsAotearoa 2007). Museums and art galleries were considered a product of the European cultural context prevalent in New Zealand, and as such were very Eurocentric. However, Te Papa was now leading a change of approach in terms of the display of heritage artefacts.

Te Papa has elicited very mixed opinions. Whether it is a museum at all, in the traditional sense of the word, has been questioned. Although it has been described as a museum by staff at Te Papa, it is a very different type of museum from, for example, the British Museum, and has been portrayed as more of a 'heritage experience' (for a discussion of innovative museums, see Gurian 2006). Auckland War Memorial Museum (AM) is seen by some as a rival to Te Papa in the approach to museum display, predominantly regarding Māori *taonga*. *Taonga* is at the heart of relations between institutions and Māori communities, as it signifies the changing dynamics in the museum sector in New Zealand. However, others feel that the media overplayed this rivalry, concentrating on the differences between the two institutions, particularly in ideology, rather than the similarities. It was felt that Te Papa was something of an experiment, which would gradually change.

According to staff at AM Māori visitors now feel a part of the museum, especially since the refurbishment of the Māori galleries (see AucklandMuseum 2008a), but they stated that, initially, Māori visitor numbers were low, as many found the museum's imposing façade daunting, on first approaching it (see Plate 2).



**Plate 2 – Auckland War Memorial Museum
(reproduced with permission)**



Plate 3 – Te Papa, Wellington



Plate 4 – National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum, with the Carillon and National War Memorial, Buckle Street, Wellington, 1936 (ATL PAColl-5932-21)

Te Papa, in comparison, has a far more modern façade, which is perhaps more approachable (see Plate 3). Concerted efforts have been made to increase numbers of Māori visitors, although there was a small group of Māori supporters among the mainly middle-class *Pākehā* visitors when the museum, known then as MONZ, was located at its previous site (McCarthy 2007a). MONZ was more traditional in its layout and style of building (see Plate 4), it also incorporated the National Art Gallery and this may have appealed more to *Pākehā* visitors (McCarthy 2007a). Over the years, Te Papa has been accused of 'dumbing down' in order to attract the masses. The language used on exhibition panels has come under criticism, together with the interior design and the length of time it takes to reach any museum exhibits. In contrast, the shop, cafes and interactive areas are far more accessible (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000; Harper 2003). However, this criticism has alleviated somewhat recently and Te Papa is currently celebrating its tenth year (TePapa 2008a).

Connectivity and spirituality were concepts foremost in participants' minds when defining Māori cultural values. As can be seen from Table 7, the word 'spiritual' was mentioned by 16.1% of the interviewees in phase 1, while connection to the land and to heritage and the

relationship with the ancestors and people were considered to be of almost equal importance. The spiritual connection between Māori and the land was particularly emphasised, as it spans 1000 years, especially around Auckland.

Words (in order of most commonly used)	Number of participants who used the word	Percentage of participants who used the word
Spiritual	14	16.1
<i>Tikanga</i> , connection with land	11	12.6
Connection with heritage	10	11.5
Ancestors	9	10.3
<i>Taonga</i> , connection to people	8	9.2
<i>Mana</i>	7	8
<i>Tapu</i> , respect, history	6	6.9
Family / <i>iwi</i>	5	5.7
Influence on NZ, language, influenced by Europe, tradition, unique, bicultural, protocol	4	4.6
Burial of <i>taonga</i> , identity, preservation, touching, different from NZ, artefacts treated differently	3	3.4
Influence on museum practice, flexible, ritual, Treaty (of Waitangi), alive, changing	2	2.3

Table 7 - Common themes relating to perceptions of Māori values

The uniqueness of Māori culture was highlighted, together with a sense of active participation in the community. Māori cultural values were considered synonymous with family, *whānau* (extended family), *iwi* and *taonga*. The concepts of *tapu* and *mana* were thought to be at the heart of Māori culture and were indicative of values, which were described as “flowing from *mana*” (participant 059), but this concept has had to change in response to the fragmentation of the Māori community over time. The Treaty was considered a living document for Māori and the Treaty debate was currently very active. However, only two participants specifically mentioned the Treaty in connection with Māori cultural values.

Participants suggested that, for Māori, there is no division between art and culture; everything is equal, for example a *waka* and a *kaitaka* (cloak). Traditionally each *iwi* had

their own distinctive carving and weaving styles (Patterson 1992; Starzecka 1996). However, one participant suggested that there is now inter-tribal teaching on traditional weaving.

As with the subject of communities and heritage institutions, participants emphasised that the continuing ownership of *taonga* is with the source community and so museums need to recognise that they are the guardians, not the owners. *Taonga* has a dual role for Māori as it both represents and is the ancestors, and therefore carries the names of revered ancestors (Hakiwai 1990; Mead 1990; Jahnke 1999). The use of greenery in exhibitions (the placing of leaves around the exhibits) is practiced in order to show respect to the ancestors. This is very different from Pacific Islanders, who do not have such an emotional attachment to their artefacts or a spiritual connection to the land in New Zealand. Pacific Islanders “are much more relaxed about [their] objects ... although they like to touch, they do not have the same kind of genealogical link to the objects” (participant 094). This is demonstrated in the lack of personal names and histories for artefacts; in their functionality, rather than their ancestral representation.

One Māori academic suggested that Māori culture is currently ‘fashionable’, engendering a superficial appreciation. He considered that it is necessary to get away from the simplistic version of Māori culture. This can be linked to perceptions of *taonga*. Participants explained that Māori *tikanga* regarding cultural artefacts were different from European values. European museums that hold artefacts from the Pacific were described as ‘separating the material from the spiritual’, as in Māoridom the artefact should be with the people and is returned to nature once it has served its purpose; this allows culture to develop. A number of participants discussed this idea, mainly from the perspective that this is no longer completely accurate. Māori people now recognise the value in museums holding their *taonga*, as it can be safely stored and preserved, however, one participant advised caution with this practice, as some artefacts can be inappropriately lodged in museums, for example containers (*waka*) for human remains. As Māori consider the body to be *tapu*, it is inappropriate to display Māori human remains, or a container that had contained the remains, especially in a public place where there may be food (see Mead 2003).

Participants discussed the Māori language, pointing out that, until the Europeans came to New Zealand, Māori was an oral culture, which was fundamentally different from how Europe was at that time. Now Māori words are part of the everyday language in New

Zealand (see Macalister 2005). Although this is the case, with many place and street names in *te reo* Māori (see Reed 1996) and certain words, such as *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, used on an everyday basis, for example in newspaper articles, the majority of New Zealanders are not bilingual. However, *te reo* Māori is now taught in schools and universities. Concerns have been raised, though, over the teaching of the language as particular *iwi* dialects may dominate. For example, it has been suggested that the *iwi* Tūhoe, from the Urewera region of the North Island, is predominantly responsible for teaching children in Rotorua (Paul 2006). This has led to the Tūhoe dialect being learnt in preference to the traditional dialect of the local *iwi*, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, in the Rotorua area. Situations such as this can cause tensions between the *iwi*. Traditionally, the Māori language taught in schools and universities has its basis in the Ngāti Porou *iwi* dialect, which is considered the equivalent of the 'Queen's English' (see Ngata 1993; O'Regan 2006). The teaching of various *iwi* dialects from around New Zealand has now superseded this practice.

It was suggested by five interviewees that Māori people understand British values to a certain extent because of the hierarchical configuration of both societies. Māori society was described as very traditional and structured, with an adherence to protocol. The United Kingdom has not only a government, but also the monarchy. In Māori society, it is necessary to consider who is speaking for whom, and some interviewees suggested that the designated spokesperson in an institution might not have the authority to answer for a local or national *iwi*, especially if the Māori worker was not from that particular *iwi*. In this context, it was suggested that some *iwi* might prefer a European conservator to work on their buildings rather than a Māori conservator, because of the perception that a European conservator would have the training and knowledge for the work. However, this opinion is now changing, as more Māori are trained in conservation.

A number of participants questioned how meaningful the various phrases were. 'Cultural values' was considered a non-specific phrase by one participant, who suggested that cultural integrity, in terms of the physical and cultural aspects, would be more useful. The words 'culture' and 'values' both proved problematic at times, with 'values', in particular, reminding people of monetary value. This was predominantly the case in relation to European values. 'Provenance' was suggested as a more important concept, but the participant then questioned whether this was or had a cultural value.

Various Māori participants had very different opinions. A male curator claimed that the phrase meant nothing – ‘cultural’ was an overused word. In contrast, a female educator had no problem with the phrase, indicating that it was very meaningful to her and her work. For her, ‘cultural values’ is a significant phrase indicative of many things. She suggested that the word ‘*tikanga*’ in Māori was an approximation of the concept in terms of ‘truthfulness’ and ‘rightness’ and that there are sets of cultural values, applicable to various cultures, which need to be respected; context was the important thing (participant 050). Another participant stated that everyone has culture. It is their experience of the world that influences what they do and do not value; it is this that shapes their behaviour.

Determining Significance

Various participants (17 or 19.5%) spoke about significance in broad terms, for example *taonga* in general, meaning people and language, as well as artefacts, or stated that all artefacts were significant (16 or 18.4%). It was the stories associated with the artefacts that were considered important, as they are both the connections to the past and to the contemporary community. Of the people who stated that all artefacts are significant, 11 (68.6%) were New Zealanders, and 50% had worked in museums. The non-New Zealanders (five) were from Australia, the United Kingdom and Canada. Comparing these figures to the total number of participants interviewed, the research data suggest that people working in museums (50% in this example compared to 34% of the total interviewed) are more likely to consider all artefacts significant, rather than single out specific items.

The way the *taonga* was displayed was considered important and AM was highlighted as an example of a museum that incorporated the Māori perspective. It was felt that *taonga* needed to be respected, guarded and protected, but this did not mean that the artefacts had to remain in the museum on a permanent basis. Instead, the *taonga* can have an ambassadorial role by going out into the community or being loaned in exhibitions. An example of this was the exhibition ‘Te Māori’, in which specific *taonga* that travelled to America represented the Māori people; the ancestors were the ambassadors for Aotearoa (McCarthy 2007a).

Participants who chose specific artefacts did so from a variety of locations, including the collections in which they worked, from national or regional museums around New Zealand or from outside the country. Although 46% of participants did not make a distinction between the concepts of significant and culturally significant, stating that they were the

same, seven people gave examples of works by specific artists, artefacts or places that they considered personally significant or had had an impact on them.

On examining the data for any patterns or correlations, it was found that, of the people that did not make a distinction, 77.5% were New Zealanders. This may be due to perceptions of *taonga* and their status as both cultural treasures and ancestors. The numbers of conservators was also high, with 35% (compared to 26% for the total number of conservators interviewed) preferring not to make a distinction between the concepts. Conservation training may have been a factor in this, with conservators seeking to accord each item, regardless of its status, equal respect (see Clavir 2002).

Five participants considered the *marae* and buildings within the *marae* complex significant, as they felt that it was a tangible link to the past. All but one of these were New Zealanders, perhaps due to their awareness of the importance of the *marae* to Māori culture. Seven people also mentioned the exhibition ‘Te Māori’, stating that it was deemed the beginning of a much different curatorial practice in New Zealand (see also McCarthy 2007a). Of these, all but one were New Zealanders, and five were curators from Wellington. Again, awareness may have been a factor in these statistics, together with the predominance of cultural institutions in Wellington.

The Māori carving ‘Uenuku’, which had served as an ambassador for the Māori people as part of the ‘Te Māori’ tour of America, was considered both significant and culturally significant by two people (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of ‘Te Māori’ and Uenuku). The work of H. G. Robley, a nineteenth century illustrator of Māori *moko*, was mentioned in relation to preserved tattooed heads. Robley’s work is considered important in New Zealand history, in that it demonstrated that each *moko* is both asymmetrical and unique. Robley’s work on *moko*, together with contextual resources, has recently been digitised and is available through the New Zealand Electronic Text Centre (see Robley 1896 [1998]; NZETC 2007).

Six participants chose the Treaty of Waitangi. Of these, four were New Zealand curators based in Wellington, where the Treaty is exhibited. The Treaty was considered both iconic, “the number one cultural artefact in New Zealand would be the Treaty of Waitangi in the National Archives” (participant 084), and important as regards identity in New Zealand and the fact that it represents the two main groups.

“As a society, New Zealand is not just looking at defining its own cultural context as distinct from Europe, but is still grappling with the legacy of European values and European ways of doing things, and trying to make them fit in a society... [that attempts through] the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi to look at both cultures in equal measure” (participant 019).

One artist, in particular, was given special mention. Eight participants considered the work of Colin McCahon, a *Pākehā* painter, to be significant. As there was no correlation between any of the demographic factors, it can be inferred that this was personal preference. The participants described McCahon as an important local artist, whose work demonstrates European influences. His work had been deemed controversial at times, partly because he had used Māori words in his work, a practice that was considered appropriation of the Māori language, which McCahon did not speak. “There are lots of errors in the transcriptions he made of Māori in his paintings, so his work became controversial ... but they are also revered objects, even for Māori people, who felt a connection with the modernist paintings that McCahon did – they have become *taonga*” (participant 081).

The exhibition ‘Parihaka’ was not only considered controversial (see Chapter 4), but also highly significant by four participants, as it was a highly political exhibition, epitomising a difficult period in New Zealand history. These participants were all New Zealanders based in Wellington, the location of the exhibition, three of whom were curators. The exhibition was also considered significant, as it was an example of both Māori and *Pākehā* curation.

“At the Parihaka show, people would come in and put *kauakaua* leaves or *karaka* leaves around the art works – this adorning of the artwork is to show respect to it. Whereas in European culture we show respect to it by standing three feet away and not touching it and not breathing on it, Māori might stroke it. Māori and *Pākehā* are supporting and affecting each other quite well. More Māori work in institutions now and so they are taking on board more aesthetics. In Parihaka, when considering what artworks to put in the show, they would explain why it was fascinating, so we put the reasons, the story, the *kōrero* (speak, news, narrative) next to it. It is a very exciting thing – it is taking what is good about Western and Māori culture and using it to enrich. When you put it together like that, it is completely positive – it makes the artwork better and more meaningful for everyone” (participant 081).

Three people (New Zealanders based in Wellington) mentioned Rangiātea Church at Ōtaki, north of Wellington. This church was considered significant because it was the oldest one in New Zealand and it demonstrated a blend of the Christian and Māori building types.

However, perceptions of it differ. Following severe damage to the building by arson (just after its first restoration had been completed) various questions and conflicts of opinion arose regarding its future restoration. Conservators and academics wished to preserve and incorporate as much of the original material as possible into the restoration, but the priority for the Māori community was the authenticity of the building design and the style of the carvings. They wanted a replica of the church that they had lost, using the original design, but with new materials (Baker 1997). Conservators who worked on Rangīātea Church and other Māori buildings, for example *wharenuī*, described the significance of the buildings and the role of conservation in such a project.

Initiatives such as the ‘distributed national collection’, whereby collections of national importance would be identified, but they would remain located within their current regions (see MuseumsAotearoa 2005), were mentioned by four participants. They felt that it was vital that cultural treasures be evenly spread across both regional and national museums, in order to be as widely accessible as possible, so sharing the responsibility for their care. One participant linked this with the suggestion that the question be rephrased to ask about the notion of significance instead as, in his opinion, this would be more meaningful.

In order to assess whether the participants’ demographic information had any bearing on their choice of significant or culturally significant artefacts (where a choice had been specified), the participant choices were allocated to one of three main groups, whether they were of New Zealand, Māori or non-New Zealand origin. The largest group was Māori artefacts (40 people, 46%), the next was New Zealand (32, 37%), with the final being non-New Zealand (12, 14%). There were a number of overlaps between the categories. Eleven people chose both Māori and New Zealand; five chose Māori and non-New Zealand and three chose New Zealand and non-New Zealand. No participants chose artefacts from all three categories.

Of the people who chose Māori artefacts, 80% were New Zealanders, which is the same as the number of New Zealanders interviewed as a percentage of the total. The majority of the figures were the same or comparable to the same factors for the total number of people interviewed. However, several figures were higher, including males (52.5% compared to the total of 37%), worked or studied abroad (75% versus 69%), and people who worked in a library (30% as opposed to 21%).

Of the people who chose New Zealand artefacts, 65.6% were New Zealanders, which is lower than the total number interviewed. There were more females in this category, (75%

versus 63%), conservators (31.25% compared to 26%) and, again, people who worked in a library (34.4% versus 21%).

Of the people who chose non-New Zealand artefacts, 58% were New Zealanders, which was again lower than the total number interviewed. Fewer people in Wellington chose artefacts in this category (33.3% compared to 53%), but certain figures were higher, including conservators (66.6% as opposed to 26%), museums (75% compared to 34%), and people who had studied or worked abroad (100% versus 69%)

The research data indicate that New Zealanders were more likely to choose Māori artefacts, while people who work in a library demonstrated a preference for artefacts of Māori or New Zealand origin. Men tended to choose Māori artefacts and women works of New Zealand origin. Overall, conservators selected non-New Zealand artefacts, as did people working in museums and those that had studied or worked abroad. Institutional acquisition policies and the location of training opportunities may have been a factor in participant choices.

Development of Education: Training and Cultural Values

This section discusses the responses to questionnaire section 4, 'T: Training and Cultural Values'. Set within the context of the literature relating to the development of the education sector in New Zealand, the section aims to address two of the secondary research questions. These are, 'to what extent have formal and informal educational programmes undertaken by heritage professionals currently working in Aotearoa New Zealand reflected differing cultural perspectives?' and 'is it possible, necessary or desirable for formal and informal educational programmes to incorporate differing cultural perspectives?'.

Structured into two sub-sections, the first part draws on the participants' study experiences of formal and informal education and discusses their perceptions of the courses that they either undertook as students or as part of work based continual professional development. The discussion further examines whether those courses included, what participants perceived to be, 'cultural values'. The second part aims to establish participant opinions relating to the potential incorporation of differing cultural perspectives into educational programmes and assess the differences between running such a course in the host culture and outside it.

As explained previously, the data for the discussion is primarily drawn from the phase 1 interviews, and this will be supported, where relevant, by data from phase 2.

Participants' Study Experience

Eleven participants (12.6%) felt that the educational courses that they had undertaken as students had not included any values at all, or they were unaware of any course component that they would consider as values. No correlation was discerned across demographic factors for this response, nor in the participants' responses between those that had a problem defining the term 'cultural values', or had a problem with the phrase (see question V1), and those that stated their courses had not included cultural values. All the participants who questioned the wording of the phrase stated that the values were implicit or explicit. One of the objectives of section 2 of the questionnaire, 'V: Knowledge / Awareness of Cultural Values', was to encourage participants to give their own definition of the term in order for it to be meaningful in later questions. The responses to question T1 indicate that this aim was successful.

Five people elaborated on their responses, by stating that their courses had not included the values of specified cultures, for example, Māori, New Zealand and Australian Aboriginal, depending on the context and location of the course. This opinion can be linked to ideas of 'the other' and that cultural values are about other cultures, not necessarily one's own (Taylor 1998). Of the 70 participants who did consider that their courses included values, the majority (39 or 56%) were of the opinion that they were implicit, while 27% stated that they were explicit and 17% thought that their courses had included both implicit and explicit values. This was usually the case when a participant had undertaken both European based courses, for example, art history, and Māori courses, for example *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori. A number of participants did highlight the fact that it was many years since they had undertaken these courses, and so questioned their memory of them. It may be that they did not remember any values rather than that the course did not include them (see Wood 1987; Bernard 2002).

When participants did ascribe values to the courses they had undertaken, a number of common themes emerged. Various participants (47%) classed the values as 'European', even though the course had been taught in New Zealand. In New Zealand, 'European' is a complex term. It not only implies influences from the continent of Europe, but also the European origins of a large percentage of the population. Therefore, when considering the values inherent in the participants' educational programmes, it is necessary to consider both the historical development of the country, as a colony and then dominion of the United Kingdom, and the major outside influences of museum practice in Western Europe and North America.

The fact that the courses were considered to have had European cultural values may have been due to the time that the participants had undertaken them, often the 1970s and 1980s. Six people thought that there was now more awareness, with education in New Zealand taking account of other values and perspectives. This was the opinion of one participant, who had studied art and art history in the late 1980s. At that time, there had been no teaching of New Zealand or Māori values on the courses, or indeed much teaching on New Zealand or Māori art. Instead, in the participant's opinion, the study of art history was the study of art produced by white European males.

Belich (2001) touches on this in his examination of the teaching of history in New Zealand. As with art history, prior to the 1990s, the emphasis tended to be on British and European events, with the result that New Zealand children simply were not taught their own history in schools. This, to a certain extent, has continued and Belich (2001: 546) recounts how, in 1999, more students (over 60%) chose to study "Early Modern British History, 'Tudors and Stuarts'", than New Zealand history.

Ten people mentioned scientific and conservation values. Of these, 70% were conservators and the rest had trained in archaeology or the natural sciences. The individual's own values were highlighted by six people, with one participant stating that she had brought her own cultural values to the programmes and then gained further cultural values by osmosis by working in a different country from the one in which she had been brought up. Another participant, who had not had a formal university education, supported the opinion that one absorbs the values of one's own culture as one grows up. The training of some Māori participants, for example, took place at home on the *marae* with elders, with the training being an on-going process, to which they could turn when required. Consequently, they considered cultural values to be an intrinsic part of this training.

As regards awareness of values in their educational programmes, 23% stated that they had been unaware and, for a few, this retrospectively caused some concern. Three participants thought that their courses should have included cultural values, due to their location or subject matter, but in fact did not. Therefore, the absence was even more apparent. The data indicate that people undertaking courses more recently were more conscious of the values. However, two participants felt that the cultural values or Māori cultural component was an add-on rather than intrinsic to the course and one of these stated that she felt that "it was not quite right, I realised that I was the one being studied" (participant 085).

The data demonstrate that over half of the participants who responded to this question (45 or 82%) felt that the values of the course were appropriate for them at the time of study (10 or 18.5% said that they were not appropriate). Nine participants had either specifically chosen courses, which had appropriate values for them, or they were aware of the lack, or inappropriateness, of the values, which left them, when a student, feeling somewhat isolated and alienated. In contrast, one participant, a *Pākehā* conservator, stated that, for her,

“coming from a European or European influenced background, it is a very comfortable thing to sit there and accept the paradigms that are presented and the ethical considerations and the way that the discussions are had. ... I would imagine that any culture that is not derived from the Eurocentric stream is likely to have some pretty big issues, given how different cultures can be and how some things don't translate. So there are constructs that don't even come into it that are major foundations to a culture or a way of thinking” (participant 044).

There are a number of museum and cultural heritage courses available to students in New Zealand, specifically at the University of Auckland, Massey University, Palmerston North, and Victoria University of Wellington (see Massey 2007; VUW 2007a; UoA 2008).

Fourteen participants had undertaken various post-graduate courses at Massey University, including museum studies and collection management, and their experience of it ranged across a substantial period. It was felt to have changed considerably over time and, when it was located within the Department of Māori Studies, was strongly inclusive of cultural values.³²

There is currently no practical based training for conservators in New Zealand. In 1980, consideration was given to establishing a conservation course in New Zealand. Following a survey of heritage institutions and their facilities, a report was prepared, which recommended that a national programme be set up through a National Conservation Institute, in consultation with various heritage institutions, universities and the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua (Stolow 1980). The recommendations were considered inappropriate as regards the implications of conservation science on Māori culture and values, and it failed to take account of the small work force of conservators in New Zealand and the potential lack of employment opportunities. The

³² The course was set up in 1989 and was based in the Department of Māori Studies from 1997-2007. It has since relocated to the School of People, Environment and Planning.

recommendation to set up an institute was therefore rejected in favour of students training in conservation at the University of Canberra, Australia (AGMANZ 1981).

Over the years, many New Zealand conservators trained at the University of Canberra, which ran a Bachelor of Applied Science in the Conservation of Cultural Materials. This course has since discontinued, but the University of Melbourne established The Centre for Cultural Materials Conservation in 2005, which runs a variety of postgraduate courses in practical conservation (see UoM 2007). This is now the nearest course for New Zealanders to train in practical conservation, although a postgraduate programme in heritage materials science was set up in 2007 at Victoria University (see VUW 2007b).

The course at the University of Canberra elicited conflicting opinions regarding the cultural values and conservation ethics. One person felt that the course at Canberra had included cultural values, but they were the cultural values of “the Aboriginal culture as seen through a white person’s eyes or history” (participant 073).

The course was described as balanced and well rounded by a Māori participant, as papers were offered on Aboriginal culture and there was an awareness of Māori cultural values. An Australian participant thought that cultural values had been explicit in the course, whereas a conservator of Māori ethnicity was disappointed at the lack of values and felt his background and needs had not been met by the course. Another conservator (also Māori) claimed to be unhappy that the course had concentrated purely on the physical and historical values, with only two small aspects on cultural (Aboriginal) values. He explained that conservators’ codes of ethics, for example through the AICCM (Australian Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Material) and the Burra Charter, had been an aspect of the course, but it had not addressed indigenous value systems.

Another participant had started the course in 1984 and thought that, at that time, the values had been implicit. She felt that what she had learnt was predominantly due to a particular teacher. This was confirmed by a number of people who indicated that the level of values, compared to conservation ethics, included was due to personal teaching styles.

The difference between conservation ethics and cultural values is an interesting point. Ten conservators mentioned the subject of ethics. Of these, seven made a distinction between cultural values and ethics, with some people saying that ethics gave consideration to the artefact’s well-being, whereas values gave more consideration to how the people who owned the artefact or who had an association with it, felt. Three people did not make a

distinction between ethics and values. One person implied that if one had respect for the artefact, all artefacts, regardless of what they were, then one would also necessarily have respect for the owners or people associated with the artefact.

With conservators, the data indicate that the specific conservation discipline was a factor in whether they felt that their courses had included an awareness of cultural values.

Conservators of paintings, paper, textiles and archaeology tended to highlight the European or scientific based values as being influential on their training. For one participant, cultural values were “not incorporated at all, especially in archaeological conservation, it was more about respect for the object” (participant 055). Ethnographic and objects conservators emphasised the teaching of ethics, but included cultural values within this. “In conservation training, there is a lot of emphasis placed on the importance of ethnographic items – to treat these artefacts carefully as there are other people involved and other ways of thinking, which goes back to the cultural values of any indigenous community and whether they would want the work treated or not” (participant 070).

Conservation courses place an emphasis on ethics and the need to treat all artefacts as equal (Caple 2000; Pye 2001; Clavir 2002). A conservator, who had specialised in archaeology on a United Kingdom programme, stated that his course had not incorporated cultural values at all. In agreement with a number of other conservators, he felt that the important consideration was respect for the artefact. This raises the question of whether respect for the artefact is more important than the cultural values of a specific society. Certainly, as highlighted in the section, ‘Perspectives on Values’, participants thought that preservation was an important aspect of European values, with an emphasis on artefacts rather than people. In this same section, in answer to question V1, only four people, two of whom were conservators, defined cultural values as ethics, but to question T1 just one conservator described ethics as being a part of their course. A strong element within conservation programmes is the teaching of ethics, particularly in relation to the artist’s intent and the authenticity of materials (Ashley-Smith 1982; Matero 1993; Clavir 2002). This is not necessarily the same as cultural values though and the question arises as to whether the teaching of ethics is sufficient. A New Zealand paper conservator explained that conservation ethics usually includes an element of cultural values and respect. However, from her experience, European based training in paper conservation tends to deal specifically with the conservation and materiality of paper and media (participant 075).

Educational Programmes and Differing Cultural Perspectives

This sub-section examines participants' opinions on whether programmes should incorporate differing cultural perspectives, their suggestions for how that might be achieved and the feasibility of running such a course outside the host country. This discussion is introduced and summarised in Chart 20.

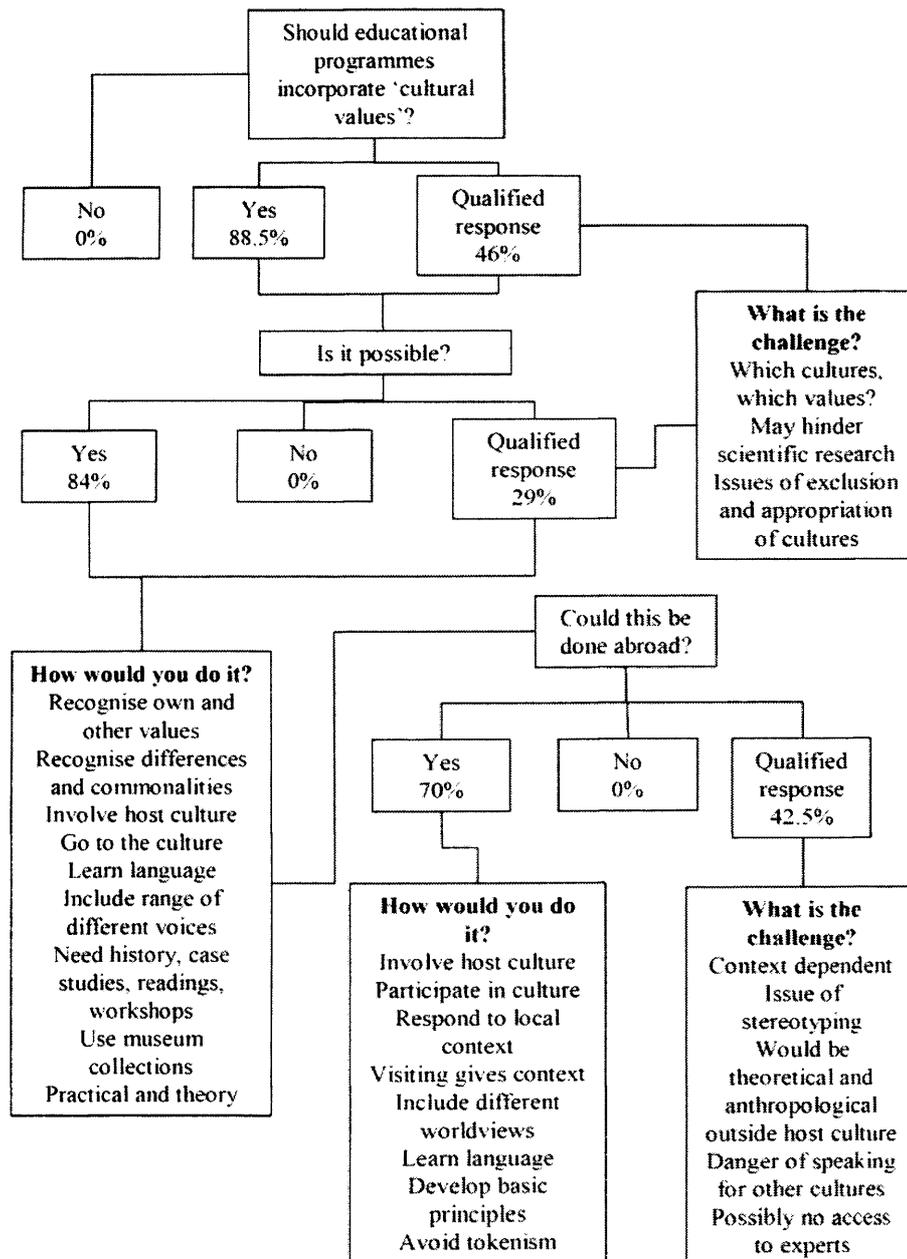


Chart 20 - Summary of Phase 1 participant responses to questions T5 to T10

The majority of participants (77 or 88.5%) were of the opinion that, in response to question T5, heritage education programmes should include the culture values of different cultures;

of these, 30 people qualified their response. A further ten gave only a qualified response, highlighting potential difficulties with such an undertaking. A non-New Zealand academic raised certain questions, including

“which cultures, what are their values, what are the most important values, are these values that we accept? Cultural difference, simply because it is difference, does not give us an automatic reason for respecting it. Some cultural values we disagree with or are oppressive – this should be faced up to” (participant 043).

In addition, he pointed out that certain values might conflict with the core educational aims of the course.

However, it was felt that responding to diverse communities was important and that this should include all communities, not just Māori in New Zealand or indigenous peoples. Cultures are represented by different voices, and so different approaches are required, with a need for tolerance and understanding. It was suggested that progress was being made in this field and that eventually programmes would incorporate cultural values as a matter of course.

