PERSPECTIVES IN THE INTERPRETATION OF NEW ZEALAND’S
CULTURAL HERITAGE

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER                                        PAGE

ABSTRACT                                      ii

INTRODUCTION                                  1

1. INTRODUCING INTERPRETATION                 6

2. GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS 23

3. CASE STUDIES: PART 1                       59

4. CASE STUDIES: PART 2                       83

5. ISSUES IN INTERPRETIVE PLANNING AND PRACTICE 129

6. MODELS, PRACTICE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS      169

GLOSSARY OF MAORI WORDS                      197

REFERENCES                                    199

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES                   

FIGURE 1  Locations of Interpretive Programmes Cited  82

TABLE 1  Models of Discourse and Their Characteristics  25

i
ABSTRACT

This thesis surveys a number of historic and cultural interpretation programmes. It considers the aims of these programmes and describes the ways they illustrate aspects of biculturalism. It examines the concerns faced by those developing and administering such programmes in contemporary New Zealand society.

As well as an extensive literature review, data was collected through interviews with interpretive practitioners involved in both long-standing and recent programmes, museum ethnologists, Department of Conservation staff, and archaeologists as well as others with specialised skills in this area.

Analysis is based on examination of the ways in which interpretation is affected by the policy, values and practices of their context. The effects on interpretation of assimilative practice are contrasted with an emerging bicultural practice. Models of assimilation, market ethos and biculturalism are examined in terms of Freire's analysis of oppressive and liberating societies. Case studies highlight some of the issues raised when pursuing bicultural practice within an increasingly market dominated society.

Findings indicate that such programmes are beneficial as an aspect of bicultural education in heightening the visibility of Maori for the general public, and introducing values, processes and a different way of approaching material from what has been accepted by many as the monocultural norm. Furthermore and importantly they can represent the return of provenance to material and ownership of material and sites to Maori.

However the study indicates there are differing perceptions on the part of Maori and Pakeha interpretive agents in relation to priorities over issues, cultural values, and ways of viewing material. Furthermore the demands of an increasingly market driven economy places pressures on the development of such interpretive programmes.
INTRODUCTION

1. General Introduction

Interpretation in its most general sense, involves observation and communication of ‘facts’, ideas, values and impressions. Whenever we look at, comment on, communicate or receive a ‘message’ we bring to that process our own levels of understanding, our assumptions, attitudes, prejudices and awareness: in short the legacies of our geographical, cultural and historic context.

This thesis deals with a specific application of the term ‘interpretation’ as it is increasingly applied as an aspect of informal environmental education, in displays and educational programmes which provide a communication link between a resource and the visiting public.

In my early visits to Park Information Centres around New Zealand it seemed that most contained little or no pre-european component. There was little reference to the people who lived in this land for 1000 years or more and the few references were usually found alongside flora and fauna, in the natural history section.

In my own experience, growing up as a Pakeha in the 1960’s and 1970’s, the focus of ‘real New Zealand history’ began with the visits of Abel Tasman and James Cook, though brief references to the Great Fleet told us how Maori people came to be here. Aside from these references and the ‘creation myths’ we never heard much about the Maori people, their beliefs, or history.

Recent years have seen some changes to this selective presentation of history and cultural knowledge. Contemporary discussions over Treaty issues and the meaning of biculturalism have highlighted long-standing concerns of Maori, and as well, Pakeha monocultural assumptions. A strong focus of Heritage interpretation today is to identify ways to ensure interpretive programmes remain a positive experience for both visitors and hosts, and remain sustainable in terms of resources.

My thesis study arose from an interest in changes in the presentation of historical and cultural material in recent years: both in what was presented as history and culture and in the focus and origins of the presenters, the interpreters, themselves. My own interests have developed over the years in the areas of geography, politics, environmentalism, conservation, education and cross-cultural communication: this thesis draws from all these areas.
2. **Nature and Scope of the Investigation**

This study focuses on the presentation of the natural, historical and cultural material that comprises our heritage. More particularly it focuses on the human side of heritage: historic and cultural interpretation.

Interpretation takes place outside formal educational structures and institutions in a variety of situations and employing a variety of media. Recent years have seen its emergence and development in museums, sites of natural and cultural significance and in specific interpretation centres.

This study involves a view into several contemporary interpretive programmes and examines issues of programme development, content, and management. Accepting that interpretation is to some degree 'value laden', the study involves an attempt to place interpretive examples within the context of their time and contemporary attitudes.

It examines ways in which cultural and historical interpretation finds expression in contemporary New Zealand society, where an emerging acknowledgement of Treaty rights and responsibilities is occurring within the context of an increasingly market led economy.

3. **Research Methods**

My research has involved site visits, a series of interviews, as well as a review of relevant local and overseas literature on interpretation, aspects of environmentalism and environmental education.

I have examined a number of contemporary New Zealand interpretation programmes. These include long standing examples under Maori management, and examples recently developed by the Department of Conservation. I have considered the aims and issues involved in the development of several site interpretation projects, as well as the work of the Conservation Design Centre. I have also visited and discussed at length with DOC staff the processes involved in production of interpretive programmes in other areas, including Arthur's Pass, Punakaiki, and Waikaremoana.

In New Zealand the main strands of interpretive development have occurred in museums, and in National Parks. Because interpretation is a comparatively recently developed educational medium, literature concerning interpretive theory, and the impact of context on what is presented, is limited. Works by Tilden and Aldridge in particular sought to establish a basis of principles and philosophy
for interpretation, and locally Richard Harper’s unpublished thesis\(^1\) backgrounds the development of interpretation in New Zealand’s National Parks and the traditions from which it has evolved. The recently published ‘Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia’ examines critical themes associated with heritage interpretation in today’s society, particularly those associated with the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples.

An important aspect of my research involved interviews and site visits which were undertaken for two reasons. Firstly interpretive practice is comparatively recent and many contemporary programmes and facilities have appeared recently. A number of people have first hand involvement in interpretive development and in contemporary practice in this country.

For this reason much of my research took the form of interviews with interpreters in a range of areas as well as site visits, visits to a variety of interpretive facilities, and some involvement in the development of an educational programme at Mangere Mountain.

I have visited and examined a range of interpretive programmes in New Zealand. These range from experiential and activity based programmes such as ‘Capital Discovery Place’ in Wellington, Auckland’s ‘Museum of Transport and Technology’ and ‘Kelly Tarlton’s Underwater World’ to more traditionally presented historic sites such as South Island mining sites (Lyall, Brunner Mine site, Waiuta). As well I have visited recently developed cultural/ historic site interpretive programmes in Auckland and the Bay of Plenty, and many of the country’s National Park Information Centres.

Oral interviews are also important as the basis of this research because the oral medium is basic to Maori tradition as the means of knowledge transfer. A frequent theme cited by Maori interviewed was the significance of their oral tradition and their desire to see this evidenced as much as possible in their interpretive exercises.

In my research I have been immensely impressed by the enthusiasm which people, both Maori and Pakeha, brought to their area of interpretation and the openness and willingness with which they shared their knowledge despite a context of busy lives and work schedules. I would like to acknowledge their contributions and to record my immense gratitude for their helpfulness and enthusiasm.

While there are many who contributed to this project, within the Department of Conservation, I am especially grateful to Karen, Sue, Lynda, Bea, Dave and others associated with Te Mana o Te Maunga Mangere for the warmth with which I was included in the project and to Derek Gosling for the depth of insight into the programme development at Tauwhare Pa.

I would also like to record my special thanks to my family, Rob, Tom and Chloe, for the patience with which they bore this project as it went on and on and on.

For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations are used in the text: Department of Conservation (DOC), Conservation Design Centre (CDC), Personal Communication (P.C.)
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCING INTERPRETATION

1.1 Interpretation: its aims, elements and history

Introduction to interpretation: its history, principles and underlying philosophy. Types of
interpretation. Issues concerning the value-laden nature of interpretation.

1.1.1 Introduction to interpretation

Interpretation is communication about things that are right there helping to communicate.²

The term ‘interpretation’ has been applied in recent years to educational programmes and media
operating in sites of natural, historical and cultural significance or other such situations, which
endeavour to make accessible and vivid the material, site or facility, and thus bring about a learning
experience. An interpreter functions at the interface between a resource and the public, to provide
understanding, enjoyment appreciation and inspiration.³

Interpretation is the communication link between the visitor and the resources: of geological
processes, animals, plants, ecological communities, and history and prehistory.⁴

Recent years have seen interpretation emerge as a potent means of non-formal education. In today’s
society it takes place in many locations: parks, museums, and specific theme-based centres as well
as in particular geographic locations noted for significant historical, natural or cultural features.

Freeman Tilden’s early work ‘Interpreting Our Heritage’, pioneered interpretive philosophy and its
guiding principles.⁵ Tilden described interpretation as

an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of
original objects, by firsthand experience and by illustrative media, rather than simply to
communicate factual information.⁶

³ W. Lewis. Interpretation for Park Visitors.
⁴ G W Sharpe. Interpreting the Environment. p. 3.
⁵ G Everhardt, forward to ‘Interpreting Our Heritage.’ p. xi
Central to his conception is the notion that interpretation is the ‘revelation of a larger truth that lies beyond any statement of fact.’ (Ibid.) Interpretation is concerned with revealing a sense of place and relationship in the broader spectrum of existence. (MacLeod P.C.)

Interpreters work in many spheres and varied natural, historical and cultural domains. Since the inception of formal interpretive practice, a number of descriptions and definitions have emerged to convey the blend of qualities and uses which characterise its practice.

Aldridge (1974: 304-305) saw interpretation as
the art of explaining the place of people in their environment, to increase visitor or public awareness of the importance of this relationship, and to awaken a desire to contribute to environmental conservation. ⁷

Devlin (P.C.) noted that interpretation goes beyond information-giving to the inspirational level of bringing things to life, combining elements of communication theory and educative practice and using a variety of media.

The Department of Conservation, an agency with significant interpretive responsibility for New Zealand has defined interpretation as ‘an educational art which promotes understanding of, and support for, the natural and cultural heritage of New Zealand’ ⁸.

As conceived by Tilden and subsequent interpreters the aim of interpretation is consciousness-raising in order to change perception and thence behaviour. While interpretation inevitably contains information, its intended outcome is to go beyond provision of information, to provoke and inspire. To achieve this end it must ‘combine many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical architectural or cultural.’ (Tilden:1977:9)

Interpretation has a wide range of contemporary and potential uses: in conservation strategies, in social education, in the tourist industry, for entertainment and for propaganda.

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Interpretation serves to educate by communicating accurate information, to guide, entertain and provide enjoyment; to entertain and to inspire, to stimulate natural and cultural awareness and critical thinking, to promote positive attitudes towards and awareness of natural, cultural and historical resources and to aid in their resource management (Harper 1991:5-6, Edwards 1979:24).

1.1.2 A Brief Historical Overview

Interpretation has occurred for centuries on an informal level. Weaver ‡ indicates the origins of interpretation as

‘deep in recorded history... nourished by the fields of religion, natural sciences, education, literature and the arts’ and involving the interaction between ‘naturalists, geologists, botanists and explorer naturalists and their subjects and interested people.’

Alan Machin§ notes the prehistory of visitor interpretation stretching back to the 18th century. Since the late 1800’s museums, ‘highly regarded as a location of media of scientific investigation and education’(Weaver 76: 26) have played a significant role and have reflected social change in both presentations and visitor groups.\[11\]

A blend of traditions associated with tours of gardens and historic houses, the development of exploration and scientific investigation and changing attitudes to nature have also allowed for varied interpretive presentations on an informal level.

The development of modern and formal interpretation strategies and philosophy have largely evolved from movements in Britain and the United States from the 1950’s onwards. Much of it has taken place in the context of ‘natural heritage’ where interpretive practice focused on the inspirational nature of ‘untouched Nature’ and the benefits it offered to users (Jackman 1984, Harper 1991).

Wilderness was perceived, on the one hand as wasteland, with potential as a source of economic development but also with other faces: as challenging, wild and elemental, as a scientific reserve, a place of educational potential, and a source of aesthetic and spiritual inspiration and regeneration. These latter aspects have been most celebrated and explored in interpretation: the desire to protect

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§ Heritage Interpretation Volume II. p.152.
\[11\] Social change as reflected by museum presentation and practice is examined in ‘Museums, Government, Culture’. (Bennet. Sites No.25. Summer 1992. 9-23.) That museums reinforce the dominant power structure is acknowledged and discussed further in Chapters 2 & 3.
untouched 'Nature' underpinned conservation motives. Natural site interpretation with its initial base in resource protection strove to highlight the value of threatened species and more recently issues of ecological interdependence. Both conservation themes are of continuing relevance today.

In the United States, interpretive practice emerged largely within the Park service in the 1960's and was environmentally based, with initial empirical experience followed by attempts to rationalise philosophy and practise. Tilden's early influential work, based mainly in the experience of National Park staff, has been followed by considerable prescriptive discussion, and latterly by attempts to tease out philosophical underpinnings and assumptions on which interpretation and interpretive material is based.\(^\text{12}\)

Contrasting with the 'natural' focus of American interpretation, early continental European interpretation focused primarily on cultural and historical heritage, particularly in museums and similar venues which were perceived as appropriate storehouses for the protection and scientific investigation of natural and cultural material.\(^\text{13}\)

Attitudes to 'landscape', seen in the romantic focus of 19th and early 20th century artistic and literary works, also found expression in interpretation. 'Countryside interpretation' in 1950's and 1960's Britain blended ethnographical and environmental interpretation focusing on the built and natural environment, 'the cultural and social dimensions of life and the natural world which humankind has adapted and altered'.\(^\text{14}\) This focus was later maintained under the auspices of the British Countryside Commission, an organisation involved with interpretation of landscapes, both natural and modified, rural and urban.\(^\text{15}\) Countryside interpretation acknowledges that

> Landscape reflects the cumulative effects or sum of the physical and cultural processes which act upon it as well as the values we as individuals, and collectively we as society, place on the use of the land (Jackman 1984:213).

\(^{12}\) Aldridge (Heritage Interpretation Volume I.) rightly notes the need to define terms, conservation philosophies and message philosophies which have informed interpretation in the last half century.' p.64-65.

\(^{13}\) Among examples of museums established in the 1890's for scientific and educational purposes are the British Museum and the Smithsonian Institute (Sharpe 1976: 26).


\(^{15}\) The Commission values countryside for tourism, as a haven for wildlife, a pictorial record of history and culture, a place where people live and work and find peace and relaxation.
In this sense, like ecology and geography, it recognises a sense of place, and systems of interdependence which characterise people's relationship with each other and the world.

1.1.3 Interpretation in New Zealand

New Zealand interpretive experience has been most notably influenced by developmental strands from Britain and the United States. In the area of 'natural' interpretation it has largely followed the American model (Harper, Molloy. P.C.). The initial development of interpretive strategies in New Zealand took place largely in National Parks and scenic reserves, in natural areas and wild places as a facet of an emerging appreciation of what was perceived to be unspoit nature\textsuperscript{16}.

In these places interpretation was provided as a management tool to protect resources and a service to enhance visitor experience. Early exponents were frequently park field officers, developing interpretive programmes as part of their overall management responsibility, often on an ad hoc basis and largely dependent on individual inspiration and enthusiasm (Rennison, Lilleby, Harper P.C).

Programmes took the form of both on-site and off-site interpretation: on site involving talks, signs, and guided walks, and off-site using neighbouring facilities to house presentations like displays, talks and slide shows. In some locations an early blend of such media occurred (Lilleby P.C). More recently presentations have occurred in larger, theme or location-focused venues such as information centres, which have a mix of static displays and audio-visual and multi-media presentations (Harper Lilleby, Rennison, Devlin P.C).

Interpretation in this country has been most fully developed in sites of 'natural heritage: the National Parks information centres, for example. Their early local themes usually related to the scientific disciplines relevant to local conditions, such as the glaciation at Franz Josef Glacier.

However significant and long standing programmes also exist in places deemed to have historic and cultural significance. Probably the two most notable and long standing New Zealand examples are

\textsuperscript{16} A full account of the development of interpretation in New Zealand's national parks is recorded in Richard Harper's thesis 'Interpretation in the National Parks of New Zealand: The Evolution and Development of a Management Practice.' Lincoln University 1991.
at the Treaty House at Waitangi, and in the cultural presentations and guiding which have shared the tourist focus on the Rotorua geothermal area since the mid-19th century.\textsuperscript{17}

Early interpretive focus often reflected the unique nature of the resource as in the Rotorua thermal reserves, or other places of particular significance, for example notable geological formations, rare or endangered species or flora or fauna.\textsuperscript{18} While acknowledging such resources are precious, recent interpretive endeavours often adopt a regional or thematic approach, reducing duplication and acknowledging local and national inter-relationship.

While New Zealand’s earliest site interpretation developed on an ad hoc basis in tourist destinations such as Te Anau and Franz Josef Glacier, American expertise contributed a theoretical basis to emerging practise and philosophy, and influenced themes of presentation (Lilleby. Rennison P.C.). Over time National Parks’ interpretation in New Zealand has broadened to include aspects of Maori history and legend, European history, geology, flora and fauna (Burns P.C.). This reflects attempts by agencies such as the Department of Conservation to apply an overall strategic direction to contemporary interpretive practice (Noble, Molloy P.C).

As with the European experience much of New Zealand’s heritage interpretation took place in museums, and related to historical and cultural material as well as the natural sciences. Presentation often involved artifacts or archaeological finds, removed from their original context and preserved and protected for scientific reasons as representative pieces of certain artifact types, or for their aesthetic qualities as representative of primitive art. Recognition of contextual significance came later (Trotter and McCulloch 1989:46). Changing understanding and practice in archaeology and other disciplines parallels other evolving interpretive themes and practices.

1.2 Significant Themes in Interpretation

Significant and evolving themes indicating changes in perspective include conservation and resource management, interpretive types, visitor focus, media and technology and changing educational

\textsuperscript{17} The history of this area’s involvement in tourist interpretation is examined in Peter Waaka’s thesis: “Whakarewarewa: The Growth of a Maori village.” Auckland 1986

\textsuperscript{18} The latter mode of interpretation is sometimes referred to as the ‘Crown Jewels’ approach. (Aldridge: The Monster Book of Environmental Education.)
techniques. Focus has moved from a primarily resource based practice to one which reflects consumer influence, and from a preoccupation with nature to include ethnographical and social aspects of heritage. Changes are also evident in interpreters’ knowledge and experience base. Increased educational and theoretical understanding on the part of interpreters, and changes in educational practice have been paralleled by advances in media and technology and by changing historical and cultural understanding.

1.2.1 Interpretation, Conservation and Resource Management

While definitions and focus differ, a recurring theme in interpretation has been that of conservation: an ethos highlighted by Tilden’s description of interpretation as ‘based upon a systematic kind of preservation and use of natural and cultural resources’ (Tilden 1977:9), and his maxim which has influenced subsequent interpretive philosophy and practice.

Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding appreciation; through appreciation protection 19.

Early interpretive endeavours had a primary conservation focus. Interpretation was practised as a means of resource protection by field officers or museum curators to control and educate visitors in the wonder, use and protection of heritage sites (Uzzell 1989:1). In this context, ‘soft’ interpretation sought to influence behaviour so as to reduce management problems. ‘Hard’ interpretation involved actual physical visitor management: the shepherding of the public from fragile ecosystems through the use of walkways or guided walks. Both strategies, while still used today, reflected the main focus of early interpretation in resource conservation.

Conservation is still a powerful underlying theme today although methods and strategies have evolved in different ways and the range of application has broadened in line with increased opportunities for use. Its many contemporary uses reflect shifts in both application and practitioners over the past two decades which in many respects reflect its contemporary application within the tourist industry and the necessarily market-oriented and marketing conscious concerns of this industry 20.

1.2.2 Interpretation and Social Education

Harper (1991) records an evolving focus of interpretation from a ‘naturalistic preoccupation with broad ecological concepts to a focus on social education as a means to foster tolerance and

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20 Uzzell notes that its many contemporary uses are neither mutually exclusive nor incompatible. They are also indicative of potential future uses (1989:4).
understanding, and sometimes community awareness.' Interpretation like other educational processes has a significant role in the teaching of values.

As a means of social education, interpretation has sought to effect changes to belief and behaviour through changed understanding, as indicated by its use for conservation. It can be used by groups to promote a particular ideology, on a local scale, as for example in support of the aims and actions of a local industry (Uzzell 1989:3), or on a broader scale as an aspect of education towards social change, a use with relevance to cultural and historic interpretation21.

Interpretation has become an educative discipline which now occurs in a wide range of contexts: in National Parks, historic sites, old buildings, museums, galleries; in the form of films, displays, field trips, guided walks and mixed media and in informal and interpersonal communications.

Over time emphasis has shifted from a primarily material and resource-needs focus to student-focused educative practices and experiential learning techniques, and reflects similar changes in educational philosophy and practice. Current interpretive practise emphasizes the need in programmes for visitor enjoyment and involvement, as well as educative functions (Rennison P.C). Additionally and concurrently, interpretation has seen the increased involvement of interpreters with background in education or some formal training in the interpretive field22.

1.2.3 Consumer influence
As well as a greater theoretical and educational focus, contemporary interpretation displays a strong focus on the expectations, concerns and experience base of the visitor. While sensitivity to visitors has long been recognised as a necessary component23, it is comparatively recently that visitor needs, expectations, basic understandings and emotional responses have been given emphasis in planning.

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21 The effectiveness of interpretation in measuring changes in visitor attitude and understanding has always been accepted as difficult to determine and measure, and it is accepted that there needs to be further research in this area.

22 The Parks and Recreation degree course at Lincoln University contains a significant interpretation component.

23 Tilden’s early principles, which are still taken as guidelines in interpretive practise today, focus on the need to inspire in order to effectively reach an audience, the need to relate the interpretative experience to the visitor’s own experience, the need to reach ‘the whole person’, that is to satisfy more than merely intellect, and the need to adjust interpretation to a level appropriate to anticipated visitor audience.
Just as the constraints of finance and personnel will affect the nature of the interpretive endeavour so too will visitor background and expectation. Visitor groups vary, requiring differing material and techniques.

**School visitor groups**

In natural sites and reserves, visitor groups as recreational users are voluntary participants in the interpretive process. Facilities are also often used by school groups. Aldridge\(^{24}\) points to differences between site interpretation and environmental education for schools. Major comparisons involve objectives, target audiences, motivation and visit length.

Teaching objectives in school programmes often relate less to a site conservation message than in site interpretation. The nature of target audiences also differs: the relative uniformity of age in school groups allows an interpreter to target a specific age range, while casual visitors to a site or interpretation centre include a range of ages and backgrounds and seek a recreational experience, not necessarily education or moral uplift.

Casual visitors spend a shorter time, often seeking concise factual information. School groups present for a half day or more, can make use of inductive teaching and reinforce their visit with follow-up programmes. Because their presence is compulsory, school groups are often less easy to motivate so that to be successful, interpretation may demand elements of play and interactive techniques (Rennison. Gosling P.C).

A changing focus from resource-based to student-based educative techniques parallels a move from rather dry informative signs to experiential and interactive techniques. This parallels wider moves in education towards inductive and heuristic techniques and student focused programmes.

While Aldridge sees these practices as separate and distinct in both aim and experience, a blend of interpretive and structured educational facility often occurs\(^{25}\). Facilities and programmes are often required to cater for both the compulsorily and voluntarily ‘cornered’ as well as a range of groups of differing ages and cultural backgrounds, and to apportion a percentage of their focus and resources

\(^{24}\) Heritage Interpretation Vol.I.p 67 .

\(^{25}\) Sue Bulmer, DOC and HPT archaeologist noted that generally Heritage sites in Britain have a visitor ratio of 30% school students, 30% domestic tourists, 30% out of region tourists so that their resources and programmes are geared around this ratio, although many have additional special programmes for designed for school use.
accordingly. Visitor centres, for example, must aim to involve a range of age groupings and experiences including overseas tourists with varying levels of literacy and English language understanding. To effectively reach a wide range of visitor types may require a variety of techniques such as vivid visual displays, auditory tapes, accessible language in audio-visual or spoken presentations, and displays at varying heights, as well as basic signs and markers.

Tourism and User Pays
Further considerations with respect to visitors arise with the use of interpretation in the tourism industry where ‘value-added’ interpretation can be seen as a product of the emerging tourism industry, with the ‘heritage’ itself promoted and marketed ‘as a tourism product or as part of a wider tourism product’ (Uzzell 1989:2-3). Well known and long standing examples are seen in the Rotorua presentations, two of which are described in Chapter 3.

Issues also arise as a result of the changing economic ethos in New Zealand. Under ‘user pays’, interpretive effectiveness is more and more determined by how well a facility draws a visitor audience. Issues which arise from the application of such an ethos include concern over popularised images and the potential for media to dominate the ‘message’.

The value of authenticity becomes increasingly tested against saleability under a market economic ethos. Interpretive planners recognise that information and presentation must be so structured as to be accessible to target visitor groups and also entertaining, for most visitors are voluntary participants in the interpretive process. Because technology today permits so much in the way of readily accessible knowledge and entertainment, interpretive planners seek increasingly vivid ways of providing a memorable experience. This carries an attendant risk that material may move away from authenticity in information, that the image may be popularised, or that the dictates of the medium will control the message.

A crucial issue for interpreters is to present their material with authenticity to its source and not as a creation of their own imaginative or technological fancy. Interpreters must balance visitor needs, the demands for entertainment and the media of today’s society with the need for ‘truth’ and authenticity in programmes and displays.
1.2.4. Changing Media and Techniques

Contemporary uses also reflect shifts and advances in usable technology and media. Early forms of interpretation most commonly involved interpersonal communication: stories told, places and phenomena explained, and the use of explanatory signs. While these techniques are still deemed effective today, the focus and range of interpretive media has broadened. Interpretive media now include ‘signs and wayside exhibits, museum exhibits, graphics and photographic prints, audio-visual programmes given live or taped, guided tours, demonstrations, re-enactments, souvenir publications and discs’ (Aldridge 1974:301).

In the developing information society, interpretive trends indicate an increasing involvement with communication media and computer technology, which influences interpretation in the way in which knowledge is stored and retrieved, in the media used in presentations and in the advent of increased knowledge as a result of world wide media access.

The advent of mass media has altered the face of education, and interpretation as an aspect of this. Technologically advanced media permit access to previously unknown and foreign worlds of experience, producing a global consciousness: a shrinking of distance in immediate access to other places and in the exchange of information. This has naturally affected people’s experience base and expectations26.

Increasing sophistication in techniques and media has transformed interpretive practice from simple, usually factual, static displays27 and personal interactions to vivid audiovisual and auditory presentations, and multi screen media. Such media are valued for their cost effectiveness both in terms of personnel use, and in imprinting.

In line with their intention of stimulating a continuing curiosity, and accepting that interactive activities are more effectively absorbed, practitioners adopt innovative approaches and methods, using mixed media, attempting to present different ways of viewing the world and involving hands-on


27 'The structure and format of early displays was often primarily determined by practical material factors, such as how many words could comfortably and visibly fit on a sign. S. Bulmer DOC and HPT archaeologist. P.C.)
activities, enactments and recreations of ‘living history’. Such approaches have seeded participatory experiences such as ‘Kelly Tarlton’s Underwater World’ in Auckland and the science discovery halls at Auckland’s ‘Museum of Transport and Technology’, Wellington’s ‘Capital Discovery Place and Christchurch’s ‘Science Alive’, as well as multi-media single theme centres such as ‘The Antarctic Centre’ in Christchurch.

1.2.5 Types of Interpretation
While much contemporary commentary concerns visitor considerations and intended outcomes, the nature of the interpreted resource naturally remains significant, as does the manner in which the interpreter chooses to present it.

Interpretation is often seen as an aspect of the broader category of environmental education, and certainly it comprises an aspect of this. Environmental education tends to have a global perspective (Molloy 1991) and seeks to enhance a universal environmental consciousness based in an understanding of ecological principles. Heritage interpretation by contrast focuses on features and characteristics unique to one place or country and through them seeks to reinforce a broader environmental or societal overview. It is often associated with heritage tourism, described as ‘the desire to experience diverse past and present cultural landscapes, environments, places and forms’.

The term ‘heritage’ encompasses natural, historical and cultural aspects, though it has most commonly been associated with natural features. Natural heritage in New Zealand refers to those landscape features which are particular to this country, deriving their special nature from this country’s isolation, climate, terrain, and endemism in flora and fauna (Molloy 1991). Historical and cultural heritage are associated more with the human centred processes of this country and may be equally site specific.

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28 G. Rennison (Takaka Field Centre, DOC) promoted the exploration of different perspectives, suggesting interpreters try to present, for example, a fish eye view of the environment or a view from within a cloud.

29 Overseas examples like the ‘Yorvic Viking Centre’ in York have inspired New Zealand participatory experiences.

30 Environmental education is described (Harper 1991:30) as a construction of conservation education and out-door education which aims to produce an environmental ethic.

Aldridge\textsuperscript{32} identified types of interpretation as ‘Historic Site’, ‘Natural site’, ‘Environmental’ and ‘Conservation education.’ In the field of Nature Heritage, both ‘Natural Site interpretation’ and ‘Conservation Education’ endorse a conservation ethos within the natural landscape. Conservation education is described as ‘the art of teaching or devising learning situations about the environment, through the disciplines of the Earth, life and social sciences and the Arts, to increase understanding of environmental conservation problems’(Aldridge 1974:307-8). Contemporary environmental education programmes recognise emerging environmental crises and the need for effective environmental education in ecology, biodiversity, and conservation and in environmental and interhuman relationships\textsuperscript{33}.

Natural site interpretation is concerned with revealing ‘an area’s character through interrelationships between rocks, soils plants, or animals, and man’, focusing on a site in order to conserve it (Aldridge 1974:307-8). Thus it has a local focus, while endorsing a broader overview, and celebrating nature. In Western societies reasons for celebrating nature include escape and relaxation, aesthetics, conservation of resources for future use, intrinsic values, and reactions against technocratic ideas.

Historic Site and Natural Site interpretation both focus on revealing the character of a particular site to ‘increase visitor awareness’ of the site’s significance in ‘order to conserve it’. As previously noted, much of New Zealand’s interpretive endeavour has occurred in places with significant natural features: forests, mountains, rivers, glaciers, coasts etc.

In this celebration of the natural landscape, it is often assumed that the ‘natural landscape’ represents a pristine environment, and not one that reflects over 1000 years of human modification. Until recently little attention was accorded to interpretation of cultural landscapes. However, several recently developed programmes focus on landscapes and sites which display features of human modification and highlight ethnographic aspects of heritage. Site interpretive programmes represent an aspect of historical and cultural interpretation which have become increasingly popular in recent years. As in the case of geography and ecology, the value of historic and cultural interpretation lie in what they can contribute to a broad perceptual overview.

\textsuperscript{32} Second World Conference on National Parks 1974: 307-308.

\textsuperscript{33} Different cultures perceive and use land differently. Western preoccupation with untouched nature reflects a dichotomy between people and nature which is not evidenced in the perspectives of indigenous peoples. Maori perceive people’s place as part of, rather than apart from nature.
Historic Interpretation

Interpreters offer varied reasons for historic interpretation. Goodfield (1977)\(^{34}\) cited history as a ‘form of collective self-understanding of human beings and their world.’ Stone and MacKenzie (1989:116) observed that history provides a ‘wider view of humanity which alone can give the complete context to world political history’ while Orange (1991) noted history’s essential role in the development of national identity. To Aldridge (1989) historic site interpretation explains the past in relation to environmental and social conditions. Lowenthal (1985:4) noted the attraction of the past and ‘nostalgia’s profitability’ in its apparent security and accessibility, a result of being ‘filtered and ordered by time.’

While these comments are valid, a presumption of stability in what is presented of the past is debateable. It is increasingly accepted that what is preserved of the past is that which has survived the attrition of passing time. In New Zealand it largely represents the selective legacy of a predominantly white, male, post-contact past, allowing the ‘promulgation of the accepted values of the dominant group in society’ (Stone and MacKenzie 1989:117). The selective nature of interpretive presentation will be examined more fully in later chapters.

The mode of presentation naturally affects the accessibility of historic material to visitor. Past presentations found expression in a factual format of collections of photos and memorabilia, or in restored colonial buildings (Bulmer P.C). More recent interpretive ventures attempt to bring history to life by inclusion of vivid media productions and hands-on activities in reconstructions of places of prior habitation such as colonial villages\(^ {35}\).

Harper (1991: 24) has noted the use of historic interpretation ‘as a socialising tool to aid a community create a sense of identity... by identifying a community character and developing this as an attraction’. This focus has been adopted in New Zealand in themes such as presentations of gold fields sites and lifestyle and culture in sites such as Whakarewarewa. Such examples are often a blend of historic and cultural heritage.

\(^{34}\)Quoted in White. Guidelines for Interpreting History.p1.

\(^{35}\) Examples include the West Coast’s Shantytown and the Colonial village in Howick (Auckland).

18
Cultural Heritage Interpretation

'Cultural heritage is seen to embrace monuments, architectural works, sculpture and painting, elements of structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features which are of an outstanding universal value from point of view of history, art or science and the like'.

As with history, perceptions of what constitutes cultural heritage will shift over time according to changing perceptions on the part of interpreters. This affects what is included and how it is presented. Cultural material pertains to minority and underrepresented groups within communities, such as women, as well as to ethnicity, although the primary focus of what is termed 'cultural interpretation' has in fact been that of dominant culture, and also the cultures of indigenous peoples.

Cultural interpretation has particular relevance in New Zealand. Like other countries with an indigenous people it is the focus of a significant portion of the tourist industry. Much of the country's 'uniqueness' pertains to the presentation of Maori culture in museums and tourist facilities where aspects of history, lifestyle and culture are presented to largely non-Maori visitor groups. Such interpretation is 'cross-cultural' for it involves the presentation of cultural material and processes to visitors who are largely from another culture.

In cross-cultural interpretation the interpreters' perception comprises a important factor. Of significance is the accurate portrayal of the culture of ethnic groups, and the maintenance of self-determination through the retention of control over cultural material. Other issues pertinent to cultural self-determination concern the aims of such interpretation and questions of who should interpret, to what audience, for what reason and by what means (Neich 1985:5, Harper 1991:23). These issues are being discussed in interpretive fields, and their more sensitive application increasingly affects contemporary practice.

Heritage interpretation thus includes both natural and ethnographical heritage: cultural and historic. These categories often overlap: events and places deemed significant may have relevance both in historic and cultural terms. Likewise perception of significance will be to some degree determined by cultural or historic perception.

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1.2.6 Context and Truth

Interpreters cite the need to proceed from the basis of accepted truths yet like other educational processes interpretation reflects attitudes and understandings of a given time and place. These are reflected in both the material presented and in the impact that public expectations and media dictates may have on the presentation. While interpreters strive to proceed from a basis of 'truth' it is accepted that the process is to some degree value laden. Interpreters' understandings and predilections and objectives of programmes, both specific and covert, will affect the presentation (Aldridge 1989, White 1985, Harper 1991).

Contemporary understanding refutes previous positivist assumptions of the objectivity of knowledge and science. Societies are different and dynamic and reflect differing and changing values. These, in turn are reflected in their educational processes and institutions. Like other educational processes interpretation embodies the changing values of the society which provides its context.

With reference to history it has been said

It is not the literal past, the facts of history that shape us but the images of the past embodied in language, and we must never cease reviewing those images, because once we do we fossilize.

The same is true of the influence of culture and geography. While acknowledging the shared themes and legacy of American and British interpretive experience, New Zealand interpreters recognise that there remain significant factors of difference between the situation and culture of these countries: factors which have their basis in context and these factors require of interpreters some philosophical consideration. Considerations underlying interpretive ventures concern assumptions and objectives, questions of who should interpret, who the anticipated audience will be and what will constitute the immediate and broader aims. These questions serve to highlight the value laden nature of interpretation.

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37 A. White in 'Guidelines for Interpreting History' cites significant responsibilities of interpreters to ensure 'that accurate, honest and representative history is preserved and interpreted and to present history as meaningful and living in the minds of present generations.' p 5 & 6.

38 Sahlins (Lecture. July 1992.) noted 'the objectivity of objects is humanly constructed by a historically relative selection of some only of the possible concrete references and general cultural conceptions.

39 Brian Friel: From 'Hugh Mor O'Donnel'. Quoted by Michael Neill Seminar. October 1991)
Interpreters and visitors bring to the interpretive experience values which have been determined by their context and environment. Their expectations and prior experience will significantly determine the nature of the material presented and the cultural and thematic values portrayed. The media employed will also represent a particular time and place.

1.2.7. Thesis Outline
In this thesis I consider a number of interpretive examples, examining the way in which they reflect their historical, geographical and cultural context in both material and manner of presentation. Chapter Two examines attitudes and policy directions which have governed presentation of interpretive material to the public, since such attitudes materially affect ways and means of presentation.

In the case studies of Chapters Three and Four I discuss past and contemporary presentation of cultural material in museums, and the way in which such practice reflects changing perceptions. The practice of site interpretation, particularly as it relates to certain sites deemed of cultural significance to Maori people, is also considered. Examples of site interpretation involve ‘pre-contact’ settlement sites for which the Department of Conservation (DOC) has developed educational and interpretive programmes. Additionally I briefly outline some of the current issues at the Maori Arts and Craft Institute and Whakarewarewa village in Rotorua, as people of this district have been involved in site interpretation since the early days of tourism in New Zealand.

These examples highlight some of the issues which arise in the areas of historic and cultural interpretation. The issues raised by the Case Studies will be explored more fully in the concluding Chapters Five and Six.

The programmes surveyed are not intended to comprise an exhaustive cross-section. They indicate a variety of aims and processes which have been developed in a more consciously bicultural social context and endeavour to accord recognition to Maori cultural values and practices, and to Treaty obligations. How Treaty obligations and bicultural aims translate into real terms will be examined as will be issues encountered by interpreters.

1.3 Chapter Summary
Interpretation has become a significant means of non-formal education and its use has evolved to include the natural as well as modified and built environment: parks and reserves, historic sites and
buildings, as well as cultural material and processes. Interpretive facilities exist to inform and to enhance people's experience of particular places or material so that they may value these both for their specific attributes and as part of broader frameworks and processes.

In the natural world the broader framework takes in an understanding of ecological concepts and people's place in the world. In a historical context interpretation may provide an insight into the lives of people in a given time and place as well as in the broader historical perspective. Cultural interpretation involves presentation of a culture's values, processes and material artifacts.

Interpretive planners and practitioners face a number of variables. As well as anticipated audience composition, the nature of the interpretive facility or experience will be determined by such factors as message to be conveyed, media to be used, and context as well as by the very real constraints of staff availability and funding. The material presented will vary according to the level of understanding of target audiences.

Any interpretive exercise focuses on prescriptive issues of planning, constraints of time, money, resources, and visitor focus. As well, planners are called to examine the purpose of the exercise, the intended outcome or learning experience. These issues form the main focus of this thesis. In examining some examples of contemporary interpretive presentations, I indicate some of the features, beliefs and preoccupations which characterise our time and compare them with past interpretive practice.
CHAPTER 2

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

 Attachment to a certain conception of space and time is a political decision. To what processes of social reproduction do those concepts subtly but persistently allude?40

2.1 Introduction

People’s perceptions of themselves and their environment are reflected in public attitudes and Government policies, and also in educative practices. Beliefs and attitudes change over time because of the dynamic nature of societies. Like other processes of education, historic and cultural interpretation reflects the ‘models of discourse’ of Government practice and public perception.

In this chapter I examine three models which have determined public policy and influenced attitudes. I consider assimilation, a market-based economic model, and biculturalism in terms of their underlying philosophy and values, their effects on social and economic policy generally and specifically in the field of interpretation. Interpretation of historic and cultural material is considered in relation to them in this and succeeding chapters.

Freire has observed “that ‘no pedagogy is neutral.’ ‘All have form and content related to power in society’41. Interpreters accept that as part of an on-going historical process their ‘product’ is to some degree value laden. The material which is presented as the truth is part of a selective legacy, subject to the perceptual lenses of presenters, reflecting ‘the normal subordinacy of commentators to their intellectual context’(Belich 1986:13). Focus changes over time as a reflection of the dynamic nature of society.

Interpretation is coloured by the interpreter’s perspective and value judgements, by the expectations and prior experience of visitor groups and the policy and philosophical direction of the interpretive agency. Interpretation is affected in

- What is presented as ‘true, accurate and representative history’ (White 1985).

40David Harvey. ‘Between Space and Time : a Historical Geography.’ p 232.


42 I Shor. (Ibid)
- What is selected as significant and by whom.
- The values, processes and personnel involved in programme research, development and presentation.
- The medium through which the text is presented.
- The anticipated level of audience understanding and expectation.

An important aspect concerns the way presentation reflects on the people whose culture and history are portrayed. Of concern is whether it serves to create or confirm stereotypes, or to maintain a position of power: whether it maintains or restores provenance to people, material and values: whether it permits meaning in terms of original cultural values: whether it endorses the dynamic nature of society and whether the ‘owners’ of cultural material derive material, social and psychological benefit from presentation.

In this chapter three ‘models of discourse’ are used to examine the ways in which context affects interpretation. The models of assimilation, market economics and biculturalism merit reference because they have driven public policy direction and impacted on the practice of interpretation.

The policy of assimilation has determined relationships between Maori and Pakeha for most of the past 150 years. The 1970’s and 1980’s saw a policy of biculturalism introduced by Government as a response to Maori determination for adequate representation in New Zealand society. Since 1984 market economic philosophy and policies have determined New Zealand’s economic and social direction and impact increasingly on contemporary New Zealand society. Because market precepts in many respects affirm assimilationist attitudes, those two models are presented alongside each other, although their emergence has not followed directly in historical sequence. The models of assimilation and biculturalism are examined in terms of Paolo Freire’s analysis of oppressive and liberating societies.

How each stance translates in terms of interpretation today will be examined in succeeding chapters. Characteristic features of these models are summarised in Table 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE I: MODELS OF DISCOURSE AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Underlying philosophy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Eurocentric: Based in assumed superiority of Western values and peoples. Assumption of right to subsume the culture of others and right to a ‘monopoly on the future.’ * Judeo-Christian ethos underlies dichotomy between world and humanity. * Social Darwinism: Relationship is one of hierarchy of domination from God to humans to animals with ‘civilised’ cultures enjoying a higher place than native peoples and cultures. * Metropolitan cultures view selves as superior because of permanence of land-use and settlement patterns, written language and legal system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Market Ethos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Ultimate extension of capitalist ethos in that economic value has primacy as ultimate form of value measurement. * Market seen as most efficient and effective way of organising human activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biculturalism</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tino Rangatiratanga</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Underlying values</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Capitalist: based in resource exploitation and consumption. Land, labour and time regarded as commodities like other resources. * Competitive, individualistic. * Scientific, technocratic, reductionist. Preoccupation with the material and observable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Market Ethos</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Biculturalism</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Precepts of social equity. Biculturalism involves share in power, prestige, economic and occupational security. * Involves acceptance of Maori right to share power and institutions, education into Maori beliefs, ways and processes to enable iwi/whi to access resources to pursue self-determination. * On institutional level: consultation and involvement with Maori community, Maori visibility and active partnership role. Existence of Maori institutions and processes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tino Rangatiratanga</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Characteristics</td>
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| Effects on Interpretation | * Cultural dispossession. Removal of cultural material and interpretive processes from tangata whanaunui. Removal of provenance of situation and supporting values. Maori perspective viewed as homogeneous. | * | * | |
2.2 Assimilation

'The origin of what we take to be the rational, the bearer of truth, is rooted in domination and subjugation and is constituted by the relationship of forces and powers'.

Since 1840 the Crown has had responsibility to actively protect the Maori people and Maori rights, language and culture, but Government policies have played a significant part in Maori acculturation, alienation within an urban environment and over representation in negative social indices. This situation is attributable to the process of oppression by colonisation and assimilation.

Assimilation represented the official Government policy with regard to Maori until the 1980's. Biculturalism was adopted by Government as a policy in the 1980's and has subsequently affected the practices of some government agencies, but in terms of real outcomes for Maori, recent years have seen many of the precepts of assimilation endorsed in market economic practice and little change in terms of lifestyle outcomes.

2.1.1 Underlying Philosophy and Values

Assimilation involved the imposition of institutions, practices, beliefs: the world view of one people, the European colonists, on that of another, the tangata whenua, in order to create a 'homogenous society based in European traditions and institutions' (Ballara 1986:5). Cultural imperialism was based in eurocentric perceptions of cultural superiority and justified on social, technological, religious, and racial grounds. In western perception, history represented a progress of human development through a predetermined evolution from savagery to civilisation, with civilisation evidenced by the development of permanent patterns of land use and settlement, a codified legal system, written language, and technological and scientific advancement (Awatere 1984:67, Ballara 1986:5).

Environmental attitudes were linked with those concerning land use and religion. Where Maori traditions hold humanity to be an integral part of the natural order, Western cultures perceive their situation in the world as a dichotomy between humanity and the environment and this perception underpins the Judeo-christian ethos of dominion over nature and resource use within the capitalist

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44 Treaty of Waitangi, Articles II & III.

