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THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF MAORI ART  
IN  
EDUCATION  
*CASE STUDY*  
*OF A*  
*NEW ZEALAND SECONDARY SCHOOL*

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree  
of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies  
at Massey University  
Palmerston North.

Julie M Paama-Pengelly

1994.

## Abstract

Various theoretical approaches have accompanied the history of art development, with certain cultural products selected to represent 'art' most popularly defined in the Classical and Romantic periods of European art production. The rise of mass culture, and the changing relations of production, in the new industrial world have served to highlight the unequal access to power, status and rewards accorded to cultural products deemed 'art' as opposed to 'culture' under these definitions.

The ideologies of what constitutes art seem to disadvantage certain ethnic groups such as the Maori. This highlights fundamental conflicts between the definition of 'art' according to an imported European culture and an indigenous Maori culture. The case of '**Te Maori**' exhibition 1984 - 1985 raises the issue as to whether the selection of cultural products in New Zealand according to a European art aesthetic has been congenial to the development of Maori art. Alternatively, has it merely served as 'potent defence' of the current social structure of art.

Cultural definitions have increasingly become an issue in education at a broader level, as educational attainment of secondary school leavers has continued to be disproportionately lower for Maori than Pakeha as our nation fails to fulfil its development aims to promote equity for all social groups in New Zealand. Particular theories on the cultural 'mismatch' between Maori culture and the dominant 'habitus' of the secondary school have had some support from research into Maori career expectations, and point to the education system perpetuating social inequalities rather than addressing them. The selection of art as a worthy cultural product, as formalised in secondary school art studies, may similarly act to support the subversion of Maori art forms in their function as communicator, transmitter and recorder of Maori identity and culture. Art is defined in secondary schools according to the prevailing Pakeha dominant ideology.

Firstly the recognition of traditional Maori art is considered in terms of correct rendering of basic elements, and for a range of traditional Maori art. The importance of traditional Maori art contexts is discussed in light of the formal elements of Maori art and the wholeness of Maori culture and the school art syllabus is examined for its attention to these factors. Pupil knowledge and attitudes are surveyed in art classes of a particular East Coast secondary school and the results are compared according to ethnic groupings and gender differences, with a small group of Maori students from another East Coast school who have not had formal secondary school art education.

Maori art has a history and tradition that has evolved to encompass and embrace new elements, while still holding true to many traditional cultural contexts. It demonstrates continued growth and development in new contexts. Particular contexts are examined; art production and art significance inside the traditional meeting house. Methods and concepts are explored in the test schools to hypothesise on the level and requirements of contextualisation of Maori art in secondary schools.

The contemporary presence of Maori art, the viability and nature of this presence, is then examined in the light of judgements made by secondary school students towards certain contemporary Maori art works by Maori and non-Maori artists. This serves to highlight the criteria students are using to judge Maori art as 'Maori' and whether Maori art forms are being accorded a development and continuity - an inherent value - of their own.

Explanation of the tendency for education to ignore the needs of Maori and society towards Maori art cultural products is explored in the light of theories of the reproductive nature of education, and the findings in this particular research.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This research eventuated from an interest in exploring the evolution of Maori art onto the contemporary art scene. In particular, the controversy that appears to be prominent whenever an art exhibition purports to represent Maori art or artists. At a different level I have been particularly concerned (as an art teacher) about education processes and Maori under-achievement. It appeared to me that ethnic identity expressed in the arts might be acting as a barrier to Maori attainment and achievement. There appears to be a persistently large gap between those few Maori who are presently making it out in society in various art-related professions, and students, despite having art ability at school, heading into relatively dead-end situations.

Some contradiction seems to exist between the outcome - a Maori succeeding in having his or her art recognised, and the actual process of advancing Maori art skills with school students. A related issue is the way some Maori art seems to be accepted as long as it can be hung on walls and gain the admiration of its' Pakeha critics, while other equally fine pieces are dusted off to adorn museum shelves as relics of a less-sophisticated past.

I decided that the most useful way to tackle these issues in this research, was to look at the secondary school base of art that I could critically evaluate on the basis of my teaching experiences. The problem then became one of devising a method of measuring and evaluating student Maori art knowledge in terms of the quality of what they were learning in the secondary school situation. No easy task as I found out.

I have attempted to examine theoretical frameworks that take into account the relationships between culture and art, culture and education, art and education - all tied to ethnicity or cultural differences, in an attempt to establish the complex links involved in minority cultural acceptance in society. The use of a theoretical approach is problematic in that little literature exists that is specifically attuned to the relationship between the valuing of ethnic minority art, and ethnic success in society in general. Essentially the issues serve to broadly highlight; the conflict between education for personal value and worth, with education for a productive work force. These two issues are sometimes very irresolvable given the nature of the society we live in and the very different cultural definitions of 'success'.

At the macro-level, of society and its institutions, I have explored Marxist theories for their relevance to minority cultures and the subversion of the power of minority peoples under a dominant mono-cultural societal base. Bridging theory and practice in the absence of specific literature meant that I had to review a broad range of theories for their particular relevance to art and the communication of a culture. Particularly useful were prevailing language theories that argue that minority language is essential for the communication, transmission and recording of cultural knowledge - the essential messages embodied in a culture. Since art can be considered a visual language, and specifically for the Maori as it forms the basis of essential communication, art could therefore be considered to constitute similar functions as language.

This research accepts the much discussed premise that unequal power relations at work in society see the Maori suffer under the dominant cultural ideology. I attempt to apply this to specific forms of Maori culture including the very closely intermeshed domain of 'art'. It also rejects the notion that 'art' is essentially a luxury that is therefore, in great fairness, only available to those who have earned the right to it. This is a eurocentric definition of 'art' that serves to perpetuate Pakeha dominance in New Zealand society.

We give all students a basic art base at school primarily to develop in them 'an understanding of the actions and relationships of art in cultures and in society'. (Ministry of Education 1989:p 6). For art as a carrier of culture, and so intimately intertwined with Maori culture is integral to Maori cultural survival. This is only difficult to conceive of in the context of our own cultural repertoire of what has evolved to typify and represent 'the arts' in New Zealand. We must attempt to shake free this tinted image, in art as in other cultural aspects, without fear of losing something we have historically coveted.

The underlying method of gathering information for this research purports to be anthropological, although in reality it is probably more correct to say that the result is a combination of social science approaches. There was a genuine effort to consult with Maori people and let their voices come to the fore. Due to the numerous informal consultations, much of this voice tends to come through as my express ideas. To this end however, I have attempted to include probably more direct quotations from literature than is usual - in an attempt to allow the Maori view to be expressed by the spoken word as traditional Maori modes of communication did. This also takes into account the relatively contemporary nature of Maori art debates, reaching heightened awareness in the last ten years, and a lack of secondary literature on this specific topic.

Several reasons determined the choice of test school, and indeed the choice of looking at an actual secondary school situation. Since nation-building has become a universal aim of all countries, the role of education has been increasingly emphasised as the key to realisation of these goals. The fundamental conflict occurs when we consider equity in cultural terms; equity of outcome for all cultural groups.

While the Maori population may not be considered of significant proportions (estimations of over 10% are often quoted) the age-structure of the Maori population indicates that a profound change could occur in New Zealand's population structure. Estimates for Maori in another generation amount to as high as 30% of the total population, with a successive generation possibly surpassing 50%. (Department of Justice 1986:p 15). The implications of this could be enormous in terms of challenges to existing power structures in New Zealand society. The prospective burden on the education system, as well as other institutions in society, is equally as startling as education remains the key factor to developing our nation. A large number of unemployed and unskilled Maori would likely be a burden on other institutions and in the final case, the economy.

Apart from this the Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document of this country, promises the Maori as tangata whenua (first of this land) that they will be partners to New Zealand. One would assume that in terms of social justice this does not require them to be second-class citizens, or have only fleeting attention paid to their cultural forms.

The needs of the Maori can therefore not be assessed on quantitative criteria alone and certainly should be more strongly considered in qualitative terms than they are presently. That the test school chosen comprised approximately 50% Maori, as a direct reflection of the community it drew from, at least gives some indication of levels of Maori art understanding according to a proportionate balance of cultures - Maori and Pakeha. That this does not reflect the present population structure of New Zealand is not of immediate consequence, for as long as Maori continue to fail to attain, proportionately more than non-Maori, we must question what is required to enhance positive results for Maori. Viewing a 50/50 cultural mix meant that analysing the differences in processing of Maori art knowledge could be assessed according to proportionate ethnic groups - as well as for the two genders (not proportionate).

It may have been useful and enlightening in this research to specifically look at the destinations of art students from the test school. This would be a lengthy process involving longitudinal study and could perhaps better comprise research on its own as a spin-off from this research. Meanwhile education statistics on scholastic attainments provide a useful starting point for beginning to understand the flow-over effects of the students researched over the next five years. While schools vary a great deal as to the level of academic achievement, Maori underachievement seems to speak for itself. Therefore it matters little the differences that may exist between the test school and the 'norm' for schools which Lytton High School appears to resemble closely.

This research exercise was intended to examine the level of art student knowledge of Maori art forms in terms of;

*Maori expectations of school art knowledge;*  
*the important concepts of Maori tradition in art;*  
*purported educational commitment to Maori art typified in Ministry of Education documents;*  
*concepts Maori artists felt were integral to Maori art education and;*  
*the breadth of Maori art forms.*

The acceptable 'level' of Maori art knowledge for Maori, non-Maori, female, male, is of course arbitrarily defined. There is no proof that a certain amount of Maori art knowledge constitutes a certain level of Maori development with a quantifiable flow-on effect to Maori attainment in society. Nor can there be proof that a specific amount breeds cultural appreciation amongst all members of society and thereby challenges and changes prevailing ideologies. However, an appreciation of the level of European art concepts enskilled in school students, can offer some guideline as to the level of Maori art appreciation and knowledge that could be

sought by all art students. In addition, those Maori art concepts that are mandatory for an understanding and appreciation of Maori art must be included as far as possible without eurocentric judgement and bias. Since receptivity by the dominant non-Maori culture in New Zealand is integral also to Maori art development, then Maori/Pakeha, and male/female differences in responsiveness to, and knowledge of, Maori art forms provide for clues as to current levels of Maori art acceptance under prevailing ideologies of art. We also gain useful insight as to whether curriculum objectives pertaining to Maori art education are being met in practice.

Mention should also be made of the choice of 'control' group for this research. While the 'without art education' situation might have been useful for comparative study, the focus of this research was to consider the maximum exposure to Maori art knowledge students could benefit from in the secondary school art curriculum. It was not deemed useful to determine the level of knowledge of a student who did not pursue art studies, working from the assumption that their Maori art knowledge would be minimal. Since the art curriculum purports to teach an appreciation of Maori art and art in general, it is to this end that only art students were surveyed. I felt it was more useful to look at the potential maximisation of Maori cultural knowledge in New Zealand schools as indicated by a situation where art education was absent yet, Maori cultural identity was strong.

This study certainly highlights the difficulty in choosing subjective knowledge of a particular culture in which to elicit art-appreciation responses. It also brings to the fore questions regarding appropriate evaluation and assessment of a level of knowledge pertaining to another culture. While my own Maori heritage offers some insight, it is difficult to cast yourself 'anthropologically-distant' from dominant Pakeha values instilled in the person and the ideological philosophies of education that becomes the baggage of teachers. Many opinions were sought from Maori people; both formally and informally; who had both formal (in Pakeha

terms) and informal expertise. In this instance treatment of the research topic and general approach could broadly be considered anthropological. Yet there were still glaring faults in the questionnaire design due to a number of reasons, not in the least a lack of pictorial resources of Maori art (indicative of the situation of Maori art in general).

