

Human Heritage Management in New Zealand in the Year 2000 and Beyond

**prepared by
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Contents

	Page
Acknowledgements.....	5
Abbreviations.....	7
Chapter 1: Introduction	9
Chapter 2: Why Save Cultural and Historic Heritage?.....	17
Chapter 3: Heritage Workers and Heritage Work	25
Chapter 4: The Structures of Heritage	35
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations	47
Appendix 1: <i>ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value</i> —excerpt	55
Appendix 2: People Consulted	57
Bibliography	61

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Tempe, Arizona

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Abbreviations

CA	Conservation Act
DoC	Department of Conservation
HPA	Historic Places Act
ICOMOS (NZ)	International Council on Monuments and Sites (New Zealand)
MCH	Ministry for Culture and Heritage
NZAA	New Zealand Archaeological Association
NZHPT	New Zealand Historic Places Trust
RMA	Resource Management Act
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office

Chapter 1: Introduction

As the Ian Axford Fellow in Public Policy in 2000, I came to New Zealand to examine the transfer of historic analysis and understanding from professional historians writing in universities and public agencies to the public interpretation of New Zealand's human heritage resources. In my original fellowship application, written in March 1999, I proposed 'a comparative study of heritage resource management in New Zealand and the United States'. This report contains the findings for the New Zealand part of the comparative study only. References to practice in the United States and in other countries are, however, used to clarify and expand the discussion of New Zealand's cultural and historic heritage management practices and policies.

In my proposed working definition, heritage resources included all the elements of history created by human beings in a place over time: documents, maps, paintings, photographs, material objects, buildings, archaeological sites and cultural landscapes. In New Zealand, these resources are referred to as land-based cultural heritage and moveable cultural property. Both categories of resources are set in and intersect with the environment of a particular location. As Geoff Park has noted, 'reading the landscape is like collage, interweaving the patterns of ecology and the fragments of history with footprints of the personal journey. The journey, in time as well as space, plays no small part...'¹ My focus turned specifically to land-based cultural and historic sites, structures, landscapes and areas after discussion with my two Ian Axford mentors, Dr Jock Phillips, Chief Historian of the History Group, Ministry for Culture and Heritage; and Dr Geoff Hicks, Manager of the Science and Research Unit of the Department of Conservation.

I would like to begin by explaining why I wanted to make this journey, and the personal historical framework that I see it through. In 1997, I came to New Zealand to teach a one-off undergraduate paper in public history at Victoria University. I set up a series of field trips so that students could visit the Historical Branch, the Waitangi Tribunal, the Historic Places Trust, the then embryonic national museum Te Papa, the *Historical Atlas of New Zealand* project and the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* unit to talk to the historians and other professionals who worked there about their approaches to New Zealand history. I came to understand that exciting, innovative ways of exploring post-colonial visions of the past were happening here. These visions were not based solely on the concept of a colony of a distant imperial power (although they certainly have elements of that) nor did they grow directly out of the nineteenth century notion of a beautiful South Pacific chain of islands with rocks and trees and birds and natives who fit into natural, rather than human, history. Instead, they saw human history unfolding within the natural history of New Zealand, with patterns of ecology and of history interwoven to make an entirely new narrative. And it is a history being made accessible to the people of New Zealand through the use of formats and strategies new to professional historians.

I too come from a place—the west coast of the United States—that is in the process of writing its own history. In the American Southwest, where my family has lived since early in the twentieth century, we face some of the same issues and layers of history that New Zealanders encounter when they think about heritage stories.

Where I live, there is a history, several thousand years old: that of the Native American tribes. The Hopi people, for example, inhabit a community and buildings in which they have lived continuously for at least 1200 years. Europeans arrived briefly in the fifteenth century, but they were Spanish, not English explorers. Settlers from Mexico moved into southern and central Arizona in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The American settlers of those desert lands (Anglos, as they are known) did not arrive until the 1840s and 1850s.

Tempe, the suburb of Phoenix where I live, was built on top of the ruins of Hohokam villages, constructed around the time that the Magna Carta was signed in England and abandoned sometime in the 1400s. It was situated next to the barrio of San Pablo, which dates from the early 1800s. Remarkably, however, neither of those communities was mentioned in the American history books that I studied as a child. Those books taught us that little existed in the Valley of the Sun before white men came. The area was named 'Phoenix' because the Anglo settlers built on the Hohokam structures, notably the hundreds of miles of canals that the Hohokam had dug out all over the area. Yet the symbolism of rising, phoenix-like, out of the infrastructure created by native people, was modified in Anglo narratives into an absolute belief in rising anew and better because of European development strategies.²

In fact, if you had told me when I was growing up in the American Southwest in the 1950s that I would some day be interested in history, I simply would not have believed you. Arizona, when I grew up there, was the opposite of 'historic'. 'Historic' was New Jersey—all smokestacks and smog and old, dirty stuff. Arizona was the newest part of the New World: progressive, clean and bright, but natural too; with its clear skies, its light that attracted painters from all over the world, its pristine desert setting and its complement of natives who decorated the background and gave an exotic quality to our modern American society. As Jock Phillips has said of the early twentieth century in New Zealand, that exotic quality translated, in Kiwi terms, into a visit to 'Maoriland';³ in the same vein, my grandparents were visiting in a picture postcard 'Redskinland'. In contemporary historical practice in Arizona, we have begun to explore a much more complex cultural landscape, but the journey goes forward a kilometre or two at a time. Old ideas of what history is about disappear slowly. I suspect that for many New Zealanders, these old assumptions about history and heritage and culture sound very familiar.

I learned something about the deep social, cultural and spiritual meanings of historical material culture, whether individual artifacts or places or buildings or historic or cultural landscapes, by living in a number of places over time. In the mid-1960s, I moved from the Arizona desert to Alexandria, Virginia, the eighteenth-century colonial seaport town just south of Washington, DC. Alexandria, a city renowned for preservation of its historic fabric, deeply intimidated the modern, western American me. Its Georgian townhouses constructed of brick and wood were 'old', 'colonial', 'historic', and 'first familial' in aspect. Ancient trees lined the streets, some of which were paved with cobblestones from seventeenth-century English ships' ballast. When I moved to Virginia, I bought fittings churned out by the Colonial Williamsburg Brass Company—candlesticks and door knockers and warming pans and boot scrapers—to make my surroundings look as historic as Virginia, even if that was completely inauthentic to me. I felt, in short, like a colonial in Colonial Virginia. I also felt it necessary to 'measure up', to furnish my house and

my body and my mind in appropriate clothes, class structure, and social ideas. Since coming to the South Pacific, I have learned to call this reaction ‘cultural cringe’.

In the mid-1970s, after graduate training in American studies, I moved again. A Fulbright fellowship at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, gave me my first experience of European culture. I discovered that old buildings in the centre of Gothenburg were being dismantled to build modern flats and to raze evidence of the past before Sweden became a modern socialist utopia. I had never been interested in old buildings—I grew up, after all, where old buildings were a sign of corruption and the need for renewal, the same assumptions the Swedes were making—but I could not understand how one could erase such evidence and then assume that the past had not happened. I spent three years in Sweden, and the following two years in England, in the south-west suburbs of London. We lived not too far from the meadow where King John had signed the Magna Carta, and often had Saturday lunch in a pub in the centre of the ring of stones at Avebury. A village of thatched cottages was close to our twentieth-century world, and it seemed to me that likewise, modern life in England was always shadowed by older stories and structures and meanings—layers of history.

When I returned to the United States, in the early 1980s, I had become a historian with a real interest in how land-based historic heritage could be used to document and explain to people what those layers of history mean and why we might want to save them. I started a research and writing consultancy business in Washington, DC. I researched tribal land claims in the National Archives for several years, and began to understand that everything old was not in Europe or even the eastern United States. My investigation showed that the place where I had grown up had a human history which long preceded European contact, and, moreover, that the European contact had not been English at first. By this time, the basic structure for the practice of historic preservation in the United States began to shift, so that my personal insights and my professional opportunities came together in ways I would not have predicted.

When I first discovered historic heritage management in the United States in the early 1980s, it appeared to be a field dominated by rich White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) who fought to save important buildings designed by recognised architects in urban areas. This impression was not entirely accurate. By then, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was fifteen years old and had been amended once, in 1980, to add elements of intangible culture to the definitions already set out in the original law. Ultimately, those changes led to a wider range of historic and cultural resources being nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. An African-American theme study had been carried out as part of the celebration of the American bicentennial in 1976. Interest in the theme of women’s presence in the built environment, little noted in historic preservation in the United States before, was growing. Discussion of such broad historic heritage topics as ‘cultural landscapes’, in which a range of historic and cultural resources from different periods and diverse cultural or ethnic groups might be recognised separately or together, had begun. The ‘new social history’ was moving from university history departments to community history projects, and was forcing a re-examination of interpretative programs for historic sites and structures. Labour history, immigration history and transportation history, represented in the landscape by mines, factories, seaports, bars, rooming houses, tenements, roads, canals, railroads and other

previously unnoticed sites and structures, attracted attention from heritage managers and museum curators. Each of these developments appeared as a solitary occurrence in a vacuum at the time, but each challenged the limited definitions of a 'buildings bias' among the WASP community.

Historic preservation and cultural resource management in the United States was increasingly politicised in these years. It seems clear, from a policy perspective, that democratising the process broadens the range of places eligible to be nominated, but leads to a proliferation of political meanings that can apply to the process. It also challenges traditional assumptions about 'quality' where those assumptions are embedded in a particular set of cultural standards or expectations. Systemic democracy may question the authority of scholars and scholarship when their expertise lies outside the particular community of place or experience.

Americans watched contests being waged over sacred places and ski-run development amid passionate discussions of the issues of private property rights and the rights to tribal rituals. At battlefields like Little Big Horn they saw the construction of matching monuments that present both the US Army and the Indian view of what happened there. They confronted the formal recognition of sites where American citizens of Japanese ancestry were incarcerated during the Second World War. They saw working class communities interpreted with perspectives which were critical of owners and managers. And in some cases, it was clear that a different set of stories was being captured by the national heritage conservation program from what Joan Scott calls 'the unstated norm'.⁴ Those new stories potentially shifted authority from the trained and traditional experts and accepted stories about the past, to new groups and new perspectives. The controversy over these developments raged. Rather than being unimportant or a part of American story-telling left behind by modern developments, history took centre stage. To paraphrase one of William Faulkner's characters in *Absolom, Absolom*, 'history isn't history. It isn't even past'.

When I arrived in New Zealand and discovered new strategies of history-making here, I decided to examine the ways in which I could apply these strategies to my work in the United States. I found, however, that while this vital historical analysis was proceeding in university courses, Waitangi Tribunal claims research and historical publications of depth and insight; the work of identification, evaluation, conservation, management and interpretation of land-based historic heritage seemed unaffected by these new developments. The writing of New Zealand history and the constructing of an conduit for the general public to learn that inclusive, post-colonial history through the production of publications such as the *Dictionary* and the *Historical Atlas* and new institutions such as the Museum of New Zealand /Te Papa Tongarewa was well advanced. I began to wonder why no similar passageway between history and historic heritage management appeared to be even in the planning stages. History and land-based material culture did not seem to mix. It was as if different ways of reading two categories of primary source material—documents in libraries and documents in the built environment; historic photos and historic maps; settler diaries and archaeological sites—negated each other, rather than fleshing out a whole range of stories layered on the landscape over time.

In the pursuit of an explanation, my strategy included library research, interviews with sector experts, and field trips. I have read all the primary documents produced by the New Zealand government that apply to the sector. I have read the

secondary literature; small in volume but, with the contributions of scholars like Gavin McLean, Greg Vossler, Jock Phillips and others, rich in nuance and interpretation. Through the Internet, I have studied models of public history theory and practice, land-based heritage institutions such as heritage commissions, and other methods of managing heritage policy and practice around the world. I have talked to most of the leading players in the sector in this country; and to some at considerable length. Bibliographical information and lists of informants are included in this study.⁵

I also went out to read the landscape. Sometimes I travelled as a fellowship-holder, but often as an anonymous tourist. I spent time at sites and museums and on buses throughout New Zealand.⁶ I visited landing sites and the edges of the islands. I photographed what is arguably New Zealand's most famous structure (at least outside of New Zealand), the Rothmans Building in Napier. I looked at the historic shrine to Old Cromwell Town in Otago, and imagined what the rest of the buildings, lost to the lake, looked like. I was struck by the architectural and cultural intermingling in sites like St Joseph's Church at Te Puna, in the western Bay of Plenty, where Maori and European carvings and decorations frame each other.

In my travels over the last eight months, I have made careful note of the history that can be readily accessed by the public at sites and landscapes. With some exceptions, the history of New Zealand that can be read through the document of the landscape is one of Maori archaeology, extensive warfare, and wealthy European success stories. I have found, as I have noted elsewhere, that in the South Island, sheep have agency. The stories told by tour bus drivers about the landscape of the South Island have little to do with the humans who explored, immigrated, farmed, mined, fished, fought, raised families, buried their dead and founded communities—both those from the Pacific, and those from other oceans. But there was a good deal of discussion about the sheep, who overgrazed and did environmental damage and had to be removed, at the government's decree.

I found that the Department of Conservation, charged as it is in the Conservation Act of 1987 with managing heritage resources on and off the conservation estate, does best with its interpretation of natural heritage rather than human heritage features, but does have some historical information at spots like the Papitonga Scenic Reserve. In the North Island, pa sites managed by DoC include descriptive information about the structures only, not about the people who built and used the structures and who may still live in the neighbourhood. At some of the really great sites, DoC has chosen, thus far, to have no interpretation at all.

Throughout New Zealand there are wonderful structures—Art Deco in Napier, Victorian in Dunedin, limestone in Oamaru—and the large houses and courthouses and government buildings and important churches and schools are identified. There are also occasional, wonderfully fresh versions of interpretation: for instance at Pompallier House, where generations of misinformation and misinterpretation have been framed by the story of how archaeology discovered the real functions of the building. Elsewhere, interpretation is inadequate; for instance I found that Kawarau Bridge, a fine nineteenth-century suspension bridge over a gorge near a goldfield in Otago, is noted in its signage as the site of the world's first bungy jump.

Some sites were particularly illustrative of the issues that concerned me. The Elms, formerly the Te Papa Mission Station in Tauranga, tells aspects of the very complex story of early missionary, settler, and indigenous people interactions. The

revision of the interpretation at this particular site is very interesting because both old and new interpretative signboards have been left in place. The old general information sign includes the following statements: ‘This was a large station: a busy place! At times 50 or more Europeans, including children on the station. They all had to be housed and fed. Boys and girls, schools and teaching for adults. As many as 600 Maoris came for annual mission school examinations.’ It notes the numbers at services (50 at English service and 350 at native service) and then goes on to discuss economics. It points out that food was produced there and was ‘mostly costless except for much labour which was very cheap’. It also talks about the difficulties of housekeeping. It does not mention who actually did all that work.