Some participants felt that the training should be a combination of academic and practical elements, in other words, it should be people related. Others stressed that values should be integral to the whole course. Concern was also expressed in relation to what the majority culture, in the country where the course was being run, would impose on any programme. Consequently, participants felt that programmes needed to address values explicitly, as they would inevitably include implicit values. No participants questioned whether it was necessary to include cultural values in educational programmes, the concern related to the difficulty or relevance. Only one person felt that cultural values might impede the advance of scientific knowledge in their field – archaeology, but that person thought that it would be useful for non-archaeological artefacts.

Three participants stated that cultural values were already being incorporated into educational programmes. The museum studies course at Massey University was highlighted as an example of a course that included cultural values. At the time of the interviews, this course was located within the School of Māori Studies and so raising awareness of Māori cultural values and *tikanga* Māori was an intrinsic part of the curriculum. Māori studies and language programmes also include values, but it is probable that these are solely Māori cultural values, and not the values of diverse cultures.

In response to question T6, most participants (73 or 84%) stated that it was possible to write cultural values into programmes; of these 23% qualified their response. A further five participants gave only a qualified response and eight did not answer this question. Some people were not sure that it was possible; they felt that people should try, but that it may prove very difficult. One of the reasons for this concern was that they felt that values are evidenced in language and without knowledge of the language of a culture, it would not be possible to gain a full awareness or appreciation for it.

Another participant felt that the possibility of incorporating values was dependent on the teachers and the outcomes of the programme. She felt that such a course needed an in-depth knowledge base and integrity. Empathy was another factor. This was also considered necessary for understanding cultural values, but the question arose as to whether it is possible to teach this, or is this something that needs to be inherent in the individual.

Various methods were suggested by participants in response to the question (T7) of how they would incorporate cultural values into educational programmes. It soon became apparent that participants were divided into two main groups; one thought that the course was non-location specific, while the other assumed that the course was a New Zealand based one. This not only had implications for their responses, but it also built on previous answers that they had given to the question of whether differing cultural values should be incorporated.³³ With that question, six people had been concerned about which specific cultures and whether and how it would be possible to raise awareness of all the individual facets of a culture. They pointed out that it was necessary to accept that one cannot know all cultures. Other participants suggested that a course would need to address 'underlying principles', rather than attempt to incorporate each precise detail. In the responses to this current question, therefore, participants either specifically addressed Māori cultural values or gave generalised recommendations.

Eight people were of the opinion that cultural values should be the basis, or part of the framework for a course, underpinning the programme and not just a token add-on component or treated as a separate subject. They were adamant about this.

³³ This was question T5 in the section 'training and cultural values': 'to what extent do you think that heritage educational programmes should incorporate or include the cultural values of different cultures?'

“If you are going to talk about cultural values, or other ways of looking at things, or different meanings, it has to be part of the entire programme, not just lip service. Those sorts of values, or ideas, or ways of looking need to be right through. So it is not this little section here that we do before the August holiday or every time something is taught we need to spend a special half hour on that. It needs to be part of the programme, that awareness and perspective.” (participant 082).

An inclusive, cross-disciplinary approach was required, so that students could develop practical experience. “Integrity has a lot to do with it – you cannot just put out a programme about a certain subject without having an in-depth knowledge base or giving it integrity; it cannot be a token gesture to fulfil the requirement” (participant 085). Museum artefacts were suggested as a means of facilitating this practical element, by encouraging students to start with local collections and then move on to global ones.

Participants emphasised that any course would need to be both flexible and updatable, as cultural values are always in flux. They also felt that there needed to be an understanding of why the culture developed as it did and so, in order for the course to work, it needed to be multilayered and carefully considered, as regards the final product and future direction. The people involved with the writing and running of the programme needed to be able to let go of their own cultural perceptions and be engaged at the deepest possible level. It would be necessary to assess the course continually, obtain constant feedback and encourage people to feel part of the course and the process. One participant was of the opinion that museum professionals are cultural entrepreneurs and so would be able to respond appropriately to changing situations.

One of the themes, which recurred in a number of the interviewee responses (21 or 24%), was the necessity for an awareness of one’s own cultural values and the identification of the ‘norm’, in other words, the values of the majority culture. Course participants would need to recognise what their own values were, and those of their culture, before they could start to appreciate not only that there were different values, but also how the values of other cultures might differ from their own. In order to be able to raise awareness it was considered important both to be open-minded and to encourage open-mindedness. There was also a need for tolerance and understanding. This would assist students in ‘standing outside of themselves’, thereby leading to better understanding of themselves and other cultures, and recognition of the differences and similarities between people.

Various suggestions were given on potential methods for incorporating values. Background reading and being familiar with the history of the cultures within a country would help the individual when they visited that country. Students would need to access the available literature, in the form of documents and newspapers, in order to have an awareness of time, society and the history of a culture. Discussions could be held at the appropriate level for the students and the historical context could be given through case studies. Scenarios and practical exercises were also suggested, together with utilising artefacts from that culture, for example in museum collections, which would enable stories relating to that culture to be used. It was felt, though, that students needed to gain prior knowledge, to discuss the issues before encountering the artefacts.

When teaching the values of more than one culture, it was suggested that culturally diverse workshops could be run with individuals representing their particular culture. A range of voices would give a variety of perspectives. Basic information could illustrate the culture, but in order to avoid being simplistic the course needed integrity. Negotiation was highlighted as an important component. Participants felt that it was important to consult with other cultures over what they would want included in the programme, so raising awareness of other peoples' perspectives.

The idea of consulting other cultures so that they have a voice in any programme about their culture is indicative of a postcolonial society. By viewing or teaching cultural awareness from the perspective of the source community, some understanding of their context can be acquired and set against the wider, collective, context. In this way, it is not the West or Europeans who establish the 'frame' within which the meaning is constructed; it is the host culture (Young 2001; 2003).

Another participant felt that the programme needed to be relevant to the context of the students. For example, if the course was being run near a museum with colonial based collections, then that should be the starting point, using those collections and the way that they are displayed in order to make the students aware of their own context and the one in which they are living, working and studying. To do this, the participant emphasised, it would be necessary to know who the students were and where they were from.

In the case of a programme that concentrated on Māori cultural values, discussing the issues with people in New Zealand was considered important. A Māori academic highlighted the fact that Māori culture needed to be seen as a living culture, and so a programme required 'insider' information in order to work successfully. Another Māori

participant emphasised that, within New Zealand, the course should be run at a local rather than national level, as each *iwi* is different, for example, in terms of carving and weaving techniques, language dialect and *tikanga* Māori. With a course such as this, it was felt that knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi was important to facilitate understanding of the culture. One participant felt that people should know why there was a Treaty and the reasons for Europeans settling in New Zealand. As New Zealand was also home to various other cultures, this should be an additional factor in the historical element of the course (see also Mok 2005 for a discussion of how the Treaty might be applicable to all cultures living in New Zealand). This participant felt that it was vital to have an understanding of why New Zealand culture had developed the way it had.

In order to raise awareness of Māori cultural values, 28 participants (32%) specified that the teachers should be of Māori ethnicity, as they would bring actual case studies and on-site experience to the course. In these participants' opinions, being able to listen to people from that culture, rather than just obtaining the information from a book, was essential. They emphasised that cultural values are not rules and regulations; they are not simplistic. It is not possible merely to type a policy document in order to raise awareness. The subject of 'who speaks for whom' arose again, as participants explained that it would be necessary for the Māori teacher to have standing in the community, to have *mana*.

In order to gain sufficient awareness and respect for a culture, participants felt that, ideally, one needed to live in that culture. Therefore, in order to gain an awareness of Māori culture, one needed to be aware of, and possibly be taught on and/or stay on a *marae*. Understanding one's own values and the benefit of living in a culture is supported by Ageyev (2003). Writing about Vygotsky, Ageyev (2003: 445-6) explains that he had not lived abroad.

“Without this first hand experience, without a pressing necessity to adjust, to accommodate to a new culture that is so drastically different from one's home country, the main features of one's culture, even the most basic of its values, assumptions, and conventions, remain implicit and self-evident. Another culture is a very powerful point of reference, a miraculous mirror, and only by looking into it can one clearly understand one's own culture, its most basic values and features”.

Language was considered one of the key points in acquiring knowledge of a culture. In the case of Māori culture, this would be a combination of *te reo* Māori and *tikanga* Māori. It was established, through personal experience of undertaking a variety of courses in New

Zealand on Māori language and the Treaty of Waitangi, that *tikanga* Māori is an integral part of the learning process; one cannot learn the language without learning about the relevant protocols and context.

Placements, together with a combination of theory and practice were suggested as ideal methods, especially in a bicultural situation such as New Zealand. Participants felt that biculturalism could not be exported; it was a model for New Zealand and the particular situation there. Therefore, context was thought to be the vital element for discussing issues. The research data indicate that students need to learn by experience through internships and placements in different institutions, where they would gain support from colleagues and benefit from the varied opportunities on offer to work with people from different backgrounds and cultures, who may have different approaches.

Participants felt that, in order to raise awareness, it was important to appreciate both the values of other people and one's own culture. A non-New Zealand participant highlighted the fact that, for New Zealanders, their culture and Māori culture is all around them. This can result in a lack of awareness. It was suggested that going outside of the immediate context could lead to greater awareness. This is, most probably, the case for all cultures, and it was suggested that perhaps people needed to go outside the immediate context in order to gain a fresh perspective.

A further reason for choosing New Zealand as the focus of the research was the fact that many New Zealanders take the opportunity to gain 'overseas experience' or 'OE'. This is an established practice in New Zealand (NZGovt 2003; Inkson 2007) and, coupled with the necessity for some professions to train abroad, may give at least some New Zealanders that crucial perspective suggested here. Certainly, 69% of the total number of participants had studied or trained abroad, and this, most probably, will have had an influence on their responses to these questions.

One participant felt that there needed to be a change in the law, at civic, national, regional and tribal levels and that there needed to be involvement and respect for 'otherness'. He cited the 'Te Māori' exhibition, questioning why it had been considered different and why it had worked. In his opinion, it was due to a combination of factors. These included the human element – the face-to-face contact – and the support from the government and funding institutions. It was this that gave 'Te Māori' the recognition of 'otherness' required.

Four participants highlighted the age at which cultural values should to be taught. These tended to be people who had trained as teachers, and who thought that the teaching of cultural values needed to start at a young age, in other words, an awareness of other peoples' cultural values should to be taught at school. These participants felt that it could potentially be too late if left until adulthood. Other participants thought that college, where it would be possible to instil into the students a lasting awareness of other cultures, was the place to learn values. It was felt that if people study cultural values when they are older working professionals, then it would be easy for them to return to old ways of thinking and behaving.

Ideas specific to the conservation professions were raised. It was felt that, in order to engage, the conservation profession needed to instil basic skills and concepts, and that conservators themselves needed to engage more with research and with curators (for a discussion on the relationship between curators and conservators see Murphy 1994; Raphael and Brook 2000; Davies 2005; Keene 2005b). More respect was required, as this would determine the future of the artefact. Four people, two of whom were conservators, mentioned ethics, which reflects a particular aspect of the profession.

The idea of a publication or on-line resource for conservators, relating to Māori protocol when working with *taonga* Māori, was suggested. It was noted, however, that this would require input from Māori with both the relevant knowledge and *mana*, as it would not have the same meaning if it were 'second hand' information (participant 068). When this idea was discussed with other participants, it was suggested that this could be potentially problematic in terms of appropriation of knowledge, who would be involved in the writing and maintenance of the resource, and the fact that current museum contacts negate the necessity for it. The researcher is of the opinion, however, that such a resource would have the advantage of being consultable as required and could contain an up-datable list of contacts and sources to assist people in museums both within and outside New Zealand, which have collections of *taonga* Māori.

In response to questions T8 and T9, participants suggested a variety of values to be incorporated, but two main themes emerged. Of the 46 people who answered these questions, 20 (43.5%) stated that all values, or the values of all cultures, should be included. Fifteen (32.6%) specified Māori values and three said all values, but limited this to the New Zealand context.

One participant emphasised that cultural values do not just relate to indigenous peoples. This is an interesting point for the research, with its focus of the New Zealand context, an aspect of which is Māori cultural values. However, the wider subject does need to be considered. How important are the type of values? Would a different approach be needed in order to raise awareness for religious values, for example, compared to indigenous values, or could an approach that addressed the underlying principles relating to cultural values be adequate for all types of values?

In response to question T10, 30 participants (34.5%) stated that cultural values should be taught by the host culture and that if the course were to be taught outside the country of the host culture, then people from that culture should still be involved. They could interpret their day-to-day experiences, so that the course was based in reality. However, these participants believed that the course would have more strength if it were based in the place of origin, so that people could experience the culture. They felt that, rather than trying to transplant the culture to the classroom, students needed to be with the source communities, as it is the local context that is important; “if that culture comes to you, then you are still keeping it very much in a box – you are not experiencing it” (participant 035). For the raising of awareness to be a success, the students needed to talk, eat, drink and participate with the people in the culture, as this leads to greater understanding.

Of the people (30) who thought that students needed to go to the country of origin, 18 (60%) were New Zealanders, which is lower than the total number of New Zealanders interviewed (80%). However, certain figures were higher, including the conservators (36.6% compared to 26% of the total), people who had worked abroad (73.3% versus 69%), and people who worked in a museum (47% as opposed to 34%). The data suggest that overseas experience (and in the case of conservators, the need to study abroad) and working in a museum have given the participants an insight into other cultures, so raising their awareness. In order for a comparable awareness of New Zealand culture to be raised, these participants were of the opinion that students needed to travel to the country of the host culture, in order to gain a more accurate and in-depth experience of that culture.

It was felt that the people teaching on the course needed to have experience, vision, a strong background in museums and academia, and to be of Māori ethnicity. Various participants raised concerns regarding appropriation if a non-Māori person were to teach a programme on Māori values. It was felt that there needed to be awareness of whose voice

was being heard and, as with the responses to question V4, participants emphasised that non-Māori should not speak for Māori.³⁴

Two participants felt that it was not necessary to have a member of the host culture teaching. People who had sufficient knowledge, experience, awareness and respect themselves, especially if they had worked in New Zealand, should be able to teach on the course. However, if this was the case, then the participants stipulated that they would still want the host culture to be involved in the design of the course.

If a course that incorporated Māori values were to be run outside New Zealand, then various potential difficulties could arise. Not all countries have Māori communities or *marae*, and so participants were concerned regarding the lack of opportunity to meet Māori or have Māori teachers. Consequently, it would be more difficult to highlight the fact that Māori culture is a living culture. Therefore, in order to do justice to Māori culture and values, it was felt that students would need to travel to New Zealand; otherwise, the programme could be out of context and so be more theoretical or anthropological than practical. Using relevant literature was suggested as a means of providing a framework for dealing with different cultures and viewpoints. However, although one can teach about a culture by using literature, at some stage one needed to be inside the society. The theory gives context, but it is only half of the process, when learning about a culture. It was felt that humans relate more readily to situations if they have direct practical life experience, and so it was recommended that people live in a particular country in order to gain a sufficient awareness of that culture.

In countries outside New Zealand that did have Māori communities, for example Australia and the United Kingdom, participants felt that it would be necessary to seek the assistance of those communities in the writing and running of a programme. There are various groups that, potentially, could be approached under those circumstances. In London, the Māori culture group, Ngāti Ranana, is based at the New Zealand High Commission Te Aka Aorere, in New Zealand House (NZembassy 2007). They provide Māori language courses and are involved with the National Trust on the preservation of Hinemihi Marae in the grounds of Clandon Park, near Guildford (see Hooper-Greenhill 2000a; NationalTrust

³⁴ Question V4 from section two of the questionnaire, 'knowledge and awareness of cultural values': 'what do you think Māori cultural values are in relation to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage?'.

2008). Many Māori live in Australia (72,954, based on the 2001 Australian census), with approximately 6% speaking *te reo* Māori at home. Second generation Australian Māori number 35% and, for this group, their allegiance is more likely to be to Australia than New Zealand (TPK 2006b; Walrond 2007). Therefore, the question arises as to whether Māori in New Zealand would be willing for their culture to be represented by Māori in Australia or London. Again, it is a case of ‘who speaks for whom’ and the *mana* of the individuals.

One participant felt that the course needed to be relevant to the context in which it was being taught, to reflect what was happening in society and have an awareness of the local situation. In this way, comparisons could be drawn between varying cultural values. However, providing that the course was able to cross barriers and cultures, then it was felt that the basic principles of cultural values could travel. It was suggested that the programme “concentrate on the universal part of their values ... so long as they are not totally alien to other people’s way of thinking. Most cultural values have some universal concepts behind them. They are there for a purpose, but ... you might have a cultural value that is the total opposite of what someone else’s cultural view is and therefore that is an issue” (participant 013).

The subject of colonisation arose. One participant pointed out that each situation would be different. For example, a country that had not been colonised would require a very different approach to one that had. The question was how to reflect values. She preferred consultation and understanding that one needed a dialogue, rather than presuming that values should be incorporated into a course.

Interestingly, despite the colonisation of New Zealand by the British Crown, one participant thought that the United Kingdom and New Zealand were too different in some ways, for there to be a real understanding of the contemporary culture. A more appropriate culture for the British to study, it was suggested, might be India, as this was considered similar to a British perspective. This raises the question of this particular participant’s perceptions of contemporary Indian culture, in both India and the United Kingdom. Another participant felt that it would be easier to raise awareness for differing cultural values in Scotland, for example, than in England, where Māori cultural values may be seen as a ‘novelty’ or ‘curiosity’. The historical colonisation of Scotland by the English and the potential commonalities between Scotland and New Zealand, could be a factor in this, particularly over the appropriation of land, oppression of people and the *iwi* and clan structures.

Participants hoped that a greater awareness would lead to better working relationships in museums. It was felt that knowing to act in a respectful way was important. One participant thought that a dialogue was important, which could be facilitated by contributions from the host culture and the students where the course was being run, so that each culture could put their point of view forward.

Trying to improve knowledge, for example, as regards the provenance and exhibition history of Māori artefacts in museums, was considered important. The reason why artefacts are in museums also needed to be established. It was felt that the artefacts should not be treated or exhibited as if they are from a dead or dying culture, instead it was important to talk to the people of that culture and to see them interact with their artefacts (see Hakiwai 1990 for a discussion on this). If exhibitions of Māori artefacts were shown, participants thought they would need both explanations and involvement from the relevant people, as had happened with the 'Te Māori' exhibition.

An example of such an exhibition was 'Ko Tawa', curated by Dr. Paul Tapsell, from Auckland Museum (see Tapsell 2006; AucklandMuseum 2008b; 2008c), visited by the researcher in 2006. A deliberate feature of the exhibition was the lack of labels next to the *taonga* Māori. However, an exhibition guide was provided for visitors who wanted to read about the artefacts. The *taonga* were exhibited within an area that was the shape and size of a *waka*. Changing images overhead and photographs of Māori from *iwi* who had a direct connection with the *taonga* supplemented the display. This exhibition provided a very different experience for the visitor, giving insight into perceptions of *taonga* and contemporary Māori culture.

Summary

This chapter has examined the research responses relating to perceptions of values and education. The aim has been to build on the available literature and the previous discussion in Chapter 4 of the participant profiles and the influences on the heritage sector, which provided the context for this chapter. As established in Chapter 4, participants are of the opinion that heritage institutions need to work closely with communities. This has led to developments in museum practice, in order for indigenous perspectives to be taken account of.

Research data on the subject of values in New Zealand demonstrate that, although the various cultures in New Zealand have distinct and culturally specific values, these have all

been influential on the development of New Zealand values, in particular, the two main cultures of Māori and *Pākehā*. This is a relatively new situation, influenced by the resurgence of Māori culture from the late 1960s onwards and the continuing migration from Europe and Asia. The influence can be noted on various educational programmes, for example, New Zealand art history, which, prior to the 1980s, was dominated by the study of mainly European artists.

The influences evident in New Zealand provided a unique environment in which to undertake this research. Participants were able to draw on their own study experiences, assess what cultural values are in the New Zealand context and ascertain whether the courses they undertook as students had contained, what they understood to be, cultural values. The context in which they now worked, with its evolving value structure and influences on museum practice provided the ideal research context in which to establish whether it was possible to incorporate cultural values into educational programmes for heritage professionals. Participants determined that such a process would be extremely difficult, but was, nevertheless, essential. Opinions varied on its viability, but there was consensus on the idea that such a course should include input from the host culture, regardless of the location of the course.

The next chapter will build on the discussion of the responses by assessing them against the data analysis factors. In addition an assessment of the research design and process will be given, through an analysis of the methodology, questionnaire, interviews and coding and analysis. Participant reactions to the research will also be considered.

Chapter 7: Assessment of the Responses and Research Design

This chapter provides an assessment of the responses given by the participants in phases 1 and 2 and details their reactions to the research. The methodology, questionnaire, interview process, coding and analysis are also assessed in terms of the strengths and weaknesses of the research design.

Participants were interested to hear the reasons for my choice of research topic. This conversation usually occurred at the beginning of an interview and proved to be a useful entrée to the subject. Although I had anticipated potential problems and possible antagonism towards myself as a non-New Zealander and a non-Māori, these did not materialise. Very few people questioned whether it was appropriate for me, as a non-New Zealander, to be undertaking the research; no Māori person questioned me directly and some thanked me for including them in the research. However, one Māori participant did state that she probably would not have spoken to me five to ten years ago. This is

“because the way that indigenous peoples think and feel about the whole area of research, access to knowledge, all that kind of thing. It has had such a profound effect worldwide, that people do their homework now. It is how it is approached too. In the past, we’ve had people [here], ‘I’m doing this research’, no background reading, no knowledge of us – it is like a hit and run ... So over they come, but there is no input – nothing that we can learn from what they do. I think that the kind of work that you are doing, its such that I think that we could learn a lot, from that whole area” (participant 016).

This gives an indication of the changing nature of the research environment in New Zealand and the potential lessening of suspicion towards non-indigenous researchers that was described by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 1). “The term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary”. However, Māori contacts informed me that they were aware that some Māori people had refused to speak to me. This, they assured me, was not a personal reflection on my research, or me, but was because they did not know me. Even being vouched for by other Māori contacts did not necessarily help in this respect. However, I became aware that once I had spoken to one Māori participant in an organisation, others, that I may have contacted months previously, would then respond to my original email and agree to be interviewed, indicating that word of mouth was an important factor.

Assessment of Interview Responses

The responses were, in the main, comprehensive and considered. As indicated by the figures given in Appendix 3, the length of the interview varied immensely. Excluding the consideration of time constraints, there appeared to be a variety of factors for this, including personality, confidence (both as an individual and in relation to the subject matter) and, to a certain extent, status within the organisation.

The level of confidence displayed by a participant was a potential determining factor in how much they relied on their direct professional or institutional experience. Some people (often depending on their role) gave what could be construed as an institutional response, while others (based on the wording used) were comfortable providing a more personalised opinion, with consideration not only for their institution and their own discipline, but also in relation to broader factors affecting the heritage sector.

In addition, how prepared the person was for the interview, could have been a factor. While various people stated that they had not had time to look at the questions, others had actually completed the questionnaire, usually by hand, but sometimes typed on a computer. Positive feedback was given by some participants regarding the receipt of the questions prior to the interview, but a number of people gave the impression of being very daunted by them and informed me in an email beforehand, or at the beginning of the interview, that they were concerned regarding the potential value of their contribution. These participants remained tense throughout the interview, despite attempts to encourage them to relax. On receiving the questionnaires, some participants decided, retrospectively, to decline being interviewed, explaining that they did not consider that they were the most appropriate people for me to talk to. This was always a little unexpected as they had already agreed to be interviewed, based on the research information that they had been sent. It is possible that they had gained a particular impression of the scope of the research from the initial email and the subsequent questions indicated a different emphasis from the one they had been anticipating.

People's responses may have been influenced by my expectations (Bernard 2002). To some extent, based on personal experience, I assumed that New Zealand heritage professionals would be more sensitive to cultural values and their possible inclusion in educational programmes, because of New Zealand's bicultural society and the tendency of the heritage profession to attract people who are tolerant and open-minded (see also work by Hello, Scheepers *et al.* 2006 on education and tolerance). The responses reflected and

supported this assumption. However, I believe that people gave carefully considered opinions, rather than a stereotypical answer, and sufficient participants offered alternative views to the ones that might have been expected. For example, of the people that responded to question C4, 84% stated that museums should deal with controversial issues, if it was sensitively done, 2.3% people disagreed, indicating that they would not be comfortable with either being involved in the setting up of such exhibitions or with visiting them, and 14% did not clearly fit into either category.

During an invited talk given at the end of my field research (Atkinson 2006a), a member of the audience suggested that my findings might have been affected by the fact that 53% of my participants were from one location (Wellington). The statistics do bear this out to some extent (see also Chapter 4 and Appendix 3). The figures for gender demonstrate that the number of female participants working in locations outside Wellington is lower than for those working in Wellington (29 outside, 34 in Wellington), while the number of males is very slightly lower (18 outside Wellington, compared to 19 in Wellington). Of those working in Wellington, the majority (17 people) were in the 31-40 age group. In contrast, there were equal numbers of participants (six) across the first three age groups (20-30, 31-40 and 41-50), while the largest category for Dunedin was the 41-50 group and for the other three locations, the 51-60 group. A greater proportion of participants in Auckland, Palmerston North and Dunedin were more highly qualified. In Wellington 32.1% had an undergraduate degree, compared to 15.1% with a doctorate, whereas in Auckland the figures for doctorate and bachelor degrees were equal (28.6%). Auckland proved to be more multicultural in terms of nationality than the other locations. Although the majority of people identified as 'New Zealander', this equated to 38.1% of the total number interviewed there. In comparison, 68% of participants in Wellington identified as such.³⁵

The data indicate that the majority of people in Wellington who chose to participate in this research project are females in their thirties, who are educated to undergraduate level and who identify as New Zealanders of European descent. This will, undoubtedly have had an affect on the findings. However, these figures are comparable to those for the heritage sector in terms of gender, age, qualifications and nationality and so can be described as a

³⁵ In order to produce these figures only nationality descriptors were used rather than a combination of nationality and ethnicity. As can be seen from Table 11 in Appendix 3, people self identified their nationality and ethnicity leading to highly complex descriptors, which do not aid the compilation of statistics.

representative sample of the sector during the research period of 2005-2006 (StatsNZ 2005, 2006).

The use of Māori language by participants was interesting, with the responses indicating a general familiarity with certain Māori words and concepts within the heritage sector across the institutions visited. Approximately 183 different words were used by the participants, in comparison to the 1279 words listed as being in use in New Zealand English (Macalister 2005). The most common word mentioned was 'Māori' (2231 times), with the next being *taonga* (169 times) and then *Pākehā* (126 times). Other words that appeared regularly included *iwi*, *kaitiaki*, *kaumātua*, *mana*, *moko*, *noa* (free from *tapu*), *reo* (as in *te reo Māori*), *tapu*, *tikanga* and *whakapapa* (see also Appendix 4). These words are indicative of the culture and heritage sector in which the participants are working. Demonstrating a commonality between the participants, they can be likened to metaphors – indicators of meaning – that “may help to identify cultural domains that are familiar to members of a given culture or subculture [as they] express specific values, collective identities, shared knowledge, and common vocabularies” (Coffey and Atkinson 1996: 86).

Initially, the use of Māori words by participants led me to believe that familiarity with *te reo Māori* was more widespread than, in fact, it is. In the 2006 New Zealand census, only 4.1% of the population (157,110 people) claimed to be able to hold a conversation in *te reo Māori* (StatsNZ 2007d).³⁶ Of the people who identified as Māori, 23.7% (or 131,613 people) could speak *te reo* and of these one quarter were aged 15 – 64, while 48.7% were 65 or over. More than one sixth of Māori under the age of 15 years could hold a conversation in *te reo Māori* (StatsNZ 2007e).

In phase 1, 93.1% of the participants used at least one Māori word in their interviews. Within this, 16 people, or 20% of the participants, who used Māori words, employed 15 or more different words in their interviews. Fifteen was chosen as the number of Māori words to assess, as below this number the majority of words used were extremely common and tended not be translated when used in newspapers, for example, *iwi*, *hapū*, *marae*. Participants who used more than 15 words included more varied concepts, for example,

³⁶ New Zealand's third official language is New Zealand Sign Language; 24,090 people claimed ability in this, and 6,057 people stated that they could communicate in all three official languages – English, Māori and New Zealand Sign Language.

manaakitanga (the hosting of visitors), *whanaungatanga* (relationship, kinship) and *kākahu* (cloak, garment, put on clothes).

Ten of the 16 people identified as being of Māori ethnicity. However, the person who used the most words (26), and who was a fluent *te reo* Māori speaker, identified as New Zealand *Pākehā*. Ten of the 16 people were based in Wellington, with two each in Auckland, Dunedin and Palmerston North. Of the ten people in Wellington, six were of Māori ethnicity. As regards the distribution of professions, the largest group was curators, with eight people. However, only three of these identified as Māori and five as *Pākehā*. The figures for educators were reversed, with five of the six identifying as Māori and only one as *Pākehā*. Twelve of the 16 people had worked abroad, with eight of these being of Māori ethnicity. The gender was fairly balanced, with nine women and seven men; five of the women worked in Wellington. The age groups were interesting, as they suggest a broader age demographic for the use of Māori words than in the rest of the New Zealand population. Six of the 16 participants were in the 31-40 age group (four of whom were Māori), with the next largest being the 51-60 age group (with two each of Māori and *Pākehā* ethnicities). A report, which gives data relating to 2001, states that a slightly higher proportion (5%) of workers in cultural occupations were able to speak *te reo* Māori than workers in all other occupations (4%) (StatsNZ 2005). Cultural occupations are defined as “jobs which are cultural by virtue of the nature of the work undertaken [,] regardless of industry, plus employment in non-cultural work undertaken in cultural industries (industries producing cultural goods and services)” (StatsNZ 2005: 1).

The use of Māori language in books, both academic and non-academic, newspapers and magazines in New Zealand is fairly wide spread. Within the country, the majority of Māori words used in everyday spoken and written language (in newspapers for example) are rarely translated, as understanding is assumed, which can prove problematic on first visiting or relocating to New Zealand (see also Macalister 2005: xvi). It is possible that certain Māori words have become so ubiquitous within New Zealand English, and so much a part of the New Zealand identity, that translation of their meaning is not considered necessary. This is an interesting phenomenon and one that would be worth exploring in future research.

Assessment of the Responses in Relation to the Data Analysis Factors

As outlined in Table 2 in Chapter 2, certain data analysis factors were devised in order to assist in the production of the interview questionnaire and to address directly the research

focus. The factors, relating to education and its location, aspects of cultural values and of training, attitudes to communities and heritage institutions, and demographical information, were formulated from the research question, research focus and the need to provide cross-comparable statistical information on the sample group.

The factors were a major consideration in determining the layout and specifics of the questionnaire and were therefore closely linked to its success or otherwise. The aim was to establish the experiential influences on the participants, from their education and work, both in New Zealand and overseas, in order to assess the potential effects on the participants and their attitudes to cultural values. This could then be compared with their responses to specific questions relating to cultural values, communities and the possible incorporation of cultural values in educational programmes. The intention was to try to establish how influential their backgrounds had been on their opinions. The demographic information provided a means of comparing participants and producing statistics, but also offered a 'snap-shot' of the heritage sector at the time of the interviews.

The data analysis factors were successful in that they fulfilled their objective of establishing the parameters for the sample group, enabling the production of the questions, and providing cross-comparable factors with which to assess participant information. In retrospect, given the data collected, two of the main groups of factors, 'Knowledge / Awareness of Cultural Values' and 'Training and Cultural Values' were not sufficiently focused and this had a detrimental effect on the questions, leading to an approach that was too broad and generalised. Future research would need to address this, establishing more discrete and rigorous factors on which to base the interview questions.

Specific factors, in particular those relating to the significance, or cultural significance, of objects, produced interesting responses as regards New Zealanders' attitudes. While these factors, and the questions related to them, did not produce the responses anticipated, they did offer an insight into the potential sensitivities inherent in the unique New Zealand context. Consequently, they provided perhaps more valuable information regarding cultural perspectives than might otherwise have been available.

Assessment of the Research Design and Process

This section assesses the research methodology, the questionnaire, the process of interviewing and the coding and analysis of the data. The research design is examined to

determine how successful or otherwise the process was, and why, and what improvements could have been made.