However, I feel that herein is a beginning; a challenge for those involved in the many facets of art education; teaching, curriculum designing, assessing. That is to question the knowledge and values of Maori culture they are submersing under an imposed European aesthetic, to the detriment of a valuable culture and its' art. A challenge, in the least, to attempt to cast oneself out of the monocultural mould of 'art' that continues to dominate despite notable individual Maori achievements.

## CHAPTER 2

### ON ART AS CULTURE

*"We all stand in the same light  
that comes through the glass,  
but it illuminates each of us  
in different ways"*

(Art New Zealand 45 Summer 1987/ 88:p 67 - 69)

Jim Ritchie talking about the stained glass window  
created by Paratene Matchitt for the Maori  
Centre at the University of Waikato

#### **Art and culture**

The question I firstly want to be asking is; why is it relevant to discuss the relationship of art to culture? The quotation above highlights, to me, what it means to be a member of one culture as opposed to another, the way information and images are interpreted and created are different from culture to culture. Although hard to conceive that cultures may have different ways of perceiving life events and images (especially when we feel that there exists a culture based on nationalism - being a 'New Zealander') we have always readily accepted that there are differences. We might add, especially in terms of negative attributes.

In the context of this research it is relevant to examine the depth of the relationship between art and culture, and to accept that just as other elements of our life style are culture-bound, such as kinship relationships, so is art. The relationship between art and culture however, has historically been contentious and probably will continue to be so, as long as society remains stratified. It is the notion that elements of modern society are subject to cultural selection that becomes a barrier to accepting the diversity of cultural production, experiences and

responses. It is integral to an understanding of the nature of this research, to begin establishing the origins, and both theoretical and physical relationships, of these two ideas in order to understand Maori art development in one of the key institutions of New Zealand society - school.

## PART I: Historical debates on art and culture

### Defining culture

There have been numerous attempts within the social sciences to define the nature of a relationship between art and culture, and historically this has proved to be problematic. In particular the word 'culture', which has increasingly been brought to our consciousness, has caused problems even at the definition stage. It has not helped any that 'culture' as a word and description has become politically charged in recent times. Despite this, or even perhaps because of its looseness and ambiguities, the idea of culture has been popular with social scientists - anthropologists especially have based their discipline on the culture concept. (Burtonwood 1986:p 1).

On describing the use of the word 'culture' Arthur Marwick. (Walder. 1986:p 5) points out that it is often used;

*"in such a vague, imprecise way, that instead of contributing to the communication of historical understanding (it) merely contributes to confusion".*

Walder (1986:p 5) prefers instead to provide, as a focus for beginning to understand the word 'culture', three basic definitions;

1. *the total network of human activities and value systems in a given society*
2. *all the artistic and intellectual products and activities in a given society*

3. *the 'best' artistic and intellectual products and activities in a given society*  
(Walder 1986:p 5)

In effect the definitions become more limiting or restrictive as we move towards definition (3). Walder (1986:p 5) asserts that 'culture' can be a descriptive and/or evaluative concept and at its two extremities, either inclusive or selective. While the three definitions do not purport a particular definition of culture, they give us a starting point for discourse on culture in order to bring to light the development of the art-culture debate.

Definition (1) can be described as 'inclusive' when taken to its extreme, Walder (1986:p 5) gives as example;

*"everything that makes up the way of life of a particular community or society at a particular time".*

The 'way of life' of a community is, of course, not a static concept as Bullivant's (1981:p 3) definition takes account of. Culture is;

*"... a patterned system of knowledge and conception, embodied in symbolic and non - symbolic communication modes, which a society has evolved from the past, and progressively modifies and augments to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence".*

Edward Tylor first defined culture for the social sciences in 1871, in similar terms to definition (1), and as it is the most often quoted social scientific definition, it is useful also to quote it here at the beginning of our discussion. According to Tylor (1924:p 1) Culture is;

*"that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other capacities and habits acquired by man (sic) as a member of society".*

Tylor formulated his definition in the context of evolutionary theories of the nineteenth century, which saw European 'man' as the most developed in terms of 'culture' definitions. Anthropologists such as Boas, rejected this evolutionary concept of cultural relativism; that cultures could be ranked and evaluated in terms of the values or knowledge of another. (Bloch 1983:p 125 - 126).

While evolutionary theories have continued to be rejected in the social sciences (according to Peterson (1979:p 137) Tylor's definition encompasses 4 sorts of elements that identify culture in contemporary times; norms, values, beliefs and expressive symbols. In modern times, at least since World War II, there have been historical shifts in the weight accorded to each of these four elements. Peterson elaborates on the four elements or 'symbols';

Values being *"choice statements that rank behaviour or goals"*;

Norms being *"specifications of values related to behaviour in interaction"*;

Beliefs being *"existential statements about how the world operates that often serve to justify values and norms"* and finally;

Expressive symbols being *"any and all aspects of material culture, from stone axes to swastikas, from the Kula ring to constitutions and cockfights"*. (Peterson 1979:p 137-138).

In essence Peterson has attempted to describe the 'total network of human activities and value systems' which Walder refers to in Definition (1). While this more elaborated definition of culture may be useful as a starting point in examining theoretical perspectives on the idea of culture, it also tends toward a definition of culture more in line with Walder's (1985:p 5) Definition (2).

Peterson's descriptions appear to rely on group consensus or conscious recognition of culture, rather than the spontaneous enactment of activity whether individual or group.

It is the historically changing parameters of 'what is culture?' that leads Walder (1986:p 6) to assert that, while in practice the three definitions he has identified may seem to be inseparable or overlapping, these three are highlighted as such because they indicate every-day common usage, rather than absolute scientific theory. Typically the move towards a more exclusive definition or meaning of culture has involved historically a matter of interpretation and judgement of what is considered at the time to be the best culture, by those making crucial decisions in that society. The extremes have been espoused as the difference in philosophies of, and treatment of, 'culture'. The debate is situated against anthropologists at the inclusive extreme, and art critics at the exclusive extreme, and has to a large extent acted to legitimise limiting the value of non-western art to description as 'artefact'. To some extent different definitions or orientations of the word culture, have been consciously adopted by certain disciplines within social sciences themselves as part of the very philosophical base on which the particular discipline rests as a theoretical approach to the study of society. The anthropologist builds a view of 'cultures' or peoples based on the 'whole' of peoples activities or definition (1), and the art critic works within definition (3) and is only interested in what is termed 'art'.

Definition (3) at the restrictive end of the continuum describes what has commonly been identified as 'high culture' or;

*"those activities considered the best or most highly valued in that society"*  
(Walder. 1986:p 5).

It is an approach that was particularly cultivated in mid to late Victorian times, when that which was valued most highly was excluded, and thereby exclusive, and considered 'high culture'. The notion is Darwinian in concept, due to 'high culture' definitions being a product of the period of greatest definition of Darwin's theory of the natural evolution of man. The belief that that which survives and is recognised by the 'fittest' is deemed worthy to be culture. Henry Mayhew describes the intent of this 'high culture' as being;

*"to form the highest kind of school in which the highest knowledge is designed to be conveyed in the best possible manner, in combination with the highest amusement"* (Walder. 1986:p 6).

The definition infers a certain recklessness or fickleness and culture as privilege, for those that can afford time and the luxury to be 'highly amused'. It is a definition of culture that anthropologists would accuse art critics or humanists of cultivating in present-day art definitions.

If we were to look at the more coveted products identified as 'high culture', and other intellectual and artistic activities and pursuits such as those that in modern times are often defined as 'craft', then we would be dealing with an approach to culture which falls in the realm of definition (2). It is in the scope of this definition that our particular society today seems to situate a great deal of the definition debate, the defining of 'culture'.

Traditionally the concept of culture has embraced more closely one or another of these definitions of a type, and constructed the parameters of what constitutes 'art' to be constantly changed and redefined. While constant redefinition may be thought to be adaptive in response to social and 'cultural' patterns, it can be found that cultural definitions as they pertain to art have tended to develop less progressively in favour of further entrenchment of pervading historical conceptions.

Indeed much definition involves legitimation from particular social theories, certain groups of people, and accepted theoretical approaches. What is the 'highest' or best, artistic or intellectual, is socially constructed and therefore inherently a matter for debate. (Walder. 1986:p 7). We are speaking of value judgements and interpretations which in some way, historically, came to prevail. Especially when we speak of culture in the Victorian era we are referring to;

*"the best that is known and thought in the world"*. (Arnold. 1864).

It is this concept of cultural excellence as opposed to culture as 'life' that I want to examine, as it applies to culture and art in New Zealand today.

### **A closer look at art-culture through time**

Let us examine then the historical formulation of an art-culture domain. According to Macquet (1986:p 169) in the western tradition there has been an enduring intellectual trend to state that 'Great Art' arises from a world which does not resemble the visible and tangible one we live in, but at least a glimpse of an ideal world. This philosophical outlook was formulated during the Middle Ages, according to Zolberg (1982:p 10), when art was largely indistinguishable from craft but such was the nature of evolving society that there was a need for a philosophical foundation or theory which would ensure the achievement of prestige for certain people and certain activities. It fell to Plato, and what was later described as Neo-Platonism, to work out the rationale for distinguishing 'fine art'. Platonism, or as described by Macquet (1986:p 169) "metaphysical idealism", saw the artist perceived as finding inspiration in 'startling ideas' rather than concrete visual forms, construed as ontological rather than purely mental. Particularly persuasive throughout medieval art history of the Renaissance period of artistic production was this idealist view that art revealed some ideal realm beyond the appearances of the world we witness. Classical-Christian in derivation, and especially manifest in the renaissance ideal of human perfection which was to

characterise the Victorian period; the portrayal of the figure as saint-like; devoid of unsightly blemish or, we are led to believe, undesirable attributes (Walder. 1986:p7 - 8). This ideology is still dominant in the conceptions of culture today.

It is this question of who defines 'high culture' as it operates today, that we will address, as being integral to a definition of culture. Walder (1986:p 8) poses the question as;

*"is high culture the same as highbrow, as opposed to lowbrow (Pinter versus Dallas) or traditional as opposed to modern (Shakespeare versus Pinter) or restricted as opposed to mass (classical concert versus pop festival) or, even avant - garde as against old fashioned (John Baldessari versus Royal Academy summer exhibitions)?"*

Who defines culture, and how it is so defined, are therefore to be important questions we must address in examining both art and culture, or art/culture.

According to Maquet (1986:p 171) the 'idealist' view has been translated at the persuasive level in to a prevailing belief that artists are from a superior mould, that they have

*"... some uncanny understanding of mind and nature",*

that they can access what ordinary people cannot through their art. It is with much privilege that we are allowed to share, through their art, the special power or insight the artist has. In line with this perspective on the artist Maquet (1986:p 171) sees this idealism manifest one step further, to a belief that the artists' ideas are "transcendental and absolute" and therefore not dependent on a particular culture. Furthermore that these ideas are immutable in nature they are therefore not submitted to cultural variability, just as 'Great Art' is a glimpse or partial

reflection of the ideal world it is also free from cultural limitations. We see then the early development of an art-culture split between what we have coined previously as 'high culture' ( see Walder. 1986:p 5 ) or Art, and other cultural products and activities which nowadays we call 'popular' or mass culture or Craft. Almost raised to a spiritual or sacred level is art and the artist while the craftsman and his ( 'his' -for art also perpetuated ideologies pertaining to the sexes) craft were relegated to the profane or common.

In Art the next significant trend was to be that of 'Romanticism' which in the second half of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century rose as an intellectual trend in reaction against universal rationality. Romanticism in its emphasis on the singular component and only minimal emphasis on the cultural component was popularly adopted on the intellectual and artistic scene. Much as the name implies Romanticism proclaimed the artist as a genius and his exploits in to art as an expression of;

*"...his uniqueness as an exceptional individual..."* (Macquet. 1986:p 172).