The newer sign talks about the construction of the Mission House by ‘resident carpenters’ although it is not clear who they might have been. Otherwise, the narrative focuses purely on the building and the raupo structure that it replaced. There is little contextual information to help the visitor understand where these historic buildings and the site itself fit into a broader history of New Zealand. It will be interesting to see what a third set of signs, arising from a bicultural historical environment and a broader consciousness of the interpretative potential of cultural landscapes, might tell of these earlier stories, and what new accounts might say.

I have heard magnificent interpretative presentations, both at the Goldfields Historical Park in Otago by Peter Briscow of DoC and at Kerikeri, by Fergus Clunie of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust—interpretations of history and landscape that are as good as any in the world. But they were insider tours. The same information is not available to me when I visit those same places as a tourist. As an outsider, I have found little public interpretation of elements of the built environment or heritage places; little attempt to tell layered stories on the landscape; little effort to reveal human history as a part of the natural history which New Zealanders so prize. So I formulated questions for research to see if I could understand *why* the difference in the management and interpretation of the built environment was so apparent. The answers to a number of general questions thus shape my study:

1. Why is the heritage sector important?
2. What perspectives shape the history of New Zealand as told through the landscape of this country?
3. How might legislative mandates be better co-ordinated?
4. How might administrative mandates be better shared and applied among the government agencies that are involved in this work?
5. Who makes up the heritage sector work force?
6. What general approaches to cultural and historic heritage management might be considered?

My recommendations need to be understood and evaluated against a holistic, multidisciplinary, multicultural reading of the history of New Zealand. This history takes the view that things happened and people lived in a landscape renowned for cultural, historic and natural heritage, rather than simply proposing a chronological history of one group or another. Like the New Zealand histories that emerge in the *Historical Atlas*, the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* and the historical exhibits at Te Papa, the land-based stories must be inclusive: multicultural, both formal and vernacular, and reflective of and responsive to the concerns of local

communities. This landscape-based narrative has the potential, not fully realised at present, to map the history and national identity of the New Zealand people in public places.

¹ Geoff Park, *Nga Uruora: Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1995, introduction.

² See, among others, Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: History of a Southwest Metropolis*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1989, and Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican-American, Chinese-American and African-American Communities, 1860–1892*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1994.

³ Jock Phillips, 'Our History, Our Selves: The Historian and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 30(2), October 1996, p. 116.

⁴ This revision includes using different sources of information and often involves writing 'the history of difference', in Joan Scott's terms, which she describes as the history 'of the designation of "other", of the attribution of characteristics that distinguish categories of people from some presumed (and usually unstated) norm'. See Joan Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17, Summer 1991, p. 773.

⁵ See Appendix 2 and Bibliography.

⁶ My journey has taken me from Cape Reinga to Stewart Island. I have visited most of the major metropolitan areas and most of the major tourist attractions such as Milford Sound and the glaciers. I have had special tours of the goldfields in Central Otago from Peter Bristow of DoC; the Taranaki pa sites from Pukerangiora Hapu representatives, Mereaina Kirkwood, Makiterangi Matthews, Mona Fenton; and Ngati Tairi representative, Keith Manukonga. They were accompanied by DoC staff: Herb Spannagl, Justin Cowen, Kerry Matthews and Tim Weston. Neville Ritchie of DoC took me around the Waikato war sites. Rodney Grater and his friends from the NZHPT branch in Oamaru were gracious hosts, as was Fergus Clunie in Kerikeri.

Chapter 2: Why Save Cultural and Historic Heritage?

‘The historic environment is all the physical evidence for past human activity, and its association, that people can see, understand and feel in the present world.

- It is the habitat that the human race has created through conflict and co-operation over thousands of years, the product of human interaction with nature
- It is all around us as part of everyday experience and life, and it is therefore dynamic and continually subject to change

At one level, it is made up entirely of places such as towns or villages, coast or hills, and things such as buildings, buried sites, and deposits, fields and hedges; at another level it is something we inhabit, both physically and imaginatively. It is many faceted, relying on an engagement with physical remains but also on emotional and aesthetic responses and on the power of memory history and association’.¹

‘We have forgotten that “...we and our country create one another, depend on one another, and are literally part of one another; that our land passes in and out of our bodies just as our bodies pass in and out of our land; that as we and our land are part of one another, so all who are living as neighbours here, human and plant and animals, are part of one another, and so cannot possibly flourish alone; that, therefore, our culture must be our response to our place, our culture and our place are images of each other and inseparable from each other, and so neither can be better than the other.”’²

Who manages historic heritage, why do they do it, and what is their focus?

New Zealand has many public and academic historians, tangata whenua, archaeologists, architectural historians, conservation architects, cultural geographers, and other human heritage professionals who are exploring and interpreting the multicultural, multidisciplinary human history of New Zealand in a range of media.³ The basic research is being presented to the public in various formats, but is not widely applied to the interpretation of land-based heritage sites; that is, archaeological, Maori or historic sites.

An example of an innovative way of presenting history is the combining of Maori and European history and myths in a map format in the *Historical Atlas of New Zealand*. In that work, which presents a historical visualising of New Zealand, various techniques link together to communicate to the reader many levels of information. One level of communication involves the process through which maps deliver their content, and there is a discussion in the introduction about the reasons for presenting information in the particular visual formats that are used. A second level of explanation, however, edges into the more complex area of culture, since it presents the innovative ‘mapping’ of early Maori oral tradition for a culture that had no mapping practice. As the editor notes:

The reader—the New Zealander reader in particular, whose view will be more influenced by convention in this respect than the overseas reader—will be struck by two features of these maps:

- i. they have a perspective view; that is, there is a foreground and a background, unlike a standard ‘plan view’ map;

- ii. they are often upside down.

The presence of foreground and background is particularly useful in creating a sense of change over time, and is thus an excellent device for a historical atlas...both of these characteristics are valuable in mapping oral tradition, which is narrative set in time, with events happening in a sequence. Second, the use of different orientations draws attention to important connections, relationships and 'ways of seeing'.⁴

The resulting 'Maori maps' present one version of human experience in New Zealand through the use of perspectives in the maps: stories begin at one beach or harbour and spread out as people moved through the landscape. The 'historical maps' present Maori and European experience in New Zealand after contact from a more conventional European map-making perspective. Throughout the *Atlas*, the assumption is made that events in New Zealand happened neither separately nor in isolation; but rather in layers on the landscape.

Information like that found in the *Atlas* could readily be adapted to the interpretation of many sites, structures and cultural landscapes in New Zealand, so long as that interpretation made space for a range of stories from various groups of settlers. The *Historical Atlas* reflects the complicated telling of stories, the histories of various groups at various times and the histories of the telling of those stories. This approach to the interpretation and explanation of human history upon a landscape is known as 'cultural landscape' identification, analysis and interpretation. Such professional work has the potential to enhance New Zealanders' sense of place, understanding of the layers of history, and ultimately, concept of national identity. It may also lay the groundwork for a world-class heritage tourism industry.

Although the public interpretation of New Zealand's heritage places has tended in the past to focus on the description and details of material culture—the patterns of the wallpaper and architectural details of the structure—newer approaches that reflect recent developments in international practice are beginning to take hold. Anyone who has the good fortune to be given a tour of the Kerikeri historic area by Fergus Clunie of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust⁵ has learned a New Zealand history that develops from the cultural landscape in which it took place. The intertwining of Maori and European history after contact can be particularly well mapped on the shores of Kerikeri Inlet, beginning at Kororipo Pa and moving around the inlet head to the Stone Store and Kemp House. All of these sites date from the 1820s and 1830s. Although the same depth of historical analysis and understanding is not available to the lone visitor, partly because of the lack of analytic interpretation by the Department of Conservation at the pa, the Clunie tour is a sophisticated and multilayered explanation of early New Zealand history.

The NZHPT in Kaikoura presents a similar landscape-based analysis in *A Walking Guide to the Fyffe Historic Area, Kaikoura*. The structure that the Trust owns and manages in Kaikoura is Fyffe Cottage, a small building constructed on whale bone vertebrae foundations that dates from the early 1850s and is extremely difficult of public access because of narrow stairwells and chopped-up internal spaces.⁶ But the walking guide allows visitors to imagine the entire cultural history of the area: Maori kainga and pa, the European whaling station, the port that handled fishing, farming and shipping goods from 1869 to 1931. Using the wider area as a basis for interpretation allows for a holistic explanation of the reasons the cottage has been used by various groups over time. From a management perspective, it also

allows for close control over the number of people who move through the visitor-unfriendly spaces in the interior of the cottage.

Why save land-based historic, archaeological and Maori heritage materials?

Both the Kerikeri historic area in the North Island and the Fyffe historic area in the South Island allow for the interpretation of the entire history of human settlement in New Zealand. Besides the material culture that remains, the landscapes allow for the telling of the social, cultural and environmental history of these places. But why might the recounting of these narratives be important? If the government or any other entity is to put resources and policy planning into the cultural and historic heritage management sector in New Zealand, it needs reasons to do so.

Helen Clark, Prime Minister and Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, raised issues of national identity 15 years ago when she became Minister of Conservation. In *Historic Places* in March 1988,⁷ she promised a ‘new deal’ for historic preservation in New Zealand. She urged those interested in saving old buildings to make their feelings known, ‘to voice their concern, constantly and vociferously’ so that she would be able ‘to persuade others (including colleagues in Cabinet) that historic preservation deserves a higher place on the national agenda than it has enjoyed in the past’.⁸ Clark made it clear that she believed ‘the public gets good value—in terms of fostering a national identity and enriching New Zealand life—for the money spent on historic preservation’.⁹ But she also pointed out that many in Parliament cared only for ‘the ringing of the till’. Clark was clearly interested in the prospects for heritage tourism. As editor John Wilson reported: ‘Her suggestion is that those interested in saving New Zealand’s historic heritage should justify public spending on historic preservation on the grounds that preserved sites, buildings and precincts will make New Zealand a more attractive destination for tourists. She is herself a tireless visitor to historic buildings when she travels, and thinks that New Zealand’s historic heritage, properly presented, would encourage tourists to come to New Zealand in the first place and to stay longer once they are here’.¹⁰

But tourism is not the only reason, and is by no means the best reason, to save historic sites, structures and landscapes. The historical experiences of communities, the telling of stories, and the perception of common ground are reasons shared by many societies. There are those in New Zealand who suggest that the connection between people and land—both the underlying ancestral relationships between tangata whenua and the land, and also the relationships between subsequent settlers and immigrants of many nationalities and the land—is also a reason for protecting places. In other words, heritage protection is additionally significant in New Zealand for maintaining community relationships with that which contributes to community self-definition: the land where human history happened. These relationships are potentially exclusive: ‘First of all’, as Tipene O’Regan says of the Maori sense of ancestral ground, ‘it is ours’.¹¹ Such a deeply-held, emotional belief in the connection to place is held, in fact, by many New Zealanders of various ethnic origins.

The sense of connection to place is a compelling reason to retain historic and cultural material culture. Maintaining historic sites, structures, districts and cultural landscapes as an archive of historical information also allows for land-based heritage and cultural landscapes to help shape national identity. Many New Zealanders know

the basic history of the systematic recording and saving of historic and cultural heritage in this country. The idea of a national park system for New Zealand had originated in 1874 when former premier William Fox wrote to Premier Julius Vogel to suggest that the government of New Zealand should name Lake Rotomahana and its volcanic wonders a national park. The Pink and White Terraces, prominent among these wonders, were destroyed in the eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886, but the idea of giving national status to special places had captured the government's imagination. When the land surrounding the craters of Mounts Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro was gifted to the nation in 1887 by Tuwharetoa chief Te Heuheu, the issue arose again, and that area was constituted a national park by Act of Parliament in 1894. Egmont National Park followed in 1900, and in 1905, Fiordland became a public reserve. In 1928, general legislation for such parks was included in the Public Reserves, Domains, and National Parks Act. A National Parks Act was passed in 1952, and another in 1980. Since 1987, the administration of New Zealand's national parks has been the responsibility of DoC. And although the national parks were set aside as natural or wilderness areas, they and the other lands administered by DoC encompass about one-third of the land area of New Zealand. Within this large land holding are thousands of archaeological, Maori and historical sites.¹²

In addition, groups in Dunedin, Wellington, Taranaki and Auckland became interested in the conservation of both European buildings and pa sites as early as the 1890s. The Scenery Preservation Act of 1903 allowed the conservation of 'lands of historical interest' as well as beautiful places. In 1918, the Scenery Preservation Board's annual report observed, 'in New Zealand "historical monuments" would include aboriginal rock-paintings, earthworks of Maori pas, Maori or pre-Maori stone fences, battle-sites of Maori wars, redoubts, blockhouses, and perhaps certain buildings erected by the early colonists'.¹³ Interest in other settler structures took longer to develop, but in 1928, the Canterbury Provincial Buildings Vesting Act was passed to protect the Provincial Council Chamber, and a 1937 amendment protected the entire complex of buildings. As Gavin McLean notes,¹⁴ the parliamentary debate in 1928 focused not on the commercial value of the building but on its value as a historical document. Said Gordon Coates, the building 'should be maintained as a very historical and important part of the property of the province, and retained as such, in the interests of the younger generation more particularly, for all time'.¹⁵

The maintenance of historic sites, structures, districts and cultural landscapes as an archive of historical information, and particularly the retention of historical material culture in the interests of the younger generation, allows for land-based heritage and cultural landscapes to help shape national identity. That is one reason why New Zealanders save historic materials, whether they are documents in the National Archives, photographs at the Alexander Turnbull Library, artifacts in museums, historic buildings, or landscapes that speak to the interactions of humans and environments. John Steinbeck, an American author, once said simply, 'How will we know it's us, without our past?'¹⁶ Jock Phillips, wrestling with the issues of history and national identity, notes that 'A nation is in Benedict Anderson's terms an "imagined community"; it is a construct of values. In this construct, as Eric Hobsbawm has shown, history can play a significant role. The "invention of tradition," provides a way of planning a future. At this point in New Zealand experience, as we debate so many crucial decisions, history can inform our future direction. We cannot know who we are unless we know where we came from...'¹⁷

But we also save historical materials because they provide stories about our pasts. The ‘us’ that we know has many different stories, with many different meanings. As African-American leader Roger Wilkins wrote in 1995, ‘Blacks and whites remember America differently. The past is hugely important, since we argue a lot about who we are on the basis of who we think we have been. And we derive much of our sense of the future from how we think we’ve done in the past’.¹⁸ The ways in which we understand that past are shaped not just by books and journal articles, by movies and television documentaries and video games that feature historical themes; but by the ways that places were placed and farms were shaped, by the ways that neighbourhoods look and workplaces are organised, by the ways that city centres were or are arranged. A really jarring sense of the importance of place occurs when you look at a site—where Broadcasting House used to be in Wellington, for example, or your neighbourhood street which now lies beneath the motorway—and the expected building or scene is not there. So New Zealanders save sites and structures and historic districts and cultural landscapes important to Maori and to Pakeha because they tell a range of stories about the peoples and the pasts of this country.