Methodology

Recruiting people as participants in a research project can be problematic (Stroh 2000a). This was the case, to a certain extent, with the pilot project, undertaken as part of the MRes research (Atkinson 2003). As a consequence of this, and in an attempt to avoid a similar situation, a larger sample of participants was sought in New Zealand than was actually required. In the event, this concern was unwarranted, with the result that a large dataset was obtained with which to work.

The two interview phases utilised slightly different methodological techniques. Although, essentially, semi-structured interviewing was used in both, the second phase was less structured, with the majority of the interviews being a free-flowing conversation, based on topics derived from, and intended as a means of verifying, the phase 1 interviews.

Based on the determining factors for the choice of methodology (see Chapter 2), the technique of semi-structured interviewing worked well as a means of gathering qualitative data. Structure was provided by the questionnaire in phase 1 and the topics in phase 2 while, at the same time, participants had the freedom to express their opinions. Too tight a structure may have hindered this expressiveness, while too loose a structure may have resulted in a loss of essential information and the opportunity to draw comparisons (Bernard 2002).

During the interviews, there were occasions when it was felt that a more structured, rather than semi-structured, approach may have been an advantage as this, potentially, would have ensured a greater degree of control over participant responses in terms of question focus. Certain participants gave so much information in response to individual questions that it was unclear how relevant the answers were. However, as the interviewing progressed and, later, during analysis, it was recognised that these responses were, in fact, giving a clear indication of a particular participant's perception of cultural values. They were providing a detailed insight into their experiences and attitudes and a more structured technique may not have been able to respond appropriately to this. Likewise, a completely unstructured approach may not have gathered any comparable information with which to address the primary research question.

Questionnaire

As discussed in Chapter 2, open questions were used in the questionnaire in order to encourage participants to give considered, expansive responses based on their opinions. This was the priority for the data collection, as it allowed the participants the freedom to express themselves, rather than offering them a set of predetermined choices. Although coding and analysis of this type of qualitative data can be problematic, the wealth of data that was obtained as a result was considered superior to that which may have been obtained from closed questions.

An alternative approach could have been a combination of open and closed questions. A question that allowed the participants the opportunity to explore their attitudes to a subject may be repeated in a closed form later in the questionnaire, offering a choice of responses. This method can have the advantage of being able to corroborate a participant's opinions and, potentially, would have facilitated a more straightforward comparison of data across the sample group. Disadvantages, however, include the introduction of interviewer bias in the choice of responses to offer the participants, and the increase in the numbers of questions asked, and consequently the length of the interview (Oppenheim 1992: 112-115).

Participants made various comments about the research subject, the interview questionnaire and individual questions, with 64.4% of the people in phase 1 stating either that they found the subject and questions challenging, or that it was difficult to give a clear response or definition to specific questions. A small number of people said that the questions had made them think about the issues and were grateful for the opportunity give their opinions.

The majority of participants in both interview phases were willing to answer the questions in section 1 (E: Work and Training Experience), or they provided a copy of their CV. Occasionally, when time was limited, a participant indicated that the biographical information could be obtained from alternative sources, but this was rare. The only question that caused any tension was related to overseas work experience. If a participant had only worked in New Zealand, occasionally a slight defensiveness could be discerned in the response. Therefore, the question was adapted to include study as well as work experience and participants were asked whether they had had the opportunity to take advantage of any travel in relation to this.

Much detailed information was gathered in this section, with some of it being relevant to other sections. However, it was at times difficult to limit people to one precise question with the result that some participants would provide the answers to several of the questions at once (see Courtenay 1987; Oppenheim 1992; Bernard 2002).

In the main, participants were willing to answer the questions in the demographic section. All but one person gave their age group (See Chapter 4 and Appendix 3 for the age groups). However, reactions to the question of nationality and ethnicity were slightly tenser. On discussing this reaction with known contacts and colleagues, it was suggested that this was a reflection on New Zealand's developing national identity and changes in self-perception. Rewording of the New Zealand census questions in 1996 and 2001 had also led to tension, with people opting to choose the category of 'other' and then inserting their preferred descriptor, rather than selecting an 'official' designation (StatsNZ 2007b). This background context could have been a contributory factor in the variety of responses given to this question.

Section 2 (V: Knowledge / Awareness of Cultural Values) proved to be quite daunting for people, especially the first four questions (the assessment of sections 2, 3 and 4 of the questionnaire refers to the reactions of phase 1 participants only). This may have been due to the contrast between the personal background questions of section 1 and the somewhat more abstract, challenging questions in this second section.

The first question was considered one of the most difficult in the interview, with 17.2% actually articulating their difficulty, or choosing to discuss the question before answering.³⁷ The majority of people did answer it, however, usually in a concise, eloquent form. Participants stated that they found the second question very general and broad, with clarification required on the meaning of 'European', in terms of whether it was the continent of Europe or European (*Pākehā*) values within New Zealand.³⁸ Some people pointed out that the continent of Europe was a very large place with a great number of countries, all different from each other and from the United Kingdom. Many were,

³⁷ Question V1: 'what does the phrase 'cultural values' mean to you from a professional perspective?'

³⁸ Question V2: 'what do you think European cultural values are in relation to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage?'

therefore, reluctant to try to define European cultural values, as they felt that it was not possible to give a generalised opinion and they did not wish to give stereotypical responses. This was not the case with all participants, however, and some gave broad overarching opinions on their perceptions of Europe, particularly in relation to its influence on New Zealand.

Some participants stated that they could not comment on what European cultural values were, adding that they did not have enough information to give an accurate response, even though they had previously stated that they had visited the United Kingdom and/or Europe. Various people also indicated that they did not know about culture in the United Kingdom or Europe, but then stated that they felt that New Zealand's values and society were essentially based on the values of the United Kingdom and Europe.³⁹ The responses to question V4 reiterated the opinions expressed in answer to question V2.⁴⁰ A number of *Pākehā* participants stated that they were unwilling 'to speak for Māori'; of those who did give responses, many said that Māori people could better articulate a response to this question.

This reluctance to comment on another culture is interesting. While it may accurately reflect the lack of knowledge that a person feels they have regarding that culture (and, indeed, as the research responses indicate, it is not possible to know a culture in depth unless one has lived there and has a level of knowledge about the language), there is, perhaps, another factor involved here. Māori elders traditionally hold the *mātauranga* Māori and are responsible for *tikanga* Māori (Mead 2003). These are, when possible, articulated on the *marae* in *te reo* Māori. However, as detailed above, *te reo* Māori is spoken by less than a quarter of the Māori population. Despite the fact that the majority of *te reo* Māori speakers are over 65 years, there are occasions when the only person who may be able to speak in Māori on the *marae* is the youngest in the family, despite their lack of status. This can put them in a position of authority and so it was considered important to demonstrate due respect to the elders.

³⁹ Question V3: 'what do you think New Zealand cultural values are in relation to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage?'

⁴⁰ Question V4: 'what do you think Māori cultural values are in relation to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage?'

Not having the correct status can lead to a reluctance to express opinions – to ‘speak for others’. This behaviour could have been influential on New Zealand society. The research participants are indicative of this, as their responses indicated that they were reluctant to claim knowledge of, or state an opinion in relation to, a culture other than their own, including the diverse cultures within their own country. They stated that each culture should speak for itself, and were unwilling to make assumptions, give stereotypical responses or risk giving incorrect information, perhaps out of respect for those cultures.

During the interviewing process, it became apparent that some of the questions were not required or were not asked of the majority of the participants. A number of reasons for this emerged. Several questions proved to be ‘back-up’ or ‘supporting’ questions, included as a means of eliciting the information should the primary question be unsuccessful or not comprehensive.⁴¹ In many cases, participants had been very detailed in their responses to the primary questions and so the additional or supporting questions were not considered necessary. This was a subjective analysis at the time of the interview, however, and it may be that the information gathered from the responses to the questions would have shed further light on the participants’ opinions of the subject.

Efforts were made to avoid ‘leading’ questions or wording. For example, the words ‘to what extent’ were used in a number of questions in order to retain their openness and encourage the participants to express their opinions. However, as mentioned previously, as part of the conversation or when asked about previous responses, the wording of a question would be altered, with the risk that the participant might have given what they believed to be the anticipated answer. Other questions may have encouraged essentially ‘stereotypical’ responses. In retrospect, the questions in section 2 that asked about location specific cultural values did facilitate a stereotypical response and these proved to be the most challenging questions for the participants.

⁴¹ An example of this was question V5: ‘and so, what do you think about cultural values in New Zealand? Do you think that they differ from those in Europe?’

The final two questions of section 2 also proved somewhat problematic.⁴² These two questions had been used during the MRes pilot project, with no discernable concerns. However, in New Zealand, the questions caused 13.8% of the phase 1 participants a degree of unease, with some being reluctant to give answers, questioning the appropriateness of them. They indicated that they did not want to choose one specific artefact over another, nor did they wish to make a distinction between ‘significant’ and ‘culturally significant’. As these questions were scheduled approximately half way through the interview, I did not pursue the subject, being unwilling to risk alienating the participants.

Other people wanted to discuss the wording of the question and the potential meaning of the concepts ‘significant’ and ‘culturally significant’, but did not really choose specific objects, stating that no one artefact was more important than another – this was a Western judgement – and that it was not about the artefacts, but about ancestors. As discussed in Chapter 3, for Māori people their *taonga* or cultural treasures are not inanimate artefacts, nor representations of ancestors, but are the ancestors themselves and so are greeted as such (see Mead 1990). Others stated that if an artefact was in a museum, then it was already deemed culturally significant and the separate notions of ‘significant’ and ‘culturally significant’ were irrelevant. In contrast, some participants had no obvious concerns over answering the questions and readily suggested artefacts. A few people asked for clarification over what they could choose, questioning whether it would be appropriate to select buildings or intangible treasures, such as language, rather than just small physical artefacts. Most participants, though, made no real distinction between artefacts that they considered ‘significant’ and those they considered ‘culturally significant’.

After it became clear that these questions were sensitive, I prefaced my asking of them with an explanation that some participants had been uneasy about answering the questions. Interestingly, this was sufficient in most cases for the participants to consider answering the questions, or at least to discuss the context to the questions. As part of the discussion, the question would occasionally be rephrased as, ‘would you make a distinction between

⁴² Question V6: ‘in your opinion, what is the most significant work or group of works that you have worked with / in the collection / in an art gallery or museum in New Zealand? Why / how significant?’ Question V7: ‘can you suggest a work or group of works that you consider to be culturally significant that you have worked with / in the collection / in an art gallery or museum?’

works or groups of works that you considered to be significant and those you considered to be culturally significant?'. Participants were more willing to respond to this, however, one of the disadvantages of this rephrasing was that it was a closed question, and so often resulted in a yes / no answer. Additional enquiry was therefore necessary to elicit further information.

Section 3 (C: Communities and Heritage Institutions) presented fewer difficulties, as indicated by more in-depth responses. Participants were more relaxed, with some people commenting that they found a particular question interesting. The first half of the section dealt with their experience of heritage institutions and although many people indicated that the first three questions were somewhat similar, they were able to build on their previous responses.

The first question proved to be rather long and several people asked me to repeat it, or they re-read it for themselves from their copies of the interview questionnaire.⁴³ Most people were happy to answer this question, giving in depth responses outlining the positive and negative aspects of involving communities in decision-making. The responses to question C2 built on and supported those given to the previous question.⁴⁴ However, it also enabled participants to give specific examples of community involvement in the exhibition process or the running of a museum and so detail the effects of this.

One participant suggested that the response to question three was probably very different now from the one that I would have received approximately 15 years ago.⁴⁵ At that time, she explained, museum workers would have been assumed to have the right, although, in reality, certain families would have been consulted. There is more awareness now of the need to consult, particularly as regards Māori, as cultural understanding cannot be presumed.

⁴³ Question C1: 'to what extent do you feel that a museum has a responsibility to involve local and national communities in discussion on their work relating to the acquisition, exhibition, loan and preservation of indigenous and non-indigenous artefacts?'

⁴⁴ Question C2: 'how do you think you might deal with communities who have a vested interest in the way a specific exhibition is approached / how a museum is run?'

⁴⁵ Question C3: 'to what extent, in your professional opinion, does the museum worker have the right to decide which histories the museum tells?'

Now 11.5% of the participants had a problem either with the wording of the question or with the word 'right', stating that it was indicative of how colonial systems and museums had worked. It was now considered more of a guardianship issue (*kaitiakitanga*), with museums no longer being the primary keepers – Māori people were also guardians – of the knowledge about their people, the land and their *taonga* (see McCarthy 2007a). Access and information were considered important and people, especially Māori, needed to be kept informed about the condition, storage and exhibition of their *taonga* while in the museum's care (*manaaki*).

The last two questions in section 3 queried participants' opinions of controversy in relation to heritage institutions. In the main, people were happy to discuss museums and controversy and indicated that they found the subject intellectually interesting, discussing the nature of New Zealand society and the current condition of its exhibition programmes.⁴⁶ Some felt that the question, 'who is defining what is controversial?' first needed to be established. There was also some discussion over the terms 'controversial' and 'provocative', with various people preferring the latter term. Only 2.3% of people were unhappy with the concept of controversiality in museums, feeling that it was not an appropriate venue for such subjects.

Section 4 (T: Training and Cultural Values) gave people the most problems, as the shorter responses indicated. It is possible that this was due to interviewee fatigue, as this was the last section of questions prior to the final few demographic questions. However, as with section 2, some questions required abstract theorising and necessitated contemplating future concepts rather than discussing past or present experiences. Answers to questions were often quite short – sometimes only one word – and at times it was difficult to get the information required. Often, what was essentially the same question, needed to be asked in several different ways in order to obtain more detail and sometimes the interviewee had to be prompted with information, or given an indication of previous responses, in order to encourage them to consider some of the issues. I felt uncomfortable with this, as there was the possibility of leading the person into giving specific answers, whereas the intention was to obtain their corroboration, or otherwise, of other people's responses.

⁴⁶ Question C4: 'to what extent do you feel that museums should deal with controversial issues?' Question C5: 'in your view, what type of subject should a museum avoid?'

Certain questions in section 4 of the questionnaire required the participants to recall the educational courses that they had undertaken as students, asking them specific questions about their attitudes to those courses.⁴⁷ Although these questions proved useful in contributing to the information about the individual participant's perceptions of cultural values and may have provided a point of comparison for their answers to later questions, it is possible that their responses were not completely accurate, due to the length of time that had elapsed, for some of them, since undertaking the courses. Memory is fallible and events and experiences following their studies would have had an effect on the accuracy of their memories (Courtenay 1987).

The location of study sometimes had a bearing on how responsive the person was to the questions in this section. Certain programmes and course locations produced divided opinions amongst participants, for example in relation to conservation courses undertaken in Australia and the United Kingdom (see Chapter 6).

In the main, responses to question T5, 'to what extent do you think that heritage educational programmes should incorporate the cultural values of different cultures?', were quite adamant. However, many people pre-empted the following questions by either stating that it would be difficult to incorporate values, or by giving examples of possible methods for addressing the problem.

Verbal emphasis of some words was occasionally necessary in order to highlight the difference between some of the questions. For example, question T5, was followed by T6 'do you think it might be possible to incorporate cultural values into education programmes and why might it be important?'. Not only was the latter a compound question, which resulted in the second part being largely ignored, some participants felt that it was a repetition of the first question. I had, therefore, to emphasise the distinction – the first being 'should', the second 'was it possible'. This verbal emphasis developed over

⁴⁷ Question T1: 'to what extent do you feel that cultural values were implicitly or explicitly incorporated into the training programme(s) that you undertook as a student?' Question T2: 'whose cultural values do you feel these were?' Question T3: 'how did you feel about the inclusion or exclusion of cultural values in the programme?' Question T4: 'to what extent did you feel that the values were appropriate, both for the course and for you as a student?'

the course of the early interviews and proved sufficient to overcome the previous confusion.

Interviewees found question T7 very challenging.⁴⁸ However, many were able to draw on their direct experience or subject specific knowledge in order to address the issues. Participants suggested a variety of methods, but there were some clear, common themes (see Chapter 6). Two questions in this section were answered by only 55.2% of the participants as, again, much of the information had been covered elsewhere.⁴⁹

Although it had not been clearly stated in question T7, most participants assumed that the educational programme under discussion would be one that was devised and developed in New Zealand. Either this was apparent from their responses, or they requested clarification on this point when asked question T10.⁵⁰ This had not been the intention of the question when first devised – the course was not intended to be dependent on location or context. However, as the majority of the early participants made this assumption, I decided to amend the wording of question T7, to state that it would be a New Zealand based course. Question T10 was therefore more in context and facilitated further discussion on how transferable the teaching of values might be outside of the host context.

Interviews

The participants in New Zealand were very generous of their time and knowledge. As a sector, the heritage field is very willing to assist people with their research, as evidenced by the number of people who agreed to be interviewed. Their agreement was established as not being dependent on my level of study. Participants informed me that, where possible, heritage professionals working in institutions would assist researchers. This collaborative attitude corresponds with my own experience of working in New Zealand as,

⁴⁸ Question T7: 'how would you incorporate cultural values into educational programmes for heritage professionals?'

⁴⁹ These were questions T8: 'what type of values would you include in a heritage educational programme?' and T9: 'Do you consider that the values you have just chosen are New Zealand, Māori, European or other, or a combination of two or more of these?'

⁵⁰ Question T10: 'what do you think the benefit might be of an educational programme for heritage professionals, which incorporated Māori values, being taught outside of New Zealand?'

at the NLNZ, if a member of the public requested specialist advice, then every effort was made to accommodate them – this was considered part of the working culture.

In the main, the interview process was successful. Data from 100 individuals were gathered, which both provide an indication of cultural attitudes within the New Zealand heritage sector during 2005 and 2006 and address the research question. At the beginning of the research process, a major concern was whether it was possible to achieve a balance within the sample group of the factors of profession, gender, age group and ethnicity. To a certain extent, this has been achieved (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 3), but perhaps more importantly the results are representative of the current numbers within the sector relating to profession, gender and ethnicity (StatsNZ 2005; 2006). Given the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi to New Zealand society and its incorporation into the draft education curriculum in 2006 (Patara 2007), the research would potentially have benefited from discussions with policy advisors. However, as noted in Appendix 3, those contacted declined to be interviewed. Where possible, though, full use was made of available government policy documents and statistical data verification material.

The fact that I was both an insider, as someone who had worked as a conservator in New Zealand, and an outsider, as a British researcher, will have had an effect on the participants and their responses, potentially encouraging or inhibiting conversations (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Bernard 2002). As a heritage professional, I was a member of the group that I was researching. My profession as a conservator may have proved an advantage from the point of view of other conservators, although as the research is not grounded in the conservation discipline, this may also have raised concerns for them.⁵¹

There was the potential for tension between my perceived role as a conservator or conservation researcher and the curators that I interviewed. This has been recognised as a factor in relations between the two professions in both the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Murphy 1994). However, based on my personal experience of working at the NLNZ, this is less of a concern in New Zealand and is now changing in the United Kingdom. The focus on access to the collections requires all staff to be preservation aware, with the result that conservators, curators and collection managers are working

⁵¹ There is currently a shortage of conservators in New Zealand and so a conservator apparently choosing to leave the profession could potentially be problematic.

together to facilitate the required access (see Raphael and Brook 2000; Davies 2005; Keene 2005b).

Being British made me both a known factor, given the historical settlement of New Zealand by predominantly British and European colonisers, but also an unknown one, as demonstrated by five of my participants, who stated that they did not know about or had not visited the United Kingdom or Europe. This was relevant when discussing anonymity with participants. As I was not a New Zealander and was based at a British university, some people stated that they were happy to be identified and consequently were frank and open in their responses. People, therefore, appeared to categorise me according to certain criteria, even though I had some prior knowledge and experience of living and working in New Zealand. At least one person said that it was interesting that a British researcher, in other words 'an outsider', rather than a New Zealand researcher, was undertaking this research. She felt that a non-New Zealander

“can sometimes have a clarity of vision and people are more open in their discussions with an outsider, than they might be with somebody else, and that is a big plus. But at the same time, it is bringing another layer of cultural difference, because [New Zealand] culture is very different from [British] culture even though we are [both] European based” (participant 075).

In responding to the questions, deference could have been a factor as some people may have told me what they thought I wanted to hear (Bernard 2002). In some cases, people appeared unsure as to the correct response and so asked to hear my opinion before giving theirs. Depending on the ethnicity of my participants, my nationality may have been an influence on responses, making some people more likely, and others less likely, to be affected by deference.

Profession can also be a factor in deference. However, on questioning some of the participants on this subject, I was informed that this was not an issue for them. My position at a British university could have been a factor, though, as the British education system is highly regarded in New Zealand and is used as a comparator (with the United States of America and Australia) for New Zealand schools and qualifications (MinEduNZ 2006).

Gender is a common factor in interview bias and deference (Bernard 2002). I personally felt that my gender was unlikely to be a factor, given that women outnumber men by two to one in the sector in which I was carrying out interviews (StatsNZ 2005). The New

Zealand context is also relevant, with women gaining suffrage in 1893 (Archives 2007a); they also currently hold a number of the top political positions.⁵²

In a number of the early interviews, in response to requests for clarification of meaning or relevance, the wording of some of the questions was adapted slightly to fit better each of the profession categories (namely, curator, conservator and educator). Any terminology found not to be common in New Zealand was changed or explained and additional or alternative questions were used on the day to supplement the original questions, so clarifying the meaning where necessary. This allowed the interview process to be an organic one, evolving to suit the needs of the participants, and responding to their comments and questions (Stroh 2000a).

During the interviews, notes were handwritten onto a copy of the interview script, which was then signed by the participant; the interviews were also audio recorded. Although intended to be as accurate as possible, when the notes were typed up it was found that there were discrepancies between them and the audio recording. This has been identified as a common problem with note taking during interviews. Known as “‘verballing’ – putting words into the respondent’s mouth”, it can be all too easy to mishear, inaccurately summarise or miss out a person’s words (Fielding 1993 quoted in Stroh 2000a: 210). The use of an audio recording, when permissible, ensures a much more accurate and valid recording of the participant’s words.

Coding and Analysis

In order to access and code the data, time-coded summaries were made of the phase 1 interviews and transcriptions of the phase 2 interviews. This necessarily led to different methods of coding and analysis of the interview phases. There were concerns over the level of accuracy in the phase 1 summaries, due to the truncating of participant responses as befits a summary and the assessment regarding the relevance of the information. This resulted in sections of the recording being summarised with key oral history descriptors, for example, ‘describes experience of...’. However, as part of the summarising process,

⁵² Women currently holding top political positions in New Zealand include the Right Honourable Helen Clark, Prime Minister and Leader of the Labour Party; the Honourable Jeanette Fitzsimons, Co-Leader of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand; and the Honourable Tariana Turia, Co-Leader of the Māori Party (ParliamentNZ 2007).

the documents were time coded and linked to their individual audio recordings through the qualitative software package NVivo 7, which facilitated the checking of words, phrases and quotes for accuracy as necessary. It has to be concluded, though, that the information from the phase 1 interviews would have been more accessible, and may have led to a richer analysis of the data, if it had been possible to transcribe the audio recordings.

The phase 1 and 2 documents could not be cross-compared due to the different methodologies. However, the process did encourage the investigation of alternative methods of analysis for the two phases, grounded theory and content analysis, which offered the opportunity to test hypotheses, potentially resulting in a more rigorous approach.

The computer software system provided the ability to control and retain the data in an organised fashion. With a manual system, there is the danger that a large volume of data will become unwieldy, resulting in crucial ideas and relationships being missed; computer systems can greatly assist data management, so avoiding this (Stroh 2000a).

Computer packages can have a fundamental problem however; the researcher needs to learn how to use them. This was a factor with the current research. Although using a computer package was a consideration from the start of the research, the decision was only finalised on return from field research. It was therefore necessary to become familiar with the software as the interview recordings were being typed up. This inevitably made the process of importing and coding the data slower. It also meant that once the data was coded, I then had to stop and learn the next step, before I could run queries and interrogate the data. Despite these disadvantages, however, I still believe that using NVivo 7 was the correct choice, for its speed of coding and its ability to organise the data.

With phase 2, not all interviews allowed for the collection of work and training experience data in full. For example, in the group interview, it was difficult to distinguish between the participants on the audio recording, and so establishing ownership of training and work experience proved difficult. This raises interesting questions about the possibility of conducting further research using groups. Although it may be possible to distinguish between the speakers, factors such as facial expressions, which may encourage or inhibit further debate, could be lost, unless detailed notes are taken at the time.

Summary

This chapter has provided an assessment of the participant responses, placing them in the context of the data analysis factors. It has also examined the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and examined how the participants responded to the research and the questionnaire.

This assessment has identified that the questionnaire and interview process would have benefited from a more focused set of questions. Despite the flexibility of the methodology being a definite advantage, the emphasis on the phrase 'cultural values' was, in retrospect, a somewhat inhibitory factor for certain participants. Questions relating to an examination of alternative phrases or concepts may have been illuminating as regards sensitivities and developments within the heritage sector and New Zealand itself.

As with all research that involves human participants, ethical considerations were an important aspect of this thesis. All potential participants were provided with an outline of the research and the intended interview procedure and the research outcomes when they were first approached. Following agreement to participate, interviewees were sent a copy of the questionnaire. Signed consent to use the information for academic purposes was requested at the conclusion of the interview process, so that the participants were fully aware of the research context and the intended use of the data. As the aim was to empower the participants by ensuring that they had equal control over their information, they were provided with feedback on a regular basis, including the write-up of the interview notes and a copy of the audio recording of their interview. On completion of the doctorate, they will be sent a summary of the research findings.

The following chapter will provide the summary of findings and give further suggestions for future research.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary of the research findings and outlines suggestions for further research. The intention is to determine whether the data gathered have answered the primary research question and establish that the original aim and objectives of the research have been addressed.

As stated in Chapter 1, one of the objectives of this research was to build on the work of Miriam Clavir, in particular the case study that she carried out in New Zealand (Clavir 2002). This has been achieved through an assessment of the experiences of heritage professionals working in New Zealand during the period of the field research. This thesis has established their perceptions of cultural values gained through study and workplace experiences. It has also determined their opinions on whether it is necessary or desirable, to incorporate different cultural perspectives into the education programme experience of heritage professionals.

Summary of Findings

The responses provided an excellent insight into the opinions of heritage professionals working in heritage related sectors in New Zealand in 2005-06. The questionnaire enabled participants to build upon their responses as they progressed through the questions, so providing a basis for discussion in relation to the potential incorporation of cultural values into educational programmes.

Various common themes arose from the interview responses.⁵³ Institutions need to be balanced and inclusive of the community if they want to be a mouthpiece for the community. This was strongly expressed by participants – ultimately it is the community that funds the museum; they give it its remit. Therefore, the community has a stake in which stories are conveyed by the museum and how they are told. The acknowledgement of the responsibility to involve the community (expressed by 80.1% of participants) in decisions relating to the exhibition and preservation of cultural artefacts may be due, in part, to the partnership principle of the Treaty of Waitangi. The requirement to show respect to *tangata whenua*, their cultural sensitivities and the Treaty as a founding document, is an important aspect of political and public sector organisations in New

⁵³ Unless otherwise stated, the percentage figures given in this chapter refer to the phase 1 participants.

Zealand. This, most probably, will have influenced participant responses to questions relating to the relationship between heritage organisations and the community.

However, concern was raised by some participants in relation to how many people should be involved in the decision making process, as the inclusion of large sections of the community could cause serious delays to exhibition and preservation programmes. In addition, conservators were concerned that if the community determined what happened to the artefacts, then there could be the possibility of damage to fragile cultural treasures.

This dilemma is at the heart of the conflict between preservation and access. If an artefact is not exhibited or loaned, then there is less risk of damage through handling, or degradation through inappropriate environmental conditions. However, an institution may not easily be able to justify the expense of storing and maintaining that artefact, if it is never made publicly available. Refusing access may also be the result of presupposition that interaction with the artefacts by the source communities for specific cultural practices comes before preservation considerations. This is not necessarily the case and McCarthy (2007a; 2007b) explains how Māori re-evaluation of their *taonga* in the late nineteenth century led to changing attitudes towards preservation and also resurgence of Māori culture.

Clavir (2002) also touches on the sometimes tense relationship between museums and communities. Since her New Zealand interviews in 1994, there has been a greater acknowledgment in the wider heritage sector that cultural treasures belong to the community and the museum is now considered the guardian or custodian rather than the owner. This changing perception of museums has been a gradual process, potentially influenced by Māori, “whose attitude towards artefacts and treasures is deeply personal and meaningful. We are caretakers and guardians of these treasures in our lifetime and we pass these down to future generations” (Hakiwai 2005: 158). At Te Papa, Māori curators are known as museum *kaitiaki*, they are guardians of the *taonga* Māori (Tamarapa 1994). Although they are knowledgeable about the collections and museum practice, they have a responsibility to the specific *iwi* to involve them in the exhibition of their tribal *taonga*. Since opening in 1998, Te Papa has worked in partnership with various *iwi* around New Zealand in the exhibition of their *taonga* (see TePapa 2008b).

The research data established that museums and their staff were willing to engage. However, there were concerns over appropriateness and the risk of ‘doing the wrong thing’ through ignorance and so offending or distressing individuals and communities. Various

Māori participants acknowledged that they were aware that this might be dissuading some people from engaging with other cultures. A number of institutions and city councils have established awareness courses in an attempt to bridge the gap between those with no knowledge or experience of Māori culture and those immersed in *tikanga* Māori. A number of participants stated that they had attended the ‘*Kete*’ awareness course run by Auckland City Council (*kete* is Māori for basket, bag, or womb) and had benefited from it in terms of knowledge and confidence.

Of the responses from the participants to questions T5-T10 in section 4 of the questionnaire, ‘T: Training and Cultural Values’, 23% felt that the starting point for gaining an awareness of differing cultural perspectives was the recognition of one’s own cultural values and perspectives. A further 24% thought that recognising difference was an essential aspect of awareness. Within these figures, five participants, or 12%, were of the opinion that both considerations were important. These opinions could be the result of the cultural diversity within a relatively small population, the substantial rise in overseas students since 2000 (Gill 2008) and the practice of living abroad to gain ‘overseas experience’ or ‘OE’. All of these factors could have contributed to an increased awareness of differing cultural perspectives.

The research data identified a number of reasons for these suggestions. By acknowledging one’s own cultural norms, it is possible to identify that the values of other people, cultures and societies can be different from one’s own. This recognition of difference can both assist in the realisation that there is “more than one way of doing things” (participant 010) and in progressing towards an understanding of the values and belief systems of others. It also aids the appreciation that everyone has cultural values, not just ‘other people’ and so normalises difference.

“Everybody has a culture and every culture is a mixture of values and behaviours. Everybody has an experience of the world, everybody has experience and experiences, and it is these experiences that give rise to what people think about the world, what they value, what they do not value. [This], conversely, is one of the most powerful shapers of behaviour – what you do. ... Everybody has [a culture], whether we are conscious of it or not” (participant 059).

However, it was established that acknowledgement of one’s own values does not just lead to an awareness of difference. This could be construed as negative, as different values may be seen as ‘other’, and so not of the majority culture. Similarities as well as differences were identified as an important aspect in this perception of values. Being able to recognise

the commonalities between cultures and the parallels with one's own, could lead to a greater understanding, of both one's own and other cultures.

Various participants highlighted the commonalities between Māori and British culture in terms of hierarchical chiefly and aristocratic structures. This may be one reason for the initial relatively friendly relations between Māori and Europeans. However, some participants suggested that the reason that Māori did not suffer the degree of violent assimilation that, for example, Australian Aboriginals underwent, was because they were a warrior race.

Participants were divided over the idea of actually incorporating values into an educational programme. Location was thought to be a factor and it was suggested that it would be easier in some countries than others, perhaps due to the perception of a shared heritage. Which cultures to include was a fundamental problem for some people, as they perceived the course to be incorporating the values of one specific culture or group. Questions included, how would one teach Māori cultural values to people from Greenland, for example, why would one do this, and would it be relevant? The research established that it would be relevant, as it would assist in the recognition of difference and commonalities between the two groups.