Social constraints, of which culture if one was conscious of it would be an example, should not act to inhibit the artist but the "genuineness and spontaneity" should show forth in the artists' rebellion against the social milieu. Such artistic genius was;

*"inspired, even compelled to create out of an inner necessity"* (Macquet. 1986:p 172).

As Macquet (1986:p 172) adds, how romantics conceived of the nature of this uniqueness is not relevant to this discussion but what is crucial is the notion of the artist acting on an 'inner voice' of great compulsion that is both independent

from society and in ways a reified conception of that society. In other words it was 'culture-free' or beyond culture considerations.

### **Artistic discourse today - The humanists**

While these historical conceptions are no longer held by those involved in the arts sphere they still have a strong bearing on any discourse about art and act to perpetuate certain stereotypes of artists. Particularly the discourse has become broader, in that culture has become a beginning point at which to conduct a reappraisal of art. The debate in present times is therefore not confined within the sphere of art production and criticism but has widened to include others of the social sciences.

Beatson and Cox (1982:p 353) see two basic prevailing views of culture; at one pole; the humanists ( those who specialise in the practice or appreciation of the arts ), and at the other pole the social scientists. Once again we are reminded of our art critic / anthropologist dichotomy of philosophies. Beatson and Cox (1982:p 353) maintain that;

*"the proponents of 'high art' do not want to see it contaminated by things such as that of mundane reality"*

in what amounts to little less than a 'conspiracy' to ensure continuance of the art 'status quo'. This so-called 'humanist' view draws distinction between what is 'real life' and what is 'art' creating a separate exclusive domain for art, as that of the 'highest achievement of human spirit'. This view can be seen to still be prevailing in the milieu in which art objects circulate, and are evaluated. Accordingly, Beatson and Cox believe that this notion of art creates an artificial split between art and life as Macquet (1986:p 169) highlighted. Taking a Marxist theoretical approach Beatson and Cox believe that this goes hand in hand with the way people have learnt to perceive reality as a product of European concepts of labour

specialisation. Just as industrialisation has separated work activities from every day cultural life, so too has it infiltrated and reinforced the separation of art and culture - culture relegated to the domain of "utilitarian activity". (Beatson & Cox. 1982:p 353-4). Here we see the third definition of culture given to us by Walder (1986:p 5);

*"the 'best' artistic and intellectual products and activities in a given society".*

Zolberg (1982:p 5,6) takes the view that the humanists role in the survival of the more exclusive notion of art, has occurred almost by accident, in the past it was taken for granted that such things were art and thereby followed the assumption that there was a stable consensus as to what constituted 'Great Art'. Within art circles she feels this ideology is upheld by the idea that if certain works that are considered great today were not always so acknowledged in the past, it is because certain qualities of 'greatness' are imminent in a work and external factors are probably to blame;

*"such as an obtuse public or rigid institutional authorities".*

Humanists, taking Zolbergs line, have almost unwittingly become trapped in a strict analysis of the formal elements of art as an expression of genius evident in the 'Romantic period', art existing for its own sake and its value little accorded by the discerning public. (Zolberg. 1982:p 11,14). While a viable rationale for an art philosophy, Zolbergs' ideas seem understated if we are to consider how a humanist view has continually acted to deem certain works, in particular works by Africans or Maori, as craft rather than art. Surely we are not to believe that the artistic value, and therefore the greater monetary rewards assigned to the work of European artists is merely due to a slight of definition? While she mentions that dealers and scholars benefit from the rarity of artists' works and that art professionals give little credit to the lay public's ability to judge artistic merit,

Zolberg does not examine whose interests are upheld by the ideology of art and how this ideology may be consciously perpetuated to serve these interests.

### **Art in the social sciences**

Zolberg introduces us to the way social scientists have begun to deal with the problematic relationship between art and culture. The foundations of social science theories on studying social ideas are in the ideas of Durkheim (and Radcliffe-Brown's form of 'Durkheimism' popularised in Britain in the latter part of the nineteenth century) (Bloch 1983:p 143). For the sociologist culture and art are socially situated and socially constructed as they mirror the underlying structures of society (Peterson 1979:p 142). According to Howard Becker (1982);

*"art is collective action of social actors - guided by existing conventions, working in the context of societal institutions that permit, encourage or impede their activities"* (Zolberg 1982:p 126).

In this way art is a social construct with a number of actors, some whose social power permits them to attach value to objects, and negotiated by the actors as part of the social process (Zolberg 1982:p 80, 90).

In the sociological sense, art should be contextualised - for a work of art is;

*"a moment in a process involving the collaboration of more than one actor, working through certain social institutions, and following historically observable trends"*. (Zolberg 1982:p 9).

The emphasis is on institutions, cultural institutions sharing the same characteristics as other institutions. They are changing and competitive (in that they never achieve consensus and therein lay the dynamics of change) and constitute the social reality of human societies. Culture encompasses the entire

way of life of a society; everything that separates human from animal life. Art achieves its meaning through actors involved, as a function of their acting out the 'life' of their particular society. Societies are integrated and organised social systems where every institution, belief and rule played a part in maintaining the reproduction of the whole in the same form through time (Bloch 1983:p 143).

According to Zolberg (1982:p 51 - 52) sociology has undergone major changes since the 1960's. Art has been brought into greater prominence as it takes cue from the changes caused by industrialisation in a new 'commercialised society and culture'. The crisis in the 1960's has been one of resolving the opposition between 'art as mystery' and 'art as social construct'. Sociologists have questioned the traditional assumptions that art is unique and made by a single creator - as a spontaneous expression of his or her genius.

Contributing to the demystification of the artist and artwork, Zolberg (1982:p 90) believes, has been the allowing of art works to rank over the material cost of the work by the art market. This has been based instead on how far the artist has been personally involved in the production of the art work. This explains for example, why screenprints and lithographs fetch less money than a sculpture or painting.

The sociologist focuses on art creation as a social process of status ascription; to whose end are certain works selected. Art creation is a social process of symbols; does the art work require the encoding of societal symbols? That the value of art derives from external conditions as well as aesthetic qualities (and therefore the burgeoning of the new 'ism' styles in the late nineteenth century seen as rebelling against bourgeois art conventions) can be;

*“better understood as part of a social process in which networks among artists and other participants become established in a broader socio-economic context as oriented by political trends”.* (Zolberg 1982:p 60).

Sociologists are aware also of the role power plays in decision-making processes focused on art. In France for example, artists who did not conform did not win prizes, find patrons or receive commissions for public art. Acceptance by galleries certifies fine art by officially acclaiming it, and high prices are enhanced by the uniqueness or scarcity of works. Art is;

*“for elites of wealth or of knowledge rather than for the public except in so far as its members are similarly gifted or have acquired the requisite intellectual framework”.* (Zolberg 1982:p 22).

Maintaining that culture mirrors the underlying structures of society gives us an understanding of art as a part of social life that is determined by ‘institutional convention’. It offers an understanding of historic conceptions of an art/culture relationship that acknowledges the selection of art according to status and social selection. Wolff (1981:p 47) goes so far as to say that culture is materially as well as socially situated. Peoples’ ideas and beliefs are considered to be systematically related to their actual and material conditions of existence.

Any split between culture and art is artificial and that certain culture is selected as art does not preclude the existence of other culture that is not so delineated. We must ask ourselves then why selection continues to occur based on monocultural conceptions of elite art. Sociology does not fully explain why certain forms are chosen and elaborated on; that what is being conveyed is fundamental assumptions about the basis of society (Forge 1979:p 285).

### **On approaching culture - anthropological concepts**

Anthropology has come some way in exploring the distinction between art and culture; art and artefact. It has the dual traditions of humanism and science, recognising universality and the integration of a variety of the arts in culture conceptions. Culture is considerably more expansive than traditional conceptions of art alone.

Walter Goldschmidt (1976:p 3) describes the concept of culture as being central to anthropology, anthropology as it deals with the 'integrated whole', of society. He justifies an anthropological approach by asserting that;

*"Man does not live leisure on Saturday, religion on Sunday, and economics the other five days of the week; what he believes, what he does, and how he feels are all of a piece".* (Goldschmidt. 1976:p 3).

Culture seen in this way, as a whole, infers more than merely an interconnection between parts but a seeks deeper level resemblance or manifestation of culture. Culture is a whole;

*"consisting of symbolic meanings or structures of thought, which in turn structure ideas and ways of thinking, including religious beliefs, ethical values and symbol systems including language as well as aesthetics and the arts".* (Zolberg 1982:p 16).

Taking an anthropological perspective of art, is not to emphasise so much that ideas are based on rigid forms but, according to Macquet (1986:p 3);

*"it is situated among other systems such as philosophies, religious beliefs, and political doctrines. It is not separated from the societal organisations that support it (academies, art schools, museum and commercial galleries), nor from the*

*institutionalised networks of the total society (government, castes and classes, economic agencies, and private corporations)".*

Macquet goes on to explain that art is related to the 'system of production' which constitutes the material basis of society. Art, as defined in anthropology, draws back together the separation out of 'art' activities from the every-day work activities, that so distinguished the humanist approach. (Beatson and Cox. 1982:p 353-4). Anthropologists confirm that culture and art are entwined in a complex relationship, just what the nature of that relationship is anthropologists do not necessarily agree. Culture, as the entirety of 'man's' activities and creations not considered each apart from the others is the universal premise of an anthropological approach. It is this inclusive notion of culture which attempts to reconcile art with Walders'. (1986:p 5) Definition (1), and in the least situates art in some way within Definition (2).

Anthropologists were traditionally concerned with examining undifferentiated, or what has in the past been termed 'primitive', societies which led to the assertion that culture is not something 'ideal' and set apart from the everyday material world. A dialectic exists between the ideal and the material, according to Worsley (1984:p 45), in which the individual, society, Nature and super - Nature form a whole. However, the problem for anthropology has arisen when considering more differentiated societies such that occur in modern times. The production of culture has become an occupational activity of specialists producing for consumers who were their wealthy patrons at first, and then later the sponsoring institutions of mass society. Worsley (1984:p 45) gives the example of Vienna, where the two great museums, dedicated to the history of art and to the natural sciences respectively, stand opposite each other.

The holistic view which anthropology takes of culture (see Definition 1) stands apart from the elitist view of the humanists and Definition (3). Furthermore, what

anthropology does emphasise, of which is integral to our discussion, is the value of human diversity as manifest in 'primitive' societies, and the so-distinguished 'primitive' peoples or cultures embedded within modern western dominant cultures. It is the continuance, of anthropology, of interest in all cultures as being of value as cultures - which will serve as a philosophical beginning for an examination of maori art and culture in New Zealand society. However, firstly we must examine the modern context of art, as sociologists have identified, which has offered new challenge to the explanation of art processes in present time - at least since the 1960s.

### **The rise of mass culture in the modern world**

Since the 1960s other forms of art, which were outside the traditional 'fine art' definition, have found a niche in society - often as a critique of society itself. The boundaries between these new forms of art and fine art were constantly being challenged, as the emergence of 'Pop Art' in America in the 1960s showed. Developed to serve particular functions; such as advertising a product or as a memento of a holiday, 'popular' or mass art gained particular prominence. Yet the implication emerged, that these 'mass art' forms were qualitatively different from 'fine art' in a hierarchical sense of social status and access. Simply, it became a dichotomy, of art as the private pleasure of the rich (fine art) versus art as a commercial product (mass art). It is this change that has led to a questioning of the very foundations of arts' conception.

In examining tradition we see that fine arts are associated with elitism, a notion that has become incompatible with democratic aspirations and ideologies of modern society. Conversely, 'popular arts', craft or those pursuits outside the fine art definition, have been tainted with what Zolberg (1982:p 31) describes as an 'equally suspect commercialism'. Can democracy and excellence co-exist when the assumption of 'high culture' is rich peoples' art?