Finally, and importantly, as Dwight Pitcaithley, chief historian of the United States National Park Service observes, we also save these places because

...museums and historic sites and public parks should be perceived as common ground. They should become places where history is explored, discussed, critiqued, argued intelligently. They should become places where new scholarship is not only welcomed, but readily incorporated into exhibits, public forums, and workshops. In the future, interpretative materials in museums and historic sites should be less omniscient in their approach, offering only one view of the past, and suggest a greater sense of the complexity of the natural and cultural worlds...we should work diligently toward preserving history as a plural, not a singular; as a discussion, not a statement; as exploration, not exclusion.¹⁹

History, in other words, speaks to national identity. We save land-based cultural resources for their expression of place, and for their role as locations in which to hold debates and discussions about the meaning of the past.

Historic and cultural heritage managers in Great Britain are undertaking a massive rethinking of the tasks of the sector there, and as English Heritage’s discussion paper ‘Understanding’ points out about this issue, ‘The past was marked by change and disruption as much as by continuity, by conflict as well as co-operation, and all this can be seen in the historic environment. It would be naïve not to expect to encounter tensions and conflict when interpreting the significance of what remains or the virtues of conserving something. We should not shy away from such conflicting views. Perhaps we should even actively seek out challenging and conflicting interpretations of the “historic environment” in order to bring the past more engagingly to life’.²⁰ Those debates may be painful but having them is important to civic health, at least from one perspective. Some, including some Maori, may wish to avoid the discussion of divisive things. As Tipene O’Regan points out, ‘Recognition should be given to the Maori way of handling relationships, and you should deny yourselves probing into past nastiness as that is not a public part of heritage. It should not be lost, and the best archive will be the tribal authority, but deny yourself the pleasure of putting it on view’.²¹ But contemporary international heritage practice attempts to develop models and strategies to allow for public discussion of ‘past nastiness’ of various sorts. As David Lowenthal notes, ‘Histories

hidden or denied avenge themselves. Some pasts are concealed by enemies to deprive us of our heritage; others by allies and guardians to spare us malign encumbrances. We collude in our ignorance of pasts that will shame or wound us. Partial amnesia is necessary to ongoing life. We all crave a past we can love. Yet selective oblivion, whether imposed or self-induced, can cripple present action and future purpose'.²² In the long term, encouraging the use of sites of historic heritage as forums to explore these different expressions of cultural meaning may empower groups to engage in new kinds of exchanges.

Heritage resources may also be used as elements of heritage or cultural tourism, but that is a consequence of saving the heritage resources, not a reason to save them. Helen Clark more recently described the importance of the intrinsic meaning of heritage places and structures when she noted that arts, culture and heritage were being given high priority in her government because 'arts and culture are to be valued for their intrinsic benefits. They are not an optional extra but a necessity for a civilised society. The arts [culture and heritage] perform many functions. They may entertain, they may enlighten, they may serve as critic and conscience of society, and they may stimulate insight into our past, why we are the way we are, and what we might be'.²³ The Council of Europe's Task Force on Culture and Development, 1994–95, insists that 'society as a whole, and public authorities at international, national, regional and local levels in particular, need to recognise that the over-riding justification for the development of culture and the patrimony must always be cultural not economic'.²⁴ Choices about what to save and what to abandon in the field of historic heritage conservation must be made on the basis of cultural meaning, not proximity to transportation facilities or other tourist attractions.

In New Zealand, the notion that the landscape shapes identity surfaced strongly during the 1940 centennial celebrations. As Keith Holyoake recalled, speaking to the Historic Places Bill in 1954:

I think it was only in 1939 and 1940, when we celebrated our national centennial and the years just prior to and succeeding that, when we celebrated provincial centennials, that many people in New Zealand for the first time became conscious of the fact that we really did have a history of our own, quite separate from the history of the Mother Country. I think all too many of us had become used to saying that New Zealand was just a young country, but the celebration ...brought home to us that we had at least to some extent achieved maturity...The interest that was awakened led to a greater interest in places, monuments, and sites commemorating our history.²⁵

In response to such feelings, the New Zealand Historic Places Trust was established in 1954, during a decade that saw interest in and support for the saving of heritage materials grow. The Department of Internal Affairs' War History Branch became the Historical Publications Branch. The National Archives Act was passed in 1957. The New Zealand Archaeological Association's file of archaeological sites was established in 1958. Gavin McLean notes that even in its initial establishment, the NZHPT focused on the continuum of settlement in New Zealand from the first human settlement of the islands. As Duncan Rae said to Parliament: 'The purpose of the Bill I am placing before the House is to mobilise local and national interest in identifying, retaining and suitably marking...the various sites of buildings, institutions, battlegrounds, Maori pa and other places of interest to Maori and Pakeha. One does not need...to go to Washington—it is enough to visit Waitangi to

understand the value of history and, in effect, to see history in the making or to visit the beautiful Provincial Council Buildings in Christchurch'.²⁶ The Trust Board represented interests from the library, museum, and local history communities which shaped its priorities on surveys, marking and publications, and on the collection of records, including those of the NZAA.²⁷

From the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, the NZHPT was the central conservation agency in New Zealand. The Trust established an earlier version of the Maori Heritage Council in the 1970s. Its work involved three primary areas: property ownership and management; identification and assessment of land-based heritage; and regulatory protection for archaeological sites under the 1974 Antiquities Act and the Historic Places Amendment Act. The need for protection arose from the problems associated with 'salvage archaeology'. This was a process developed in the 1950s and 1960s in North America as well as New Zealand, to survey and then save—by digging and thus destroying the sites—archaeological materials that were in the way of vast utilities and hydroelectric projects. In the 1990s, a series of legal changes devolved cultural and heritage management to local bodies as part of their planning process under the Resource Management Act. DoC, under the Conservation Act of 1987, also became responsible for heritage management on and off the conservation estate. The NZHPT was moved from the Department of Internal Affairs to the Department of Conservation in the late 1980s, and moved again in the late 1990s from DoC to the new Ministry for Culture and Heritage. A series of studies of the culture and historic heritage management sector showed repeatedly that the sector needed an overhaul, but none was forthcoming.²⁸

The history of heritage conservation in this country did not give me a complete answer to the question of *why* historic, archaeological and Maori heritage places were so little noted on the cultural landscape. I wondered whether the perspective from which these materials were identified, examined and evaluated might account for this.

¹ English Heritage, 'Discussion Paper 1: Understanding', *Government's Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment*, August 2000, URL: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discovery/heritage-review/consultation/index.asp>

² Wendell Berry quoted by Geoff Park, 'Understanding and Conserving the Natural Landscape', in Jock Phillips (ed.), *Te Whenua, Te Iwi: The Land and the People*, Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press in association with the Stout Research Centre, Wellington, 1987, p. 92.

³ The Heart of the Nation report mistakenly indicates that the heritage sector in New Zealand needs an infusion of personnel from the arts sector. Whilst the sector could use more professionals in the disciplines represented in cultural and historic heritage management, it does not lack for professional representation currently. See Heart of the Nation Strategic Working Group, *Heart of the Nation: A Cultural Strategy for Aotearoa New Zealand*, McDermott Miller Ltd for the Heart of the Nation Project Team, Wellington, 2000.

⁴ Malcolm McKinnon (ed.), *New Zealand Historical Atlas: Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*, David Bateman in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1997, introduction, p. 10.

⁵ Fergus Clunie conducted a tour for Dr Dwight Pitcaithley of the US National Park Service; Dr Claudia Orange, General Editor of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, History Group, Ministry for Culture and Heritage; and Jannelle Warren-Findley on 28 August 2000.

⁶ Jannelle Warren-Findley visited Fyffe House on 6 October 2000. For a multidisciplinary study of the house and its surroundings, see Jan Harris, *Tohora: The Story of Fyffe House, Kai Koura*, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington, 1994.

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- ⁷ Helen Clark, interviewed by John Wilson in December 1987, in *Historic Places*, March, 1988, pp. 3–4.
- ⁸ *ibid.*
- ⁹ *ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *ibid.*
- ¹¹ Tipene O'Regan, 'Who Owns the Past? Change in Maori Perceptions of the Past', in John Wilson (ed.), *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Maori*, Penguin Books in association with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Auckland, 1987, p. 145.
- ¹² See Department of Conservation website, URL: <http://www.doc.govt.nz>
- ¹³ Gavin McLean, 'Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze: A Brief History of New Zealand's Heritage Movement 1890–2000', in Alexander Trapeznik (ed.), *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2000, p. 29.
- ¹⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Quoted in Dwight Pitcaithley, 'History in the Public Sense: The National Park Service and Education', 3 February 1998, in *Distinguished Research Policy Lecture Series, 1997–98, University of Michigan. Research Highlights*, URL: www.research.umich.edu/research/news/lecture_series/1997-98/pitcaithley_transcript.html
- ¹⁷ Jock Phillips, 'Our History, Our Selves: The Historian and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History* 30(2), October 1996, p. 113.
- ¹⁸ Quoted in Dwight Pitcaithley, 'History in the Public Sense'.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*
- ²⁰ English Heritage, 'Discussion Paper 1: Understanding', p. 7.
- ²¹ Tipene O'Regan, 'Maori Perceptions of Historic Preservation and Interpretation', in Department of Lands and Survey, *Historical Workshop for National Parks, Reserves, Walkways and Other Protected Areas 1984*, National Parks Series No. 31, Department of Lands and Survey, Wellington, 1984, p. 86.
- ²² David Lowenthal, 'Heritage and Its History: Menaces of the Much-Loved Past', Keynote Address to the Research Libraries Group 1999 Annual Membership Meeting, URL: <http://www.rlg.org/annmtg/lowenthal99.htm>, p. 2 of 6.
- ²³ Helen Clark, 'Arts, Culture and the Role of the National Institutions', address to Friends of the Turnbull Library, 21 September 2000, URL: <http://www.executive.govt.nz/index.html>
- ²⁴ Patrick Boylan, 'Europe's Built Environment and Movable Heritage', Research paper for the Council of Europe's Task Force on Culture and Development, 1994–95, URL: <http://www.city.ac.uk/artspol/coe-dev.htm>
- ²⁵ Gavin McLean, 'Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze', p. 31.
- ²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 35.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 36.
- ²⁸ The three major studies in the 1990s were: Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment/Te Kaitiaki Taiao a Te Whare Paremata, *Historic and Cultural Management in New Zealand*, 2 vols, Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Wellington, 1996; Ministry of Cultural Affairs, *Government's Role in the Cultural Sector: A Survey of the Issues*, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Wellington, 1998; and Department of Conservation. Ministerial Advisory Committee, *Historic Heritage Management Review*, Department of Conservation, Wellington, 1998. A new study by Julie Warren & Elizabeth Ashton, 'New Zealand Historic and Cultural Heritage: An Exploratory Study of Public Perceptions and Expectations prepared for the Department of Conservation', 2000, addresses some of these same issues.

Chapter 3: Heritage Workers and Heritage Work

What intellectual perspectives shape heritage conservation work in New Zealand?

In heritage management, there are currently at least three points of view on which most practitioners base their work. The first is the fine arts approach: a focus on architecture, beautiful buildings, beautiful places, and the work of named designers and architects. This perspective values the creative work of artists, and emphasises the structure or object rather than its context. This was the perspective that shaped early historic preservation work in western Europe and the original United States National Register of Historic Places criteria for selection.¹

Because there was little room in these early schemes for vernacular material culture or for intangible culture—stories, techniques of craft-making, music, food traditions and other folklore or ethnographic activities—approaches shifted over the years. The United States National Historic Preservation Act was amended in 1980, for example, to allow for the consideration of a wider range of resources, including ‘traditional cultural places’ and landscapes of various sorts. This change allowed a wider range of sites, structures, historic districts, and landscapes to be nominated to the National Register and also allowed for nominations that reflected Native American heritage.

When it is focused on human heritage sites and structures, the fine arts perspective tends to minimise interpretation of the meanings of preserved buildings and to overlook the multiple stories that many landscapes can tell, by representing those stories through architecture and ornamental design. It is often considered to limit its attention to the European built environment, although that is not strictly true. At the current time, a great deal of human heritage conservation work in New Zealand falls into this category.

A second and more recent development in human heritage management perspectives treats both prehistoric and historic material culture as an archive of information about the past. This humanities perspective focuses on the historical meanings of the heritage materials and takes in designed and vernacular heritage as well as cultural landscapes with layers of historical meaning. These are often interpreted through newer strategies such as heritage trails and heritage corridors, systems of which are well developed in this country. Heritage corridors are frequently initiated as economic redevelopment or heritage tourism schemes; often, unfortunately, at the expense of the broad historical stories represented by the resources. As the authors of *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*² point out,

In Europe and North America, different issues have been raised. While there are many success stories measured in terms of impressive cash receipts and generous business sponsorship, concern is growing among museum curators that pressures to please the public—and tourists in particular—have skewed policy excessively towards display and accessibility, to the detriment of fundamental research and scholarship. The ‘heritage industry’, they fear, has spawned results such as a powerful and doctrinaire political lobby, an influential commercially-driven point of view, a demeaning service industry, shallow, tawdry images of the past, commodification and exploitation and, perhaps worst of all, a downmarket denial of proper access to its legitimate pasts to the society whose very curiosity triggered the opportunity in the first place.

These issues loom large in a sector that has grown exponentially since the Second World War throughout the world.