Another concern related to whether the course could include the cultural values of all the different peoples, cultures and groups in the world. Some participants felt that this level of detail would not be possible. However, while 16% of interviewees suggested that only Māori values be incorporated into an educational programme, 23% thought that the values of all cultures and societies should be incorporated. Certain groups or types of values were given as examples, including personal and professional values, the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community and different religious denominations. Other participants suggested the development of underlying principles relating to values, which address the subject at a broad overarching level, so avoiding the level of detail that concerned some people. This latter suggestion is one that future research will consider (see below).

These suggestions can be linked to developments in New Zealand society, particularly over the last 20-30 years. Although considered a conservative society until relatively recently, New Zealand is now, at least in its major centres, a comparatively liberal nation, as regards homosexuality and racial and religious tolerance (Belich 2001; King 2003; FairfaxNZ 2007d). While New Zealand did not decriminalise male homosexuality until 1986, a survey undertaken in 1978 in Wellington and Hamilton, "found that three-quarters of those

surveyed had a fairly tolerant attitude to homosexuality and favoured its decriminalisation” (Belich 2001: 513).

However, there are still ethnic tensions in the country, particularly towards Māori, Pacific Islanders and the Asian community.⁵⁴ The general election in September 2005 was indicative of the tensions between white New Zealanders and Māori. The, then, Leader of the Opposition, Don Brash, criticised the current Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Helen Clark, suggesting that she was more concerned with satisfying the Māori population, the ‘*iwi*’, than the rest of the New Zealand population, the ‘Kiwi’ (see GreenPartyNZ 2005; see also Barber 2008 for a discussion of the political atmosphere leading up to the general election). More recently, the arrest of 17 people during anti-terrorism raids on 15th October 2007 in the Bay of Plenty (on the east coast of the North Island) led to criticism both of the police and the Government by Māori communities and the Māori Party. The Māori Party co-leader Dr. Pita Sharples, who was speaking at a conference on restorative justice in Australia, said “This action has violated the trust that has been developing between Maori and Pakeha and sets our race relations back 100 years” (Eaton and Watson 2007).

The data established that there were a number of ways of gaining knowledge about a culture, especially prior, and in addition, to a visit. These included examining case studies, undertaking relevant readings, visits to and working in museums containing artefacts from that culture and learning about the history of the culture.

Language acquisition and actually living in the culture were identified as being essential for raising awareness and respect for that culture, with 15% of participants stipulating that language was vital for learning about a culture and understanding differences.

“Culture is a living thing, culture is language. ... It is one of the key entry points into culture. I would put language acquisition as a top priority. It doesn’t seem like it belongs within a heritage professional training, but I think that that is a way to signal quite clearly that there are different worlds out there, their linguistical, their cultural, their worldviews are different. So, in a New Zealand setting, the

⁵⁴ In New Zealand, the term Asian is the descriptor for people from China, Japan, Korea and other ‘Far Eastern’ countries. People from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are described by their individual nationalities, rather than an overarching term.

introduction of Māori language and *tikanga* has got to be at the heart of it. So that would be easy to implement because then you would obviously open the way to get students to understand difference, to be able to participate in parallel worldviews, to see where those worldviews intersect, and the points of intersection become really interesting then” (participant 030).

An appreciation of certain concepts within a culture can only be gained through knowledge of the language, as they may not translate across the language divide. In New Zealand, although many Māori words are a part of New Zealand English, it is only by learning the language, and with it *tikanga* Māori (the two are indivisible), that one can acquire an awareness of the importance placed on family, community, genealogy and ancestors.

Thirty-two percent of participants stated that one needed to go to the country, so that one could gain multiple perspectives through talking to a wide range of people. It was only by going to the country that one could experience the culture, appreciate the history and gain a full awareness of the context. This, again, may be the influence of the practice of ‘OE’.

Exchanges, internships and placements were suggested by 7% of the participants, but others (4%) felt that total immersion in the language and culture was the ideal. Visits or living in the culture were considered particularly necessary by 15% of participants as regards the Māori context, where *marae* visits, including sleeping at the *marae* with the local *iwi*, and experience of the *pōwhiri* (ceremonial welcome), *hongi* and *kai* (food) from the *hāngi* (earth oven) are an essential part of the customs and culture. Concern was expressed over whether a full appreciation of Māori culture could be gained without these experiences. Although there are *Pākehā* and Māori living outside the country who could contribute to an educational programme, still it was felt that a visit would be the best, and most appropriate, method of gaining a full appreciation.

A significant proportion of participants (26%) thought that it was important to include ‘different voices’ in an educational programme. This would give a range of views, not only on cultural values, but also on how different cultures see their artefacts and how their customs inform their practice in terms of exhibition display and handling.

“It would be interesting to have different people speaking about their experiences in terms of doing exhibitions for different cultural groups, what were the issues that came up and how they were dealt with and what the participation was and at what level and areas, by means of that community. Or just providing the option so that people could work on an exhibition where there is participation of museum groups and indigenous peoples’ groups and just to observe the process that

takes place. People can stand up and talk about cultural values specific to dealing with that, but there is nothing like seeing it in practice” (participant 007).

An even larger number of people (54%) were adamant that the host culture needed to be involved in the writing, organisation or teaching of a programme, particularly if the course was being run outside of the country of that culture. This would help to ensure that appropriation of the culture was not an aspect of the course. By including experts from the host culture, concepts such as *tikanga* (in the case of Māori culture) can be explained and reasons given regarding why something is done in a certain way, because people “are scared of offending or doing the wrong thing ... [but] once they know, it takes away the fear” (participant 001). It was felt that, by consulting and collaborating with the host culture, who could relate their personal day-to-day experiences of living in that society, the course would benefit from a practical as well as theoretical approach. This would base the course in reality and enable it to be continually up-dated. The data established that this is a necessary aspect, as cultural values are constantly in flux and the course needs to reflect this and stay contemporary. “Culture [is] something that does evolve continually and you just cannot write something and expect it to last for the next ten years – you need to have continual input into something” (participant 037).

Involving the host culture was also linked to concerns regarding who speaks for whom in Māori culture. This was first raised when non-Māori were asked about their opinion of Māori cultural values (question V4). A number of people were hesitant about answering the question and some stated that they were unwilling to ‘speak for Māori’. This is something that runs through Māori society – although the Māori people have elected leaders in Parliament, at institutional and *marae* level, preference is given to a person from a specific *iwi* to speak on behalf of that *iwi*, rather than someone from another *iwi*. Outside New Zealand, if a Māori person were to be invited to speak on an education programme, then they could potentially be speaking for Māoridom, a situation that may not be acceptable under Māori customs.

There is also the question of whether people living outside their home country retain a ‘sense of place’. In the United Kingdom, the Māori group based at New Zealand House, Ngāti Ranana, performs ceremonies at Hinemihi Marae at Clandon Park, the National Trust property near Guildford. The ceremonies “constitute a way of enacting Maori identity... In taking part in the posture dances, and in singing, Maori people in Britain act out their Maoriness and reaffirm their relationships to their past” (Hooper-Greenhill 2000a:

73). Ceremony and custom are an important part of Māori culture and so it can be inferred that, even though they are not living in New Zealand, for Ngāti Ranana, Hinemihi Marae provides a means of reaffirming their identity and passing on cultural traditions. Hooper-Greenhill (2000a: 109) also suggests that “identities need to be more forcibly stated when lives are lived outside the home territory”. In order to establish a sense of place outside New Zealand, cultural artefacts, which may be kept private in a New Zealand context, can be openly displayed elsewhere as a means of signifying identity (Hooper-Greenhill 2000a). For many New Zealanders, both *Pākehā* and Māori, working holidays are an important cultural experience and the United Kingdom, especially London, is a frequent destination. Wiles describes how *Pākehā* New Zealanders, though living in London, still see New Zealand as home and their identity as framed by New Zealand. Thus, “the representations of home ... help individuals maintain personal equilibrium and a sense of ‘self’ in a new environment” (2008: 135).

Another concern, expressed by 9% of participants, was that courses should not only include cultural values but that they should be intrinsic to the whole course, not just an add-on or tokenism. The courses should have integrity with an in-depth knowledge base and values at its core. Again, this may be the influence of the Treaty and the incorporation of the principles into the political, social and educational aspects of New Zealand society (Belgrave, Kawharu *et al.* 2005; SSC 2005; Patara 2007). Based on participants’ experiences of their own courses, it was concluded that if a course had included location or culture specific values, for example Māori, then these tended to be addressed in a single module or paper. In that sense, it was an ‘add-on’ to the main course, which was considered unacceptable. They felt that a course should be grounded in values; they should be an integral part of the whole syllabus, informing how the other aspects of the course are addressed.

Various participants raised the subject of ethics, in combination with, and in comparison to, cultural values. Edson (1997b: 25) defines ethics as “a principle of right or good conduct; a system of moral principles or values; the study of ... the specific moral choices to be made by the individual in his relationship with others; and the rules or standards governing the conduct of the members of a profession”. In this sense, the definition of ‘ethics’ is very close to those, in the literature, of ‘culture’ (a system of values, beliefs and ideas) and ‘values’ (guiding principles or standards), as explored in Chapter 1. Indeed, Edson (1997c: 109) describes values as “the foundation for the ideals that are called ethics”. In contrast, most participant definitions of the term ‘cultural values’ aligned it

more closely with the idea of 'respect', 'other' and 'difference'. Only three participants defined ethics and cultural values as the same thing, with a fourth stating that cultural values "as a whole mean to me ethics; ethics that you bring to working in a professional way. Cultural values bring with it not just ethics, but the whole worth of the culture, from which you are coming and from which the artefacts that you are dealing with are coming" (participant 058).

From the participant responses, it can be concluded that cultural values or perspectives are as important as ethics. As can be seen above, the differences between the two concepts are subtle. This is a potential reason why opinions varied on whether cultural values were already being taught as an aspect of ethics; this was particularly the case for conservators. Is the teaching of ethics, therefore, which is an established component of museum and heritage preservation studies, sufficient in itself to raise awareness and respect for differing cultural values, or is there another factor that needs to be taken into account?

The research suggests that by combining an awareness of different 'values' and 'ways of doing things', both in ourselves and in others, with the study of ethics, it can be possible to gain an appreciation for other modes of behaviour and the reasons for them. By incorporating both elements at an underlying level so that they permeate the whole programme, students could be taught the basics of good museum practice within a context that encourages self-reflection on their own values and perceptions. They would become aware of difference, not in a negative, pejorative sense of being superior to the 'other', but in a way that enables them to ask appropriate questions, with confidence, and assess how to proceed in given circumstances. Communication and collaboration with the host cultures are crucial in this. They enable the building of communities, which would foster the necessary information to help individuals work with artefacts from cultures other than their own.

Suggestions for Further Research

A potential outcome of this research, and one that warrants future investigation, is the production of a set of recommendations or principles for curriculum development, in the form of statements, derived from the common themes in the research data, which could be applicable across particular disciplines within the heritage sector. The incorporation of differing cultural perspectives into educational programmes is one that has not been clearly articulated and the research seeks to address that. The main objective in producing the

recommendations would be their ability to act as agents in the development of strategies that would inform future educational programmes for heritage professionals.

The concept of values and principles is a familiar one in the New Zealand context because of the Treaty of Waitangi. When the Treaty is referred to in legislation, it is legally enforceable, a situation that occurs in 62 Acts of Parliament (Sharp 1997; SSC 2005). However, in these cases, it is not the text of the Treaty that is referred to, but the 'principles', which "interpret the Treaty as a whole, its intentions and its spirit" (SSC 2005: All About the Treaty, p. 14). This is necessary because, as discussed in Chapter 3, the Treaty was written in both Māori and English, but the translations differed, leading to different interpretations of the meaning of the text. The Treaty also needs to be applicable to contemporary situations. Although the question of what the principles actually are is still being discussed, two core principles have been identified – 'partnership' and 'active protection' (Sharp 1997; SSC 2005). These have relevance for people in numerous situations, most notably as regards land claims through the Waitangi Tribunal, but also as part of an interview for employment in New Zealand, particularly for government positions. During seminar presentations of this research during field research in New Zealand, feedback relating to the utilisation of principles was received, with the opinion being that this would be an appropriate method for encapsulating the research findings (Atkinson 2006a; 2006b).

One of the challenges identified by the research was the potential difficulty in producing an educational programme that raised awareness and respect for the values of all ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups, or that adequately reflected all the nuances of a culture. It was established that the level of detail required would be too great and, with each group, the question of who should be responsible for the content of the courses – who speaks for whom – would increase exponentially. Consequently, a far more generalised approach would be necessary, which could allow for a degree of distance and objectivity.

The recommendations would require evaluation, potentially through a survey of the current research participants, and consideration regarding their potential application for institutional strategies or as assessable learning outcomes at a programme or module level. The aim of a survey would be to validate further the current findings by enabling the participants to comment on the plausibility of the principles and findings (see Baxter and Eyles 1997: 512). Known as 'member checking', this "is arguably one of the most important strategies for enhancing credibility since it involves checking the adequacy of

analytic categories / constructs / hypotheses with members of the group(s) from which the data were obtained” (Baxter and Eyles 1997: 515). In addition, there is an ethical dimension, which fits with the concept of empowering the research participant. By consulting with the original interview participants, the researcher is entering into an “exchange of ideas”, whereby the “participants know how their interviews are being used” (Baxter and Eyles 1997: 515; see also Tolich 2001).

There would be various advantages in undertaking a survey, as the existing network of participants would be maintained, longitudinal data would be produced, and the current data set would be updated, thereby enhancing the potential of the work for publication.

Future research could also consider whether the findings of this research, set within a heritage context, are transferable to other disciplines or if they are context specific. Location is also a factor. Various participants described New Zealand as a unique culture, due to its bicultural society and the influence of Māori on New Zealand cultural values.

Therefore, the influences on the participants were also unique and it is probable that, had the research taken place in an alternative context, a different set of common themes would have arisen. Although the participants were asked to consider whether cultural values could be taught outside their host context, further exploration of this could provide a cross-cultural comparison of the findings. One of the questions that arose during this research was whether it might have been undertaken in the United Kingdom. This could be considered with particular reference to the Welsh or Gaelic context, most especially as these are societies in which language resurgence, like *te reo* Māori, has sometimes been a contentious subject (Devichand 2007a).

Of the countries that were colonised by British settlers, the historical development of Australia and Canada could be said to be the most similar to New Zealand. Indeed, Canadian First Nations entered into treaties with both the French and the British (Coates 1999; Borrows 2006), although none appear to have had the status of founding document that the Treaty of Waitangi has achieved. It is likely, therefore, that despite the initial similarities, the differences between these three countries would have led to very different responses (see Fleras and Spoonley 1999). Future research could explore this further, utilising the questionnaire from the current research to compare and contrast the responses and consequent common themes to those developed in this thesis.

The use of Māori language by participants provided an insight into the incorporation of Māori words in New Zealand English and the greater knowledge of *te reo* Māori in the heritage sector. It was not within the scope of this thesis to examine literature relating to linguistics, the knowledge of second language vocabulary and the percentage of words necessary to make that knowledge significant. However, this combined with an exploration of the role of the heritage sector in facilitating language resurgence would be an interesting element of future research.

The aim of the research and this thesis was to address the primary research question, ‘to what extent has it been possible, and is it necessary or desirable, to incorporate different cultural perspectives into the education programme experience of heritage professionals working in Aotearoa New Zealand?’. Based on the participant responses, the research confirmed the hypothesis that, prior to 1990, the educational programme experience of many of the participants did not include cultural values, or they were the implicit values of the majority or colonising culture. Since 1990, this has been addressed to a certain extent, with universities now offering New Zealand based subjects and courses on *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori incorporating explicit Māori values.

It was further established that the majority of the participants believed that differing cultural perspectives should be included in educational programmes, and that it was possible, necessary and desirable to do so. Participants thought that such an undertaking would be difficult and challenging, but the research data have identified various suggestions for how programmes could raise awareness and respect for the values of different cultures.

Foremost among the findings was the necessity for recognising one’s own cultural values and those of others, and for recognising difference. This would enable people to realise that values are common to everyone, there are many different worldviews and that in order to understand another’s perspective one first requires contextual knowledge. These interpretations support the view of Kohls and Knight (1994: ix), who suggest “all of us [need] to become fully aware of our own cultural conditioning and fully cognizant of the assumptions and values that lie outside our awareness but influence every part of our conscious lives. It also requires that we build some skill in developing and maintaining relationships with people from cultures different ... from our own”.

Language acquisition was also identified as providing insight into and understanding of cultural context. Through language acquisition, it is possible not only to recognise different worldviews, but also to understand that cultures are not just defined by their heritage, but are living and constantly developing. As Janes (2007: 136) explains “languages embody the diversity of human experience, and the manner in which we perceive, classify and map the world”. Therefore, without knowledge of languages other than our own, “our ability to sustain and enhance our understanding of the world” could be compromised.

A further key finding related to ethics. Although there are many similarities between the concepts of ‘ethics’ and ‘cultural values’, most participants made a distinction between them, equating values with respect. The research concluded that values should be incorporated into educational programmes. In order to avoid tokenism, the teaching of ethics and values should be combined, and values, in the form of basic underlying principles, rather than culturally specific detail, should be integral to the whole course. A combination such as this would encourage students to become aware of their own and different attitudes towards heritage, whilst gaining an understanding of ethical museum practice.

This research has sought to contribute to the existing museological knowledge by investigating whether and how differing cultural perspectives could be incorporated into the educational programme experience of heritage professionals. The thesis has concluded that such a stratagem would be of benefit and various approaches have been identified that could complement the pedagogical experience and workplace development of students and professionals in the cultural heritage and preservation sectors.

By undertaking the research in Aotearoa New Zealand, advantage was taken of both the bicultural context of Māori and *Pākehā* and the opinions of a culturally diverse population. The resurgence of Māori culture, its consequent impact on the New Zealand education sector and the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi, with its principle of partnership, provided a context in which to determine the viability of incorporating differing cultural perspectives into educational programmes.

Appendix 1: Generic Interview Questionnaire

Jeanette Atkinson

Research Questionnaire

Date:

Informant ID:

Research ID: PhD-Con/Cur/Edu

This questionnaire supports a semi-structured interview process. It forms part of my doctoral research in the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, UK. Doctoral research aims to investigate to what extent indigenous curatorial and preservation perspectives are incorporated in formal and informal educational programmes available to heritage professionals working in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I would like your own personal opinions and experiences, rather than an institutional view. I would like to make an audio recording of the interview and take notes as we talk; do I have your permission to record the interview in this way? Following the interview I will transcribe the audio recording and will send you a copy of the transcription.

During data analysis, the data will be coded to ensure anonymity. In the event that I wish to use a specific quote from the recording of the interview, I will contact you again, detailing the quote, requesting your permission to use it and asking whether you are happy to be identified, or would prefer to remain anonymous.

I would like to emphasize that this interview is part of my work for an academic research programme and all interview data recorded will only be used in pursuit of legitimate academic studies.

Finally, it is anticipated that the interview process will take approximately one hour to conduct. The supporting questionnaire consists of five sections of qualitative semi-structured interview questions. The questions are intended to be 'open', allowing flexibility to add further questions for clarification, as required. If at any point you wish to stop, seek clarification or add comments please feel free to do so.

Section E: Work and Training Experience

I'd like to start by asking some questions about your work and study experience. Alternatively, may I have a copy of your CV detailing this information?

1. What conservation /curatorial / education /policy related training (both formal and informal, including Continuing Professional Development) did you undertake?
2. What was your motivation for becoming a conservator / curator / educationalist / policy maker?
3. Where and when did you undertake your training?
4. What were the university's name and the name of the programme that you studied?
5. What is your current full job title?
6. How long have you worked in your present role?
7. Can you tell me something about your current role and responsibilities?
8. Can you tell me about your professional work experience – have you always worked in New Zealand, or have you also worked abroad?
 - If also abroad, where?
9. What types of collections / programmes / policy actions have you previously worked on – were they in institutions or private collections?
10. What was your role and did it differ significantly from your current role?

Section V: Knowledge / Awareness of Cultural Values

I'd now like to go onto some questions about cultural values.

1. What does the phrase 'cultural values' mean to you from a professional perspective?
2. What do you think European cultural values are in relation to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage?
3. What do you think New Zealand cultural values are in relation to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage?

4. What do you think Maori values are in relation to the exhibition and preservation of cultural heritage?
5. And so, what do you think about cultural values in New Zealand? Do you think that they differ from those in Europe?

I'd now like to ask a couple of questions on the nature of the collection that you work with / on your opinion of heritage in New Zealand.

6. In your opinion, what is the most significant work or group of works in the collection / in an art gallery or museum in New Zealand?
 - Why / how significant?
7. Can you suggest a work or group of works that you consider to be culturally significant in the collection / in an art gallery or museum?

Section C: Communities and Museums

This next section is on communities and museums

1. To what extent do you feel that a museum has a responsibility to involve local and national communities in discussions on their work relating to the exhibition, loan and preservation of indigenous and non-indigenous artefacts?
2. How do you think you might deal with communities who have a vested interest in the way a specific exhibition is approached / or how a museum is run?
3. To what extent, in your professional opinion, does the museum worker have the right to decide which histories the museum tells?
4. To what extent do you feel that museums should deal with controversial issues?
5. In your view, what type of subject should a museum avoid?

Section T: Training and Cultural Values

The fourth section is on training programmes and cultural values

1. To what extent do you feel that cultural values were implicitly or explicitly incorporated into your training programme(s)?
2. Whose cultural values do you feel these were?

3. How did you feel about the inclusion or exclusion of cultural values in the programme?
4. To what extent did you feel that the values were appropriate, both for the course and for you as a student?
5. To what extent do you think that heritage educational programmes should incorporate or include the cultural values of different cultures?
6. Do you think it might be possible to incorporate cultural values into educational programmes and why might it be important?
7. How would you incorporate cultural values into educational programmes for heritage professionals?
8. What types of values would you include in a heritage educational programme?
9. Do you consider that the values you have just chosen are New Zealand, Maori, European or other, or a combination of two or more of these?
10. What do you think the benefit might be of an educational programme for heritage professionals, which incorporated Maori values, being taught outside of New Zealand?

Demographic Information

Interviewee details:	Name:
	Job title:
	Location:
	T:
	F:
	E:

General information

Gender	Male	Female
Nationality		Ethnicity
Age group		

20 – 30		51 – 60	
31 – 40		61 – 70	
41 – 50		71 – 80	
You will be sent a transcript of the interview. Would you also like a summary of the research findings following the completion of the doctorate (planned for early 2008)?		Yes	No
Do you have any questions or comments?			

That is the end of the interview. Thank you very much for your time.

This is an academic research programme. All interview data recorded will only be used in pursuit of legitimate academic studies. Interviewees' responses will be coded for anonymity and further permission will be requested for the use of quotes.

Please sign below to indicate that the information gathered in this interview may be used for academic purposes.

Signed:	Date:
---------	-------

Appendix 2: Numbers of Museums in New Zealand by Region

The information presented here (taken from NZMuseums 2002) is intended to support the section on participant profiles in Chapter 4 and the summary of statistics in Appendix 3, by providing a context for that data.

North Island	Northland	39
	Auckland	45
	Bay of Plenty	12
	Waikato	27
	Taranaki	11
	Hawkes Bay – Tairāwhiti	11
	Wanganui – Manawatu	22
	Wellington	56
South Island	Nelson – Marlborough	20
	West Coast	6
	Canterbury	58
	Otago	40
	Southland	17
Total		364

Appendix 3: Research Statistics

This appendix provides supplementary evidence, in the form of tables and charts, of the research data collected from the 97 interviews with 100 participants. A discussion of the participant profiles was given in Chapter 4, informed by specific tables and charts. This appendix presents a clear visual summary of the information taken from section 1, 'E: Work and Training Experience' and the demographic section of the questionnaire, and is intended to serve as a reference point for the research discussion. An overall summary of, and statistics relating to, the data are given, with indications of which interview phase the data relates to. Comparisons are then drawn between factors, for example gender and location, for each of the interview phases. Finally, non-participant statistics are outlined in order to give an indication of whose voices were heard and whose were not (Oppenheim 1992: 106-7; Baxter and Eyles 1997).

Interview Responses: Summary of Statistics

The tables and charts below detail the numbers of participants contacted, information pertaining to the interviews, and statistics relating to phases 1 and 2. Profiles of the participants have been provided in the form of general factors, such as gender, location and profession, rather than individual profile matrices. Research participants were assured, at the time of the interview, of the anonymity of their responses and more detailed profiles might compromise this.

Contact Statistics	Numbers	Percentages
Number of participants originally contacted (August 2005)	196	
Agreed to be interviewed (August – November 2005)	126	64.3
Actually Interviewed (September 2005 – June 2006)	100	51
Declined to be interviewed (August – November 2005)	15	7.7
No response	55	28
Not Interviewed	26	13.3
Total of declined / no response / not interviewed	96	49

Table 8 – Statistics of People Contacted

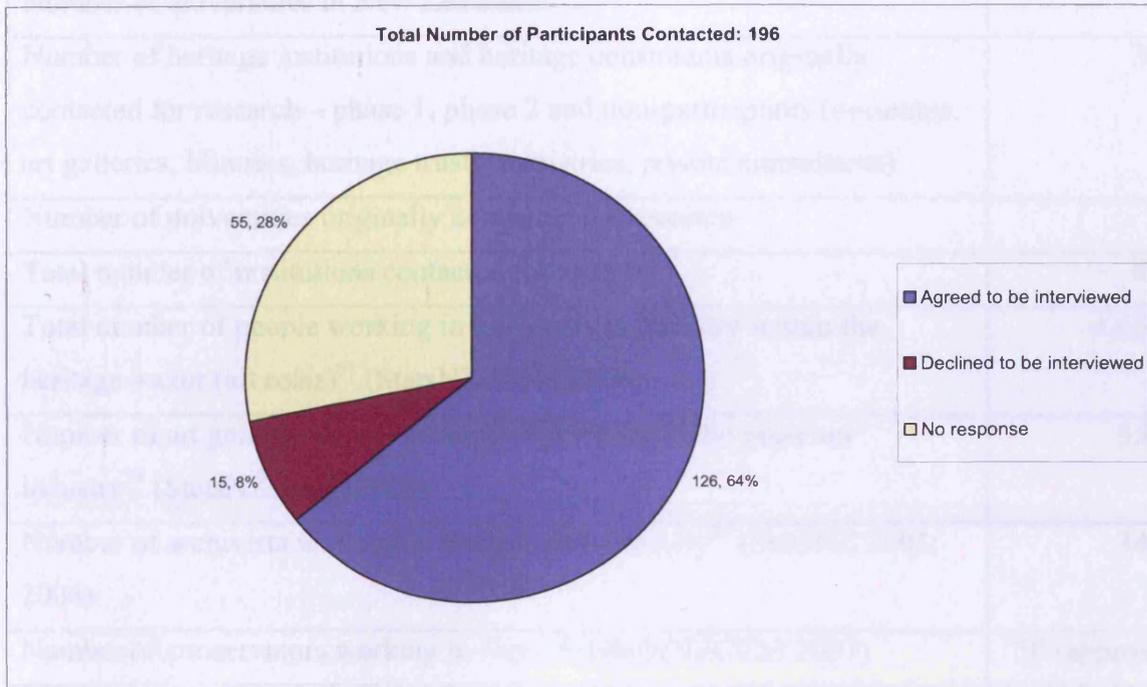


Chart 21 - Participant Statistics

In order to place the participant and interview statistics in context, Table 9 gives statistical information relating to the numbers of heritage institutions and universities in New Zealand, and the numbers of people employed in the heritage sector (in 2001). Separate figures (from the 2001 census) pertaining to staff are only available for the number of curators and archivists working in the museum industry. An approximate figure for people identifying themselves as working in conservation roles has been compiled from museum and conservation internet sources and known contacts. No information is currently available for people working in an educational capacity within museums.

Heritage and Education Sectors	Number
Number of heritage institutions in New Zealand (information from NZMuseums 2002). ⁵⁵ This number includes all public and private museums, art galleries, libraries with cultural collections, gardens, heritage centres and stately homes	364

⁵⁵ Please see Appendix 2 for a breakdown of numbers by region.

Number of universities in New Zealand ⁵⁶	8
Number of heritage institutions and heritage consultants originally contacted for research – phase 1, phase 2 and non-participants (museums, art galleries, libraries, heritage trusts, ministries, private consultants)	39
Number of universities originally contacted for research	6
Total number of institutions contacted for research	45
Total number of people working in the museum industry within the heritage sector (all roles) ⁵⁷ (StatsNZ 2005; 2006)	1,650
Number of art gallery / museum curators working in the museum industry ⁵⁸ (StatsNZ 2005; 2006)	558
Number of archivists working in the museum industry ⁵⁹ (StatsNZ 2005; 2006)	348
Number of conservators working in New Zealand (NZCCM 2007)	50 (approx)

Table 9 - Statistics relating to New Zealand Heritage Institutions and Universities

The figures in Table 10 give an indication of the variations between the interviews in terms of the amount of detail that participants gave. In general, the more uncertain a person was as regards their suitability to be a participant, the shorter their responses were. Longer interviews were often indicative of a person's profession, but also their desire to explore the subject of 'cultural values' from their particular perspective.

Interview Statistics	Figures
Total number of participants interviewed (phase 1: primary data collection, phase 2: data verification)	100

⁵⁶ This figure refers to the publicly funded state universities; in addition, there are 21 polytechnics and three *Wānanga* (MAF 2007).

⁵⁷ These figures are compiled from 2001 census data and represent an increase of people working in the heritage sector of 27% on 1996 census figures. The total number of people working in New Zealand in 2001 was 1,727,268.

⁵⁸ This figure represents a 32% increase from the 1996 census data.

⁵⁹ This figure represents a 93% increase from the 1996 census data.

Percentage of people interviewed from those originally contacted	51%
Total number of institutions (heritage and university) taking part in the research (phases 1 and 2)	29
Of which heritage institutions	23
Of which universities	6
Percentage of institutions taking part from those originally contacted	64.4%
Phase 1 participants (face-to-face, one-to-one)	87
Of which, telephone interviews (one-to-one)	1
Phase 2 participants (face-to-face, one-to-one)	13
Of which, group interviews (face-to-face)	1
Percentage of participants who were known contacts	28%
Total Number of Interviews	97
Total interview time	5888 minutes (98 hours, 13 mins)
Longest Interview	3 hours
Shortest Interview	23 minutes
Average Length of Interview	1 hour

Table 10 - Interview Statistics

Nationality / Ethnicity

As can be seen from Table 11, ethnicity (from the responses given) is very much self determined, which does not lead easily to categorisation.