45 The Hunn Report (1967) and subsequent policy of integration indicated slight modification to assimilative policies. However although integration claimed to recognise cultural difference its underlying practices remained assimilative.
system. The capitalist mode of production ‘commodifies the land, its resources and people’\textsuperscript{46}. Demand for resources underlies both the colonising spread of metropolitan cultures and their preoccupation with the material aspects of culture.

With a similar ethnocentric presumption, Christianity was considered to be the one true religion. Relationships between people and the world were perceived as a hierarchy of domination from God through humans to nature: the ‘civilised’ nations enjoyed a higher position than ‘native’ cultures.

Technological development and scientific understanding were taken to reflect social advancement and attitudes sympathetic to these modes of understanding were evident in notions of technocracy, and the precepts of scientific reductionism. The scientific ethos places value on the real, the material, the observable and in so doing supports capitalist precepts. Scientific, individualistic and competitive values based in capitalist enterprise and technological achievement are still endorsed as ‘right’ and ‘real’ in this society.

Aldridge (1989: 68-70) cites Western philosophical underpinnings as based in the Judeo-Christian ethos of dominion over nature, in notions of environmental stewardship, scientific method, industrialisation and urbanisation, capitalist economic production, and Darwinism and its subsequent social and economic application\textsuperscript{47}. These influential strands underlie eurocentric values and the assimilative practices which in all areas of life assumed the right to subsume Maori culture. Such monocultural perceptions linger today despite stated changes in policy objectives.

2.1.2 Policy effects
Assimilation was justified on the overriding assumption of the superiority of the invasive culture but its underlying rationale lay in land acquisition for settlement and use in capitalist productive

\textsuperscript{46} In ‘The Meaning of Biculturalism’ Walker describes features of metropolitan society as scale, aggregation of people into nation states, capitalist mode of production, universality and portability through the spread of transnational corporations and communication and transport networks.

\textsuperscript{47} The subject is examined more fully by White in ‘The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis’, Glacken in ‘Traces on the Rhodian Shore’ and ‘The Primal Mind’ in which Highwater contrasts perceptions and value systems of those he terms ‘primal’ peoples with metropolitan societies.
endeavours. Land settlement for all colonising peoples was predicated on the destruction of original peoples and their culture[^46].

Assimilation sought to break Maori resistance and to destroy the institutions and customs which bound Maori together, by systematic alienation from valued institutions and traditional cultural processes. Social, economic and political interaction took place in the English language following western European models and traditions. Science and technology also acted as ‘instruments of oppression’ (Freire 1972:36).

The imposition of European social, legal and educational patterns and practices undermined Maori economic and cultural well-being, and removed the rights and means of self-determination. These practices caused the alienation of Maori land, the loss of Maori language from everyday usage, the removal of cultural values and processes and of choice as to preferred lifestyle.

Traditional Maori beliefs and practices were derided by British settlers as naive and heretical and it was denied that loss of valued institutions would represent any loss to Maori. Policy was determined by successive paternalistic and self-interested governments removing Maori from decision making with regard to their own lives. Maori had ‘no say in shaping their own destiny and no choice as to preferred lifestyle and values’ (Awatere 1984:43).

Monocultural perception and the application of the criteria of one culture to people from another culture has resulted in prejudice and stereotyping. Dealings between Maori and Pakeha continue to exhibit the assumption by Pakeha of their cultural superiority, their inherent right to power domination and their monopoly of social and economic behaviour.

2.1.3 Assimilation and Oppression

Freire (1972:31) defines an oppressive situation as ‘any situation in which A objectively exploits B or hinders his pursuit of self affirmation as a responsible person’. Freire’s model is premised on the role of people as responsible, thinking and creative agents within the dynamic historical process.

[^46] Steven (1988:88) points out that ‘what is distinctive about settler racism is that the value of the indigenous people does not end when they die, it only begins: what has value are their possessions, their lands and fisheries…so the sole positive thing about them becomes available only when they cease to exist.'
An oppressive society imposes its values, and modus operandi on other people removing their right to ‘name’ the world and to act as responsible subjects within it. Oppression objectifies the people, making them spectators in the historic process. Their right of self-determination is removed and they are seen to exist in so far as they reflect the dominant culture, without purpose except those the oppressors ascribe to them (Freire 1972:36).

In terms of cultures, oppression occurs overtly by genocide, or by the more covert means of cultural genocide: the removal of valued social and cultural aspects which characterise the society of the oppressed people. Significant aspects for Maori were land, language and traditional beliefs.

Supportive myths used to justify the cultural invasion of Maori are characteristic of those propagated to maintain oppressive societies. They include the concept of ‘history as progress’: the myth of western cultural superiority used to justify cultural invasion: the myth of the childlike nature of the Maori who needed therefore to be controlled: the myth of ‘wastelands’ to justify settlement of lands not already subject to western patterns of agriculture and development: the perception of the environment as a resource to exploit: the myth of the ‘one true’ religion to justify its use as a civilising agent: the endorsement of technocratic, scientific and capitalist values as ‘right’ and ‘true’.

Oppressive societies view history as a static state, precluding critical analysis or dialogue with a view to social change. Their education system as an agent of social reproduction focuses on filling students with specific and irrelevant knowledge of which the oppressors are the owners. New Zealand’s education system, both formal and informal, has generally focused on reproducing eurocentric values and endorsed the patterns of class and gender domination which reinforce capitalist, and competitive values. Our society has seen little by way of critical analysis of the basis of these values, endorsing Freire’s observation that oppressive societies are domesticating and dissuade self-criticism (Freire 1972:27)⁴⁹ and that ‘reproduction of dominant ideology depends on its power to make reality opaque’ (Freire 1987:168).

The policy and practice of assimilation embodies the characteristics of an oppressive society as identified by Freire. Assimilation oppressed Maori by removing their status as subjects acting on

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⁴⁹ Likewise Awtare (1984:42) noted that oppressive groups avoid confronting the role they play in oppressing others’. Nikora (1984) saw scrutiny of Western values as justified ‘in view of their unholy grasp on the reins of power.’
their situation, forcing them to reflect the values and objectives of the oppressor culture and to live within imposed social frameworks.

Such oppression is reflected in the following ways:
- The deliberate policy of absorption of Maori into the ways of Western Capitalism.
- The removal of the right to name and act upon the world: the forced suppression of traditional cultural values and processes and their replacement by the values and institutions of the oppressor society.
- The removal of 'tino rangatiratanga': self determination.
- The assumption of the superiority of Western traditions.
- The espousal of Western perceptions of people as separate from and having dominion over the environment: a dichotomy which legitimizes the exploitation of the world’s resources.50
- The preoccupation with the material aspects of life, as a basis of capitalist production, in contrast to traditional spiritually based beliefs and practices.
- The submersion of valued cultural aspects such as land and language through the application of Government policy, in education and law as in virtually all other aspects of social practice.
- The ascendancy of scientific values and preoccupation with the observable and therefore material aspects of existence at the expense of traditional spiritually based modes of behaviour and thought.
- The practice of 'banking education' which reproduces the social system, discourages critical analysis of situation and 'anaesthetizes and inhibits creative power' (Freire 1972:51).
- The imposition of a cultural 'inauthenticity' for many of the 'invaded people' (Ibid.) causing a loss of belief in traditional ways in deference to the oppressive culture.

2.1.4 Assimilation and Interpretation

Such attitudes affected the early practice of interpretation in location, in who researched and presented material, how Maori people and their history were projected, whether they benefitted from the interpretive exercise, whether they were active subjects in the interpretation of their culture, or whether interpretation reflected detrimentally on them. These considerations apply to both historic and cultural interpretation which enjoy a complementary relationship. In both, the assimilationist politics of exclusion have operated.

50 In an oppressive society the 'dichotomy of man and world precludes identification with the world, as part of it with others' (Freire 1972).
Applied in the practice of interpretation assimilation resulted in:
- the ‘colonisation’ of history.
- the portrayal of Maori in largely stereotyped images, as reflective of and interactive with Pakeha, and as a static representation of a ‘dying’ culture, worth preserving for largely historic reasons.
- the removal of cultural material and the interpretive process from tangata whenua, to whom it belonged.
- the presentation of cultural material in terms which removed provenance of situation and supporting cultural values.

In the past Maori cultural property has often been used to denote this country’s unique character, yet our institutional arrangements and their underlying precepts have been firmly based in inherited western European traditions, as have the management roles in most areas of social organisation. Past presentations of historic and cultural material in public institutions reflected a largely monocultural perspective and the removal of tino rangatiratanga from interpretive processes. Interpretation has in general involved portrayal of Maori society by and to the dominant Pakeha majority.

In 'Is there an Excluded Past in Education’ Stone and MacKenzie (1989:113-120) point to history which has been omitted in both formal and non-formal education. They cite the virtual exclusion of prehistory from school curricula and other educational facilities, and the suppression of versions of the past held to be true by many indigenous, marginalised and minority groups. Any presentations of these versions are as ‘myth’ alongside the ‘truths’ of the dominant culture.

In colonised countries 'real' history begins at the point of contact, with the history of indigenous peoples presented in terms of their contact with the colonising group: 'western hegemony as human destiny at hand'\(^{31}\). Prehistoric past is relegated to providing a starting point for the ‘proper’ history of civilisation with the outcome in terms of public perception that indigenous peoples achieve validity by virtue of their association with the colonising group.

The process of exclusion allows that 'that the study of prehistory is seen as an indulgent luxury with no bearing on today’s society’ (Stone and MacKenzie 1989:116). This analysis reflects the New

\(^{31}\) Sahlins (Lecture ‘Goodbye Tristes Tropes’ 1992) observed that 'For Europeans the great rupture in the history of the rest of the world is initiated by their appearance there, an epiphany that supposedly produces a change in the quality of historical time.'
Zealand experience. Many New Zealanders still view this country’s history as beginning at point of European contact, with a small sub-section or preface accorded to pre-European history by way of a lead up to the ‘real’ thing. This promotes a sympathetic environment for ‘progress which can occur only when there is literacy and history.’ (Ibid.115)

In New Zealand, as with other colonised peoples, history concerning Maori people was presented in terms of their relationship with, and largely from the perspective of, the dominant culture. This resulted in a largely stereotypical portrayal of Maori as representative of a ‘classical phase’ of a dying culture, in situations such as museums which removed provenance and described material in terms outside its original frame of reference, lacking supporting cultural values and beliefs (Neich 198552, McManus 1988, Taua P.C).

The process of colonising history thus endorses versions of history held to be true by oppressive groups. This political and exclusionary process disempowers the affected group, and affirms the status of the dominant culture. In consequence, New Zealand historians point to gaps in our history and considerable historical amnesia 53.

Belich (1986:13) notes

In innumerable cases where important historical issues involve two or more groups, the written record of all but one is lost, is inaccessible, or never existed. Where the issue is some kind of conflict, and the group which dominates the historical record believes itself inherently superior to its opponents, the problem is particularly acute.

In the recording and interpretation of history as in other social institutions the ‘real’ is visible and affirmed throughout while less valued becomes invisible. Early New Zealand historical presentations and interpretive facilities focused on predominantly (male) Pakeha experience, endorsed eurocentric values and omitted to record the ‘other’ except in largely stereotyped images.

Selection and modification arises not only from the view that only the experience of certain protagonists in history is worth recording, but also that the recorders of history apply the values and

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52 Neich (1985:5) noted much of the early interpretation of Maori culture to be more concerned with 'establishing the significance of Maori cultural items within a Pakeha system of significance rather than within Maori culture itself.'

perspective of their time, and do so to some degree in response to the expectations of their audience. Like other texts, this is reflected in interpretive presentations.

Changes in social and cultural understanding in recent years are reflected in changing perspectives on history, and recent histories are beginning the process of ‘liberating the past’ in eras where little was recorded or presenting another view from that previously promoted. Changing presentation is also reflected in interpretation. The case studies illustrate examples.

2.1.5 Where interpretation took place

As noted, the two main strands of interpretation were natural heritage interpretation in places such as National Parks, and historic heritage interpretation. As in Britain and the United States, most early New Zealand interpretation was linked primarily to natural sites, and a conservation ethic and scientific theme prevailed. In interpretive centres, such as National Park Information Centres, early presentation of local histories accentuated post-contact Pakeha history.

Historic heritage interpretation was located in a few sites of (largely post-contact) historic events and eras, as in the Goldfield Sites of Otago, and also in museums. Likewise the interpretation of cultural material to the visiting public took place predominantly in a museum context and to a limited extent in sites deemed culturally significant, and reflected a stereotyped portrayal of a past and ‘classical’ Maori culture.

In like manner, the dynamic nature of the historical process was denied: Maori life was represented as static, a ‘timeless ethnographic present denying the cultural discontinuity and trauma’ which characterised post-contact past for Maori and ignoring as well Maori adaptability, enterprise, and

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54 Brian Friel’s play, ‘Hugh Mor O’Donnel’ noted public expectation’s role in the recording of history: ‘History is a kind of story telling. It can be told in many different ways, determined by the needs, demands and expectations of different people and different eras... a historian’s job is to be servant to his public.’ (Quoted Neill. Seminar. October 1991)

55 Michael Neill (Seminar:1991) noted that as well as liberating the past from silence, the process also liberates historians and the public from ignorance, empowering them to approach the contemporary situations with greater knowledge.

56 A series of heritage sites in Otago whose artifacts, architecture and changed landforms attest to the area’s mining past of the 1800’s.

57 Neich (1985:7) noted presentation of this other aspect of history is needed in order to appreciate the achievements of political and cultural resurgence.

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determination. Likewise Maori life and values were presented as homogeneous, ignoring tribal roots and differences in kawa and lifestyle and geographical situation.

Thus, in general New Zealanders have been exposed to a portrayal of European and post-contact history, or to a ‘museumified’ portrayal of Maori as largely extinct, with lifestyle and culture worth recording as the relic of a past culture and dying history. Those who sought information about Maori life approached museums to ‘view culture’ rather than experiencing it on the marae or by association with Maori. It was commonly assumed that there were ‘no real Maori left’ (Walker P.C).

While museums have been publicly perceived as authoritative repositories of representative cultural artifacts, they are themselves part of a particular cultural legacy, which removed some of the material artifacts of history, stored them in isolation from their natural context, and classified and displayed them according to prevailing scientific ethos and colonial assumptions, the external disciplines imposed by dominant culture (Sahlins 1992, McCarthy 1992 58, Bulmer P.C).

The static nature of museum displays endorsed assimilative assumptions that Maori values and processes were of historical concern only. Recording and presentation methods displayed a lack of reference to the people whose lives, and cultural material were interpreted, (Keenan 1993) and were ‘more concerned with establishing the significance of Maori cultural items within a Pakeha system of significance’ (Neich 1985:5). Likewise cultural practices were described and ‘ascribed significance in terms outside the frame of reference of the original cultural values’ 59. The key to such methodology lay in 19th century practices of natural history classification.

Past museum displays often centred round collections causing objects ‘to lose provenance because of their arrangement by specialists who rarely traced their interrelationships’ (Aldridge) 60. Displays often reflected the scientific focus of ‘clusters of type’ laid out ‘with the same type of anonymity as mindless repetitive geological fossils or butterflies.’ (Mulvaney 1980, in McManus 1988.) Neat groupings of like ‘implements’ were described in terms of their function and the material from which

58 ‘The Museum collects and orders, classifying and cataloguing the world: including other peoples, as part of its great projects.’ (McCarthy 1992:83)


60 Likewise until the 1960’s ‘rock art drawings were considered primarily as an art form, without.. real attempts to place them in the overall context of prehistory.’(Trotter and McCulloch 1989:46.)
they were fashioned, with no reference to their tribal heritage, the values they held for their people, or their geographical and tribal region (McManus 1988. Taua P.C) 61

Instead they were accorded european-style definitions, scientific terms, quasi-scientific presentation and the assumption of objectivity, which is said to be outside value judgements. In fact notions of objectivity and scientific method are culturally based: valued by a culture which permits only the material and observable the status of reality. 62

Interpreters were usually Pakeha academics, often ethnologists and archaeologists and their methods supported traditional conceptions of their function as collectors and keepers of scientific information. (Taua P.C, Trotter and McCulloch 1989, McManus 1988, McCarthy 1992) Archaeology was seen as an ‘introspective discipline concerned solely with the excavation and minutiae of a chronologically interpreted past.’(Stone and MacKenzie 1989:113). The disciplines of ethnology and ethnography functioned as means of recording lifestyles of non-Western societies64.

Likewise museum function was more concerned with collection and protection than with contributing to public understanding. Consequently materials and related information were not always presented in an accessible manner, informative to visitors or conveying much depth of information relevant to their source or background.

Furthermore, material concerning indigenous peoples was often placed in interpretive displays or national park interpretation programmes alongside displays of flora and fauna, reflecting their perceived place as part of the ‘natural’ rather than the ‘human’ world (McManus 1988, Meeker

61 McCarthy (1992:87) noted the ‘cabinet of curiosities’ format of early presentations: ‘taonga jumbled together like bric-a-brac on a victorian mantelpiece’. as the ‘legacy of a period when Pakeha experts like Best and Hamilton corrected the ‘decay’ of Maori art by establishing a Museum mythology of orthodox ‘traditional’ Maori culture.

62 Dann (1988:334) noted that science is but one mode of preception albeit a powerful one: perceptions derived from cultural experience can be just as powerful.

63 McCarthy notes the ‘past view of museums as ‘culture bunkers’: inward looking places, whose staff were often subject specialists. (McCarthy,1992:110)

64 ‘Classification schemes existed for flora fauna and other races of people and their material culture.’ McManus.8:1988.
Maori cultural material, processes and values, like those of other indigenous peoples, were perceived to represent early, primitive paths of human development (Ballara 1986). The achievements and fine art of ‘civilisation’ were displayed elsewhere and reflected the ‘progress’ of ‘civilised’ peoples, whether Eastern or ‘classical’ in their origins.

In many areas of interpretation, Maori people, cultural material and life have been presented as the ‘other’, with curiosity and historic value only: ‘living folklore frozen into timeless wooden fakelore’ (McCarthy 1992:87). Presentation often focused on themes of the material aspects of life, such as hunting and food gathering, but avoided reference to the spiritual framework which gave practices meaning. Maori views if presented at all were qualified by expressions such as ‘Maori believed that’ or ‘said to represent’ and were thus presented as ‘myths’ alongside the real and ‘scientific’ explanation.

Thus ‘the myths or storyline concepts of museum displays represented ideological statements’ (Neich 1985:6), endorsing assimilation. There was no recognition of the dynamic nature of Maori society or the validity of Maori beliefs and processes.

2.1.5 Interim summary

In ‘The Cultural Domination of Taha Maori’ (1985:37), Walker noted that ‘racism exists when one group views its cultural values, lifestyles and socio-economic self-interest as superior to or having priority over those of other groups and then (covertly or overtly) implements these assumptions through societal norms and institutions’. The practice of assimilation oppressed Maori people and alienated them from significant cultural aspects and from decision making processes with regard to their lives. Interpretive practices endorsed the ethnocentric assumptions of European colonists and the inheritors of their tradition.

Assimilative and racist attitudes linger today, particularly in the assumption that eurocentric and capitalist attitudes represent the norm. Pakeha still monopolise power and decision making over the institutional arrangements in this country and over the life choices of Maori people, and Government proceeds with the assumption of its sovereign powers, notwithstanding Treaty guarantees of tino rangatiratanga. However recent years indicate some changes as a result of Maori intent for self

Meeker (1973:155, quoting Deloia 1969:171) noted that in America, ‘negroes were considered draft animals and Indians wild animals...wild brothers to the deer, antelope and other creatures who were at home on the range.’
determination, and also Government bicultural initiatives. The effects of this and of contemporary market practice will be examined in the following sections.

The policies of assimilation and New Right market ideology share a basic philosophical and cultural legacy: both are based in eurocentric attitudes and Western traditions. For this reason, I will describe features of market economics alongside those of assimilation, although historically and in terms of policy implementation, a Government policy of biculturalism preceded the imposition of a market economic model.

2.2 Market Model

2.2.1 Underlying Philosophy and Values

Recent years have seen the emergence of a market based economic model in much of Western society. Based in monetarism and reflecting a economic application of Darwinism, the market model assumes that the value of a resource, commodity or institution is best measured in economic terms and that the market is the most efficient way of organising human activity.

Market theory shares the values underlying assimilation: capitalism, ascendent economic values, resource consumption, the dichotomy of people in the world, and particularly competition, and individualism. Because it assumes that everything has an economic value and that economic value has primacy as the ultimate form of value measurement such a model represents an extreme extension of the capitalist ethos.66

In support of unregulated capitalism, it is believed that competition allows for choice and breeds efficiency. Market value is said to reflect true consumer demand or enthusiasm. Within the market, objects, commodities and resources will reflect or achieve their genuine value and only those commodities genuinely deserving will flourish and prosper. In market economic jargon, such ‘consumer oriented’ or ‘client based’ processes ensure ‘market accountability’, because the ‘free market’ is said to encourage a direct relationship between the producer and the consumer.67 Any

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66 The market model is based in the capitalist tradition with its assumptions of western superiority. It absorbs the precepts and values of colonial ‘settlerism’; that everything represents resources to be developed for consumption and gain (Steven 1988:88).

67 Such analysis ignores the lobbying power of powerful groups and the power of media and advertising to influence consumer behaviour.
interference in the operation of the market is believed to create anomalies. Government or bureaucratic intervention in management is seen as inimical to efficiency. Privatisation and deregulation of the finance sector are supported as the basis of competition.

Such analysis endorses Freire's observation (1972:35) that 'oppressive societies tend to transform everything into objects of their dominion and purchasing power: hence their strictly materialistic concept of existence. Money is the measure of all things and profit the primary goal', with 'science and technology increasingly used as instruments for this purpose'.

2.2.2 Policy Effects
Market practice has resulted in increasing commodification of labour, resources and services, and resultant changes to social services and institutions which were traditionally accepted as the responsibility of Government. While New Right theorists claim that market practice permits reduced government involvement, the imposition of such an economic strategy in fact allows for greater government control, in the form of restructuring and management direction. Kelsey (1990:267) noted 'Privatisation and devolution actually tightened central government control over essential policy and fiscal decisions while reducing its accountability for the consequences'.

The impacts of market economic policies are felt throughout our society. I briefly consider effects of market practice on lifestyle outcomes and social wellbeing; the effects on Maori people and Maori perspectives; institutional organisation, management choices and the dispersal of educational services and on the practice of interpretation.

Effects on Lifestyle Outcomes and Social Wellbeing
Lauder (1987:6) noted that the capitalist mode of production which generates the 'free' market also produces a class structure. Market practice reduces 'social solidarity and increases the commodification of work' (Ibid.). It increases social divisions and inequalities of rich and poor, promoting the freedom and advantages of already powerful groups in society; endorsing those with influence in economic and policy circles. In promoting the freedom of already powerful groups, market ideology undermines social equity: in competition for diminishing financial resources, market systems establish a divide and rule situation rather than endorsing social cohesion and wellbeing.

Market theory operates contrary to principles of social equity, rejecting the assumption that equality and social equity are desirable. It disregards the social impact of race, gender and ethnicity and creates greater disparities between socially advantaged and disadvantaged groups. In assuming that
all people start from a position of equal advantage, market philosophy effectively denies social and economic disadvantages imposed by assimilation and suffered by Maori people for the past 150 years. In promotion of its ethos, it ignores real and longterm social and economic costs resultant from greater unemployment and market competition.

In promoting economic values, market economic processes ignore the place of other moderating values such as conservation and social responsibilities as well as values associated with human dignity and a sense of personal worth. In this model, the notion of goods and services becomes one of goods: traditional perceptions of service are lost to the community with the requirement that enterprises be commercially viable (Jesson 1988). Market economic practice thus endorses oppressive values and practices.

Effects on Maori people and Maori perspectives.
The net effects of market practice have been to undermine Maori tino rangatiratanga, and choice of practice as to preferred lifestyle. In terms of outcomes and life choices, proportionately more Maori than Pakeha have suffered deprivation through unemployment and changes to health and education under recent economic policies limiting choice in terms of aspiration and potential, effectively perpetuating the negative and oppressive effects of assimilation.

Although changes to institutions are touted as ensuring greater efficiency of services and accountability to consumers, in the country’s social institutions ‘Maori people continue to have very little meaningful influence in policy decision making’ (Smith 1990:73). In all areas Pakeha decision makers continue to determine policy which significantly affects Maori people.

In its endorsement of capitalist notions of competition and individualism, market theory ignores and denies the traditional Maori worldview and valued concepts such as mana, tapu, whakapapa, whanau relationships and spirituality. The ‘validity and legitimacy of Maori knowledge, pedagogy and cultural practice’ (Smith 1990a:77) continues to be denied in wider society, and Pakeha cultural capital maintains a monopoly on the future, in terms of values considered real and relevant in modern society.

Furthermore the cultural basis of these values is not subject to critical examination in terms of cultural relativism. Smith (Ibid:80) notes ‘two of the most effective ideologies mitigating against Maori

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interests are the belief in the superiority of Pakeha knowledge and cultural norms and the belief in the liberating potential of Pakeha knowledge and learning’.

**Institutional organisation and management**

In economic enterprise market economic practices tend to favour already powerful groups, such as multi-national corporations so that increasingly their perception of ‘truth’ determines future policy directions. As well as affirming Western capitalist assumptions, this has implications in terms of loss of local control to foreign ownership, and particularly in terms of tangata whenua wishes and values. Kelsey (1990:267) noted ‘new owners of New Zealand’s productive and finance capital (to be) international corporations (with) no national loyalty, identifiable personality, public accountability, social or political conscience.’ This signals a loss of local control over resources, and management and decision making processes.

The rationale of market accountability, consumer choice and non-intervention by government is increasingly applied to other institutions and areas of social responsibility which have traditionally fallen to Government and the public service. Current trends in education reflect an increasing expectation for such operations to be efficient and to cover operational costs. Furthermore New Right theorists see no reason why these ‘services’ should remain Government responsibility and seek to restructure them accordingly. Traditional perceptions of education as a basic right in our society, and its provision the responsibility of Government are criticised in New Right theory. Education is viewed as a vehicle for marketable skills and the acquisition of knowledge: an investment requiring private rather than public funding (Sexton 1990, Lauder 1987).

The perception of education as a ‘private good’ and Crown agents as not necessarily the best providers has implications in terms of provision of these services and payment for them. An increasing trend towards privatisation is associated with both formal educational services at all levels and resource management agencies of non-formal education, as is an increasing trend to commodify resources and services to make them more marketable. However such views are based in short term vision and ignore potentially adverse long term effects of depleting educational institutions or making them less accessible to certain groups in society. They also ignore other aspects of education such as social education, and other moderating values such as social and environmental responsibility.

Market theory and policy impact similarly on other educational agencies which currently hold responsibility for informal education. Agencies such as museums and the Department of Conservation, which have traditionally held interpretive functions to be part of their overall resource management
responsibilities, move increasingly towards an ethos of user-pays and cost recovery. While this trend may be claimed to ensure a closer response by provider to consumer preference, it also carries the potential for negative effects on both agencies and programmes.

The Conservation Department like other Government departments has been targeted for reduced expenditure, but carries increasing duties and the responsibility to administer values other than economic. The management of the Conservation estate is adversely affected by reduced financial and human resources in both its conservation and advocacy roles, of which interpretation is a part. Furthermore there are a limited number of areas which can be targeted for cost recovery. (Molloy 1993, Delamore P.C)

'Consumer choice' creates competition between institutions for the consumer dollar. Interpretive agencies compete, and within institutions sectional interests compete. Furthermore, a competitive ethos ensures that a strong focus of any agency lies in 'book balancing' and fund raising and may result in great disparities between the resources of institutions, dependent on their economic base. By requiring agencies to act according to economic determinants, it undermines their responsibility in areas of social and environmental education, thereby affirming the status quo in terms of attitudes, and reinforcing philosophic notions based in economic values and rational self-interest.

Increasing sectionalisation and privatisation of education 'services' and repeated restructuring also has negative implications in terms of national standards and networking within institutions. It may lead to a loss of institutional memory and history so that policy is increasingly formulated in a theoretical vacuum, and practiced by agents who do not carry the legislated responsibilities of institutions. For example, such policy may place responsibility for non-formal education, such as interpretation, increasingly in the hands of agencies who do not carry governing legislation with regard to Treaty responsibilities.

In these ways, market theory focuses on economic value systems at the expense of other moderating social and environmental values such as conservation and Maori values. As increasing privatisation endorses commercial motivation as primary, responsibility for areas of social wellbeing is likely to become sacrificed to economic determinants. Views of education promoted in market theory endorse the status quo in terms of social situation and of largely monocultural perceptions.
2.2.3 The Market model and Interpretation

The application of a market model, coupled with the developing tourism industry has extensive implications for interpretation in New Zealand, particularly concerning control over material and processes and what is determined as the ‘truth’ to be presented. Conditions imposed by market practice have the potential to impact on the integrity of the presentation of cultural material and on Maori people's preferred choices.

While early interpretive efforts were primarily resource based, more recent approaches can be seen to reflect market based philosophies and strategies. The cost recovery principle requires that interpretive agencies in large measure absorb the costs of establishing and maintaining interpretive programmes. Choices for funding include sponsorship, the imposition of visitor charges, and the sale of goods associated with interpretive programmes.

The presentation and interpretation of sites and cultural and historic material has traditionally been an aspect of the overall resource management of the organisation responsible. The application of a market ethos may undermine this overview because of internal competition for management resources and the tendency for economic issues to be highly rated in programme planning and management. Furthermore interpretive agencies such as government departments are constrained by the economic imperatives of Government policy. Because facilities are required to be more ‘self-funding and ‘client focused’, interpretive effectiveness is often rated by how effectively the facility draws the visitor. Implications cited in interpretive literature include the commodification of interpretation and conservation, the emergence of a competitive ethos among interpreters and facilities for the tourist dollar and a consequent undermining of the traditional conservation role in interpretation.⁶⁹

A further consideration lies in the relationship of interpretation to what is regarded as entertainment, education and ‘provocation.’ While interpretation is said to contain elements of all three, concern arises as to the retention of integrity in the face of a need for a marketable product and public expectations for greater and more contrived entertainment. In this area the concerns of integrity may be weighed against those of ‘art’ and the determinants of media (Uzzel 1989b:6).

In historic and cultural interpretation, the application of a client based ethos to interpretive planning has implications in the portrayal of ‘truth’ for it may allow for a greater degree of mythicising, with

⁶⁹ Articles by Cossons, Smith, Broadhurst, Robinson in 'Heritage Interpretation Vol. 2. The Visitor Experience' concern the impact of market practices on interpretation.
visitor expectation becoming a stronger determinant in the interpretive message, and the potential for distortion in order to create a popular and saleable image or to affirm popular myths.\footnote{Public determination to view less contentious images of themselves may lead to modification of the image projected. Interpretation at Waitangi was modified because it ran counter to public self perceptions. (Burns P.C.)}

Where visitor groups from other countries make up a large proportion of the tourist market, tourist facilities may be aimed primarily at them, omitting reference to the local visiting public for whom the social education component of biculturalism has meaning in the dealings of their day to day lives. Furthermore, catering to such visitor groups may lead to superficial presentation and endorse stereotypes. Such considerations raise questions about how far the “art” of interpretation may encroach on the authenticity of the material to be presented.

Likewise how far should technology used affect the integrity of original material? The market ethos has seen the accompanying development of the use of techniques and methods of modern mass media to affirm its underlying assumptions. In purveying an interpretive message ‘high-tech’ media may also replace live interpretation for economically justified reasons\footnote{After the initial capital investment a video is cheaper to run than a person.}. In deciding to include such media, benefits need to be balanced against those of personal interaction.

As integrity may be compromised by imaginative use of ‘facts’ so too may technology compromise imagination. Uzzell (1989) cites the danger of technologically sophisticated techniques being paralleled by a greater passivity and lack of critical participation on the part of visitors. For this reason too personal interpretation retains an important role.

With regard to cross-cultural interpretation, sensitivity to the desires of the host culture is essential (Upitis 1989, Keenen 1993). However the ascendancy of economic values as the measure of validity tends to usurp the place of other values so that the tourist ‘dollar is perceived to buy ownership and the right to see all’ (Uzzell 1989:8). A crucial aspect of interpretation of Maori cultural property is that ownership is acknowledged, and Maori exercise choice over which if any aspects they wish to share with visitors. Uzzell (1989a:8) noted the need to balance ‘the desire to know on the part of the tourist’ by ‘a desire to tell on the part of the host culture.’ The degree to which this occurs must be determined in a process of genuine partnership and dialogue.
This process is less likely to occur if one group maintains power in terms of resource ownership and development options. Investment in New Zealand by financially powerful groups has seen increasing foreign involvement which reduces local benefits in terms of management and financial returns. In terms of presentation of a Maori perspective, foreign ownership of resources and subsequent limitation of Maori input may potentially undermine interpretive authenticity and deny Maori tino rangatiratanga over cultural resources.

Furthermore material needs to be displayed in terms which are relevant to Maori people and in ways which endorse the ‘validity and legitimacy’ of Maori knowledge, language and culture (Smith 1990:77, Keenan 1993). While ‘interpretation offers the opportunity to communicate alternative perspectives’ (Uzzel 1989:11) the market model represents the extreme application of capitalist values which may not always equate with the values of the host culture. The primacy of economic values may deny the holism and interrelationships of traditional Maori world view, as well as the perpetually present spiritual aspects of life. Market values can be seen to be at odds with valued concepts such as mana, kawa and whakapapa which in traditional terms regulate behaviour.

Similarly, in a society where processes have come to increasingly reflect the market model, under the guise of consumer demand and satisfaction, just who is consumer in a process such as education remains unclear. Is it the students, the parents or the employers? Driven by an economic ethos, the aim of education may be increasingly viewed as answering the economic and employment needs of society, and ignoring social and environmental aspects. As interpretive programmes become more closely linked with entertainment than education, one must consider with whom the responsibility for social education lies.

2.2.4. Interim Summary

In the market based economy of the 1990’s the basic questions asked about interpretation (by whom, for whom, to what end?) hold great relevance, for while New Right policies are touted as allowing greater flexibility and accountability, aspects of concern outlined above indicate moves away from traditional educational and interpretive philosophy and practice.

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72 Butts (1993:170) notes that cultural property concerns both the tangible and intangible aspects of culture (such as language, belief systems and traditions) which are closely related. It is important to maintain this relationship.
The commodification of environmental services such as interpretation has implications for future practise: whether interpretation is market driven, with economic determinants having primacy; whether it embodies conservation values and Maori perspectives; whether a blend of values is possible.

In terms of interpretation of Maori cultural material, the severely competitive framework of such a policy runs counter to many Maori social traditions. It also requires interpretive agents to appraise the priority they accord Maori rights and culture by their choices in funding and determining the worth of projects, as well as in further concerns of process and management of interpretation projects.

As an ultimate extension of the tenets of capitalism, the market model contrasts with both the values and contemporary reality of many Maori people. Whether it is possible to reconcile apparently opposing values is an issue deserving consideration and one which is touched on in discussion of issues from the case study examples.

2.3 Biculturalism
I include the model of biculturalism because it has determined Government response to Treaty issues in recent years and underlies current Government practice with regard to certain legislation. Following discussion of the characteristics of biculturalism, I briefly critique Government performance to date, and outline some reasons why tino rangatiratanga has become for many Maori a preferred direction for action.

2.3.1 Background
Treaty obligations have existed since 1840 but only in recent years have they been accorded recognition by Government. Biculturalism became the policy direction of Government and its agencies in the 1980’s and particularly in 1990\(^2\).

Modifications to assimilative practices since the 1970’s derive largely in response to Maori determination that New Zealand should genuinely reflect its bicultural status and calls by Maori people for endorsement of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding charter of the nation. Maori call

\(^2\) 1970’s Government espousal of multiculturalism acknowledged New Zealand’s mixed demographic base and world wide liberal recognition of minority rights. Maori responses indicated the need to address issues arising from New Zealand’s bicultural foundations before considering multiculturalism.
for recognition of their rights, adequate response to grievances, the reflection of a Maori perspective in society and recognition of rights to self determination.

Statutory recognition of Maori rights pursued in the liberal social policy of the 1975 Labour Government was reflected in the establishment of Waitangi Tribunal\textsuperscript{74} as a means to identify grievances and recommend appropriate redress, and the inclusion of legislative reference to the Treaty of Waitangi in seven Acts of Parliament. The Conservation Act was among those containing specific reference to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Exactly what the Treaty translates to has been a source of debate and differing understanding for each partner. While Maori groups rightly contend that their tupuna signed the Treaty, not the principles, Government policy has been based in principles described in Crown statements as those of government (the right for Government to govern and make laws), the rangatiratanga principle (the right for Maori to organise as iwi and to control their resources as their own), the principle of equality, the principle of reasonable cooperation and the principle of redress\textsuperscript{75}. These principles have guided the policy direction of Government and its agencies in recent years.

2.3.2. A Bicultural Model as 'Liberating'.

Assimilation involves the colonisation of the lives and history of oppressed people, as well as their cultural material and economic and decision making processes: biculturalism by contrast has the potential to reflect the characteristics of a liberating society.

A liberating society requires that history be decolonised from the defining limits of dominant society, that oppressed groups regain control over their lives and cultural material and processes, and that resources and means be available for economic and political self determination. In liberating societies, reality as ‘process and transformation’ (Freire 1972:64), is based on a process of continuous dialogue between participating groups and the active involvement by all groups as subjects in their life and historical process.

\textsuperscript{74} Established in 1975 to consider Maori grievances, its powers were extended in 1985 to consider grievances from the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

\textsuperscript{75} The Waitangi Tribunal and Court of Appeal summarised the principles as the ‘exchange of the right to make laws for the obligation to protect Maori interests: the principle of partnership, exercised in utmost good faith, with Maori, Pakeha and bicultural options: the principles of active protection and of tribal rangitiratanga. (Hughes 1988:19)
Through dialogue, the dynamic nature of society and the role of education in the process of societal transformation is recognised, along with the rights of other groups to control their resources and life processes. This requires a release of power by the dominant group, reflected in dialogue which leads to praxis and thence to societal transformation.

Biculturalism can be examined in two lights: as ideal and as practiced\(^7^6\). In this paper I outline characteristics of a model for biculturalism, and then under the heading of ‘Policy Effects’ briefly consider biculturalism as practiced in New Zealand, and the issues which have led many Maori to pursue a policy direction of tino rangatiratanga.

2.3.3 Biculturalism as a Model

Underlying values and philosophy
Human rights to equality of opportunity, promoted in international law, underlie the protection of threatened minorities and their cultures, and the philosophic premises of multiculturalism and biculturalism. In a monocultural society the dominant culture controls all the major institutions and restricts the expression of other cultures. By comparison biculturalism asserts that no cultural lifestyle is inherently superior. In a bicultural society, both cultures should be positively accepted and valued as integral components of society and that both main peoples and cultures of bicultural communities should be visible, evidenced and treated equally in policy, decision making and outcomes at all levels. Both groups should enjoy equality of opportunity in economic and political spheres.

Biculturalism in New Zealand involves recognition of, and respect for Maori ways and rights: for the existence and practice of cultural beliefs, values and processes other than those of the dominant Pakeha, and for the opportunity for Maori to live according to their preferred lifestyle without disadvantage. It involves the transformation of monocultural institutions to bicultural, the visible presence of Maori people and cultural practices in all aspects of our society, and the demonstration of equal respect for the languages, procedures and institutions of both cultures. Both offer valid and valuable frameworks for operating in the life and institutions of the country.

\(^7^6\) Fleras (1984:53) stressed the need to distinguish between a model of empirical reality as opposed to a model or blueprint for reality, an ambiguity which he noted has hindered public understanding.
Biculturalism is based in principles of social equity, and minority rights world wide. As well, biculturalism in New Zealand reflects Maori as signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori status as tangata whenua, the original inhabitants and Maori culture as unique to this country. Treaty guarantees and democratic rights, should ensure Maori an absence of discrimination against themselves and their culture\(^77\) and permit the right and ability to exercise choice over cultural milieux, and economic and political structures.

In the development of biculturalism Maori and Pakeha have complementary and differing roles: roles which should be significantly enabling and involve no erosion of skills or energy for Maori people. The process requires both shared and separate institutions and two types of social behaviour: agreed partnership, power sharing and active participation in shared institutions and interest areas, and autonomy in areas which solely concern Maori.

For Maori the process involves decolonisation of lives and historical and cultural processes, the restoration of provenance to Maori cultural material, the preservation and regeneration of culture and people, and the consolidation of chosen life practices. Significant as the base to this is the development of economic self sufficiency and autonomy in Maori institutions and active participation in shared decision making processes and institutions (Mulgan 1989).

Bicultural practice requires changes at an institutional and personal level for Pakeha, initially calling for a process of education: a move from monocultural practices and perceptions to ‘recognition of Maori otherness as expressed in language culture and customary use’\(^78\). The process calls for the demonstration of equal respect for language, procedures and institutions of both culture, and significantly requires Pakeha to relinquish monopoly over resources and power.

The education system and the media share an essential role in bringing biculturalism into Pakeha lives. Many Pakeha regard Treaty issues and bicultural concerns as ‘Maori’ issues, failing to acknowledge that it is, in the main, Maori who already operate in two cultural contexts. Politicians and the wider public need to accept Maori rights and lifestyle choice and a commitment to continuation of Maori culture. A visible Maori presence is needed in institutions, and the modification of institutional structures and practices, to accommodate a Maori perspective. The

\(^77\) With regard to the resolution of Treaty issues, international law specifies that where Treaties differ in translation, interpretation should be in favour of the indigenous people.

\(^78\) Walker. The Meaning of Biculturalism.
process may call for affirmative action programmes so that Maori achieve a higher profile in institutions, Maori presence is acknowledged, and Maori values and processes understood and valued (Mulgan 1989; Mason, Walker P.C.)

The bicultural process requires the decolonisation of institutions, history and education, the promotion of the Maori language, and incorporation of Maori themes and methods of teaching. However beyond a broad based aim of changing public perceptions lies the application of real rights involving power sharing and sovereignty. Biculturalism requires a relinquishment of Pakeha power and monopoly over belief structures, social institutions and processes, and over economic and cultural capital, and the release of resources for Maori to effect social, cultural and economic recovery and achieve self-sufficiency.

Crown responsibility for active protection of Maori rights requires a Government shift from paternalism to genuine consultation and power sharing, and the restructuring of government departments and agencies, so that Maori proportionately hold viable positions of influence within bicultural institutions and Maori interests can effectively be pursued. In shared institutions, a Maori presence should be evident in all policies and practices with employers showing cultural awareness and consultation, and Maori proportionately represented in institutions at all levels.

As well, for Maori, the existence of separate institutions permits the maintenance and regeneration of cultural values and aspects, the asseting of history and cultural property, and the development of autonomy away from the intrusion and influence of dominant society, in a context in which Maori ways and values are preeminent and their validity is taken for granted.

While the practice of biculturalism requires separate and parallel processes for Maori and Pakeha people, dialogue and interaction based in equal participatory rights also comprise essential components. A necessary prerequisite of a liberating society is the removal of myths and structures which sustain oppressive systems. In a bicultural society this involves the move from monocultural institutions and supportive myths to give expression and power to Maori.

**Biculturalism, Education and Interpretation**

Biculturalism, as described above reflects the characteristics of a liberating society. The process reflects reality as 'process undergoing constant transformation' (Freire 1972:48) with participants in an equal and cooperative relationship acting as 'subjects' in the task of unveiling reality (ibid:52).
It affirms the right for groups to ‘name’ their world in terms of cultural values, processes and beliefs and an essential quality of respect for the particular view of the world held by the people⁷⁹.

In this process educators participate as ‘critical co-investigators’, (ibid:53) in the process of dialogue and reflection, understanding the ‘structural condition in which the thought and language of the people are dialectically framed’ (Ibid:69). In cross-cultural interpretation, as in other aspects of bicultural education this role involves both consideration of both Maori situation and values, and a critical evaluation of eurocentric values and the current largely monocultural nature of our institutions.

Methods of practice must likewise be dialogical for bicultural commitment is evidenced in active participation by Maori in management and preparation and presentation of interpretive programmes. Maori should have significant choice and input in determining the nature, and means of presentation, and be visibly present in all areas.

How interpretive material is portrayed depends on the context and objective of programmes and the anticipated level of visitor understanding but needs to acknowledge that material belongs to Maori and must be presented in ways which maintain integrity in cultural terms, with processes over which they maintain control, and in areas which they choose to share.

Maori people should be the active participants in the presentation of their cultural material, in Government institutions and agencies of interpretation as well as in the institutions of their own choice. Consultation requires educators, including interpretive agencies, to maintain on-going dialogue with iwi groups over management, programme design and implementation. These aspects are beginning to find expression in some contemporary interpretive programmes.