A third approach combines natural and human resource management into one set of resource management issues. From the Age of Imperialism into the twentieth century, the European perspective from which natural history was discussed in museums and other public cultural venues involved a bifurcated understanding of the universe: 'natural history' included rocks and trees and native peoples who were considered to be primitive. Europeans, in contrast, could be found in museums, archives and libraries, and historical societies: the places where written records, high art culture and 'real' history could be kept.³

In the last twenty years a newer perspective on the ecology of human life and culture has developed internationally, as notions about sustainable management of resources and new views of social and environmental history have been explored. This environmental perspective differs from the nineteenth century's natural history paradigm by combining *all* human history with natural or environmental history, rather than separating native peoples and settler societies into natural and historical roles. It resembles the model developed by the *ecomusee* or 'ecomuseum' movement in francophone countries. 'The ecomuseum has been defined as an institution conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a museum authority (local or otherwise) and a local population concerned with the totality of the natural and human ecology of its defined territory, thereby situating the human population in its natural environment'.⁴

New Zealand was close to adopting one of the early versions of this model of historic heritage preservation in 1985, with a policy document produced by the Ministry for the Environment, *Environment 1986*.⁵ The recommendations, however, were never implemented. A contemporary statement from English Heritage reflects these new perspectives: 'The heart of any environmental policy should lie in recognising that an understanding of the historic dimension of the environment is a prerequisite for sustainable management. The historic environment provides the physical setting for our lives, but is also about perceptions (what we see, how we interpret); it is dynamic, ever-changing and constantly rethought and renegotiated'.⁶

Such an environmental heritage perspective is not easy to practise. It is very difficult to achieve true integration of cultural or heritage management into environmentally-driven management schemes because the environmental issues, rightly or wrongly, tend to overwhelm the human ones. It is also true that natural history issues tend to be less controversial, contested, or threatening to people than human history issues can be. The scientist, in describing problems or solutions, carries more authority than the human heritage professional describing the same sorts of problems or solutions. That has led to the suggestion that New Zealand human heritage professionals need to devise a 'kakapo strategy', in which a similar sense of urgency to that of saving the kakapo is developed for the rapidly disappearing stock of human heritage sites, structures and landscapes.⁷

Moreover, the absolute necessity within this management perspective to combine social and environmental history and to consider all cultures and all classes as equal partners calls for a radical reshaping of management views of process. Ronda Cooper of the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, looking back on ten years of efforts to implement the Resource

Management Act by local governments and iwi, observes that taking on new perspectives is very difficult:

The standard list of problems is like a tribe of bogeys, monsters or ngarara,...As all the ancient mythologers knew, nothing fascinates so powerfully or lasts so enduringly as a good monster. They have considerable usefulness, especially in the context of such policy and management debates as outlined in this chapter. They can be cited as reasons why something can not happen, or why it will never be able to happen—no matter how important, valuable or urgent something might be, uh-oh there's a big ugly monster of a problem blocking the way. Monsters can keep a certain paradigm or pattern established as the status quo. They devour lots of activity and attention, and by hogging centre stage, they shut out other ideas and topics from the debate. Talking about them can be a way of demonstrating suitably PC busy-ness, without any expectation that they might actually be changed or dislodged. They help perpetuate adversarial frameworks and undoubted strategic advantages of grievance mode. And crucially, those whose work requires them to wrestle with monsters are able to see themselves and their efforts as heroic and brave...⁸

The 'monsters' of cultural policy in New Zealand need to be turned loose so they stop blocking the pathways to a more integrated human and natural heritage policy. It is a battle worth fighting because it allows for a genuinely representative, holistic version of natural, cultural and historic heritage to be identified, analysed, conserved and interpreted to the public. The RMA, presumably, has the capacity to allow for this sort of integrated resource management. In addition, the Department of Conservation, with its legal mandate to manage the heritage resources on the conservation estate (if not those off it as well) has an extraordinary opportunity here to take a lead role in international resource management by integrating its natural and cultural heritage management with a publicly-presented holistic explanation and interpretation of the role of both environmental and human history in landscape change and evolution.

As well as an evaluation of the various perspectives on how professional decisions are made in New Zealand about human heritage management, the situation of the workforce needs to be explored. A number of needs immediately arise. The first is to enable the sector to develop a fully competent bi- or multicultural and multidisciplinary workforce with the necessary levels of professionalism. There should be clear definitions both of 'fully competent' and of the competencies needed to take on increased responsibilities in the sector. The second is to provide for a stable means of training and retraining those workers, through courses and facilities available in New Zealand, rather than overseas as at present. The third is to define fully the process of human heritage conservation and interpretation in order to move the recognition, understanding and appreciation of New Zealand's historic and cultural heritage into national consciousness.

Who makes up the heritage sector work force in New Zealand? How is professionalism guaranteed?

Internationally, the sector is made up of archaeologists, planners, historians, cultural geographers, heritage architects, landscape architects, indigenous elders and tribal leaders, urban design professionals, and ethnic community representatives. Some artists and literary professionals work with material culture in museums but worldwide, the built environment group is primarily made up of non-arts sector workers except for architects. New Zealand's professional practitioners appear to be limited

in many places to the disciplines of heritage architecture and archaeology. To some extent, that representation of professionals explains why there is a ‘buildings bias’⁹ in many urban areas, and an archaeological bias in many rural areas in New Zealand. A ‘buildings bias’ means that conservation efforts are focused on buildings that are architecturally or aesthetically interesting. Those buildings often represent a limited snapshot of the community’s past, rather than an overview of the layers of history represented in the town’s buildings and structures. The ‘buildings bias’ skews the historical narrative presented by a community about itself, often at the expense of historically significant structures and cultural landscapes, such as wharves and other industrial structures in the port of a coastal town like Oamaru. The archaeological bias in rural areas shows up in the emphasis on earthworks and other below-ground or underwater material culture, and on explanations that are descriptive rather than explanatory of the historical context of the site, structure or cultural landscape. New Zealand’s professional practice of human heritage conservation would be more broadly multidisciplinary and multicultural if the sector included a wider range of disciplines among its practitioners.

How are professional practitioners trained in New Zealand?

New Zealand has museum studies programs at Massey University and at Victoria University. A new MA-level public history program at Victoria intends to use Wellington and its historic and cultural heritage resources to train historians in applied history work. There is a public history program in place at the University of Otago, although it has not yet offered courses, and a course in the history department in Christchurch. There are programs at other universities that could be expanded and developed to produce professionals to work in human heritage conservation. Most of the archaeologists come out of the program at Otago and Auckland. Architects come from programs in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch.

There are scattered courses in other places, but many New Zealand practitioners still go to the public history and planning programs in Australia to do their MA work. Few Maori students are enrolled in any of these programs, although the linking of the museum studies program at Massey to the School of Maori Studies may begin to address the imbalance in that sector. Maori cultural experts do not, of course, have to undertake professional training to be experts in their own culture, but professional training does allow Maori to participate in the wider human heritage conservation undertakings in this country and abroad. Increased government support linked to training programs for regional and national economic development schemes is critical if the professional practice of heritage conservation here is going to have an intellectual and applied practice based on New Zealand’s own history and environment. Support for Maori professionals is particularly urgent.

There is a small group of archaeologists, planners and architectural historians/conservation architects who do virtually all the professional work in New Zealand. The New Zealand Historic Places Trust has a few professional staff in the Wellington office, and a handful in its regional offices around the country. The Department of Conservation has one ‘heritage’ person in each of 13 conservancies plus archaeologists in the Science and Research Unit in Wellington, and a few other experts and practitioners scattered through the Wellington office. Regional and local governments employ another handful or two of professional practitioners. There is

also a sizeable group of consultants who are hired to carry out much of the operations work of the sector. Most of these professionals work on a voluntary basis for organisations other than their employers outside of work time, so that the sector is being covered by many fewer professionals than the numbers of projects under way might indicate. There are too few heritage professionals in New Zealand and they are stretched too far to cover the needs of the country's heritage resources for conservation and public interpretation.

Nowhere does any of the organisations, governmental or private, set professional standards for practitioners in the human heritage sector. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) New Zealand *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value* (see appendix 1) notes that 'Appropriate conservation professionals should be involved in all aspects of conservation work'.¹⁰ The *Charter* is not more specific about what levels of professional training in what disciplines will produce a robust, skilled, multidisciplinary and effective professional cadre of workers. University training programs teach to certain standards for individual disciplines, whether those programs train academic scholars or heritage professionals. But there is no agreed baseline of requirements for public practitioners. This follows partly from the lack of operational staff in either government departments or private organisations, and partly from traditional faith in the notion of the Kiwi who can do anything with number 8 fencing wire.

The result is uneven practice with little accountability possible since there are no specific professional or disciplinary standards that the public human heritage sector holds in common. This leads to situations like that where DoC archaeologists in the Science and Research Unit set a departmental research agenda relating to archaeological concerns which may or may not directly support applied work in the DoC conservancies. The DoC conservancies, in turn, ask the one 'heritage' staff member to wear many different hats and take responsibility for a range of efforts, only some of which actually use whatever 'heritage' training that staff member may possess.¹¹

Without a more rigorous evaluation system for the practice as a whole within the department and within the sector, it will not be possible for DoC or any other heritage agency in New Zealand to practice human heritage conservation in a systematic, cost-effective way. Without some means of evaluating whether the government or private sector is receiving full value for money, working to a standard cannot be expected or enforced. And without some assurance that the professional work done by the practitioner is valued by both employer and nation, the most talented staff are likely to join the brain drain to other countries. It would be a great irony if those who can most help New Zealanders understand how their national identity has been shaped by the history of this country have to go offshore to practice their profession. A means of systematic evaluation by government of the quality of the work of the human heritage sector must be designed before additional funding is allotted to the sector.

In addition to the professional workforce, the NZHPT relies on groups of community volunteers in regions and localities all over New Zealand. The volunteers, often community leaders whose interest in heritage preservation combines local pride and community economic development concerns, are a vital part of New Zealand's heritage structure. Under the provisions of the RMA, those

community representatives make most preservation decisions. Some communities have professional heritage practitioners on their staff to help make these decisions; many do not.

The volunteers are a key constituency of the Trust but are often forced unfairly to carry out important heritage work with little professional advice and support because of a lack of resources at the regional and local levels. As is true for the professional sector, moreover, there are no nationally agreed standards for the work done by volunteers in the sector and, therefore, no way to measure local practice against a standard of excellence. Even if various kinds of financial incentives for local projects were explored by the government, the means to evaluate the work done, systematically and comparatively, is not currently in place. The hard work of community volunteers needs to be appreciated as a key component of heritage management in New Zealand. At the same time, the need for professional aid and advice in planning, implementing, interpreting and evaluating the quality of heritage work in communities throughout the country must be recognised and addressed.

The role of Maori in human heritage management in New Zealand is vital. The ICOMOS (NZ) *Charter* points out under Article 2, Indigenous Cultural Heritage, that

The indigenous heritage of Maori and Moriori relates to family, local and tribal groups and associations. It is inseparable from identity and well-being and has particular cultural meanings.

The Treaty of Waitangi is the historical basis for indigenous guardianship. It recognises the indigenous people as exercising responsibility for their treasures, monuments and sacred places. This interest extends beyond current legal ownership wherever such heritage exists. Particular knowledge of heritage values is entrusted to chosen guardians. The conservation of places of indigenous cultural heritage value therefore is conditional on decisions made in the indigenous community, and should proceed only in this context. Indigenous conservation precepts are fluid and take account of the continuity of life and the needs of the present as well as the responsibilities of guardianship and association with those who have gone before. In particular, protocols of access, authority and ritual are handled at a local level. General principles of ethics and social respect affirm that such protocols should be observed.¹²

This statement affirms the role of indigenous knowledge and consultation in the process of human heritage management. The ICOMOS (NZ) statement on the role of indigenous people in human heritage management in New Zealand must be widely recognised by administrators and practitioners, and practice shaped accordingly. It is important, however, to go beyond token representation and to understand the complicated relationships between and among iwi and hapu where representative spokespeople are concerned.

A clear gap in the work of the cultural and historic heritage sector in New Zealand is the lack of professional historians who are directly and regularly involved in the sector. In a sector which is driven by the presence and condition of material culture—the physical evidence of the past, whether it is intact or in ruins—the larger questions about the meaning of those remains often goes unanswered. Historians, in contrast to either archaeologists or heritage architects, ask the question: ‘so what?’ about the process of human heritage conservation. ‘Why do we save this particular building or site or landscape?’ ‘Does the material culture have a broader meaning than its presence on the land?’ ‘Does it need a broader or more complex explanation?’ ‘How can we move from description to the discussion of meaning?’ ‘What difference will it make if we save it or let it go?’ As Brooke Hindle of the

Smithsonian Institution observes, ‘It is the spatial and analytical understanding offered by artifacts, not the things themselves, that is the historian’s goal. He [or she] has to see through the objects to the historical meaning to which they relate’.¹³ In setting out a new thematic framework for heritage sites, the United States National Park Service explains that its revised approach,

...presents a larger and more integrated view of history. It emphasises the process of how to study history but does not identify what to study. It allows flexibility for identifying appropriate time periods and regions. It stresses the interplay of race, ethnicity, class, and gender within and among the framework’s broadened topics. Indigenous Americans and their activities are now considered under all themes rather than under a special separate theme...[The framework] invites thoughtful consideration of larger trends and broader contexts. It should foster discussion of the fundamental social and economic structures related to a property. The larger implications and research possibilities of a place or site can then emerge more readily, and produce better answers to the question ‘so what?’¹⁴

Answers to the ‘so what’ question provide the context of meaning that makes sense of the material culture that we care for as heritage stewards.

Although there have been few professional public historians involved in this sector, the History Group of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (formerly the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs) potentially provides access to professionals who write books, manage oral history projects, and do quality control for television documentaries. In addition to the possibility of involving the History Group in policy development and the design and peer review of projects and overall strategies for the human heritage sector, there are further opportunities such as contract arrangements with university history departments for planning, implementing and creating interpretation for sites, structures, cultural landscapes and their associated material culture and documentation. An example of such an arrangement can be found in the United States. There, the National Park Service and the Organisation of American Historians are into their second five-year contract which secures the historical services of professionals to carry out the planning, production and evaluation of interpretative materials at historical sites and national parks all over the country. In the United States, the university-based historians have played several roles in partnership with the historians who work for the National Park Service. The academics have brought their particular, detailed professional expertise to the planning and presenting of interpretative explanations in a range of media at many different historical sites. But the academic historians have also brought an explicit authority to the process, so that sites with contestable histories present to the general public information developed by experts.¹⁵ This contract idea—between NZHPT or DoC and under the auspices, perhaps, of the Professional Historians’ Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand, or the New Zealand Historical Association—might supplement the History Group expertise already available in Wellington and broaden the possibilities for human heritage interpretation for DoC, the NZHPT, and local and regional bodies. Moving the planning, creating and implementing of historical interpretation of sites, structures and landscapes into the History Group, or bringing such work under its supervision and quality review, would allow the development of an interpretative strategy that emphasises New Zealand history, culture and national identity. Such a change would also enable the organisations involved in the heritage sector to realise their enormous potential as sites for education of both New Zealanders and foreign visitors.