Nationality	Ethnicity	P1	P2	T⁶⁰
American		1		1
American / New Zealander		1		1
Australian		2		2
Australian	<i>Pākehā</i>	1		1
Austrian / New Zealander		1		1
British		1		1

⁶⁰ P1 is Phase 1, P2 is Phase 2 and T is total

British	European	2		2
British / White South African		1		1
Canadian	European descent	1		1
Canadian (New Zealand citizen)	Celtic	1		1
Canadian / American		1		1
English		1		1
English / New Zealander (naturalised)		1		1
Fiji Islander	Anglo / Irish	1		1
German		1		1
German	European	1		1
German / New Zealand resident		1		1
Italian		1		1
Malaysian / New Zealand citizen	Chinese	1		1
Māori		1		1
Māori	Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Porou, Tainu		1	1
Māori New Zealander	Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou, Ngai Tahu		1	1
Māori, Ngai Tūhoe, Te Arawa, Ngai Te Rangi			1	1
New Zealander		13	1	14
New Zealander	British descent	1		1
New Zealander	Caucasian	1		1
New Zealander	European	3		3
New Zealander	European <i>Pākehā</i>	1		1
New Zealander	European New Zealander	1		1
New Zealander	European New Zealander / Māori	1		1
New Zealander	German / European	1		1
New Zealander	Māori	3		3
New Zealander	Māori (Kai Tahu)		1	1
New Zealander	Māori (Ngāti Awa, Te Arawa)	1		1
New Zealander	Māori (Ngāti Kahungunui, Ngāti	1		1

	Ruanui)			
New Zealander	Māori (Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngai Tahu, Ngāti Hine)	1		1
New Zealander	Māori (Ngāti Mahanga, Ngāti Maniapoto)	1		1
New Zealander	Māori (Ngāti Porou)	1		1
New Zealander	Māori (Te Arawa, Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Raukawa ki Maungatautari)	1		1
New Zealander	Māori (Te Atiawa, Ngāti Ruanui)		1	1
New Zealander	Māori (Te Parawhau, Te Uriroroi and Ngāti Manu of Ngāpuhi)	1		1
New Zealander	Māori (Te Whanau-a-Apanui)	1		1
New Zealander	Māori (Tūhoe, Ngāti Pahauwera)		1	1
New Zealander	Māori (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tamaterā and Ngāpuhi) / <i>Pākehā</i>	1		1
New Zealander	Māori / Spanish	1		1
New Zealander	New Zealand European	2		2
New Zealander	Ngāti Kahungunu		1	1
New Zealander	<i>Pākehā</i>	14	2	16
New Zealander	<i>Pākehā</i> (European descent)	1		1
New Zealander	<i>Pākehā</i> / Irish descent	1		1
New Zealander	<i>Pākehā</i> / Māori (Ngāti Apa, Muaupoko)		1	1
New Zealander	<i>Pākehā</i> / Māori (Te Whanau-a-Apanui)	1		1
New Zealander	Tokelau		1	1
New Zealander (American)	Half Armenian / Half British (English / Scottish)	1		1
New Zealander / Australian (dual citizenship)	Predominantly Māori (Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, Te Airihi) with Irish / England-Wales border/ possibly Jewish English	1		1

New Zealander / British	<i>Pākehā</i>	1		1
New Zealander / English	Jewish / <i>Pākehā</i>	1		1
New Zealander / Irish		1		1
<i>Pākehā</i>		1		1
<i>Pākehā</i> European		1		1
<i>Pākehā</i> / Māori ancestry	Ngāpuhi-Te Hikutu, Hokianga	1		1
<i>Pākehā</i>	New Zealand European		1	1
<i>Pākehā</i> New Zealander		2		2
Polish New Zealander		1		1

Table 11 - Nationality / Ethnicity (as defined by the participants)

Phase 1 Interviews: Comparison of Factors – Work and Training Experience / Demographics

Gender by Location

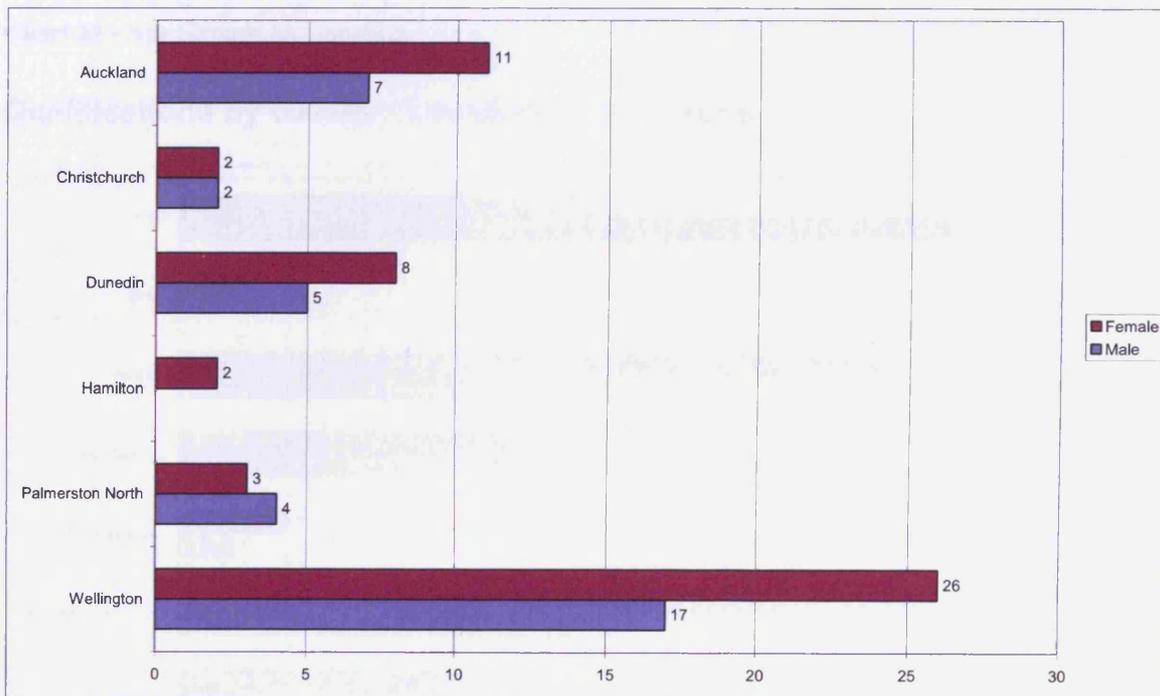


Chart 22 - Gender by Location

Age Groups by Location

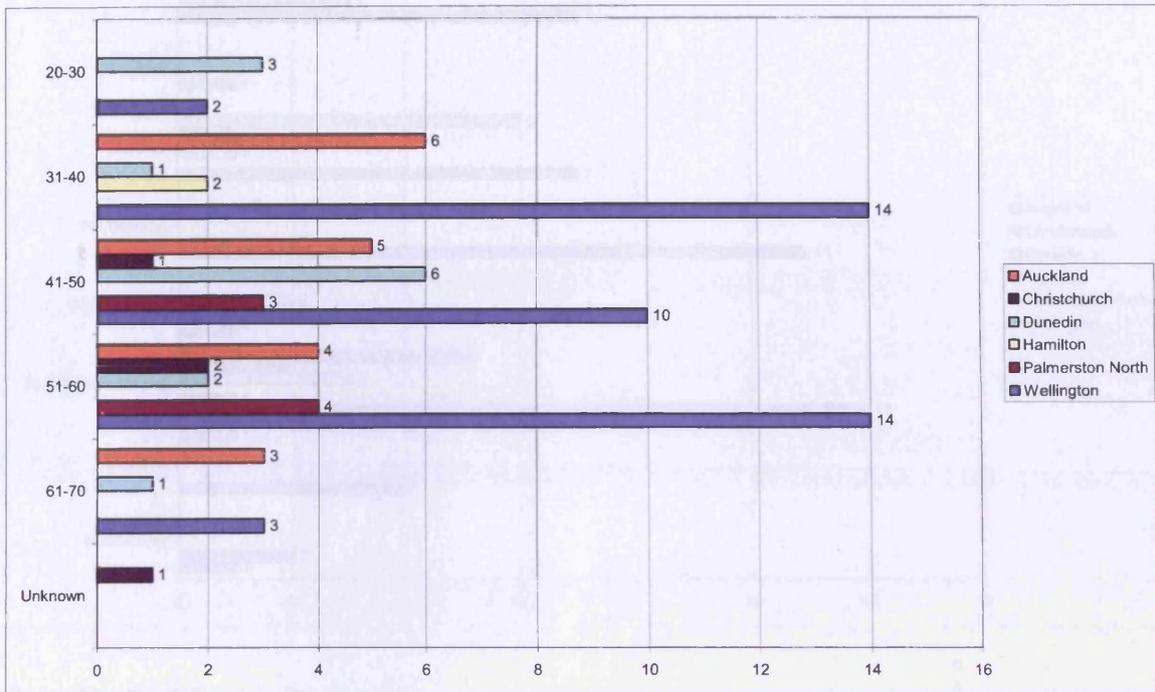


Chart 23 - Age Groups by Location

Qualifications by Gender / Location / Age Groups

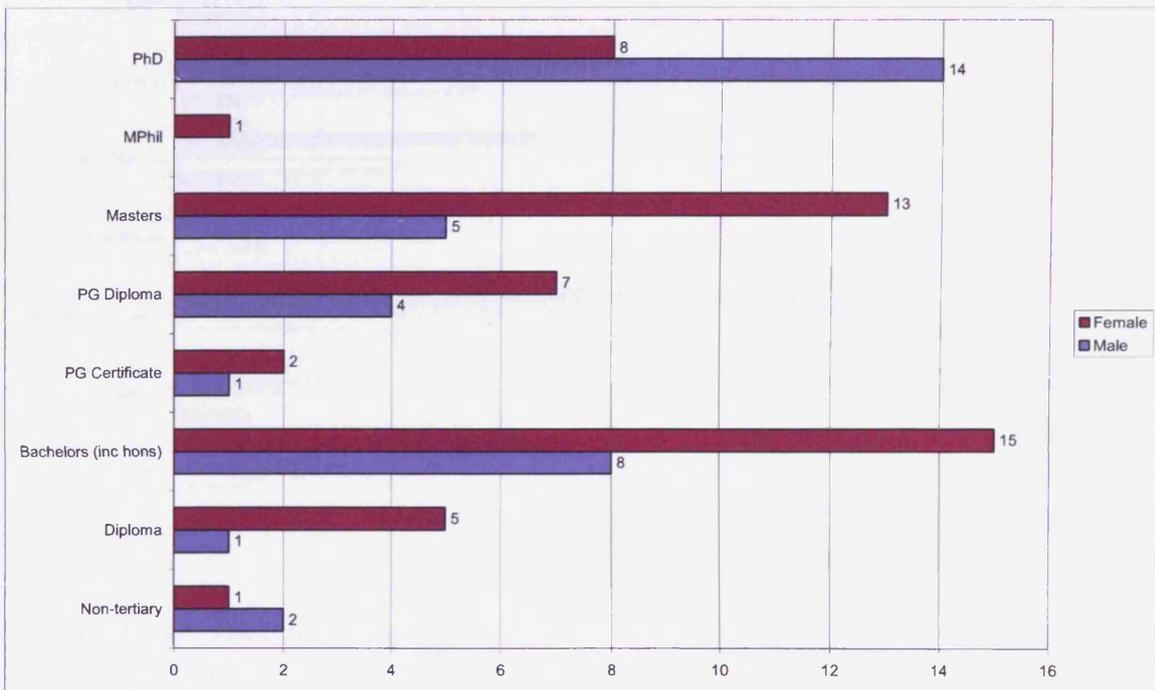


Chart 24 - Qualifications by Gender

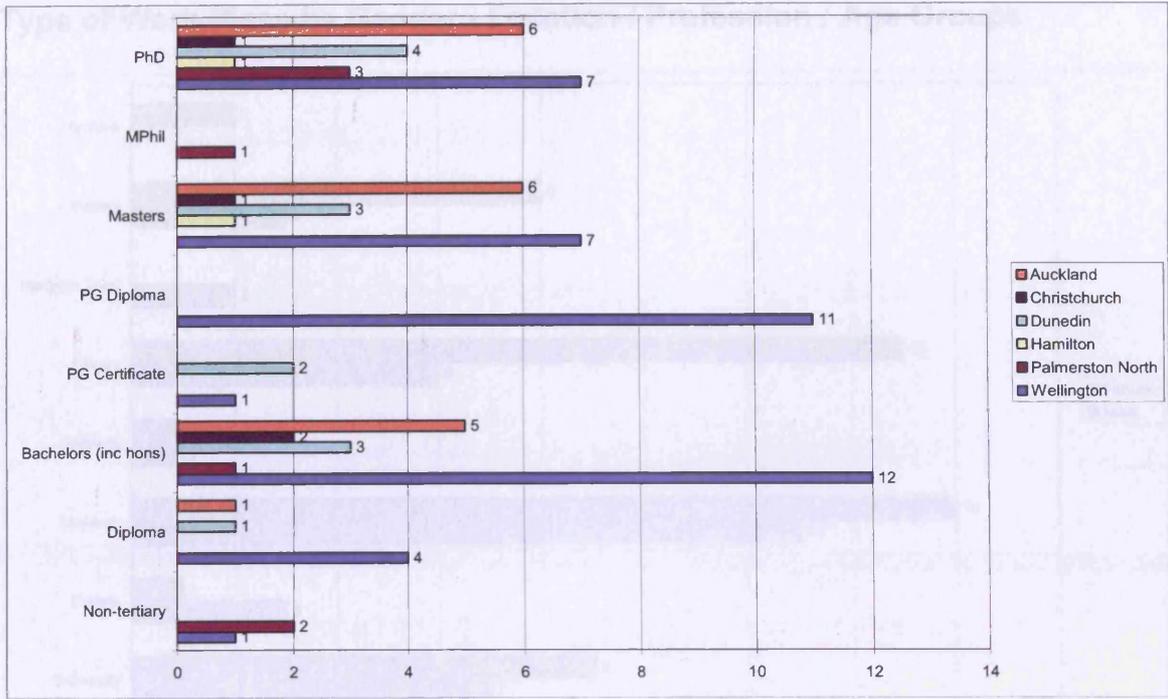


Chart 25 - Qualifications by Location

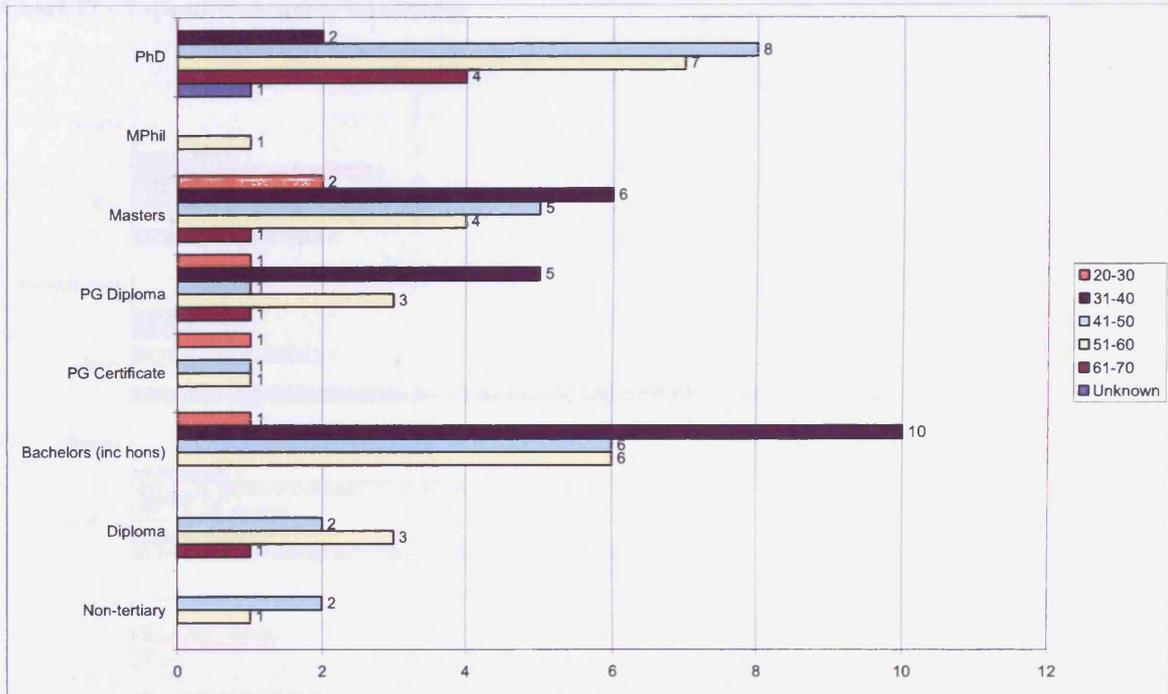


Chart 26 - Qualifications by Age Groups

As noted in Chapter 4, a participant's highest qualification has been used in the compilation of the statistics, rather than an amalgamation of all their qualifications.

Type of Work Place by Gender / Location / Profession / Age Groups

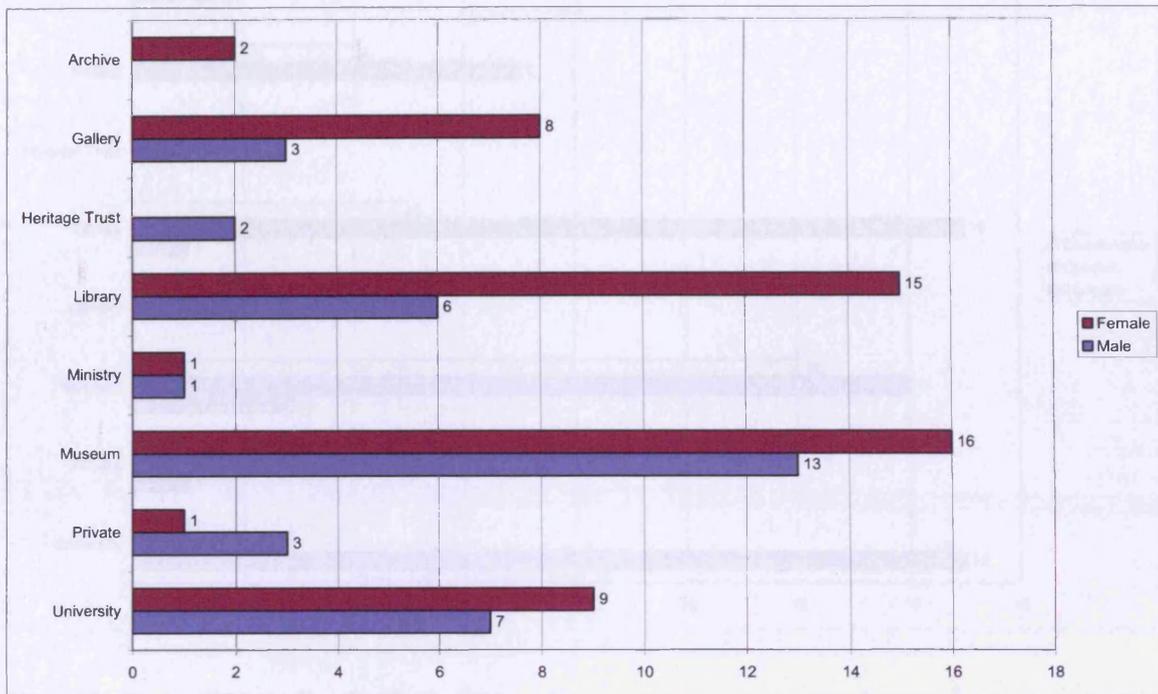


Chart 27 - Type of Workplace by Gender

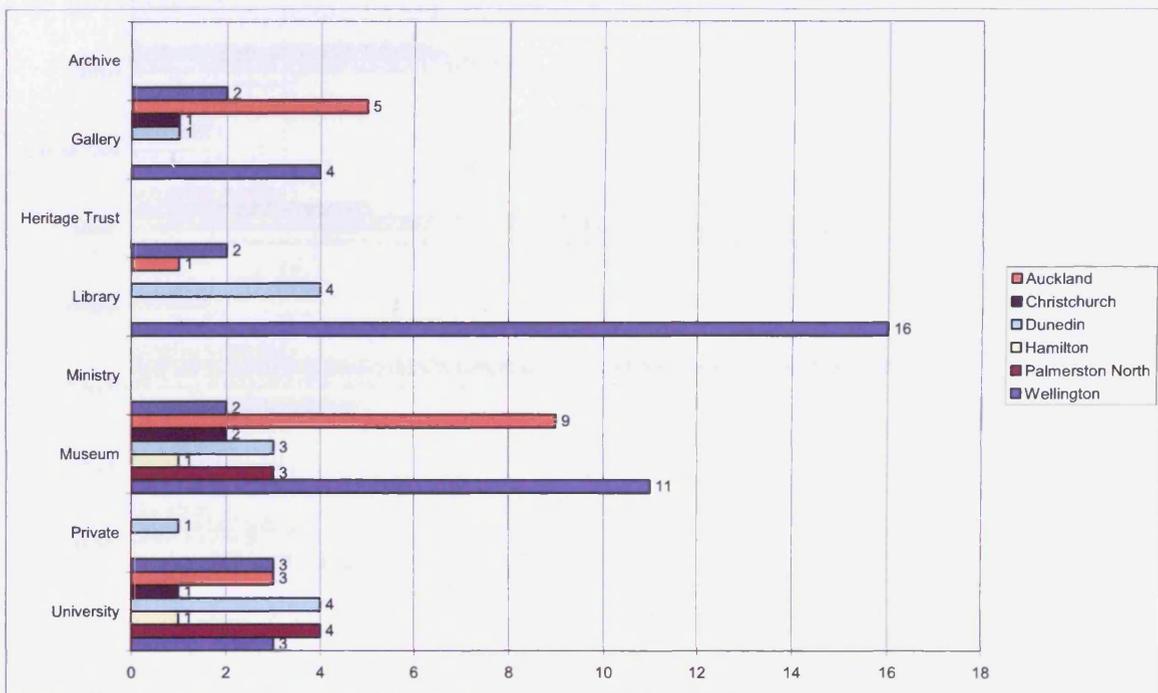


Chart 28 - Type of Workplace by Location

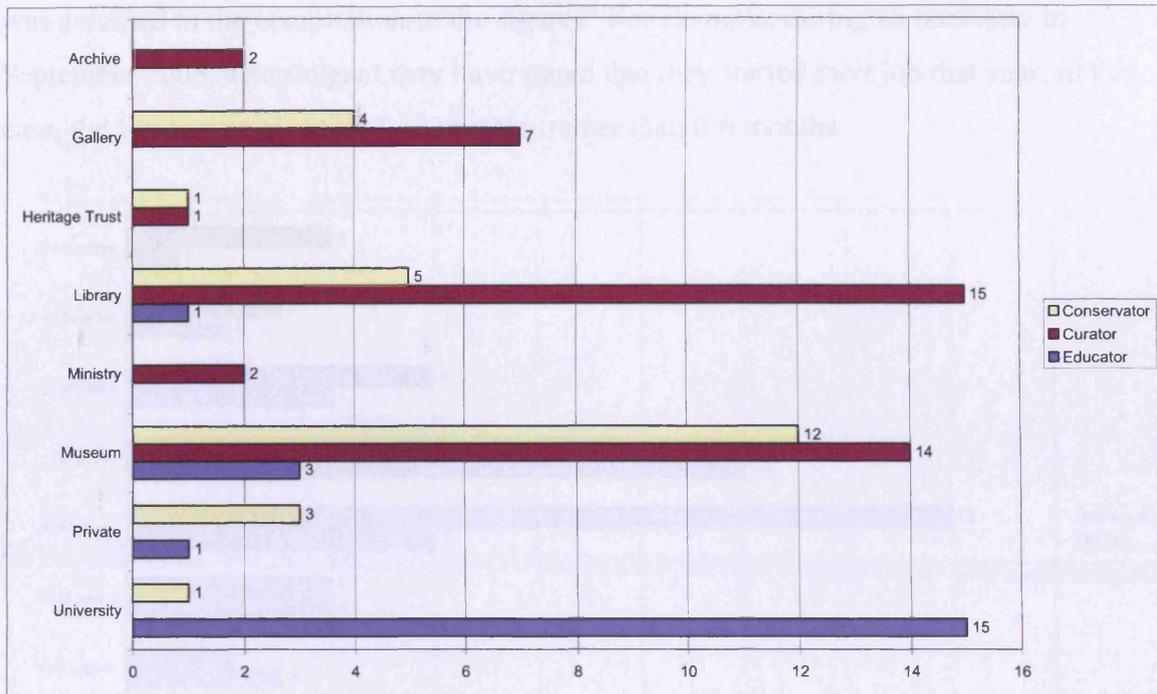


Chart 29 - Type of Workplace by Profession

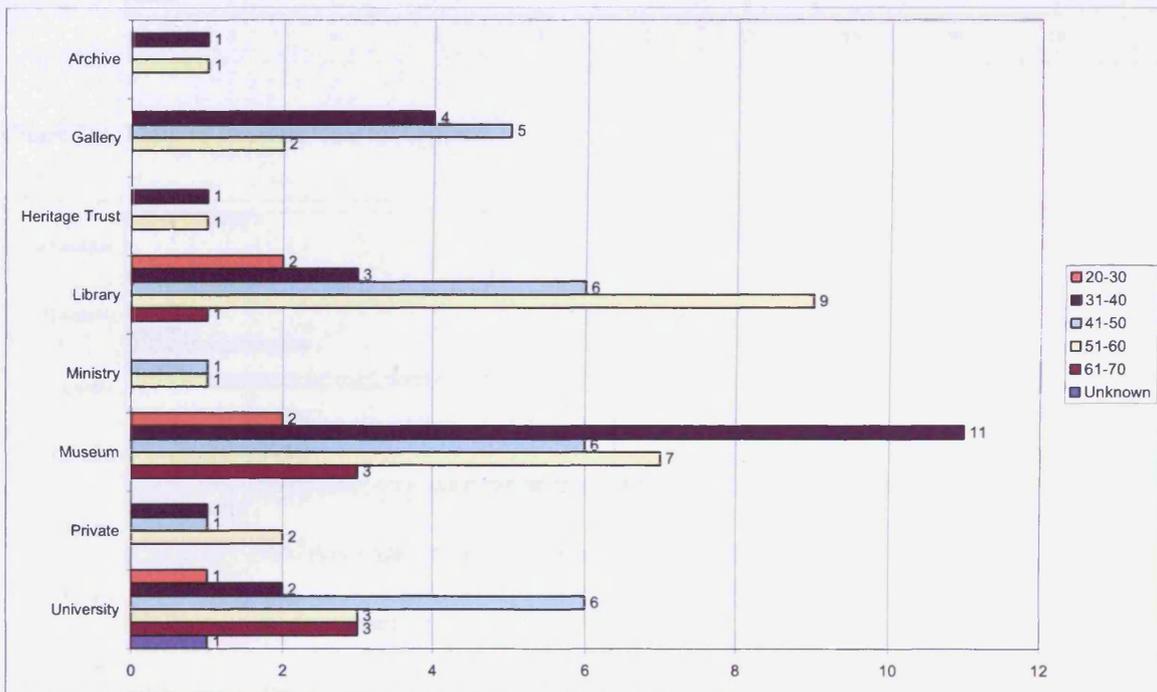


Chart 30 - Type of Workplace by Age Groups

Time in Present Role by Gender / Location / Profession / Age Groups

Times given in the responses for length of time in present role were not always that detailed. In these cases, attempts were made to verify the information from alternative sources, such as CVs or the internet. Where this was not possible, a longer period of time

was assumed in the compilation of the figures. For example, during an interview in September 2005, a participant may have stated that they started their job that year; in this case, the figure was given as 7-12 months, rather than 0-6 months.

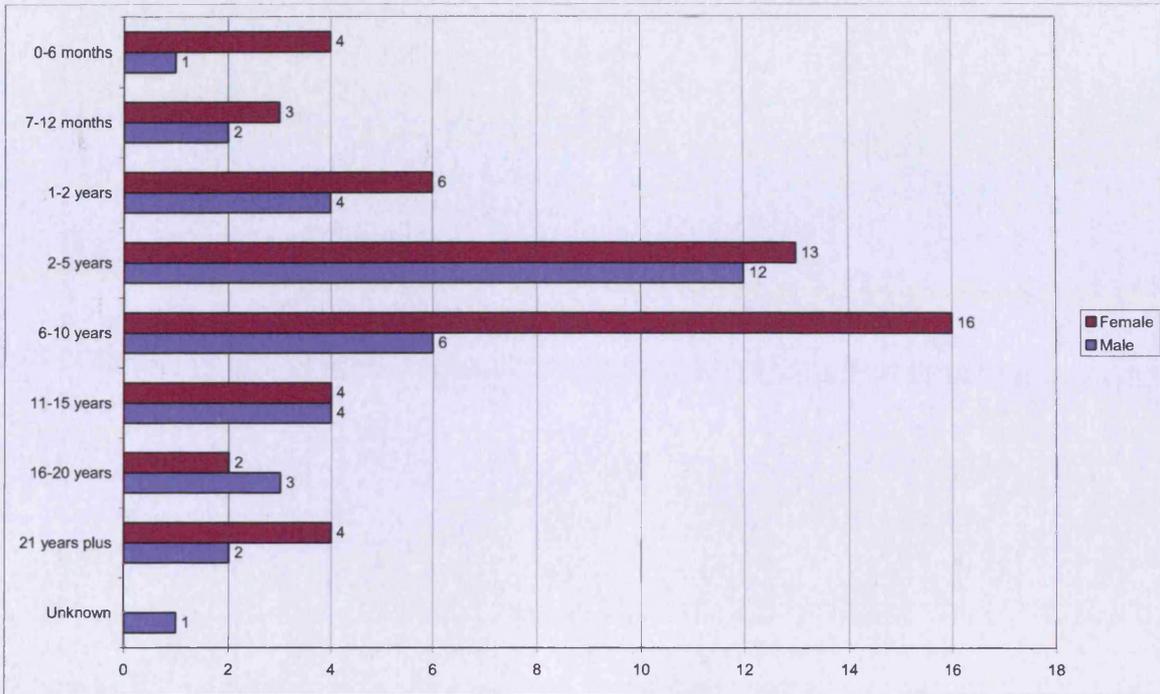


Chart 31 - Time in Present Role by Gender

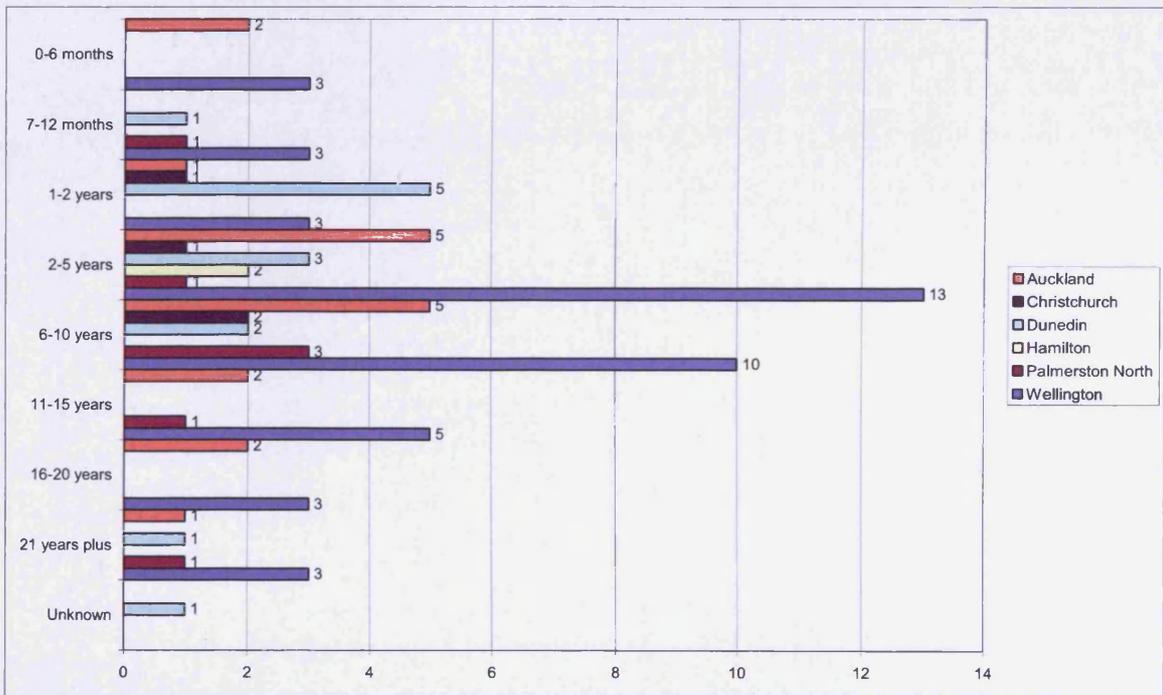


Chart 32 - Time in Present Role by Location

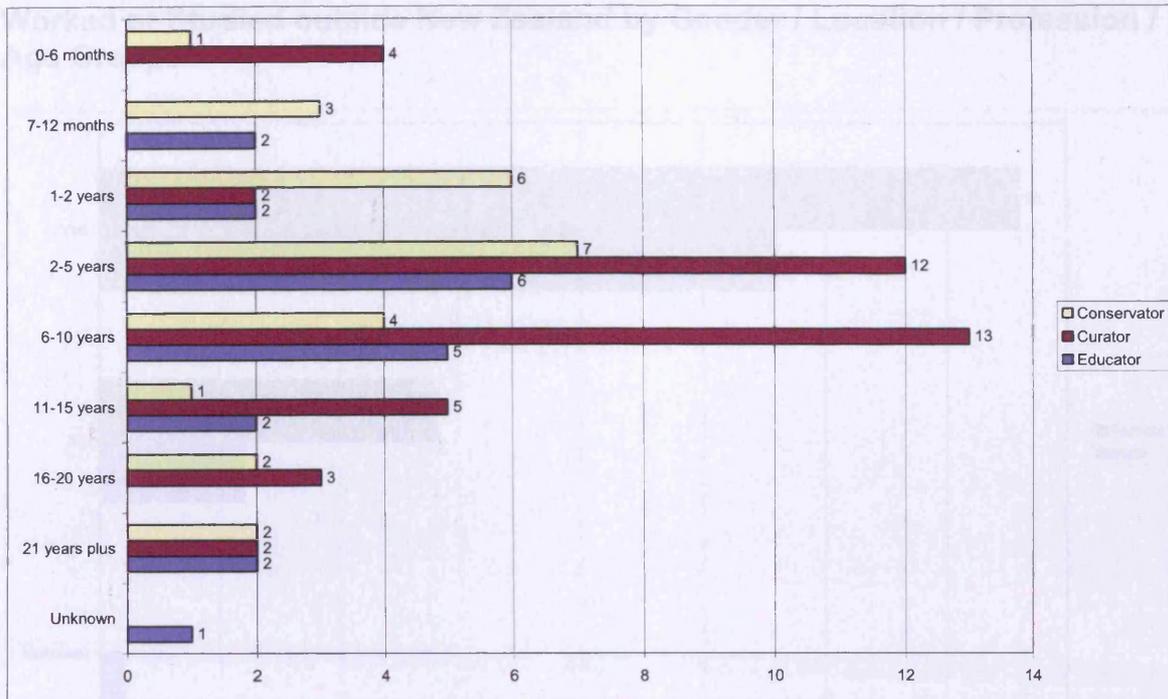


Chart 33 - Time in Present Role by Profession

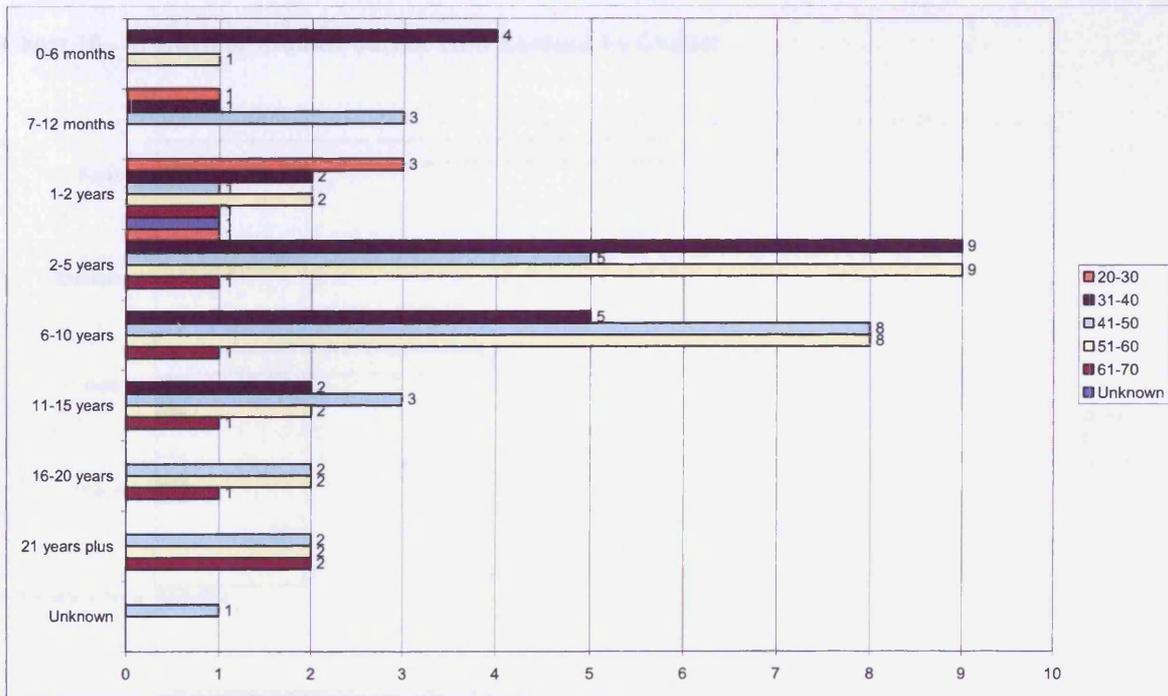


Chart 34 - Time in Present Role by Age Groups

Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Gender / Location / Profession / Age Groups