The intent is to restore provenance to cultural material, to define or describe material in terms which have meaning for the owners of culture and to do so in locations and through media which likewise carry meaning⁸⁰. While it is accepted that the marae is the most appropriate place for presentation of Maori culture, bicultural education in our society takes place at many venues and levels. Interpretive programmes offer one option among many.

⁷⁹ Freire notes that to behave otherwise is ‘cultural invasion, good intentions not withstanding.’ (1972:66)

⁸⁰ This understanding underlies the concern and intent to return interpretive programmes to the marae, where the validity of Maori ways and values is preeminent. (Te Awe Kotuku 1988; Gosling, Kerr P.C.)
2.3.4 Policy Effects and Outcomes

Recent years have seen greater weight ascribed to Treaty rights, a visible presence of Maori values and processes in our institutions and an emergence of Maori perspectives in exhibitions and recent published histories\textsuperscript{81}. The inclusion of Treaty obligations in several Acts of Parliament requires certain Government departments and their staff to give practical effect to Treaty principles, thus providing a fundamental guide for bicultural practice and establishing the means for dialogue and consultation.

In the interpretive field recent years have also seen acknowledgement of contextual significance by archaeologists, geographers and other specialists, and the need for the restoration of provenance to cultural property. The restoration of provenance concerns information, interpretive processes and also the appropriateness of venue.

While it is commonly accepted that museums play a useful role in the safekeeping and presentation of cultural material many Maori see the appropriate place for their taonga as being with their iwi, while others see little reason in ‘protecting’ cultural material from its natural context (Para P.C), particularly within institutions that lack the antiquity of the pieces themselves. A broader conception of appropriate facilities for interpretation allows for programmes and concept plans for site interpretation, as well as consideration of other types of museums (Taua, Para P.C. Te Awe Kotuku 1988\textsuperscript{82}).

The emergence of historic and cultural site interpretation alongside ‘natural site’ interpretation addresses the notion of landscape as a culturally affected rather than a pristine environment. Site interpretation also addresses the issue of isolation of artifacts from their cultural context. Aldridge (1989:64) views site interpretation as the ‘core of interpretation’ for it is concerned with the concept of place, about putting things into their environmental context, restoring provenance to artifacts that have lost their roots so that their significance can be once more seen’.

\textsuperscript{81} Examples include Ranginui Walker's 'Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger', James Belich's 'The New Zealand Wars' and Anne Salmond's 'Two Worlds'.

\textsuperscript{82}Te Awe Kotuku proposes marae based museums as an option which would restore taonga to their people and endorse tribal mana.
In the past, few sites of significance to Maori were ‘interpreted’ to the public, but a limited number of facilities have existed for some time for historic and cultural interpretation. As noted, the best known examples are at Waitangi and at Rotorua.

In recent years the Department of Conservation has been involved in developing interpretive facilities and programmes for several early Maori settlement sites. Plans to develop interpretive programmes based around Bay of Plenty pa sites evolved from the thematic treatment of Otago Goldfield sites, and the awareness by Department of Conservation staff that the region’s many fine examples were under threat from various types of development and that public education into their value might more adequately ensure their preservation (Walters P.C.). A similar conservation motive is shared by other programmes.

The aim to restore provenance, or at least something of context, to cultural and historic material represents one aspect of bicultural education programmes. As noted other aspects include restoration of mana to Maori people and cultural property, Maori concurrence with programmes and significant Maori management and interpretive input. These aspects have been evident in other exhibitions and presentations in recent years.

The landmark exhibition ‘Te Maori’ has been acknowledged as a watershed in terms of cross-cultural interpretation, both in terms of restoration of mana to both iwi and material, and in the recovery of provenance for iwi, in terms of history and ownership, tribal association and spiritual significance. While the exhibition was not without critics Maori participation in presentation, the spiritual and ceremonial aspects of the exhibition, and the enormous pride and mana that accompanied the exhibition became a significant part of both iwi and public experience. (Taua P.C., Mead 1986, McCarthy 1992). The exhibition provided a powerful example of the ways in which presentation of Maori cultural material can restore provenance to Maori and convey to visitors something of the power and mana of such taonga and in so doing advance the public education aspect of biculturalism.

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80 Neich (1985:5) noted ‘Te Maori demonstrated that the cultural aura around Maori objects is so strong that there is no possibility of treating them as well-formed aesthetic objects.’

84 McManus (1988:9) has criticised selection and gallery presentation of Te Maori in the United States as reflecting the ‘old’ preoccupation with cultural material as ‘fine representative pieces of primitive art, selected by a curator from America.’

85 McCarthy (1992:87) noted the ‘crowded intimacy of people and their work seen at the time of Te Maori, when iwi occupied the Museum space and reasserted control over the representation of their cultural property.’
2.3.5 Critique of Biculturalism as Practiced

Awarere noted (1984:29) that biculturalism meant the acknowledgement of Maori sovereignty, of Maoritanga, of land, of language: the reclamation of Maori cultural values and processes. Kelsey’s analysis of Crown bicultural initiatives of the 1980’s\(^b\) concludes that bicultural initiatives espoused by Labour Government were unsatisfactory because ‘Maori were being asked to choose the least unacceptable outcome from a range of options which all denied the consensus goal of mana Maori’. In the 1990’s Government continues to act as both referee and player with regard to Treaty issues and to assume the ‘orthodoxy of the unlimited power of the Parliamentary executive’ (Keith 1988).

If bicultural initiatives were operating adequately one would expect to see Treaty guarantees honoured and Maori proportionately represented in institutions in our society, the status of Maori as an official language publicly affirmed and social statistics reflecting Maori status in all areas as equal to Pakeha or certainly improving. Sadly this is not the case. Crown Treaty reference in all but a few Acts has been modified and permits Government agencies to rate Treaty concerns as less important than economic\(^c\).

The professed espousal of a bicultural policy by Government has not yet substantially altered outcomes in terms of life experience for Maori and Maori responses to date indicate that it falls short of adequately answering Maori calls for cultural self-determination and economic improvement. Largely monocultural institutions and Western style government still decide on issues which significantly and materially affect the lives of Maori people, and most Pakeha New Zealanders still proceed with the assumption of the superiority of Western values. Furthermore market economic policies have exacerbated the negative social effects of lingering assimilative attitudes.

Biculturalism as practised is criticised as representing a further act of colonisation on the part of Pakeha\(^d\). It is contended that biculturalism, rather than recognising and permitting Maori rights and means to self-determination, has maintained white privilege and control, though in a more ‘culturally

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\(^b\) A Question of Honour: Labour and the Treaty.’ p 269.

\(^c\) Jane Kelsey’s ‘Labour and the Treaty’ documents the dilution of intent in Crown Treaty response.

\(^d\) Smith (1990b:183) described the curriculum initiative of Taha Maori (as) a Pakeha defined, initiated and controlled policy which serves the needs and interests of Pakeha people. Other liberal initiatives are criticised for not addressing the structural basis of racism.
Pakeha determined ‘solutions’ have been moderated by dominant Pakeha interests (Smith 1988:41). While agencies act in a more ‘culturally sensitive’ way, outcomes in terms of life experience for Maori have altered very little. The espousal of bicultural initiatives still permits Pakeha monopoly of institutional power and Pakeha definitions of Maori, failing to recognise Maori initiatives and responses to policy directions.

The adoption of biculturalism requires structural changes and a release of power from the hands of the powerful. Kelsey (1990:270) observed that ‘Structures whose legitimacy depends on the oppression of others do not simply hand over power’. In the case of the Labour Government’s bicultural policy ‘Promised gains did not materialise, the economic and human costs were high and the ultimate price was the legitimisation of continued Maori subordination’ (Ibid.). This situation continues today.

Nonetheless in terms of institutional behaviour, the Labour Government initiatives did spawn some changes to some Government agencies and a greater education into Maori values has permeated Government departments. Thus while current Government policies may be seen to disadvantage Maori people, many Government employees regard themselves as carrying responsibility in terms of public education into Maori values, and the execution of Treaty rights in terms of partnership.

Outside Government agencies, increased bicultural understanding in interpretation has found expression among museum practitioners, DOC staff and others involved in practice. Many have voiced concerns about past practice and outlined issues to consider in bicultural practice: issues of ownership, provenance, Maori management and presentation. These responses indicate that a process of dialogue has been established and while bicultural practice is limited, issues of concern to Maori are becoming more publicly recognised, as is ownership of cultural resources.

However while in-roads have been made in terms of educating (some) Pakeha into bicultural issues, entrenched practices, attitudes and processes of assimilation appear to date to preclude practical the expression of biculturalism. Pakeha still control political and economic resources and Pakeha values still hold precedence in ‘mainstream’ society. Values of competition, individualism, capitalism,

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90 McCarthy (1992:87) notes that new ‘sensitive’ stereotypes have arisen. He criticises Pakeha ideas of Maori as ‘spiritual and close to the land’ querying ‘Where’s the sense of humour, the pragmatism, the earthy materialism that has always been part of Maori adaptation to things Pakeha.’

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materialism, and environmental control vie with Maori cultural values of holism, communal responsibility, spirituality and certainty of place and origin\(^9\). Furthermore, the decolonisation of Pakeha systems is seen as beset with problems and inherent difficulties, and has caused depletion of Maori energy. This has led many Maori to focus on tino rangatiratanga: self-determination.

### 2.3.6 Te Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino rangatiratanga proceeds from the basis of Maori as tangata whenua, the original people of Aotearoa, whose indigenous rights predate the Treaty, whose ‘ethnic and cultural memories reside in New Zealand’ (Awatere 1984:37) and whose status as tangata whenua should have been recognised by subsequent visitors and appropriate kawa observed accordingly. Maori culture has major status in New Zealand. Problems which confront Maori are seen to have their basis in colonisation and their solutions in self determination: economic and political control, decision making ability and choice in applying traditional values and processes.

Tino rangatiratanga recognises Maori distinctiveness as a people, Maori right to permanent control of territories, homes and valued possessions, and to political, economic and social self determination and manawhenua over lands. It involves cultural, social and economic restoration and the reclamation of history and cultural property: considerations which are pertinent to this paper. Tino rangatiratanga assumes primary focus on Maori development and self-sufficiency, Maori run institutions and Maori decision making.

Tino rangatiratanga presupposes that valued Maori traditions and concepts are taken as basic in the exercise of day to day life, that traditional values have validity and that the country’s institutions are redesigned to be run from a Maori perspective (Awatere 1984, Sharples 1989, Durie and Kapenga 1989, Smith 1990).

Valued traditions offer a spiritually based, holistic environmental and social ethos and esteemed values other than economic: of aroha, manaakitanga, whanau support and responsibility. Social and spiritual systems, such as whakapapa and concepts such as tapu regulate behaviour. Spiritual aspects of life are recognised as embodied in the physical world, in perceptions of land and in the presence of the tupuna. The place of the marae as central to Maori life is recognised. While contemporary Maori

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\(^9\) Awatere (1984:37) notes that ‘given the conflict inherent in base values, it is an illusion that civil rights of equality of opportunity could be achieved without Maori sovereignty.’
espouse traditional values in differing degrees, tino rangatiratanga allows for choice, and for the acceptance of these values and traditions as basic and understood.

The expression of tino rangatiratanga most closely represents Freire’s description of a liberating society where subjects name their world and are active agents in a dynamic historic process. A basic understanding is that Maori determine the nature of factors and institutions which impact on their lives. Tino rangatiratanga reclaims Maori control over lives and processes, and involves establishment by Maori of culturally appropriate institutions, whether or not funding is available (Awatere 1984, Durie & Kupenga). This stance has already been powerfully evidenced in the establishment of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa schools, and in Whare Wananga, Maori radio, marae development and iwi runanga. (Smith. P.C.) Here Maori determine the agenda, the means and the personnel, and traditional cultural values and world view are preeminent. These programmes are designed to benefit Maori, rather than endorse our society’s institutional racism.

Education works in socially reproductive fashion but also offers potential for radical change. Recognising that interpretation is an important aspect of informal education,, we need to consider the questions ‘What is to count as knowledge? How should knowledge be taught? Whose interests does this knowledge serve?’ (Smith 1988:35).

With regard to interpretation Neich (1985) defines the interpreter’s goal as ‘to achieve an awareness and understanding of meaning and significance of cultural material for its makers and users’. This requires that iwi Maori determine the nature of interpretation, thus endorsing tino rangatiratanga in restoring provenance to and control over cultural property. While interpretive exercises may be aimed at the general public, Maori should determine those cultural aspects (if any) they wish to share, and see beneficial outcomes from presentation.

2.4 Chapter Summary

The models examined revealed that while assimilation and market economics demonstrate oppressive features, both biculturalism and tino rangatiratanga carry the potential for liberation. However tino rangatiratanga genuinely permits Maori to define operating parameters, and can therefore be seen to more closely resemble a liberating society.

Issues raised in examination of these models find varying degrees of expression in the case studies of the following chapters. It is not intended that this paper should comprise an exhaustive survey of

57
contemporary cross-cultural and historic interpretation but that some of the issues raised by the juxtaposition of sometimes contrasting values in our society be aired for discussion.

A central theme of this paper concerns ways in which cultural material may be portrayed to those of another culture without loss of integrity of the original culture, while addressing the contemporary concerns of those whose culture is represented, and functioning within our contemporary economic environment with its demands of market efficiency.

Questions such as those posed by Neich (1985:5-7)... Why should Maori culture be interpreted? What to interpret? For whom? By whom? To what end?... lie at the basis of interpretive practice for they underpin the philosophy and ethos of interpretive agencies and like any educational process will reflect changing values over time. The case studies which follow illustrate the context of changing values and aspects of the policy models described.
CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDIES: PART 1

3.1 Introduction
The case studies of this chapter highlight two aspects of contemporary cross-cultural interpretation. In the first section, the exhibitions ‘Nga Tupuna’ and ‘Nga Mahi’ in the Auckland War Memorial Museum, demonstrate a changing approach by museums in presenting cultural material, in recognition of Maori ownership of cultural property and the ‘value-laden’ nature of early practices. They indicate ways of presenting material so that it carries greater integrity in terms of Maori values, and is also more accessible to the visiting public.

In the second section, I consider the Maori Arts and Craft Institute and Whakarewarewa village, as longstanding examples of site interpretation. These two examples from Rotorua indicate issues which arise for Maori presenting traditional cultural values and lifestyle within the context of contemporary society. Both have Maori management. Both indicate a primary focus of conserving taonga: land, valued skills and traditions and traditional patterns of lifestyle and belief. Both seek beneficial outcomes for Maori people and demonstrate creative responses to functioning within contemporary society.

3.2 Changes in Museum Presentation: The exhibitions Nga Tupuna and Nga Mahi at Auckland War Memorial Museum.

‘Transformations in the practice of exhibition signal a different politics of collecting and exhibiting.’ 91

3.2.1 Changes to Past Practice
Museums have long represented an important forum for presenting historical and cultural material. For many years they were perceived by the public as the place to ‘experience’ Maori culture, a view which endorsed assimilative attitudes and practices. Recent years have seen vigorous discussion over early assimilative practice and appropriate ways of presenting material in today’s society. Museum

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personnel have been active in examining the role museums play as agents of social reproduction\(^92\), and considering issues of cultural self determination and the means by which to present material in ways which are meaningful to Maori within the museum context.

Criticisms of early museum display techniques concern the separation of material from its context and people\(^93\), and its presentation in terms which were largely meaningless, being insensitive to cultural values and as well as inaccessible to the visiting public. Such techniques and their underpinning philosophic assumptions have been examined in Chapter 2. However while museums are criticised as being themselves cultural artifacts they are also held to offer benefits in the presentation of cultural and historical material and a potential role in education for change (Taufa P.C\(^94\)).

In our society they have a useful function in terms of introduction to Maori values and lifestyle for large numbers of visitors, many of whom are non-Maori. Existing often within an urban context, they provide access to historical and cultural material to visitors for whom access to original sites and context is not always practicable. They provide (at least temporary) safekeeping for many taonga and often the means to recover lost historical details by informed research (Taufa P.C).

Their interpretive displays must span a range of entertainment and educative functions, to a visitor clientele of varied age groups and nationalities: local and overseas tourists, regular local visitors and school parties on field trips. Like other interpretive agencies they are responsible for presenting the material with all possible integrity to its source.

Displays reflect changes in focus and methodology which have occurred in related research and educative techniques. The early preoccupation of ‘archaeological methodology’ lay with ‘artifacts and things of the past, rather than the people and the environment in which they lived’ (Trotter and Mc Culloch 1989:22). Recent methodology and interpretive presentation reflect a shift of focus to context, the dynamics of change and the diffusion of ideas (Aldridge 1981):

\(^{92}\) Articles by Bennet and McCarthy (Sites No 25:1992) consider the role museums play in reflecting dominant culture and the ways in which ‘museums themselves are artifacts and their displays the artifacts of our disciplines’. (Gimlett 1991:391 From McCarthy 1992:83.)

\(^{93}\) Molloy 1993:67 noted Maori hurt at the diminution of the mauri of taonga locked away in sterile museum cases.

\(^{94}\) McCarthy (1992:110) observed that despite their position ‘as one of the symbolic forces that maintains existing power relations’ museums can ‘open up spaces for resistance’.
an attempt to provide a more complete composite picture of how the people lived and the environmental and cultural influences that affected their lives. (Trotter and McCulloch 1989:22)

With recognition of contextual significance has come an attendant acceptance of responsibility by professional scholars to render material accessible to laymen (Tilden 1977, Bulmer P.C, Smith and McManamon 199195). Museums have also reflected this changing interpretive focus, becoming 'public orientated communicators' rather than 'culture bunkers ... where staff were often subject specialists' (McCarthy 1992:110). Contemporary museum presentation acknowledges that 'effective history', rather than representing an 'orderly chronology, a developmental flow from past to present', (McCarthy 1992:90) represents change and a multitude of perspectives96. Museums are recording changing patterns in the nature of their visitor groups as a result of changed presentation focus and methods97.

Harper (1991:30-32) has outlined challenges to New Zealand museums following the Maori cultural revival of recent years and the repossessing of history and cultural material by iwi groups98. Museum staff have rigorously examined issues involved in the presentation of Maori cultural material (McManus 1988, Neich 1985). The changing role of museum personnel in interpretation has been indicated by Neich (1985), Te Awe Kotuku (1988) and Adds (1988) who have stressed the need for significant Maori input into management and practice in answer to calls for control of cultural material and concerns of the separation of taonga from the nurturing context of their people (Molloy 1993).

Contemporary museum presentations indicate a changing role in their intent to reverse the colonisation of history, with its characteristic 'excluded past', and to reflect the many voices of history and society in their displays (McCarthy 1992:110). With regard to cultural material, museums aim to

95 'Visitors Welcome', a manual on interpreting archaeological excavations, supports education about cultural heritage because of growing public interest in archaeology and the past, the professionals' role in public relations and raising awareness to foster support for continued work.

96 The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa exhibition 'Voices' reflects these varied perspectives.

97 McCarthy (1992:82) noted that 'more people, more Maori over all and more younger people are visiting the Museum (MONZ) than was evidenced in past predominantly upper/middle class visitor groups.

98 Te Awe Kotuku (1988:36) called for museums to 'consider their relationship with the community served and to examine whose culture they interpret'.

61
acknowledge Māori ownership and traditional relationships through appropriate presentation, and some acknowledge the temporary nature of their custodial role (Taula P.C).

Changing perspectives signal a shift in Art Gallery and museum presentation in the material displayed, the manner of display and the personnel involved. Changes have been evidenced by exhibitions like ‘Te Māori’, seen as a watershed in offering a heightened public profile for taonga and their meaning for Māori, and by exhibitions such as ‘Voices’ in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (McCarthy 1992:81, Mead 1986, Taula P.C). Other New Zealand museums now include more accessible experiential programmes based on pre-European Māori life, and live and interactive interpretation99.

However opinions vary as to whether a gallery or museum can really represent a venue where cultural material can be presented with integrity. Criticisms concern the removal of material from its original (cultural and physical) context, the nature of selection processes, the media of presentation, the potential for cultural recolonising and stereotyping100 and the status of museums as themselves cultural artifacts.

Exhibitions like ‘Te Māori’ have been celebrated for giving Māori people and their art a new visibility and mana, and a living presence in Museums and Art Galleries101 but criticisms persist about the perception and presentation of Māori cultural material as ‘art’, and continued input and ‘constructions of what ‘Māori’ culture means by the dominant culture with more or less collusion with Māori sensibilities’ (McCarthy 1992:88102).

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100 Hubbard and Craw (1990) noted that the ‘rhetoric of biculturalism legitimised conceptions of Māori Art based on an eurocentric notion of indigenerism with ‘Māoriness’ as its trademark: a cultural curiosity/commodity’ (McCarthy 1992:87).

101 Mead (1986:10) noted: ‘Te Māori raised our self esteem, it gave us more space in the world, it defined more clearly our identity as Māori and as New Zealanders’.

102 McCarthy (1992:88) contended that in exhibitions like ‘Te Māori’ and ‘Taonga Māori’, Māori pieces were ‘decontextualised and displayed like sculpture with boutique lighting, (or) in murky spiritualist light as the anti-materialist other of Western Culture.’
While the above criticisms may contain some truth, these exhibitions indicate a shift from early interpretive practice, showing greater cultural integrity in exhibition aims and media, the background of the presenters, in the acknowledged significance of the material displayed and the presence and input of iwi to the exhibitions\textsuperscript{103}.

Likewise although it is true that static displays with explanatory labels do not, for Maori, constitute a ‘traditional’ means of interpretation, they retain a useful educative place in the interpretive spectrum. While the most appropriate site for learning of Maori values is the marae, bicultural education within our society takes place at many levels and in many venues. In terms of bicultural education, museum displays provide access for large groups of visitors to Maori cultural material and through live cultural displays they affirm some of the live aspects of culture (Taua P.C).

‘Insensitive and meaningless displays of limited educational value’ occurred as recently as eight years ago (Taua P.C\textsuperscript{104}). As well as being largely in English, they gave no information about the origin of pieces, whether they had association with a rangatira or tribal group, to which tribal group they belonged, when they came to the museum, their status in the museum collection and other related information.

Their educative function was limited to the immediately visual requiring visitors seeking further information to approach ethnologists, archaeologists or other such ‘experts’: a process which was inefficient in terms of time for all involved and permitted only limited access to information, resulting in a type of ‘gate-keeping’. Such presentations went nowhere in terms of enhancing bicultural understanding, merely reinforcing people’s limited and stereotypical knowledge.

By comparison the recent permanent exhibitions, ‘Nga Tupuna’ and ‘Nga Mahi’, in the Auckland Institute and Museum bring more of a Maori perspective to the presentation of their subject material. ‘Nga Tupuna’ (The Ancestors) is an exhibition of prestigious taonga from different regions, which intends to show, alongside the richness of taonga, their histories, to restore provenance and give them meaning in public perception.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item It was evidenced in Te Maori in the ‘crowded intimacy of people and their work... when iwi occupied the museum and reasserted control over representation of their cultural property’ (McCarthy 1992:87).
\item Taua (P.C) cited as examples ‘displays of neat groupings of about 10 greenstone mere in a case’, with labels such as ‘The Greenstone Mere’ and their accession number.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
The exhibition comprises a selection of 350 significant objects which were taken as representative of a geographical cross-section of the country. The lay out follows a sequence of geographical movement from region to region so that one can stand in any position at the exhibition and match up the style or types of object from within a region or from region to region, or compare and contrast styles between regions.

Considerable research was involved in locating information about each piece and distilling this, within a standard format, into a informative label or sign. Each sign carries the name of the object in Maori first, then English, followed by its locality and tribal group, then any history known by the museum, where it came from, how the Museum obtained it, and the museum number and date of accession or deposit^5.

Thus an example might read:  
Mere Pounamu - Greenstone club  
Locality: Waitakere  
Tribal group: Kawara  
History.....  
1929

Alongside the taonga are also displayed regional maps, indicating exactly where each object came from, listing iwi throughout the country and also the tribal groups represented in this display.

Thus a significant amount of information is available to visitors with references relevant to Maori, and with knowledge at all levels; permitting a brief glimpse or in depth research. Such a process is empowering rather than limiting, and allows for a continuous build-up of knowledge by repeated exposure, more closely reflecting Maori learning methods.

On the other side of the hall is a complementary exhibition 'Nga Mahi' (The Works) showing the areas of the departmental gods such as Tane Mahuta and Rongo, and their associated products. This exhibition is concerned with lifestyle, the works of the ancestors and settlement from early times towards the present. Displays show lifestyle activities, associated items and their importance: gathering fish, implements related to activities such as fishing and gardening. Additionally a model pa is depicted (based on an actual pa site) displaying traditional lifestyle within an appreciable

^5 While a format exists in terms of the information conveyed, some pieces demanded much greater depth of information, because of being well-known, or of importance to a particular tribal group.
geographical context. Also illustrated by models and diorama are the ways in which archaeologists analyse and determine structures of sites; demonstrating the ways in which so much of this material has become known to our society. The complementary nature of the two exhibitions endorses the sacred nature of the taonga of Nga Tupuna and the ordinary aspects of day to day living: the complementary qualities of tapu and noa.

These exhibitions blend historic, scientific and cultural material in a visual manner accessible to visitors of varying ages, nationalities and cultural background. They present informative material to visitors in a way that is well displayed and accessible to further knowledge at many levels and to fuel visitor curiosity, and they do so in a way which is more culturally sensitive than past displays.

These exhibitions have had significant Maori input both in the sourcing of information and in their formation\textsuperscript{106}. Management and research was by Maori people who blended traditional knowledge and their research skills as ethnologists and historians. They include valued aspects of Maori culture and belief and are presented in a meaningful way in terms of geographic context and origin. The presentation of taonga and reference to their origins reasserts the mana of both contemporary Maori and their tupuna.

They demonstrate some of the ways in which Maori cultural values and material can be incorporated with greater integrity in exhibitions even within the context of museums, and outside their original or natural context. The live aspects of culture are also represented in the Museum in frequent and regular live concerts and endorse Maori culture as dynamic and contemporary (Taua P.C, McCarthy 1992:86).

3.2.2 Interim Summary

Museums have generated vigorous discussion over early assimilative practice and museum personnel continue to examine issues of cultural self-determination and the means by which to present material in a way which is meaningful in a Maori sense within the context of museums. While some argue that museums are antipathetic to spiritual aspects of cultural material and traditional context, such programmes offer access to cultural material to large numbers of visitors and can potentially offer

\textsuperscript{106} Major input was by a Maori ethnologist, Te Warana Taua who has significant Ngai Tai, Kawarau and Waiohua associations. Education staff at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa likewise have a strong Maori presence: a Maori education officer, four kaiarahi/ information officers, several kaitiwhina/part-timers (McCarthy 1992).
much in terms of changing public perceptions. Significant displays like ‘Te Maori’ have aided in restoring mana to taonga, and mana and control to Maori.

In terms of conservation aims, the displays Nga Tupuna and Nga Mahi serve to protect and safeguard pieces of cultural material, and to conserve information relevant to this material and to lifestyle. The educational aim of these displays is introduce to large numbers of visitors a range of examples of Maori cultural material, to highlight their mana, their value and beauty, and to present this material in an accessible manner.

These exhibitions differ from past presentations in that they provide a visitor experience which has meaning both in terms of valued Maori concepts and in terms of learning. Information is readily accessible, yet allows for reiterative visits and varying degrees of visitor experience and scholarship.

They enhance bicultural understanding and hold integrity in Maori terms because they include Maori frames of reference, (they are iwi based), reference to Maori value systems (such as the inclusion of concepts of tapu and noa), as well as acknowledgement of the live aspects of culture. Furthermore they enhance the mana of the pieces and their people for they are presented with pride in all these aspects.

These exhibitions indicate changing practices occurring in museums, which while acknowledging their limiting aspects in relation to cultural material, also promote positive aspects of their function.

3.3 Expressing Tino Rangatiratanga: Rotorua Examples

Introduction
Recognition of the relevance of context to material parallels that of the significance and relevance of sites. Site interpretation restores context to cultural understanding and this rationale underlies the development of site interpretive programmes. Aldridge (1989:630 observed that ‘Interpretation is about place and the concept of place, about putting people and things into their environmental context, restoring provenance to artefacts that have lost their roots so that their significance can once more be seen’.

107 Legislation passed in New Zealand 1975 to protect all archaeological sites endorsed recognition of contextual significance as well as the sites’ inherent worth.
Site interpretive programmes based on lifestyle, culture and history have occurred in Rotorua since its earliest use as a tourist destination in the early 19th century. From the early days guides presented the traditional lifestyle of the local people with warmth and hospitality exemplifying the values of manaakitanga and aroha (Mihinui P.C).

Two programmes are considered here. While differences of focus exist, both highlight issues of concern in contemporary cross-cultural interpretation. They demonstrate ways in which 'cultures survive and persist as identifiable viable entities' (Helu-Thaman 1992:26) and as well indicate some of the adaptations and compromises which are part of the process of cultural retention in today's society.

While the two programmes differ in strategy and techniques, both demonstrate choice and self-determination. Both have Maori management, and beneficial outcomes for Maori people. Both have as their central theme the conservation of taonga and valued traditions. They demonstrate ways in which Maori people are presenting their lifestyle and values in the context of contemporary society. They illustrate the observation that the 'biggest dilemma faced today is trying to keep the delicate balance between survival in a modernised, monetised world, on the one hand, and the maintenance of traditional patterns of values that served as the bases of social cohesion and adaptation to new knowledge and value systems, on the other'(Helu-Thaman. Conference 1992:26).

3.3.0 The Maori Arts and Craft Institute

3.3.1 Aims
Adjacent to the village of Whakarewarewa and at the gateway to Whakarewarewa thermal reserve is the Maori Arts and Craft Institute. The Institute has two main aims: to provide a unique tourist experience and to provide for the regeneration of crafts, skills and valued traditions.

The Institute provides a tourist experience which blends a guided walk through the thermal reserve with a brief experience of live demonstrations of craft, a walk through a model traditional village and the option of an additional concert. Its situation at the gateway of the thermal reserve, provides a source of enormous funding for the primary activities of the Institute for entry fees to the thermal reserve and Institute fund and support the Institute's traditional and cultural requirements which aim to restore traditional craft skills, eroded in the process of assimilation.
The Institute aims to conserve and rejuvenate valued skills and processes of craft and language, an aim which to date is successfully being met. It is involved in training programmes and incorporates traditional values in the day to day running of its operation.

3.3.2 Historical Background
The Institute was founded as a result of concern in the late 1960’s by elders, both in Rotorua and New Zealand wide, at the rapid disappearance of the traditional skills and knowledge of the arts of carving and weaving, and concern that continued loss would result in little more than a superficial awareness of these arts and associated knowledge and skills, which like language are a vehicle for Maori cultural transmission.

Rotorua was chosen as the Institute’s site for two reasons. It was one of the few places where Maori language was still used extensively, and because of its history of tourism, the only place in New Zealand where arts and crafts were still practised by and for Maori people, and money actually made from those cultural pursuits. Because Government was unwilling to fund such a training enterprise\textsuperscript{108}, the Te Arawa people chose to use the geothermal field to attract visitors, whose payments would be used to perpetuate cultural knowledge.

From humble beginnings and by determined commitment\textsuperscript{109}, the Institute has developed into a significant Maori enterprise, presenting one of New Zealand’s foremost tourist experiences. It is now totally self-funding and does its own marketing, catering for 374,000 visitors each year.

3.3.3 The Visitor Experience
Tours of approximately an hour and a half’s duration introduce visitors to the geothermal area and to a view of traditional Maori lifestyle, living conditions and skills in a way that endorses the value of manaakitanga (hospitality), and the practice of language and craft skills (Marsh P.C). The visit to the thermal area focuses mainly on viewing the geysers with brief mention of local traditions and names. Within the Institute visitors view the processes of carving and flax preparation and weaving of traditional garments like piupiu. Crafts produced within the Institute can be viewed and purchased in the gallery and shop. Concerts present live aspects of Maori culture.

\textsuperscript{108} However Ministers of the Crown, Hanan (Maori Affairs) and Eyre (Lands and Tourism) actively supported the establishment of the Institute. (Waaka P.C)

\textsuperscript{109} Kuru Waaka, first director of the Institute, noted that in its establishment he worked twelve hour days, seven days a week for eighteen months without secretary, staff or building.
Because of Rotorua’s significant position in the ‘tourist circuit’ and the high numbers of international visitors, most of them on structured tours, it is accepted that presentations to visitors through craft and hospitality may be their first and only interaction with Maori culture and that for many, their impression will constitute the totality of their study or experience of Maori people and culture. (Marsh P.C)

Visitors have differing expectations: many overseas tourists will have as a basis of comparative experience visits to anthropological museums or cultural centres, such as the Polynesian Cultural Centre in Hawaii. While most people retain little more than an overall impression and perhaps a few specific details, the Institute also includes the teaching of a little basic Maori language, such as greetings, to confirm this as a uniquely New Zealand experience.

Acknowledging that some visitors seek a Disneyland experience while occasionally others accuse them of ‘plasticising’ Maori culture, Institute staff and management recognise the fine line that one walks in trying to accommodate the expectations and prior experience of the 374,000 people who visit each year, with outcomes that will benefit Maori and realise the vision of elders of earlier times (Marsh P.C).

3.3.4 Focus and Outcomes for Maori People

In response to dispersed nature of many contemporary Maori, the Institute adopts a pan-Maori stance in management and in its training programmes. Its focus is New Zealand wide, not specifically Te Arawa based, but it does offer real benefits to local people in terms of employment and traditional skills. In an area of high unemployment\textsuperscript{10} the Institute currently provides employment for 77 people, only one of whom is non-Maori. Many staff are local and share family relationships, but also link by whakapapa to different iwi.

3.3.5 Management

The Institute is administered by a National Board, seeking to provide apprenticeships without iwi preference, and to train in all styles of carving and weaving. Additionally it functions according to business practice: the management has a business plan and corporate plan, and tasks set by the board to achieve each year.

\textsuperscript{10} New Zealand Employment Service recorded the number of registered unemployed in Rotorua as 5464 in April 1993.
However, while a corporate structure exists, relationships extend beyond the usual employer/employee association, with the work situation perceived of as one of whanau support. Management is concerned to go beyond meeting basic needs of food, warmth, health, comfort, to encourage aspirations, and to instil higher needs. Staff have been involved in team-building experiences, and also as consumers of other tourist operations. Heightened value is placed on mutual support and functioning as a community, reflecting more traditional Maori values of communality. Team building exercises endorse these traditional values, but also resemble those adopted by corporate institutions to encourage productivity by engendering initiative and a sense of commitment and belonging.

When John Marsh became Director (1988) only 6 staff spoke Maori. Staff now have on-going language lessons with elders, speak the language constantly and produce their own waiata. Their cultural groups now perform worldwide. Waiata, which are used at hui all around, adopt a contemporary focus in backgrounding the Institute and its purpose and thus share a developing trend to use traditional forms such as waiata to describe present concerns rather than maintaining an exclusive focus on the past (Sharples 1990).

Recognition of pan-Maori stance is evident in the nature of the meeting house ‘Te Arohanui-a-rua’ which is a whare runanga rather than whare tupuna. It is not intended that it should be a sacred house, or associated with a particular tribal group but that it always be available for booked functions or for access for visitor groups (Marsh P.C).

Institute staff support kaumatua and kuia from the local villages Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, as sacred and valuable people. They are escorted to functions by Institute staff who observe strict protocol, in areas such as deferring to seniority in speaking on the marae. While prepared to pay for the elders’ contribution, past Institute management felt a koha was more usual, being traditional, not offending sensibilities, and in practical terms not threatening the elders’ pension arrangements: the elders were supported in other practical ways. These days the Institute has its own (paid) kaumatua. (Marsh P.C. 1993.)

Through its activities the Institute also has a politicising function, both for its members and staff and in terms of reaching the general public. Current director, John Marsh, sees the Institute’s function as analogous to the contribution of Kohanga Reo to Maori language retention. With reference to Kohanga Reo, the public in general are happy to accept children speaking Maori, for they are not

111 For this reason the whare will probably never have anyone lying there in state. (Marsh P.C.)
seen as threatening in the way that adults are. The learning process involves and politicises the adults as well as children. The programme is Maori initiated and supported. Likewise the public accepts and enjoys the Institute displays of traditional crafts. Their practice provides the means to teach craft and language skills, to ‘politicise’ its members into contemporary concerns for Maori and maintain aspects of traditional lifestyle within the context of today’s society.

3.3.6 Scale of Development

The Institute currently faces concerns about the ‘appropriate scale of development’ and the cost/benefit equation. This issue, which relates to both commercial benefits and the protection of cultural integrity and lifestyle of local people, was highlighted at the ‘Ecotourism Conference’ in Auckland (October 1992) where addresses underlined the need for an enterprise ‘to supply adequate benefits without imposing additional environmental (and cultural) costs’\textsuperscript{112}. Beyond a certain scale, economic and environmental costs outweigh the benefits, and may place the resource at risk.

For the Institute, costs have grown with the scale and type of operation. Larger buildings and facilities to accommodate the needs of large numbers of visitors demand bigger water pipes, electricity and other facilities\textsuperscript{113}. Any extension of focus leads to further expenses. Proposed marae stays, for example, require an initial capital cost to provide bedding, crockery, and cutlery, and other necessary facilities, such as toilets.

The cost equation requires that the enterprise function in such a way that it does not undermine the lifestyle of the host group; in fact, is of ‘clear benefit to local people’\textsuperscript{114}. Institute Management constantly weigh costs and benefits in decisions about further expansion and extensions of focus. Concerns that face the Institute are similar to those faced by other businesses in the context of a competitive business and market economy but the equation associated with economies of scale has particular relevance, because it involves not only the profit margin but also lifestyle aspects through which the Institute benefits Maori people. Issues of scale and market economic pressures will be examined in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.3.7 Interim Summary

\textsuperscript{112} Valentine: Eco-Tourism Conference Proceedings 1992:11.

\textsuperscript{113} Security measures to protect parked cars involve both a building and staff.

The Institute operates in a significant way to support Maori, both local and New Zealand wide, to provide employment, to promote and protect cultural processes and values, and to present a cultural and educational experience to visitors. A notable feature of the Institute’s success is that it is financially based in a great resource and income earner, being situated at the gateway to the Whakarewarewa Thermal Reserve.

That its focus is New Zealand wide rather than iwi based is an acknowledgement of the dispersed nature of many Maori, and of the pressing need to regenerate skills and knowledge. In so doing, it operates within a ‘Pakeha’ business structure, but incorporates distinctly Maori aspects, which both benefit, educate and empower its personnel. It provides an example of one way in which cross-cultural interpretation successfully finds expression in the context of contemporary New Zealand.

Groups such as the Institute use a contemporary institutional and business structures to operate programmes of cultural regeneration and in so doing exemplify Sahlin’s observation (1992) that ‘Modern culturalism does not go back but reaches a useful compromise with dominant cultures in order to develop their own structural transformation’.

3.4 Whakarewarewa Village

3.4.1 Local Focus and Traditional Values

From the area over which the Arts and Crafts Institute has jurisdiction, visitors may move into Whakarewarewa village, where people live alongside, and have lifestyle traditions with the area and the thermal pools. Visitors experience a brief view into traditions associated with life in this area and a taste of traditional foods.

While the Institute functions within a corporate business structure and takes aspects of Maori culture outwards to visitor groups in the form of local tours and world wide cultural presentations, other groups see an essential aspect of Maori values to be that they are localised and indicate the significant association with their ancestral land.

The people of Whakarewarewa village have been involved in the tourist industry since its inception, and have long lived alongside tourist operations. A central focus in recent times has been to protect the integrity of their remaining land and to maintain their lifestyle in a way which answers both traditional and contemporary needs. Their example highlights one of the most pressing concerns for
contemporary Maori: that of the strong traditional link of a hapu (or iwi) with its turangawaewae, and of retaining such land in a viable and accessible form.

I propose to outline some of the issues which currently involve the villagers in their attempt to protect and preserve the viability of their remaining land and their local community. The issues which they face highlight the ‘dilemma of retaining cultural identity within the nuclear age, yet enjoying the technology and facilities of today’s society’ (Marsh P.C).

3.3.2. Historical Background

As well being as home and central focus to its people the village of Whakarewarewa has always felt the focus of the tourist gaze. The village has a unique and longstanding association with tourism. Until the disaster of the Tarawera eruption in 1886 Tuhourangi rowed tourists to the isthmus and across Lake Rotomahana to view the Pink and White Terraces. (K. Waaka P.C., P. Waaka 1986).

Early ‘interpreters’ gave concerts, children created haka for the tourists, and explanation of the stories, lifestyles and history related to Whakarewarewa brought about the guiding tradition. Over time many of the local guides have come from the village or have been related to people who lived there. The guiding tradition has always embodied oral methods of interpretation as well as the significant traditions and ‘timeless values of sharing and hospitality’ (Mihinui P.C).

Guides shared local traditions and history with visiting tourists in a cordial and interpersonal manner. In the past the sociable sharing of comparative experience represented as great a reward as the financial remuneration\(^{115}\) and former guide Bubbles Mihinui recalled taking groups to bathe in the local pools in the way that her people had always bathed. Clothes were never worn and certain tapu restrictions existed regarding access to the baths\(^{116}\).

Such traditions reflect a local and practical application of the concepts of tapu and noa, which Mihinui referred to as ‘deep rooted things about the culture of one’s own people, which are strange and

\(^{115}\) Mihinui cited the example of comparing with Japanese visitors their respective cooking methods involving steaming and boiling. Local people used the pools: leaving the food to cook, not as is often depicted constantly watching over it.

\(^{116}\) Women and men bathed separately. Traditions existed whereby a woman and her new-born child (after a home birth) would bathe but no men could bathe in that water.
different to others, even to Maori from other places’. Such communications form the basis of cross-cultural interpretation (Mihinui P.C)\textsuperscript{117}.

3.4.4 Social Change
Social change and a changing ethos has brought some negative aspects. For Mihinui, today’s ‘stop-watch’ guiding, a result of the numbers of tour groups who pour through the reserve and a stronger contemporary commercial focus, compares poorly with the leisurely nature of past guiding. Today’s tours offer a comparatively superficial impression of Maori lifestyle, with some limited examples of local processes. Benefits are mainly commercial, with diminished intrinsic and interpersonal values which characterised past experience (Mihinui P.C). The diminished nature of the experience because of time limits and the one sided nature of the host-guest relationship is among concerns shared by other iwi groups who have been encouraged to undertake cultural interpretation programmes (Keenan 1993).

Reflecting on changes of lifestyle and belief in recent years, Mihinui noted the loss of the traditional sanctions which governed the upbringing of her generation, and her peoples’ relationship with others and with the place. She cited the crisis of identity and behaviour which accompanies a loss of universal respect for old sanctions and traditional associations\textsuperscript{118}.

Additionally it is difficult to keep the village alive and yet retain its privacy, for with the pressure of numbers, life has become very public for the villagers. Again, the theme of conservation in interpretation is highlighted. Such a tourist enterprise ‘must not further degrade the ecological and cultural systems within which it operates ... and should ultimately seek to reverse that degradation. (McSweeney 1992:2).

Despite these factors, in their day to day life, the people of Whakarewarewa have maintained their cultural traditions and this lifestyle has always been interpreted for the benefit of visitors. Kuru Waaka, an elder of Whakarewarewa, noted that

\textsuperscript{117} An ethos of decorum and respect for others enabled dignified sharing of the bathing experience so that while initially shy, visitors retained its memory as particular and different and an example of traditional hospitality.

\textsuperscript{118} The loss of social sanctions which formerly conditioned behaviour in the community coincides with the social problems associated with alcohol and drugs which young people face. As well, it is difficult to know how to police traditions such as the rights of the villagers to uninterrupted use of their pools. (Mihinui P.C.)

74
‘Tourism in Rotorua belongs to this village, for the focus of tourism was transferred to Pohutu Geyser by virtue of the Tarawera eruption and the demise of the Pink and White Terraces, and Pohutu has a traditional association with Whakarewarewa. Additionally arts and crafts never died in the village; nor did the Maori language and traditional ways’. (Waaka P.C)

Social change has brought the need for creative responses to the issue of functioning within contemporary society and enjoying contemporary benefits while maintaining integrity to original cultural traditions. Over recent decades concerns have arisen about the dispersal of the younger generation and from criticisms of the age and state of the old houses in the village: concerns which were juxtaposed with the desire to retain the village’s atmosphere and traditional integrity.

The village was crowded in the 1950’s and 1960’s, but over time the original houses slipped beyond a maintainable state of repair and in recent years many of its people have moved away, partly because joint ownership of the land precluded financing based on individual title for new houses. Inability to provide for the building of new houses caused the young people to build elsewhere, so that loans could be serviced. However Whakarewarewa remained their home and for any tribal matters people come back to Wahiao, their wharehui.