While using the services of the History Group or contracting out the cultural and historic heritage context studies and thematic frameworks will raise the standard of this work for the sector, it will not resolve all issues. New Zealand has a very professional heritage community which is stretched thin by the needs of a profoundly underfunded sector. There are undoubtedly a number of ways to provide for more work to be done, not on a part-time, volunteer basis but on a professional footing with appropriate payment. The love for the work has got New Zealand's heritage a long way, but it has also seriously distorted the understanding within funding agencies of the true costs of human heritage management. Chronic underfunding will continue so long as the real costs both of employing professional staff and of identifying, documenting, evaluating, conserving and interpreting historic and cultural heritage to even a generally acceptable standard remain unrecognised. One model for a cost-effective, locally-based organisation to provide for varied professional services is the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in the United States. This model could be adapted on a regional basis, most easily through the DoC conservancies. Under the SHPO system, every state's heritage conservation office is mandated to have a staff that includes a heritage architect, an archaeologist and a historian. They may work on areas besides those of their professional training: for instance on registration or tax incentives, or on educational programs. But they are also available to give expert advice and peer review for projects throughout the area they cover. The offices are funded through grants from the National Park Service, state funds, and other government or lottery schemes. This arrangement, adapted to New Zealand's conditions, would mean that every region would be able to utilise expertise to manage the full range of human heritage resources.

In addition, in the United States as a result of amendments to the Historic Preservation Act in 1992, Native American tribes who wish to participate in the registration process to the National Register of Historic Places are empowered to name their own SHPO staff and make nominations directly to the National Register in Washington. Funding comes through the Historic Preservation Fund as well as federal monies through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

If a model like that of the SHPOs is not useful for New Zealand's sector, there are other ways to provide both professionalism and process throughout the country. An absolutely critical first step, however, is a study of the real costs in New Zealand of undertaking these projects. Without a clear understanding of what funding is necessary to run even a basic program with standards against which work can be evaluated, the sector will never function as cost-effectively and productively as it might otherwise. Further, it is unlikely to fulfil the mandates of policy-makers and local communities to help shape versions of national identity and to provide opportunities for heritage tourism. A study must be made of the real costs of historic heritage management in New Zealand—from those costs incurred by national government departments, to those incurred by community and iwi projects—in order to budget effectively for future positive outcomes.

¹ William Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*, Sterling Publishing Co., New York, 1993, pp. 15–77.

² World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*, UNESCO, Paris, 1995, p. 185.

³ For a discussion of the relationships between natural science and museum practice, see Sharon MacDonald (ed.), *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, Routledge, London, 1988.

⁴ *Our Creative Diversity*, fn. 11, p. 202.

⁵ Post-Environment Forum Working Party, *Environment 1986*, State Services Commission, Wellington, 1985.

⁶ English Heritage, 'Discussion Paper 1: Understanding', *Government's Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment*, August 2000, URL: <http://www/english-heritage.org.uk/discovery/heritage-review/consultation/index.asp>, p. 7.

⁷ Jannelle Warren-Findley, 8 Nov 2000, e-mail exchange with Mary O'Keeffe.

⁸ Ronda Cooper, 'The Importance of Monsters: A Decade of RMA Debate', in author's possession, pp. 15–16. I am grateful to Dr Claudia Orange for calling my attention to this important work.

⁹ Jannelle Warren-Findley, 6 July 2000, telephone conversation with Greg Vossler.

¹⁰ ICOMOS New Zealand, *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value*, ICOMOS New Zealand, Auckland, 1993, Article 3.

¹¹ Rachel Egerton, 'Working as an Historian for DoC', paper presented at Public History: Meanings, Ownership, Practice. New Zealand's First Public History Conference, Wellington, New Zealand, 2–3 September 2000.

¹² *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter*, Article 2.

¹³ Brooke Hindle, quoted in Thomas J. Schlereth, 'Material Culture Research and Historical Explanation', *The Public Historian*, 7(4), Fall 1985, p. 36.

¹⁴ US National Park Service, *Implementing the New Thematic Framework within the National Park Service*, URL: www.cr.nps.gov/history/implementing.htm, p. 1.

¹⁵ John A. Lascher, 'OAH and the National Park Service', *OAH Newsletter*, August 2000. URL: www.oah.org/pubs/nl/2000Aug/index.html

Chapter 4: The Structures of Heritage

‘New Zealand retains a distinctive range of historic places relating to Maori and people of European and other descent. These areas, landscapes, buildings, structures, archaeological sites, traditional and sacred places are taonga or national treasures. They have lasting value in their own right and can teach us about the culture and lifestyles of the people who came before us and help us understand the issues we face today. By preserving, protecting and interpreting them we are maintaining an important link with the past which contributed to a sense of community identity and well-being. This promotes an affinity with our environment and an understanding of the cultural processes which have shaped it. Those attitudes are of benefit to the conservation of natural as well as historic resources. This affinity already exists strongly among Maori, whose historic heritage is seen as an integral part of their whole environment’.¹

‘The most fundamental change required to improve the system is for an explicit commitment to historic and cultural heritage protection and management, separate from the present Conservation portfolio. A portfolio for historic and cultural heritage could be filled by a Minister who is also responsible for related portfolios, eg Conservation, Cultural Affairs or Internal Affairs, but would provide clear Ministerial leadership and accountability’.²

‘...the historic environment...has a crucial role in shaping the future, contributing to our sense of cultural identity, and reinforcing a sense of place and local and regional identities. Underlying all of this is the belief that a well-understood, well-protected, publicly-appreciated and sensibly-used historic environment is central to a healthy and prosperous modern society’.³

The human heritage conservation sector in New Zealand has undergone 15 years of examination.⁴ Each study has identified structural problems relating to the legislative framework and the institutional arrangements that force the system into a fragmented, duplicated, sometimes contradictory set of practices.⁵ Both the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment in 1996 and the *Historic Heritage Management Review* in 1998 emphasised the difficulties of making a workable *national* human heritage management program while dealing with the legislative restrictions of the Resource Management Act and the Historic Places Act, on the one hand, and the dispersal of administrative responsibility among several ministries, departments and non-governmental organisations (in the case of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust) on the other.

I argue here that the human heritage program that will best meet the needs of New Zealand’s resources and disparate communities is one that is national in scope, rather than locally-based and resourced. From my experience as a practitioner in the United States, I have come to believe that human heritage resource conservation and management should be a national undertaking. The history that sites, structures and landscapes possess is often a *national* as well as local history. The identity shaped by these places is a *national* identity, rather than solely a local one.

I have found in my own practice that moving the decision-making and fiscal responsibility for local projects to the community without providing outside funding or input tends to impoverish such projects. This often means the loss of human heritage resources because the transfer of responsibility without financial resources to implement decisions simply cannot work as a preservation strategy, although it is often promoted as a political strategy to limit conservation possibilities. The poorest communities sometimes have heritage sites of enormous importance not only to the community but to the nation, and the nation must assume responsibility for them.

Moreover, ‘local empowerment’ often also means empowering those in a community who already have the bulk of the power. That leads to the sites and stories of women, minorities, the working class and others who do not share directly in local power networks being left out or ignored. Local empowerment in human heritage conservation simply reinforces traditional power relationships within communities.⁶

This is not to argue that partnerships between local communities, regional bodies, and the institutions of national human heritage resource management cannot or should not be pursued. This perspective does assume, however, that the national government has a leadership role to play in shaping policy, planning, quality control and establishment of standards; and in funding and aiding the interpretation of government-owned sites, structures and landscapes. That role can be extended to local communities to enable them to upskill staff and upgrade heritage management undertakings. It also assumes that part of the national program involves enabling communities to pay for professional expertise in order to carry out local programs of national quality.

Any government that attempts to strengthen the sector needs first to establish what the characteristics of a cultural and historic heritage system of international standard might be. Only then can sound decisions be made about how to shape the New Zealand system of heritage practice.

First, what factors shape an international-standard historic heritage system?⁷
The needed factors include:

- an acknowledgement by government of the existence and significance of New Zealand’s historic and cultural heritage and an absolute commitment to its maintenance as a treasured national resource;
- a source of stable, realistic funding;
- a source of stable policy-making that produces laws or regulations or standards that make clear what the process is, how it must be carried out, and by whom;
- a fully competent bi- or multicultural and multidisciplinary workforce with the necessary levels of professionalism, and clear definitions both of ‘fully competent’ and of the competencies needed to take on increased responsibilities in the sector;
- a stable means of training and retraining those workers, through courses available in New Zealand, rather than overseas as is currently the case;
- a reliable means of developing and retaining widespread multigenerational public support.

If those factors are achieved, what outcomes can be expected? They are, I suggest:

- clarity about responsibility and funding for the sector;
- consistency of approach and practice through comprehensive and cohesive top-level policy and strategy;
- a robust and comprehensive inventory of archaeological, Maori and historic heritage sites in New Zealand;
- a system by which the most important of those identified sites, structures and landscapes can be designated as nationally significant;

- a system by which sites and structures important to communities but not designated nationally significant can be designated as locally significant;
- provision for Maori to register and care for those sites and structures significant to Maori, or to not register as desired;
- systems for the maintenance and conservation of designated sites;
- provision of public site, structure or landscape interpretation where appropriate;
- dissemination of educational material about the process of historic and cultural heritage identification, documentation, conservation and interpretation in New Zealand;
- dissemination of educational material about the ways that land-based heritage tell stories about the past and present of New Zealand and its peoples;
- dissemination of educational material about the interrelationships between New Zealand's natural and cultural resources.⁸

I have looked at the factors that are necessary to bring the practice of human heritage management in New Zealand up to a reasonable standard of excellence. In this chapter, I will look at three critical components for a world-class cultural and historic heritage management program. Here, I will discuss the need for an acknowledgement by government of the existence and significance of New Zealand's historic and cultural heritage and the government's primary responsibility for its maintenance; a source of stable, realistic funding; and a source of stable policy-making that produces laws or regulations or standards that make clear what the process is, how it must be carried out, and by whom.

Government commitment

The most important element of a functional historic heritage conservation system is an absolute commitment on the part of government to the existence, significance, and need for long-range stewardship of New Zealand's historic and cultural heritage.

The 1996 Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment study focused on the need for government to make such a commitment, suggesting the move of the heritage responsibility from the Minister of Conservation's portfolio to another ministerial portfolio where it could be managed in a separate process that 'would provide clear Ministerial leadership and accountability'.⁹ In 2000, the current Prime Minister, Helen Clark, announced that she would retain the Arts, Culture and Heritage portfolio, giving particular status to the sector through this decision. The New Zealand Historic Places Trust moved from the Department of Conservation to the newly renamed Ministry for Culture and Heritage, and joined a list of cultural NGOs and Crown entities that included Te Papa, the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, Creative New Zealand and the New Zealand Ballet. No attempt was made, however, to transfer DoC's cultural and historic heritage management responsibilities, or any other government department heritage policy or management responsibilities to the new ministry; or directly to confront the issues of Resource

Management Act compliance for local councils, except through partial amending of the RMA.

In May 2000, the Labour government further demonstrated its commitment to culture and heritage through a one-off funding program. Helen Clark, Prime Minister and Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, stated,¹⁰ 'I believe that arts and culture have been undervalued in our political culture...one way to demonstrate how important and indeed how crucial their role is was to throw the weight of the Prime Minister's position behind the portfolio'. She quoted the Labour Party's election policy statement, *Uniquely New Zealand*,¹¹ commenting,

...we said that through the arts and through cultural activities we New Zealanders express our aspirations as a nation, who we are, and where we stand in the world. It is through these endeavours also that we express our cultural identities: as individuals and within communities.

We noted that New Zealand is a nation with a strong and diverse cultural history; a history of tangata whenua, of colonialism, of development, and of creativity. Culturally we possess a rich vein of materials of the images, sounds and colours of the Pacific and beyond. We draw on the strong indigenous heritage of Maori and on the rich traditions of European, Pacific and other cultures.

We noted in *Uniquely New Zealand* our pride in our diverse cultures, and we said that a well developed arts and cultural sector is integral to the vision we have for New Zealand. We articulated our vision for vibrant arts and cultural activities which all New Zealanders could enjoy and through which a strong and confident cultural identity can emerge, and for a strong and vibrant creative industry sector which provides sustainable employment and economic growth within an innovative environment. In that way we acknowledged both the intrinsic value of the arts and culture and the enormous economic benefits which could flow from a strong creative sector.

We said that we would give top priority to arts and culture and the creative industries.¹²

The result of the new emphasis on culture and heritage was that the NZHPT received a \$3 million capital contribution. The money went towards its Historic Places Preservation Fund and its Maori Heritage Development Fund, and to upgrading and enhancing the register of New Zealand's heritage. The Trust will also receive an additional \$170,000 this year, and half a million dollars a year extra from next year in operations money to enhance its heritage protection activities nation-wide. Clark pointed out that 'the new funding for the Trust is crucial if it is to fulfil its statutory mandate to protect and preserve historic sites. Under the previous government its funding was cut and it was forced to go through a painful restructuring. Our new government is determined to see the Trust's work restored'.¹³

In addition to the funding top-up for the NZHPT, the government also awarded \$300,000 towards the Edwin Fox restoration project in Picton. The sailing ship, with a Category One registration from the NZHPT, was awarded the special funding because 'The Edwin Fox is a hugely significant part of our historic heritage. The government wants to support its preservation. Through that, the attraction of Picton as a heritage tourism destination will be enhanced'.¹⁴

The Prime Minister concluded her presentation by asserting 'The package I am announcing today makes it very clear that our new government has a major commitment to the arts, culture, and heritage sector. It opens up enormous opportunities for economic, arts, cultural, and heritage development. I urge the sector to use the funding wisely. This is a recovery, restoration, and building programme of a magnitude which is unlikely to be able to be repeated in the future'. She added, 'New Zealand is but a small nation in an increasingly globalised world. What is

unique about us are our arts, our culture, and our heritage. In the twenty-first century, they will define us as the confident, proud, and creative peoples we are. Our cultural renaissance sits alongside our transition to a new economy, our reassertion of the timeless New Zealand values of fairness, opportunity, and security, and our determination to have our voice heard internationally on disarmament, development, human rights, and the environment. I believe we as New Zealanders can enter the twenty-first century full of pride for the unique contribution we have to make'.¹⁵

The statement of support for the NZHPT and the Edwin Fox project are important because they put the Labour government on record as a supporter of part of the sector. In that sense, they indicate that government has interest in these issues. But the level of commitment necessary to a world-class heritage management system is not currently available in New Zealand. DoC, for example, has at least 800 sites, structures and landscapes in need of management attention, and 5 percent of the departmental budget with which to get the job done.¹⁶ There are sites, structures and landscapes all over the country deeply significant to the history of New Zealand that are in real peril because of lack of support for their care. The whole sector needs an absolute, long-range commitment on the part of government to the stewardship of the cultural and historic heritage of New Zealand. Partial recognition of the range of departments and practitioners within the cultural and historic heritage sector only underlines the sector's fragmented nature and further divides it.