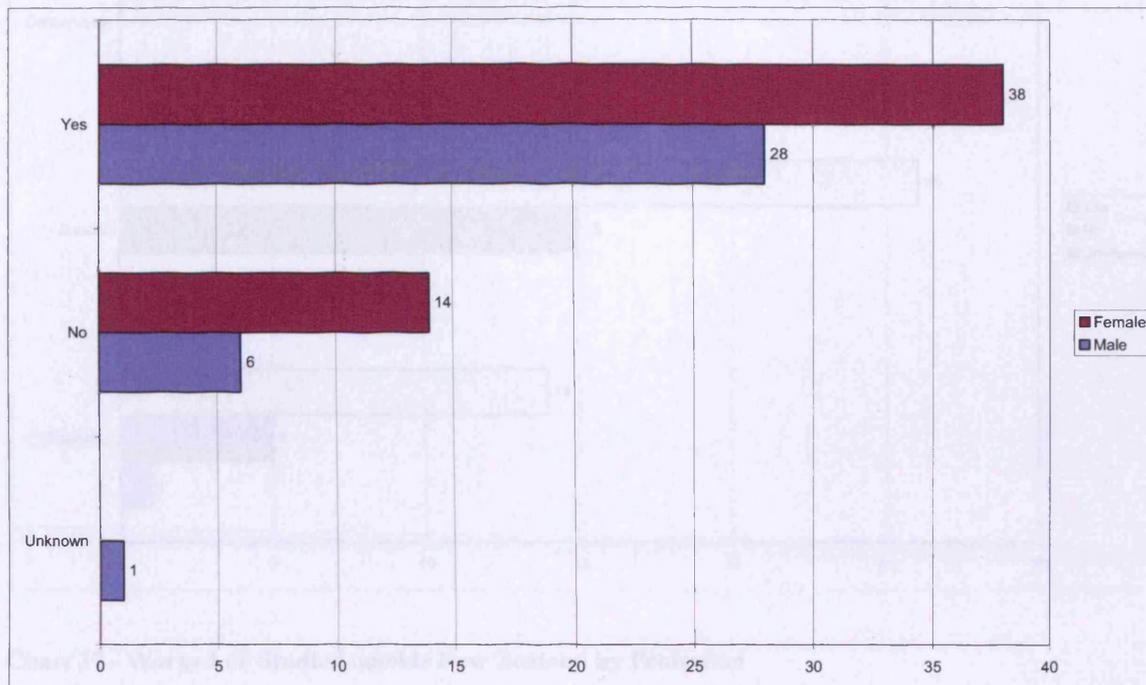


Chart 35 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Gender

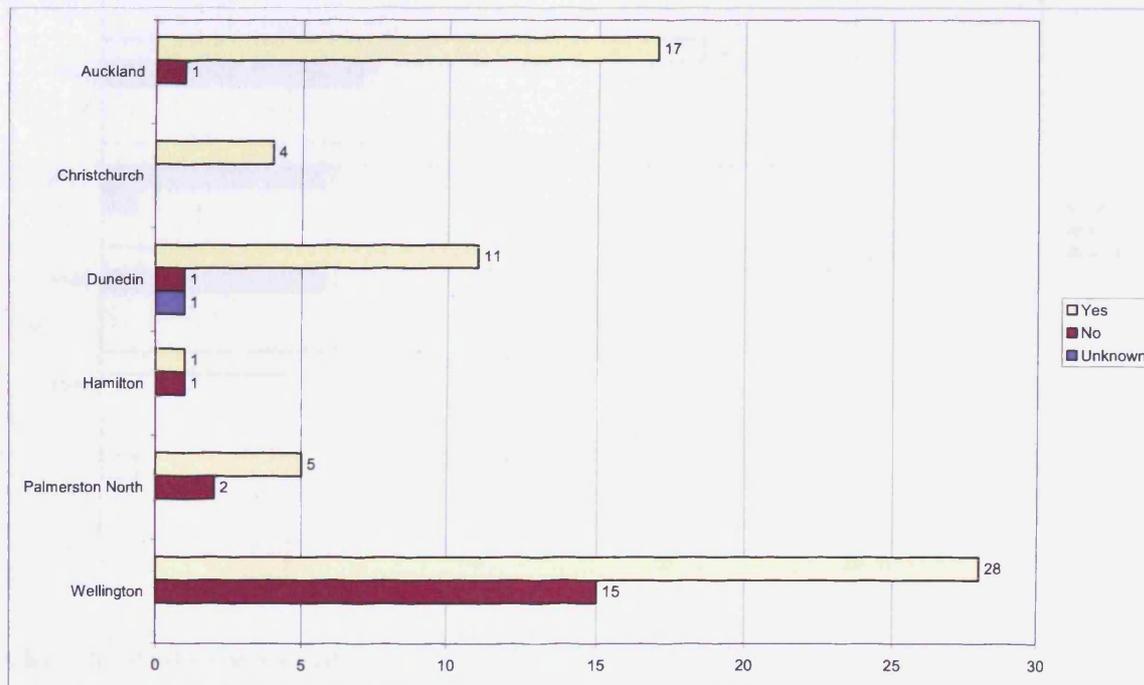


Chart 36 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Location

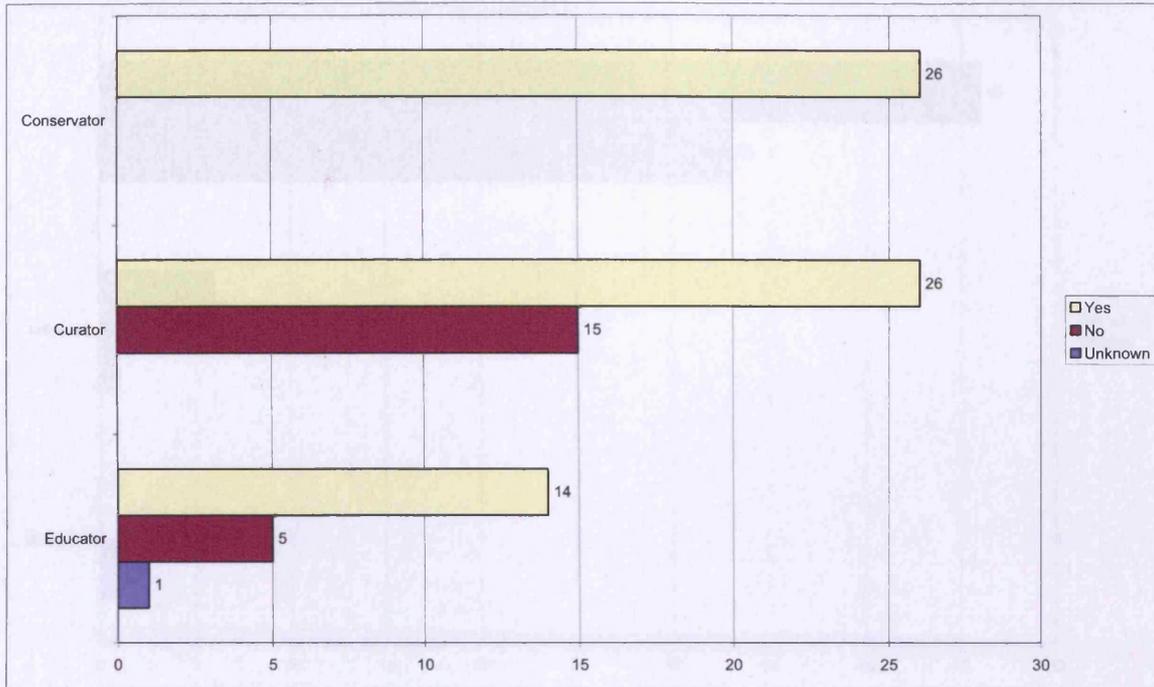


Chart 37 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Profession

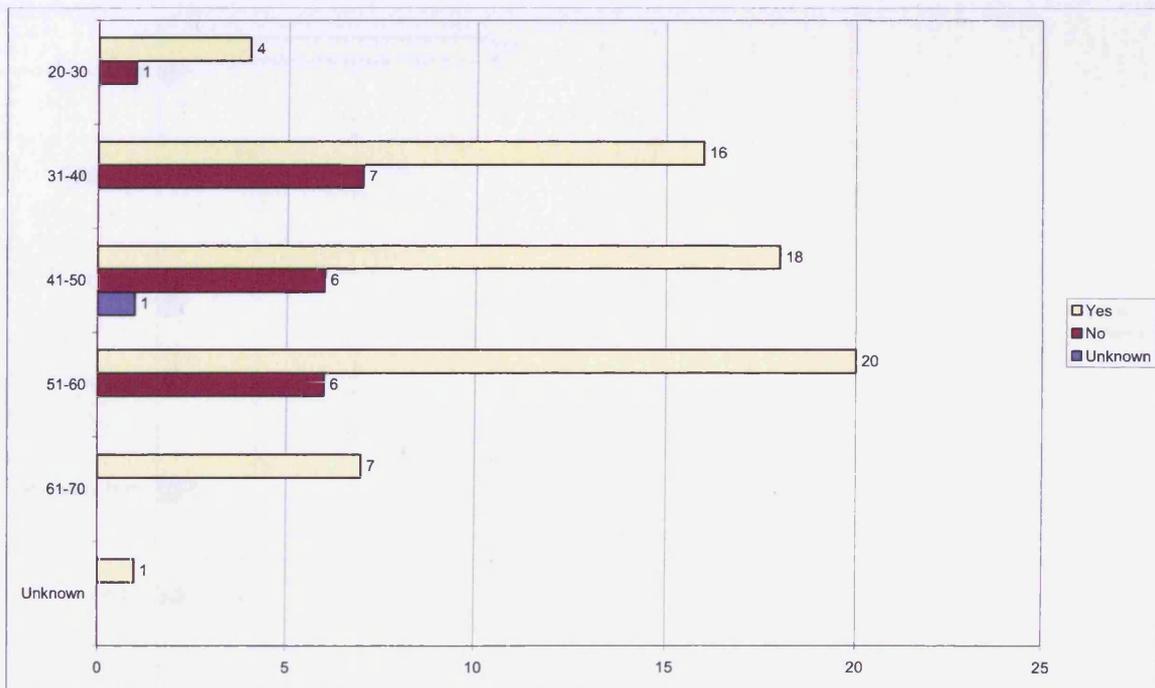


Chart 38 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Age Groups

Previous Work Experience by Gender / Location / Profession / Age Groups

Where an individual had experience of several different types of jobs, but one or more of those jobs could be considered to be within their current profession, their work experience was designated as 'same'.

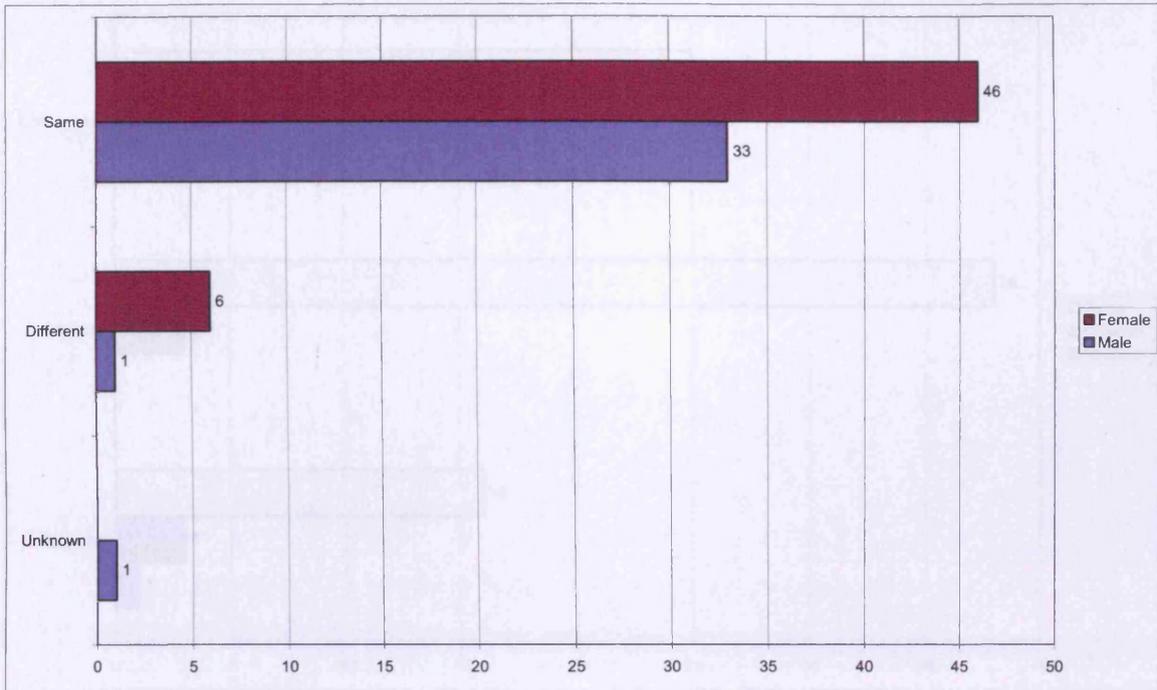


Chart 39 - Previous Work Experience by Gender

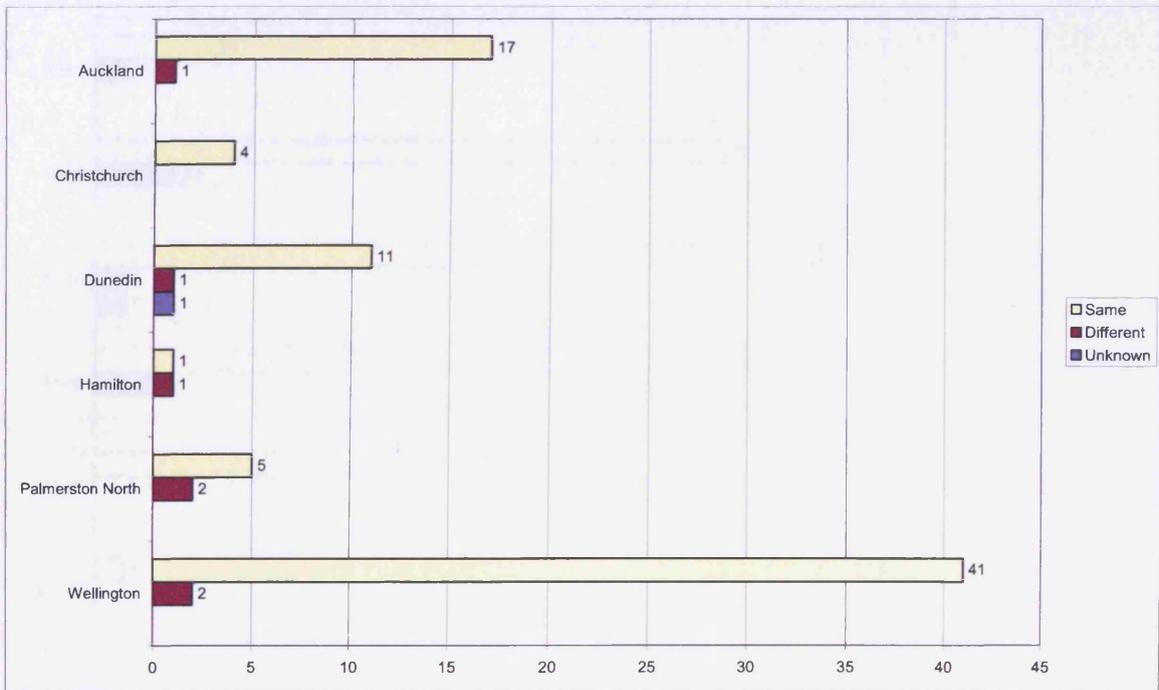


Chart 40 - Previous Work Experience by Location

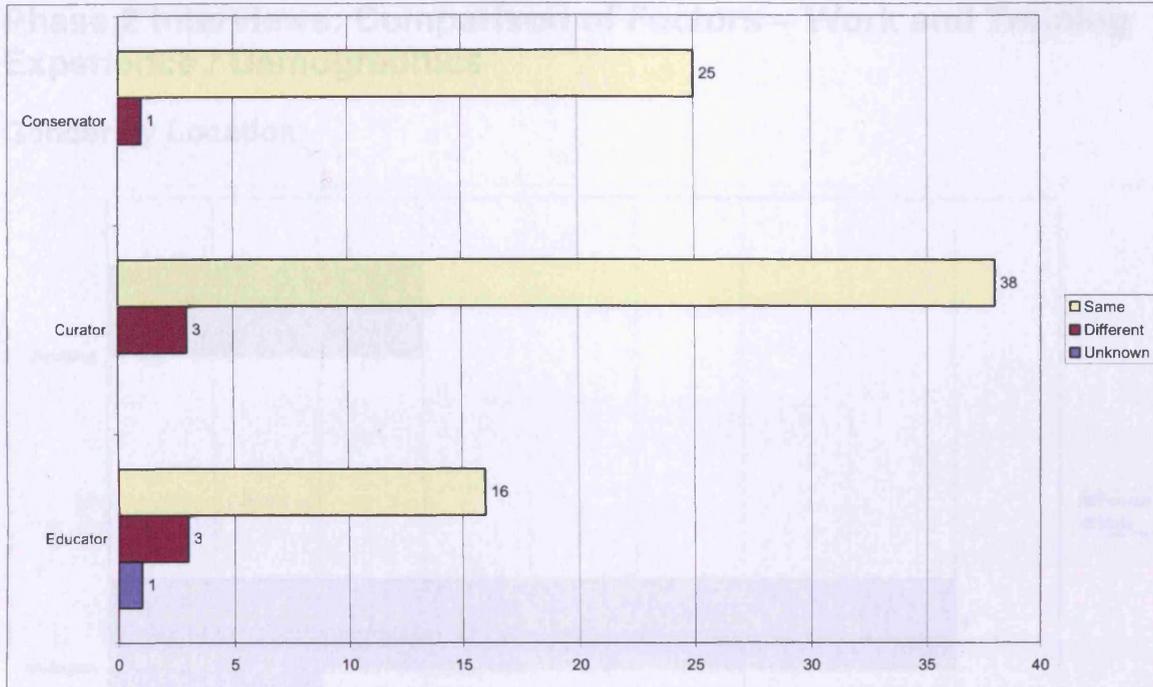


Chart 41 - Previous Work Experience by Profession

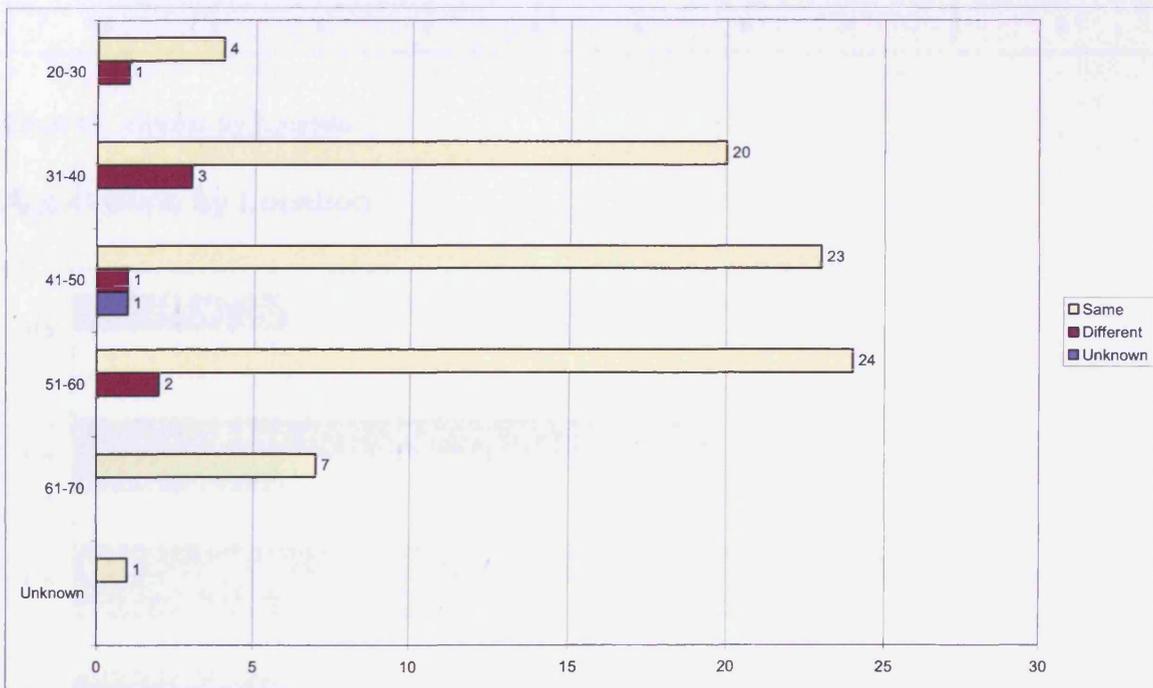


Chart 42 - Previous Work Experience by Age Groups

Phase 2 Interviews: Comparison of Factors – Work and Training Experience / Demographics