In order to answer accommodation needs arising from the gradual decay of the old houses, the village has had 13 new Lockwood houses built. These have a uniformity and simplicity of style and are intended to serve both as homes for residents and also as the venue for interpretive presentations associated with traditional lifestyle. Creative means of funding home replacement now allows financing in such a way that the ownership of the land remains sacrosanct, by placing the security of the loan on tenancy of the houses, and not on the land (K Waaka P.C).

3.4.5 Interpretive Presentations
As well as being the home of a local family, each of the houses has a nominated use for presentation purposes and each represents a facet of culture. In one, visitors may taste traditional foods and cooking methods are explained. In others, carving and weaving techniques are demonstrated and examples of these crafts are available for purchase.
In the village itself, visitors can learn the specific traditions associated with life in Whakarewarewa, seeing the way in which pools and steam vents were used for cooking and pools for bathing. Accepting that many visitors will be overseas tourists, presentation is simple and accessible.

At present there is no charge for tasting of traditional foods: visitors are asked to give a koha. Nor is there specific tariff for entry to the village at present but it is hoped to negotiate an arrangement with the adjacent Arts and Craft Institute whereby one shared entrance fee will provide visitors with access to both thermal area and Institute and to the village, so that the two facilities do not operate in direct competition.

Live presentation represents an important aspect of Maori culture. In the village it is exemplified in the guiding tradition and in the daily lifestyle presentations associated with each house. It finds further expression in the hosting of groups on the marae and within the wharenenui.

As a means of educating people into the meaning and significance of the marae and wharenenui, Waaka, an elder of Tuhourangi and Whakarewarewa village cited their experience of holding the Hotel International (Rotorua) staff conference within the wharenenui, Wahiao.

The observation by George Kanahele from the Waiaha Foundation, Honolulu, at Auckland’s ‘Ecotourism Conference’ (1992:32) points to the need for such experience. ‘If cultural tourism is going to work, tour travel or hotel company managers (personnel etc.) must be willing to learn about the native culture, its people and history’.

For many hotel staff, both Maori and Pakeha it was possibly their first experience of being guests within a meeting house, of a typical powhiri, and of being introduced to the meaning of the wharenenui: its history and traditions. The visitors came to understand that the meeting house was named for the ancestor from whom Tuhourangi were descended, and within the structure of the building were represented both the body of that ancestor and the tribal history (Waaka P.C).

The experience was particularly relevant because of the hotel’s position locally (virtually next door), as well as within the tourist industry, and because of the potential influence of the hotel staff on the attitudes of the visitors with whom they interact.
To Kuru Waaka, the whareniu provides the best illustration of the differences between New Zealand’s two cultures for, as well as the perpetual presence of the tupuna, the whareniu demonstrates culture based in genealogy: his people’s ability to trace their ancestry back 10-20 generations to the captain of Te Arawa canoe. Whakapapa (genealogy) provides the people with certainty about who they are, forms the basis for relationships and behaviour, and becomes an embodiment of social codes of behaviour.

The whareniu provides a spiritual and historic framework and context from which to then view the day to day lifestyle which was, and still is practised by local people of the village. A correlation operates in a similar manner to the Auckland Museum’s ‘Nga Tupuna’ and ‘Nga Mahi’ exhibitions in giving expression and context to the values of tapu and noa.

By demonstrating lifestyle in the context of its geographical situation, traditional belief structure, and local history, visitors’ experience is more integrated and memorable than a mere description of lifestyle. Presented in traditional oral manner in the context of village and marae such presentation maintains the integrity and lifestyle of the local people.

The whareniu provides a telling starting point for cross-cultural education; a focal point in which to present and illustrate these cultural legacies, and to illustrate Kuru Waaka’s contention (P.C) that ‘All on this side of the river is of one culture, all on the other side of another culture’. That such a learning process is centred around the whareniu and marae affirms the place of the marae as central to Maori life and cultural traditions, and supports the contention of some that cross-cultural interpretation can only become fully meaningful within this context.

3.4.6 Interim Summary: Whakarewarewa.

The people of Whakarewarewa have adopted certain strategies in order to protect their remaining land and their traditional lifestyle. Change arising from assimilation, urbanisation and contemporary social problems means that the old traditions hold less meaning for many of their younger people. Current innovations represent the endeavour to bring families and increased employment opportunities back into the village.

The interpretive programmes of Whakarewarewa are intended to reverse negative effects on the village from acculturation and lack of employment, to affirm cultural values and traditions and most importantly to preserve land and affirm the place of the Marae as central to Maori life.
3.5 Rotorua Programmes: Aspects of Similarity and Contrast

The Rotorua examples offer insights into programmes under Maori ownership and control, where Maori are presenting aspects of their history and lifestyle to visiting groups mostly from outside their culture, and have themselves determined the criteria underlying their interpretive ventures. Both represent valuable examples of site interpretation: both present a Maori view of the geothermal area. They succeed in maintaining Maori language and crafts in an area where these have been able to flourish and to provide a means of self support. They provide needed employment in an area of high unemployment.

Both programmes are managed and implemented by Maori: the Institute by a National Council and employees who attempt within their employing structure to incorporate and portray Maori values; Whakarewarewa village by a council of elders, involving family members, as a means to provide employment for their people, to stave off further shrinkage of their village, to preserve traditional values and traditions, and above all to protect and preserve their land.

The context is one which assumes as basic the value and legitimacy of Maori traditional beliefs, processes and frames of reference and yet exhibits adaptations as a response to operating a tourist programme in New Zealand today. While traditional values and processes underlie the basis of operations, operating criteria are affected by the factors of prior visitor experience and time constraints which result in a presentation of limited depth for most visitors. However although visits are brief, management and interpreters have designed programmes which denote this as a uniquely New Zealand experience, and importantly these programmes benefit their local people.

While both programmes maintain traditional aspects of lifestyle, their focus differs in some respects. Where the Maori Arts and Craft Institute presents a pan-Maori view of traditional skills and lifestyle, followed by a tour of the thermal area described in terms of traditional uses, names and traditions, Whakarewarewa programmes have a more localised focus, aiming to impart something of the local lifestyle and traditions and the people’s longstanding association with the area and the thermal pools. Brief visits allow insights in to lifestyle traditions, marae stays permit a view of lifestyle based in certainty of origin, values and behavioural traditions and in the association with the marae, the wharenuai and the tupuna whose history is represented there. To present the area’s history is also to demonstrate the nature of the link Tuhourangi have with their land, and to continue their longstanding association with tourism. Interpretive ventures provide a means to maintain the last traditional land and to reverse the dispersal of the young people.
Currently the majority of visitors to the village do so as an flow-on from their tour of the Arts and Craft Centre and thermal reserve. Visits to the thermal reserve focus mainly on viewing the geysers with brief mention of local traditions and names. While Arts and Craft Centre staff concede that visitors may not experience Maori culture in depth, their experience includes encountering important values such as hospitality alongside the experience of traditional craft skills and techniques, and these displays ultimately benefit Maori by funding training programmes.

Thus a primary value of both interpretive programmes lies in outcomes for tangata whenua and in the maintenance of traditional lifestyle. The Institute conserves and rejuvenates valued skills and processes of craft and language by training programmes and by incorporating traditional lifestyle, values and social structure in the day to day running of its operation. A holistic approach to the work situation finds expression in whanau relationships, a maintenance of relationships and concerns beyond the work situation, the building of team spirit rather than a focus on individual excellence, support and respect for elders and the learning of the Maori language by all staff.

However the aim is to apply traditional values within a contemporary situation. In addressing issues which have arisen as a result of acculturation through urbanisation and iwi dispersal, the Institute adopts a pan-Maori stance. A blend of corporate practice and traditional belief endorses Maori themes, reflecting a creative response within a market economy. Groups such as the Institute use contemporary institutional and business structures to operate programmes of cultural regeneration.

While the programmes differ in their approaches to the presentation of material, they do so from a basis of Maori control: the Maori Arts and Craft Institute by a national body, and Whakarewarewa village by the local village council. However although Maori exert control over what is presented and how, much of the programme is determined by factors related to time and money and the dictates of the visiting public. Consumer expectation and time constraints related to the nature of visitor groups create pressures. While programmes need to be small packaged experiences, of about an hour's duration, such timetabling is said to reduce traditional means of providing hospitality. Additionally coping with increasingly large numbers places resultant stresses on facilities and calls for even greater capital investment. Thus, even within programmes under Maori management, market requirements place pressures on programmes which do not always accord with the traditional values that the programmes are intended to reflect.
In these exercises it is acknowledged that the economies of scale operate both in financial terms and in terms of impact on the institution and village and on their interpretive programmes. While large numbers of tourists pour funds into both village and Institute programmes, an increased scale of operation demands greater financial commitment, speedier tours, less emphasis than in the early days on experiencing traditional values, less in-depth experience.

However although constraints exist, these programmes both present and support lifestyle and traditional values, and do so at the discretion of Maori with total Maori input and with real outcomes in terms of benefits and public education. Significantly they are based in a major revenue earner, and demonstrate a factor frequently cited as basic to self-determination, the need for a viable economic base.

Thus Rotorua’s interpretive facilities and guiding tradition illustrate approaches in presenting aspects of Maori culture and using interpretive facilities for betterment of Maori people. While the people of Rotorua have at times been criticised for ‘commercialising’ their culture, nowhere else in New Zealand have Maori groups continuously supported themselves and their lifestyle by practising traditional crafts (K.Waaka P.C).

Programmes are distinguished by the fact that management and personnel are Maori, programmes are designed by Maori, their outcomes are of benefit to Maori both economically and in terms of preserving valued traditions and lifestyle, and they do so in the context of the ‘legitimacy and validity’ of Maori knowledge’ and tradition (Smith 1990b:77).

3.6 Chapter Summary
These programmes highlight a number of issues which arise in the practice of biculturalism and tino rangatiratanga. They also indicate responses with which issues are being addressed.

Museum programmes face concerns over the return of provenance (spiritual and geographical) to cultural material, and the return of control of interpretive processes and management to Maori. While some argue that the museum context is not sympathetic to the spiritual aspects of cultural material and traditional context, museums still perform a useful function at the interface between cultures. Such programmes permit large numbers of visitors access to cultural material and can potentially offer much in terms of changing public perception.
These programmes differ from past presentations in that they aim to provide a visitor experience which has meaning both in terms of Maori values and also in terms of learning, in that relevant information is readily available. Museum practitioners point to changes in presentation which increasingly incorporate traditional Maori values and ways, and Maori programme management: both aspects of return of cultural control to Maori people.

In Rotorua both Whakarewarewa village and the Arts and Craft Institute embody important characteristics of tino rangatiratanga. Maori groups, though differing in composition, decide programme direction. Both programmes have beneficial outcomes for Maori, particularly in the conservation and regeneration of valued cultural processes, skills and language, in the retention of traditional lands and in the creation of employment and a home base for the young people.

These examples illustrate a number of issues arising in the practice of cross-cultural interpretation. Of concern is the place of interpretation in tourism and its value in providing employment in a way which does not undermine the lifestyle of local people. The social impacts of assimilative policies and the primacy of economic concerns in contemporary New Zealand are offset by solutions to issues which affirm tino rangatiratanga and the maintenance of distinct cultural identity: issues of Maori control and programme development and Maori values and ways of operating.

Both programmes reflect a Maori response to problems resultant from assimilation: land loss, dispersal of iwi, loss of language and valued traditions. Both are ‘stories of revival, remembrance and struggle’119. Their differing approaches and focus reflect varied strategies which can be applied in contemporary New Zealand society, and these and related issues will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

While programmes reflect differences in approach, overall both exhibit creative responses to interpreting Maori life and culture to visitors while yet retaining integrity to cultural values and institutions, and of using these means to achieve beneficial social outcomes. They reflect Maori right and determination to control their own life processes.

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119 (Clifford 1990:213-254, from McCarthy 1992:87. Sahlins (1992) notes that ‘Colonised peoples adapt to cultural imposition by the adaptation of their own traditions... Groups which preserve their culture are able to organise and fight domination. Hence social struggle for liberation is above all an act of culture’.
FIGURE 1: LOCATION OF INTERPRETIVE PROGRAMMES CITED

1. Waitangi
2. Auckland Institute & Museum
3. Maunga Mangere, Tamaki Makarau
4. Tauwhare Pa, Whakatane
5. Whakarewarewa, Rotorua:
   - Whakarewarewa Village
   - Maori Arts and Crafts Institute
6. Tongariro National Park
7. Taneatua, Lake Waikaremoana
8. Conservation Design Centre, Nelson
9. Arthur's Pass National Park
10. Paparoa National Park
CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES: PART II

4.1 Introduction

The heritage interpretation programmes of the Department of Conservation differ from the Chapter 3 examples in that they are based in bicultural intent arising from Treaty obligations. They are also based in responsibility to conserve and administer a large part of the country’s historic and natural heritage. Interpretation comprises an important aspect of this function for understanding the value of sites and material can enable a more informed custodial role.

The conservation and interpretation of traditional sites contribute to public understanding of this country’s ‘pre-contact’ past, reminding visitors of the place of iwi Maori as the original inhabitants of this land. Evidence of previous settlement examined in context, aids in understanding the geographical factors which affected the day to day lives of early inhabitants.

On-site evidence of kumara pits, sleeping platforms, ditches or agricultural stone walls acquire significance in context, which interpretation can highlight. The shape of adjoining land and sea helps visitors understand issues of food preparation, or the means of early peoples to read the weather and outlying landscapes, or their ability to defend an area. Such a view can offer insights into the lifestyle of early inhabitants which traditional histories can augment. Site interpretation aids in building up a picture of a region’s history in acknowledgement that we inherit a culturally affected rather than a pristine landscape.

Case studies in this chapter consider programmes developed by the Department of Conservation in partnership with tangata whenua groups. These programmes are designed to realise the bicultural aims of decolonisation of history, consultation in programme planning and presentation of material, and the exposure of the visiting public to aspects of Maori culture and belief systems.

The case study examples in this chapter include the development of a site interpretation in Whakatane using explanatory panels, the development and establishment of a pilot educational programme at Maunga Mangere, interpretive displays in DOC information centres, and reference to the work of the Conservation Design Centre (CDC) in Nelson, which is responsible for producing interpretive material for a number of Park Information centres.
4.2 Treaty Obligations

Recent years have seen considerable discussion about the meaning and application of the Treaty of Waitangi. This chapter concerns itself with the way in which Treaty obligations find practical expression in the interpretive exercises of the Department of Conservation.

The Department of Conservation (DOC) has in its governing legislation specific reference to the Treaty of Waitangi. Clause 4 of the Conservation Act (1987) requires that the Act 'be so interpreted and administered as to give affect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'. Expectation exists that consultation will be in line with Treaty principles as defined by Government and subsequently interpreted by the Waitangi Tribunal and Court of Appeal\textsuperscript{120}. In brief, Treaty principles are those of government, rangatiratanga, equality, reasonable cooperation, and redress for resolution of grievances.

In the Department of Conservation, overall practical application of Treaty obligations has found expression in consultation with tangata whenua groups over custodial responsibility and management of land areas, and in species protection, as well as in the availability of traditional materials such as kiekie and pingao.

In the interpretive field it has involved the preparation of an inventory of Maori place names for presentation in a joint submission to the Geographical Board\textsuperscript{121}. Consultation has occurred with tangata whenua groups over aspects of interpretation of local areas, and over areas considered of importance to iwi and whether it is appropriate to use these areas for interpretive purposes. As well consultation occurs in the research and preparation of interpretive material and in other related issues.

The present overall interpretive strategy includes the preparation of a National Heritage Interpretation Plan for all the publicly owned natural heritage of New Zealand' (Molloy 1993:63), involving an inventory of significant features for interpretation and the 'teasing out of different heritage themes' (Molloy Ibid.). This process involves tangata whenua consultation at two levels. On a local level

\textsuperscript{120} Summarised by Hughes 1988:19 in 'Environmental Management and the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'.

\textsuperscript{121} Such a move looks to the reestablishment of historical identity and traditional associations of such places and recognises the validity of the pre-european history. Addressing the Canterbury Maori Studies Association (4.10.88) O'Regan noted the often facile nature of European place-naming and cited as example a group of peaks which were named to commemorate contributors to a surveyor's conference.
it involves the consideration of features of importance to local tangata whenua groups; on a national level in the inclusion of a Maori perspective into the overall inventory use and application\textsuperscript{122}.

In recent years the Department of Conservation has included in the field of interpretation an increasing number of programmes which present a view of distant New Zealand history, and which interpret in varying ways, ancient sites of Maori occupation. While displays have existed for some time at information centres in the national parks, the interpretation of sites of traditional significance to tangata whenua is a recently developing practice. Waitangi, as the site of the Treaty signing, is probably the only historic site with significant interpretive matter on it; others have outdoor interpretive panels. However the practice of site interpretation is increasing worldwide and inspiration for interpreting local sites has come from overseas examples (Bulmer, Burns P.C)\textsuperscript{123}.

The first case studies consider site interpretation programmes developed by Department of Conservation staff as an expression of their Treaty obligations. Case studies in the latter part of Chapter 4 concern material developed for use in Park Information centres.

The presentations described hold greater integrity in terms of material included and traditional values and processes than was generally the case with previous historical displays. Additionally DOC is giving greater precedence to the traditions of local areas in individual information centres around the country and future centre development will involve local iwi (Molloy 1993:68). The following studies indicate some of the issues which arise in developing and presenting such interpretive programmes.

4.3 Case Study : Tauwhare Pa

4.3.1 Introduction

Tauwhare Pa at Whakatane in the Bay of Plenty is the site of a former pa \textsuperscript{124} which has been partially cleared of vegetation and interpreted by means of explanatory panels by East Coast Conservancy staff in partnership with local tangata whenua.

\textsuperscript{122} This aspect is held by some officers as more difficult to accommodate than the first. (Rennison, Noble: P.C.)

\textsuperscript{123} The Yorvik Viking Centre in York is often cited as a source of significant inspiration. (Burns, Bulmer. P.C.)

\textsuperscript{124} It is thought to have been occupied from very early until as recently as 1830-40, though dates are as yet subject to archaeological investigation.
The development of both site and interpretive material provide an example of the evolutionary nature of process planning and of the issues involved in consultation. Staff involved have found the learning experience associated with site development and the negotiating process with local tangata whenua to have been as valuable and significant as the 'end product' itself: that is, the interpretation panels and educational exercises.

4.3 Project History

The initial intention was to establish an interpretive walk somewhere in the Whakatane locality, focused on local history. The interpretation of Tauwhare Pa came about as a result of a merger of several factors: the push from the Department of Conservation for Maori liaison, the establishment of an (initially informal) liaison with the Ngati Awa Trust Board and the clearance of a local scenic reserve, begun as a local periodic detention and firewood production project.

DOC had acquired the site in several sections following its designation as a proposed historic, scenic and recreation reserve. The initial assumption of local Conservation Department staff was that 'it was their site and DOC's role was to make the decisions' (Gosling P.C). Consultation with local iwi would basically involve rubberstamping DOC intentions.

The displays were initially designed as a scenic tourist-type project: it was seen as a delightful picnic spot with beautiful views. A rapid process was envisaged: to 'clean up the site, and bang out a few interpretation panels' (Gosling P.C), using much the same material as had been originally intended for Kohi Point. However the exercise became more considerable both in interpretive terms, and in understanding and consultation between staff and tangata whenua.

The significance of the features of Tauwhare Pa emerged as a result of clearance of the cover of wattle scrub, at the same time as DOC staff began to consult about their intentions for the site with the iwi liaison person. Consultation and the realisation of the scale and significance of the site brought about a greater sensitivity to Maori perspectives and a resultant closer consultative process, as well as greater sensitivity to the site itself.

Realising in 1989 that the site held significant archaeological features, it was decided to delay placement of the first interpretive panels until 1990, when it could feature as a local commemorative

\[125\text{The first site considered by DOC archaeologists.}\]
project. It was also decided to formulate a fuller concept plan involving a landscape architect who produced their initial blueprint.

Local DOC staff now consider the first interpretive panels, produced prior to the final concept for the site, in some ways unsuitable or inappropriate, both in terms of interpretive effectiveness (being too wordy or reflecting an inaccurate geographical perspective) or culturally inappropriate. One sign, for example, uses the common English name for a local fish species instead of the Maori name. Some panels produced in Wellington are not appropriate in light of local knowledge.

Like others designing static displays DOC staff had to accommodate the dictates of wording and space on the panels. More important was the necessity for accuracy of information. In seeking the 'facts' staff encountered challenges to their basic assumptions or usual ways of working, and from this developed a relationship of partnership.

4.3.3 Partnership Issues
The development of this project brought about an appreciation of different time frameworks and imperatives. Initial DOC anxiety to get the project 'done, the site tidied up and interpreted, and the public up there' (Gosling P.C) gave way to an emerging realisation that the process could not be hurried and that the achievement of the appropriate material would take time to realise. Serious consultation with Ngati Awa began about the time of the production of the second and third panels in a process which brought out a significant commitment on the part of those involved and which has been described as 'unwrapping the site' (Gosling P.C).

'Unwrapping the Site'
Sensitivity developed in the treatment of the site itself. Restoration work highlighted the dilemma and responsibility faced by all interpreters of determining the point at which site restoration, an aspect of interpretation, becomes the interpreter's vision of the original: the interpreter's creation. The interpreter's responsibility was to allow for signs and interpretive panels to help visitors to realise the settlement features which had been there, in a way which was not 'reconstruction' and which remained sensitive to the integrity of the site. The final process involved little structural change and no significant reconstruction.

Site workers faced issues of which material and techniques were appropriate to use on this site, and whether or how far to restore eroded banks and damaged sections. They examined questions of which

87
materials and techniques to use in restoration, how to shepherd visitors in a non-intrusive manner by careful planting and whether to remove small trees which distracted the visitors’ view from the embankment line.

Acknowledging that ‘pa sites are damaged’ (Gosling P.C), there was no attempt to recreate or perfectly restore features, or to pretend the site was undamaged. In some cases damaged sections were left untouched, in others rebuilt in a way which recognised the restoration. Where, for example, a bulldozed track ran through a section, the character and outline was restored, but a difference in grass type renders the section recognisable from the original. In similar vein, techniques and materials were as close as possible to the original: hand dug turfs were applied in layers.

Sensitivity to the features and origins of the site recognises that ‘site interpretation’ does not refer merely to external interpretive tools such as panels or booklets but involves at its basis the treatment accorded to its source material or site. As in all parts of the process, it is a question of how an interpreter chooses to present the material and is an aspect of importance with reference to Maori sites.

Consultation
Discussion over the material for inclusion took place over a number of months, allowing for negotiation with Ngati Awa and other concerned groups. The negotiation process involved DOC staff and the iwi authority (the local trust board) with whom Maori people shared their concerns about various aspects of the project development\textsuperscript{126}. Continued consultation allowed for the development of a frankness between DOC staff and Ngati Awa representatives.

Additionally the process indicated the interest and historical association of other iwi with the site, particularly Whakatohea, early adversaries of Ngati Awa over ownership of the harbour, and to a lesser extent Tuhoe, who also had an interest in the site. DOC staff were unwilling to include material which would be found inappropriate, or in any way undermine inter-iwi relationships. All of these factors significantly influenced what was to appear on the panels.

By way of example, deliberations such as these represent an eighteen month long background to the inclusion of one sentence. Items mooted for inclusion in the space included a whakapapa, a line

\textsuperscript{126} Local DOC Kaupapa Atawhai manager, Matiu Tamihana, had significant input into these negotiations.
drawing and a local legend: all of which were rejected after considerable discussion on the grounds of being unsuitable for one reason or another\textsuperscript{127}. The following simple sentence was finally deemed appropriate, acknowledging both Whakatohea’s association and Ngati Awa’s claim to tangata whenua status\textsuperscript{128}.

‘Tauwhare Pa has been occupied by different tribes over the years. The last occupants were Ngati Awa’.

Negotiation was achieved by not rushing, not assuming a ‘Maori’ homogeneity of opinion about factors involved in the site interpretation. Assumptions of homogeneity do not acknowledge differences of attitude within iwi groups, from iwi to hapu, or among individuals in these groups.

A basic question which arose early in the process and which exemplifies such a range of attitudes, was whether, in fact, the site should be interpreted at all. DOC staff had initially proceeded from the assumption that such interpretation contributes to the exposure of history and culture, and by enhancing people’s understanding, and therefore the cause of ‘truth,’ must per se be good.

However some local Trust Board elders felt doubt and a sense of apprehension about whether the pa site should be ‘developed’ at all. Their concern was based in the conviction and tradition that once a pa was abandoned for whatever reason it should be left to go back to nature. In the early stages they were anxious for there to be little public announcement about the site development, but the gradual emission of information through the press and other media allowed something of a hiatus period for those who felt such reservations about the project. It was later accepted that as well as aiding bicultural and historic understanding, the worth of allowing Tauwhare Pa to be developed was that it would serve to focus visitor attention, thus permitting other sites to remain untouched.

Likewise the assumption of a homogeneous ‘Maori’ view does not acknowledge that there exist different levels to which contemporary Maori themselves give credence to ‘old beliefs’, such as the presence of ancestral spirits. A question deriving from a spiritual source concerned whether it was appropriate for public to have access over the entire site, particularly the area where the marae had been sited.

\textsuperscript{127} The reasons included the undesirability of association with another iwi group, a longstanding adversary, and lack of sufficient in-depth knowledge of the legend.

\textsuperscript{128} In interpretive terms too, for the casual visitor, the sentence is effective. It contains a brief clear statement, and is not rendered confusing by too much detail.
DOC staff displayed a willingness to fence off areas, to exclude the public from places about which tangata whenua felt concern. It was left to tangata whenua to resolve what they wanted and to communicate this to DOC staff on the understanding that their wishes would be acted upon.

Such a standpoint recognises and accommodates the differing degrees to which all people accept, believe or understand traditional beliefs and values. Gosling noted (P.C.)

'We may not understand these things or even accept them, but they’re still there. They’re real."

Likewise, it became apparent to DOC staff that it was not appropriate to eat and drink on the site. This condition was observed by those working on the site, and a sign now exists requesting that visitors likewise display sensitivity to the sacredness of the place by not consuming food or drink.

In terms of the negotiating role of agencies such as the Department of Conservation, Gosling stressed the importance of impartiality, of listening to all sides, particularly as the department deals in areas where many claims and counterclaims exist. Ultimately iwi groups will resolve issues between themselves, or with the assistance of the Waitangi Tribunal: it is not the role of DOC to take such a process upon itself.

Nonetheless in its role as custodian of large parts of the country, and its active support of the Treaty of Waitangi, DOC must interrelate with different tangata whenua groups with differing convictions and receptivity, and must demonstrate its own receptivity and goodwill. In the case of Tauwhare Pa, DOC staff’s receptivity to differing convictions has shown goodwill and led to a deeper practical partnership.

Time Frames

A significant lesson of the project was felt to be that a rigidly timetabled framework was not suitable for this type of negotiation. The information conveyed needed to be appropriate and acceptable to all groups involved (hapu and iwi groups), and needed to accommodate different attitudes, values and beliefs. An extended time period allowed for the refinement of material and information by interested groups (Gosling P.C).

A protracted negotiation period allowed for iwi groups to feel completely happy with the information conveyed and for the resolution of any misgivings about material for which they had previously indicated approval. Misgivings appeared to have emerged from the relative correctness of negotiating
with a particular group: the iwi authority as opposed to the relevant hapu, for example\(^{129}\). A fluid time frame, giving priority to problem resolution over timetable, confirmed for tangata whenua that they would be listened to and their concerns acknowledged with goodwill.

I have outlined the process involved in preparing the site interpretation, for while these aspects are not obvious to a casual visitor to the site today, they form an integral part of the process of interpretation, and also to some extent reflect what is now experienced by visitors.

The experience of those involved in this interpretive exercise indicates an evolving concept development for the site, a changing understanding on the part of staff involved, and a parallel growth of confidence and involvement on the part of tangata whenua, which culminated in the opening ceremony and has been evident in subsequent involvement such as live ‘interpretation’ to groups visiting the site.

**Media of Interpretation**

Visitors to Tauwhare Pa will now see the partially cleared pa site, with site-specific interpretive panels which highlight and in some instances describe or illustrate the features of the pa. Additionally recorded is a brief account of a tradition related to the site; a tradition of a battle and its resolution between Ngati Awa and Whakatohea, which occurred there early in the 19th century. This tradition was reenacted by involved iwi groups at the official opening of the site in 1990. A video recording of the reenactment, now available for hire to interested groups such as schools, provides yet another medium of interpretation for the site.

The opening ceremony and associated protocol for the ceremony was largely arranged by tangata whenua groups in association with the local DOC Kaupapa Atawhai manager. In traditional acknowledgement of the site’s spiritual values, karakia and blessings were offered when elders first came up to the site and, as the pa site had become marae for the day, water was available for visitors to wash their hands.\(^{130}\)

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\(^{129}\) While the group DOC is dealing with may be the iwi authority, the hapu exercise considerable say over what happens to the site, and they may not accede to all issues that the iwi authority has agreed to.

\(^{130}\) Karakia had also been offered by local elders at their first visit to the site, though not right at the inception of the project.
Since the opening ceremony, a significant event attended by hundreds of people, there have been occasional live interpretive tours which have confirmed for Gosling the inappropriateness of his attempting a live interpretation of the site. While approaching such an interpretive exercise with goodwill and diligent scholarship, and being quite ‘plausible and entertaining’, he realised that it was inappropriate for him to be giving his version of what a pa was because ‘it is not his story to tell’ (Gosling P.C). The appropriate people to tell such a story are those to whom the site belongs, the tangata whenua. From this realisation has come the development of a Ngati Awa group who are available to talk to visitors about the site.

Participation
Such realisations endorse the overall recognition that while DOC is acting in a custodial role, and while the land remains, in technical terms, a part of the DOC estate it is in fact a Maori site and the appropriateness of interpretation, indeed whether in fact it should be opened to public scrutiny at all, rests with the tangata whenua. There is no justification for the assumption that tangata whenua groups will immediately recognise DOC as the 'good guys with their interests at heart' (Gosling P.C), because ultimately DOC is a government department and subject to government dictates and restricted budgets. The past 150 years serve as an adequate reminder that iwi dealings with Government departments have often not been positive.

Tangata whenua groups need to see some benefit or reason to participate, which may arise from an evolving partnership. While the process can seem slow and frustrating within the context of budgets and deadlines and the constraints under which staff operate, in the end it is not the department who will make the decision about who should use the site and how.

'It's not written anywhere but we wouldn't dream of doing anything without consulting Ngati Awa' (Gosling P.C)\(^\text{131}\).

Continued consultation and increasing involvement serve to reaffirm that the site belongs to the tangata whenua: that DOC are acting as custodians, or ‘kaitiaki’ and that the role of the Department of Conservation is that of facilitator until such time as tangata whenua choose to reassume this role.

Dialogue
DOC staff and tangata whenua groups associated with Tawhare Pa experienced a developing consultative process, from one of rubberstamping, to a more genuine partnership, acknowledging both

\(^{131}\) In fact Treaty Article II guarantees rangitiratanga over taonga and should require such consultation.
tangata whenua rights and claim to the site and knowledge of traditions associated with it, and also DOC expertise and networking strengths with other conservancy groups.

Gosling (P.C) described the development of this interpretive programme as a ‘tremendous learning exercise’ and acknowledged its enormous value in terms of actual partnership, the mutual respect built up with Ngati Awa and also staff bicultural understanding.

He cited the need for time flexibility to allow for the changing understanding and belief on the part of personnel involved, in acknowledgement of changing levels of understanding which result from a developing cross-cultural experience and relationship. Overall is the need to float the ideas a number of times, to allow for debate, to allow for dealing with doubts which may not always be immediately apparent and to allow for the building of mutual trust.

**Future Directions**
Currently the Department of Conservation still administers the site, conferring increasingly with Ngati Awa, and is looking to developing further small scale interpretive exercises beyond the existing static display panels. Staff are keen to develop a range of activities for visiting school groups, as well as a self-guiding trail and accompanying explanatory booklet. These are yet to be developed.

Schools groups visiting the site have been absorbed by what it offers, particularly in terms of experiencing the reality of its geographic structure and strategic position overlooking the entrance to the harbour: its steep sided cliffs, its impenetrability against invasion, and the superb engineering involved in the pa’s construction. The difficulty of trying to attack from some of the slopes, even without palisades brings home to them the tactical and physical nature of pa defensibility and the engineering brilliance of pa builders.

It is hoped to develop further hands-on exercises as a means of enhancing local children’s bicultural education. Ngati Awa have responded enthusiastically to the suggestion that an interpretive booklet be produced for use with such visiting groups, comprising numbered stations and explanatory notes, and exercises for student participation. Local DOC staff are keenly receptive to the inclusion of appropriate and stimulating interpretive exercises from other sources and were interested in material developed in other conservancies.
Ngati Awa are also enthusiastic about further archaeological exploration, since current explanations for terrace use are based largely on supposition and comparison with other sites rather than specific local investigation. Such investigation is seen as enhancing both their own understanding of the pa as well as furthering bicultural education by highlighting the skills and achievements of their tupuna.

In retrospect it is felt that if it were possible to ‘replay’ the process, it would be handled differently. It would involve considerable planning and consultation before starting, and appropriate steps such as the performing of karakia would be taken before any work was started, in recognition of, and deference to, the sacred nature of the site.32

The process would be paced to allow for the gradual acquisition of more history through local and oral sourcing for throughout this experience, as local Maori became more confident that DOC staff were respecting their views, standpoint and their traditions, more information became available.

Costs and Funding
In the development of any interpretive programme the issue of costs and funding constitutes a serious and sometimes limiting factor. In some instances a project will receive funding as a part of the department budget. In many instances, because the department’s budget is already under severe constraint, such funding may pay for initial development but may fall short of reaching the overall operating costs of the exercise.33

Planners are often required to apply creative solutions to the problem of funding and cost recovery. The clearance of Tauwhare Pa was begun as a Periodic Detention project, and fund-raising exercise. Access schemes were also used and site development supervision came under normal DOC project funding. However funding sources for continued maintenance and interpretation exercises are uncertain.

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32 Gosling suggested the advisability of having wording and panels planned and sorted out, but left available for modification as people become more sensitive to the site and the wishes and knowledge of tangata whenua.

33 Programmes at Maunga Mangere and Hanmer Springs have been delayed to resolve aspects of funding and administration.
Because of the limited nature of available funding for ongoing site interpretation, the idea of Ngati Awa charging for interpretive walks was mooted. However they felt they should not make money from their ancestors. In this situation, 'user-pays' philosophy is at odds with values of the place and its people. This situation is not unique, and must be addressed by other groups involved in similar projects and faced with options for cost recovery\textsuperscript{134}.

In areas such as species protection the Department of Conservation is becoming increasingly reliant on sponsorship for some of its operations. Hence we now have the 'BNZ Kiwi', the 'Comalco Kakapo', and the 'Mainland Cheese Yellow Eyed Penguin', to name but a few. In relation to Tauwhare Pa and other sites of ancient occupation and spiritual significance, such overt company sponsorship was felt to be inappropriate.

As well as being inappropriate in spiritual terms, commercial funding may render an interpretive operation vulnerable to the whims and commercial aspirations of the sponsoring body, which may render confidence and longterm planning difficult\textsuperscript{135}. Other options for funding may involve the use of Trust Boards, or Heritage Trusts, either with funding available for this sort of programme, or established specifically for such a purpose.

Certainly there is a need for a flexible approach to the funding of such concerns: an approach which gives cognisance to the sensibilities of local Maori groups. Suggested means have included using Government training and employment schemes but these are at best temporary solutions, allow only intake of certain personnel (determined by scheme requirements) and are subject to the political whims of the Labour Minister in power. Considerations like these are faced by groups involved in developing any such interpretive exercises.

4.3.4 Summary of Concepts
Initially those involved in developing the site had little idea of what they were doing. The site and interpretive exercise were conceived at most as a scenic reserve with a few explanatory panels. Over time the concept evolved into a 1990 joint venture project which brought DOC staff alongside the

\textsuperscript{134} A similar response has come from Tamaki Ki Raro with regard to charging for access to Maunga Mangere (Kerr P.C).

\textsuperscript{135} 'Science Alive' (Christchurch) has already suffered from the non-continuation of sponsorship, finding that the 'commercial reality of encouraging sponsorship relies on practical commercial gain for the company rather than philanthropic benefits.' (Press article: 'Centre to cut Jobs.' 28.4.93)

95
tangata whenua. DOC staff gained much from that experience, but the development concept retained a scenic, tourist-type theme because of the site’s situation and views.

However a further dimension evolved which represented a significant learning experience for those involved as they began to consider the potential of the site in educational terms and in terms of historic and bicultural understanding. They also began to examine why in other terms it should be ‘interpreted’. How did it benefit tangata whenua?

In archaeological terms there was also interest in what could be told about its past by the use of test pits. Ngati Awa enthusiasm for archaeological investigation lies in the hope that it will contribute towards bicultural understanding, by representing the significance and achievements of Maori people. The interpretation of such a site reminds us that the history of this country spans a long time, and does not just have meaning in terms of post-contact or recent history.

The experiences of those involved in the interpretive development of Tauwhare Pa point to certain early assumptions: that site interpretation per se is good, and that the return of ancient history is in itself necessarily a good thing. While these beliefs have some truth, they can be seen to some extent as culturally based assumptions, and have been at times called into question by the response of tangata whenua groups, who may choose to allow sites to return to their natural state or remain to silent rather than have history and culture represented in a distorted way (Gosling, Brailsford P.C).

Over time and as a result of consultation a further dimension evolved in the consciousness of DOC staff: the realisation that this site was sacred as the home of the tupuna and that Ngati Awa had permitted its development in part to protect other sites and allow them to be left in peace. Additionally its development was seen as having positive benefits in terms of bicultural education in encouraging respect for such sites.

The experience of those involved in this exercise highlights the issues basic to any interpretation, concerning why interpretation is undertaken, by whom and by what means, to whom and to what end. In this case the reasons which underpinned initial plans for the site were not the same as those which emerged later in the process. The process itself became a reminder that historical and cultural

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135 For the people who have worked on the site, such as young Maori involved in clearance, Gosling noted a growth in pride, not only in their own achievements but also in the achievements of the early inhabitants.
interpretation is subject to the perceptions of interpreters and that these are subject to a process of changing understanding. The process illustrates the way in which such development is an educative process for interpreters as well as visitors.

Tauwhare Pa provides an example of an emerging partnership between the Department of Conservation and tangata whenua with the consultation process demonstrating dialogue as described by Freire; an evolving investigative process which liberates and empowers both groups, particularly the owners of culture. It indicates ways in which tangata whenua groups are involved in such programmes and also illustrates the types of decisions which interpreters make during planning and development. Such decisions reflect sensitivity to the site or material, and also to the owners of cultural property. For the sake of integrity it is important that decisions be made with sensitivity and in consultation with tangata whenua groups.

4.4 Case Study: Te Mana o Te Maunga o Mangere

4.4.1 Introduction
In this section I outline a pilot education programme developed in 1991 as the initial stage of an interpretive programme and facilities ‘Te Mana o Te Maunga o Mangere’ planned for use by school and other visitor groups, in Mangere, Auckland.

Projected facilities include a education centre, housing interpretive material, and teaching programmes and materials for visitor groups, including school groups. The programme will ultimately involve employment of a trained bi-lingual teacher to work full time on the project. As well, on going study and scientific investigation of the site is intended.

The pilot programme was designed to introduce school pupils to the early settlement sites on Maunga Mangere in Tamakimakarau (Mangere Mountain in Mangere, Auckland). The programme was further trialled with modification in 1992 and this year (1993) further interpretive facilities and a permanent venue for the educational programme are being developed.

Te Mana o te Maunga o Mangere provides an example of the Department of Conservation’s intent to incorporate a partnership perspective into the focus, material and practice of an interpretive project, and represents a practical application of the department’s Treaty obligations. The process of establishment is the outcome of a longterm and ongoing process of discussion and negotiation.
involving representatives of the Tainui Confederation, the Department of Conservation and local body representatives form the Manukau City Council.

The overall interpretive programme envisaged for the mountain has multi-layered partnership implications: in its recognition of the importance of pre-European history in the Auckland region, in the sourcing of local historical and cultural material, in the negotiation of appropriate skills and knowledge for interpretive use, in the provision of teachers, in the management and administration of particular educative areas and of the total project.

The programme development has involved a process of partnership between the Department of Conservation and the Tamaki Ki Raro Trust (Tainui). It was initiated by Sue Bulmer, DOC archaeologist and Bea Kerr, a Tainui elder, and has since involved other DOC personnel in the areas of planning, education, interpretation and archaeology. Administration and funding will ultimately involve a partnership between DOC, Tamaki ki Raro Trust and the Manukau City Council.

4.4.2 Aims
The project has a number of aims: site conservation, the restoration of history, bicultural education and practical partnership. A primary conservation motive stems from the need to preserve an example of the early occupation of Tamakimakara in recognition that we have inherited a culturally affected rather than pristine landscape, and in acknowledgment of the region’s early history.

The initial programme has focused on school-based programmes but it is anticipated that the programme will ultimately expand to involve domestic and overseas visitors. For this reason site plans need to include potential for parking and other facilities.

4.4.3 Site Significance
Mangere Mountain has significance in terms of national heritage as well as for Maori people. Few people are aware of the significance of Auckland’s volcanic cones as sites of early Maori occupation (up to 1000 years ago). The Maunga Mangere site is one of the largest remaining of a land system which took in the entire Auckland region, ‘centred on the volcanic cones … supporting town and village sites with a probable population of many thousands of people … and stonefield sites of over 1000 ha.\textsuperscript{137}’. In pre-european times Tamakimakara as a region had a concentration and spread of

\textsuperscript{137} Bulmer (HPT Newsletter Vol.14. No 3. Sept 1985) noted ‘of the original 8,00 ha of stonefield sites, about 250 ha are left, and are disappearing at about 100 ha per year’.
population unequalled elsewhere, yet most cone sites had been abandoned by the time of European settlement, so little is recorded of that occupation (Campbell 1991).

These examples of early settlement provide significant clues to lifestyle in those times, yet few now remain intact. Many of the cones and stonefield sites have been severely modified or destroyed over time because users and administrators have been of unaware of their significance. They have suffered neglect, inappropriate use and deliberate destruction by being built over or quarried (Bulmer, Veart P.C). Deliberate preservation and education programmes, accompanied by sympathetic administration are necessary to prevent further site disturbance through careless or inappropriate use.\textsuperscript{138}

The early focus of Historic Places Trust operations primarily concerned the preservation of old houses and buildings but in recent years the significance of Maori sites has been recognised.\textsuperscript{139} Following a review of threatened cones and stonefield sites the Historic Places Trust agreed to work towards the deliberate preservation of one of the more significant cones.

The public need educating into the significance of such sites in order to encourage respect and protection. The project aims to return some of the regions 'excluded past': to acknowledge the significance of early Tamakimakirau, as the traditional home of tangata whenua and predecessor to the city of Auckland, and in international terms, as a great neolithic settlement (Bulmer P.C).

\textbf{4.4.4 Maori Participation}

Alongside public education into the significance of pre-european settlements, an anticipated bicultural outcome involves the inclusion of Maori personnel, language, values and processes in educative programmes. If the project is to have real meaning in bicultural terms it requires practical application of partnership principles in its development, planning and execution. A necessary aspect involves the use of specialised Maori skills in both research and teaching.

\textbf{4.4.5 Project status}

The multi-layer management plan allowed for an initial low-key pilot education programme and later development of a facility housing educational displays. These projected facilities will be sited off the

\textsuperscript{138} Administration of the sites has in most cases been vested with the local authority, but under local body care the cones are steadily deteriorating. (Bulmer.P.C.)

\textsuperscript{139} 1975 legislation protecting archaeological sites marked a developing recognition of the significance of such sites.
mountain itself with the intent of allowing the mountain to return to being 'a field monument with little intervention between it and the public' (Bulmer P.C), acknowledging its significance to the tangata whenua, and also more generally as a cultural and historical monument. It is unlikely there will be on-site interpretive panels.

At this stage some educational activities have been trialled with classes from two local schools, but the overall concept and management plan is still being developed by the Department of Conservation and its employees, local Maori groups (Tamaki Ki Raro Trust) and Manukau City Council, the local body which currently administers the reserve. At the time of writing DOC was negotiating issues of site administration with the Manukau City Council and was researching funding sources.

4.4.6 Pilot Educational Programme

The potential scale of the project and its implications on a local and national scale are considerable but staff needed to establish an initial programme which equated with available resources. Tamaki ki Raro Trust, in the Tainui Confederation, also indicated support for an initial small scale project as being more suitable. It would be more accessible, involve fewer 'actors' and be more likely to succeed. As with the Kohanga Reo movement, it was deemed appropriate to start with children, the interpreters and administrators of the future, whose experiences also educate their families (Kerr P.C).

The 1991 programme involved the development of a guided walk around the mountain for groups from two local primary schools, followed by reiterative learning activities. Visiting groups of 25-40 children of a cross section of ages, allowed for division into four groups for teaching activities. A similar programme was repeated with modifications in 1992.