Stable funding

The second element of a functional historic heritage conservation system is a source of stable, realistic, predictable funding over a period of at least five to ten years.

In 1996, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment reported that the current level and allocation of resourcing at national and local levels is not sufficient to achieve the principles and objectives of the Historic Places Act or the RMA as they pertain to historic and cultural heritage. Under the devolution policies of the RMA, moreover, the financing is not sufficient to meet the requirements of both the national and local communities in providing for appropriate levels of protection for historic and cultural heritage.¹⁷

Central government funding for NZHPT and DoC has provided money for identification and protection and management services, in the case of NZHPT; and management services and implementation of legal protection in the case of DoC. The Ministry for Culture and Heritage receives funding to provide policy advice to the sector. Other agencies such as Te Puni Kokiri and the Ministry for the Environment also get funding for policy development in the area. The financial commitment of local government to the sector varies according to each community's size and income, but much of the work of historic heritage management is paid for through budget lines that do not specify the historic heritage costs. As Helen Clark noted in her presentation, New Zealand's historic heritage conservation system has suffered for years from inadequate funding from central government and from local and regional bodies. Any upgrading of the process of historic heritage management in this country will depend on increased funding for the various activities that such management requires.

But before funding is sought, the real cost of heritage conservation in New Zealand needs to be established. Kiwi ingenuity and flexibility have obscured the true costs of a professional, international-standard historic heritage system. Gavin McLean notes that Duncan Rae, who had shepherded the original Historic Places Trust legislation through parliament, hoped that such activities would not be a major cost to the Crown. The NZHPT was set up as a shoe-string operation with a strong voluntary component to its operations. Both staffing and financial resources were provided to the NZHPT in the early days by the Ministry of Works, the Department of Lands and Survey and the Department of Internal Affairs.¹⁸

Thus, the contemporary state of under-resourced, voluntary effort has a long and ingrained history in New Zealand. At the present time, DoC employees act as informal and unpaid advisors to local government bodies. Professional archaeologists volunteer their expertise in underwater archaeology to regional councils. Historians act as unpaid advisors to the Historic Places Trust. NZHPT committee members devote hours of volunteer time and labour to their local communities' historic heritage needs.

While there is no reason to stop valuing such effort, it is absolutely critical to capture the costs of professional planning, identification, documentation, maintenance, conservation and interpretation to move to a professional status for New Zealand's historic heritage practice. The contributions of volunteers and of government departments, in terms of supplies, manpower and time are not adequately accounted for to enable government to fund the sector adequately and reliably over a long period of time. Even if the New Zealand government opts for few structural and legal changes in the system as it currently operates, the funding anomalies must be resolved to produce heritage outcomes that reflect the complex and sophisticated perspectives on New Zealand history and culture that are available currently outside of the land-based heritage sector.

Policy

The third element of an international-standard historic heritage conservation program is a source of stable policy-making that produces laws or regulations or standards that make clear what the process is, how it must be carried out, by whom and to what standard of practice.

The fact that there are real structural difficulties within the historic heritage sector is not news. Every review of the sector since the mid-1980s has pointed to these problems. As greater attention is given to the sector, however, the lack of progress will be increasingly obvious. The land-based cultural heritage sector will continue to deliver partial, duplicated and sometimes contradictory results that will expose the government to criticism.

The structural difficulties reveal the sector's fundamental problems. The first problem lies in basic definitions. A lack of basic and shared definitions of 'culture' and 'heritage' in law and regulations makes it very difficult for the sector to be clear about what it is mandated to perform. At times, the terms seem to be a code for 'Maori' (culture) and 'European' (historic or heritage). At times, 'culture' is either the anthropological definition of culture, or the arts definition, and those are profoundly different from each other. Yet all groups have culture of both the arts and

the anthropological kind, and all groups have history or heritage. Until the definitions are clear, shared assumptions about the parameters of the sector will be at risk. I have chosen to refer to 'human heritage' as a way of avoiding some of the semantic difficulties in this area.

In addition, the sector is governed by laws that apply to different parts of the sector and are not internally self-referential. Greg Vossler's recent analysis of the various pieces of legislation that apply to the cultural and historic heritage sector¹⁹ makes very clear the 'issue regarding the ability of this "framework" of disassociated legislative provisions to facilitate effective protection and management of the nation's historic heritage'. He quotes the characteristics described by Michael Pearson and Sharon Sullivan as critical to the effectiveness of heritage legislation:

- it is closely linked to and provides for an effective administrative structure, and ongoing financial support, by way of a special fund or legislatively provided income;
- it acknowledges those groups particularly and traditionally linked to the heritage it protects, and provides specific custodial and consultative rights of those groups;
- it places emphasis on positive and enabling provisions, for example, tax incentives and other benefits, education provisions, listings of significant places;
- it has the minimum deterrent clauses necessary for its effectiveness, concentrating on those major issues that are enforceable;
- it provides penalty clauses that are real deterrents (for example, loss of development rights);
- it provides specifically for public involvement and public education;
- it recognises and balances the right of both the individual and society in cultural property;
- it provides for an effective field management component (for example, rangers, field officers, provision of expertise, etc);
- it is closely linked to or embodies land planning, environmental assessment, and land management provisions;
- it is administratively as simple as possible, with as little red tape, and as few approval processes as possible.²⁰

Vossler notes rightly that some of the New Zealand statutes embody individually some of these factors, but that they 'collectively fall well short of providing a cohesive, integrated framework for historic heritage protection and management'. Other shortfalls, according to Vossler, involve the unclear applicability of the RMA to historic heritage as a national priority, the lack of a Treaty of Waitangi reference in the Historic Places Act, and different perspectives in the RMA and the HPA as to the importance of Maori relationships to indigenous heritage. In addition, the Conservation Act provides for DoC to manage cultural and heritage materials on and off the conservation estate, but does not explain how the CA relates to these other pieces of legislation.²¹

I came to New Zealand expecting to be convinced by the possibilities of the RMA for human heritage management. But my Ian Axford fellowship colleague Julie Frieder pointed out in 1997 that the RMA does not in fact work very well in practice to promote integrated environmental management.²² More recent reviews have echoed her findings.²³ The basic problem with the RMA is that human heritage conservation was not assigned national priority in the original legislation. Even if human heritage management were elevated to the status of a national priority under Article 6 as is currently suggested, the difficulties that impede the implementation of the legislation would still exist. Frieder noted in 1997, 'the following factors were found to be the most significant barriers to integrated environmental management: lack of advocacy for a strong environmental vision, kaupapa and direction;

inadequate data and monitoring; inexperience with the essentials of fair process; a system of accountabilities that favours outputs over outcomes and efficiency over quality; lack of resources; an unusual cultural relationship with change that permits macro changes while it resists micro changes'.²⁴ She went on to suggest that, 'The intensive period of reform in New Zealand left a culture that cares more about cost minimization than the quality of environmental outcomes or community participation. In particular, the state sector reform introduced an ideology and a lexicon that places a premium on economic bottom lines...'²⁵ Three years out, little appears to have changed in the implementation of the RMA. The human heritage sector might well approach the notion of building a heritage conservation strategy on the RMA with caution.

Repeated reviews of the heritage sector in the 1990s have noted that the present legislative system is not working well. A parliamentary select committee is currently considering amendments to the RMA to help resolve some of the issues. Many organisations, including ICOMOS (NZ), have focused on the need for a National Policy Statement to provide a mechanism for national heritage policy leadership. Since management under the RMA devolves to district and local governments, such a statement would provide a national perspective through which to set national priorities for the preservation of the historic, archaeological and Maori heritage of New Zealand, would provide for protection of places significant to the nation, and could provide a framework for regional and local registration within the national framework as well. The absolute necessity for the National Policy Statement to establish a national focus for heritage conservation in New Zealand seems apparent. Since heritage resources of national importance can be endangered by a decentralised system of management when they cannot be sustained by local communities, there must be a mechanism to care for those materials. And if land-based heritage management stays with the RMA, as present law directs, then the management of archaeology must go there, too, in order to maintain consistency in regulatory function for the entire sector. It is currently split off from the RMA, and managed by NZHPT as that body's sole regulatory function.

Other legal frameworks for history or historical heritage activities in New Zealand include the Cabinet minute that legitimated the Historical Branch, the Reserves Act 1977, the Antiquities Act 1975, the Building Act 1991, and the Environment Act 1986. Because so much legislation which overlaps and contradicts parts of other pieces of legislation is in existence, it may be time for government policy-makers to propose umbrella legislation governing the human heritage sector as a whole. Rather than focusing on institutions, the legislation ('the New Zealand Cultural and Historic Heritage Act of 2001', for example) should address the funding and management issues noted above and redefine the relationships among these various departments, levels of governments and communities so there is uniformity across the entire sector.

In addition to the legal mismatches, the sector at the national government level works within a cluster of national government bureaucratic organisations—NZHPT, DoC, the Ministry for the Environment, Te Puni Kokiri, among others—that report to different ministers and do not now work in functional, legally-mandated partnerships with each other. The NZHPT manages the properties it owns and some of the nation's historic reserves. DoC manages historic and cultural heritage on and off the conservation estate under the terms of the Conservation Act 1987, although its policy

documents appear to attempt to move away from such responsibility.²⁶ The Department of Internal Affairs is responsible for some government-owned historic buildings. Organisations *other* than NZHPT manage far more of the cultural and historic heritage of New Zealand than does the Trust.

Management perspectives that are radically different from each other make coherent national management strategies difficult to implement. One example of this is the comparison between the strategy described in the introduction to *Atawhai Ruamano/Conservation 2000 Historic Heritage Strategy*, produced by DoC in May 1995; and recent comments by the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage. DoC states:

New Zealand retains a distinctive range of historic places relating to Maori and people of European and other descent. These areas, landscapes, buildings, structures, archaeological sites, traditional and sacred places are taonga or national treasures. They have lasting value in their own right and can teach us about the culture and lifestyles of the people who came before us and help us understand the issues we face today. By preserving, protecting and interpreting them we are maintaining an important link with the past which contributed to a sense of community identity and well-being. This promotes an affinity with our environment and an understanding of the cultural processes which have shaped it. Those attitudes are of benefit to the conservation of natural as well as historic resources. This affinity already exists strongly among Maori, whose historic heritage is seen as an integral part of their whole environment.²⁷

This is a statement about *pastness* and about links to the natural environment. It takes an anthropological view of the meaning of historic or cultural heritage management. This particular vision, building on the notion of ‘cultural landscapes’, or layers of history upon the land, is a holistic, ecological management strategy being explored at the present time by many countries world-wide. Its appeal arises from its inclusivity, since many disparate events and developments that happened on a piece of land or along boundaries over time can be identified and understood as a part of the history of that landscape.

Contrast the DoC management strategy with the extract from the address by the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage at the launch of the arts funding package in May, quoted earlier in this chapter. This is a statement *about shaping the present and the future out of the past*; about using history and culture as dynamic, living elements of intangible as well as tangible culture; about being connected to the land but expressing that connection in diverse ways. The comparison of these strategies—one with an anthropological/ecological slant and the other with an arts/humanities focus—leads one to ask again why we should survey, identify, document, conserve and interpret these sites, structures, landscapes.

To define the past, or to define the future?

Should historic heritage management be carried out in a context defined by a conservation perspective or alternatively an arts perspective, and how can either be reconciled with each other or with other approaches to cultural and historic heritage conservation?

The government has clearly chosen the future-oriented arts/humanities strategy, and through its arts funding package presented in May 2000, has acted to upgrade the positions of *one institution* and *one project* of historic heritage management.²⁸ If the

cultural and historic heritage sector is to thrive under this new attention, some thought needs to be given to how the sector *as a whole* might be empowered to do the needed work.

The primary government departments involved in historic heritage conservation policy include the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, DoC, Te Puni Kokiri, and the Ministry for the Environment, among others. From the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, as was noted in Chapter 2, NZHPT was the central conservation agency in New Zealand. The Trust also established an earlier version of the Maori Heritage Council in the 1970s. NZHPT was attached to the Department of Internal Affairs for policy and administrative services, but was not a government department as such. In 1974, the Trust was awarded its first statutory powers, and it was at this point that its development deviated from the development of similar organisations in North America and western Europe. In the United States in 1966, for example, the regulatory powers to address issues of salvage archaeology and more general heritage protection were assigned under umbrella legislation to the United States National Park Service. That made the National Park Service the lead agency of government in both a policy and regulatory sense under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The United States National Trust for Historic Preservation maintained its status as a private and very powerful lobbying and membership organisation, funded by a yearly grant from the federal Historic Preservation Fund as well as its own active fundraising efforts. Although it is funded partially by a grant from the United States government, it has no official government links to constrain its ability to raise money for and to be a nationally effective advocate on behalf of historic heritage conservation.

The NZHPT was given a mixed mandate from 1974, being responsible for both regulatory developments and advocacy and membership services. When the Department of Conservation was formed in 1987, NZHPT became part of DoC's historic and cultural heritage mandate. DoC is responsible for all the heritage activities on the conservation estate and controls half of the historic reserves of New Zealand, so including NZHPT under that umbrella made sense. But repeated reviews of the sector in the 1990s have stressed that the present system is failing to protect land-based cultural heritage adequately. Within the last year, NZHPT moved from DoC's structure to the new Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

The establishment of the new Ministry may allow many of the issues raised above to be addressed. There is the potential for coherent policy representation for the sector through MCH. However, the majority of heritage resources in New Zealand are managed by DoC, local and regional authorities or private owners, none of which is directly represented in the Ministry's mandate. This lack of overall policy authority needs to be rectified.

¹ Department of Conservation, *Atawhai Ruamano/Conservation 2000 Historic Heritage Strategy*, Department of Conservation, Wellington, 1995, introduction.

² Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment/Te Kaitiaki Taiao a Te Whare Paremata, *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand*, 2 vols, Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Wellington, 1996, chapter 5.