Historically aesthetics has depended on the separation of art from craft, as the very nature of the aesthetic experience. (Wolff. 1981:p 141). There existed a general unwillingness to accept that 'common people' could either produce 'fine art' or become a discerning public. Art has as its very foundations, the mapping out of an ideological barrier between the realm of academic fine art, and the world of mass - produced commercial popular culture. (Peterson. 1979:p 155). Yet popular arts, commercial art, tourist art, crafts still persist and beg definition, encroaching on those constructed barriers, and as we will later see, (Clifford. 1988) even reaching through the barriers.

The existence of 'mass art' has thrown in to question the same accepted categories of art which have become conventional among art historically, and more recently perpetuated by art critics. Art forms could no longer clearly be assumed to be 'high' or 'low' forms as traditional conceptions held. (Walder. 191986:p 8; Zolberg. 1982:p 52). Sociologists responded to the new art developments by conceiving that art categories were socially constructed, which goes towards resolving any opposition existing between 'art as mystery' (ie fine art) and 'art as social construct'. (Zolberg. 1982:p 52). Anthropologists pleaded for an examination of non-western art forms in order to realign art as culture and resolve that all culture has value whether recognised eurocentrically as art, or not. It was the former ideas of Karl Marx (1867) which was to provide a framework for current understanding of social theorists, of the dynamics of the process of societal definitions of mass versus high culture. It is theories based on the works of Marx that have formed the most comprehensive examination of mass culture.

### **A Marxist approach**

Although Karl Marx himself, whose philosophies Marxism has as its foundations, did not write at length about the place of art in society much has been drawn from his **Das Capital (1867)** and the prevailing idea, materialist in conception, that the fundamental human activity is labour. Through the process of labour

human beings act on the external world and at the same time change their own nature. Marx himself had been influenced by the growing popularity, in the mid-Victorian era, of rationality based on scientific laws and he hypothesised that history was itself subject to such laws. In line with an anthropological approach however, Marx made it clear that conditions and circumstances affect everything in our society and therefore one could not hold a neutral, static view of the world; no element in history can be given meaning apart from other elements; and in particular nothing can be separated from the means of production that characterise our society. (Walder. 1986:p 10).

At the foundation of what may be termed a 'Marxist notion of culture' we see Marx's belief of the primacy of labour through which the secondary activities; political, aesthetic, philosophical or religious - the ideas and concepts, are made understood.

*"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness".* (Walder 1986:p 10)

While a great deal of debate has ensued over the interpretation of the aspects of determinism in Marx's account, the notion espoused by Marx can be safely described as; 'that through experience and acting in this world we create a consciousness, a historical realisation and we create our concepts or body of ideas - our intellectual production'. The society into which we are born sets limits to and decisively shapes the way in which we perceive, experience and try to control the world according to Walder. (1986:p 10). Not economic processes as the final determinant, but an acknowledgement that culture is materially as well as socially situated. (Wolff. 1981:p 47).

Marx's beginning point is work, of which is conceived as potentially creative. Essentially any creative activity, of which we may consider artistic production being, is not different and certainly not superior to any other kind. Status attributed to work is socially determined or ascribed according to the market forces - either directly or indirectly. While we might perceive art in terms of the structures of meaning afforded 'Great Art' such as form and convention, art does not exist without people to produce and consume 'art'. There are three important concepts Marx refers to; production, consumption and status. Walder. (1986:p 11) provides a simile for each of these terms;

*production = genesis*

*consumption = impact or reception*

*status = evaluation*

Further comment is made, however, that this redefinition orientates them towards particular forms of social and economic production, towards the narrower sense of cultural that is offered by Definition (2) and Definition (3). They may therefore be better to be left where they stand. (Walder. 1986:p 11).

The industrial revolution that occurred in Europe from which modern society today emerged, is said to have led therein to the rise of what, as we have already introduced, has been commonly described as 'mass culture'. The effect on artistic production is described by Walter Benjamin (1892 - 1940);

*"the mechanical reproduction of works of art in their thousands, to be sold on the market to anonymous buyers, has transformed radically the relation between artist and audience from that which existed between artist and patron".* (in Walder. 1986:p 11).

This was an 'art' more subject to market forces and in some way removed from the 'mystique of the artist as genius', yet successful as measured by the market forces. At the same time we have the nineteenth century view cultivated with particular fervour, that the artist transcends the utilitarian, the mundane, and is not subject to these same social and economic forces. Therein lies the paradox in art; that although art is interested in producing for human value, it too must compete for its share of the consumer budget. (Beatson & Cox. 1982:p 356). The form that manufacture of the art work takes can not be denied its importance.

The circumstances surrounding the distribution and reception of the art object will affect its status. For example curators by their choices of art, create a hierarchy of work which then becomes the precondition for the next generation of art. Could artistic production possibly sustain its conceptions of the artist and the sanctity of the art work in the face of a burgeoning emphasis in society on the market forces? Or could the Victorian conception of artistic production only operate in the existence of an ideology to legitimise the exclusivity of the art work and the uniqueness of the artist? How might we perceive art relationships in order to determine the answers to these questions?

Different cultural forms change at different times and at different rates and are therefore not connected in any direct or one-to-one way with socio - historical change. We need to be able to understand the production, consumption and status of cultural artefacts and activities if we are to understand their relationship to society. We cannot just look them in terms of their own internal logic as nineteenth century art workers attempted to do, but must look at the more direct influence of surrounding society. Walder. (1986:p 12) poses the questions we need to ask according to a Marxist analysis as;

*Who produced it, and under what social and economic conditions?*

*Who consumed it, and under what social and economic conditions?*

*What status did it attain, and under what social and economic conditions?*

While at times cultural elements may seem to operate independently, or seem to be both superstructure and base, it is important to note that the superstructure is not always directly determined by the economic base., a common misconception when interpreting the ideas of Marx. According to Bloch (1983:p 15) the relationship Marx sets up in his notion of the structural causality of the mode of production;

*"is a set of logically connected relations which explain the inner link between various surface phenomena".*

### **Definition by class status and ideologies of legitimation**

Marx proposed that in early nineteenth century England a consciousness of the people was formed in response to the particular historical circumstances which saw a socio-economic order created based on the unequal distribution of power and wealth. Marx believed there existed two distinct classes; a small bourgeois ruling class which both dominated and exploited the larger working class. In speaking of classes Marx referred to a basic form of social group which developed in conflict in response to changes in the basic economic structure. In **The Communist Manifesto (1848)** Marx said;

*"The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles",*

conflict is obviously fundamental according to this definition. Continuance of the conflict is inevitable, according to Marx, as long as society continues to be divided into class. In addition a class continued to persist as long as it was conscious of itself, a consciousness that always involved hostility towards another group. (Walder. 1986:p 13-14). Not only did class continuance depend on a consciousness, but the maintenance of the power relations between class groups;

particularly to ensure the continued dominance of the bourgeois ruling group, depended on an 'ideology of legitimation'.

In art, according to Wolff arguing a Marxist perspective; (1981:p 52) an appeal to universality is adamantly defended, yet what really exists, in art, is but a partial perspective of a group in power. Wolff identifies what has indeed been known as the 'high art' tradition, as being the perspective of those in power who are defending the 'art tradition'. She endorses the view of Garnham that;

*"there is then, and this cannot be sufficiently stressed, no necessary coincidence between the effects of the capitalist process proper and the ideological needs of the dominant class".*

Wolff refers to this as the 'political economy of cultural production'. Culture in Marxist sense of the word being the whole range of human activities, an inclusive definition by Walders (1986:p 5) terms, and in turn thoroughly infused with ruling class ideology. Art is an ideological activity and an ideological product. (Wolff. 1981:p 55).

Ideology is the means by which the dominant group, in this case the dominant art group amongst art institutions, maintain their power or dominance. According to Peterson (1979:p 149) culture is manipulated through the ruling class by means of ideology which legitimises that art which is accepted and the reasons it is accepted. The notion of ideology and hegemony go hand in hand - hegemony referring to the;

*"way in which the entire ideological complex of beliefs, values and perceptually-based attitudes that function for the reproduction and sustenance of ruling class domination comes to saturate every aspect and particularly the social institutions of society".* (Peterson 1979:p 982).

Ideology consists of norms, values, beliefs and expressive symbols, just like culture, but it is especially selected culture, a propagated culture - created by interest groups in society. (Peterson. 1979:p 143; Goulder. 1976). Ideology is manipulated by the power class through television, museums and other powerful symbols, by the transmission of class-specific codes. To interpret these codes requires the right 'cultural capital', namely the good cultural understanding or 'breeding' of the power culture. (Bourdieu. 1977; Peterson. 1979p 149) Ideology creates a hierarchical structure of cultural value which is seen as natural and given, and gains acceptance from all classes in society. It is persuasive in maintaining high social status for certain forms of art or selected culture, reinforced by the ideological tools - the art institutions - which perpetuate and reproduces the dominance of the art selected. These institutions select elite audiences and exclude the popular public, create scarcity to enhance monetary value, and reframe what constitutes high art. (Zolberg. 1982:p 140). In turn 'mass culture' is seen as;

*"a fundamental ruling class instrument used to maintain political and social control through the production of ideological 'false consciousness' or 'contradictory consciousness'". (Gottdiener. 1985:p 981).*

The Marxist explanation is that hegemony is so persuasive that the art standards imposed or enforced by ruling - class ideology are made to seem natural, thus the split between high or mass art and bourgeoisie or proletariat class. When individuals seek to understand, appreciate and collect art works they are expressing an aspiration to membership in a status community, a membership that few will attain. (Bourdieu. 1984). Ideology perpetuates the myth that, although art taste is an innate quality, it is possible to overcome disadvantage and gain entry in to the higher status or class group through education - a notion reinforced by education which convinces recipients of its value. (Zolberg. 1982:p 161).

Beatson and Cox (1982:p 369 - 370) identify an ideology of art which operates in New Zealand society. Accordingly there exists, concealed in peoples minds, assumptions about the acceptable forms of belief and behaviour, which in turn for a potent defence of the existing current social structure. This socio - political ideology of art both expresses and legitimists the current political structure in which art is also strongly situated. Beatson and Cox (1982:p 371) give as example the ideology that has been persuasive in placing Maori carving in museums and European painting in galleries. Maori artists are counteracting this by perceiving affinities between their traditional art style and European ideas of formal abstraction such as cubism. However, the context within which these 'modern' Maori artists are working, largely supports the dominant ideology insisting on conformity to dominant cultural norms, in order to gain acceptance. (For discussion see Price. 1981; Jahnke. 1991)

While cultural production as part of the level of ideology of the superstructure, according to Marxist analysis, is relatively autonomous and can be an agent of change - and at certain moments is more or less independent of economic 'determination' - it is reliant on the nature and practice of culture in society or the relations of production. (Wolff. 1981:p 93 - 94). Critics of Marxist theory however accuse the approach of 'functional reductionism', that the underlying assumption implies that;

*"structural or institutional practices are automatically transformed into deep - level psychological ones through the agency of media control"*. (Gottdiener. 1985:p 981).

There is the 'false consciousness' theory of Marx, that the mass class, or proletariat perceive illusion as opposed to reality - as created by the dominant ideology. This is a very simplistic view of the relations of peoples and the nature of their cultural expression in every - day pursuits. The premise is reductionist in

its assertion that class consciousness is controlled in the interests of the bourgeoisie, assuming that groups are in some sort of unity of thought processes, and that the mental activity of individuals can be so easily separated out from the material conditions (the creative processes) of their existence.