The overall programme blends archaeological, geographic, historic and cultural elements to aid public understanding of the site and its significance. The input of specialised and localised history (through a blend of traditional history and archaeological sources) allows for a more 'fine-grained' level of knowledge to flesh out a picture of how early inhabitants lived, which foods they ate, which trees grew in adjacent forests, and how the isthmus looked 500-1000 years ago.

The ability of archaeology to 'document in detail the impedimenta of everyday life, often providing insight into how people lived is noted in 'Unearthing New Zealand' (1989:23).

Written history, focusing .. on major events and the broad sweep of political and social change, can only describe.. archaeology can reach out and touch.
Archaeologists also carry a significant professional responsibility in bicultural education, to render such specialised knowledge accessible to the public through educational programmes (Bulmer P.C).

The geographic focus related to the physical aspects of the mountain. It was intended to instill a sense of place and to assist students to 'read' and appreciate the changing face of the landscape. The volcanic cone site usefully demonstrates geological origins and its changing features and those of surrounding landscape demonstrate the concept of a culturally affected landscape.

The site visit and supportive educational material were intended to give children an insight into the physical realities of how the people probably lived in the early days of settlement, before the region was conquered by Ngati Whatua people from the North and the settlements became abandoned\textsuperscript{140}. The mountain walk stimulated recognition of changing landscape and a comparison between features which would have been visible in the past and those visible today.

At the time of Maori occupation one would have seen as backdrop to the mountain, the bush of the Waitakere ranges, the proximity of Manukau harbour and its beaches which would have provided mahinga kai. The present landscape displays details very strongly descriptive of urban features of our time: visible oxidation ponds, the airport, motorways and high-density housing.

On their walk the children considered some archaeological features of the mountain: large pits probably used for kumara storage, midden, lines of the stone fields which were used for agricultural cultivation. By linking midden, high on mountain, with probable source areas of mahinga kai, it was hoped to establish for children a sense of continuity between people and their food sources, and between past and present ways of meeting basic needs. Such continuity represents a valued concept in Maori world view, acknowledging the place of humankind in their environmental and temporal context.

The current programme and its teaching activities were developed by DOC educational staff and archaeologists working in conjunction with Maori teachers. The four initial teaching activities focused on the theme of kai, and resource gathering and use by early inhabitants. Also provided for school use was more detailed follow-up material, allowing for later in depth discussion of harvesting, and food preparation by class teachers.

\textsuperscript{140} As with Tauwhare Pa, little archaeological work has been done on the site. Even basic questions such as when people first lived in the area are yet to be answered (Veart P.C).
The form of the school visit: a field trip and supportive educational activities, highlights those features which differentiate school educational programmes from ‘pure’ interpretation, for it allows opportunities for preparatory activities, has a reasonably homogenous group composition, a relatively longer time frame, as well as follow up activities.

Maori Perspectives
An integral and essential part of the programme is considered to be the involvement of Maori teachers and inclusion of Maori language and values\textsuperscript{141}. An introduction incorporating some simple Maori language established a link between contemporary Maori and the tupuna who lived there in the past, helping to reduce the ‘museumified’ concept of Maori culture, and to affirm it as live and dynamic: an apparently simple concept yet unfamiliar to some children.

Conservation was also an important theme in the introductory discussion. The mountain was described as precious, a taonga because of its association with the past, needing to be cared for and protected. The walk up the mountain was preceded by an explanation of the mountain’s sacred nature as the ‘home of the ancestors’ and of the traditions associated with approaching such sites. The offering of karakia and waiata before entry to the mountain affirmed the spiritual aspect of such visits, the sacred nature of the mountain and traditional ways of approaching it (Kerr, Niania P.C).

On several occasions Maori teachers were unable to attend and DOC staff found the spiritual and cultural aspects of presentation were diminished. Pakeha staff felt less comfortable in leading karakia and waiata (Sandoy P.C). In the future it is hoped that kaumatua and kuia from papakainga on the mountain’s lower slopes will become involved, and the programme may later include a marae visit, where manaakitanga can be experienced in the sharing of kai (Kerr P.C).

Educational Techniques
These field trips differed notably from an interpretive tour for DOC staff and their families at the launching of the programme (14/4/91) when Tainui elders blessed the site and officially welcomed the Department of Conservation. On that tour the guided walk led by archaeologists and the District Conservator took the more usual form of an informal descriptive lecture given at various main ‘stations’.

\textsuperscript{141} Such personnel in the pilot scheme were the project director Bea Kerr, a former teacher and two teachers Frieda Paratene and Eric Niania from the Education Advisory service. All were also involved in developing the teaching aids.
Educational techniques for the school groups in the pilot programme were more inductive than other interpretive tours of the mountain. The use of key questions to draw out pupils' ideas reflected the nature of the visit and visitor group as well as the educational background of staff involved, all of whom are or have been teachers.

Such questions also demonstrated limitations of the children's prior knowledge in terms of time frames (of occupation and settlement), introduced animals and other related concepts. Many thought staple Maori diet would have been beef, sheep and rabbit, as these animals were in evidence on mountain at the time of their visit\(^{142}\). Such suppositions usefully led in to the examination of middens, 'rubbish tips' and from this deductions about foods which must have made up the diet of early inhabitants. As well it allowed discussion of what a present day midden would comprise\(^{143}\).

The outlook from the mountain allows a physical overview of the Tamaki isthmus. Its position adjacent to the Manukau Harbour allows a prospect of the ecological continuum of the region taking in the Waitakere Ranges and the harbour as well as allowing extensive views in all directions.

One can recognise its value as a settlement site for early inhabitants, for overlooking the harbour and neighbouring and further settlements, for noting movement through the region, for reading the weather and many other day to day uses. Additionally the concept of cultural landscape can be more readily recognised and reinforced by recent changes: the addition to the area of the airport, the Mangere Oxidation Ponds and other features.

From their high vantage point above the harbour, and the view beyond to the forests of the Waitakere ranges, children could pick out likely locations of sources of kai moana and other resources and could speculate about the day to day life of early inhabitants.

Such discussion linked the walk with the educational activities which made up the second part of the morning's programme. The four prepared activities focused on the theme of 'kai': its necessary survival significance provides a link with our day to day life and it also has traditional significance to Maori in terms of manaakitanga, the ability to generously host visiting groups.

\(^{142}\) A further conservation issue for discussion concerned the visible effects that these animals had on the land. Site damage occurs as a result of farming and grazing activities.

\(^{143}\) A suggested follow-up activity involved constructing a clear sided class 'midden' of today's rubbish.
Activities took place in small groups and involved a blend of oral communication, simple Maori language and hands-on activities. Activities included a 'jigsaw' hangi, with which to build up layers of materials and foods, a magnetic board depicting the Maunga and its environs which allowed pupils to identify and name foods and locate their probable sources; a revolving calender which demonstrated seasonal agricultural activities, and sorting activities involving 'kete' and shells and illustrations of the kai which, from midden evidence, made up much of the diet of early inhabitants. All activities involved the learning of Maori names for foods.

As available time did not allow for groups to experience all activities, classes were able to take the activities back to demonstrate and use in their schools. Schools responded enthusiastically to the programme: it has given the children new insights into their neighbouring mountain.

**Educational Outcomes**

The July trial programme involved an eventual total of only 6 field trips. Further trips intended for November did not eventuate because of time limitations on personnel involved, lack of availability of Maori teachers and the pressure of other programmes within the department.

The programme was found to be useful in highlighting areas needing refinement. The half a day allocated did not comfortably allow for the walk around the mountain with discussions at predetermined 'stations', morning tea, and rotation of groups to experience activities. Proposed amendments to the original formula included the extension of the programme to a longer time frame. The activities used in the July trial were found by DOC staff to be adequate as introductory exercises to be used for a short time (about a quarter of an hour for each), on a rotational basis. Some activities had greater capacity than others to hold interest.

While they gave an introductory view of traditional cooking, gardening and harvesting methods, it was felt desirable to provide further hands-on experiential exercises. Such exercises (scrapping kumara with shells, simple weaving, examining baskets, containers, nets and making simple tools) were intended to give something of the feel of the reality of life for early inhabitants, and to 'key the information into the memory by means of experience' (Toka P.C). These were included in the second trial in 1992.

A further limitation derived from the use of the local Memorial hall for the welcome, and for teaching activities. The hall itself was too large for the convivial presentation of such material, and its
vestibule, (used for teaching activities during the trial) too small, resulting in students being uncomfortably closely clustered and the potential disruption by the proximity of other activities. The hall was also used by other community groups which necessitated storing all materials and activities each time. This confirmed the need for a specific venue, which should be available in 1993.

An essential aspect of the learning experience was the involvement of Maori teachers who could introduce a depth and familiarity of knowledge stemming from their own cultural background. The trial programme underlined the need for Maori teachers to present material. Without them the language-based and spiritual aspects, such as waiata and karakia, were felt to be missing or diminished (Sandoy P.C).

As well Maori teachers presented material about traditional methods of food preparation in a vivid, personal and anecdotal way, talking of aspects of lifestyle: using a shark’s bladder to store the liver while it dried, being sent out to play with a necklace of dried pipi as a snack. Maori teachers brought a personal authenticity to material with knowledge from life experience rather than books or similar ‘separated sources’, which often characterise learning and the notions of scholarship in Western societies. Their anecdotes made material live, in the way that distinguishes interpretation from mere information giving.

Overall the trial educational programme was found to be useful in determining time management and in highlighting limitations of materials and the need for an adequate venue. The programme reiterated the need for experiential exercises in interpretive and educational programmes, as well as the appropriateness of having Maori teachers.

Partnership Issues
Maori teachers participated in the planning and presentation of the trial education programme. In terms of the concept plan and interpretive project overall, other areas exist where a Maori perspective has relevance. While Tamaki ki Raro involvement in the trial programme took mainly form of endorsing material developed by project group, the project background indicates further consideration of a Maori perspective.

In early site evaluation Bea Kerr, a Tainui elder, and then Maori adviser to Historic Places Trust, suggested the choice of Mangere Mountain as a ‘cone and stonefield’ site for protection and
interpretation because it had both historic and contemporary relevance to Maori. As Project Manager, she later liaised with Maori groups in the district and specifically with Tamaki Ki Raro Trust who became project partner.

The choice of Tamaki ki Raro Trust by Tainui elders as partnership group springs in part from its experience as a group in administration of business concerns, the potential for joint educative programmes with Ambury Park and the hope that because of the high Maori population in the Mangere area and the mixed nature of iwi groups living there, all neighbouring Maori groups will identify with, and become involved in the project.

The Trust’s Te Puea Marae is adjacent to the mountain which allows the possibility of including marae visits in future interpretive exercises (Kerr P.C). The presence of kaumatua flats on the side of the mountain is also seen as important, recognising local kaumatua and kuia as a valued source of knowledge, and allowing for their future involvement.

In the preparation and planning of the pilot programme material, the main ‘actors’ have been DOC staff, using DOC skills and consultation with the iwi partner, Tamaki ki Raro. For the trial programme such consultation mostly took the form of confirming the appropriateness of the material and themes used. However future involvement is anticipated to be more active and ongoing. It is hoped to involve demonstrations of traditional craft by Tamaki ki Raro members and interpretation by local kaumatua.

Outcomes
To date partnership in this project has involved consultation with Tainui, and planning and teaching input from individual Maori. In the long term, real project partnership would need to involve a significant proportion of the management input and to display positive outcomes for tangata whenua partners in areas which answer contemporary needs, such as employment opportunities, while maintaining chosen aspects of lifestyle.

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144 Early consultation also involved approaches to Maori District Council and Ngati Whatua Trust Board representatives.

145 The Auckland Conservancy Kaupapa Atawhai Manager has also liaised with Maori groups in the district.

146 Ambury Park is the site where traditional kumara strains are cultivated. It also has an Education Centre and interpretive programmes.

147 Like the Maori Arts and Craft Institute in Rotorua the Trust has a pan-Maori focus.
While the provision of employment opportunities for local people has been indicated as a desirable future outcome reality is more difficult to achieve. In the trial programme, limited funding was available to pay a part-time allowance to project director Bea Kerr. Cash funding for employment of other Maori contributors through Access schemes did not eventuate. Contributors outside DOC worked on a voluntary basis or as a part of the focus of their own employment.

To date funding and concept plan for the overall scheme are under discussion and a Trust is being established at least 50% Maori representation for on-going programme administration. Both DOC and Manukau City Council have allocated funds (1993) toward the education centre establishment and initial costs of employing a full-time teacher (Veart P.C). Beyond this commitment it is expected that the Trust will manage fund raising and will need to look at options which sit most comfortably with tangata sensibilities with regard to the mountain.

The reality of establishing such a programme highlights on-going constraints of personnel and funding faced by the Department of Conservation and the contemporary requirement for some cost recovery on programmes. As noted these requirements call for creative solutions. In this case contemporary market philosophy does not sit easily with either the ethos of conservation and of the values of tangata whenua groups. As with Tauwhare Pa, the prospect of charging for access to the mountain was seen as ‘making money from our ancestors’ and felt to be inappropriate (Kerr P.C).

4.4.7 Programme Constraints
Programme constraints exist in the areas of administration, funding and in the degree of commitment to the programme by DOC staff.

Administration
The experience of Tauwhare Pa indicated changes of focus which occurred in the development of a relatively straightforward scheme. Tauwhare Pa offers an example of a small, relatively uncomplicated, low-key operation with the land administered exclusively by DOC, and no serious conflict of interest arising from claims by other user groups. The Mangere Mountain project faces a greater complexity of considerations and constraints both within and outside the Department.

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148 Maori Advisors from the Auckland College of Education were involved in development of teaching material and teaching in the pilot programme.
Constraints on the project external to the DOC relate to existing uses of the reserve \(^{149}\), some complexity in resolving the issue of reserve administration, and concern as to who would ultimately administer (and fund) interpretive programmes and facilities.

In the case of Mangere Mountain the concept is complicated by the factor of joint administration between bureaucratic bodies (Manukau City Council and the Department of Conservation\(^{150}\)) as well as the site’s position in an area with very high, mixed iwi, urban Maori population and a significant lapse of time since the period of occupation.

Within the Department of Conservation some internal opposition arises out of budgetary and personnel constraints, as well as the allocation of priority to projects within the department. For some, concern arises from the need for the project to be well executed; perceived to be a difficult feat to achieve in the current economic climate.

**Funding**

As with other on-going interpretive programmes the question of funding is one of concern. DOC resources are already stretched, being required to administer almost a 19% of the land area of the country on a budget of around $100 million. Staff have reservations about undertaking new projects while other interpretive projects remain incomplete in a ‘prevailing climate of static or diminishing financial and staff resources.’ (Molloy 1993:67, Delamore P.C\(^{155}\)).

Funding for the trial project largely involved limited amounts of staff time being made available. Materials were provided ‘creatively’ despite the tight budget and the education programme benefitted from the involvement of volunteer helpers. Long term funding is likely to rest with a Trust, formed for the exclusive purpose of administering the interpretive programme and facility. It is intended that the Trust have at least 50% Maori representation (Bulmer P.C).

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\(^{149}\) Sports grounds on the lower edges are used by large numbers of locals.

\(^{150}\) While legal mechanisms exist by which to vest the mountain in the Department of Conservation as a historic reserve, department officers are wary of further cost and responsibility in what is potentially a large project and seek to involve other groups in management and administration.

\(^{155}\) Currently in the Auckland Conservancy projects are also being considered or under way for Rangitoto, the reforestation of Motutapu, a concept plan for Kauwau Is and archaeological work on North Head.
Priorities

Based in the budgetary constraints under which DOC operates, additional opposition arises from the relative priorities accorded to projects and funding: the weighing of protection functions against the department’s shop front educative and interpretation roles.

The weighing of ‘conservation’ values against Maori and / or bicultural concerns finds expression in issues of whether it is more useful to channel resources into threatened species protection, the needs of pest eradication programmes or into the promotion of an understanding of our bicultural history with an anticipated outcome of changing social attitudes. Such a priority debate recognises the fact that while Treaty obligations are part of DOC’s underlying operational criteria, their practical application is to some extent dependent on the goodwill of the staff and will not happen without commitment to such educational aims. Unenthusiastic staff can act in the role of gatekeepers preventing further dissemination of bicultural understanding.

While much of the focus of DOC activities is associated with ‘forest and bird’ type preoccupations, the Department of Conservation has responsibilities in the protection of historic as well as natural resources. As one of country’s foremost interpretive agencies DOC holds significant responsibility in historic and bicultural education. DOC has staff members with specialist capabilities in interpretation and in related areas such as archaeology. Their knowledge base and understanding of the need for bicultural education can play a significant role in building up the as yet limited picture of pre-european New Zealand as a significant component in our overall history, and of acknowledging the place of Maori as the original people of this land.

Given that ‘educational functions’ are part of the department’s overall significant responsibilities, and that they also constitute a useful means of public education into the department’s functions, it would seem prudent to direct energies into such projects. However reduced budgets and the higher priority accorded in recent years to sustainability and the application of the Resource Management Act (1991) have resulted in greater focus on management issues and diminished commitment to interpretive functions (Molloy P.C) and necessitated difficult choices with regard to interpretation prioritising. (Molloy 1993:67).

4.4.8 Interim Summary

The Mangere Mountain pilot educational programme and the overall interpretive project ‘Te Mana o te Maunga o Mangere’ highlights a number of issues in the areas of cultural interpretation and
bicultral education. The rationale underlying interpretation has scientific, cultural, historical bases.

Scientific skills and explanations are used to explain processes of land formation and land use. Historic and cultural aspects contribute to knowledge of our 'pre-contact' past. The programme aims to restore knowledge of a significant segment of the history of the area which is now Auckland and in so doing to enhance the mana of early and contemporary Maori.

Geographical concepts of place and culturally affected landscape are considered. Cultural aspects involve the presentation of this site of early occupation, of Maori values and traditions and the incorporation of a Maori partnership perspective into the project's material, planning and implementation. The programme demonstrates the features (examined in Chapter 1) which differentiate school educational programmes from other site interpretation.

Difficulties involved in establishing the programme derive in part from the number of bodies involved in the site's administration, making negotiation more difficult and timetabling less flexible. Further constraints exist because of funding limitations within the Department of Conservation causing the project to compete for funding against other projects. These issues will be further examined in Chapter 5. Despite its limiting factors the programme usefully illustrates some of the issues which arise in developing such interpretive exercises.

4.5 The Conservation Design Centre Nelson

4.5.1 Introduction
I conclude this chapter with reference to the work of the Conservation Design Centre (CDC) in Nelson. I consider the Centre for two reasons: because it is significant to the Department of Conservation in terms of interpretive material and because the Centre's staff have felt acutely the constraints of functioning in an increasingly market dominated economic context.

The Conservation Design Centre produces a majority of the interpretive audio-visual displays which feature in information centres throughout the country. Like other units within the department, the Centre is giving heightened priority to the presentation of pre-european stories of various areas and has mirrored the increased profile of Maori cultural material in recent years in response to Treaty obligations. However its operational parameters are different from those experienced by conservancy
staff, and this imposes slightly different pressures. Pressures arising from market economic dictates are felt more acutely by this unit than other DOC agencies.

4.5.2 Functions and Programmes

The Design Centre was originally established under the jurisdiction of the Department of Lands and Survey, to provide photographic and graphic design material for the National Park Field Centres. Following the transformation of the Department of Lands and Survey to the Department of Conservation, the unit endured several uncertain years while its function and situation were clarified.

It now operates as a business unit, with DOC as the parent client, and clients in other government departments and in the private sector, where it services commercial enterprises such as the Air Industry or Museum Societies\textsuperscript{132}. High motivation and output over the uncertain interim period contributed to a build up of contemporary confidence in the unit and work levels are now reaching ‘overload’ (Lilleby P.C).

Staff in this multi-media unit are involved in disseminating information in the form of many types of educational and experiential material, and have the skills and technology to cover a whole production process from concept to design and graphics. Using audio-visual techniques the unit compiles programmes which tell local stories vividly and memorably.

Current displays often take the form of multi-image presentations, integrating old audiovisual techniques with the use of mood and scenic photography, mannequins or actors, props, theatrical lighting and music to highlight aspects of a story or to provide a mood appropriate to a display. Most displays are developed for use in information centres rather than historic sites. Waitangi with its high profile for tourists as the site of the Treaty signing is probably the only historic site with significant interpretive matter on it: others have outdoor interpretive panels (Lilleby P.C).

Following examples of overseas presentation of historic buildings, a ‘sound and light’ programme at Waitangi was developed by the unit\textsuperscript{133}. Carved sections within the meeting house are illuminated and an accompanying soundtrack gives background information about iwi groups represented there.

\textsuperscript{132} While the DOC has an allocated budget it may raise further funding (in 1993 up to about $35 million through the provision of services to other departments and to the private sector (White P.C).

\textsuperscript{133} Such presentations have long been used to heighten tourist experience, as in the Loire Valley castles in France.
When it was established, some local Maori were concerned at the introduction of 'hardware' into the meeting house but have since acknowledged that the heightened spiritual and emotional experience of the whole house, enhanced by the focus of sound and light, gives it value in terms of bicultural education (Lilleby, Burns.P.C154).

4.5.3 Unit Interpretive History

Current multi-media presentations developed by the Design Centre represent a contemporary development of early displays in places such as Park Information Centres. The displays of the early 1970's usually comprised hundreds of photos with typed pieces of text. These were assembled by those with the resource knowledge: park staff and local volunteers who researched local histories and produced historic photographs. Early display work was done by the National Publicity Studios and presentations were generally site specific, and concerned with natural and human history (Lilleby P.C).

A shortcoming of the National Park Information Centres at that time was that reference to Maori in both audio-visuals and static displays were fleeting, except in those areas where a strong Maori presence had been maintained155. Moreover references to legends and traditions of early Maori set out much the same story line everywhere, tending to rely on the story of the separation of Rangi and Papa, and subsequent Maui traditions rather than acknowledging varied iwi bases and specific local traditions. Such reference is limited in terms of filling out the fine details and differing traditions of local histories.

Recent displays, both static and multi-media, in park information centres contain a significantly higher content of history and tradition of iwi Maori, and reflect the trend to replace the homogeneous story lines of earlier presentations with material related to the specific traditions of local tangata whenua, in acknowledgement that Maori groups have traditionally identified themselves as iwi and hapu with particular local histories156.

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154 There is still some criticism of the process, for example when elders arrive during the programme, but for at least 15 minutes each hour the building is simply lit with no sound intrusion (Lilleby P.C).

155 Tuhoe presence, for example, is strongly reflected in interpretive material at Waikaremoana Information Centre and at Tane Atua.

156 Trotter and McCulloch (1989:9) note that the term Maori to describe a native New Zealander did not come into use until the late 1830's.
Specific local traditions focus on the arrival of the waka with which they identify, stories of the origins of significant landmarks and associated exploits of their ancestors. Tribal association with their region represents a source of mana and is maintained by traditions such as longterm occupation and by stories and oral traditions. These aspects of history now find expression in interpretive exercises such as those undertaken by the Design Centre. However the unit faces considerations shared by other interpretive practitioners such as time limitations, and the varied age and experience base of visitors and this influences their ways of story telling.

Additionally the use of more sophisticated technology makes production costs high. Because of the expense of production and the limitations of visitor groups, the design unit tends to work to programmes of no more than 20 minutes. Visitors (whether they are tourists from New Zealand or overseas) are ‘volunteers’ in the education process, so the entertainment component must be high, techniques ‘inspirational’ and the storyline simple and accessible (Lilleby P.C).

4.5.4 Funding

Issues associated with funding indicate characteristics of market practice and the pressures they impose on the functioning of the unit. The Centre operates on contract as a business unit with each production equaling a concrete measurable product. Current dictates of funding demand the expectation of a ‘dollar’ return on expenditure or the equivalent return in terms of education or understanding. Because any day out of production represents another day to make up, this imposes pressure in operating to timetables, as well as limiting finance available for upgrading techniques and equipment and for in-house skills training programmes.157

Because the unit functions on a contractual basis it is driven to some extent by deadlines and also by the dictates of ‘value for money’ and this permits less flexibility in programme production and timetabling. Both of these factors are cited as issues of constraint which arise in consultation with tangata whenua groups. Pressure from deadlines may involve the need to produce a piece of material in time for use in the busy summer period. Value for money may affect the issue of the story told: whether it answers the need for entertainment, and scientific, historical or cultural integrity.

157 Lilleby noted that many of the drafting people in the Conservancies or private sector have the use of ‘high tech’ graphic equipment and ‘complementary design’ packages which the CDC cannot afford.
4.5.5 Productions

The Design Centre staff are involved with imaginatively presenting the stories of specific places throughout the country. CDC staff hold editorial jurisdiction in productions but their role is as ‘consultants using learnt techniques, to get (Maori) stories across’ (Lilleby P.C). Their concepts arise from empirical experience in interpretation, and from the concern to present entertainment based in information\textsuperscript{158}. The focus and stylistic emphasis in CDC projects is on accessibility and visual impact in order to draw and hold visitor attention.

In line with the recent policy of increased Maori component and sensitivity to cultural concerns, stories concern local history and traditions, and their production involves significantly greater tangata whenua input than was previously the case. Iwi may provide a large component of any part to do with Maori culture or cultural property: they may write, narrate the story, or provide waiata. Local people may work under the (CDC) team direction or have specific requirements of the production, such as indicating the appropriate ancestry of a narrator. Any component of the story that is of Maori input or concern is vetted by the local iwi.

While DOC consultation processes are positive and while recent presentations contain an increasingly larger Maori component, CDC staff retain the right to conceptual and editorial responsibility: ‘the right to say what the story is about, where to start and finish it’ (Lilleby P.C). At times differences have occurred between the staff vision of the finished product, and the input and requirements of local tangata whenua groups which required considerable consultation to resolve.

Some areas of divergence in recent productions concerned time frames set down for discussion and organisation, group and individual negotiation over material, the dictates of entertainment vs the integrity of the material, and the issue of artistic vision vs cultural integrity. These issues affected details of the story, the narrators voice, the singers, and the ‘finish’ of the final product. Although ultimately tangata whenua were pleased with productions, at times it was feared that the dictates of technology and the medium would overcome cultural aspects (Mason P.C\textsuperscript{159}).

\textsuperscript{158} Lilleby commented (P.C): ‘Every story is based on a history story or a natural history story, so the educational material, the information, is there anyway. The techniques used to tell the story comprise the entertainment’.

\textsuperscript{159} This issue was noted in Chapter 2 as a concern in the retention of cultural integrity.

114
Two recent productions have involved close consultation with tangata whenua groups and tell traditional stories relating to Whakapapa (Tongariro National Park) and Punakaiki (Paparoas National Park). Their production processes provide examples of the above issues.

Paparoas

The recent upgrading of the Paparoas' Information Centre at Punakaiki has involved partnership between Kati Waewae and DOC staff with consultation ranging from negotiation to vigorous debate on details of production throughout the process (Lilleby, Mason P.C). Additions to existing material focus on pre-european occupation and travel in the area, as well as offering a Maori perspective on natural history.

The content of new material is in line with current policy to present origin stories of local relevance. In this region the Waitaha stories preceded commonly presented creation stories. The history of the waka of Aoraki was created in te Waipounamu and should therefore be the basis of the interpretive programme (Mason P.C\textsuperscript{160}). Further interpretive material should follow on from and be linked in with the local creation and origin stories many of which were developed as an explanation for local landscape features.

The historical identity that Maori have with their region differs from that experienced by Pakeha, as does the mythology attached to places. Stories function as maps for oral culture and are evident and ever present in the 'physical reality of significant places such as wahi tapu, coastal sites and rivers named in whakatauki, maori stones and trees', as well as other significant forms such as mountains, rivers (Phillip\textsuperscript{161}).

At Punakaiki, alongside upgraded static displays, a new audio-visual programme presents two versions of how local landforms were created: the geological interpretation of the layering of the pancake rocks of Punakaiki, and the Kati Waewae version of how the limestone was laid down. Kati Waewae had significant input into this interpretive programme.

Following the CDC draft outline Kati Waewae submitted their version of the origins of the limestone stacks. Subsequent work involved partnership negotiation which illuminated underlying assumptions

\textsuperscript{160} Mason noted that the Maui stories which came later as an overlay basis over the whole of te Waipounamu were part of later mythologies and immigrations.

\textsuperscript{161} Article: 'Scholars share views on cultural identity.' New Zealand Herald 24.2.92
and perceptions. For tangata whenua groups certain restraints impacted on the integrity of the overall production, as did disparities between their conception and that of the unit staff, the differing bases of skill and experience from which they operated, and the dictates of the media used.

An issue of negotiation lay in the dictates of entertainment which called for the inclusion of the local Kati Waewae creation story, in a ‘basic’ form accessible to visitors; told simply without the inclusion of ‘too many long Maori names which would put visitors off’ (Mason P.C). Tangata whenua were at times said to be reluctant to simplify or edit versions of their stories, and to be more interested in ‘saturation of the story’, than in the ‘entertainment’ of what was produced (Lilleby P.C). For these groups there remained the concern that they did not compromise the integrity of their story and such editing was at times a source of frustration.

Debate rested on two premises: that details of history taken out of context lose their integrity (Taua, Mason P.C) but that such a version is of little use in interpretive terms if the presentation lacks entertainment value or is not accessible to visitors. Compromise was reached over material to be included. They included enough detail to tell the basic stories, but accepted the need to simplify material in acknowledgement that many visitors have no prior experience of oral traditions and lack aural skills.

Timetabling also became a source of frustration, with CDC staff pressured by deadlines, and the dictates of contractual requirements and expecting tangata whenua to feel likewise: an assumption based in the ‘pakeha’ view that time can be compartmentalised into usable components. While Maori people acknowledged the place of timetabled planning, their response was that the process took whatever time was necessary for resolution. The Kaupapa Atawhia Manager noted ‘While Conservancy staff have a partnership directive, bureaucratic requirements place pressure in the form of timetables, budgets... annoying constraints’ (Mason P.C).

Other constraints reflecting differing basic assumptions related to the production of the video soundtrack, a process which also felt the pressure of time limitations. As a fortunate ‘by-product’ of Waitangi Tribunal representation\footnote{The Ngai Tahu Claim (1990).} Kati Waewae had people already trained in waiata related to the story. However hindrances still occurred. Despite organising themselves to the sound studio\footnote{They travelled to the sound studio at their own expense. An appropriate koha or the provision of a bus for the journey would have aided their situation and acknowledged their contribution.}
they were unable to perform their chants because the experience of working in the sound studio was new and intimidating and the production team expected a 'professional' sound (Mason P.C).

Kati Waewae also had specific ideas about introductory and concluding sounds on the programme, wanting to incorporate male and female elements. While this required argument it was seen as necessary in order to retain cultural integrity, especially for a Maori audience. Likewise, Kati Waewae disputed certain significant symbolic sound representations such as the proposed use of an increasing, continuous, round sound, which they identified as representing 'hope', a woman’s hips, at a point where a male sound 'grunts to signify thrusting thighs was needed (Mason P.C).

These examples demonstrate areas where production staff needed to modify their preconceptions, for the finished work must sustain critical hearing in both cultural contexts and have validity to both visitor audience and to the people whose culture is portrayed.

The Paparoas example illustrates pressures which limited timetabling brings to bear on consultative processes and differing perceptions calling for resolution in programme production. These will be examined more fully in Chapter 5. It also indicates some of the positive features of such partnership practice, which despite difficulties encountered in the process, has resulted in the production of an audio-visual which blends the two stories of the area in a vivid and effective way.

**Tongariro**

Another recent CDC production worth reference is that prepared for the Whakapapa Centre in the Tongariro National Park centre. As well as describing the recording of stories of local iwi, this example indicates areas where CDC consultation processes could possibly be improved.

The creation of Whakapapa interpretive material has involved setting down the story of how the mountains came about, why they are held in such spiritual esteem to Maori and why their gifting was so significant. Presentation of the story's strands has involved bringing together two iwi groups: Tuwharetoa and Atihau a Paparangi to tell of the arrival of the mountains and how the Mountains got fire164. Lilleby assumed a producer role in combining the two stories into a mutually acceptable form.

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164 Previous Department of Conservation dealings had been with Ngati Tuwharetoa because of the original gifting of the land by Te Heuheu Tukino. (Thom 1987)
Though unit staff have association with individual Maori as well as iwi liaison people within the department to call on for advice, the negotiations involved in bringing together the two groups highlighted what can be seen as a weakness in bicultural training for CDC staff.

Belief in bicultural outcomes and personal experience of the staff both contribute to bicultural sensitivity. Compared with others in the Department of Conservation who are not required to operate to significant deadlines, CDC staff described the unit as ‘neglected in terms of ‘in house’ training in tikanga Maori. They have attended a cross-cultural seminar but beyond this have experienced little in terms of marae etiquette and tikanga Maori (Lilleby P.C). Consultation over material for inclusion took the form of group and individual meetings, but did not include visiting the marae of either group, a factor which Lilleby (P.C) acknowledged as a possible weakness in their way of gathering information. There was also a lack of prior briefing about the two groups and their relationship.

Consultation involved negotiation on a individual and group basis, and joint and individual meetings with representatives from both iwi. Acknowledging that the pressure of time raised problems, Lilleby found group meetings more productive with less likelihood of a previous decision being rescinded. Lilleby found changes frustrating in the context of the tight timetables and contractual arrangements under which the unit operates and acknowledged the negotiation process as ‘slow...a process that the private sector wouldn’t touch’ (P.C165).

Consensus decision making may take time to effect but it is important to allow for all contributors feel happy with the process of participation. However, dictates of timetabling do vary according to factors associated with each CDC production. An earlier interpretive programme at Tane Atua, concerning Tuhoe people, involved a relatively easy-going process and was largely written and narrated by Tuhoe, who are ‘justly proud’ of their production (Burns, Lilleby P.C).

Despite constraints experienced in the Whakapapa production by both unit and tangata whenua groups, the outcomes have been positive, both in terms of the audio-visual ‘product’ and as in the Tauwhare Pa production, in bringing two iwi groups together and combining their stories into a mutually acceptable form. Nonetheless it is worth considering the issues raised in the process: those of time constraints, the need for all parties to feel comfortable with treatment of material, negotiation

165 Gosling’s experience endorses this. Gosling cited possible reasons for change of stance as not wanting to appear unreasonable in a group situation, unwillingness to express private doubts within a group, and the question of who one negotiates with: iwi or hapu. Lilleby did not offer an attempt to analyse underlying reasons.
practices, the issue of staff training and the realities of applying partnership requirements in an institution which lacks Maori representation in significant numbers and where staff commitment to bicultural directives is dependant for implementation on staff goodwill yet there is limited training. These issues will be further examined in Chapter 5.

4.5.6  Information Centre Displays
CDC shares with other agencies the responsibility for production of other types of display (such as static displays) in information centres\(^{166}\). These also indicate an increased Maori component in recent times. Current DOC Interpretation Strategy indicates that iwi should be involved in any future Visitor Centre development (Molloy 1993:67). Where early displays showed a conspicuous lack of precontact history and cultural material, some recent displays carry a greater component of relevant material. Some incorporate traditional crafts such as carving and weaving within the display.

While display content is to some extent dependent on the degree of local Maori presence, information centres are modifying their displays to include material deemed of greater cultural sensitivity. I consider displays at the centres at Arthur’s Pass and Waikaremoana by way of example.

Arthur’s Pass
The Arthur’s Pass Visitors’ Centre represents an example of the older type of presentation focusing on natural features of the area, the flora and fauna and largely post-contact history. The audio-visual presentation focuses almost exclusively on the development of the Pass subsequent to its ‘discovery’ by Arthur Dudley Dobson in 1864 and has virtually no Maori component. Other aspects of history displayed include the development of the tunnel to Otira, and the region’s association with climbing and alpine sports. Until recently the Maori component at the Centre has been limited to a fairly small, though vivid, static display depicting the story of the separation of Rangi and Papa and a short accompanying text.

Following consultation with local iwi and in line with the intent to include a greater Maori perspective and relevant local themes, this panel has recently been replaced by a display portraying the journey by Maori over the mountain range to the source of pounamu on the West Coast. Such a depiction acknowledges that while there may not be strong Maori identification with this particular pass,

\(^{166}\) Static displays now usually follow a basic formula on themes of local natural and human history. Their format often involves a blend of murals, photos and other relevant material displayed on a plain background overlaid with perspex panel containing a screen printed text.

119
nonetheless mountain passes were known and regularly used as access routes to Te Tai Poutini, the West Coast\textsuperscript{167}. As well, local relevance is portrayed in local landscape and flora and fauna. Traditional media are used in the panel: it is mainly carved and painted, but incorporates weaving and design symbols (such as the koru)\textsuperscript{168}.

The way the panel is presented affirms tangata whenua rights to determine how their stories are told. At present the piece has no explanatory text: the intent is that staff at the Centre should talk to visitors about the piece. It is displayed thus in accord with Maori traditions of oral interpretation and the belief that spoken explanation will make the piece live and encourage personal interaction (Mason P.C)\textsuperscript{169}. While the ideal is that the piece should be interpreted orally, again it is dependent on staff goodwill and availability and staff are often pressured by visitor numbers and other responsibilities.

Two other recent features which display a Maori perspective in this visitor centre are a tribute in a recent Suffrage Year display to Raureka, a Ngati Wairangi woman who in the 1700's crossed the mountains (via nearby Browning Pass), establishing the significant link with the coast and source of pounamu.

Additionally a Ngai Tahu interpreter was involved in oral and interactive presentations (including an ‘in costume’ slide presentation) in the 1992-3 Summer Programme.

These presentations mark some changes to an interpretive display which has until recently lacked any significant Maori component. A suggested reason for limited Maori component is that there was little recent Maori presence in the region. Nonetheless the mountains and mountain passes were known and used by Maori and the region held significance for certain iwi groups. Interpretive displays need to record this.

\textsuperscript{167} Cave shelters near Castle Hill were known to be used, and significant artifacts; a flax pack and sandals have been recovered from there. By comparison with Arthur’s Pass, recently installed, on site interpretive panels at Castle Hill accord equal space to Maori history of the area, and details of local iwi, to that apportioned to the post-contact history.

\textsuperscript{168} This panel is one of a number carved by the Art Department at Breen’s Intermediate School in Christchurch and given to interpretive display centres and marae throughout the country.

\textsuperscript{169} Regional names in the Canterbury Conservancy Office were for similar reasons displayed only in Maori, to encourage visitors and staff to seek explanation, and to encourage explanation by informed staff. Some staff have felt threatened by the inclusion of only Maori names; an ironic situation given the way Maori language was treated in earlier times.
Waikaremoana

By comparison with Arthur’s Pass, the visitors’ centre at Aniwaniwa at Lake Waikaremoana shows considerable evidence of local Maori presence, both historic and current. The Urewera region has always had limited Pakeha settlement, a factor largely attributed to the region’s inaccessibility. This has contributed to its retention of significant forests.

Much of the centre’s interpretive focus concerns Maori interdependence with the forest, and the lives of significant Tuhoe figures: Te Kooti and Rua Kenana. Displays, formulated in the early 1980s through the Conservation Design Centre, attempt to project some of the mystery and spiritual presence of the forests, and of the struggle for cultural survival by these noted figures. These displays involved consultation with Tuhoe and Kahungungu iwi (Molloy 1993:67).

The display layout follows a sequence which leads visitors from material on the original Maori occupation, to the arrival of the missionaries, then on to more recent local history. Material on the land wars and Te Kooti is presented sympathetically, recognising the severe bias of early historical accounts in favour of the perceptions of European settlers. The section on Te Kooti acknowledges his significance both locally and nationally. There is a large section about the prophet Rua Kenana, his beliefs and religion and the occupation of his sacred stronghold at Maungapohatu.

The static displays feature a section on Maori use of the forest and lake which includes examples of hunting spears, tukutuku weaving, fishhooks and greenstone sinkers. There is also pictorial representation of a lakeside pa based on an original painting or photo from the area.

Other displays involve focus on the scientific aspects of local geology and flora and fauna, particularly birds. The many windows framing views of the forest are intended to give the sense of its constant presence. The audiovisual presents thought provoking, spiritual and mystical images for the forest. It has a high Maori content because of the predominant Maori history and local population (Hennessey. P.C).

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139 Until the 1920s and 1930’s the region was virtually inaccessible. Maori were generally unwilling to act as guides because of previous negative experiences associated with Te Kooti, Rua Kenana and the scorched earth policy of early European settlers.
Live interpretation within the park rests largely in the hands of park staff, though they have been keen to encourage tangata whenua involvement. Staff involved in interpretive and educational programmes at Aniwaniwa from December 1986 - March 1989 found a great source of help in 'informed and knowledgeable tangata whenua' (Hennessey P.C).

Visits to the local marae, Waimako, were organised with the help and consent of elders. Other tangata whenua input included involvement in class programmes in schools, or programmes within the centre for the many visiting school groups, by local Tuhoe who gave talks about native plants, their uses as medicine and materials for piupiu, dyes, firelighters and perfumes. They demonstrated methods of snaring birds, collected plants, did flax work and demonstrated games and toys. Involvement was voluntary though some received pay though local Access schemes, such as gardening at the Centre.

Some, because of shyness, needed coaxing in frontline involvement, initially deferring to the professional skills of park staff and preferring to support staff initiated programmes. Such programmes helped to consolidate self confidence and to recognise the potential for interpretive ventures using traditional and local knowledge and skills. (Hennesey P.C). Such involvement permitted skills development and recognition for potential use in future tourist ventures of their own, such as guided walks and boat trips on lake.

DOC staff throughout the country have noted that personal or live interpretation is a 'growth' industry and the department employed a number of 'roving interpreters' at Aoraki (Mt Cook) during the (1991-92), summer tourist season, available for visitor questions and to outline aspects of interest. While DOC is currently one of the foremost interpretive agencies, the potential exists for other groups to initiate interpretive programmes throughout the country\(^{171}\).

Cultural interpretation offers the means to further public understanding, and to offer real outcomes in terms of employment for local tangata whenua groups. In the DOC examples surveyed in this chapter, most tangata whenua groups involved were not directly paid for their skills and services, though DOC has among its employees regional Kaupapa Atawhai managers, who are active in promoting and presenting a Maori perspective and in negotiating with iwi groups. Issues of payment and employment are examined in Chapter 5.

\(^{171}\) Increasingly other private agencies are offering interpretive programmes in natural areas.
The programme at Aniwaniwa indicates the degree of interpretive exposure and involvement which can arise in a locality with strong Maori presence. It is one of the few places where the day to day uses of natural resources has been interpreted (Molloy 1993). It also indicates the means by which interpretive staff can promote the development of networks and skills, which can contribute towards positive future outcomes, such as employment, for tangata whenua.

Though both Tauwhare Pa and Mangere Mountain programmes share the above aims, their operation has seen a different initial focus. These site interpretation examples demonstrate differing techniques and media, ranging from those used in traditional on-site panel presentations (used in a number of historic sites around the country) to the media and techniques used in school based field trips.

4.5 Summary of Concepts

This chapter has surveyed a range of interpretive programmes developed by the Department of Conservation. The programmes and displays exhibit changes resulting from the intent to include a Maori perspective and are in many respects the result of increased dialogue with tangata whenua groups.

The case study examples indicate aspects of developing interpretive displays (Tauwhare Pa, Maunga Mangere), the activities and concerns in school based programmes (Maunga Mangere), and the nature of displays and audio-visual presentations developed for centres around the country.

Changes in interpretive presentations in recent times include the telling of more localised origin stories and traditions (Taneatua and Aniwaniwa, Paparoa, Tongariro) which explore elements of tangata whenua relationship with the land. Other aspects involve the inclusion of iwi history alongside that of post-contact history of the area (Taneatua, Castle Hill), attempts to restore interpersonal interpretation which is seen as more in line with Maori oral traditions (Arthur's Pass, Taneatua, Mangere), consultation with tangata whenua about their wishes and perceptions with regard to all regions, and increased Maori presence in the management of programmes and in the research and presentation of material.

Programme aims and processes can be seen to answer some aspects of bicultural practice as outlined in Chapter 2. Like other interpretive displays, site interpretation programmes such as those of Tauwhare Pa and Maunga Mangere seek to contribute to knowledge of the early history of this

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These are a few, but by no means the only examples of sites which illustrate aspects mentioned.
country, illustrating aspects of lifestyle, skills and achievements of the early inhabitants. They seek to break down assimilative assumptions and prejudice by endeavouring to conserve and enhance the mana of traditional sites and cultural material, to present material in terms of Maori values and processes and to do so with significant Maori management, research and teaching input.

An aspect of bicultural education lies in conserving traditional sites, to counter past and continuing destruction of Maori sites through neglect, inappropriate management or deliberate destruction as has occurred for agricultural or industrial development (Bulmer, Veart P.C). Public education into the value of such sites helps dispel currently held myths such as the fear of some landowners that notification of a ‘historic site’ may lead to Treaty claims being made on that site\textsuperscript{172}. Allaying such fears is a matter of public education and sites such as Tauwhare Pa are useful in making this known (Bowers P.C).