³ English Heritage, 'Discussion Paper 1: Understanding', *Government's Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment*, August 2000, URL: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discovery/heritage-review/consultation/index.asp>, part 2 'Defining the historic environment'.

⁴ See Chapter 2, fn. 27.

⁵ For example, the *Historic Heritage Management Review*, Department of Conservation, Wellington, 1998, identified 'Weaknesses and strengths of the current system', p. 10.

Weaknesses were as follows:

1. There is a lack of national policy and strategy for the identification, protection and management of historic heritage.
2. Machinery of government arrangements are fragmented and the relevant duties, responsibilities and accountabilities are not always clearly defined.
3. DoC and the NZHPT have not fully realised their roles as the lead government agency and the lead historic heritage advocate respectively, and the role of the Maori Heritage Council has been seriously restricted by its current low status and resourcing.
4. Local government jurisdiction for historic heritage is confused and its performance is variable, particularly in relation to Maori heritage.
5. Systems and practices for the protection of sites and landscapes of significance to Maori are inadequately developed.
6. The historic heritage management system is perceived as bureaucratic and insufficiently cognisant of commercial factors.
7. Permanent losses of all types of historic heritage are continuing (as documented in the report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand, 1996*).

Strengths were as follows:

1. The Treaty of Waitangi provides a firm basis for the duties of Government in partnership with Maori in the protection of their heritage.
2. The NZHPT has a national role as the leading historic heritage advocate and has a large public membership.
3. There is a comprehensive nation-wide system of local government.
4. There is a network of available professional expertise in the historic heritage field.
5. Community involvement and public interest in historic heritage is high.
6. Significant independent funders exist, e.g. The Lottery Grants Board.

⁶ This is a difficult issue for practitioners to discuss openly. Some fairly direct historical discussion has been presented by James Lindgren in the field of historic preservation and the reframing of memory in the United States and Eric Gable and Richard Handler in the examination of narrative accounts prepared by docents at Colonial Williamsburg in the United States. See James M. Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1993 and James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism and the Remaking of Memory*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995; and Eric Gable & Richard Handler, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1997.

⁷ The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment's report and the *Historic Heritage Management Review* both presented the same six desired outcomes:

1. The historic and cultural heritage of New Zealand is retained and conserved to a degree which meets individual and community aspirations as assessed under Characteristics 2 and 3.
2. Treaty of Waitangi obligations are provided for in such a way that Maori interests in relation to their taonga are actively protected and Maori are able to exercise kaitiakitanga over their taonga according to their own cultural preferences.
3. The system is responsive to:
 - The importance that is ascribed by New Zealanders to the protection of their historic and cultural heritage;
 - The wide range of historic and cultural values held by New Zealanders;
 - The wide range of interests which may be affected by the protection of historic and cultural heritage (in particular the rights and responsibilities of landowners) so that outcomes are fair to all affected parties.
4. The means used by each agency for setting priorities for historic and cultural heritage complement each other as part of a systematic national approach to historic and cultural heritage.
5. Statutes which provide for the protection of historic and cultural heritage are structured and linked in such a way that the functional relationships between the agencies responsible for their implementation are clear and unambiguous.

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6. Assessment criteria and technical standards used by agencies are comparable where necessary and result in consistent levels and high standards of identification and resultant protection.
- ⁸ The outcomes presented here differ from the ones noted above mostly in their emphasis on public education as a major part of the process. My approach to the subject is framed by my interest in how public interpretation enhances the human heritage conservation process. I am interested in the answers to *why* we conserve and protect as well as *how* and *when* we do that.
- ⁹ Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand*, Chapter 5, 'Towards the Next Century for Heritage Conservation'.
- ¹⁰ Helen Clark, Speech 'Building Cultural Identity' at Launch of Arts Funding Programme, Grand Hall Parliament Buildings, Wellington, 12.00 pm, Thursday 18 May 2000.
- ¹¹ New Zealand Labour Party, *Labour on Arts and Culture, Uniquely New Zealand November 1999*, New Zealand Labour Party, Wellington, 1999.
- ¹² Clark, Speech at Launch of Arts Funding Programme.
- ¹³ *ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Janelle Warren-Findley, 9 November 2000, personal communication with Paul Mahoney.
- ¹⁷ Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand*, p. 41.
- ¹⁸ Gavin McLean, 'Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze: A Brief History of New Zealand's Heritage Movement 1890–2000', in Alexander Trapeznik (ed.), *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2000, p. 35.
- ¹⁹ Greg Vossler, 'Sense or Nonsense? Heritage Legislation in Perspective', in Alexander Trapeznik, (ed.), *Common Ground?*, pp. 57–72.
- ²⁰ Michael Pearson & Sharon Sullivan, *Looking After Heritage Places: the Basics of Heritage Planning for Managers, Landowners and Administrators*, Melbourne University Press, 1995, p. 35–36, quoted in Vossler, 'Sense or Nonsense?', p. 69.
- ²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 68–72. Vossler notes on p. 71 that the October 1998 discussion document prepared by the Department of Conservation for its heritage review study was succeeded by a report prepared by the Ministerial Advisory Committee. Their report included five key proposals, in Vossler's view:
- That the RMA should be the principal regulatory tool for the protection of historic heritage;
 - That the RMA should be amended to enhance its provisions applicable to historic heritage and that regulatory protection under the HPA should be repealed;
 - That heritage planning documents recognised by tangata whenua and which are referred to in the RMA be given greater weight in law;
 - That the statutory protection of archaeological heritage under the HPA be integrated into the RMA and that the current system of regulating archaeological sites be repealed once alternative protection is in place; and
 - That historic heritage identified on local heritage schedules and a proposed National Historic Heritage Schedule be protected through district plans.
- ²² Julie Frieder, *Approaching Sustainability: Integrated Environmental Management and New Zealand's Resource Management Act*, Ian Axford Fellowship in Public Policy, Wellington, 1997, pp. 45–57.
- ²³ Ronda Cooper, 'The Importance of Monsters: A Decade of RMA Debate', in possession of author.
- ²⁴ Frieder, *Approaching Sustainability*, p. 53.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
- ²⁶ Department of Conservation, *Atawai/Ruamano/Conservation 2000 Historic Heritage Strategy*, introduction.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*
- ²⁸ *ibid.*

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

There are a number of conclusions and recommendations that arise from this study and the studies that preceded it. When I began this work, my goal was to discover how the innovative historical scholarship being produced in New Zealand could be applied to human heritage management. A serious discussion about the meanings of New Zealand's human pasts and their impact in the present has been under way for several decades now. The fruits of that discussion are being presented in publications, television and radio programs, Internet sites and some new museum exhibits. These media give the public of New Zealand access to a complex, layered set of narratives that both describe and define the presence of humans in this country over the last thousand or so years. These stories—separate, combined, various; all with antecedent stories but taking place in the same landscape—shape the mosaic of national identity for New Zealanders in the twenty-first century.

I discovered quickly during this year of study, however, that the innovative histories being presented to the public had not been much applied in the built environment. I could not read the landscape in New Zealand as I could read the *Historical Atlas of New Zealand* or the volumes of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Although I travelled from one end of the country to the other and stopped at a range of sites, structures and cultural landscapes, I had to have guides with me to understand the meanings of many of those places. If there was interpretative material, it was frequently descriptive of the material culture located there, without any regard for the 'so what' questions: 'Why is this an important place?' 'What stories does it contain?' 'Why do we or should we care about what happened here?' 'Why do we single it out to honour it?' And the conclusion that I might well have reached from this journey was, as noted in Chapter 1, that this was a country predominantly inhabited by warlike Maori and rich English settlers; a conclusion that is not only patently untrue but also inconsistent with the way that New Zealanders see themselves.

So I began to explore a number of questions about the practice of human heritage management in New Zealand to try to tease out the reasons that the bridge from the narratives of the past to the present landscape appeared to be unbuilt and in many cases, unplanned. I first examined the reasons for practising human heritage management and looked at who was involved in the process in New Zealand. Here, I found three separate elements that make a focused and co-ordinated effort difficult to maintain:

1. The sector lacks the full range of human heritage professionals because it lacks a strong professional historical voice. This means, in turn, that the focus of most work is on the material culture itself, not the meaning of the material culture.
2. The reluctance of some communities at various times to allow public discussion of difficult or contentious events from the past often encourages a human heritage conservation strategy that merely describes the material culture and avoids the presentation of the historical or cultural context of the site or structure or landscape.

3. The profound split in the sector between the arts approach to human heritage management, as described most recently by the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage; and the environmental perspective, as described most recently by the Department of Conservation; has coloured virtually all undertakings for at least a decade. These differing perspectives mean that communities and government departments end up valuing different things and presenting them differently. Neither approach, moreover, necessarily includes an account of the meaning of the building in the landscape.

These issues place restrictions on the viewpoints and explanations that can make the landscape come alive with human voices and human stories.

Working together

There are a number of ways to respond to these issues. First, it is important for those involved in the human heritage conservation sector in New Zealand to stand together as a group in order to move forward together. Those who see the human heritage resources from various disciplinary perspectives and within different cultural frameworks may want to adopt multidisciplinary and inclusive perspectives within which to practise. Those whose ideas of the intellectual framework for human heritage management differ might find that discussion of these sometimes conflicting points of view can lead to a uniquely New Zealand approach whereby neither the mostly European arts lens nor the mostly Maori environmental lens must prevail; but instead, some variant that best fits this place and its peoples.

Moreover, standing together may mean that the battles between agencies over who is the 'authority' in the sector can end since the Ministry for Culture and Heritage is now available to take that role. The New Zealand Historic Places Trust, DoC, iwi, local and regional bodies might move beyond the endless internecine bickering and competition that has closed off or limited sector opportunities for years. The waste of energy and government and private financial resources in the duplication of effort between departments must be stopped. The Ministry needs to cast a wide net in seeking expert advice from the sector, but the sector, in turn, must stop backbiting and close ranks in the face of enormous possibilities for growth and accomplishment. To waste the chance of working with a government that wants to help would mar the sector's prospects for years to come. The human heritage of New Zealand deserves a stronger process and better outcomes than that.

Government commitment

I also realised, as I looked at human heritage conservation practice in New Zealand that there were some key factors that would be necessary to shape a robust system of practice. Those factors included a commitment on the part of government to the maintenance of human heritage resources in New Zealand; a source of stable, realistic funding; a source of stable policy-making; a competent workforce with access to training opportunities in New Zealand; and a reliable means of keeping widespread multigenerational public support.

It is important to demonstrate publicly that the government is committed to the development of a nationally-significant human heritage sector. Words are not, however, enough to cement the relationship. The commitment can be in the form of initiatives that signal the government's intent to the human heritage sector *as a whole* as opposed to a financial top-up for one agency in the sector. These include:

1. **The establishment of national historical and cultural parks, upgrading of current reserves and addition of others, if necessary, including the establishment of parks by Maori, if they wish.** This is important both for protection of those places and to make clear the government's support for human heritage management. It is a function of DoC under the Conservation Act of 1987.
2. **Establishment of World Heritage Site status for selected New Zealand historic and cultural sites.** This is important for protection and to make clear the international quality of New Zealand's selected sites. Again, it is a DoC responsibility.
3. **Establishment of a co-ordinated activist lobbying group for heritage resources.** The co-ordinating group could recruit from museum associations, local and regional heritage committees and organisations like the NZHPT, and professional groups like the New Zealand Archaeological Association, the Professional Historians' Association of New Zealand, and the New Zealand Historical Association. ICOMOS (NZ) already serves this function to a limited extent and could be supported to do more. It should be given enough resources to create a paid secretariat co-ordinating all the other groups. There is a precedent for the Ministry for Culture and Heritage or other government bodies to fund this development, just as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade has funded the parallel natural heritage international NGO, the IUCN (the World Conservation Union). In addition, this activist group must not have a formal or regulatory relationship to government in order to allow it to lobby effectively.
4. **Establishment of yearly national awards for archaeological, Maori or historic heritage efforts that exemplify the standards for which the sector strives.** The prizes should be awarded by a blue-ribbon panel of representatives from government departments, iwi, the private sector, universities and practitioners, and be presented by the Prime Minister in a special ceremony at Old Government House, the Treaty House at Waitangi, St Mary's Church at Tikitiki, or a similar cultural or heritage site. The Prime Minister's Awards in New Zealand Heritage can begin with a small number of categories and can be broadened as appropriate. The award program can be administered by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

Financial resources

Government budgeting needs to take account of the real costs of human heritage management work. As discussed in Chapter 3, the sector has been under-resourced for many years, and has traditionally operated on a mostly voluntary basis. Long-

term planning for human heritage management depends on the capacity of government to budget effectively, with sound information and clear outcomes in mind.

Government does not, however, need to assume the entire burden of paying for the human heritage management effort. As both NZHPT and DoC have demonstrated, it is feasible to establish financial partnerships that can move the notion of human heritage conservation in New Zealand forward. Partnerships with businesses that use historic buildings and cultural landscapes are one obvious development. Partnerships with universities in the planning or production of interpretative materials, like the recent website exhibition designed for the History Group of MCH by the postgraduate public history students at Victoria University in Wellington, is another option that would make expertise in a range of New Zealand history fields available to policy-makers and planners.¹

Commercial partnerships may have potential, also. For example, DoC has contract arrangements with tour companies throughout New Zealand. The bus drivers are like museum docents in other parts of the world: they tell the passengers about New Zealand natural and human history as they drive them from Paihia to Cape Reinga, or from Te Anau to Milford Sound. There has, however, apparently been no attempt to establish heritage interpretation standards for those concessionaires who represent DoC—and consequently, the New Zealand government—to the public. DoC could, perhaps with interpretative help from the History Group of MCH, include in their new concession contracts a requirement that the interpretation of New Zealand's natural and human history meet an agreed standard of excellence. The result would be better history, paid for by tourists and other travellers.

Planning for the Human Heritage Sector

All of the previous recommendations can be implemented immediately. It is also necessary, however, to take the last decade's critical studies of the human heritage sector out of the too-hard basket. Because the human heritage sector does not, at the current time, perceive of itself as a sector, but rather as a grouping of practitioners engaged by various organisations with a range of activities, any planning process needs to begin with a broad definition of what the goal of the human heritage sector should be. The preamble to the ICOMOS (NZ) *Charter* sets out a usable vision:

New Zealand retains a unique assemblage of places of cultural heritage value relating to its indigenous and its more recent peoples. These areas, landscapes and features, buildings, structures and gardens, archaeological and traditional sites, and sacred places and monuments are treasures of distinctive value. New Zealand shares a general responsibility with the rest of humanity to safeguard its cultural heritage for present and future generations. More specifically, New Zealand peoples have particular ways of perceiving, conserving and relating to their cultural heritage.