Other Marxist analysis that has tried to deal with the problem, see ideology as a representation of the 'imaginary' rather than 'consciousness' - consciousness being a different thing all together. (Hirst. 1976:p 386). Ideology is a representation of an individuals interpretation of the events perceived by the consciousness, by which people live their relation to the total experience of their living. This allows an examination of the social processes associated with the 'imaginary' (interpreted consciousness) and its connection with the socially produced forms of representation (the art work) and individual subjectivity (or 'individualism'). (Gottdiener. 1985:p 983 - 984). Modern Marxists have reached a consensus of type hypothesising the following;

1. *that there exist ideological institutional apparatus that control social relations (art galleries, schools) and;*
2. *that while these are not reducible to separate manifestations of the state itself, there can never be a consciousness 'industry' and;*
3. *consequently, the control of ideology in society is much more volatile and complex than at first thought, as cultural resistance has shown with the creation of alternative oppositional forms of culture.*

(Gottdiener. 1985:p 984).

Having discussed what appears to be a particularly useful theory on how culture may be defined to delineate classes, and act as a 'consciousness' to legitimate the acceptance of certain culture as defined by the dominant class as 'fine art', we now need to look at the context of different forms of art, and a model which seeks to explain how objects circulate and become meaningful.

### **The 'World of Value' model proposed by James Clifford**

Clifford (1988:p 250 ) speaks of 'great art' in a Marxist vein, his definition being that great art is; what specific people choose to preserve, value, and exchange, ie. add monetary value to, in a given system. In this way a 'world of value' is created in which objects or artefacts are meaningfully deployed and circulated in the capitalist system; where making sense of objects and rewarding objects is according to a 'hierarchy of sense'. (Clifford. 1988:p 220). Culture he defines as those;

*"selected and cherished possessions that we gathered according to an arbitrary system of value and meaning which is powerful, rule - governed and changing historically".* (Clifford. 19 :p 217).

Clifford poses similar definitions for art and culture, however the main point of departure is that art is given a value in a system of value and exchange.

Meaning and value assigned to objects is subjective and Clifford (1988:p 221) speaks of the powerful, changing set of institutional practices which are invented by social groups and appropriated as modern art. At particular moments in history powerful discriminations are being made, by individuals and groups, that constitute a general system of objects within which valued artefacts circulate and make sense. This idea embraces Marx's notion that artefacts are given meaning in society through the process of labour as the rewards of labour determine the 'value' of art and therefore give it meaning. In a similar vein to Marx Clifford (1988:p 221) maintains that art is thereby not divorced from utilitarian life - that which was considered the more common domain of 'craft' as the romantic or metaphysical idealist would have us believe; that 'art' is some exclusive transcendental idea limited to the gifted genius of the artist. (Walder 1986:p 5).

Art then is part of the entire cultural process whereby specific groups and / or individuals distinguish at a particular historical moment, a specific market condition that determines what can truly be considered art. Art is those things that certain groups or individuals choose to preserve, value and exchange, 'great art' functioning within this ramified system of symbols and values. (Clifford. 1988:p 221).

Clifford (1988:p 224) formulates an 'art-culture' system in which objects circulate and are deemed 'authentic'. The system works to classify objects and assign them relative value or 'contexts'. In other words 'acceptance' as 'fine art' (high art or great art is perpetuated by what is accepted as 'fine art' before, or work that has come before that has been accepted in the context 'art'".

Furthermore, in history this 'acceptable' art has been eurocentric, in which cases it applies the norms of art that has its origins in nineteenth century Europe. Cultures of other societies and so - called 'primitive' cultures could therefore be excluded from acceptance on the basis that their art was different and could not be found in the file of 'acceptable art'. Years and years of tradition in defining art could alone act to exclude the art of other cultures. When, or if, this exclusion becomes intentional is determined by which theoretical premise you accept. In Marxist terms we would say that this trend developed in to a conscious object on the part of the bourgeois to ensure that they themselves maintained cultural dominance in the sphere of 'high art' or 'high culture' (bearing in mind Walder's Definition (3), of culture). In modern times, the social groups that have come to define modern art have created art subjective to Western norms and a changing set of institutional practices, which has seen their own valued objects appropriated to form 'acceptable art'.

### The Art - Culture System proposed by James Clifford

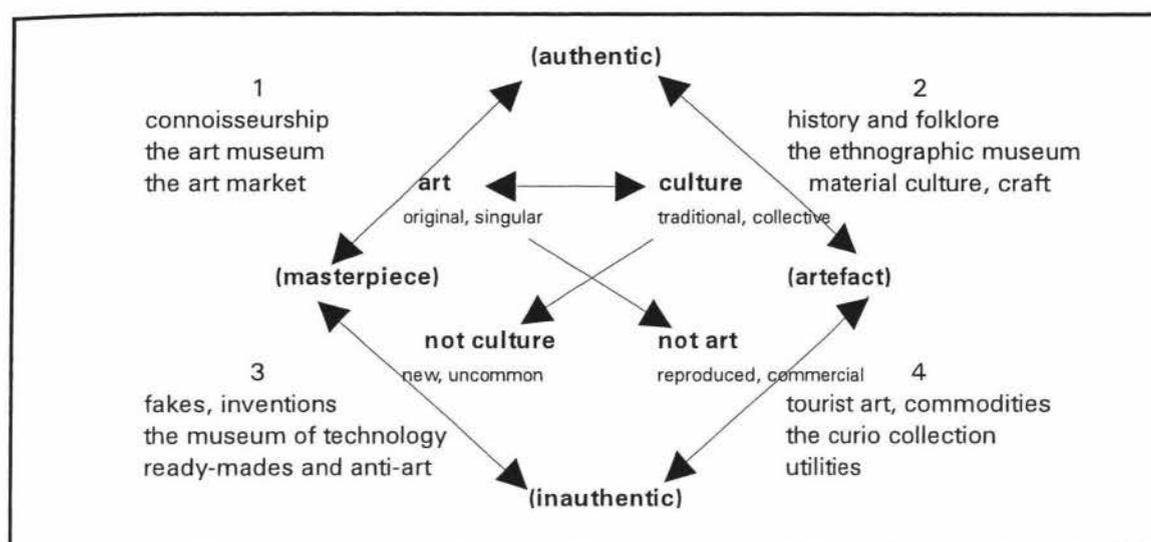


Figure 1.1

Clifford (1988:p 223) proposes that there are four semantic zones within which cultural objects circulate and can be located, either within or ambiguously in traffic between 2 zones (Figure 1.1);

1. *the zone of authentic masterpieces,*
2. *the zone of authentic artefacts,*
3. *the zone of inauthentic masterpieces, and*
4. *the zone of inauthentic artefacts*

Objects may move in 2 directions along the path between zones 1 and 2, an example being objects that move from ethnographic culture to fine art as with tribal objects located in art galleries; thereby displayed according to 'formalist' rather than 'contextualist' protocols. (Ames 1986:p 39-42). Similarly movement occurs between lower and upper halves of the system, usually upwards, as with rare period pieces which become collectibles (zone 4 to zone 2). No direct movement occurs from zone 4 to zone 1, only occasionally does travel occur

between zones 4 and 3 (when technological artefact is perceived as special inventive creation), and technological innovations may be contextualised as modern 'design' thereby passing from zone 3 to 1. Regular traffic may also occur between zones 1 and 3. (Clifford 1988:p 224 - 226).

While this art-culture system continues to change in the positions and values assigned to collectible artefacts, 'exotic' objects are still confronted with an alternative between the separate classificatory systems of the ethnographic museum or the art museum. (We might add that the choice of one alternative over another is not necessarily the choice of the objects creator). Indeed Clifford develops his argument for the purpose of examining the way in which 'exotic' objects are classified, or 'fetished' in the artificial environment of the museum context. (Clifford 1988:p 226 - 228)

While seemingly not directly relevant to our discussion of Maori Art Development through Education, the debates that ensue over the classification of art objects in museum contexts, highlights the way institutions (of which schools are an example) treat the culture of minority or other cultures as opposed to the dominant culture. The structures of society and the ideology of society are carried through and passed on by the very institutions of society, and it is to these institutions we must look for the messages of what defines 'art' and what defines 'culture'.

The ascription of 'exotic' objects, or what has been termed 'primitive' cultures according to categories in **Figure 1**, according to a Marxist view, would be determined by the dominant group ideology of what of the so - called primitive culture constitutes 'fine art'. Let us now examine if this may explain the position of Maori art in New Zealand.

<b>PART II: The New Zealand case - Maori art or culture?</b>
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**'Te Maori' 1984 - 1985**

In 1984 to 1985 what were described as 'rare Maori artefacts', toured museums in the United States, objects that were normally resident in New Zealand museums. According to Clifford (1988:p 248) the control of these artefacts was by traditional Maori authorities whose permission was gained for them to leave the country. This demonstrates how the circulation of museum collections, in some cases, can be significantly influenced by resurgent indigenous communities. To what extent was this an example of the recognition of the status of Maori art? Tamati Reedy (1986, in; **Te Maori: Te Hokinga Mai**) describes the same exhibition tour;

*"Te Maori, a collection of Maori artefacts, the first ever to leave its homeland with the approval of the Maori people, had arrived in the United States of America. And in accordance with ancient customs and traditions, the exhibition was opened with the rituals and chants handed down from ancestors long departed...Thousands who participated have described the experience as incredible. Te Maori has broken attendance records. It has drawn comparison with and paralleled those great world exhibitions, the Tutankahmen and the terracotta figures of China. On 8 June 1986, Te Maori, ended its tour of North America and began the journey home".*

In the light that **Te Maori** was received with much elation overseas, Robert Jahnke's (1991:p 20) comments are noteworthy. He alleges that "**Te Maori**" had to be elevated on an international stage to gain recognition in its 'own back yard' and that it highlighted monocular view of the New Zealand public in particular towards Maori art under the;

*"dogmatic institutionalisation of Western aestheticism".*

This appears to contradict somewhat the positive impression we formerly received of the virtues of the **Te Maori** exhibition. Jahnke further asserts that the public in New Zealand has a thoroughly entrenched perception of 'traditional' Maori art evident in New Zealand art literature that tends to begin with the arrival of Captain Cook in 1769 and ignore the Maori whose art was already clearly in evidence before the arrival of Europeans. The attitude as exemplified in art literature has been patronising towards Maori art. For example Peter Cape (1979:p 88) asserts that rock - drawings are the closest approximation to the European tradition of;

*"making marks on a flat surface and hanging the results on a wall".*

As Jahnke (1991:p 20) points out, the artists of Pompeii and Florence painted on walls and ceilings, a fact that Cape tends to ignore, and which undermines his exclusive and patronising definition of Maori art.

Regarding the **Te Maori** exhibition, we have firstly the issue of aspects of Maori culture, art objects elevated to the status of fine art in the art gallery context. What Sally Price (1989:p 18) maintains is that art galleries tend to function to reinforce a barrier between '**Culture 1**' that is 'naturally cultivated' and '**Culture 2**' which is 'naturally natural'; between the sacred art world of 'untouchability and puritanism' and the profaneness of daily life. The museum context, in which the 'profane' object of traditional Maori art is usually situated, is a unique one according to Clifford (1988:p 220) and one in which art objects are taken out of context in order to make them stand for 'abstract wholes' (such that Maori carving become "Maori"). This is accentuated in New Zealand by the importation and imposition of a European art aesthetic that continues to perpetuate the demarcation between art and craft, sacred - art and profane - culture, and the gallery and the

museum. (Jahnke 1991:p 20) The fact that according to the exhibition **Te Maori**, Maori artefacts circulated as 'fine art' or in the gallery context, doesn't disguise the issue that predominantly, traditional Maori art tends to circulate as 'artefact' to be displayed as natural history in museums, rather than as 'art' to take its place with other revered fine art works of old.

Herein lies the first issue of the art-culture debate as it pertains to Maori art in New Zealand; is **art** to be delineated as a sealed-off domain in itself as the 'best' products of society (see Walder 1986:p 5) as perpetuated by the gallery context, or is art to be seen in the context of **culture** and the social relations of cultural production? When we pose this question we must ask ourselves a series of other important questions;

1. *who* chooses to delineate which constitutes art destined for the gallery, is it the American public, or discerning critics of European art who judge what is art based on qualities of their cultures?
2. *whom* has the right of definition of what constitutes worthy art, based on selection in to the gallery context, and therefore determine which art reaps financial rewards and status?
3. *what* makes some cultural objects more worthy than others, and how can this be judged when what is worthy in one culture may not be deemed so in another?
4. *how* can one judge the art of other cultures in the light of ones own, without an understanding of the aesthetic of that other culture?
5. *what* constitutes an art object as opposed to merely a cultural artefact?