Gender by Location

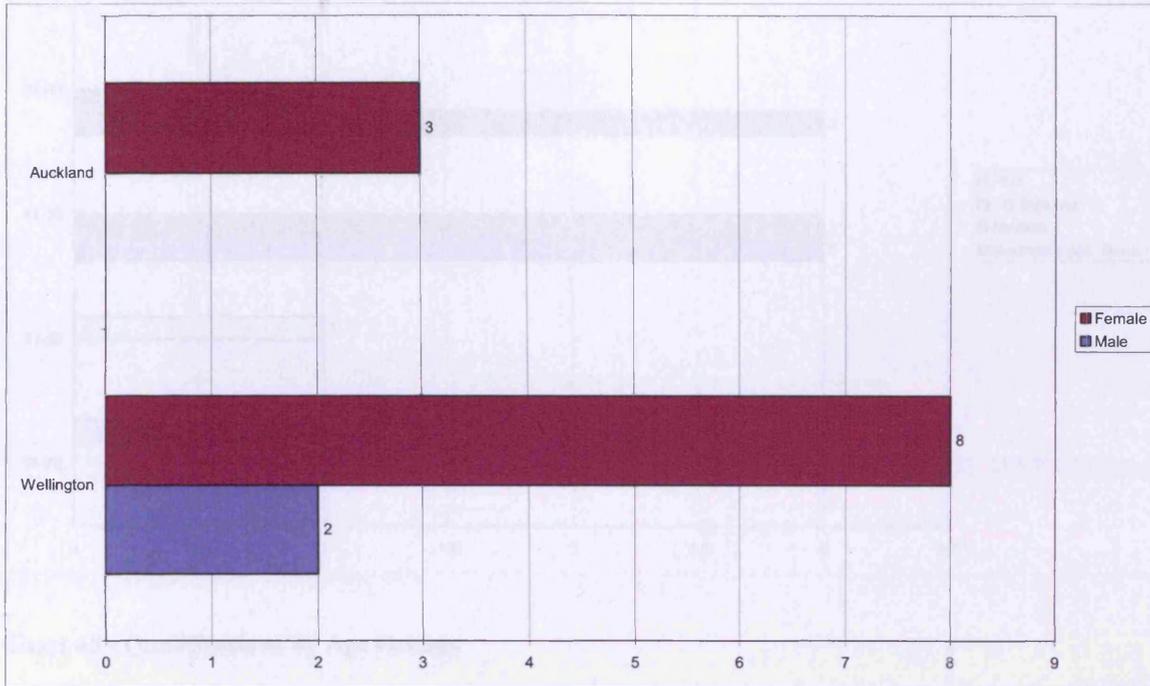


Chart 43 - Gender by Location

Age Groups by Location

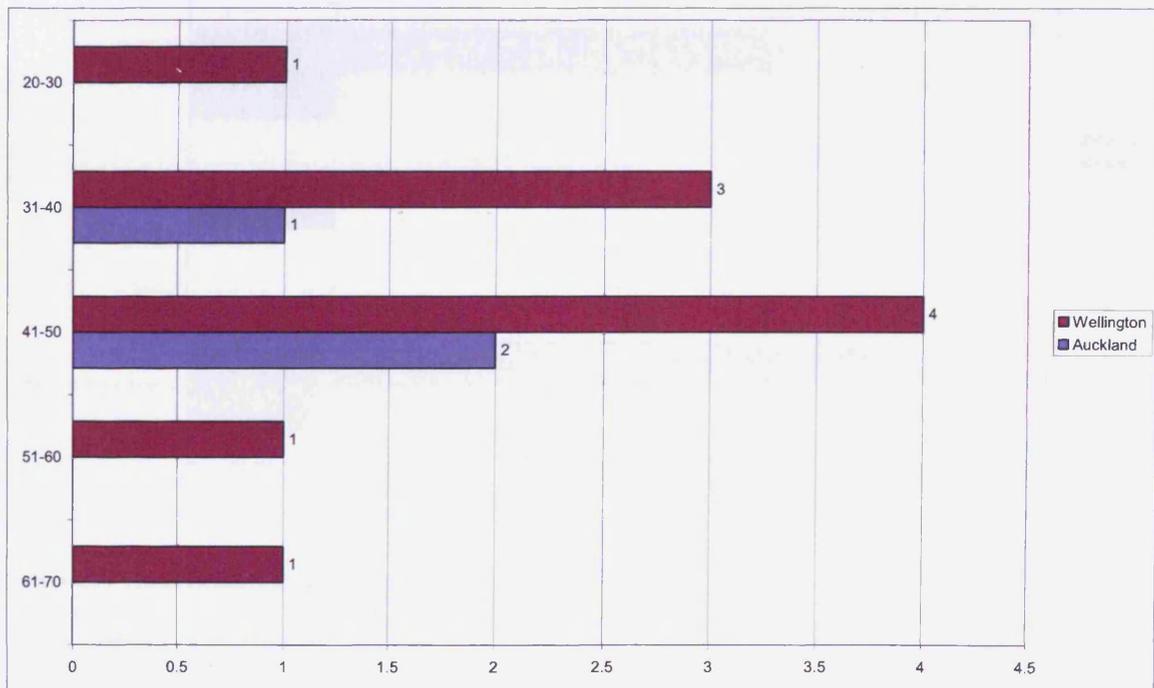


Chart 44 - Age Groups by Location

Qualifications by Age Groups / Gender / Location

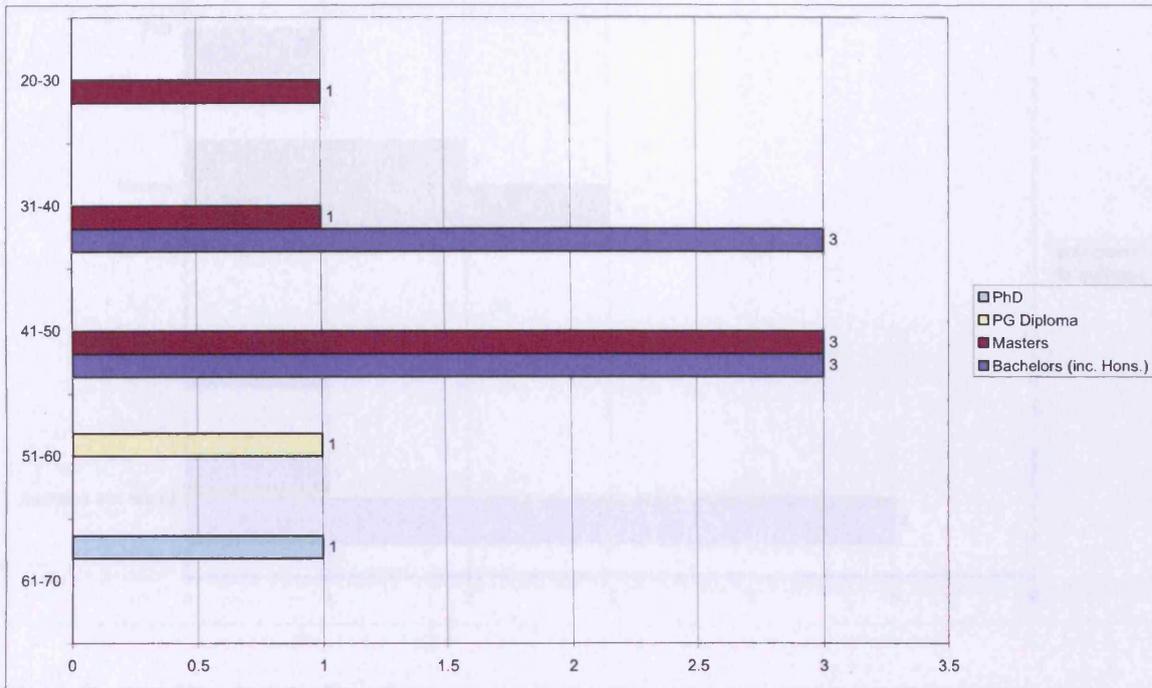


Chart 45 - Qualifications by Age Groups

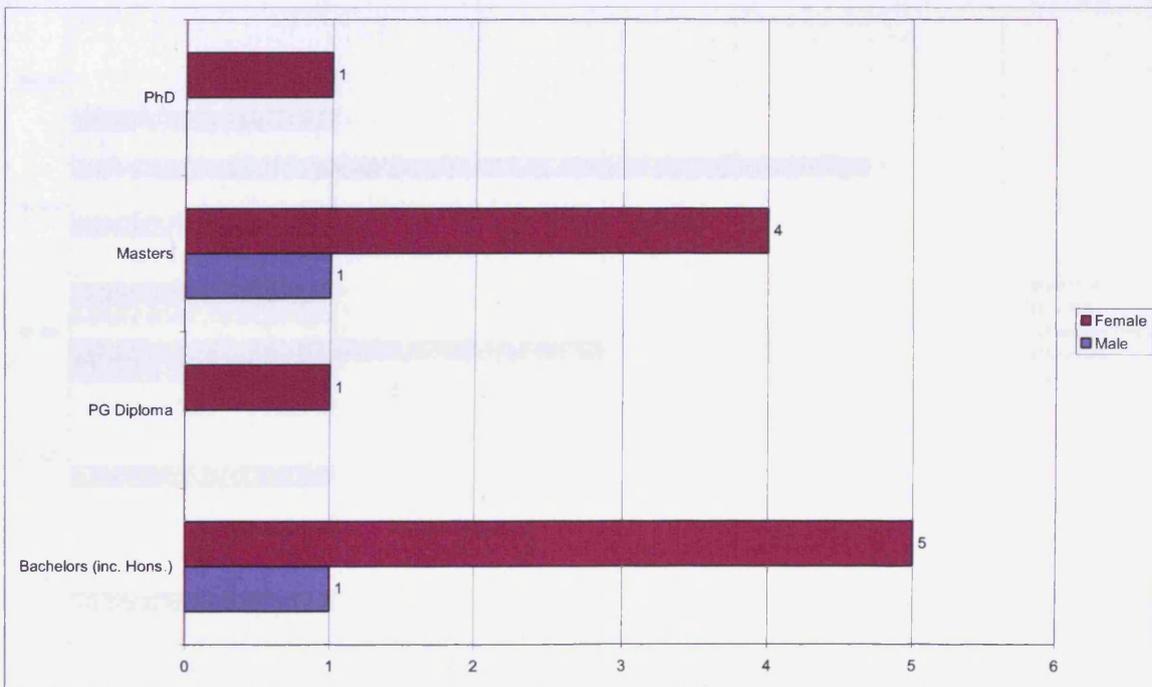


Chart 46 - Qualifications by Gender

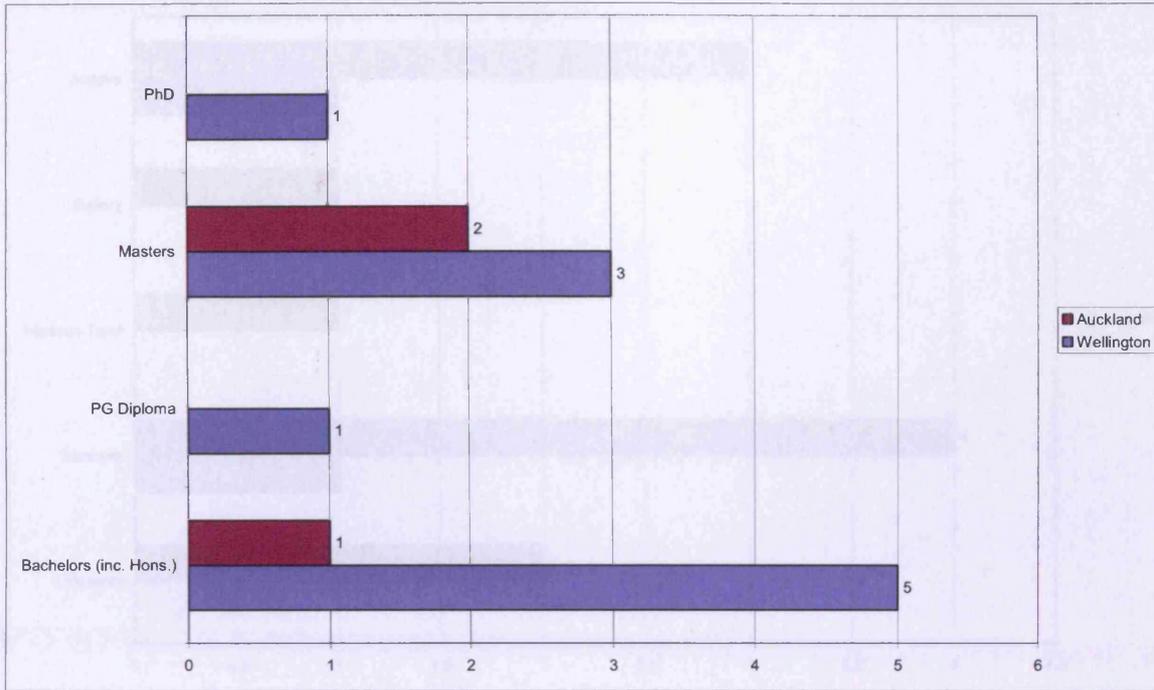


Chart 47 - Qualifications by Location

Type of Work Place by Age Groups / Gender / Location / Profession

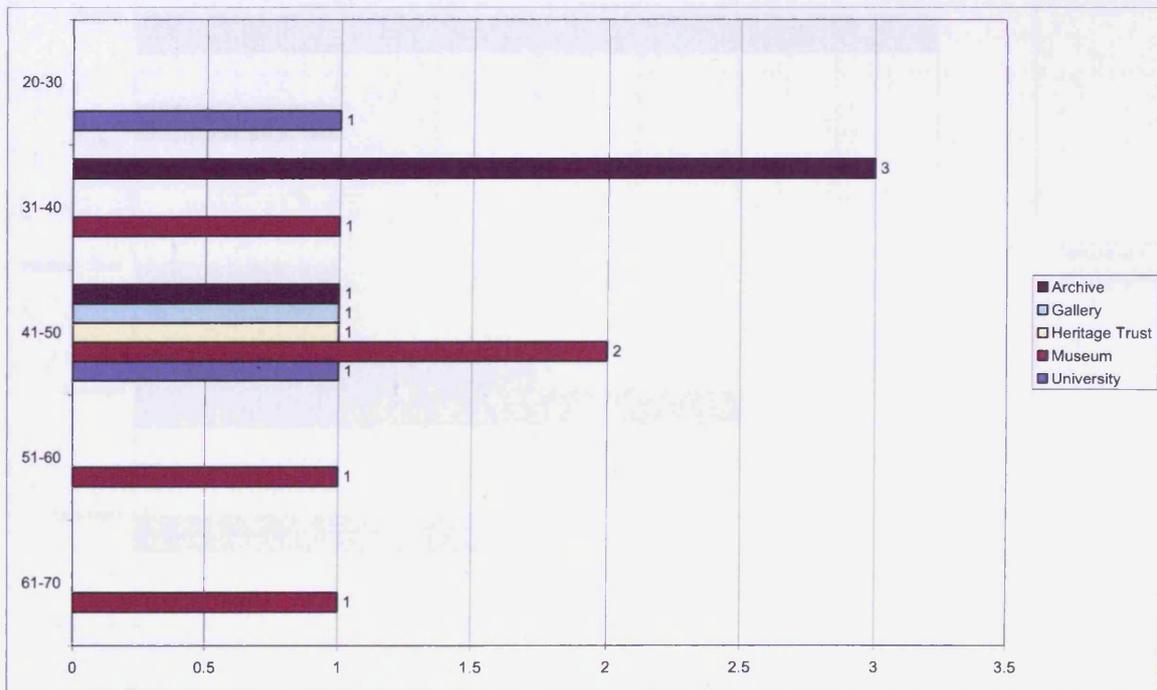


Chart 48 - Type of Workplace by Age Groups

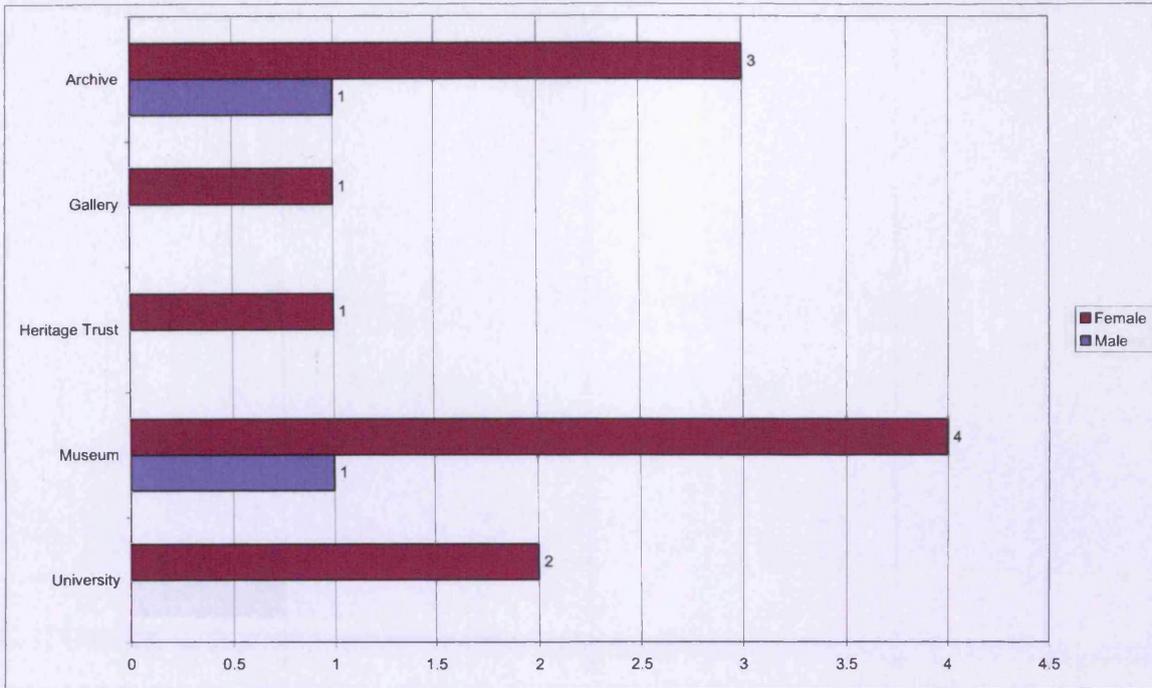


Chart 49 - Type of Workplace by Gender

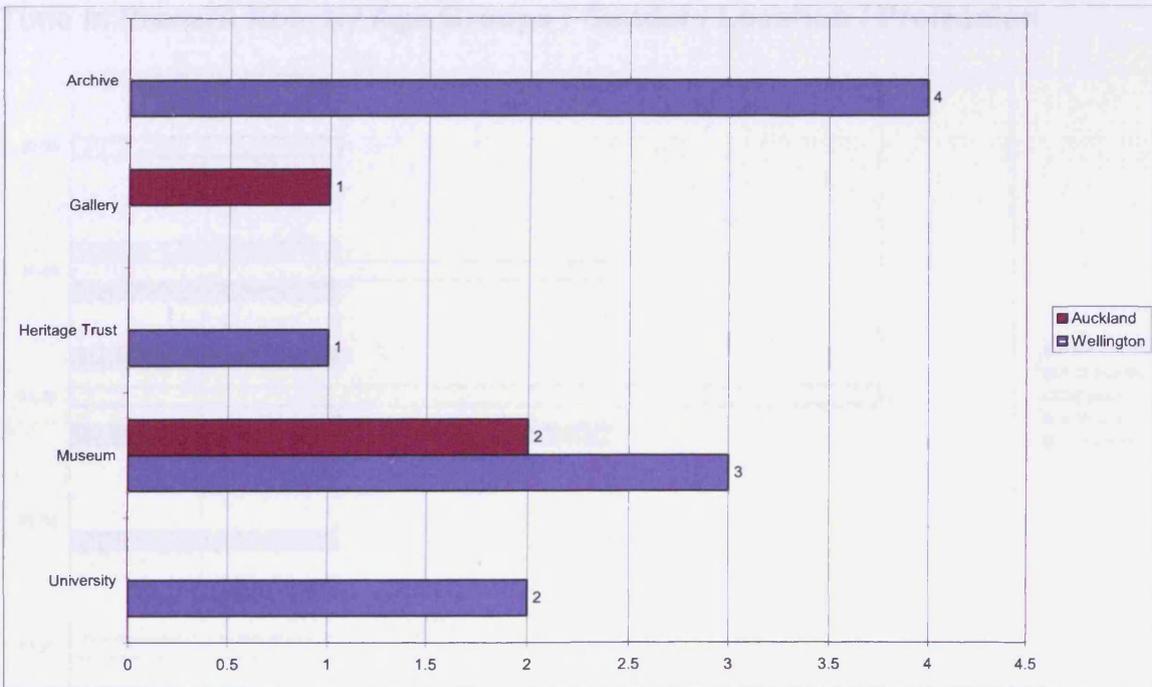


Chart 50 - Type of Workplace by Location

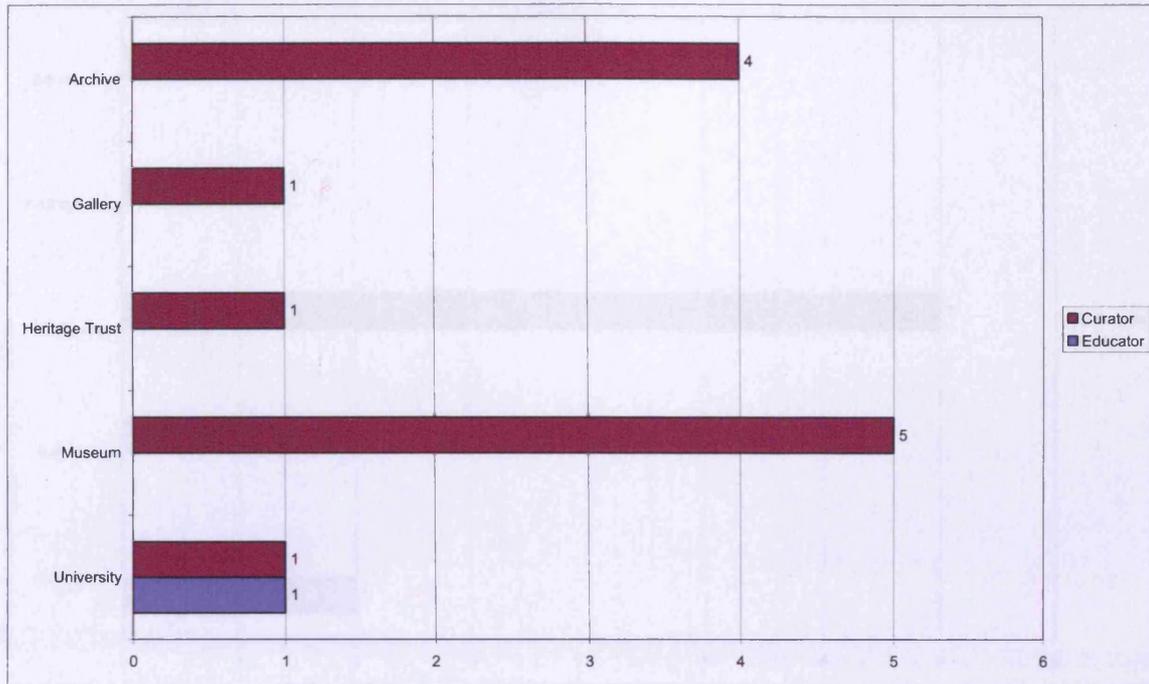


Chart 51 - Type of Workplace by Profession

Time in Present Role by Age Groups / Gender / Location / Profession

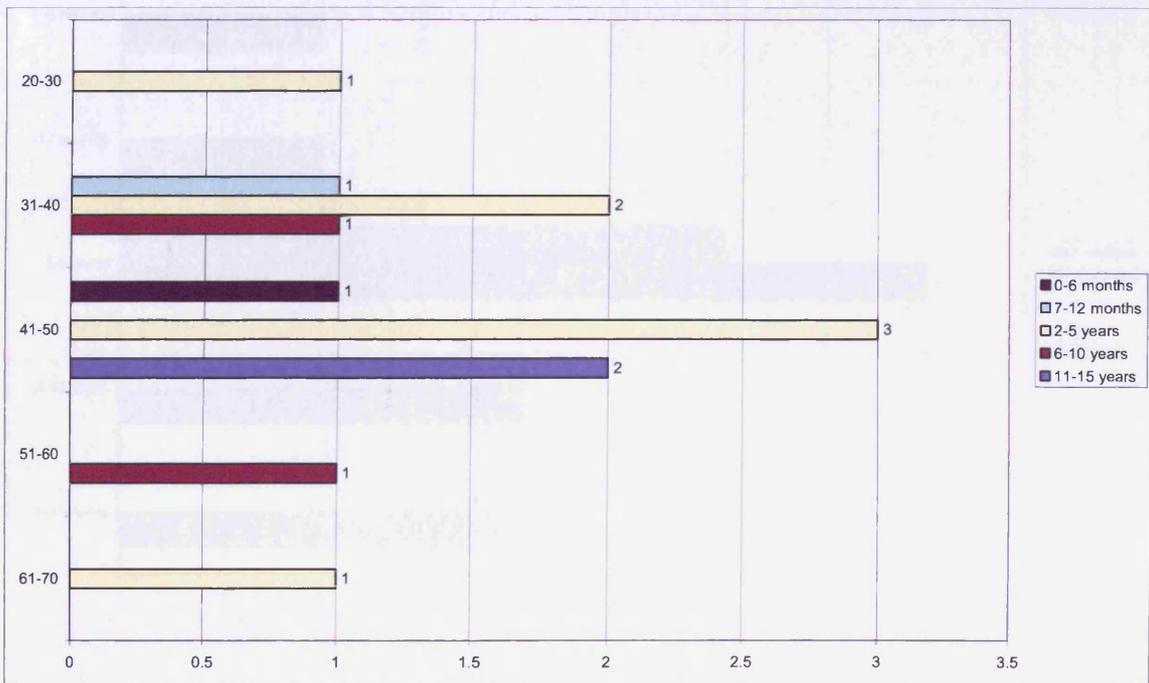


Chart 52 - Time in Present Role by Age Groups

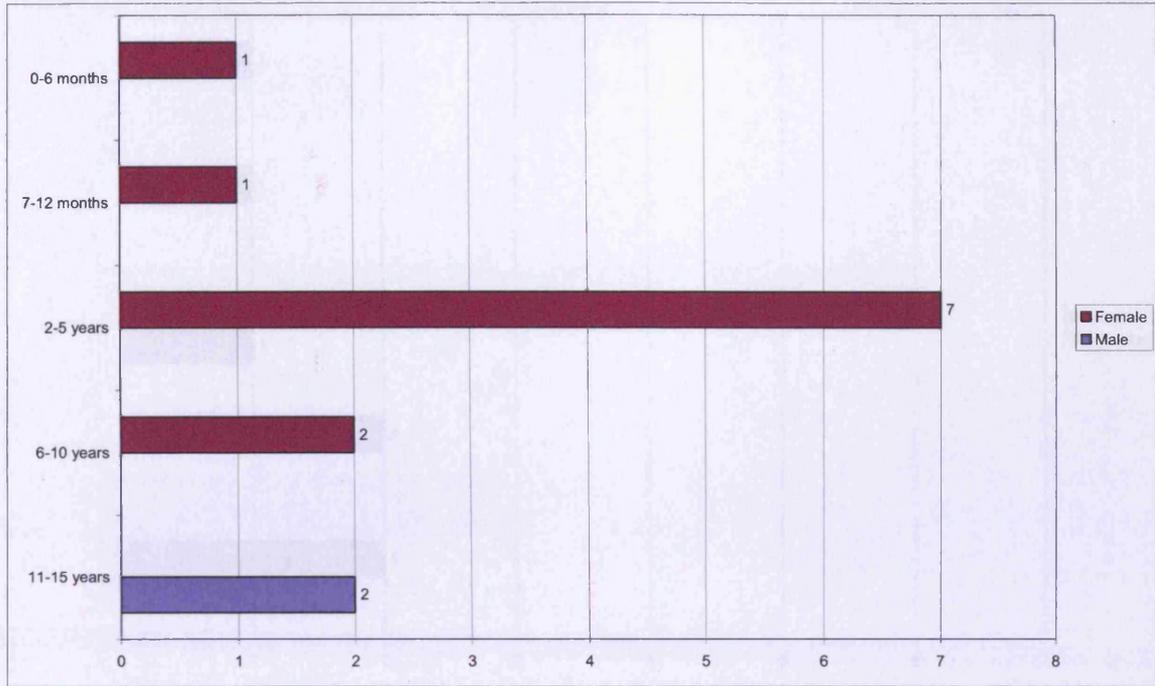


Chart 53 - Time in Present Role by Gender

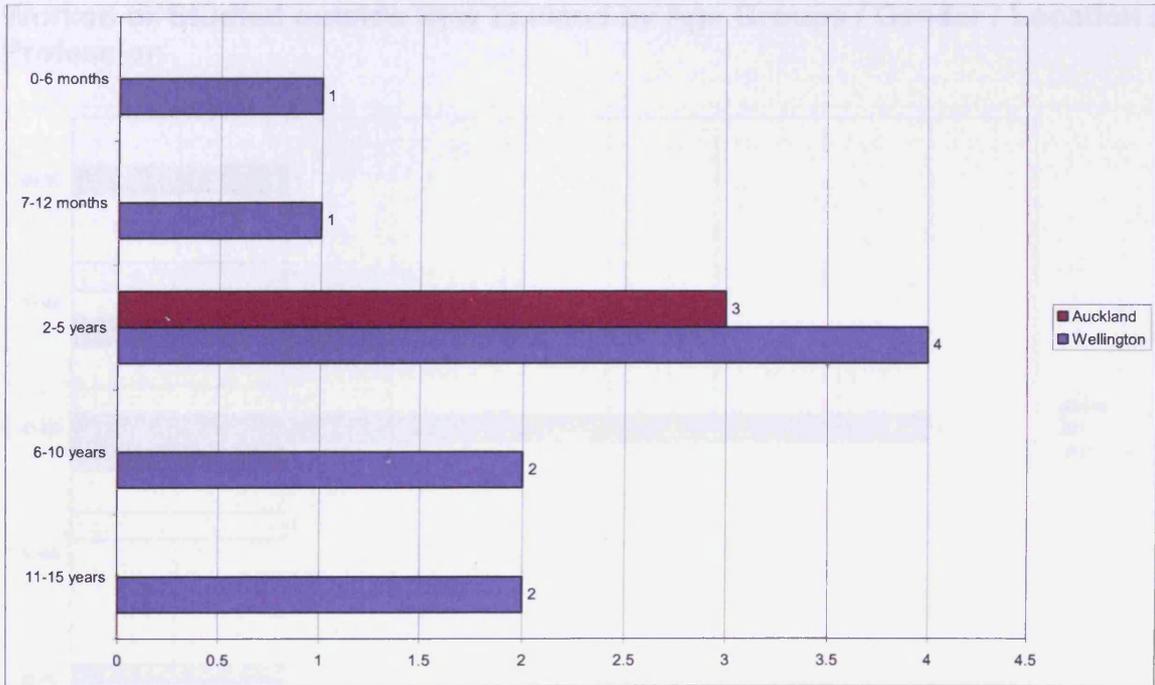


Chart 54 - Time in Present Role by Location

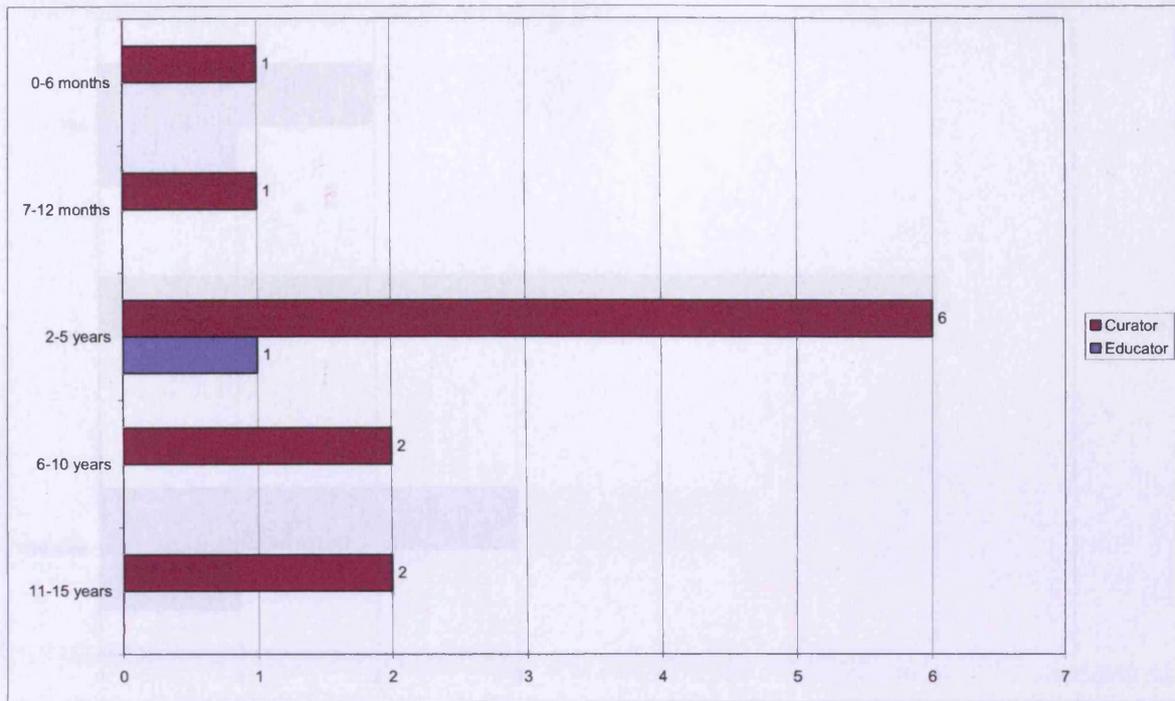


Chart 55 - Time in Present Role by Profession

Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Age Groups / Gender / Location / Profession