Starting with this statement as a general framework, a high-level working party could be established to address the shortcomings identified by sector reviews over the last ten years. The meetings should work to a focused agenda prepared by MCH staff with appropriate sector consultation. The meeting should include representatives of a range of interest groups and perspectives, including the current government organisations involved in the human heritage sector; the university departments who

train incoming professionals and constitute part of the body of working professionals in the sector; and iwi.

The basic approach of the group should be to entertain a range of new and radical ideas and to consider several options for the sector. Each of these options (and any others that appear promising) needs to be tested against the principles listed in Chapter 4:

- an acknowledgement by government of the existence and significance of New Zealand's historic and cultural heritage and an absolute commitment to its maintenance as a treasured national resource;
- a source of stable, realistic funding;
- a source of stable policy-making that produces laws or regulations or standards that make clear what the process is, how it must be carried out, and by whom;
- a fully competent bi- or multicultural and multidisciplinary workforce with the necessary levels of professionalism, and clear definitions both of 'fully competent' and of the competencies needed to take on increased responsibilities in the sector;
- a stable means of training and retraining those workers, through courses available in New Zealand, rather than overseas as is currently the case;
- a reliable means of developing and retaining widespread multigenerational public support.

Option One: Do nothing except increase funding to the various activities undertaken by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. These activities currently include maintenance of the national register of heritage places; the promotion of Maori conservation initiatives; the training of local heritage practitioners; the protection of archaeological sites; the issuing of various sorts of heritage orders; as well as membership and local committee service functions.

A positive consequence of this option would be a strengthening of the NZHPT's role, and in a sector riven by scrutiny and criticism for the last decade, it would be the course of action that would cause the least upset.

The negative aspect of this option is that it does not address major legal and structural sector issues. These include:

- the lack of easy and fluid internal reference among the key pieces of legislation that govern the sector;
- the control by DoC of a large number of the country's heritage sites and by local and regional councils of most others, so that these organisations manage far more heritage resources than does the NZHPT;
- the issues surrounding Maori control of taonga Maori;
- the lack of established governmental relationships at ministerial levels or amongst chief executives of departments such as DoC and MCH;
- the lack of an activist lobbying group for heritage resources to complement or counter the groups who lobby for natural resources;
- the lack of any way to attract younger and under-served parts of the population to participate in the sector.

In other words, it may answer the first requirement, ‘an acknowledgement by government of the existence and significance of New Zealand’s historic and cultural heritage and an absolute commitment to its maintenance as a treasured national resource’. But it does not clearly answer the others. It would most likely produce a ‘business as usual’ approach with more work possible because of additional funding.

Option Two: Establish a New Zealand Heritage Commission. This body would have two sections, one to deal with moveable cultural property and the other to address issues of land-based cultural and historic heritage. The moveable cultural heritage section would administer the Antiquities Act (which applies to moveable cultural heritage more frequently than to land-based heritage) and oversee museum activities, including Te Papa and the national museums and library programs.

The land-based cultural heritage section, of most interest here, would administer legislation that applies to land-based heritage, whether it is the built environment, archaeology, or commemorative sites; and would draw in heritage management bodies such as the NZHPT and the Heritage Operations Group of MCH. It would be the location of the national register of heritage sites, which could either stay under the stewardship of the NZHPT or be managed by the land-based cultural heritage section. A unit of professional evaluators, trained in the disciplines of history, archaeology, landscape architecture, Maori culture, and conservation architecture, should be created to manage the listings and monitor the condition of the listed sites, structures, landscapes and artifacts (if artifacts are to be listed at all). The Commission would provide, through the History Group of MCH, historical research, writing, heritage interpretation planning and production, and quality-control services to the government and to the sector. As the ‘lead agency of government’ for the human heritage sector, the Commission would produce or oversee the production of standards, technical information and instructions, thematic frameworks, context studies and similar analytic documents.

This model assumes that the administration of other MCH areas of responsibility such as TVNZ and broadcasting would be placed in a body other than the New Zealand Heritage Commission, for instance, a New Zealand Cultural Commission. Alternatively, those other organisations would be administered as they are now by MCH, but separately from the Heritage Commission.

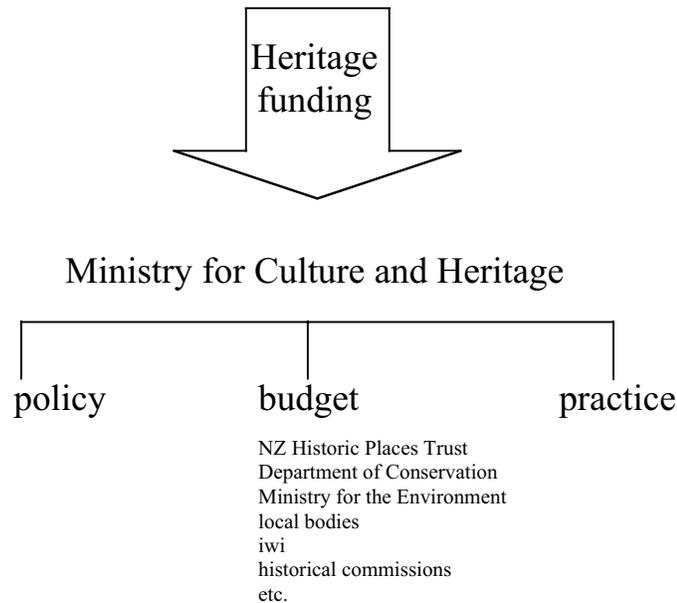
The positive consequences of this Heritage Commission framework include the bringing together of legislation, policy and practice in one ministry, and the establishment of an administrative structure that could cater to local, regional and national government needs and those of the private sector. This scheme provides a means to evaluate the identification, documentation, analysis, conservation and public interpretation of human heritage management in New Zealand. Such review and quality control will help guarantee work of an acceptable standard, and interpretative narratives of depth and sophistication. This model demonstrates governmental commitment, could allow for a stable means of funding for these activities, and does provide for some professional input into the human heritage management process. It does not answer the need for a professional presence nationwide, nor does it *necessarily* allow for the encouragement of popular support from the general population.

The negative consequences would be the shift in authority from various governmental and private organisations that now operate more or less autonomously

to a central source of advice, evaluation, and education; and the need to create a new structure to handle these new demands.

Option Three: Reorganise the sector. It may even be possible to bring the process of identification, documentation, preservation and conservation, and interpretation of the range of New Zealand's heritage places into one heritage unit with regional representation. In this model, MCH might become the ministry in charge of heritage undertakings in New Zealand. (See diagram below). Heritage funding would be distributed by MCH to the various entities that undertake historic heritage management: NZHPT, DoC, local bodies, iwi, and private interests. MCH could fund the staffs and regional organisations of either NZHPT or DoC to carry out heritage consultation, technical advising and practice where appropriate. MCH could, through the use of incentives and professional review procedures, ensure that standards of practice are maintained in the sector. If MCH, despite the presence in its ranks of the NZHPT, does not want to take on this responsibility, the budget, process and expected outcomes might be assigned by the government to DoC, the only other agency of government with a structure and staff in place that is capable of building this new process of cultural and historic heritage management.

Option 3: Reorganise the sector



The positive consequence of this option is that a complete redesign of the sector structure would address the issues identified earlier: government commitment; stable funding; coherent legislation; a professional, nationally-available work force with the potential to hire more staff and to retrain those presently at work in the sector; and a range of ways to educate and inform the people of New Zealand and the world of the richness of New Zealand's human heritage. This redesign would allow the voices of indigenous people and those who have arrived more recently to emerge, creating a more balanced system than that which is currently in place. The encouragement of a complete, creative sense of national identity and enhanced heritage tourism can be directly addressed in a professional, cost-effective manner.

The negative consequences of this radical redesign of the sector are that it will be politically very controversial, it will require a major commitment of funding for a long period of time, and it will not happen overnight. Those consequences can be dealt with only by strong leadership and committed practitioners.

The temptation to work with what is known is almost irresistible in human heritage conservation circles. The act of conserving human sites and structures by definition is *conservative*. Choosing Option One will fit that comfort level. Yet the government of New Zealand has offered the human heritage sector a real opportunity to move its policy and practice beyond local committees operating on the smell of an oily rag into an internationally-recognised professional operation that will encourage the growth of a sense of national identity and an economically viable heritage tourism industry. To do that, the sector as a whole will have to work co-operatively, across government administrative lines and among groups who have traditionally not paid much attention to anyone or anything else. Environmentalists will need to live with the implications of the word 'human'; scientists, with the ideas and activities associated with the words 'cultural' and 'historical'. Arts administrators will need to grapple with the complicated aspects of human heritage policy and practice. Practitioners will have to raise their games to work in these new areas.

Under either Option Two or Option Three, however, the present government can achieve its goals of identifying and sustaining the material evidence of New Zealand's past. Reliable stewardship of these national treasures can be achieved with a limited change by establishing a Heritage Commission as it is described above.

The best option, but the most expensive and time-consuming, is Option 3 because it provides for a complete rethinking of the sector and its legal and administrative relationships. If the government can itself take the long view, and understand that five to ten years will be needed to get a new human heritage system in place, then a complete reorganisation will best address the needs of the present and of the future. This option will not be easy to achieve because many current power arrangements at both the national and local levels will have to be challenged and changed. It will not be cheap, although the investment will, judging by other countries' tourism industry figures, be recouped in a few years' time. It will not be quick because the process will be complex, and must be thoughtful. Real leadership at all levels of the sector, starting with the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, will be required to shake the taniwhas of human heritage conservation loose. Without real, committed leadership, the undertaking will fail. If the sector can be transformed into a transparent, robust and accountable model for human heritage practice, on the other hand, then the courage that it took to accomplish this will pay off for generations of New Zealanders.

¹ See: 'The Daily Grind: Wellington Café Culture 1920–2000', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/mp/cafes/index.htm>

Appendix 1: ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value

Preamble

New Zealand retains a unique assemblage of places of cultural heritage value relating to its indigenous and its more recent peoples. These areas, landscapes and features, buildings, structures and gardens, archaeological and traditional sites, and sacred places and monuments are treasures of distinctive value. New Zealand shares a general responsibility with the rest of humanity to safeguard its cultural heritage for present and future generations. More specifically, New Zealand peoples have particular ways of perceiving, conserving and relating to their cultural heritage...

1. The Purpose of Conservation

The purpose of conservation is to care for places of cultural heritage value, their structures, materials and cultural meaning. In general, such places:

- i. have lasting values and can be appreciated in their own right;
- ii. teach us about the past and the culture of those who came before us;
- iii. provide the context for community identity whereby people relate to the land and to those who have gone before;
- iv. provide variety and contrast in the modern world and a measure against which we can compare the achievements of today; and
- v. provide visible evidence of the continuity between past, present and future.

2. Indigenous Cultural Heritage

The indigenous heritage of Maori and Moriori relates to family, local and tribal groups and associations. It is inseparable from identity and well-being and has particular cultural meanings.

The Treaty of Waitangi is the historical basis for indigenous guardianship. It recognises the indigenous people as exercising responsibility for their treasures, monuments and sacred places. This interest extends beyond current legal ownership wherever such heritage exists. Particular knowledge of heritage values is entrusted to chosen guardians. The conservation of places of indigenous cultural heritage value therefore is conditional on decisions made in the indigenous community, and should proceed only in this context. Indigenous conservation precepts are fluid and take account of the continuity of life and the needs of the present as well as the responsibilities of guardianship and association with those who have gone before. In particular, protocols of access, authority and ritual are handled at a local level. General principles of ethics and social respect affirm that such protocols should be observed.

Appendix 2: People Consulted

The following people were consulted in the course of my research:

Peter Bristow, Conservation Officer, Historic Resource Management, Otago Conservancy, Department of Conservation

Robin Burgess, DoC, New Plymouth

Deborah Carden, West Coast Conservancy, DoC

Dr Aidan J. Challis, Principal Policy Analyst, Conservation Policy Division, DoC

Fergus Clunie, Heritage Advisor, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Kerikeri

Justin Cowen, DoC, New Plymouth

Paul Dingwall, Science Manager, Social and Historic, DoC

Bill Edwards, Curator, Fyffe House, NZHPT

Rachel Egerton, Technical Support Officer–Historic, Southland Conservancy, DoC

Anne Else, Historian, Wellington

Mona Fenton, Pukerangiora Hapu Management Committee, Waitara

Perry Ferguson, DoC, Invercargill

Rodney Grater, Oamaru

Dr Geoff Hicks, Manager, Science and Research Unit, DoC

Phil Hughes, Principal Environmental Investigator, Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment

Kevin Jones, Archaeologist, Science and Research Unit, DoC

Elizabeth Kerr, Creative New Zealand, Wellington

Mereaina Kirkwood, Pukerangiora Hapu Management Committee, Waitara

Jane Kominick, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Wellington

Mark Lindsay, MCH, Wellington

Bryan Lintott, Heritage Curator, Arts Centre of Christchurch Trust

Hugh Logan, Director-General, DoC

Paul Mahoney, Central Regional Office, DoC

Keith Manukonga, Ngati Tairi, New Plymouth

Kerry Matthews, DoC, New Plymouth

Makiterangi Matthews, Pukerangiora Hapu Management Committee,
Waitara

Martin Matthews, Chief Executive, MCH

Dr Gavin McLean, Senior Historian, History Group, MCH

Agnes McGhee, Conservation Advisor, Office of Hon. Sandra R. Te H. Lee

Robert McGregor, Executive Director, Art Deco Trust, Napier

Elaine Marland, Information Services Advisor, NZHPT

Mary O’Keeffe, Cultural Heritage Consultant, Wellington

Dr Claudia Orange, General Editor, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, History
Group, MCH

Dr Jock Phillips, Chief Historian, History Group, MCH

Neil Plunket, Project Manager, Oamaru Whitestone Civic Trust, Oamaru

Patsy Puketapu, Marae Executive, Waiwhetu Marae, Lower Hutt

Te Rira Puketapu, Trustee, Te Runanganui o Taranaki Whanui ki te Upoko o Te Ika
a Maui Inc, Lower Hutt

Sherry Reynolds, Northern Regional Manager, NZHPT

Dr Neville Ritchie, Conservancy Archaeologist, Waikato Conservancy, DoC

James Robinson, Archaeologist, Whangarei Area Office, DoC

Herb Spannagl, DoC, New Plymouth

Greg Vossler, Principle Planner, Strategic Planning Unit, Palmerston North City
Council

Tim Weston, DoC, New Plymouth

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