At Tauwhare Pa, on-site interpretive panels were initially established featuring a blend of lifestyle themes and local traditions. This programme is now being followed by more interpersonal and interactive programmes for school pupils and other visiting groups. A concept blending marae stay and site visit is under consideration by Ngati Awa who would manage such a programme.

The current programme has seen acknowledgement by Department of Conservation staff of its value in terms of recognising the position that Maori have with respect to this site. There has been increased involvement for tangata whenua in the running of programmes connected with the site, and increased liaison between tangata whenua groups associated with the site. The programme has enhanced mana and visibility and management involvement for tangata whenua and allowed for interpretation in a manner which sits comfortably with Maori perceptions.

On a broader level it has achieved a dialogue between tangata whenua and DOC personnel in the region in a way which exemplifies a more genuine partnership than token consultation. Both groups have benefitted from consultation as well as from a blend of research input using the complementary conventions and skills of historians and archaeologists to augment material derived from local history and tradition.

\textsuperscript{172} Section 46 of the Historic Places Act states that it shall not be lawful for any person to destroy, damage or modify the whole or any part of any archaeological site, whether or not the site is a registered site. Wherever modification or development of an archaeological site occurs or is intended, the owner must seek permission to modify.
School based visits such as those to Maunga Mangere use preparatory and follow up material to consolidate knowledge. In the school based programme, simple language learning and waiata and karakia are included alongside values of relevance in Maori terms: an iwi basis, local history and settlement traditions, cultural values of manaakitanga and aroha and the recognition of spiritual aspects (Toka, Paratene, Niania P.C). With regard to Mangere Mountain the pilot programme focused on school group visits, allowing local involvement at an economically modest level while plans for further interpretation of the site were developed and the means to administer both the interactive and display programmes were explored, as were issues of partnership and site management.

The pilot programmes of 1991 and 1992 were aimed, like school visits to Tauwhare Pa, to give students insights into the ways early inhabitants lived and to help them to appreciate some of the geographic forces and influences which shaped the lives of those people: the sources of food, the shape of the landscape, the adjoining sea and forest margins. Teaching aids were intended to reinforce concepts broached on the field trip.

The examples offered relied for effectiveness on the input of Maori knowledge and teachers without which they were acknowledged as significantly the poorer, in terms of integrity and understanding of cultural perspective and history (Sandoy P.C). However presentations also drew on the resources of other traditions, and the basis of differing skills and focus of interpreters naturally to some extent determined the nature of their input.

Like the Tauwhare Pa programme, research and educational focus involved a blend of knowledge from traditional, scientific and archival sources. Interpretation is undertaken from the basis of the skills of staff within the Conservation Department, and naturally reflects their abilities as well as their predilections. The DOC interpretive programmes surveyed drew on various scientific disciplines to contribute in complementary manner alongside traditional knowledge sources. Archaeology, history and geography contributed alongside culture in providing a contextual basis for understanding.

School programmes were intended to address past issues of historical and cultural exclusion. Trial programmes were received enthusiastically by the schools involved. Students were said to have gained an increased perspective into the early history of their local area.
For Tamaki Ki Raro and other Maori involved, benefits were intended in terms of heightening the mana of the mountain and of its local people, in terms of Maori input into teaching programmes, in terms of employment opportunities and in terms of ultimately shared project management.

In terms of outcomes for Maori, the programme has seen input in planning and teaching by Maori teachers; input which has been acknowledged as an essential component of the programme. While some (short-term) employment opportunities were created in the programme development, the trial programme so far has depended largely on the input of DOC staff with varying amounts of time made available from their overall time allocation, and from the input of (Maori) teachers from other institutions. Funding available to the project director has not continued to be available, although funding for a teacher’s salary is anticipated as part of this year’s budgetary rounds.

At present the project has reached the situation of the establishment of the administering Trust, with at least 50% Maori representation, which will be ultimately responsible for administration and fundraising. In line with contemporary market expectations the programme is in time anticipated to be self funding with resources envisaged to derive from sponsorship. Issues of funding will be examined in Chapter 5.

The project has seen varying degrees of commitment by the Auckland Conservancy staff, because in its early stages it has existed as one among a number of programmes which vie for attention in terms of resource and personnel commitment. In this respect it shares the constraints placed on all historic and cultural interpretive programmes within the department. These aspects will also be examined in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Beyond these site interpretation programmes, Conservation Department programmes incorporating a Maori perspective involve Conservation Design Centre (CDC) productions and displays destined for presentation in National Park Information Centres. In some cases the bicultural perspective of CDC programmes derived from the telling of iwi stories alongside other stories of an area. Where past presentations carried inferences that Maori stories were ‘mythology’ and by implication not to be taken as seriously as ‘real’ scientific explanations, the two stories now are presented side by side.

The need for audio-visuals to be accessible to varied visitor groups has resulted in the simplification of local stories, but ‘rigorous consultation’ (Mason P.C) has ensured the stories and media retain
integrity for both Maori and non-Maori audiences. The nature and content of material was vetted by tangata whenua and any editing done with their concurrence.

However in CDC presentations, final editorial policy was determined according to the interpretive expertise of CDC staff and the intended programme venue and medium, for programmes were expected to have a major entertainment component in order to be accessible to anticipated visitor groups. Caution must be extended in such instances to avoid material becoming 'popularised' (Bulmer P.C).

As described CDC input reflects the greater sophistication in media techniques seen in interpretation in recent years as a result of the increasing profile of multi-media productions in today’s society. Programmes also reflect the trend of inclusion of advanced technology as response to consumer expectation. In this day and age exposure to these techniques is regarded as the norm and such media tend to be included and accepted as more stimulating than static displays or interpersonal interpretation. In this respect, these media can be seen as moving away from traditional Maori ways of interpreting. However they do permit continued exposure of iwi stories to a wide visitor audience.

In terms of partnership practice it was acknowledged by Lilleby (CDC) that possibly shortcomings existed in their liaison with tangata whenua groups, in terms of time allocation, venue flexibility and background knowledge of the groups, which pointed to assumptions made from a background of predominantly monocultural behaviour (Lilleby P.C). Other aspects (related to time and money) which frustrated the liaison process somewhat, serve to highlight the ways in which bicultural practice may suffer under the dictates of a market economy. These will be examined more fully later.

In terms of outcomes, programmes seek to enhance mana for Maori by association with the skills and achievements of their tupuna and the involvement and visibility of local people and traditional values and processes. They seek to achieve beneficial outcomes for tangata whenua in terms of input into research, teaching and management of interpretation programmes and skills development. They also seek to establish partnership in programme management. That difficulties occur relates in large measure to the institutional structure and economic requirements imposed on the Conservation Department by its status as a government agent but also concerns the relative priority placed on interpretation by both DOC management and Maori groups, and the differing perceptions and priorities of these groups.
4.6 Conclusion

Conservation Department heritage interpretation programmes differ from the Chapter 3 examples in that they are based in bicultural intent arising from Treaty obligations and in responsibility to conserve and administer a large part of the country’s historic and natural heritage. Interpretation comprises an important aspect of this function and has considerable potential for social education and in influencing conservation and cultural attitudes.

However in practice interpretation represents only a small part of DOC’s role in applying treaty responsibilities, as well as of its responsibilities overall, and in dealing with tangata whenua groups, other issues are presently deemed to be more important. Currently DOC’s treaty response is less in terms of presentation of material to the public in the form of interpretive programmes and more focused on issues of control and ownership of land. Hence a Maori view is becoming evident in marine reserves, coastal planning and advocacy areas but although DOC currently carries responsibility for a significant amount of New Zealand’s interpretation, good examples of cross-cultural interpretation are as yet limited: the case studies constitute some of the best examples.

In the case studies though individual approaches vary, certain themes recur concerning the way material is presented, and the involvement of tangata whenua groups. These concern programme funding, payment, timetabling, the nature of tangata whenua input into programmes and the partnership interaction between the Department of Conservation and tangata whenua groups. These themes will be more fully examined in the following chapters.
CHAPTER 5

ISSUES IN INTERPRETIVE PLANNING AND PRACTICE

5.1 Introduction
The Case studies of Chapters 3 and 4 highlight a number of issues which arise in the planning and practice of cultural and historical interpretation. These can be broadly grouped under the questions posed in Chapter 1: Who decides what history is to be told? How it should be told? What are the educational and management outcomes?

To these questions can be added further considerations as different ways of treating material, planning and processing emerge at the interface of cultural interpretation. Included are questions of significance, financial issues in the provision of skills and project funding, pressures of times and budget, the venue and mode of presentation and the ways in which traditional values are applied in contemporary society.

Questions arise about how to interpret culture in ways which are accessible to visitor groups, yet retain integrity and are of positive benefit those whose culture is depicted. Answers to these questions concern the philosophic underpinnings of interpretation, and the examination of issues, and assumptions and value systems underlying particular programmes.

In this paper there are distinct groupings of interpretive programme: museum displays, programmes organised by Maori groups, and those organised by government agents in response to Treaty obligations of partnership. They demonstrate differing aspects of biculturalism and tino rangatiratanga. This chapter indicates some of the ways in which tino rangatiratanga and bicultural intent find expression in these various programmes, and the ways in which assimilative practices still exert themselves, particularly through market economic factors.

All the interpretive programmes studied showed some elements of constraint deriving from the context of today’s society and based in the operating parameters of the agency. In museums it is seen in the nature of museums as themselves cultural artifacts, in DOC programmes in attempts to apply partnership practices while operating within economic parameters dictated by government, in the Rotorua programmes in response to the requirements of the context of both the tourism industry and

129
contemporary New Zealand society. However despite limiting factors, programmes indicated positive changes from prior assimilative practice.

Positive changes were evident in the aims of programmes and in the values and processes which interpreters applied to source material. All the programmes indicated an increased Maori component, greater reference to Maori values, processes and iwi histories in local stories, and greater Maori involvement in presentation and participation.

Aims, values and processes together indicate the approaches interpreters bring to material. Management processes reveal the degree and type of Maori participation and the ways traditional knowledge and values are applied\(^{124}\). All these aspects demonstrate ways in which interpreters apply value systems. In order to examine them, I will briefly reiterate interpretive aims and then consider some issues common to the programmes.

5.2 Aims of Interpretation

5.2.1 General Aims

As outlined in Chapter 1 interpretation aims to provide visitor experiences which blend information with inspiration, to challenge visitors' interest and to take them beyond their current level of understanding. By providing entertaining, stimulating and meaningful visitor experiences, interpretation can significantly contribute in terms of shaping attitudes and consciousness raising.

5.2.2 Conservation Aims

The programmes surveyed blend bicultural aims with Tilden’s significant theme of achieving conservation ends through enhancing understanding, whether it was of a site, or of cultural material, processes and values such as skills, crafts, language.

Conservation ends varied. Museums house and preserve cultural material and its history and by reaching large visitor groups promote an ethos of valuing and protecting (\textit{Taua P.C}). Rotorua groups use interpretation as a means to keep traditions, language and skills alive, and this conservation aim underlies all of their programmes. In Whakarewarewa village conservation of traditional land and lifestyle constitutes a central aim of interpretive programmes. Te Mana o Te Maunga Mangere seeks

\(^{124}\) It is accepted that these categories will overlap: issues of control over the material and process inevitably arise from values and their application.
to conserve a valuable historic site, and knowledge of the area’s early history; Tauwhare Pa site interpretation exists in part to aid conservation of other early settlement sites. All aim to enhance conservation by dispelling myths fostered by assimilation and by education into Maori values.

5.2.3 Bicultural Aims

Bicultural aims were twofold, concerning educational aspects and other outcomes. Educational aspects involved confronting and changing monocultural assumptions and premises, enhancing public understanding of bicultural issues and restoring a balance to history. Educational aspects included the decolonisation of history, the inclusion of a Maori perspective and the introduction to Maori values and beliefs, processes and regulatory mechanisms. The practical application of such aims concerned the material taught and the teaching and management processes adopted. Dialogue between interpreters and tangata whenua groups was a necessary prerequisite at all stages.\(^\text{175}\)

Museums achieved these aims by inclusion of material which had relevance in Maori terms: used Maori names, was geographically specific, referred to iwi and traditional associations, depended on Maori research and presentation, and enhanced the mana of material and associated groups.

Rotorua programmes achieved these aims by demonstrating traditional practices and skills, by displaying a model village and wharenui, by live concerts and demonstrations, by marae visits, by explanations of local history, by interpersonal interpretation and the (albeit brief) display of manaakitanga, and by the inclusion of Maori language.

DOC programmes achieved educational aims by the inclusion of a greater Maori component in displays, by an increased focus on local history, by improving liaison with iwi groups and consultation over material for programmes, by increased visibility for Maori involved in interpretive programmes, by increased interpersonal interpretation, by the inclusion of waiata and karakia and some Maori language, and by having Maori teachers present programmes.

The achievement of beneficial outcomes for Maori involved the endorsement of tangata whenua rights through greater control over cultural material in determining significance, whether material should be interpreted and by whom, what aspects should be presented in interpretation, and a significant component of Maori research, teaching and management input.

\(^{175}\) Dialogue is described by Freire (1972) as the encounter of people ‘addressed to the common task of acting and learning’ and consultation as a ‘permanent relationship of dialogue with equal participatory rights’.

131
Its other aspect concerns redressing the unequal power equation in institutional structures and includes factors such as management input and employment opportunities, and the enhancement of mana.

Rotorua programmes were those in which management decisions were made exclusively by Maori and programmes demonstrated beneficial outcomes in terms of maintenance of valued traditions, lands and lifestyle, and the reestablishment of traditional skills and language. Valued traditions are included in the everyday functioning of both the Arts and Craft Institute and of Whakarewarewa village. While these programmes demonstrated differences in focus, an essential component was the aspect of choice in how material was presented, and in how groups responded to and reflected their contemporary context.

Museum and DOC programmes demonstrated an increased Maori component and participation in presentation, choice of material for inclusion, focus on the localised concerns of iwi Maori, improving consultation between staff and iwi, liaison and skills development for tangata whenua groups. The mana of iwi today and of their tupuna was enhanced.

5.3 Shared Issues

5.4.1 Introduction

Certain common themes and issues were shared by all the programmes. These include management aspects, differences in perception and constraints that were manifest in programme development. Factors which influence and constrain interpretive programmes are imposed by context and institutional value systems, the nature of visitor groups and other such issues, and these factors to some extent determine the degree to which bicultural intent becomes bicultural practice.

Programmes examined were affected by whether they were totally Maori programmes or came under the auspices of other educational or conservation agencies, and also by the resource skills and background of contributing interpreters and planners.

The anticipated visitor group also determined the nature of programmes with some programmes aimed at primary school age children: others at ‘voluntary’ visitor groups of mixed background and
experience\textsuperscript{176}. In most cases it was accepted that the dictates of timetabling, visitor numbers and prior visitor background would limit the depth of cross-cultural experience. Further constraints related to operating within the context of an increasingly market based society.

In some respects these factors reflect the differing perspectives and skills that interpreters bring to programmes. The ‘Handbook of Environmental Education’ (1976: 1) notes that

‘Perspective is our way of looking at things, as seen in the existence of time perspective, space perspective. Various disciplines have their own perspective, as witnessed by the sometimes divergent views of economists and ecologists. Cultures are characterised by their special ways of reacting to the environment’.

At present a scientific focus still prevails in most Conservation Department interpretation, and research and presentation themes focus on geology, geography, history and botany. ‘Today’s thematic organisation of visitors’ centres reflects a standard formula: Maori history (legends and remote history), European history, vegetation, geology and other relevant sciences (Burns P.C).

However interpretive practice is constantly accompanied by changes which arise as a result of learning experiences, and increasingly practitioners are recognising and reflecting the special concerns and relationships that Maori traditionally have with their land and environment. A staff member observed: ‘The Treaty is a good thing because it forces us to be bicultural’ (Rennison P.C). These changes are gradually being evidenced in the department’s policy and activities, including interpretive programmes.

Early archaeological site provisions in the Historic Places Act (introduced in 1975) reflected the current focus on sites as a resource for scientific investigation\textsuperscript{177}. The more recent traditional site provisions of the 1980 Act represent the first legislation in New Zealand to recognise sites which are important for intangible, non-physical reasons and which contribute to recognising the special concerns and heritage of tangata whenua with respect to historical sites\textsuperscript{178}.

\textsuperscript{176} As noted visitor background and experience will to some extent determine the nature of interpretive presentation, and may limit the depth of cultural knowledge conveyed. School based programmes allow for preparation and follow up exercises not available to other interpretive programmes or displays.

\textsuperscript{177} Addis (1988:30) noted ‘Essentially an archaeologist regards archaeological sites as a potential source of scientific information’.

\textsuperscript{178} Chapter 5 ‘Historic Places Legislation Review’. 1988
The reviewed site provisions indicate a difference in perspective between traditional Maori values and the scientific ethos underlying archaeology and conservation attitudes, and also between past and present approaches to traditional sites. These differences are also becoming evident in interpretive practice.

Presentation of cultural material reflects issues of ownership and control, both in the research and sourcing of material and in its presentation. In the interpretation of sites or cultural material questions arise over who should tell stories and where they should be presented? Who should decide what is to be interpreted? How is significance determined? How do the processes adopted reflect differing cultural values? In answering these questions I consider the ways agencies approach these issues, and the ways they reflect on ownership and treatment of cultural property, and liaison with iwi Maori.

5.4.2 Who Should Interpret?
Differences in perception are naturally reflected by who determines significance and the criteria used. Early claims of significance attributed to Maori sites came largely from Pakeha academics often without reference to Maori, and coincided with the assumption that it was a natural consequence of scientific discovery that they be rendered public, described or explained: interpreted (Rennison P.C). In recent years, as with other indigenous peoples, there has been considerable discussion over who should interpret Maori history and cultural material.

Upitis in ‘Interpreting Cross-Cultural Sites’ (1989:53) noted with reference to native Australians that ‘Interpretation of sites can be a sensitive issue among Aboriginal people, the tourist industry and organisations who manage natural and cultural resources. The choice of whether to interpret Aboriginal sites and why to do so, is an expression of control over those sites and so determines what level of visitor access will be permitted, what messages may be conveyed and what techniques may be most appropriate for interpretation’.

The same is true of New Zealand sites, and historical and cultural material. Past interpretation endorsed assimilative practices, and control was retained by (largely pakeha) academics. Information given out did not enhance bicultural understanding, nor did it recognise the right of indigenous people to own their culture and history.

Past interpretive programmes reflected the ad hoc nature of practice at the time, and the enthusiastic if somewhat naive assumption that an observation or find belonged in the area of scientific discovery: it was therefore good to render it public. One simply went ahead and did it (Rennison P.C).
The assumption of the right to interpret traditional material and that one had suitable knowledge for adequate interpretation is increasingly questioned by Maori and its monocultural presumption recognised (O’Regan, Te Awe Kotuku). Orange (Seminar 1991) has noted that those who present and interpret history need to be sensitively disposed towards their subject. Others contend that only Maori should tell Maori stories. Past Pakeha assumption of the right to tell Maori stories, and the manner and timing of them has been questioned (O’Regan 1985, Brailsford, Para, Molloy P.C).

In interpretive programmes such issues concern both research and presentation. A measure of interpretation initially occurs in researching and organising material. In researching and presenting histories, interpreters need to recognise that more than one history exists, be sensitively disposed to the topic, the site, and those who have a vested interest and know where to seek information and where not to interfere (Orange Ibid, Gosling, Devlin P.C).

Regarding research into New Zealand history, Devlin (P.C) points to several considerations. Research into relatively modern history (1840 onwards) can usually bring forth material from both archival and oral sources. With earlier material interpreters are dealing in the realm of ‘myths and legends’, and there are two aspects: the ‘fireside versions’ to which everyone has access, and the esoteric versions which are sacred to and in terms of tangata whenua.

Maori may have reservations about interpreting material, which relate to esoteric knowledge or are based in concerns about the possibility of inappropriate treatment of site or material. In some cases Maori may prefer significance to remain a private concern, feeling that the level of public comprehension is not adequate to perceive significance in Maori terms and that interpretation will be limited by the perspective of the interpreter (Brailsford P.C179).

With regard to who is approached for knowledge, those involved in site development and interpretation should be those holding mana whenua (Brailsford, Tua P.C). Where sites are of earlier iwi the approach should be to the tangata whenua180.

However while interpreters may seek the help of tangata whenua to aid in the process of understanding the sites, certain reasons may make this difficult for elders.

179 This endorses O’Regan’s question of whether it is the right time for sites to be interpreted.
180 Iwi Maori have clearly defined processes for determining tangata whenua status.
‘The site may be the garden of a village built centuries before by another iwi, and therefore not theirs to interpret. A pa may have been the refuge of a former enemy and even if it is a home pa, blood spilt on it may prohibit easy access to the histories of the place. The elder approached may not have the tohungatanga to teach the things asked of him or her as knowledge was entrusted to a very few. The problem is to know who carries the knowledge. Furthermore, until the climate arrives for such knowledge to be released, those who know may allow us to come to our own conclusions and proceed with our own assumptions’ (Brailsford P.C).

Such issues underpin the need for caution and sensitivity in the matter of dependence of Pakeha agencies on ‘a Maori expert’ as conduit for ‘the Maori perspective.’ (Brailsford, Taua P.C). It is important to ensure that the people approached are correct in Maori terms.

While tangata whenua may not necessarily be available to tell the stories they need to agree to what is acceptable public information and such material must have as its base that it is written and presented by competent historians who are members of the relevant tribe (Molloy, Taua P.C).

Tribal affiliation is important and stories must be those that iwi are comfortable with. Experience at Tauwhare Pa, Tongariro and Mangere Mountain attests to the fact that at times different stories exist because more than one iwi group have traditional association with particular places or that there are at times issues of difference as to who is the appropriate source of knowledge in certain places (Taua, Gosling P.C).

This may result in several stories being told, as is seen in case study examples at Punakaiki, or a simplified version which is acceptable to all interested groups, as seen in Tauwhare Pa. Frustration may occur when material is abbreviated or told out of context (Taua, Lilleby, Mason P.C).

In examples involving the Department of Conservation, those interviewed felt confident that there were ways of achieving concurrence as long as staff extended goodwill and sensitivity to rights of local people and consulted openly with all concerned tangata whenua groups. (Lilleby, Taua, Gosling P.C). Productive liaisons between iwi groups have occurred as a result of developing

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181 Gosling cited openness to all groups, access for all groups to relevant information (for example from research) and a lack of partiality as aiding this process.
interpretive exercises. The contribution of Kaupapa Atawhai managers\textsuperscript{182} to the consultation process was acknowledged as valuable (Gosling P.C).

Considerations such as these underline the need for agencies such as DOC to move with sensitivity, acknowledging that material is the cultural property of tangata whenua, regardless of its status in law (Taua P.C). Sensitivity to these issues also rests with researchers like archaeologists: those interviewed acknowledged this responsibility as critical (Addis 1988, Bain, Bulmer P.C\textsuperscript{185}).

5.4.2 The Contribution of Complementary skills

In the programmes surveyed, the benefits of using a blend of skills to elicit information about the past was accepted. The material portrayed often represented a blend of traditional (historical) story with descriptive accounts of the material aspects of day to day lifestyle of early inhabitants: the foods they ate and the places where they lived. In these areas archaeology has a particular contribution to make which is in general complementary to the kind of knowledge passed on in traditional histories.

Wilson (1987:12) noted that

The areas of life illuminated by archaeology and tradition are different and many Maori now appreciate that archaeology is a legitimate and useful way to reveal parts of their past not contained in their traditional histories, and that the findings of archaeology do not infringe on Maori ownership of and distinctively Maori uses of that past. Archaeologists and the guardians of tribal knowledge are alike in coming to recognise that each has valuable knowledge to contribute.

While O'Regan noted a loss of cultural confidence which resulted from cultural colonisation by academics\textsuperscript{184}, scientists and academics working in these areas in recent years have come to regard

\textsuperscript{182} DOC has undertaken the employment of Kaupapa Atawhai managers (often referred to as Iwi Liaison officers) in each conservancy who liaise with tangata whenua groups over issues of concern to Maori within the DOC estate.

\textsuperscript{183} Wilson (1987:12) noted: 'Without deference to Maori perceptions of the past, archaeology can offend against Maori pride and sensitivity. Maori people are acting of right when they require that archaeological investigation in New Zealand proceed only with Maori concurrence and on terms acceptable to them'.

\textsuperscript{184} O'Regan (1987:144) noted that 'increasingly the person descended from that knowledge ... is distanced by social class, by education and by circumstances from the sources of modern scholars ... The demography of modern Aotearoa suggests that for a generation or more Maori people are going to feel inadequate in dealing with the past, breaking the grip that scholars have on them and asserting with confidence their own heritage'.
their role as less gatekeepers than carrying responsibility to render knowledge accessible to the public,
and more specifically to those groups to whom such knowledge rightfully belongs. Therefore those
involved in the scientific disciplines of archaeology, history and ethnology are increasingly sensitive
to tangata whenua wishes with regard to cultural sites and material (Bulmer, Bain P.C).

Likewise recent educational trends have been more toward empowering than gatekeeping:
archaeologists noted their responsibility to work toward preservation of these sites, and to contribute
to bicultural understanding by sharing their knowledge in an accessible manner (Bulmer P.C). They
also recognised their own role as students in the educative process, reflecting Freire’s concept of co-
intentional education: the focus is becoming inclusive rather than exclusive with empowerment of
others replacing control.

In the interpretive field it was noted that iwi groups saw value in the inclusion of material from
sources which complemented their traditional knowledge but a crucial aspect lay in the nature of
tangata whenua input into programmes (Bulmer, Gosling, Sandoy P.C).

5.4.3 Participation
The Rotorua examples best demonstrated the aspect of choice which characterises autonomy or
genuine partnership practice. Although these programmes differed in focus and management structure
both demonstrated valued traditions, both exemplified the protection of taonga: land, language and
skills, both had positive outcomes in terms of employment and skills training and retention of
community and whanau support. Choice and preference as to mode of operation were exercised in
achieving these outcomes.

At his address ‘Maori Values and Park Values’ 183, Tamaroa Nikora observed

    Participation is a difficult matter for minorities... People don’t participate unless they see fair
opportunities of being heard.

Others likewise noted that it is naive and unrealistic to assume that tangata whenua will automatically
accept the good intent of agencies like the Department of Conservation. (Gosling, Smitheren P.C).
Relationships of goodwill and trust take time to build. Iwi groups need to see some benefit or reason
to participate in outcomes such as increased visibility, programme participation and the more genuine
reflection of their perspective, or in areas such as skills development and employment opportunities.

183 1984 Seminar ‘People in Parks’.
Liaison processes have been undertaken by Conservation officers working in different fields, as well as Kaupapa Atawhai managers and these form the basis of evolving partnerships.

Genuine partnership practice involves working from a basis of equality and recognising as equal the contributory skills and input of participating groups. Such recognition presupposes the desire to participate. In this study some iwi groups indicated (temporary) reservations about participation because of concerns over treatment of sites and material, conflicts of values and the commodification of culture (Keenan 1993, Gosling, Burns, Brailsford P.C). Partnership practice also needs to address concerns over recognition of skills by remuneration or other chosen means. These issues will be discussed later.

Currently in the Department of Conservation site interpretation programmes under discussion, there are two levels of input by Maori. The first is consultation with tangata whenua and the second is participation in programme management and presentation.

In the cases of Tauwhare Pa and Maunga Mangere consultation at first took the form of notifying local iwi of DOC’s intentions with the site, and endorsement of material designed in large measure by department staff. Over time this process has become more of a two way dialogue as confidence in the programmes and DOC’s intentions, and evidence of good intent increased, and tangata whenua input found expression.

In the case of Tauwhare Pa the arrangements for the ‘opening’ of the site and reenactment of a local tradition fell almost entirely to tangata whenua, and their input has continued into site visits and plans for other educational schemes. Likewise at Maunga Mangere Tainui input took the form of endorsing DOC’s material and intentions and blessing the project, but it is hoped future input will increase with involvement in teaching, craft demonstrations and marae visits. Furthermore management options for Mangere are being explored by the DOC, Tamaki ki Raro and the Manukau City Council, and a Trust with 50% Maori representation established for administration of further programme and facility development.

At the second level the design and teaching of the Mangere Mountain programme has benefitted from the input of Maori teachers who worked alongside other education, archaeology and interpretation specialists to produce teaching aids and programme plans and who liaised with Tamaki Ki Raro Trust about their wishes for and input into the programme.
For Maori the reestablishment of the past through traditional sources and archaeology aids in the spread of knowledge which is an aspect of cultural revival and contributes as well in the restoration of cultural confidence. In terms of local history some interpreters noted increased confidence in recent years in knowledge and in ownership of knowledge, and an accompanying lessening of tolerance of Pakeha input and of flexibility in dealing with ‘possible’ historical scenarios, reflecting Maori determination not to be ‘recolonised’ (Heine P.C\(^{186}\)).

However in the case study examples, the contribution of specialists such as archaeologists was generally deemed useful, as was input from research sources, provided researchers were seen to be approaching the exercise with goodwill and humility and their sources had credibility.

Groups such as Ngati Awa and Tainui saw positive benefit in the information that archaeological research of sites could offer, in terms of reflecting the physical realities of life for former occupants of the sites, and the achievements and skills of these people. Thus traditional knowledge can be reinforced by archaeological findings and other research sources, which can enhance Maori control over their history.

Specialists interviewed confirmed that ‘most archaeologists are motivated by curiosity imbued with respect for the culture they are studying and with recognition that the past they are helping to piece together belongs in a special sense to the Maori people’ (Wilson 1987:12). They were sensitive to obligations that such a responsibility carried (Bulmer, Bain. P.C): an observation supported by other DOC staff with respect to cultural material.( Gosling, Lilleby P.C.)

5.4.4 Determining Significance
There are varying responses to questions of how significance is determined, who should determine significance, and to that of who should interpret Maori heritage. O'Regan (1987) noted the question of significance as open to interpretation, commenting that many historic sites such as battle sites are presented by Pakeha as presumed ‘significant Maori sites.’ He challenged those who said they are significant, querying their assumption of the right to do so\(^{187}\).

\(^{186}\) In the Nelson region where in the past iwi and interpretive practitioners surmised together about areas of iwi history, the current tendency is for local iwi to say ‘this is what happened and not invite discussion with DOC staff’ (Heine P.C).

\(^{187}\) His questions endorse those posed by Neich and Te Awe Kotuku in relationship to the ownership of history and cultural material.
The issue of significance was one which in this study demonstrated a range of differing perceptions, dependent on the values of interpreters and their differing ways in approaching sites. This study points to differing perceptions of significance by tangata whenua groups and largely pakeha agencies like DOC (Para, Mason, Molloy P.C).

For archaeologists the significance of sites concerns the information they can offer about the past, their relatively undamaged condition, their status as representative of certain periods of occupation and the information that they may offer in terms of archaeological and scientific data.\footnote{Add (1988:31) noted the 'history of archaeological site management in Aotearoa’ to have been ‘dominated almost exclusively by the Pakeha bureaucratic administrative tradition, supplemented by a relatively long and active pakeha tradition in which wahi tapu were regarded essentially as a scientific resource’.

Many archaeologists have developed a close association working with tangata whenua groups. This has led to a shift in perception, an enhanced appreciation of tangata whenua sensibilities, and the recognition that such cultural material belongs to Maori. Such spiritual ownership can never be lost regardless of the status in law of cultural material and is fundamental to the observation that Maori are the primary proprietors of their past (Taua, Bain P.C).

Subsequent development of site interpretive exercises has led to the evolution of a similar perception on the part of staff involved in project planning and practice. A close working association with archaeologists and tangata whenua, and the sites themselves enhanced their sensitivity to spiritual aspects of sites (Gosling, Heine P.C).

In relation to the question of significance in DOC heritage interpretation, Molloy (P.C) noted that good examples of cross-cultural interpretation have occurred in areas of high local Maori population and as a response to the heightened profile of things Maori in recent years.

With regard to DOC’s responsibility for protecting historical sites, there are abundant sites of early occupation. Within the Coromandel and Waikato areas 1200 identified historical sites exist. Of these more than 900 are traditional Maori sites, 600 held to be of archaeological significance.\footnote{Add (1988:31) notes that there are presently estimated to be somewhere in the vicinity of 60,000 pre and post European sites in Aotearoa.} Hence it is usually a matter of opinion about what is considered important (Molloy P.C).
In attempting to identify individual significant sites Molloy (P.C) noted difficulty in finding out from Maori which sites are important. He observed that possibly the notion of significance is a pakeha concept for the ‘shadows of the tupuna are right across the land’ (Molloy 1993:62). Therefore DOC picks up opportunities which exist or present themselves, as in the examples of Mangere Mountain and Tauwhare Pa.

For tangata whenua significance lies in the longterm association with the land, and is localised and specific for different iwi groups. Traditionally iwi Maori identified with the land as ancestral, as a source of physical and spiritual sustenance and of origin, a link with past inhabitants and home of the gods. For these reasons land is acknowledged as enormously significant to Maori. Further significance derives from its value as a resource to provide economic self-sufficiency.

Significance in Maori terms includes and goes beyond the ‘broad generalities’ of the creation account of Ranginui and Papatuanuku to the more specific, detailed and immediate heritage of specific tribal groups in particular local landscapes (O’Regan 1988:5). Sites may carry particular significance as the place of legendary people or taniwha or more simply as the home of ancestors. For a particular iwi a site or landscape feature may hold significance in traditional history, association and local mythology and not merely in terms of its describable and discernible features or individual traditional settlement sites\textsuperscript{100}.

For Maori, site significance does not presume the need for a site to be publicly interpreted. Descriptive signs are deemed intrusive by some and not in tune with the spirit of a site. Moreover the threat of visitors trampling over sacred areas may discourage tangata whenua from site interpretation. (Molloy 1993, Gosling, Para P.C).

In many instances it is deemed appropriate that a site returns to Papatuanuku, the earth mother, the land from whence it came, for this embodies the continuum of the process of time and the interrelationship of people and their works within the environment (Para P.C). The interpretation of examples such as Tauwhare Pa are permitted by tangata whenua in acknowledgement that bicultural education may contribute to respect for different cultural beliefs and practices and particularly in order that other sites remain undisturbed (Gosling, Waaka P.C).

\textsuperscript{100} O’Regan (1988:5) has noted that the name of a place acts as a mnemonic in terms of traditional history.
In many instances significance lies in the spiritual aspects of a place. Early pa sites are significant as places of the tupuna and in some instances such as urupa, the interpretation of such sites would be totally inappropriate.

For Maori people... archaeological sites are and always have been an integral part of the culture. It is the wahi tapu in any tribal group which reaffirms the identity and affinity of the people with the land. These are highly important places and are thus tapu and protected for that reason (Addis 1988:31).

Para (P.C) noted that the significance of a site lay not in the description of its ditches and banks but in its feeling and presence, and that interpretation lay not so much in examining the physical features but significantly in experiencing that presence. Appropriate respect pertains as much to the perspective with which one views the world and the respect accorded to spiritual aspects of experience, as to cultural material.

It was this aspect that workers at Tauwhare Pa became aware of over time as they laboured on the site and it is this aspect that is acknowledged by Maori, and in the spiritual aspects of live programmes such as those on Maunga Mangere, Tauwhare Pa, Whakarewarewa: in karakia, in greeting the tupuna and in not permitting the consumption of food on such sites, in providing water for washing hands on entry and departure.

Beyond wahi tapu and places associated with the ancestors, it is suggested that Maori hold different interests from Pakeha in places and issues and sites of significance are often those over which they have control, which enable them to exercise manawhenua by extending manaakitanga to other groups (O'Regan 1988, Hennessey, Mason P.C). Hence they are often a source of mahinga kai, accessible to iwi groups and within local control. National Parks may fall outside these definitions. (Mason P.C).

Mecker (1973:127) in ‘Red, White and Black in National Parks’ suggested that this situation is paralleled in park use in the United States where, as in New Zealand, recreational park users have been predominantly white middle class, perhaps because parks also symbolise colonisation and the lack of control of indigenous peoples¹⁹¹.

¹⁹¹ Fiona Hennessey noted that in course of school trips begun as part of interpretive programmes at Waikaremoana, that many of the local children, particularly Maori children had never been to the lake. She felt limited interest existed because that the lake is no longer in their hands.
Possibly too differences exist between Maori and non-Maori perceptions in what are regarded as places and forms of recreation. Parks are often associated in western traditions with solitude, notions of unspoilt nature and spiritual replenishment\textsuperscript{192}, whereas places (and programmes) of recreation accorded value by Maori groups often endorse community relationships and team activities\textsuperscript{193}.

Thus even as perceptions of significance differ, the issue of significance will vary according to the reasons underlying interpretive exercises and the values of those associated with the site. Therefore those involved in interpretation take up examples as they occur but do so with the concurrence of tangata whenua.

In the case study examples, site significance derived from a blend of traditional significance for local people from longterm association, coupled with a more pragmatic significance in terms of access or of value as a commercial drawcard, and the qualities that a site may hold in archaeological terms.

The programmes at Rotorua illustrate this approach. For the people of Whakarewarewa, their land is significant as their turangawaewae. It remains as the last of their traditional lands; source of their spiritual traditions. To interpret their lifestyle and tradition is to lead others to some understanding of its significance for Tuhourangi, and to respect for cultural difference. Whakarewarewa programmes allow for interpretation on the marae, which to many Maori constitutes the most appropriate place to present culture and local history; best demonstrating the intimate bond between historical and cultural values.

In Rotorua, as well as traditional significance by longterm association for Te Arawa, Maori interpreters also determined significance at several levels: as the place where traditional lifestyle has continued since pre-contact time, and where language and traditional values have been maintained. For these reasons the Institute was sited in Rotorua (Waaka, Marsh P.C).

\textsuperscript{192} It is within parks that the majority of the Department of Conservation’s information centres exist, for which programmes and displays have been developed.

\textsuperscript{193} It is suggested (Delamore P.C) that sports grounds adjacent to Maunga Mangere may enjoy greater community use than the mountain itself, perhaps because such activities foster communal values and support moves in recent years to bring young people back into the Maori community, and enhance their health, by encouraging participation in team sports.
Thus for Maori significance of this site lies in retaining land and skills, and rebuilding cultural skills, as well as in demonstrating the traditional relationship that local people have with that land. Their success in commercial terms largely stems from their location which provides a viable economic base from which to operate. While traditional significance to local tangata whenua is acknowledged, significance in terms of interpretive effectiveness, and success as an enterprise is intimately linked with the geothermal attributes of the area, where sufficient tourists can be guaranteed to fund training enterprises or maintenance of traditional lifestyle. Such qualities are pragmatically acknowledged as necessary in providing a viable income base to traditional lifestyle. In future, in the wake of Waitangi Tribunal settlements, control over other such areas and choice as to their presentation in interpretive programmes are likely to be increasingly applied by iwi Maori (Molloy 1993).

Likewise sites administered by DOC become interpretive subjects for reasons of pragmatism as well as 'significance.' Those interviewed acknowledged that for various reasons site significance was hard for them to determine and for this reason sites were taken up as they became available; that is reasons beyond exclusively ‘traditional’ significance determined their choice for interpretive presentation.

Both Mangere Mountain and Tauwhare Pa, while deemed to have significance in both traditional and archaeological terms, were selected as interpretive sites because of aspects external to traditional significance: aspects such as accessibility, ease of tenure and proximity to other facilities.

Tauwhare Pa contains attributes of significance to archaeologists as well as easy access and wonderful views for the visiting public and thus its significance was determined initially by DOC in a largely accidental fashion. It lies at the entrance to Ohiwa Harbour, on the dividing line between Whakatohea and Ngati Awa regions so can be seen to have held tactical significance for harbour control and the mana of its resources in the past.

Following DOC consultation concerning their intentions about the site, many local tangata whenua perceived its significance as an educational means to lead the public to greater bicultural awareness and also in protecting other sites from being walked on and possibly desecrated.\(^\text{194}\)

\(^{194}\) DOC publication ‘Tauwhare’ (1990:6) noted ‘Through the interpretation of this site visitors will be helped to read the wider landscape of the Eastern Bay of Plenty, in which similar pa are conspicuous and ubiquitous features.’
The development of the interpretive exercise and particularly the site’s ‘opening’ has affirmed for local tangata whenua their traditional association and revealed avenues of greater understanding in terms of information from research and archaeology (Gosling P.C).

Participation in live interpretive tours allows for oral interpretation which is deemed in many respects far more appropriate than the use of display signs. A proposal to include school activities has been endorsed with enthusiasm by tangata whenua groups for it sustains a theme of significance to Maori, of educating the young. Thus while the choice of Tauwhare Pa for interpretation may have come about in a rather haphazard way, it is seen by local Maori as beneficial to bicultural education into lifestyle and in terms of restoration of history.

Likewise Maunga Mangere was one of a number sites of significance in archaeological terms and one of the few remaining undamaged cone pa. Its choice above others arose from other aspects such as access to public, proximity to a local marae, and support of local authority as well as the acknowledgement of its spiritual significance as a site of early Maori settlement on a considerable scale and its location within the contemporary Maori city of Auckland.

The question of access for the visiting public often presents a determining factor in the choice of site for interpretation and was among other factors an issue in the choice of both Maunga Mangere and Tauwhare Pa. As well as its clear historic attributes, Maunga Mangere is central to Auckland’s contemporary Maori settlement, has close association to Te Puea Marae, and kaumatua flats on its flanks and additionally lies on the access route to the airport, clearly accessible to overseas visitors. It also allows easy access to Ambury Park where complementary interpretive programmes occur.

Therefore in all cases significance in more than one context is operating. While these sites are certainly significant in Maori terms, their selection for interpretation has come about because of a number of complementary factors which together argue convincingly for their inclusion.

5.4.5 Practice of Interpretation
Varied opinions exist about who should actually present interpretations. Many Maori increasingly recognise that the telling of their stories represents an aspect of owning their culture and history and some are becoming less tolerant of the involvement of non-Maori. Their depth of understanding equips them best to tell the stories but their concern also touches on aspects of visibility, role modelling, belief structures, and the media through which the stories are presented.
Among interpreters too there exists a range of opinion about who should present material. The experience of some has indicated to them that it is inappropriate for non-Maori to be telling Maori stories, particularly where tangata whenua are available, and that to do so is presumptuous: they lack intimacy with the knowledge which comes from being a part of that culture (Burns, Gosling, Sandoy P.C).

In the main contemporary understanding indicates the need for cultural interpretation to be undertaken by those whose culture it is, certainly in the production of material and where possible in portrayal through live interpretation. However, while it is acknowledged as appropriate and ideal that Maori should present history and cultural material, practical factors may call for other technicians or interpreters to aid in telling the stories.

Pragmatic factors used in justification include access to material, the limited number and type of interpretive agencies, the limited number of Maori involved in this type of work and the focus of Maori energy in other directions. Furthermore it is claimed that Maori resource persons are limited in numbers and extremely busy, as are Maori people employed within agencies such as DOC (Molloy, Mason P.C). Few Maori people have specialist interpretive skills, for interpretation is not necessarily seen by Maori as a priority area.

Therefore archaeologists, other educators and technicians sometimes aid in presenting material where stories relate to common knowledge and where the basis of their history comes from legitimate knowledge and from the appropriate group (Molloy P.C). Such people saw themselves as resource persons, using learned skills to present stories for Maori\textsuperscript{195}. However while a blend of skills and media such as audio-visuals can be useful in reaching large numbers of people, production difficulties which arise from differing expectations and experience base of technicians and tangata whenua have already been noted.

Live interpretation of Maori stories and material by non-Maori was felt to be less effective than by Maori interpreters (Gosling, Sandoy P.C) because of their background of traditional belief and language, as well as a grounding in what is culturally appropriate and the right to ownership of

\textsuperscript{195} While CDC staff regarded themselves as resource persons with skills which enabled tangata whenua to tell their stories, they nonetheless held editorial control and finally determined what was included (Lilleby P.C).
cultural material. Importantly presentations must carry integrity for Maori as well as other less discerning visitor groups (Mason P.C).

Certain media are held to be more appropriate than others (Mason. P.C). While stories may be told in the form of passive presentations such as panels and displays, audiovisual versions or by live presentations through guided walks and talks, some media are considered to be closer to traditional means of passing on history and tradition and are therefore seen as more culturally appropriate\(^\text{196}\).

A contemporary application of traditional means lies in seeking to restore oral explanation in interpretive facilities and park areas\(^\text{197}\), as well as in marae presentations such as those undertaken by Whakarewarewa village and envisaged at Te Puea Marae on Mangere mountain and by Ngati Awa at Tauwhare Pa.

In DOC information centres, such oral interpretation, while closer to traditional practice, depends on staff enthusiasm and availability to be effective. While such practice is also as learning exercise for staff, promoting interpersonal communication and a move away from the impersonal nature of signs, a lack of English translation on some signs was taken as threatening by some DOC staff who did not understand signs in Maori and had not thought to ask what they meant (Mason P.C)\(^\text{198}\).