The historical development of art and culture and the theoretical approaches of social scientists, as outlined in **Part I** of this chapter, highlights the importance of selection in art, to which the above questions are addressed.

### Maori art as 'primitive'

Indeed the coining of the art of other cultures such as the Maori, as 'primitive' belies the eurocentric attitude to the art of other cultures. It is often held that the motivation for Maori art is one of fear, or of blatant sexuality; the;

*"night side of man is the primitive beast of unleashed sexuality"*. (Price 1988:p 41 - 45).

Reasons such as these are given as justification for the denial of Maori art as being 'art', according to the classical definition of Walder (1986:p 5) Definition 3, in favour of Definition 1 - 'culture'. This can also be seen in terms of Clifford's (1988:p 224) **Art - Culture System** (see **Figure 1.1**), Maori artefacts circulating as ethnographic objects and tourist art. Since at the level of society (and the art institutions in society such as galleries) this conception of Maori art as primitive exists, we must ask ourselves if there exists in schools (also an institution in society) a tendency to enact out these very processes. Also whether indeed Maori art is relegated to the status of culture or craft by prevailing art definitions within the school curriculum.

This brings us to the second issue pertaining to Maori culture, to determine how 'entrenched' the 'traditional' or 'primitive' attitude towards Maori art is, in New Zealand society. According to Beatson and Cox (1982:p 354) the split between 'high culture' and 'art' is greater in New Zealand and has been exasperated in a dependent economy where culture has been imported from England, rather than growing from first - hand knowledge.

In pre-European times the Maori had a high degree of art forms produced from stone-age technology, and the split between useful and useless did not exist to deem an art form as 'purely artistic'. Social life and the natural world were interwoven, rituals were expressed through the arts, and social fragmentation had

not occurred to section off 'art' in to a domain of its own. It is the advocates of art that hold the dominant ideological Eurocentric view who insist on setting apart 'art' from culture, as a real material process that gives value to all differing cultural identities.

The apparent disparity between the treatment of traditional Maori art in galleries is reinforced by the historic literature on New Zealand art. Given that these two domains largely reflect the prevailing perceptions of Maori art - the gallery determining economic value, and literature the critic's conception of why certain art is valued - then it is of great interest to see how far the Education system operates to perpetuate this ideology. Is Maori art not given recognition, by the persuasion of a dominant ideology that acts as a means of asserting continued control by the ruling - class? Is the splitting off of art and culture in New Zealand society serving the requirements of a ruling class, to continue asserting dominance and determining what is to be rewarded in the arts sphere?

### **Maori art as 'traditional'**

Since "**Te Maori**" there has emerged a new interest in Maori art, both traditional and contemporary. Jahnke (1991:p 20 - 21) identifies a dramatic change in the cultural focus of literature in particular after 1984. Art galleries and museums have responded by attempting the juxtaposition of 'traditional' and 'contemporary' Maori art forms, with little success at shaking off the 'persistence of aesthetic subjugation'. The consultative process set up in some cases with Maori groups, Jahnke (1991:p 21) criticises from personal experience, as being one of mere endorsement of already - determined outcomes. He furthermore points out that there continues to exist a failure to recognise Maori art forms as having 'style', 'compositional qualities' and other traits accorded to European art works.

Then there is the increased recognition during the last few years, in art galleries, of 'contemporary' Maori artists and their art works. Does this demonstrate that

Maori art is taking its place as 'fine art', or does it merely demonstrate that Maori artists have to show conformity to western dominant cultural norms to gain acceptance for their art? (see Price 1981). Can it be shown that schools are paying attention to establishing continuity between 'traditional' Maori art and 'contemporary' Maori art, or does one constitute 'art' and the other 'culture'?. Do Maori objects circulate in the 'art - culture' system to be accorded the same value as non - Maori art? Is the perceived split between art and life, between art and culture, a real one, or do we see in the school system a real concern for situating Maori art and culture within the definitions of New Zealand art and culture?

One of the prevailing ideologies towards Maori art appears to be the notion that only objects that adhere to traditional ideas and contexts are Maori, and art on canvas is essentially 'a Maori forging ahead and making a go for it in an egalitarian New Zealand society'. In some ways, the requirement of Maori art to adhere strictly to traditional conventions, and to only be applied in traditional contexts, acts to maintain the dominance of European art concepts in New Zealand society. To say that Maori moko (chisel tattooing) is only acceptable if traditionally fashioned chisels are used and the same ceremonial occasions enacted, is like saying those depictions of the human body are only allowable if they are correctly proportioned and painted with the same paint mixtures used by Renaissance painters. Every art form develops with the culture, and the art developments do not occur in a vacuum, but express a continuity and progression. To deny a development of Maori art in to the present, is to deny a Maori art a present.

This is not to deny the importance of traditions either, but that an art piece is traditional and belongs on a Whare Whakairo (meeting house) wall, does not necessarily make it any less art than 'high' art definitions, or any more culture than art seen in art galleries. Pute Hineapounamu Rare (Mataira 1984: p 20)

speaks of her art work of cloak weaving, which she chooses to follow strictly to tradition;

*"I can still remember the sight of my mother working over her piles of harakeke (flax). So dull, so laborious, I thought, until I saw the harakeke being transformed in to beautiful works of colour and pattern".*

Being confirmed traditionalists, Pute Hineapounamu Rare, and her colleagues Rangimarie Hetet and Diggeress Rangituatahi Te Kanawa express their concern at the diminishing supply of natural dyestuffs. To which Diggeress says;

*"I guess we'll do what our old people would have done, ... experiment with other plants to see what alternatives we might find".* (Mataira 1984:p 20).

While these three women are close to the spirit of the weavers art of old, and weave in the traditional manner as a way of expressing their cultural awareness, they are also committed to passing on their weaving knowledge to succeeding generations. This transmission does not necessarily preclude more modern contexts chosen by other Maori artists.

Paratene Machitt recalls his training under the traditional Maori wood carver Pine Taiapa, and how Pine was disappointed that Paratene chose to work in a modern, more abstract manner. However, years later when Paratene worked on another project constructing a mural for Kimiora, a large multi-purpose building for the Ngaruwahia marae (meeting ground) complex, the master carver finally gave his nod of approval. (Mataira 1984:p 44)

Fred Graham, who sculpts and carries a deep respect for his Maori forebears see that a period of retrenchment in the traditional is likely to occur when a minority culture is dominated by a larger culture. After a time of exploration in to new

materials and ideas brought by the foreign culture (ie European settlers to New Zealand) the minority culture, in this case Maori, attempt to maintain their uniqueness by a strict adherence to traditional norms. (Mataira 1984:p 58). A period thereby followed where Maori art was 'virtually frozen' and anything that deviated from the traditional was contemptuous. Graham also learnt much from Pine Taiapa, but sees the need to allow Maori art to develop in order for it to make sense in the current times. (Mataira 1984:p 58) In the words of Pine Taiapa (Mataira 1984:p 44);

*"The world of art is so big there's room in it for everyone",*

thereby acknowledging his acceptance of Maori art development to take account of modern contexts. The message is clearer by this admission, after all who is better to determine whether Maori art is Maori - surely the Maori himself or herself?

That Maori themselves are even questioning work of their own artists, and resisting change, indicates just how persuasive existing ideologies of art are. We are reminded by Beatson and Cox (1982:p 370 - 371) that there does exist persistent ideologies in New Zealand society which are in 'potent defence' of the current social structure of art expressing and legitimising the current political structuring of art. To examine further how this ideology operates in the art world in New Zealand (which requires more depth than the scope of this research), it is perhaps useful to look further back to how these ideas are conceived. Obviously the messages given to Maori art and artists, and the wider society, about the cultural and artistic value of Maori art work, are given out during various stages of a developing life. One of the powerful institutions of society, which has the potential to impart messages on the nature of society, is that of school. It is to the debates of the relationship between education and culture that we now turn.

## CHAPTER 3

### EDUCATION: CULTURE AND ART

*"There is a Third World in every First World,  
and vica - versa"*

(Trinh T. Minh - ha "Difference" Discourse 8 quoted in  
**The Predicament of Culture** 1988:p 215)

#### Education's role in New Zealand society

Bock (1982:Ch 5) believes the decades since World War II are best termed the 'Age of Education'. The expectations we have for this single social institution appear unlimited;

*"Education is called upon to alleviate poverty, to serve as the vanguard in directing social and economic change, and as the means for individual self-improvement".*

Educational expectations have become popularised, and even more intensified, with the attempt of newly industrialised nations to engage in 'nation-building'. What follows is an attempt by these new nations to merge diverse and often competing cultures into a unified nation whereby with the right education;

1. *productive participation in the modernising economy will occur;*
2. *mobilised political consciousness for national concerns will predominate;*  
*and*
3. *equity distribution will be reformed by leveling the presently affluent while elevating the powerless. (Bock 1982:Ch 5).*

The expectations of education have been conceived primarily in terms of national development. Development, an inherently ambiguous term, has in this sense, historically been accepted as synonymous with economic development. This has gained popularity in New Zealand with a growing acceptance of a 'capitalist' model of society as the key to future economic prosperity. The aim of nation - building becomes - to achieve the;

*"rapid and sustained rise in real output per head, and attendant shifts in the technological, economic and demographic characteristic of society"* (Mabogunje 1980).

Development, or economic development is seen as macro-structural, not individual, with emphasis firmly placed on commodity output. The educational aims of New Zealand as embodied in the three statements above, can ultimately be viewed within this macro-structural framework. The resemblance of the educational aims to that of national development can be seen in the goals of nation - building;

1. *to generate more wealth within the nation;*
2. *to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth; and*
3. *to promote the organisation of political decision-making structures approximating the more successfully industrialised countries.* (Farrell 1982: Ch 3).

World wide, during the mid 1950's to 1960's, there followed an increased awareness by the richer and not so rich industrialised countries, that other areas of the world lived in object poverty. In formulating solutions Western policy makers and social scientists began to look more introspectively on their own societies. They began to see that the underdeveloped countries required, in order to 'develop', primarily greater economic success. This discovery preceded the recognition that development had to be far more embracing than economic

development alone. It saw that real economic development involved the satisfaction of such issues as; the alleviation of basic poverty, adequate employment opportunities and a minimising of social inequalities - an emphasis on social justice and quality of life. (Wilson and Woods 1982). This called for a reassessment of economics to a secondary role, as merely an indicator of the broader and more complex nature of society and societal relations. Development became;

*"a process of change in the way of life and material conditions of a group of people, whereby they become more able to do and have the things that they require, ... a condition of growth; economic, social, cultural and moral". (Hughes 1973).*

In the recently released **New Zealand Curriculum Framework 1993** for education in schools, (also released in Maori; **Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa 1993**) we can see the expression of this modified approach to development in terms of the newly perceived role of the New Zealand's education system;

*"Today, New Zealand faces many significant challenges. If we wish to progress as a nation, and to enjoy healthy prosperity in today's and tomorrow's competitive world economy, our education system must adapt to meet these challenges. We need a learning environment which enables all our students to attain high standards and develop appropriate personal qualities. As we move towards the twenty - first century, with all the rapid technological change which is taking place, we need a work - force which has an international and multicultural perspective". (Forward in **The New Zealand Curriculum Framework 1993**:p 1).*

*"He rahi nga matataki kei mua i Aotearoa i naianei. Mehemea kei te hiahia tatou kia neke whakamua te motu, kia piki whakarunga hoki to tatou ora, i roto i te ohanga whakataetae o te ao, o naianei o apopo hoki, me matua*

*urutau te punaha matauranga kia tutuki pai ai enei matataki. Me whakatu he taiao ako e taea ai e a tatou akonga katoa nga paerewa tiketike, te whanake hoki i o ratou kounga whaiaro. E whakatata nei tatou ki te tau 2000, me ona hangarau huri tere tonu, me tu he hunga mahi, tiketike ke atu nga pukenga me te urutau, he tirohanga ao whanui, kakano tini hoki to ratou". (Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa 1993:p 1).*

The emphasis has been placed on individuals' performance in order to promote greater economic success in society, and a recognition that this may occur differently for certain cultural groupings. While the encompassing aspect is macro-structural; the 'progress of a nation', there is a real recognition that this can not be achieved without the satisfaction of certain individual 'quality of life' requirements.