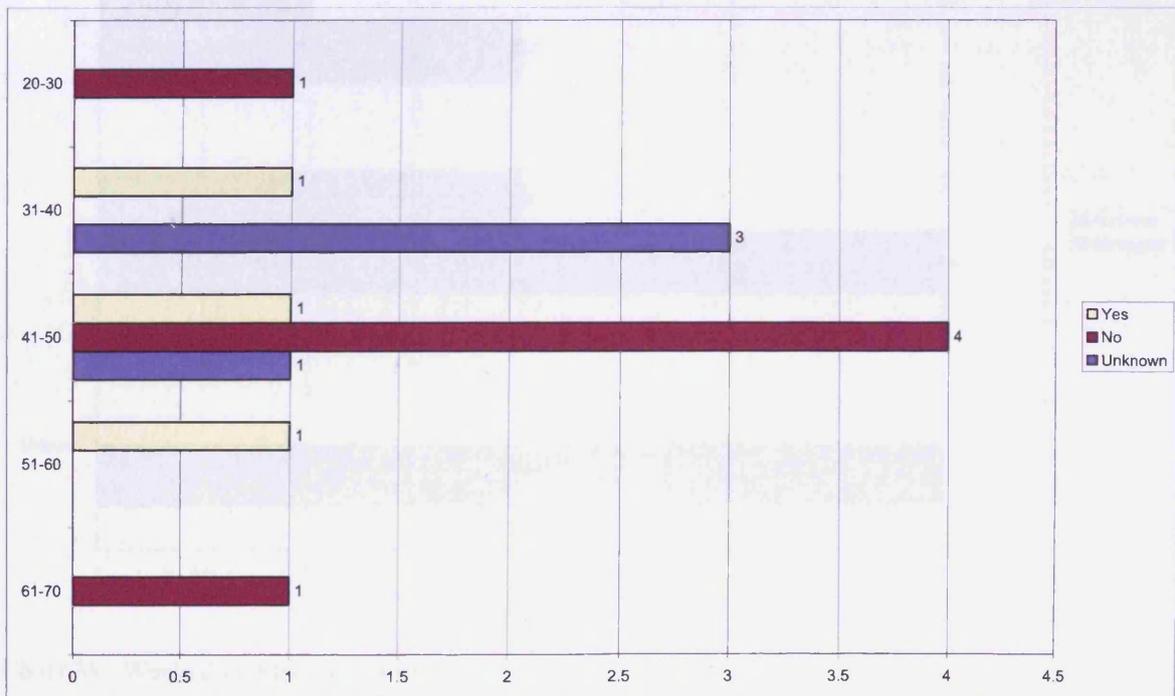


Chart 56 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Age Groups

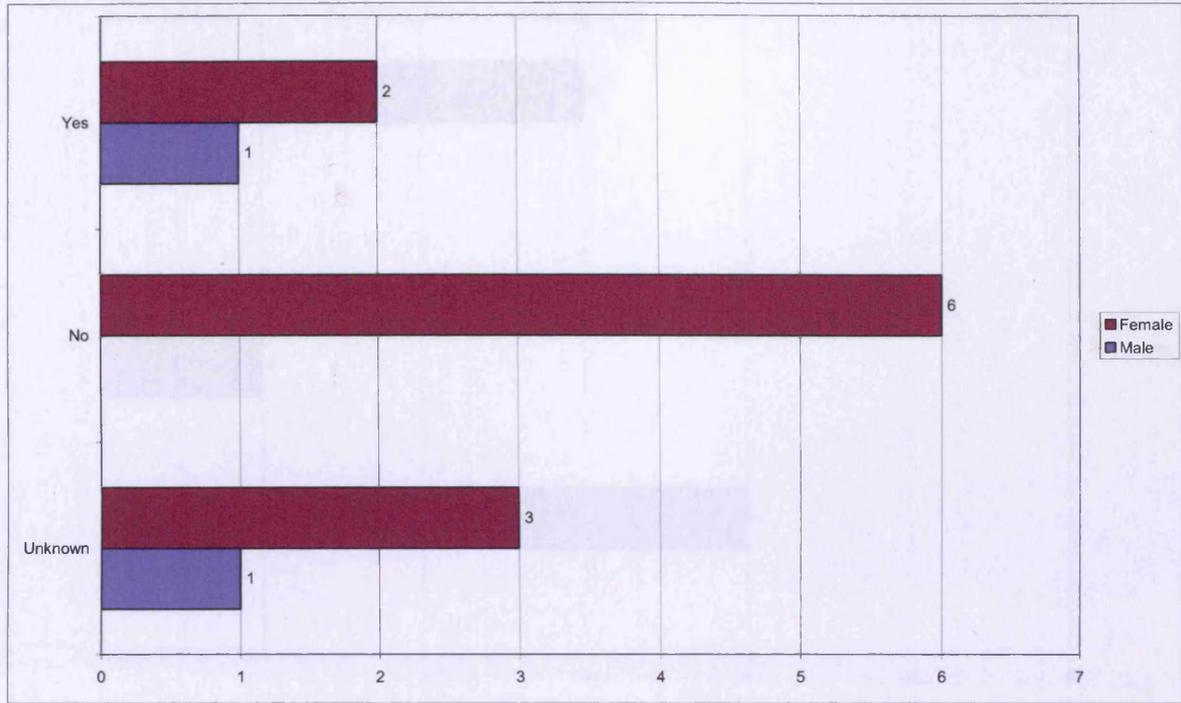


Chart 57 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Gender

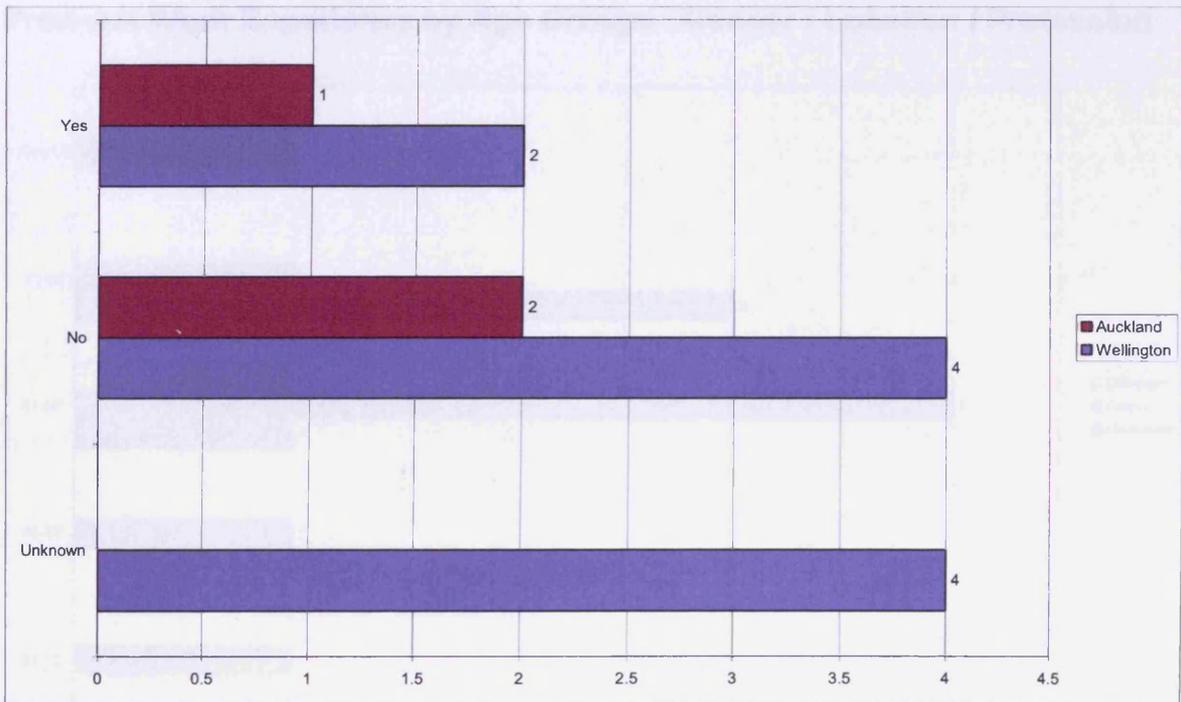


Chart 58 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Location

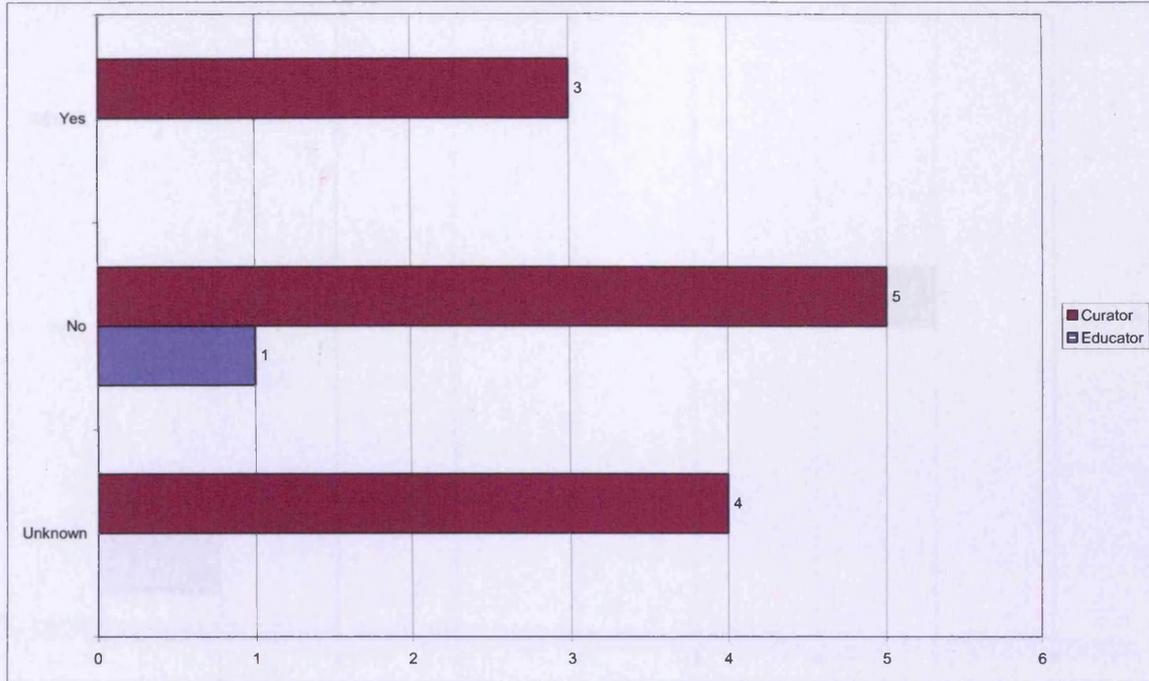


Chart 59 - Worked or Studied outside New Zealand by Profession

Previous Work Experience by Age Groups / Gender / Location / Profession

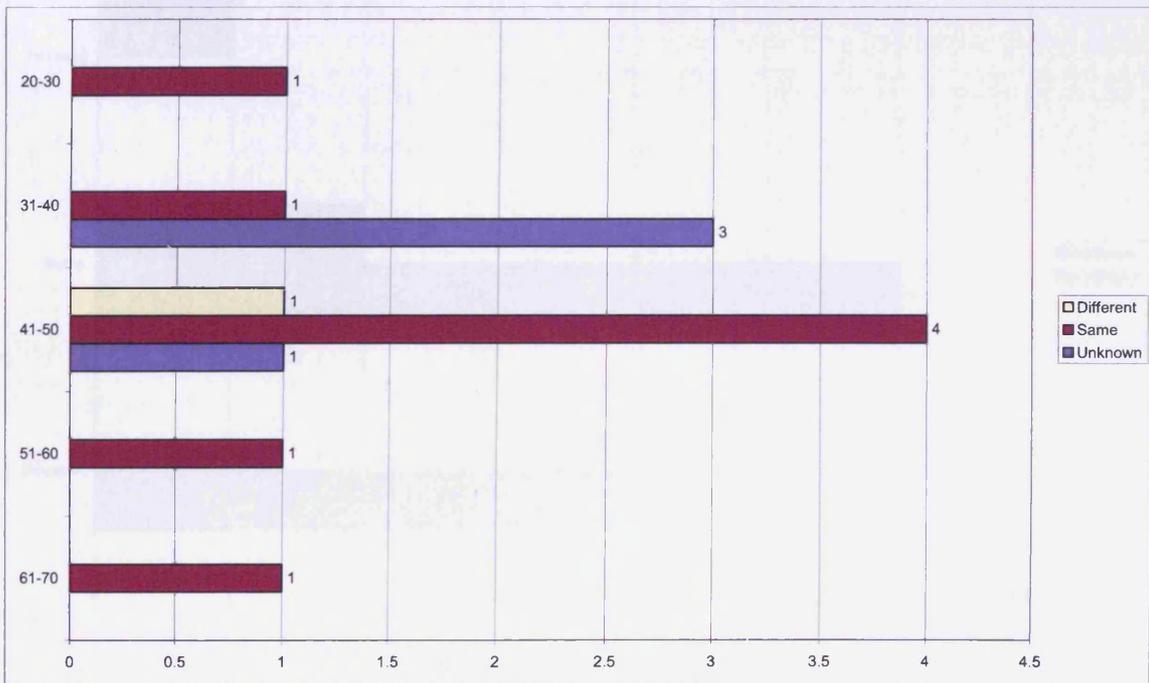


Chart 60 - Previous Work Experience by Age Groups

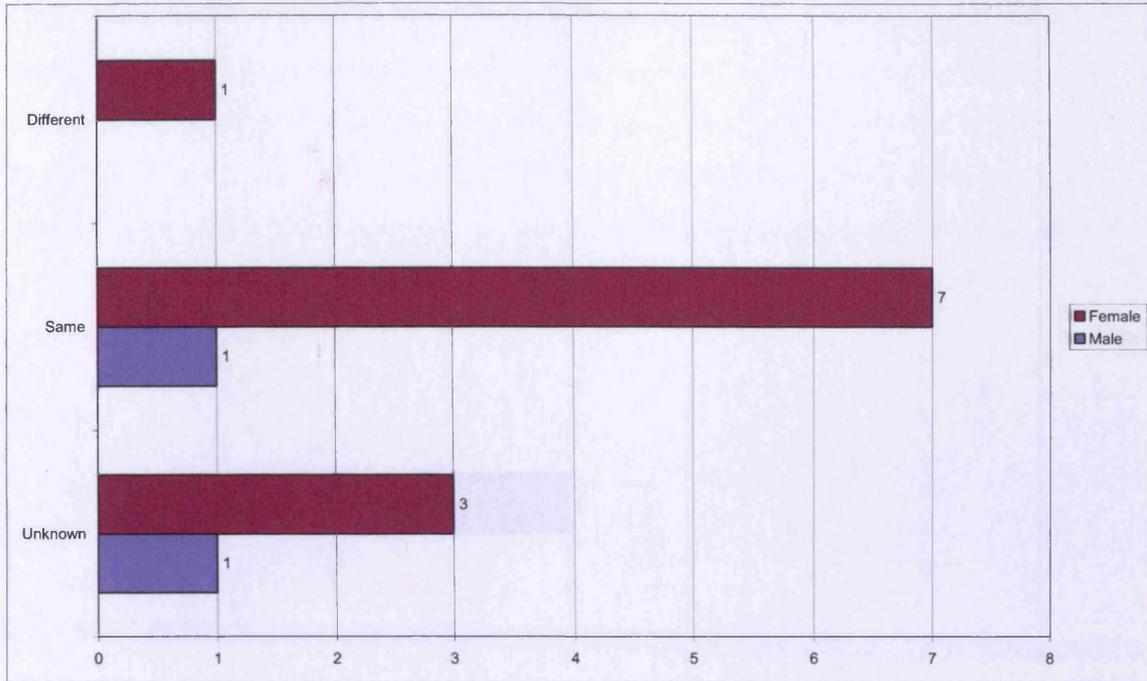


Chart 61 - Previous Work Experience by Gender

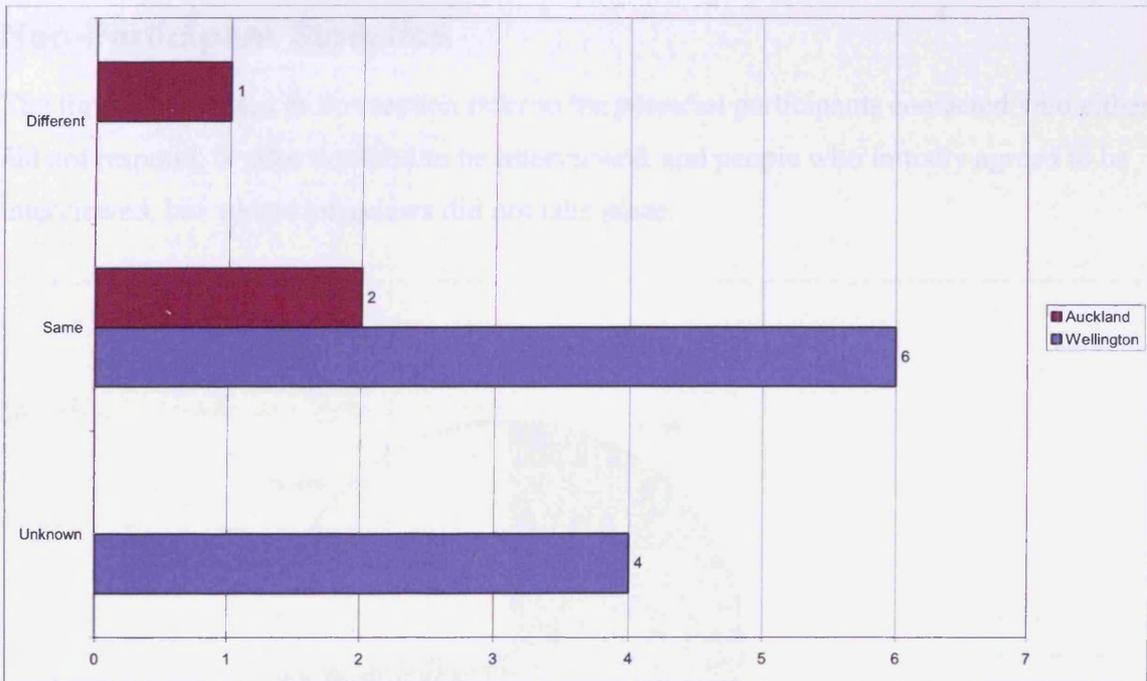


Chart 62 - Previous Work Experience by Location

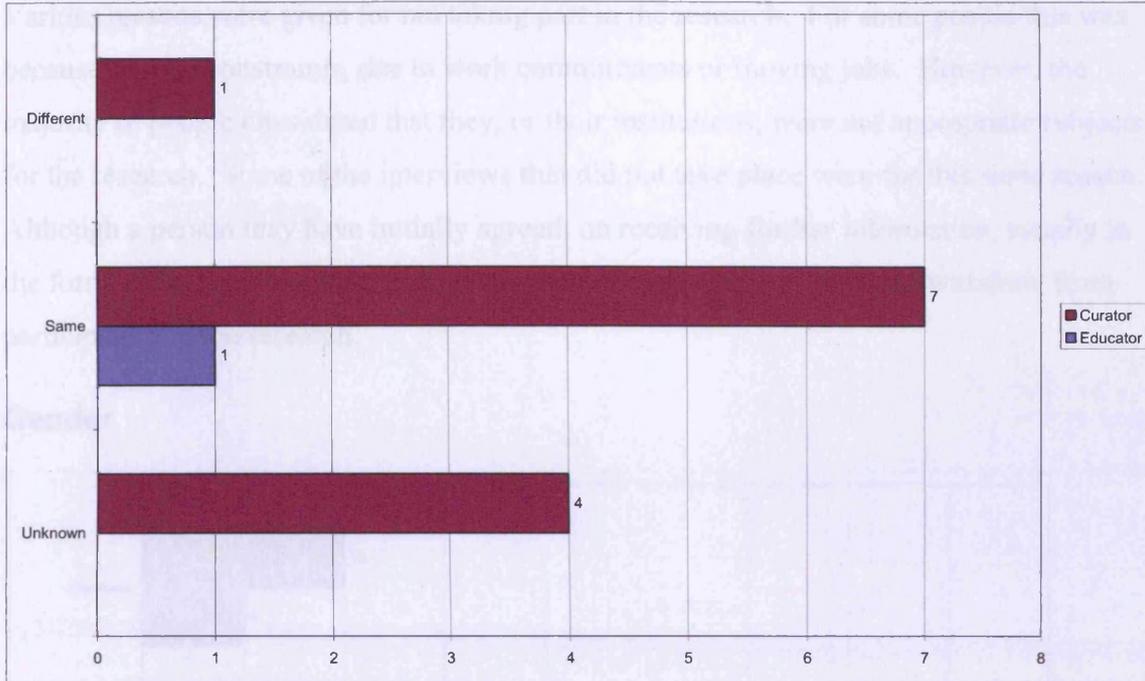


Chart 63 - Previous Work Experience by Profession

Non-Participant Statistics

The figures presented in this section refer to the potential participants contacted who either did not respond, or who declined to be interviewed, and people who initially agreed to be interviewed, but whose interviews did not take place.

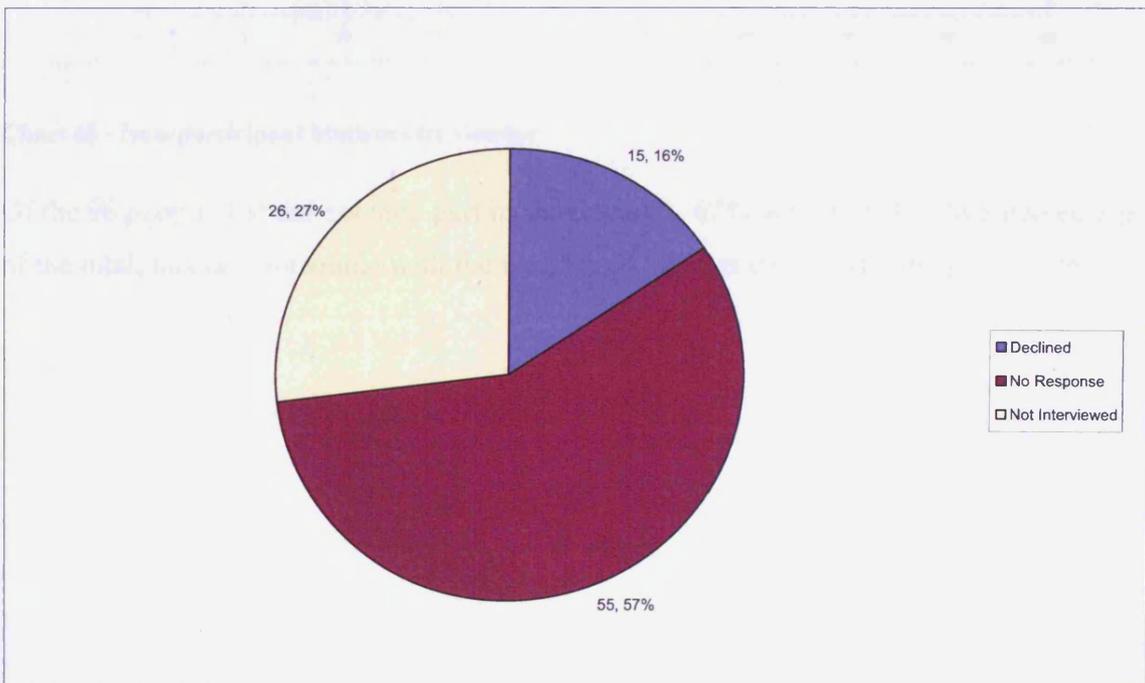


Chart 64 - Non-participant Statistics

Various reasons were given for not taking part in the research. For some people this was because of time constraints, due to work commitments or moving jobs. However, the majority of people considered that they, or their institutions, were not appropriate subjects for the research. Some of the interviews that did not take place were for this same reason. Although a person may have initially agreed, on receiving further information, usually in the form of the questionnaire, that person then revised their position and withdrew from participating in the research.

Gender

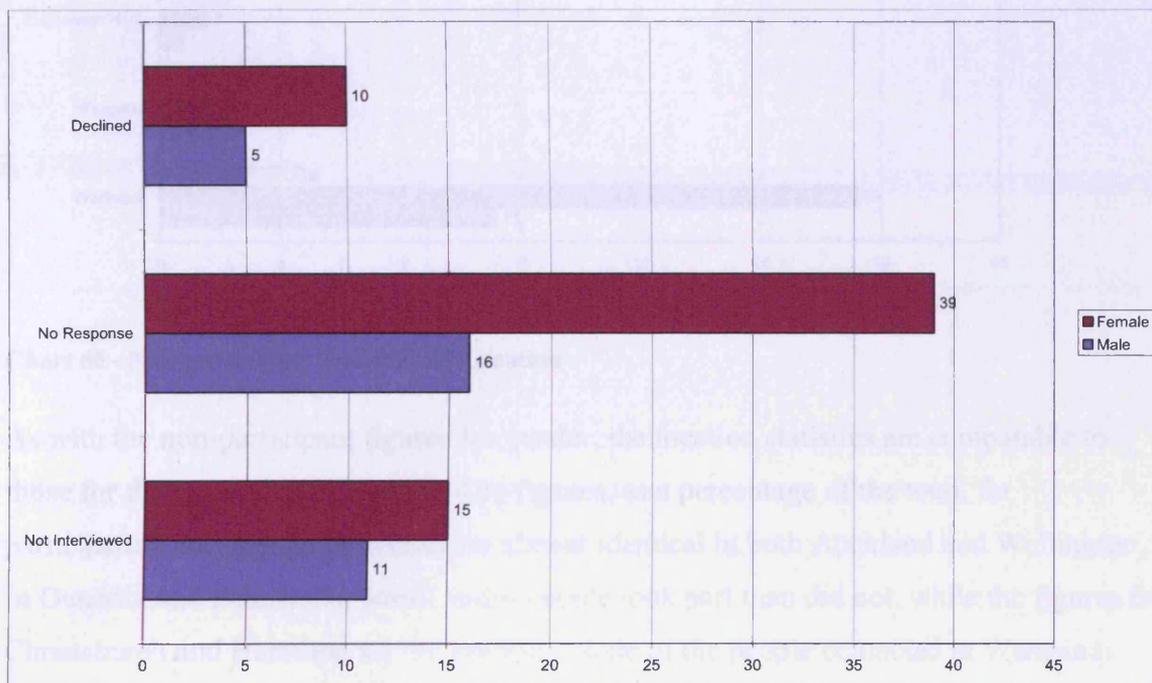


Chart 65 - Non-participant Statistics by Gender

Of the 96 people that did not take part in the research, 67% were female. As a percentage of the total, this is comparable with the number of females (63%) who did participate.

Location

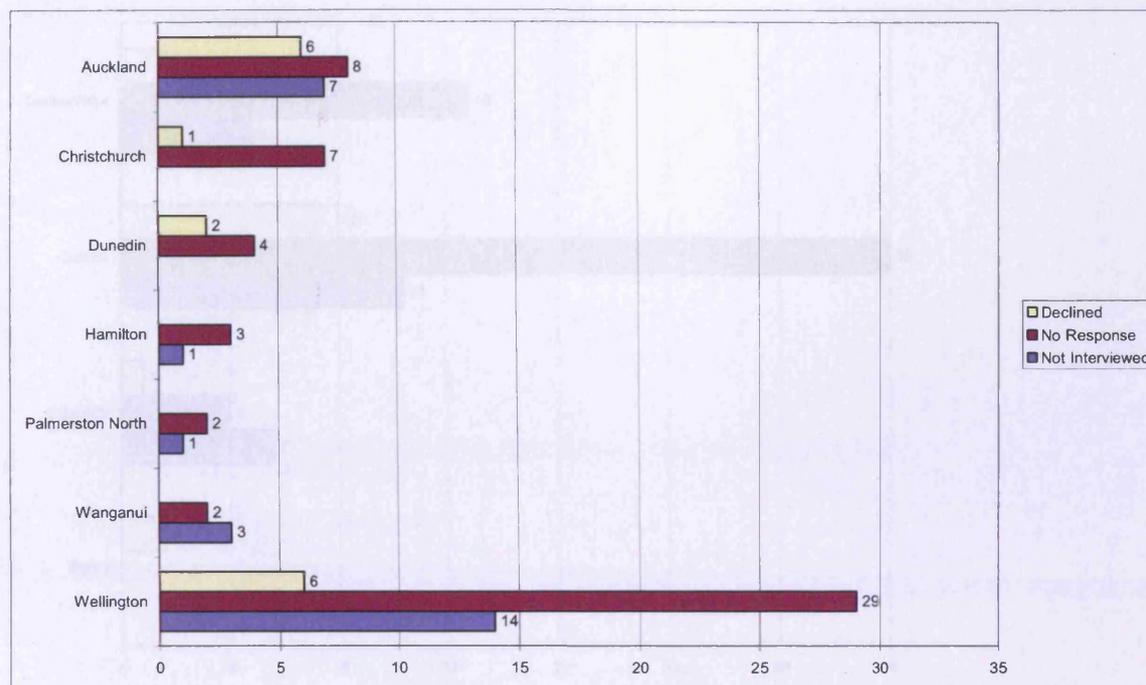


Chart 66 - Non-participant Statistics by Location

As with the non-participant figures for gender, the location statistics are comparable to those for the research participants. The figures, as a percentage of the total, for participation and non-participation are almost identical in both Auckland and Wellington. In Dunedin and Palmerston North, more people took part than did not, while the figures for Christchurch and Hamilton are the reverse. None of the people contacted in Wanganui participated in the research.⁶¹

⁶¹ These figures are percentages of the total number of people who participated, or did not participate. Auckland – 21% participation, 22% non-participation; Christchurch – 4% participation, 8% non-participation; Dunedin – 13% participation, 6% non-participation; Hamilton – 2% participation, 4% non-participation; Palmerston North – 7% participation, 3% non-participation; Wellington – 53% participation, 51% non-participation.

Profession

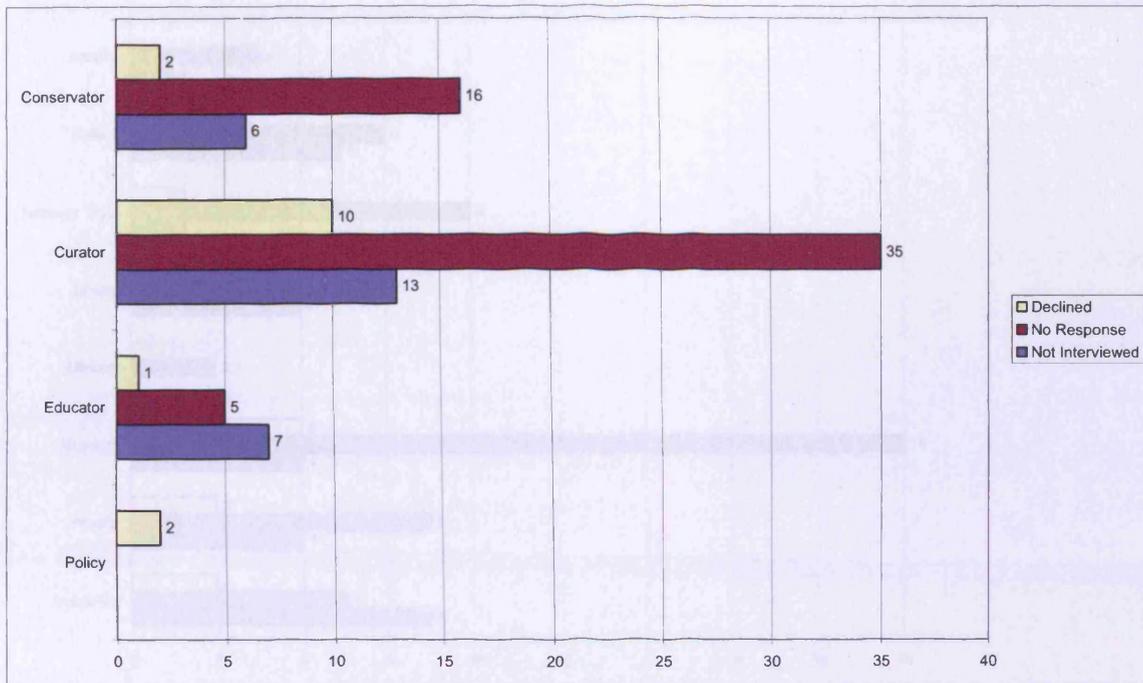


Chart 67 - Non-participant Statistics by Profession

The number of conservators who took part in the research was almost equal to those who did not. However, a smaller percentage of curators participated than did not, while the figure for the educators was the reverse.⁶² As can be seen from Chart 67, although people working in policy were contacted, they declined to be interviewed.

⁶² Conservators – 26% participation, 25% non-participation; curators – 53% participation, 60% non-participation; educators – 21% participation, 14% non-participation.

Type of Workplace

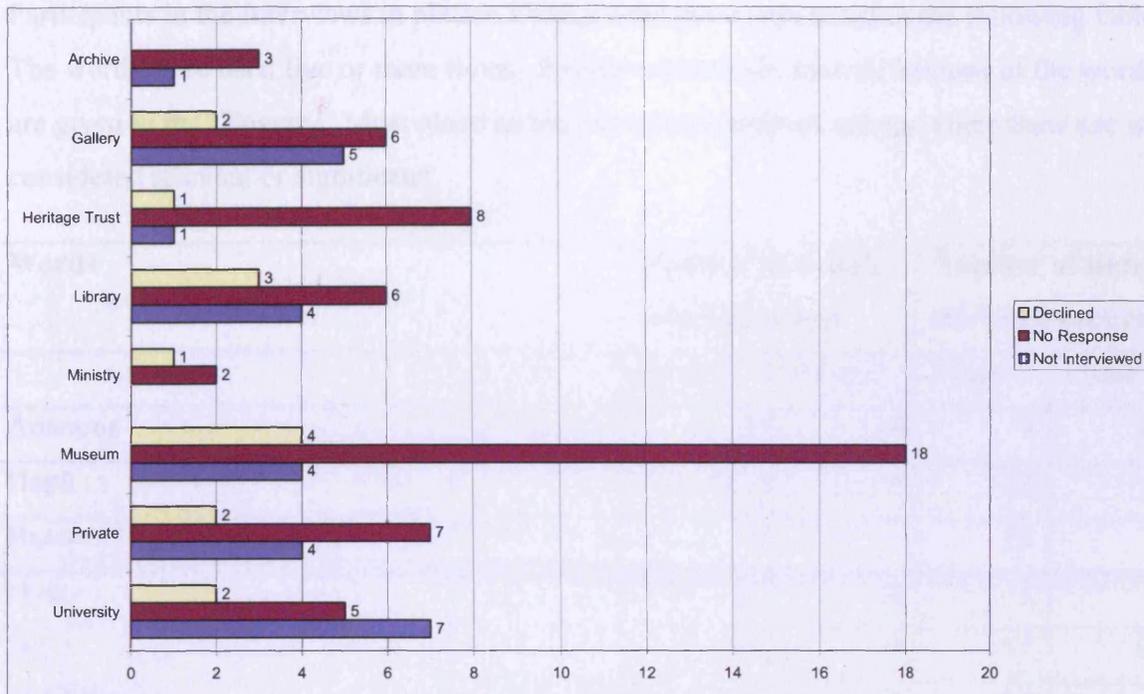


Chart 68 - Non-participant Statistics by Type of Work Place

The figures for participation and non-participation in most public sector organisations, namely archives, galleries, ministries, museums and universities, were comparable. The anomaly here was libraries, where one third more people participated than did not. This was probably due, however, to my previous work experience in a library and consequent known contacts. The charity or private sector organisations and individuals proved less likely to participate, perhaps due to time and financial constraints.⁶³

⁶³ Archive – 6% participation, 4% non-participation; gallery – 12% participation, 14% non-participation; heritage trust – 3% participation, 10% non-participation; library – 21% participation, 14% non-participation; ministry – 2% participation, 3% non-participation; museum – 34% participation, 27% non-participation; private – 4% participation, 14% non-participation; university – 18% participation, 15% non-participation.

Appendix 4: Māori words used by Participants

Participants in the interviews in phases 1 and 2 used the words listed in the following table. The words were used five or more times. Except where indicated, definitions of the words are given in the Glossary. Most place names have been omitted, except where their use is considered relevant or significant.

Words	Number of people using the word		Number of times the word occurs	
	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 1	Phase 2
Aotearoa	3	4	9	14
Hapū	11	4	22	6
Hotere (Māori artist)	1		12	
Huia	5	2	7	2
Iwi	45	9	117	44
Kaitiaki	6	2	7	3
Karakia	6	2	18	4
Kaumātua	8	3	10	3
Kaupapa	5	4	9	6
Mana	16	3	39	4
Manaaki	2		5	
Māori	86	10	2231	525
Marae	44	8	98	31
Mauri	3		5	
Mōkai	6		6	
Moko	8	1	16	2
Noa	3		11	
Pā	6	2	6	2
Pākehā	50	10	126	100
Parihaka (site in Taranaki of Māori passive resistance in 1881 to European occupation of confiscated land)	4		12	
Pātaka	5	3	9	5
Pōwhiri	5	2	7	7
Rangiātea (a Māori church at Ōtaki, which was	5		7	

conserved and restored following a fire)				
Raukawa (Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki, one of the Māori tertiary educational institutions)	6		6	
Reo (as in te reo Māori)	24	3	42	17
Tangata	13	2	20	3
Tangi	7		8	
Taonga	42	6	169	41
Tapa	4	2	7	7
Tapu	17		40	
Tikanga	20	3	47	7
Uenuku (Māori carving of the deity Uenuku, housed in Te Awamutu Museum, Waikato)	3	1	7	2
Waitangi (site of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840)	29	8	44	14
Waka	5	1	10	1
Wānanga	10	3	18	5
Whakapapa	16	3	19	19
Whānau	10	3	13	10
Whare	7	1	9	1
Wharenui	3	2	5	3
Whenua	11	3	15	4

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