Cultural and historic interpretation forms a useful means of public education yet there remains a problem of who to do it given the current limited skills base within agencies such as the Department of Conservation. For this reason other contributors see themselves as justified in putting forward their skills in the telling of Maori stories, or backgrounding the lifestyle of early Maori inhabitants.

For this reason too audiovisual displays have a useful purpose for they reach large numbers of people and are played over a long period of time, and yet have significant tangata whenua input, and in terms of material presented are deemed to have integrity for both Maori and Pakeha visitors.

\(^{196}\) Likewise the introduction of technological hardware in some contexts, such as the wharenui at Waitangi, initially caused concern but the programme has since been accepted as enhancing bicultural education (Burns P.C).

\(^{197}\) Particular examples were noted at the Arthur’s Pass Canterbury Conservancy information centres.

\(^{198}\) This response is ironic given the treatment that has been accorded to Maori language in the past, and Treaty guarantees of equal rights.
In areas where specialised skills are used in the telling of stories, such as those employed by the CDC and DOC, DOC staff try to encourage and empower Maori to tell their story in their own way and have set in motion a series of appointments of Kaupapa Atawhai staff at each conservancy to liaise with local iwi to help to translate Treaty issues into business plan issues (Molloy P.C). Interpretation is an aspect of Treaty issues overall: the interpretive function cannot be considered in isolation.

5.5 Differing Values

As in perceptions of significance, there exist other differences in perception, both within agencies such as DOC, and between interpreters and tangata whenua groups and also in the provision of what is termed the ‘Maori perspective’. Such differences in perception became evident in differing values and processes applied in programme planning and presentation.

5.5.1 Maori Perspectives

The discussion of issues in this chapter covers a range of views expressed by both Maori and Pakeha involved in the production and practice of the interpretive exercises. Issues encountered endorse the recognition that while the term ‘a Maori perspective’ is commonly used today, it is more realistic to acknowledge a range of perspectives with which Maori people respond to contemporary situations.

While certain perspectives relate to traditional beliefs and values, Maori perceptions and responses vary, in terms of their iwi base, as well as the issue of accommodating interpretive practice into contemporary life. Within the context of today’s society a Maori perspective becomes not one homogeneous perspective but a number, naturally as varied as among other groups\footnote{The tendency exists to expect a homogeneity of opinion among minority groups never expected of majority groups.} and demonstrating a dynamic response to contemporary social situations.

Heterogeneity relates to the differing iwi bases from which Maori come. Difference in perspective relates to the iwi focus of stories which describe local landmarks, and relate to local association with turangawaewae. It is these differing stories which are being recorded and told in interpretive exercises around the country, from the iwi based focus of the Auckland Museum exhibitions, to the specific local tales evident in CDC presentations, and recent displays in information centres.
Likewise Rotorua interpretive programmes are strongly focused in their local context deriving revenue particularly because of their association with the geothermal field. The villagers of Whakarewarewa focus their interpretive explanations particularly on the relationship between local people and their area and on the basis of this in local history.

As noted with reference to Tauwhare Pa there are also differences in the degree to which Maori espouse traditional belief structures or have accommodated these within more contemporary framework. Whatever the degree of traditional belief, it is important to allow in some measure for its expression and to note that spiritual dimensions hold greater significance for Maori as an aspect of cultural expression than in western style institutional structures and practice.

Perspectives also vary according to aims and particular focus of each interpretive programme, as well as the management priorities. Whakarewarewa village programmes demonstrate a response to traditional iwi based concerns associated with retaining traditional land in viable form, while the Maori Art and Crafts Institute, in corporate structure and intent, shows what might be termed a ‘pan-Maori’ response to contemporary needs and the dispersed nature of Maori society, recognising that (along with their differences) Maori people share concerns New Zealand wide. Both groups incorporate traditional aspects of lifestyle into programmes.

The planned administration of Mangere Mountain under the umbrella of the Tainui Confederation also takes account of the extent of the Maori population from many different iwi and parts of New Zealand now living in urban Auckland. It reflects a similar trend by many contemporary and urban marae to include a mixed iwi basis. These aspects indicate some of the ways in which Maori groups demonstrated a heterogeneity of approach in the interpretive programmes studied.

5.5.2 Cross-Cultural Differences
Issues which arise in the planning and execution of interpretive programmes underline differences which arise at the interface between the two cultures. Some, relating to differences in values and perspective are very much linked to the monocultural nature of our social institutions.

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200 An example is Piritahi Marae on Waiheke Is.

201 T. Nikora (1984) observed that ‘while the spirit of promoting mutual understanding, encouraging liaison and seeking common directions for research efforts may in spirit be commendable, some ideas of commonality may not be so’.
Two factors noted in the case studies as constraints and sources of frustration were time and money. Both function as tools of the capitalist society, whose constraints are increasing in the context of a growing market ethos.

**Timetables**

In the production of several programmes interpreters and tangata whenua groups found the dictates of timetabling frustrating. While DOC has a partnership directive to employees such as field centre managers, bureaucratic requirements put annoying pressures and constraints in the form of timetable and budgets, which affect partnership practice.

Those involved in DOC programmes cited time as an issue which created pressures in developing materials and in negotiations between tangata whenua groups and DOC staff. Interpreters found the business of attempting to enforce a timetable frustrating (Rennison, Lilleby, Gosling P.C). A Kaupapa Atawhai manager suggested it was a factor which undermined partnership practice within the department.

While we are all to some degree ‘constrained’ by time in today’s society it is worth noting the degree to which the conception and use of time is culturally determined. Western cultures perceive time as linear, representing compartmentalised units of labour which correlate with production and capital\(^2\). Wittlingly or unwittingly much of our social behaviour is driven by this conception. It is particularly relevant in a market driven economy and here in consideration of areas where tangata whenua groups experienced frustration from constraints imposed by timetables.

In the case studies the Conservation Design Centre’s operation most clearly illustrated the relationship between time and capitalist production, with the unit operating as a business concern, with programmes clearly identified as units of production. Consultations and programme production were dominated by budgetary constraints and driven by timetables. Time and money limitations restricted staff experience of cross-cultural training programmes.

In programme planning and production the expectation that Maori should operate to timetables ‘in the same way that we do’ (Lilleby P.C) while an apparently fair comment in today’s society also

\(^2\) In ‘From School Bell to Factory Hooter’ Alan Scott (1982:33-44) noted the degree to which time has become commodified in order to accommodate the dictates of capitalism.
indicates the dictates and the monocultural nature of our institutions where the capitalist imperative often directly conflicts with the values of the people whose life and story is being promoted.

This conflict also underlies increasing difficulty in applying traditionally hospitable values in a ‘whistle stop tour’ situation, as in Rotorua where the current ‘stopwatch’ guiding of tour groups has come about in response to pressure of numbers and time. This is at times criticised as leading to a superficiality in presentation (Marsh P.C) and has necessarily reduced some facets of the expression of manaakitanga, which in the past often allowed for social gathering, the sharing of food and greater interaction between guide and visitors (Mihinui P.C). Nonetheless today’s programmes do attempt to present a memorable and unique experience for visitors within the time available.

In the development of material for Tauwhare Pa Gosling (P.C) noted the ‘single most important and overriding lesson to be don’t hurry it’. He cited the need for a fluid time frame in which material could be developed and any lack of certainty over material could be accommodated and resolved303.

As well as allowing for discussion and consensus about issues within one iwi, such a time-frame more readily accommodates the need to deal with more than one iwi group, as has been the experience of several interpreters. A more fluid time frame also allows for changing perceptions on the part of interpreters as their understanding increases (Gosling P.C).

The comparatively fluid arrangements associated with the programme development at Tauwhare Pa was permitted by its comparatively small scale in terms of personnel and administrative organisation. The greater complexity of planning for Mangere Mountain has called for interaction between local authority, DOC and tangata whenua groups, as well as others involved with recreational use of the area, making coordination of processes more difficult and less adaptable to a fluid timetable.

Two issues arise in relation to a Maori concept of time, both based in cultural traditions. In terms of discussion and problem resolution, a hui would traditionally allow for discussion until an issue was resolved rather than using a broken series of often brief and point focused meetings. Such a process allows discussion to range around issues, to treat them ‘in the round,’ to answer uncertainties and allow for the building of confidence and support for an issue, to reach a consensus conclusion.

303 Current concepts of programme development into a more interactive format are currently being floated at an informal level for consideration by Ngati Awa for involvement in teaching and management.
Gosling (P.C) recorded the need for a fluid time frame to allow for discussion of the issues until an agreeable resolution was reached by involved groups.

Such a fluid time frame also allows for the recognition of changing perception on the part of interpreters, who by virtue of increased contact may no longer hold to their previous beliefs. Gosling noted his experience with the programme development at Tauwhare Pa to be an enormous learning experience. Others involved in programmes of this nature have recorded similar changes in perception (Burns, Bain P.C).

The compartmentalisation of time into small brackets in which issues are meant to be resolved contrasts with traditional Maori conceptions of time which like land is a continuum linking Maori to their tupuna and mokopuna. Like knowledge, issues such as Treaty concerns are carried over generations and their resolution is a part of that which is inherited. Such a process presupposes a much longer term vision than arrangements based in a western European philosophical framework and a context for life, a part of Maori ‘sense of place’, linked to a holistic world view.

**Financial Concerns**

Finance was another factor which highlighted differing perceptions. A source of concern to both Maori and non-Maori is that of the pressures which financial constraints bring to the programmes, and the means by which provision of skills is recognised. Broadly speaking, financial issues concern two areas: the first being the issue of recompense for skills and the second that of funding for projects. Attitudes vary, reflecting a divergence between an economic-focused ethos and a Maori viewpoint, and also among individual Maori.

Interpretive programmes face significant costs in their establishment and maintenance. Today’s market driven economy and user pays ethos create pressures in the exercise of interpretation and this can be seen in Rotorua examples as well as in those undertaken by DOC.

**Payment**

While most people acknowledged the need to go to relevant iwi and learned people as sources of knowledge for local histories, there were differing responses to the issue of payment for skills and services when agencies such as DOC use skills of Maori for research and/or interpretation.

Taua (P.C) cited the past assumption that one could ‘go and get someone you knew to do it’ as no longer acceptable, noting that the person needed the right sort of knowledge, both in a traditional and
professional sense\textsuperscript{204}. While the contributory skills of professionals such as archaeologists, ethnologists and historians, both Maori and Pakeha, are valuable, the skills in areas of traditional knowledge are much more specialised than technical skills such as computing or management, and the specialist nature of their knowledge should be acknowledged. While there are the people of knowledge around, they are not always available, raising the issue of the relative priority placed by Maori on interpretive exercises among the many pressing issues which concern them (Tua P.C).

Recognising that we live in a capitalist society in which worth is recognised by payment, it is a case of properly equating the value of specialist skills. Currently skills which endorse the workings of the capitalist and information society tend to be endorsed by payment at a higher level than other specialist skills. Maori are requiring that their skills are recognised as even more specific and specialised than skills in technical fields for example, and should be paid for as an acknowledgement of, and at a level commensurate with their specialist nature (Tua P.C).

Such an observation and expectation recognises the practical reality of functioning within a capitalist economy but there are other approaches to the provision of Maori skills. In the situation where a Government Department or any similar agency is employing skills, and where payment comprises the accepted manner of recognising skills, then the mode of payment should be at the discretion of those whose skills are used and may be in terms of reflection of mana as much as in financial terms.

To some the notion of payment to individuals is seen as potentially divisive and may create tensions promoting an individual as expert to the detriment of the group who share rights to the knowledge. It is seen as preferable that any contribution should reflect on the mana of the people as a whole. A suggested alternative lies in payment of a koha to the appropriate group, such as runanga group, or practical support such as in the provision of transport to an interpretive venue, so that recognition is given of input and people are not left 'out of pocket' (Mason P.C).

\textsuperscript{204} Tua P.C specified the need for interpretation to be done by those with the necessary research skills in historic and geographic fields, and more particularly with skills in knowledge of the area's iwi history. The people approached needed to be correct in terms of iwi base as well as holding mana in the Maori world.
It was noted too that the issue of payment may undermine partnership, and leave Maori groups in some sense compromised. Genuine partnership presupposes equality. Payment may create conditions which undermine autonomy, depriving Maori of a measure of independence. A preferred option may be some means of assistance for programmes, or in the event of programmes being economically successful, a division of profits to the social organisation as a whole, perhaps annually (Mason P.C).

Other groups see benefits in terms of the acquisition of and practice of skills and use experience gained as a platform from which to heighten visibility, to become personally known and to launch their own ventures (Mason, Hennessey205 P.C).

While one interpretive practitioner commented that he viewed himself as a resource person with skills to record Maori stories, the situation often exists that such employees are being paid and tangata whenua groups not. While options such as the provision of koha to the group may be deemed more culturally appropriate, such an alternative presumes other means of support for individuals on a day to day level206.

To assume that one does not need to pay for these skills is to accord them a differing value to skills of others and in some cases this can be taken as downgrading in our society which recognises by payment. Thus some believe that to a degree funding or payment recognises mana. The reality of functioning within our society at present is that money is a necessary commodity, a fact recognised as basic to self determination and particularly evident in the Rotorua programmes.

The issue of payment for skills which contribute an integral part of programme by other than salaried staff was raised with regard to programmes under Maori control207. The Maori Art and Craft Institute often relies on the knowledge, skills and mana of local elders in support of its programmes and in some instances, financial payment has been seen to threaten the 'security of their pension arrangements’ (Marsh P.C), and support and recognition of their value as elders and resource people has been demonstrated in other ways. Whanau support is also deemed to be of primary concern.

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205 Fiona Hennessey recalled instances when young Tuhoe involved in demonstrations and interpretation of native plant uses were not paid for their contribution though some were on Access courses at the time. They saw such an exercise as sharing of skills, and also in terms of developing skills and recognition for future tourist ventures.

206 Some of those critical of the notion of payment for skills themselves held salaried positions.

207 It is useful to differentiate between a Maori group employing the skills of their elders and the actions of a government department such as DOC.

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However the Institute has recently employed its own (two) kaumatua, to speak on behalf of the Institute on the marae and in other appropriate situations. Recognition of services is a blend of salary and acknowledgement of mana.

These are some of the considerations which arise in applying traditional values within the context of a system based in economic value, which is at times antagonistic to traditional Maori values. The situation calls for flexible arrangements which recognise the needs and wishes of those involved. Financial remuneration is not seen as only means of payment: recognition of mana and empowerment and whanau support represent other important aspects. The essential feature is that Maori people exercise choice in how their contribution is recognised and that the specialised nature of their knowledge and skills be reflected by adequate recognition or recompense.

Programme Funding
A further financial consideration concerns the funding of interpretive projects, which face considerable costs both in their establishment and in on-going maintenance costs. Within the contemporary economic framework, DOC staff are required to budget their time and the department’s resources with considerable restraint and as in other departments to itemize time allocation meticulously.

While the department administers approximately 19 % of the land area of New Zealand, its budget comprises only about $100,000 of the total national ‘cake’ of nearly $30 billion 208. Since its inception it has operated on a diminishing annual budget (Molloy 1993, Delamore P.C). This places considerable pressures on staff in prioritising and running operations. Within this context interpretive exercises are often viewed as less important than other areas of conservation responsibility, and there is resistance to the establishment of new programmes while current programmes are incomplete (Molloy, Delamore, Burns P.C).

By way of example, costs faced in the establishment of the interpretive programme at Mangere Mountain have been estimated to be in the region of $100,000 with ongoing annual costs estimated as similar or more. Funding in this instance involves payment of staff as well as establishment costs of material (teaching aids) and a building in which to house interpretive material and hold teaching sessions.

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Pilot programme teaching aids were produced creatively at least possible cost, using the resources of the department and materials at hand. Staff were apportioned a number of hours (a percentage of their total employment time) to devote to the programme, but sufficient funding was only available to pay a project co-ordinator on a part time basis for a limited period. The programme also benefitted from the input of Maori teachers from the Resource Advisory Centre, whose time was limited by pressure of other responsibilities associated with their work and from the additional input of supportive volunteers, both Maori and Pakeha.

Given diminishing DOC funding, it has been a source of concern how programmes will be funded in the future and this has naturally affected the degree of support that projects receive within the department\textsuperscript{209}.

Some staff held great reservations about the establishment of another programme while others are as yet incomplete. Others valued the conservation aspect of the Department's operations above its interpretive function and Treaty obligations. In the market economic climate priorities vie for funding and interpretation programmes such as that at Mangere Mountain suffer from the limitations of having to battle in the market place of business plans within the department for their share of the department's limited funds.

Currently a Trust is being established for Te Mana o Te Maunga Mangere to oversee management and funding provision for longterm and it is envisaged that, like other contemporary conservation programmes, funding may be in large measure derived from sponsorship, sourced possibly in a large company, which like others, one may not too cynically assume, seeks commercial gain from apparently altruistic or socially beneficial promotions\textsuperscript{210}. Some discomfort was expressed at the notion of traditional sites being linked thus with commercial enterprise (Kerr, Gosling P.C)

Other options in line with market philosophy include the application of 'user pays' ethos to programmes. For many Maori there is resistance to the notion of children paying for educational

\textsuperscript{209}The department faces 5-7% cuts to operating costs this year (1993). Cuts to interpretation budgets are expected to be closer to 10%. Interpretive programmes such as summer nature programmes are seen as subsidising visitors at present, leading to moves to make such programmes self-funding and to shift the focus of interpretation to a few key locations (Molloy 1993, Delamore, Corbett P.C).

\textsuperscript{210}Article 'From the Heart to the Purse' (Listener 8/5/93) backgrounded the growing trend of 'public purpose marketing' noting that the 'marketing budget is being spent, and results for the corporation are usually measurable.'
facilities, (Kerr P.C) for educating children represents a linking of knowledge through generations, a kind of cultural sustainability, underlying programmes such as Kohanga Reo. This understanding underlies the initial focus of interpretation at Mangere Mountain reaching groups of children through school based programmes.

Spiritual considerations inherent in dealing with Maori sites and cultural material require differences in management style from a user pays ethos. Regarding payment for the use of the facility or charges for entry to Maunga Mangere or Tauwhare Pa, the idea of payment, of ‘making money from the ancestors,’ was deemed inappropriate by Maori (Gosling, Kerr P.C). None the less the current economic climate demands some such solution.

In this instance dictates deriving from the market ethos are at odds with traditional values. Likewise cheaper maintenance options are also held to be inappropriate in the maintenance of such sites. Grazing of stock as a means to control grass and weed growth is held to be both culturally inappropriate and also damaging to the features of the site (Veart P.C).

Considerations in interpreting sites and cultural material can be seen to go beyond the simple issues of the material produced for educational purposes, and techniques and management options employed, though all these factors arise in the development process and demonstrate the values which are brought to the interpretive exercise.

Interpretation involves the treatment of the site or source material itself, and it is particularly important in terms of traditional Maori sites that they be treated with respect.

Seen from a Maori perspective each site is part of the whakapapa of the people. The wairua of those who lived there remains to call to those who follow. Sometimes the cry is of joy and sometimes it is the call of pain. Whatever the past of the site it must be approached with respect for the tupuna²¹¹. (Brailsford P.C)

This endorses the essential nature of tangata whenua input to determine the level of interpretation which they will permit, or indeed whether a site will be interpreted at all, to ensure that the site or material is treated appropriately and to impart in interpretation the values which most authentically relate to that site or source material and to its people.

²¹¹ Cultural pieces embody similar values.
Keenen (1993) noted reservations by some iwi groups concerning involvement with interpretive programmes. Their concerns pertained to intrusion of privacy, conflict in values, lack of visitor reciprocation, the commodification of culture, brevity of visits and the one sided nature of the host-guest relationship. They underline differing cultural perceptions of Maori and non-Maori over anticipated benefits from programmes and serve as a reminder that in cultural interpretive programmes the ‘host-visitor exchange needs to be a positive experience for all concerned’ (Keenen 1993:96.)

5.5.3 Outcomes within the Department of Conservation

The programmes studied indicate some positive changes to past assimilative practice and these have been detailed. However at present practitioners within the Department of Conservation acknowledge that aside from a few examples (cited) heritage interpretation in terms of Maori material is as yet far from well done (Molloy P.C\textsuperscript{212}). Several reasons are suggested.

Firstly interpretation itself faces diminishing resources. Interpretation represents an essential public interface for the Department of Conservation, yet interpretive specialists concede that at present interpretation ‘feels endangered within DOC’, vulnerable to the tension exists when resources are short and Government Departments are turned on their heads by restructuring’ (Molloy P.C).

The Government ‘purchases’ what it wants from the department. Currently ‘resource management’ and ‘sustainability’ are considered priority concerns and the Resource Management Act (1991) has absorbed much in the way of resources and resulted in the employment of many policy people.

Interpretation is regarded as just one in a range of departmental functions and its value not comparatively highly regarded. If education and educational resources are not considered of priority by government, and with no-one commissioning a conservation educational thrust, such concerns are side-lined. (Molloy P.C).

This situation reflects both the funding constraints that DOC faces and also the requirement for operations to be demonstrably viable in economic terms\textsuperscript{213}. It is difficult to demonstrate an

\textsuperscript{212} Molloy noted (1993:68) that currently ‘there is very little interpretive treatment of everyday Maori use of natural resources. Most...deals with the early contact with Europeans or the painful events of history including dispossession of their lands and forests’.

\textsuperscript{213} Current Government policy requires that a percentage of DOC funding be recovered from sources outside the basic allocation: either sponsorship, payment for services to other departments, payment for specialist services, such as entry fees, pamphlets (White, Corbett P.C).
economic return on abstract concepts like public awareness, and yet this factor is crucial not only to DOC’s continued operation but also in promoting bicultural and conservation values (Molloy P.C. Harper 991:199).

As staff grapple with increasing financial constraints, recent years have seen a scaling down of the interpretive and advocacy side of DOC’s operation to the detriment of its ‘shop front’ image and interface with the public. 214

The current ‘Heritage Interpretation Strategy’ reflects an attempt to rationalise Heritage Interpretation in the face of diminishing resources. As a result of such constraints and projected increases in tourist numbers by the New Zealand Tourism Board, Molloy (1993:67) has noted that

‘future natural heritage interpretation on the conservation estate is likely to include: repositioning of visitor centres, better matching of visitor character with interpretive media, a requirement for more tourist concessionaires to provide heritage interpretation, more cost recovery for visitor services, and more joint ventures with district information centres and iwi.’

Other reasons exist why interpretation of Maori cultural material tends not to receive strong focus at present. While DOC staff acknowledge responsibility in terms of conservation of historic and cultural sites (Molloy, Bulmer P.C) areas where Maori issues are being explored and presented are often not in the traditional conservation estate of forests and parks where interpretation centres predominate.

Furthermore while DOC’s main interpretive effort is on land which DOC manages. In many instances land of significance to Maori falls outside the Conservation estate and is therefore beyond the responsibility of the department. In this instance it is felt that Maori people cannot be treated differently from other clients who may have approached DOC for help with skills 215(Molloy P.C).

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214 Coopers and Lybrand’s review of the Department’s functions in 1989 ‘identified the need to maintain good public relations as these were considered inadequate’ (Harper 1991:187, Molloy P.C).

215 A related issue concerns whether it is appropriate to do the storytelling on the marae or on a site. If the most appropriate place is determined by Maori to be the marae then while DOC staff may support this in principle, it clearly falls outside the department’s responsibility (Molloy P.C).
The difficulty of separating the interpretive function of DOC from other functions was noted (Molloy, Mason P.C). As well as a there being a general public perception of interpretation as part of DOC’s advocacy role, many Maori consider interpretation as merely a part of the whole, reflecting consideration of issues within a pattern of relationships rather than as compartmentalised and specific subjects or themes.

In terms of perceived relevance to Maori, pressing issues are often perceived to be not simply those of a place considered in isolation or a threatened bird or plant species but of people in relation to that place or species. For many Maori it is the relationship that is of importance and significance lies in reestablishing that relationship. (Mason P.C^216.

Further issues which affect interpretation of Maori cultural and historic material relate to limited Maori presence, both within the interpretive field and also within the department itself. While the intent to practice Treaty responsibilities is evident in appointment of senior management, as well as in policy planning and implementation, and staff training hui and seminars, Maori are under-represented at ‘flax roots’ level within the department and this affects the potential to put forward a Maori perspective. It also limits Maori visibility and role modelling in such agencies.

While DOC has set in train the appointment of a number of Kaupapa Atawhai staff at each conservancy to liaise with local iwi, to translate or help to translate Treaty issues into business plan issues, and other staff in areas such as strategic planning liaise with iwi over significant issues, such as wahi tapu, Maori are as yet proportionately under-represented as salaried staff. Maika Mason cited his own example as one Maori voice among 70 employees in his region and commented that his role is more frequently defensive of a Maori point of view rather than interpretive^217.

The practice of ‘pepperpotting’ Maori personnel in largely Pakeha agencies is seen as diluting Maori energy and effectiveness. For these reasons Maori people often train (unsurprisingly) in mutually supportive groups and in areas such as law and business administration which are perceived to be

^216 Mason indicated the need for incentives for Maori in this area citing as an example his people’s relationship with kakapo. For Nga Tahu the issue is not simply that the kakapo needs to be saved but that their people have a longstanding traditional relationship with this bird and incentives should be available to reestablish that relationship.

^217 Likewise he noted a very limited bicultural training budget would not go far in changing perceptions.
useful and effective or where they may apply their training in passing on traditional skills such as teaching Maori language. (Molloy, Mason P.C.)

Contemporary needs of Maori people demand that they consolidate energies and personnel in areas that they see as relevant. It is suggested that interpretation to a largely non-Maori visiting public is seen as peripheral to their primary concerns and is perceived as diluting the focus of Maori endeavour from empowering Maori (Molloy, Mason P.C.). Furthermore it is suggested that to many Maori the department itself is not perceived as a place of power or priority: a perception which funding allocation suggests is shared by Government.

The importance attached to a Maori perspective is acknowledged within the Department and the intent to include a Maori perspective in management plans is positive. However it is less easy to get actioned within a predominantly Pakeha institution such as DOC, despite the fact that one might presume a greater community of interests between DOC and Maori values then is evidenced in other government departments, because of the department’s commitment to principles other than economic.

However the reality is that like other departments, DOC’s operation is ultimately constrained by financial limitations and determined according to Government institutional practice. This means that despite partnership directives contained in legislation and translated into draft schemes for the regions, the practical application is often dependent on goodwill and availability of officers. While considerable good intent exists on the part of many DOC staff, such intent is diluted by the reality of requirements and other pressures are at work in terms of priority.

The practical application of ‘equal rights and privileges’ (Treaty Article III) presupposes acceptance of those rights by all staff, and this is dependent on developing sensitivity to a Maori point of view within the department. Those staff who have worked closely with iwi groups noted it as a significant learning experience, and recorded a shift in perception towards issues (Gosling, Bain. P.C.). However there are limited numbers of staff who have access to this experience. In terms of bicultural practice by the department, this points to the need for a greater Maori presence in DOC.

Thus while a Treaty partnership directive exists within the Department of Conservation, the realities of funding constraints may undermine the provision of a Maori perspective. Priorities within DOC in the face of restrictive budgets mean that for many staff bicultural issues take second place to conservation issues.
Difficulty in translating policy into practical application occurs because of limitations of funding and Maori personnel within the department. Additionally, despite directives in legislation there are still areas under DOC administration where a Maori perspective can be completely omitted and these can be linked to the more market driven mode of operation which has prompted some interpretation centres to charge for audiovisual displays (Mt. Cook/ Aoraki, Tongariro 216).

One such area of omission lies in the establishment of ‘concessions’ in areas such as National Parks which have come about as a revenue earning means of management in some parks in response to calls for cost recovery within the department. They illustrate the practice of ‘privatising’ interpretation. Private operators gain ‘concessions’ to provide recreational and interpretive experiences for visitors, but do not have same Treaty obligations as the department overall.

Likewise within Park Information Centres display areas are including provision for commercial content where firms may buy space and advertising for interpretive ventures such as whale watch experiences, treks and heli-skiing (Hennessey P.C). The operation of such concessions within the Conservation estate may mean that in reality visitors may leave an area having had absolutely no exposure to a Maori view point or perspective, despite the department’s Treaty obligations in the operation of its estate. Additionally in such a situation, iwi groups wanting to put forward a Maori perspective would be in a competitive situation against other concession holders. To ensure that visitors experience some level of Maori cultural understanding and until Maori cultural aspects are presented in a balanced way, some type of affirmative action is needed.

Some areas have recognised the omission of Maori perspective which can occur under the operation of concessions, and accordingly have undertaken joint bicultural training programmes (Corbett P.C). However there remain many concessionaires, such as bus operators, who have access to far greater numbers of visitors than the department itself, and whose operations do not yet reflect Maori perspectives.

These issues indicate areas of omission and concern which arise as an aspect of increasing privatisation and the user pays ethos. They underline the need for careful planning in simultaneously applying market and bicultural practices, in order that they are not mutually exclusive. They may require the introduction of affirmative action programmes in order to address structural and

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216 Tongariro Interpretation Centre now charges for access to certain recently installed and more elaborate displays. However the Paparoa Centre requests a koha from visitors.
institutional imbalance, to enhance both visibility and understanding, to increase mana and standing of Maori issues and importantly to establish a further basis for dialogue within the department. (Mason, Walker P.C). However the current existence of Treaty responsibilities does serve to ensure that most DOC staff are mindful that it is an area which has to be addressed in their operations and Kaupapa Atawhāi managers do draw attention to those areas where a Maori perspective may have been overlooked.

The issues outlined above highlight some of the concerns faced by those involved with the practical application of Treaty issues within the context of management plans. They also outline some of the difficulties of implementing biculturalism within a largely monocultural institutional framework. They reinforce Maori contentions that the practice of biculturalism has not significantly altered outcomes for Maori, supporting arguments in favour of a preferred policy option of tino rangatiratanga, because it does not carry with it the current assumption that the operational framework and context will be western-style institutional structures and most of the decision makers and those with access to resources will be Pakeha.

At present the examples cited in the case studies represent a large part of the more successful interpretation of Maori cultural material by DOC staff. Future interpretation will reflect partnership and bicultural issues as a strong component, but progress in this area has been described by one stab member as glacial in the speed of its achievement.

Ironically, resource constraints may direct DOC towards more genuine reflection of tino rangatiratanga with respect to cultural interpretation. It is suggested (Molloy 1993:68) that future DOC programmes are likely to involve partnership with iwi groups which would more adequately secure the presentation of Maori perspectives: a policy direction based in part as a response to the anticipated settlements of Treaty claims, and in part as a reflection of the department’s limited resources.

Future settlement of Treaty claims may make some tribes ‘financially well positioned to develop tribal reserves and resources’ (Keenan 1993:96) and from this more effective partnerships may evolve which may reflect a more balanced and equal relationship than is the case at present.

5.5.4 Scale of Programme
A further factor which affected Maori managed and DOC programmes was the way in which scale affected the programme. In general larger programmes demand greater investment, and do not
necessarily return benefits commensurate with such greater investment: either in terms of profit or lifestyle betterment. Some compromise of tradition was recorded in the accommodating increasing pressures of timetables and large numbers of visitors. It was difficult to demonstrate manaakitanga and aroha at speed, so brief lifestyle presentations with limited time constraints were largely visual, though did involve some visitor interaction with guides and craft demonstrators.

In planning and administration larger programmes recorded more complex administration, (particularly those administered by DOC and other local bodies), making the achievement of a fluid timetable more difficult. Smaller programmes displayed greater ease of networking.

Large scale project funding, or sponsorship, generally accompany notions of profit-making or advertising. In either case traditional values may be compromised by outside investment or in the profit making process. The autonomy of Maori managed programmes can guarantee that any proceeds are returned to benefit the local people or tangata whenua generally. Again the essential factor in determining scale is that of choice. Maori managed programmes demonstrate choice in the ways they respond to market demands in a way that is less easily achieved in programmes involving partnership.

5.5 Perspectives
Beyond management and educational options, the practice of interpretation involves applying a particular perceptual focus. Those based in western style institutions tend to operate from a base of the accepted validity of eurocentric values and procedures above others.

The case study examples showed the inclusion of both traditional knowledge sources and input from archaeologists and other specialists. These contributions have been deemed useful in terms of what each tradition can offer. Likewise consultation has been described as ‘encouraging’ but also highlighting a ‘gulf between the thinking of Maori towards these sites when compared to tauiwi and to DOC’ (Para P.C).

As noted interpretive information tends to focus on those details which are visible: the material aspects of culture. It is useful to remember that the preoccupation with material aspects of culture is a feature of western cultures and may offer only a limited view of the site or material. While many people learn to view the land in a different way from such interpretive programmes, interpretation also operates at other levels which a preoccupation with the visible can lead one to overlook (Brailsford, Para P.C).
As demonstrated perspective underlies the differing perceptions which arise in relation to the interpretation of cultural material and sites. Brailsford (P.C.) has quoted Fritjof Capra:

‘The basic structures of the physical world are determined by the way in which we look at the world.’

He added ‘We may focus so firmly on the strength of the features of the pa: its ditches, banks and terraces dominant in the landscape that we may overemphasize their age and place in the picture of the past...(or)... miss the features in the land that give us the broader picture and the true balance of the past’.

To focus on what is visible represents the dominant way of seeing: scientific faith in the observable. Because it is still in large measure by means of the media and cultural vehicles of dominant culture such interpretation will inevitably be limited in terms of understanding. However it still serves a useful educative function for both interpreters and visitors. To return to Tilden’s early theme, such interpretation usefully acts as ‘provocation’ to visitors, to enhance their curiosity and lead them ‘one step beyond’ their current level of knowledge. However it should not be taken as the last word in the interpretation of the site or material.

Overseas interpretive examples cited as superb (Burns, Bulmer, Gosling P.C) allow for realistic reconstruction on a material (and even sensory) level, but inevitably visitors and interpreters make such journeys accompanied by their own social and cultural baggage. Brailsford (P.C.) noted that ‘the value system we bring to interpretation can distort our vision and even transform what we see: our adherence to scientific principles and scientific answers’ can lead us from ‘ignorance to certainty’ because of our belief in observed information. Hence, such interpretation may miss the key element: ‘the people of the past and the belief systems that guided their living day by day’.219

Returning to the themes of perspective and context, we bring the values of our context to interpretation, so that while visitors may learn from interpreters, the ‘real understanding of what is etched in the land may be limited by the interpreters knowledge.... We learn little of value if we drink from the well of ignorance’ (Brailsford P.C). This confirms the essential nature of Maori input if we are to achieve authenticity in interpretation. Interpretation or interpretive panels, while helpful in recreating a visual image of past structures can never interpret the ‘spiritual depth within the pa

219 Brailsford (P.C) noted that ‘Gardens take on a different dimension when we understand their place in the realm of gods as opposed to their place in the economy’.
site’ (Para P.C). True interpretation of Maori sites goes beyond describing the features and concerns experiencing the feel.

Concepts such as these affirm that while the practice of interpretation outlined in this paper is useful and demonstrates positive changes, it is also in some senses limited. It often concerns material factors of life, offers visible or tangible images and often reflects a predominantly scientific ethos. In so doing it reflects the dominant perceptions and values of its time, and not necessarily those perspectives which most truly characterise the site, source material or its people. As outlined, interpreters and owners of cultural property may hold differences in perception which may ultimately affect interpretive practice. Recognition of this consideration affirms the need to constantly review practice in the light of changing social values and to be cognisant of the pressures that changing social circumstances bring to bear on programmes.

Programmes outlined have seen the inclusion of an increased Maori component following the bicultural initiatives instituted by the Labour government which is an encouraging phenomenon. However in recent years programmes have also seen increased pressures brought about by the dictates of a market economy. Given the contemporary political climate it is not unrealistic to assume that such pressures will grow rather than diminish, and may exacerbate differences arising from differing cultural perceptions.

5.6 Chapter Summary
This chapter has canvassed some issues which arise in cultural interpretation in New Zealand today. Aspects considered include partnership, significance, interpretive practice and differing perceptions which arise in the planning, management and presentation processes. It has also highlighted some of the conflicts and contradictions which arise when programmes of bicultural intent are pursued in an increasingly market led economic context.

Contemporary interpretation will differ from times past in both content and presentation. The interpreters’ own interpretation will be on-going, changing in line with their changing perceptions. The experience of practitioners in this study points to such programmes as being as significantly educative for interpreters as for visiting public, and contributing to a changing perceptions on the part of interpreters, thus affirming the dynamic nature of the processes of dialogue and consultation.

A changing ethos has seen positive moves in the inclusion of Maori perspectives, in the examination of issues which arise and the recognition of prior assimilative assumptions. In partnership situations
some progress has been made in consultation, although overall there has been little change in terms of outcomes for Maori people. Largely Pakeha institutions and agencies continue to expedite issues of concern to Maori with varying degrees of consultation, and within a perceptual framework of western traditions. Increasing market pressures impose requirements and create situations which may not accord adequate recognition to Maori knowledge and perspectives.

This highlights the need for both recognition of the important role of interpretation in social education, and for tangata whenua groups to interpret their values as a people and as a culture, rather than to ‘allow others to make assumptions which may be off the mark’ (Para P.C). Such recognition affirms Maori control over cultural property, both in terms of expression of self-determination and also in terms of the integrity of cultural experience.
CHAPTER 6

MODELS, PRACTICE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Whatever ideal or idealised forms it takes, culture is essential to the historical process\textsuperscript{220}.

6.0 Introduction
In this chapter I examine the way theoretical models relate to the case studies and issues. I summarise the positive aspects, educational aims and outcomes for Maori, and examine some of the contradictions involved in applying bicultural precepts in a market economy.

The second part of the chapter considers significant themes of the study and options for future interpretive practice. Significant themes include self-determination, differing perspectives and values. My conclusion summarizes some of the issues canvassed in this paper.

6.1 Theoretical Models in Relation To Case Studies
The models examined in Chapter 2 are based in theory. Case study issues demonstrate that reality does not mirror the theoretical purity of a specific model: the 'real world' exhibits aspects from all models examined. Aspects of assimilation, biculturalism and te tino rangatiratanga operate simultaneously in contemporary New Zealand society and are evidenced in aspects of interpretive programmes. I will consider aspects as they relate to each model.

6.2 Te Tino Rangatiratanga
Tino rangatiratanga, self determination, is best demonstrated by the examples of Maori managed programmes in Rotorua. In these programmes Maori decide on the nature and mode of operation, and the legitimacy of Maori traditions and belief structures is accepted as basic. Value is recognised in both pecuniary terms and in terms of mana. Maori institutions, processes and traditions hold validity and are valued. In accessing control over their lives and assets and, in Freire’s terms, acting as subjects in the historical process, these examples embody Maori self determination and a move away from the oppression of assimilation.

Maori managed programmes reflect autonomy in determining the nature of visitor experience. This relates both to material presented, which has integrity for its people and to the values, processes and


169
traditions used in presentations, which affirm traditional skills, beliefs and practices. The processes of accessing Maori cultural property and lifestyle, and of programme management endorse both Maori determination to express tino rangatiratanga and also the dynamic nature of contemporary Maori society. An important aspect concerns how these programmes effect positive outcomes in conserving cultural property and lifestyle betterment. All programmes exhibited a basic theme of conservation of Maori property or sites in a way which recognised Maori ownership.

In terms of lifestyle outcomes, Rotorua programmes contribute in supporting and maintaining the regeneration of language and cultural skills and values. They provide employment and allow for skills development and as well enhance the mana of both place and people. They also afford an environment where Maori can exercise the choice to function according to traditional value systems and where Maori value systems are the norm rather than the ‘exotic’ other.

Unsurprisingly the overall context of New Zealand society, and the current economic ethos, impact to some degree on these programmes. While attempting to provide a unique experience for visitors it was noted that the tensions invoked in dealing with large numbers, limited time frames and contemporary visitor expectations placed pressures on time, place and people. This serves as a reminder that interpretive programmes by their very nature are both responsive to social context, and dependent on resource protection. In the area of cultural interpretation a delicate balance between presentation, and protection of cultural material and lifestyle must be maintained. This will involve issues of scale, facilities and presentation methods and must be at the discretion of those whose lives and history is interpreted.

They must also maintain the balance of functioning effectively in today’s society, and enjoying chosen benefits, while upholding aspects of tradition and lifestyle. Interpretive programmes under Maori management to a varying degree espouse aspects of marketing management and modify them to ends of cultural maintenance and regeneration of skills. They also have modified contemporary ownership and finance arrangements to allow continued communal ownership of land. These programmes thus demonstrate creative responses to the dilemma of maintaining chosen aspects of traditional lifestyle in today’s society, and of using contemporary tourist and visitor trends to support and build processes for cultural retention.

Autonomy is most evidenced in choice. Choice about mode of operation underpins the Maori management role in determining the nature of programmes. Programmes are underscored by the knowledge that the validity of Maori belief and practice is understood as basic. Interpretive
programmes adapt this knowledge and belief structure in varying degrees. A number of iwi groups associated with interpretation indicated the wish to bring interpretive programmes to the marae where values and beliefs, history and kawa might be more meaningfully experienced. However as noted, this also raises concerns of intrusion, lack of reciprocity and whether the nature of the visit will be sufficiently meaningful in Maori terms to endorse Maori ways and beliefs and to benefit both host and visitor groups (Keelan 1993). This aspect concerns maintaining a balance between economic benefits and other values. Ways of maintaining such balance naturally should remain at the discretion of the host group.

Iwi Maori naturally reflect a heterogeneity of approaches in both Maori managed and partnership programmes. Some programmes have a particular iwi base while others adopt a pan-Maori stance. Traditional structures, values and beliefs are adhered to in varying degrees. Likewise the input of other research groups and resource people is respected in varying degrees.

Differing standpoints are likewise evident in the development of a skills base from which Maori groups advance their own interpretive programmes. This process interests some groups: others prefer to wait until the social climate can more appropriately accommodate their wishes in approaches to cultural material and sites.

Case study examples under Maori management indicate different approaches to what is conserved, and ways in which to operate within the structure of contemporary society. Importantly in these cases Maori groups themselves determine priorities and their preferred mode of operating, in a way which is less easily achieved within partnership agencies such as government departments. Where economically based pressures of time and money do impact adversely, Maori managed programmes still retain value in cultural terms for tangata whenua groups, for they determine which aspects receive emphasis both in presentation and in conservation. The factor of choice of response to contemporary modes of practice is basic to the application of te tino rangatiratanga. Maori groups choose those aspects which they feel can be usefully applied in achieving beneficial outcomes, cultural self determination and conservation of valued traditions. Thus these groups exemplify Sahlin’s observation (Lecture 1992) that

‘A society which really succeeds in throwing off the colonising yoke reverts to its own upwards path of culture. Tradition functions as a yardstick by which people measure the acceptability of change. Modern culturalism does not go back but reaches a useful compromise with dominant cultures in order to develop their own structural transformation.’

171
Despite the constraints inherent in operating in contemporary economic and social conditions, Maori managed programmes retain autonomy through choice to determine lifestyle practices. In so doing they maintain a context in which traditional values are exemplified and their worth acknowledged as a basis of lifestyle. Hence these interpretive programmes promote, support and endorse traditional culture and lifestyle.

6.3  Biculturalism

6.3.1  The Inclusion of Maori Perspectives.
An examination of the issues in Chapter 5 indicates greater inclusion of Maori perspectives in historical and cultural interpretation in recent years as a result of Maori determination to access cultural material, and responding liberal initiatives on the part of Government and other agencies which deal with interpretation.

Programmes examined in this thesis fall into two broad groupings: those which were designed and managed by Maori and those which reflected partnership initiatives. All were intended to bring a Maori perspective on historical and cultural material to a largely non-Maori visiting public, reflecting educational aspects of bicultural practice outlined in Chapter 2.

Biculturalism involves educational and political aspects and calls for changes on the part of dominant culture at a personal and institutional level. The case studies indicate that bicultural intent has brought about changes in the nature of the material exhibited and to some extent in the processes of presentation, research and teaching, as well as increased liaison with iwi groups.

Changes concern the decolonisation of material, a changing educational component and the achievement of beneficial outcomes for iwi Maori. Beneficial outcomes include increased management involvement, skills development, visibility and improved dialogue. The decolonisation of historic and cultural material involves presenting aspects of previously ‘excluded history’ and of changing earlier presentation techniques to incorporate Maori perspectives and presence. Such perspectives are evident in an increased component of early and localised history and tradition in interpretive programmes, in Maori input into programme planning and presentation, and the inclusion of Maori values and processes. Programmes also demonstrate increasing involvement on the part of tangata whenua in education and management aspects and in modes of presentation: which aspects form the focus and which values are included.
The increased Maori perspective inevitably affects what is experienced by visitors. Today’s visitors are experiencing programmes and displays which carry greater integrity for Maori than was the case with past presentations and this aids in dispelling past stereotypes and introducing more relevant understandings. The attempt to reflect Maori perspectives can be seen in the changing focus of programmes from the homogenous and simplistic approach to material which characterised early interpretive practice and which saw ‘cultures fossilized by a way of knowing that abstracted them from life and history’ (Sahlins 1992), to one which reflects the diversity of iwi concerns and traditions.