Nation-building espoused in these terms seems a relatively straight forward process. Essentially one should be able to invest in skilling the individual to participate in the economy in ways that will enhance national prosperity; a simple cause-effect relationship. The key as we shall see, to inherent conflict that is beginning to show greater evidence in the lack of achievement of these aims, is the concept of merging competing cultures into a unified nation.

According to Anderson (1983:p 87) 'race' (or more popularly termed 'culture' in present-day speaking's) and 'nation' are 'imagined categories' which exist in people's heads. The attribution of names presumes an interconnectedness and belonging among its members. (Pettman 1990:p 1) We must appreciate that such categories are simultaneously forms of inclusion and exclusion. (Miles 1987:p 24). While the boundaries are historically and socially constructed and contested, when articulated as ideologies such as 'nationalism', there is a claimed permanence, timelessness, and universal acceptance of their nature. This presumption of 'universality' of categories, and the assumption that people will accept such

ascribed identity groupings such as 'nationalistic' - ie. New Zealander - before other types of groupings such as 'culturally Maori' has historically made the sites of education contentious and challengeable, especially as one of the most important aims of development; 'to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth' has not occurred in New Zealand. Thus in **The New Zealand Curriculum Framework** (1993:p 1) we see the addition of a new concept to the challenge of nation - building, a **multicultural perspective**.

## PART I: The culture concept in education

### Educational equality in New Zealand society

Equality has broadly been the maxim of New Zealand society since the last few decades of the nineteenth century; both in the pursuit of enhanced national development and educational responses to the developmental requirements of the nation. This highlights, according to Turner (1986:p 25) an inherent problem with the concept of 'egalitarianism', that;

*"there is a contradiction between equality as a general value in modern society, and inequality as an empirical fact of all human societies - more particularly inequality is the basis of the capitalist structures that form the framework of New Zealand's economic life".*

Essentially, what this means for New Zealand is that our attempts to resolve the inequalities that exist for certain members in society through educational opportunities and advancement in schools, conflict with the social, economic and political forces of New Zealand society's foundations that tend to entrench inequality. (Harker 1990:p 193). As New Zealand has geared itself towards meeting the development needs of the nation it has become clear that education has not brought about the 'more equitable distribution of wealth' by the 'levelling of the

presently affluent while elevating the powerless'. (Farrell 1982:Ch 3; Bock 1982:Ch 5). As theories on capitalist societies purport (see **Chapter 1** and **Bourdieu** further in this Chapter) capitalist society requires inequality founded on competition, and legitimates the existence of this inequality with the persuasive ideology that education provides the access to higher status for those who strive to attain it. What has accentuated the problem in New Zealand is that inequality has come to be seen along cultural lines; the difference has most clearly become one of intensified disparity between Maori and Pakeha educational and societal achievements.

It is useful to look back to the original formulation of a state-organised education system in New Zealand to see that historically (pre-dating the second World War) our society and education system were not founded on the principle of equality despite the egalitarian 'wrapping' that was espoused. in the **1877 Education Act** - this proving problematic in reforming the inequalities that now exist in society. (Gordon 1985:p 44). The immigrant landowners from the imperial power; Britain, exercised social, economic and political dominance over other groups, upholding the values and attitudes they brought from their home country. On discussing education that was to include the Maori, in the 1867 Bill, the perceived purpose of education was to bring about the assimilation of Maori children into European culture and society. This was not to be as equals however, even as far as up to the 1960's with the emphasis on trade training for Maori boys but, according to Ramsay (1972:p 68 - 69; Harker 1985:p 63);

*"The core of Maori educational policy in the 1930's may be found in T. B. Strong's statement that the type of schooling made available to Maori children should lead the 'lad to be a good farmer and the Maori girl to be a good farmer's wife'. ... the policy advance, if such it can be termed, from the 1930's to the 1940's was to develop Maori carpenters and carpenters' wives rather than farmers and farmers' wives".*

Consistent throughout history has been the pressure for Maori to be assimilated in to 'one' culture, under the flag of 'one nation'. While this may seem to purport the equal combining of two cultures, in the reality of unequal power relations according to Harker (1985:p 64) it was for the Maori people to do all the adapting. It was for Maori to gain a standard of education that would overcome any possibility of them becoming a burden on society, yet serve the requirements of an increasingly landed English gentry for workers and services. Not that Maori were aware of any difficulty with this approach at the time, or saw anything but possible advancement for the Maori people in the adoption of Pakeha ways. One of the greatest Maori leaders of this century; Ta Apirana Ngata, saw the English language as a means of gaining the benefits of European culture. He stated at a conference in 1936 that if he were to devise a curriculum for Maori schools he would make English four out of the five subjects of instruction. Three years later, Ngata reversed his views, perceiving that education was subverting Maori culture. (Walker 1985:p 74).

#### **Educational attainment: The Maori case for cultural recognition**

The 1938 Report of the Department of Education set the purported national commitment towards a more egalitarian society, in the since much quoted words;

*"The government's objective, broadly expressed is that every person, whatever his (sic) level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers". (my emphasis)*

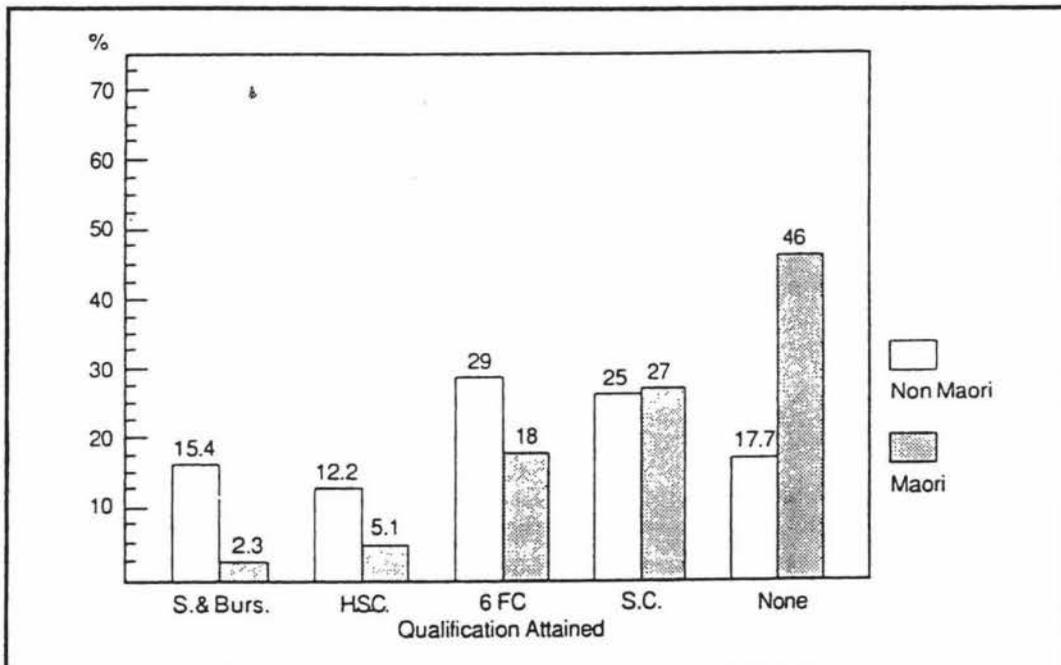
**(Report of the Department of Education 1939:p 2 - 3).**

Rhetoric such as this, according to Harker (1990:p 198 - 199) must be seen in its context; as designed for public consumption and part of an 'ideological screen' to mask the perpetuation of the dominance of the dominant group in our society. It

involves value judgements as to what the Maori may be 'best fitted' to, and what was considered the 'fullest extent of his powers'.

In order to determine the real nature of equality we should not be swayed by ideological statements, but look at real outputs or achievements. One form of measurement is to look at the attainment of school qualifications according to cultural grouping. Educational statistics kept by The Department of Education show a different story. The evidence gathered on Maori and Pakeha educational attainment difference shows how strongly the inequalities have existed for Maori for some time in terms of maximising Maori potential. (see **Figure 2.1**).

#### Attainments of school leavers 1987



**Figure 2.1 (Education Statistics of New Zealand 1988)**

There is a clear indication of poorer relative achievement of Maori compared to non-Maori with 46% of Maori leaving school without any formal academic qualification, as opposed to non-Maori at 17.7%. Although the data is not shown

here, there is also a clear pattern according to gender for both Maori and non-Maori students; fewer females leaving without formal qualifications than boys but less likely to stay on for seventh form external examinations than boys. (Department of Education 1988). The disparity is relatively high, yet if we give the Ministry of Education (formerly the Department of Education) the benefit of now recognising the disparities that exist, and therefore matching the ideology it purports (Department of Education 1939:p 2 - 3) then a vast improvement from previous years would at least indicate a commitment towards achieving this goal.

**Figure 2.2** (over) shows the same attainment categories for Maori and non-Maori students in 1977. The difference in 1977 between cultural groupings is even more pronounced than in 1987, indicating a general overall improvement for Maori pupils leaving school with no formal qualifications; from 68% in 1977 to 46% in 1987, compared with a less pronounced drop from 29% to 17.7% for non-Maori students. This is positive at the 'no qualification' level, and also at the other end of the scale; the highest school qualifications, Maori proportions have trebled while non - Maori have doubled. (see **Figure 2.1** and **Figure 2.2**). While positive results in terms of improved Maori achievement, it is disturbing that such clear disparity still exists, especially in nearly half of the Maori population leaving school without formal qualifications. Harker (1990:p 201) is sceptical about the significance of these results in terms of over-emphasising the governments' commitment to rectifying cultural inequalities in educational achievement. He sees that while there are various reasons which could be given for the improvement in Maori education results during the ten years there are probably two main possibilities;

1. *the schools themselves may be doing a better job in meeting the needs of their Maori pupils, indeed increased Maori cultural and language emphasis in selective schools during this decade could have much to do with it - along with some major policy initiatives taken during these years;*

2. *Home environments of more successful Maori pupils may mirror more strongly Pakeha values with cross-cultural liaisons and third-plus generation city dwellers being more prominent, and perhaps an increase in politicised Maori who see value in meeting Pakeha 'head-on'.*