This approach reflects contemporary Maori society as dynamic and varied rather than past and static, and enhances the mana of Maori people, both living and past. Furthermore it involves consultation in the planning, establishment and enactment of programmes and restores control over material from the hands of academics to iwi Maori to whom it belongs.

All programmes surveyed demonstrated a concern to reflect a Maori perspective, concern to consult with tangata whenua and the appropriate group for a given area and the demonstration of valued concepts and aspects of Maori life. These are evidenced in their iwi focus, in the inclusion of social and spiritual values and in some, the intent of tangata whenua to ultimately return parts of the interpretive programme to the marae, in reflection of its central place to Maori life and identity. These characteristics have been described in the preceding chapters and signal moves away from earlier assimilative practice.

In the Rotorua examples, features of biculturalism are reflected in showing visitors aspects of Maori life and tradition. In terms of educational aims, the programmes in Rotorua allow in the main a sightseeing type of experience. While this has limitations resultant from a larger scale of operation and brevity of time available, it includes alongside displays of traditional craft, an interpersonal guiding experience, which more closely resembles traditional ways of presentation than impersonal media displays. Other programmes such as marae stay programmes at Whakarewarewa permit a deeper experience of those features, traditions and history which relate particularly to the village and local iwi.

Programmes in museums and those initiated as a Treaty response demonstrate greater Maori involvement in determination of significance, preparation of teaching kits, displays and audio-visual programmes, and actual presentation involving some spiritual aspects and basic language learning. The intent is to enhance the mana of material and people in the eyes of both the visiting public and
the owners of culture. Consultation with iwi groups has resulted in some management input and increased visibility for tangata whenua. Some groups have used programmes to enhance their skills base with a view to subsequently managing their own interpretive ventures.

As outlined there is a commitment by interpreters to employ media, techniques and material which have meaning to both Maori and non-Maori visitor groups, and to tangata whenua. Programmes also include such aspects as interpersonal and oral based interpretation, as well as valued concepts such as manaakitanga. However it also appears in some venues that such techniques will reach smaller groups, and less frequently, than the more economically efficient and popular multi-media productions and this raises questions over which media and methods of production will best prevent diffusion of resources, energy and expertise. Hence Maori stories are being told through mass media as well as being evidenced in more traditional forms of presentation. These presentations, incorporating sound, music and other special effects attempt to portray aspects of traditional culture to large visitor groups. They do so with significant tangata whenua input to ensure that material retains authenticity.

As well as the heightened visibility of things Maori, programmes have value in establishing dialogue. Authentic dialogue permits genuine consultation, where participants are co-equal in the process, and in terms of Freire’s analysis, results in the emergence of a process of co-intentional education where parties are both students and teachers in the educational process. Dialogue thus acknowledges the consultative process as a learning experience for interpreters and for tangata whenua groups. As recorded interpreters acknowledged the learning process as significant and recorded changing understanding with respect to the treatment of Maori cultural property and approaches to tangata whenua groups. Iwi groups derived new skills and management expertise as well as greater knowledge of aspects of past history from the consultative and research process.

Dialogue established as an expression of partnership practice has led to recognition of presumptions and limitations of past practice, and brought about a change of perception for interpreters, evident in modified attitudes to the qualities of sites and material and of the rights associated with them. Changing attitudes on the part of interpreters acknowledge that Maori are the ‘primary proprietors’ of their past (O’Regan 1989:142) and cultural property, and their wishes with respect to their culture and its portrayal are preeminent. Portrayal by any interpretive agency needs to accord with Maori wishes and perceptions and be sympathetic in scale and media. Practice based in authentic dialogue recognises Maori right to determine the nature of involvement, whether there is justification for sites and material to be interpreted within the current social context, and who should be involved in the process: all aspects of Maori control of culture and values.
In these ways interpreters and associated researchers now attempt to place the right and means of interpretation in the hands of those to whom material belongs. Additionally the focus of interpreters serves to present material in a way which allows for more integrity to its culture than was the case under an overtly assimilative policy.

6.3.2 Constraints to Partnership Practice
Unsurprisingly, though programmes demonstrate positive intent and some progress toward the inclusion of Maori perspectives and the expression of cultural control, they also demonstrate difficulties in applying such processes within today’s economic and social context of predominantly eurocentric values and market capitalism, which reflects many of the values underlying assimilative practice.

Within agencies of partnership (seen here in the Department of Conservation), although liaison with iwi ensures some inclusion of Maori perspectives, and staff within the Department liaise over issues which affect Maori, there remain areas where Maori perspectives are overlooked. Additionally and importantly, there has not been a significant change in power and staffing equations in the department itself. On the whole, even within DOC, those attempting to expedite issues, though well intentioned, are predominantly non-Maori. They are themselves constrained by government policies which require that they operate within a system of values and time frames which does not always sit comfortably with tangata whenua.

A further limiting factor concerns constraints on interpretation and advocacy. Interpretive programmes have an essential role in public environmental, historic and bicultural education. Through interpretation, the Department of Conservation carries a significant responsibility in presenting a balanced overview of heritage, and in contributing toward consciousness raising and education of visitors. Interpretive material represents the public awareness and ‘shop-front’ aspects of the department’s advocacy responsibilities and beyond its education function has significant bearing on the public perception of the function and effectiveness of the department itself. Hence, a strong focus of the Department of Conservation’s activity needs to be provision of stimulating and effective interpretive material.

However because of limited financial and human resources, advocacy functions and interpretation among them, are not currently receiving strong priority. The effects of reduced educational spending may be felt in the future in terms of public attitudes with regard to social and conservation issues. To limit interpretation and advocacy spending reflects the shortsightedness of cutting education
spending generally. While there may be short term financial savings, long term loss in terms of socially moderating and conservation values may be considerable.

A further limiting aspect concerns the differing priorities placed on issues by Maori people and by interpretive agencies. In the practice of interpretation priorities placed by Maori on programmes may vary because of the number and nature of pressing concerns facing Maori people today. Processes which are concerned with asseting resources and strengthening and improving Maori social and economic wellbeing are unsurprisingly held by many to be more important at present than education of a largely non-Maori public. For this reason too the Conservation Department’s cross-cultural interpretive programmes are limited.

There also appears at times to be a gap between the focus of agencies such as DOC and what iwi Maori consider to be important, and in some ways this reflects differing cultural preoccupations. Maori concerns were said to focus particularly on aspects of life which permitted expression of traditional cultural values and the exercise of tino rangatiratanga: the mana of association with a place, the central place of the marae in interpreting heritage, the ability to reflect manaakitanga, the values of spirituality and communality, and a sense of the interrelationships between the workings of people and their environment. There appeared too to be less interest in places and concerns outside iwi control.

Maori focus often concerned the inter-relationships of people and an area or species, rather than one area in isolation or protection of a particular individual species. Spiritual values associated with a site or material were stressed in Maori association: eurocentric values focus more on the material and observable. Further differences were evident in determination of significance and issues concerning site presentation: whether it should become a public resource, how it should be presented. A scientific ethos assumes that if something is significant it should be exposed for public scrutiny, whereas in many instances for Maori significant sacred sites are protected in secrecy.

The gap in perceptions noted here highlights the continuation of a predominantly monocultural perspective in our society. Market values appear to be increasing rather than decreasing this monocultural focus. While the intent of partnership agencies such as the Department of Conservation is positive and more avenues are now open as a conduit for Maori perspectives, structural limitations in institutions suggest a marked change to practices is not yet achieved because of a lack of real change in wider society. The focus which drives our institutional processes is as yet predominantly
economic and reflects our 'present culture's perception that economics is the only governor of survival' (Jackman 1982:211).

Also basic to these differing perceptions is that fact that Maori need to see reasons to participate in partnership: in terms of positive outcomes and a likelihood of their perspective being adequately reflected. Programme outcomes need to be seen as in some way beneficial, otherwise the value of participation is questionable for Maori. Importantly they need to reflect Maori situation as equal in partnership processes. Furthermore, any meaningful partnership needs to involve not only balance in the power equation, but also to recognise the place of values other than predominantly economic, such as the spiritual and moderating social values which Maori traditions endorse. Traditional Maori perspectives blend physical, social and spiritual aspects, and are not based predominantly in resource consumption and profit making, which currently underlie our economic ethos.

Thus while a bicultural ideal exists, it is less easy to practice within institutional structures which remain predominantly driven by western values. As long as these values are taken as the norm by the general public, and social and institutional modus operandi follows western style models, Maori values will not be accorded equal validity, nor will Maori people be proportionately represented in institutions.

Chapter 2 notes that bicultural practice is required to take place on two levels: personal and institutional. The personal practice of biculturalism is apparent in the educational aspects considered above. Institutional practice requires genuine power sharing, equality of perspective, equal visibility in institutional practice and decision making and equal visibility of Maori personnel, language and traditional processes. While some bicultural commitment by interpretive agencies like the Department of Conservation definitely exists, the institutional structure and ethos remains predominantly western and capitalist: market driven and hence assimilative. While in theory, partnership seeks to embody the principles of equity, and recognition of Maori distinctiveness and rights as a people, in practice the context of market economics is likely to reduce the practice of choice and equity in the provision of opportunity and in according validity to Maori values and processes. Although some Maori groups may benefit from market choice in their economic ventures, overall basic cultural values are at odds: individualism vies with communality, the ascendancy of economic preoccupations vies with social and spiritual priorities and the eurocentric assumptions of the dominant culture are generally accorded more validity than Maori beliefs.
It is therefore unsurprising that many Maori have chosen to pursue a path of autonomy with regard to the organisation of institutions which affect them. The examples of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori are cited as inspirational in indicating what can be achieved when Maori organise their own institutions and when the validity and legitimacy of Maori values and processes is acknowledged as basic to the operation. This suggests that a more real partnership practice may occur when iwi Maori are in a stronger position vis a vis cultural, social and economic well-being. Waitangi Tribunal claims represent an important avenue for iwi to consolidate their economic base and mana, and Molloy has noted (1993:68) that future partnership practice is likely to involve more DOC/ iwi joint ventures as a result of this and of DOC resource constraints. Possibly such ventures will allow for more even input and beneficial outcomes than is currently the case.

Genuine bicultural practice requires a demonstrated shift in the institutional power equation and the achievement of social equity. It requires the visible presence of Maori perspectives in institutions in language, values and programmes. It also requires that the venue and mode of consultation be equally comfortable for participating groups and that the validity of underlying values is acknowledged. It requires particularly that partnership practice acknowledges equality and is liberating rather than in any way oppressive in its operation. Bicultural and partnership programmes should exemplify Treaty assurances of tino rangatiratanga, and empower Maori and enhance understanding of things Maori while not diminishing Maori energy and skills in their practice.

Given these characteristics the contemporary exercise of biculturalism must be acknowledged as more precept than practice. However, interpretive programmes are endeavouring to present Maori perspectives and to establish dialogue: a necessary prerequisite to partnership practice, within the predominantly monocultural framework of today’s society.

6.4 Assimilation

Characteristics of assimilation are still evidenced in those factors, noted above, which limit bicultural practice. A central factor is the ascendancy of economic values. As noted in Chapter 2 market economic practice embodies many of the characteristics of assimilation and represents an extreme application of its values. Market economic practice in New Zealand has increased in New Zealand in recent years concurrently with the stated policy aim of biculturalism. While there has been greater consultation than in the past, concerns still exist as to the continued and appropriate presentation of Maori perspectives because of tensions caused by increasingly apparent aspects of the market economy. A primary focus on economic criteria promotes competition for resources and increasing privatisation, and for interpretive and advocacy agencies invokes the question of who holds
educational responsibility and what values are promoted. These concerns are shared by other educational institutions in the face of increasing privatisation of educational facilities.

In this study issues associated with the practice of market economics (and examined in Chapter 5) concerned the scale of operations, the nature of 'time as money', the problems and priorities of payment and programme funding and the potential for programmes to move out of local, and Maori control. These issues are further considered here and discussion indicates preferred options for future interpretive practice.

In market economics, making a profit is the primary motive, rather than making a living and allowing for the meaningful inclusion of other social values or benefits. If cultural aspects are to be shared in interpretation, Maori host groups need to retain control of the operation in economic as well as cultural terms. This represents a crucial aspect of autonomy.

As noted (Chapter 2) market economics tend to be associated with privatisation and factors arising out of competition. In market economic practice, power rests in the hands of those with investment capital and has resulted in the increasing involvement of large trans-national companies and a focus on large scale operations at the expense of small operators. While some local and Maori groups have investment capital and thus the means to maintain economic independence, for other groups choice as to operation is limited by available finances. The involvement of foreign capital may carry serious implications in terms of loss of local control and more particularly here in Maori autonomy and control. These factors may limit choice in the presentation of cultural material, as indeed with nature heritage. Likewise association with corporate sponsors may not sit easily with the spiritual and traditional aspects of sites and programmes. Maori groups themselves need consider such issues and to decide which avenues are the most appropriate to follow if they wish to present cultural aspects in interpretation.

The 1992 'Ecotourism Conference'\(^{\text{221}}\) highlighted similar themes to this thesis: means of facilitating eco-tourism and eco-cultural tourism\(^{\text{222}}\) in ways which benefit local people and conserve traditional


\(^{\text{222}}\) Helu-Thaman, addressing the 1992 'Ecotourism Conference' referred to eco-cultural tourism as 'integrating local communities and their land use and conservation patterns into ecotourism planning'.

179
lifestyle. The findings of this conference concerning cultural interpretation also indicated that ideally programmes be smaller-scale, in the hands of the owners of culture, that interpretation be according to their wishes and value system, that programmes permit betterment in terms of life situation and not impact adversely on chosen lifestyle. Such operations were said to best protect the resource and allow for the greatest depth and integrity in presentation (Helu-Thaman, Marsh, Oelrichs and Valentine. Ecotourism Conference 1992).

Ironically New Zealand Tourism Board representatives indicated a focus on large numbers of overseas tourists for whom a ‘sightseeing’ experience rather than a more in-depth interpretive experience is likely to be provided (Wheeler\textsuperscript{223}, Law P.C). Such a focus views profit motives as primary and large scale operations as potentially creating the greatest profit margins. However it may in fact represent ‘the trap of profitless volume’(Oelrichs 1992:14). At a certain point costs of sustaining large scale operations may outweigh profits, and beneficial outcomes diminish. Because of the pressure of numbers, large scale operations render resource protection more difficult, in terms of physical wear and tear and the need for increasing facilities and also in terms of the spiritual aspects associated with Maori cultural material and sites. Both factors may significantly alter the character of a place or resource.

A policy aimed at large visitor numbers does not address other functions underlying interpretive ventures: those of social (and bicultural) education, of sustaining traditional lifestyles, of conserving valued material and traditions, of allowing material and social benefits to the owners of cultural property and of the practice of political power and autonomy. Delegates to the above conference strongly contended that mass tourism, which tends to coexist with large scale operations, may destroy the asset. Beneficiaries from such operations are often the operators of transport and big accommodation complexes: little finds its way to the local people. Small scale operations in both cultural and natural heritage tourism ventures were said to be preferable for reasons of investment scale, authenticity of material, resource protection and control over both programmes and resources (Wheeler P.C).

\textsuperscript{223} New Zealand Tourism Board seeks 3 million visitors per annum by the end of the century and is looking to overseas investment to fund this expansion. 80\% of Tourism Board funding for overseas promotion for NZ tourism has been spent on promotions to attract foreign capital for large tourism complexes (Wheeler P.C).
As in the case studies the question of appropriate scale may be seen to affect Maori participation. In the partnership practice described, the most successful dialogue was established in those programmes which allowed for flexibility of approach because of their relatively small personnel base and relatively uncomplicated legal and administrative standing. Programmes with a larger, more complex administrative base allowed less flexibility in consultation, and a less personal quality in presentation. Maori managed programmes recorded some of the limiting effects which accompany larger scale programmes, but had themselves weighed the cost/benefit equation and chosen their mode of operation. Preferred modes will vary dependant on the nature of the resource and facilities for interpretation.

Large scale operations require larger capital investment, which in the current economic climate, may imply the use of foreign or large business capital for investment. When programmes and resources move into foreign ownership a loss of local control over the resource results, as well as a loss of control over programmes, and importantly the loss of potential to return revenue to the local source. The achievement of autonomy is thus limited at several levels.

Foreign control may result in a superficiality and homogeneity of programme production, as production becomes more cosmopolitan and less authentically local, in much the same way that ‘Hiltons’ and ‘McDonalas’ are similar the world over. Overseas perception and interpretation of the nature of a ‘New Zealand experience’ may far from adequately present the qualities that both Maori and non-Maori New Zealander’s wish to promote. In the case of cultural material, as well as moving from local and Maori control, presentation may move far from a situation of cultural integrity.

Considerations such as these are faced by groups undertaking interpretive programmes in the current economic climate. In establishing programmes, pressures and trends associated with market economics must be evaluated. The type of operations outlined above may be less sympathetic to Maori values and practices, as well as to conservation values, and may undermine the crucial aspect of local people participating in the presentation of their culture and history, according to their preference. However different programmes and situation will call for differing strategies. The

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224 In recent years the New Zealand Tourist Board has depended to some extent on overseas travel writers for promotional purposes. A recent video display of their focus indicated that only one production focused in any depth on the country’s natural and cultural resources. Others emphasized the country’s special qualities as offering action packed, adventurous experiences for thrill-seekers (Wheeler P.C).
determination of factors such as scale and media and the nature of involvement should rest with those whose lifestyle and history is presented.

In the Conservation Department the impact of market economics is evident in sectional competition for resources and in the increasing commercialisation and privatisation of some areas of departmental responsibility. This is apparent in the establishment of concessions and in the increasing presence of corporate sponsors. Such groups do not carry the same Treaty obligations as the department, nor in all likelihood the same concern for issues and values other than economic (Mason, Law, Wheeler P.C). A primary concern for profit ultimately discounts other moderating social influences such as Maori and conservation values. The department must ensure that practices which reflect an increasingly commercialised mode of operation also continue to demonstrate partnership practices and to give high regard to values other than economic.

Limitations to the department's bicultural and interpretive practice can be traced to the increasing application of a market ethos and its associated characteristics. Shortcomings in partnership processes derive from resource limitations and the consequent constraints on interpretive functions, and from structural limitations in the department in terms of Maori presence. An overriding ethos of profit generation may place both natural and cultural resources at risk and make the practice of heritage conservation more difficult. This affirms the difficulties of applying a Maori perspective in agencies which operate largely according to eurocentric and capitalistic precepts. Despite legislative directives over Treaty obligations and goodwill on the part of staff, market dictates are such that even the business of conservation becomes difficult for the Conservation Department. Competition for resources undermines those aspects of its performance which are based in values and criteria other than economic. Maori cultural values fall into this area and Maori perspectives are at times compromised. Furthermore Maori consensus and consultative processes are seen as slow, training programmes are limited and Maori personnel are few and thinly spread within the department. Consequently at present interpretation of Maori perspectives is largely limited to those regions where there is a strong Maori presence, or facilities are being upgraded and this trend is indicated as likely to continue.

6.5 Future Options

The issues outlined above indicate that aspects of all the models examined are evident in the practice of interpretation, signalling alongside Government determination to pursue a market model in economic and social strategy, a parallel Maori determination to see Maori perspectives evidenced in our society, and Maori people accessing control of their lives and culture. From the interactive
process of these parallel processes emerge the issues and anomalies described in this study. If Government continues to move towards an increasingly privatised society and to maintain requirements of cost recovery in its institutions, one can expect to encounter the continued incidence of similar issues to those described in this study and also the recurrence of similar anomalies and contradictions.

The findings in this paper reinforce concerns that an increasingly market based approach to the interpretation of cultural heritage has the potential to undermine the authenticity of material and values presented and the lifestyle of the local people, because of factors such as the commercialisation of programmes, the dictates of time as money, an emphasis on entertainment at the expense of ‘truth’ and use of the media of the information society at the expense of more traditional means of presentation. As well there exists the possibility of the detrimental effects outlined above that larger scale operations and foreign ownership may bring. Importantly an increasingly commercial focus to operations may undermine Maori choices and opportunities in presentation and lifestyle. For these reasons smaller scale, interactive operations are cited as more likely to benefit participating Maori groups. Those involved in the practice of interpretation must be mindful of these issues in the choices they make in programme development and practice. However ultimately choice as to the nature and scale of operation should rest with those whose culture history and lifestyle are presented.

While interpretive agencies like DOC and museums present Maori history and culture with more authenticity than in the past, they still appear to be far from the reality of genuine bicultural or partnership practice. However positive elements are evident. The case studies and issues in this paper raise awareness of areas of decolonisation as well as issues of different ways of handling material, reflecting a variety of responses within our society. They also raise issues of areas of conflict or those where a greater flexibility of approach is are called for and where the choices and options should lie with Maori people.

While some Maori groups may benefit from the application of market economic practices, it appears that overall a declining potential for genuine partnership practice exists within such an economic structure. A situation which continues to exemplify a lack of proportionate Maori presence and beneficial outcomes would tend to endorse Anson’s observation (1991:65) that

the colonisers devotion to the culture of the periphery is a gesture of appropriation...The ideological effect of post-colonial imagery is to deflect attention from neo-colonial power.

Overall at present the political and economic process affirms the status quo in terms of endorsing eurocentric norms and of consolidating power in the hands of the already powerful. Such a situation
indicates a failure to practice the precepts of biculturalism as they relate to power sharing and
endorses Maori concern over whether it is appropriate to pursue bicultural policy until Maori are in
a stronger position vis a vis their own autonomy. However changes are likely to come about as a
result of Treaty claims and largely because of Maori determination to control their lives and cultural
property.

Despite the above limitations and as evidenced in these and other significant educational and economic
programmes, iwi Maori are working towards accessing control over their lives and the processes
which affect them. Maori pursuit of autonomy exemplifies Sahlins (Lecture 1992) observation that
‘Ethnohistory has been seen as a record of decline and fall but it is also a record of people’s
taking cultural responsibility for what is afflicting them’.

Maori initiatives exemplify Freire’s condition of ‘cultural action for freedom’ in working to asset their
lives, culture and values in a context of Maori management and control rather than one dominated
by Pakeha and Pakeha interests. This signals the intent to structurally change the conditions and
institutions in which they operate.

Programmes which most ideally allow for the exercise of Maori self-determination were said to
reflect the following characteristics.

- They are locally controlled. Ideally operators and interpreters are the owners of culture or
working in a dialogical partnership.

- Scale and time frame for planning and programme preparation is at the discretion of such
operators. Programme planners should be mindful of issues of resource and lifestyle
protection in determining scale.

- Programme funding is sourced in a way which is comfortable for participating iwi groups.
Payment and recompense should be at the discretion of contributing groups. Recompense
may take the form of payment, koha, enhancement of skills and mana or a blend of these.
Whatever its form it needs to recognise the specialist nature of skills and knowledge.

- Media used are sympathetic to traditional means of knowledge transmission. For many this
means interpersonal and focused on the marae. For others in sightseeing situations, mass
media are useful in reaching large numbers over a sustained time period.

- Outcomes should be positive in terms of lifestyle retention and betterment.

- In all instances choice should exist as to preferred options.

Some themes endorsed by Maori people in the course of this study include the involvement of the
relevant hapu or iwi group, the inclusion of elders as a valued source of knowledge, the teaching of
children to ensure cultural continuity and the return of programmes and material to the marae if that is the wish of local people.

While partnership programmes demonstrate the intent to include a Maori perspective and greater visibility of aspects of Maori history and culture, for reasons indicated Western style institutional arrangements still predominate. However those involved in partnership programmes in the case studies indicate positive ways of approaching partnership practice, ways which more readily endorse tino rangatiratanga over material and sites and which allow for dialogical consultation. Alongside the points listed above, they cited the following as noteworthy.

- Iwi Maori will not necessarily participate unless they see a fair chance of being heard, and can perceive positive aspects deriving from programmes. Participation may likewise be limited for traditional and spiritual reasons associated with the site or material.
- Programmes need to allow for varied responses, not assume a Maori homogeneity. This reflects varied iwi bases and differing levels of traditional belief and practice.
- Consultation processes should be those that iwi groups feel comfortable with, which may call for flexible negotiation processes, venues and timetables.
- Approach should be though people with the appropriate knowledge and iwi association, not any 'Maori expert.'
- Consultation should be impartial and open. Where several iwi groups claim association it is not the role of non-Maori agencies to take sides: Maori themselves have definite processes for determining tangata whenua status, and the Waitangi Tribunal exists to determine claims.

- Small scale programmes may allow greater negotiating flexibility than large, and importantly allow greater local control, resource protection and more interpersonal interpretation of history, lifestyle and traditions.
- Overall while agencies such as DOC may hold custodial responsibility, cultural material and sites are Maori cultural property: their wishes with regard to treatment are preeminent and cultural property should be treated with appropriate respect. Ideally Maori should be the agents for interpretation of their cultural property, on their own terms and in their chosen context, or employing the services of chosen resource people.

As outlined in this paper these are issues being addressed by many of the groups involved in interpretation of Maori cultural material, history and lifestyle. Partnership agencies like museums and DOC have a useful custodial and interpretative function until such time as iwi choose to reassert this role. The current situation points to the potential for future partnerships to use the skills of
resource people, coupled with tangata whenua input on terms which they choose. Already some iwi groups have the means to provide interpretive programmes, and the resolution of further Treaty claims may place other iwi in a similar management role (Molloy 1993). Ecotourism seems likely to become an increasingly important contributor to New Zealand’s economy and tangata whenua groups are likely to be increasingly involved in the presentation of facets of their culture, history and lifestyle. Their decisions about the nature of interpretive programmes are likely to reflect consideration of issues such as those outlined above.

6.6 Significant Themes

Significant themes in this study concern self-determination and differing priorities and perspectives. In the area of heritage interpretation, Maori people and their cultural values have long been touted in tourist terms as representing New Zealand’s ‘unique’ culture, with little regard actually attached to the status of the culture and people. Sahlins (Ibid.1992) observed that

‘currently ethnic distinctiveness is perceived from the vantage point if not also to the advantage of the culture of dominance... as part of the culture of tourism.’

However he notes that in ‘the developing world wide movement of cultural defiance...imperialist victims are set to take their cultural distance. Groups which preserve cultures are able to organise and fight foreign domination. Hence the social struggle for liberation is above all an act of culture.’

This description reflects Maori determination to control the processes which affect them and to bring about cultural, social and economic well-being by chosen means. This understanding underlies the pursuit of cultural difference and autonomy and is demonstrated in interpretation as in other areas of life.

The case studies and discussion indicate that differing perceptions affected interpretive planning and practice. Differences in perception concern Maori and non-Maori and different Maori organisations. For iwi Maori differing perceptions relate to programme form, to differing iwi bases and also to varied approaches to the application of traditional values in contemporary society. They are further evidenced in a range of approaches to skills, in the recognition that while some Maori reject scientific based and academic skills as irrelevant, many accept the complementary contributions that different skills can bring. Likewise while the interpretation of sites and material for visiting public does not represent a priority issue for some Maori among their many pressing contemporary concerns, others see interpretation as an effective way of demonstrating autonomy, cultural difference and as contributing a useful economic base.
Differing perceptions affect modes of presentation, the degree of universality of approach, priorities in aims and outcomes, and perceptions underlying interpretive practice. They indicate a number of creative responses to contemporary practice and that ‘cultural orders reveal cultural properties by the way they respond to diverse circumstances’ (Sahlins. Ibid. 1992).

This contemporary perspective indicates an emerging identity which recognises a variety of options as to perspectives and chosen procedures, endorsing the diversity of cultural expression. As noted, the diverse responses indicate the dynamic nature of contemporary Maori society and the options for plurality in our society at large, signifying

‘the impact of modernity not as leading to the demoralisation or deculturation of the colonised but as offering new opportunities for improvisation and combination’\(^{225}\).

Other differences cited have their basis in cultural perceptions of Maori and Pakeha and are exemplified in basic assumptions. While a scientific ethos supports the notion of exposure in the interests of education, some Maori view site interpretation as an inappropriate intrusion. Moreover for some a deliberate policy of protection does not necessarily accord with the notion of environmental holism. Why protect sites and material from the workings of Papatuanuku, the earth mother they came from? (Para P.C) These are but a few examples of differing perceptions. Others have been referred to in previous chapters.

Differing cultural perceptions naturally affect the degree to which interpretive programmes can restore the original reality of sites and material for contemporary visitors. Site interpretation and historical recreation can go some way towards restoring provenance to material and can represent an effective means of involving visitors, but it would be simplistic to assume that visitors can totally regain a sense of ‘how it was’ because differing value systems naturally affect the way sites and cultural material are presented and perceived. While the public will gain some cross-cultural awareness and experience from interpretive programmes, it would be naive to imagine that they can recapture the total experience of the original context of places and lifestyle.

Material presented can only ever permit a limited experience of ‘how it was’, and then not always in ways which reflect traditional values. The integrity of a presentation can be compromised by over-simplification of material, sensationalism or the temptation to modify ‘truth’ for commercial reasons.

\(^{225}\) Quoted from J. Clifford ‘The Impact of Culture’ by During in ‘What was the West’ p768.
Likewise a scientific type of presentation or one that focuses predominantly on visible and material features carries with it a degree of cultural assumption.

The focus and experience of both visitor and interpreter, and historical and geographical context inevitably colour what is experienced. Put another way 'ideas are interpretable only in terms of their cultural relevance' (Norris 1985:21). Likewise Gadamer has noted that ‘nothing makes sense in isolation from its own informing cultural context.’

Interpreters need to approach the exercise with greatest possible integrity to the source material. They also need to recognise the preconceptions they bring to programmes about the way of approaching and handling material, and realise that while interpretation may be useful, each perception or presentation is not absolute, but part of a particular ‘mythical register’ (Sahlins Ibid. 1992). Those best equipped to interpret cultural material are those who share its cultural context, or register.

Interpretive images, like other texts are part of the dynamic historical process and are themselves subject to interpretation. To reiterate

‘It is not the literal past, the facts of history that shape us but images of the past embodied in language, and we must never cease reviewing those images, because once we do we fossilize.’

In this quotation the components of language, cultural and historical context and the dynamic nature of the historical process are recognised as affecting texts and the values they present and interpret.

Nonetheless site interpretation and the types of interpretive programmes described can offer a view into context and an opportunity for participatory experience which may be less easily achieved with other interpretative media. In their attempts at decolonisation of historical and cultural material and in presentations which attempt bicultural practice, they also contrast with early spurious and limited presentations.

Many people accept that interpretation is a potentially powerful medium of environmental and social education. Within the Department of Conservation interpretation represents an important public interface, necessary for advocacy of conservation and the department’s activities and as well, as a consciousness raising medium for Treaty issues. Beyond this it functions as an educative source

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188
because of the Department of Conservation’s kaitiaki role over large areas of the country, and because like museum staff, Conservation Department staff work at a point of cultural interface.

Beyond the actual interpretive material, value in educational terms lies in the establishment of dialogue in programme planning and organisation, and in the exposure of non-Maori interpretive agents to Maori ways, beliefs and practices. It is by initiating such programmes that interpreters become aware of differing modes of perception and of the limitations of their own prior perceptions about appropriate interpretive modes. It serves as a reminder that ‘prettended rational discourse (occurs) in a particular cultural dialect’ (Sahlins 1992).

The consultative process can lead to the establishment of the dialogue which underpins co-intentional education, the basis of a liberating society. Those interviewed in the course of this paper indicated a change of understanding, a different way of approaching a site or cultural material, so that the material interpreted is rightly recognised as belonging to Maori and interpretive programmes are designed with Maori active in their planning and implementation. Hence programmes have value, as part of a dynamic social and educational process, in terms of changing perceptions, on the part of ‘experts’ as well as for the visiting public and simultaneously providing for Maori the opportunity to access cultural property.

In interpretive practice, a noted condition is the need, as in all education, to begin at the point of visitor experience and take visitors ‘one step beyond’ previous experience. If the frame of reference is beyond people’s experience, they will lose interest. To be accessible interpretive programmes will therefore to some degree reflect popular culture. However they should also reflect concepts and processes valued by Maori and which Maori choose to offer. Therefore while many interpretive programmes are accepted as limited in terms of the ‘whole story’, such ventures have use as a step along the way, as a point of entry into a different way of viewing the world and applying different values and perspectives.

The establishment of dialogue may lead to more effective bicultural practice. The nature of the dialogue established and the respect accorded to Maori rights and knowledge determines whether partnership initiatives prosper or become recolonisation. Authentic dialogue is as yet a difficult process to achieve in agencies operating in a largely monocultural framework. Furthermore it is dependent on what iwi Maori choose to reveal of their culture and whether they choose to do so in a contemporary context of predominantly materialist and economic values.
Programmes cited in this paper go further than earlier examples in presenting material and values from a Maori perspective. They aid in establishing dialogue and reviewing history, in conserving and heightening the visibility of things Maori, in introducing Maori attitudes, spirituality and ways of behaving, in providing role models and in some cases in affording Maori their place in management and control. Additionally, in the inclusion of a differing value system from that which is currently driving New Zealand’s economic and social experience, they offer the potential for social and environmental benefit.

As noted interpretation plays a significant role in non-formal social and environmental education and its practice demonstrates the values endorsed by interpretive agencies. Bicultural practice is reflected in issues of power and control and also by the values, processes, media and institutions employed: the cultural context. Agencies considered in this paper have sought to practice biculturalism but the overall context has remained largely monocultural. A substantial shift in power relations and in perspectives is needed in wider society to really demonstrate bicultural practice. However it will not be adequately reflected by simply including Maori personnel and aspects within the existing dominant value system: Maori values and perspectives also need to be meaningfully included.

Additionally Maori perspectives offer positive options in areas of social and environmental responsibility and conservation. Meeker (1973:131) notes that a ‘demonstrable mythology of our culture assumes that ‘civilised’ structures of human life are ultimately compatible with systems of balance of nature’. The policy direction pursued by western style economies in recent years has allowed continued environmental exploitation, favoured large scale corporate arrangements, and endorsed underlying precepts of economic value, individualism and competition. Meeker further notes (Ibid) that ‘the adaptation of human affairs to natural processes is one of the essential responsibilities of civilisation’. In terms of options for future interpretive practice, and for the broader issues of biculturalism and environmental and social well-being, it would appear a useful time to assess contemporary practice, and to consider the implications of the dominant value system.

Growing environmental and social crises are indicated as a likely result of a continued economic emphasis, resource exploitation and competitive policy direction. While sustainability is an increasing concern in our society, we do not yet see mechanisms to achieve it credibly evidenced. However contemporary themes of environmental and social responsibility, and associated themes of interrelationship, empowerment and diversity of perspectives are endorsed by many groups in our society, and Maori groups among them. Maori people traditionally endorse a holistic environmental
approach and traditional Maori values may offer useful perspectives for sustainability and social support.

Sustainability is a theme of significance to Maori and underpins traditional Maori values, belief systems and regulatory mechanisms. In cultural interpretive programmes and the associated tourist industry, sustainability has relevance in the perpetuation of traditional lifestyle, the conservation of resources, whether natural or cultural, and to issues of control such as local autonomy of programmes. On a broader scale sustainability has relevance in environmental terms and is intimately linked with interpretation’s significant conservation theme.

Addressing the Ecotourism Conference John Marsh noted:

‘We did not inherit this planet from our ancestors. We borrowed it from future generations’. For Maori people, traditional concepts of communal responsibility and environmental respect are linked with ‘mauri, the life essence, a sense of interconnection, processes and interdependence’ (Marsh Ibid). They embody values based in the position of humanity as part of the ecological balance of the world, not apart from it. Such values are more in tune with conservation and sustainability than those which dictate our present policy direction, and such a value system could offer constructive and useful perspectives, and alternatives to the current economic ethos. A real partnership, rather than maintaining the monocultural perception of traditional Maori values as not really relevant in today’s society, would acknowledge and demonstrate the use and applicability of such models.

Maori people interviewed felt it to be particularly appropriate that these values should be meaningfully present in interpretation and that Maori values and systems should be meaningfully applied in conservation. As well as promoting values which point more convincingly toward a sustainable future, a more genuine representation of Maori perspectives affords legitimacy to Maori in terms of rights, values and processes.

Continued and increased market focus is likely to involve the application of values and practices which do not readily accommodate Maori practices and values nor concerns of environmental protection. These factors naturally impact on the practice of interpretation and are reflected in its role in environmental and social education. If we seek to promote a uniquely New Zealand interpretive experience, it will best be seen in programmes which less reflect the stereotyping of the past and the trends of transnational influences, and more the inclusion of values which are indigenous to this country, such as those that Maori traditionally endorse and are increasingly exhibiting in their
programmes. Interpretation of natural and cultural heritage is an area where such values should be demonstrated for

‘The essence of tourism is to be found in the cultural distinctiveness of the country, the art forms, music, song, dance, history and lifestyle of the people indigenous to that place. The significant constant that makes one destination truly different from any other is inextricably embedded in the people, their cultural roots and values of that nation’ (Marsh Ibid).

The inclusion of such cultural aspects will benefit both interpretation and also Maori people. Culture relates not only to artifacts, values and processes but extends as well to overall environmental context and cultural wellbeing. John Marsh noted (Ecotourism address 1992) that ‘the cultural well-being of iwi Maori can be ensured through active involvement in conservation issues, access to traditional activities and eco-tourism and through the recognition of the value traditional knowledge plays in these areas’. Future interpretive programmes have the potential to blend these factors, and their success and effectiveness in creating a positive experience for both visitors and owners of culture will depend on choices that interpretive agencies take in their programme planning and practice.

6.7 Conclusion

Interpretation exists as an aspect of informal environmental education. It is also an aspect of tourist experience, which seems likely to contribute significantly to New Zealand’s future economic development. Hence it has the educative potential to reach both local and overseas visitors and contribute to shaping positive attitudes to conservation, social and cultural issues.

The options that interpreters take in their programme planning significantly determine what is experienced and hence the potential for learning on the part of all visitor groups. They also determine outcomes for the resource, whether natural, cultural or human, in terms of protection and benefit.

Interpretive agencies carry considerable responsibility to reflect what is understood to be the ‘truth’ for the times and the ‘truth’ for our times is said to include bicultural and environmental responsibilities. The inclusion of a greater Maori perspective in interpretive programmes should increase public understanding of cultural, historic and environmental issues. It should also remind us that New Zealand’s past extends well beyond the period of European settlement. The inclusion of Maori perspectives also enhances the personal awareness of interpreters involved, in their understanding of both Maori and eurocentric values, and in terms of Maori control over cultural material and processes. This inevitably affects what is experienced by visitors.
As well, for Maori, programmes can demonstrate self-determination, both in management participation and in the inclusion of traditional values and belief systems. Maori are moving to access control over their own lives and cultural property and this is expressed in interpretive presentations. Favoured options exist as to the nature of programmes which more genuinely mirror Maori wishes and rights. Tourist enterprises need to be appropriate in terms of Maori culture and values, to reflect Maori choice as to scale and venue, to be sensitive to Maori wishes and interpret via the appropriate people. These concerns are shared by other indigenous peoples whose culture is interpreted and represent aspects of accessing and regaining control of their culture.

Interpreters admit that the process is ‘value laden’, in terms of the objectives and understandings, for like other educators and historians their work reflects inherited assumptions and contemporary expectations. While recent interpretive ventures certainly try to reflect a Maori perspective more closely, and a perspective that is uniquely of this country, the considerable influence of transnational political and economic trends make it difficult to do so at times. In our society, while policy direction is not overtly assimilative, the net effects of economic and social policy are still oppressive. However iwi Maori are responding in innovative ways to such constraints in both Maori managed programmes and in partnership situations. Where agencies employ dialogical consultation which permits meaningful inclusion of Maori perspectives, interpreters can offer a ‘uniquely New Zealand’ experience which combines Maori accessing control over cultural materials, Maori values and processes being evidenced and positive outcomes from presentations.

This thesis has highlighted some of positive aspects as well as the contradictions, tensions, conflicts of values and differing perceptions which arise when programmes of Maori autonomy and bicultural intent are pursued within an as yet largely monocultural social and institutional framework. Market economic strategies appear to increase rather than decrease this monocultural focus. A deeper understanding of differing perceptions will only develop through a critical examination of (and change to) the basis of contemporary economic and social direction, and greater Maori participation in the development of programmes, or such programmes (and at such times) as Maori choose to offer.

If policy direction continues to follow market economic precepts, future eco-tourism and interpretation ventures may favour enterprises which are increasingly privatised, conceived on a large scale to sustain the needs of mass tourism, and which may create difficulties for resource protection. Such a policy direction is at odds with that endorsed by representatives of the local peoples of New Zealand.
and the Pacific involved in interpretation and tourism\textsuperscript{228}, and may result in further loss of control over local assets and cultural material. If our interpretive programmes seek to produce a uniquely New Zealand experience, it would seem appropriate that, rather than reflect the trends and characteristics of an increasingly transnational, economically dominated society, they embody more than superficial aspects of Maori values, rights and traditions and that they make more than token reference to the place of Maori in our society. They need to exhibit those characteristics and values which authentically exemplify Maoridom and which Maori themselves choose to present.

Furthermore if we are to become a more just society, then the 'tyranny of the majority' must allow for other groups to live according to their preferred lifestyle and values and for this presence to be meaningfully evidenced in our social fabric. Maori values must be recognised as carrying no less validity than those which inform majority policy direction. To reach such recognition requires examination of both the values of minority groups as has occurred in relation to Maori but also (and generally overlooked) an examination of the values of the dominant groups which to date have largely conditioned our social direction.

Furthermore interpreters cited responsibilities in contributing to visitor perceptions concerning broader environmental themes. At a time of environmental and social crises brought about by policies of consumption and competition, the majority status of dominant society does not constitute a right to monopoly on either power or the future.

Maori perspectives offer usefully applicable values such as those of communal responsibility, of respect, of belonging and a spiritual and holistic framework for environmental perceptions. A uniquely New Zealand interpretive experience can present values endorsing a holistic view of the environment and perceptions based in environmental and social responsibility. Such perspectives can offer a more than superficial view into the original culture of this country and as well, contribute toward a viable framework for a more sustainable future.

Such interpretive experience should as far as possible reflect the perceptions and choices of the owners of culture. Within this process methods are not definitive, nor views and practices homogenous but reflect a multitude of viewpoints within a changing process. It is essential to have regard to the differing perceptions of each group as well as to their rights, for the expression of

\textsuperscript{228} Ecotourism Conference October 1992.
choice is a reflection of autonomy. With such a focus for priority, and reflecting cultural diversity and differing perspectives, our society may in time come to represent a society of liberating qualities.
GLOSSARY OF MAORI WORDS

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<tr>
<th>Maori Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>ariki</td>
<td>chief, leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>aroha</td>
<td>love, respect</td>
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<tr>
<td>hapu</td>
<td>sub-tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td>hui</td>
<td>meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe</td>
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<td>kaitiaki</td>
<td>custodian</td>
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<td>karakia</td>
<td>prayers</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaumatua</td>
<td>elder(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaupapa</td>
<td>scheme, plan, proposal</td>
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<tr>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>protocol, ceremony</td>
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<tr>
<td>kete</td>
<td>flax carrying bag</td>
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<tr>
<td>koha</td>
<td>gift, contribution</td>
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<td>Kohanga reo</td>
<td>Maori language nurseries</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuia</td>
<td>old woman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kura Kaupapa Maori</td>
<td>Maori philosophy and language primary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahi</td>
<td>work, occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahinga kai</td>
<td>food sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>authority, control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manakitanga</td>
<td>hospitality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marae</td>
<td>enclosed space in front of meeting house, sometimes refers to village around meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mauri</td>
<td>active life principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maunga</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokopuna</td>
<td>grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noa</td>
<td>ordinary, common, free from tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga</td>
<td>the (definite article) plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papakainga</td>
<td>marae residences, village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipi</td>
<td>shell fish species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piupiu</td>
<td>fringed flax skirt-type garment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pounamu</td>
<td>greenstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>powhiri</td>
<td>welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatiratanga</td>
<td>authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runanga</td>
<td>local council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

197
tangata whenua  people of the land (used locally and nationally)
taonga    treasure, valued possession or resource
tapu      sacred, prohibited
tauwi     strange tribe or foreign race
tino      very, absolute
		
tohungatanga skilled specialist knowledge
tupuna (tipuna) ancestors
turangawaewae ancestral land
urupa     burial sites
wahi tapu  sacred places
waiata    songs
whakapapa genealogy
whakatauki proverbs
whanau   family (extended)
wharenui  meeting house
whare runanga house involving local runanga group
whare tupuna ancestral house

Place Names

Aoraki             Mt. Cook
Tamakimakarau      Auckland
Tai Poutini         West Coast
Te Wai Pounamu     South Island

Gods

Ranginui           Sky Father
Papatuanuku        Earth Mother
Tane Mahuta        God of the Forests
Rongo             God of Kumara and cultivated foods
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