#### Attainment of school leavers 1977

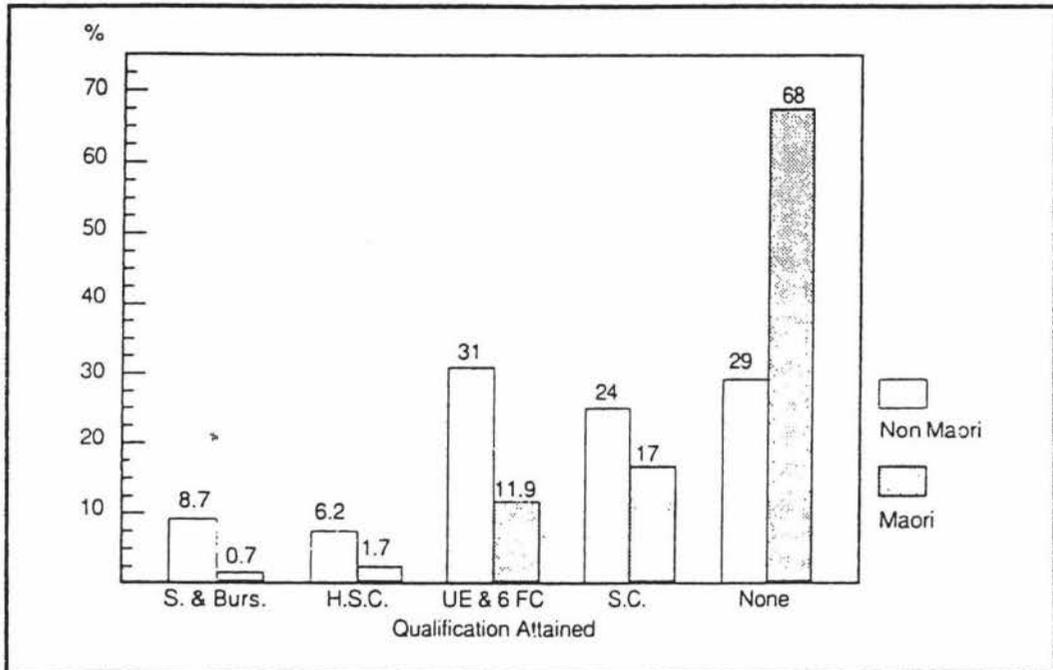


Figure 2.2 (Education Statistics of New Zealand 1988)

While both factors appear to be at work, Harker (1990:p 201) mentions that there is most likely to actually be 'trade-offs' occurring between the exponents of 'Maori culture with little changes', and the supporters of the existing school culture. Once again it seems up to the Maori to do most of the adapting and provide the impetus for change. In attempting to explain the difference between the promises of education and the actual outcomes for Maori, we must bear in mind what 'trade-offs' really mean for the Maori. If they are indeed occurring, then essentially Maori success may be explained predominantly by 'assimilation'; ie. Maori being co-opted in to the middle class culture of New Zealand and

accepting the dominant ideology of this eurocentric position with very little modification. This seems to only be occurring in a small proportion of cases, and is not directly in support of the concept of 'multiculturalism'. In order to examine what this actually really means, we must look at the concept of 'equality' a little closer.

### The meaning of equality for the Maori

Equality has become a difficult concept, and one that has been replaced in many contexts by another preferred word; 'equity'. It is complicated by a re-focus on 'quality of life' and the rights to assert, by Maori, a separate but viable cultural identity. In pointing out the difficulties in treating Maori and Pakeha 'equally' according to school education contexts; such as 'I don't look upon them as different because of their ethnic origins', Simon (1986:p 30; Harker 1990:p 194) says that three forms of inequality arise;

1. *the needs of the children and the way of catering for them are identified according to the norms of Pakeha culture and therefore reinforce Pakeha cultural 'comfort' and disadvantage Maori by the non-recognition of their ethnic needs;*
2. *by ignoring the 'maoriness' of Maori children, teachers denigrate by implying that it is not worthy of attention. "One would infer from their views that they believed that they were doing the Maori children a favour by pretending not to notice that they were different from Pakehas" This tends to reinforce Pakeha cultural dominance in schools and disadvantage Maori pupils;*
3. *the viewpoint ignores that outside the school the Maori student will be categorised ethnically by the other members of society, and that children need to come to terms with this identity. School should help Maori students feel positive about their identity rather than disadvantage them by treating them like inferior - Pakehas.*

'Equity' in terms of equitable outcomes, although not unproblematic, implies more than just equality, or equal opportunity - which can resemble equality in Simon's (1986:p 30) terms depending on who is defining the preconditions of equality. Equity refers to social justice or fairness and involves a subjective ethical or moral judgement and thus may change for different groups or societies. (Farrell 1982). According to Harker (1990:p 194 - 195) 'equality of opportunity' is equally as obscure; What is it that you are to be provided with, the opportunity to try, do, achieve, be or attain? We shall use in preference Farrell's (1982) usage of the word 'equity' as reference to social justice or fairness and the notion of subjective ethical or moral judgement, allows importance to be attached to certain cultural values as equally as important as the cultural values held by others.

Tyler (1977:p 11) specifies value - type judgements in his notion that the attainment of equality of opportunity is the overcoming of any of the following in education;

1. *achievement inequalities, such as level of skills and competence in the mastery of school subjects;*
2. *background inequalities, such as family culture, family income, ethnic identity, geographical location, residential neighbourhood and so on;*
3. *inequalities of ability or aptitude, the potential for learning, which while controversial, probably involves some genetic component;*
4. *inequality of school environment, the type of teacher teaching, the facilities and equipment, the curriculum, the status of the school and so on;*
5. *inequalities of outcome, in terms of; a) credentials; and b) life chances - status, jobs and incomes. (Harker 1990:p 194 - 195; Tyler 1977:p 11).*

Within these specifications we have a definition that more resembles 'equity', although not specifically in terms of cultural attainment inequalities alone.

The 1971 **Report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education**, which opened the way for a stronger Maori presence in the teaching profession, termed equality for the Maori students according to these three recommendations;

1. *That cultural differences need to be understood, accepted and respected by children and teachers;*
2. *That the school curriculum must find a place for the understanding of Maoritanga, including the Maori language;*
3. *That in order to achieve the goal of equality of opportunity, special measures need to be taken. (Walker 1985:p 75).*

What is significant in this Report (1971), is that firstly, there is a recognition that strong educational equalities exist along cultural or ethnic lines, by the non-understanding of Maori culture. Secondly, the recommendations seek methods of redress that may involve more than equal educational treatment for the Maori, in order to create 'equity', ie. call for compensatory measures. While Tyler (1977:p 11) identified the requirements for overcoming the educational inequalities in schools, what becomes the integral question is how these inequalities can be minimised in schools as it is becoming more obvious that other already-tried methods are not working. The 1971 **Report to the National Advisory Committee on Education** suggests that the training of Maori teachers is one way of minimising the inequalities. In practice however, the results have been more disparate than we care to admit and suggested reforms by Maori to enhance their attainment has been largely met with strong resistance; change only occurring with immense pressure from Maori. While the gaps are narrowing, improvements in Maori educational achievement is occurring at a slow pace and Maori still constitute the highest proportion of the 'under class'.

### **Ideologies of educational inequalities**

While we have a clear idea of the expectations on our education system to provide for the country as a whole, we also have a conception that education will provide for the individual's perceived educational needs, with the expectation that it will deliver according to these needs or requirements. In this sense there are strong ideologies of legitimation that operate in societies, as in New Zealand, as to the role education plays. In New Zealand the most persuasive view is that education should act as a 'leveling mechanism' by providing equal access and opportunity across the board, and even promote and sustain upward mobility. Turner (1986:p 25) suggests that education systems in industrial societies are the main modes for upward social mobility, where upon every opportunity is afforded to the individual to improve his / her position in society. We must question the extent to which education is universally delivering in terms of 'equality of opportunities' for the population as a whole. At any time strong ideologies may exist which have been more specifically developed to justify a particular educational philosophy or system, considering selection - often at times obscuring the actual circumstances that exist. Along a continuum, 'ideal' types of ideologies can be identified, on the basis of certain described groups that are to gain the most benefit from education. The categories of ideologies of legitimisation can be described as follows;

- 1 *Aristocratic ideology/conservative-elitist tells us that opportunity for learning particular skills is limited to certain groups, in this case the individual usually benefits from birth in to this elite group - such as operated at Cambridge and Oxford Universities in the mid nineteenth century; this model relates ability to culture and see inequalities as both inevitable and desirable.*
2. *Paternalistic ideology still sees limited access to particular groups but admission is determined by societies 'need' for people with skills of a certain character; compensatory programmes in schools will help eliminate*

*members grant or deny upward mobility on the basis of whether they judge the candidate to have the qualities they wish to see in fellow members";*

2. *Contest mobility is "a system in which elite status is the prize in an open contest by some rules of fair play, the contestants having wide latitude in the strategies they may employ. Since the 'prize' of successful upward mobility is not in the hands of the established elite to give out, the latter are not in a position to determine who shall attain it and who shall not".*

While Turner's ideas were formulated to explain differences between the education systems of England and the United States, a dichotomy is no longer adequate to explain the diverse ideologies that have evolved to explain and justify different education systems up to the present day. Essentially ideologies of education seek to explain, and in cases perpetuate power structures; and is societies' response to the following questions about selection;

1. *how does educational selection occur?*
2. *when are pupils initially selected?*
3. *who should be selected?*
4. *why should they be selected?*

The problem of selection is that while educational institutions may advocate the satisfaction of inequalities in society, essentially they reflect the wider society - which is based upon unequal class relations with the dominant group in society holding the power of consensus based on numbers and / or aspects of the historical development of the country concerned. As Petersen (1979:p 149) maintains, culture is manipulated through the ruling class by means of ideology that legitimise that which is acceptable and that which is unacceptable. Ideologies, we are reminded by Petersen (1979:p 982; see **Chapter 1**), go hand in hand with hegemony; the

*"way in which the entire ideological complex of beliefs, values and perceptually-based attitudes that function for the reproduction and sustenance of ruling class domination comes to saturate every aspect and particularly the social institutions of society".*

The ability for ideologies of education to be persuasive has conflicted in New Zealand society in present times, with the increasing realisation that the strong link existing between educational equality and patterns of background equality, has come to resemble proportionally higher Maori failure in schools and society, based on fundamental differences in cultural perceptions and understandings in the learning process - in effect that the education system in New Zealand is culturally, if not racially excluding Maori upward mobility. It is perhaps now useful to discuss a strong theory that has sought to explain the maintenance and prevalence of this cultural imbalance in schools and society.

#### **Bourdieu: school as the 'gatekeeper'**

In formulating a theory on the central role schools play in reproducing social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next, Bourdieu treats culture in its non-anthropological context; as 'high' culture. He prefers instead to use the word habitus to denote a broader definition;

*"system of dispositions which acts as a mediation between structures and practice ... a system of durably acquired schemes of perception, thought and action, engendered by objective conditions but tending to persist even after an alteration of those conditions".* (Bourdieu 1973:p 72; Bourdieu & Passeron 1979:p 156).

Bourdieu (1968:p 706) acknowledges that while culture may be a better term, he considers that 'culture' is an;

*"overdetermined concept (which) risks being misunderstood (as) it is difficult to define exhaustively the conditions of its validity"*

In this sense Bourdieu expresses the concerns that others have also had (see Walder 1986:p 5 and **Chapter 1**) about the use of the word 'culture', based on the fact that historically-changing meanings have done nothing but confuse the concept even more. Habitus therefore, in Bourdieu's terms, becomes the body of knowledge, the understandings, the style of self-presentation, language and values; which the individual is socialised into by family and immediate environment and which is embodied in the individual. In this sense culture is personalised, habitus being the way culture is embodied in the individual. (Harker 1985:p 65).

The central focus of Bourdieu's argument is that the habitus of the dominant culture of society constitutes the habitus of the schools;

*"The culture of the elite is so near to that of the school that children from the lower middle class can acquire only with great effort something which is given to the children of the cultivated classes - style, taste, wit - in short, those attitudes and aptitudes which seem natural in members of the cultivated classes and naturally expected of them precisely because (in the ethnological sense) they are the culture of that class". (Bourdieu 1974:p 39; Harker 1982:p 37).*

The school demands that pupils are competent in the language and culture of the dominant group in society, a competence that can only be produced by family socialisation. While the school does not make this culture explicitly available to its pupils or particularly evitable, it implicitly demands it through the requirements - and thus definitions - of success. According to Bourdieu (1973:p 81) it is inevitable that the school system becomes the monopoly or dominated by those classes capable of transmitting the essential elements (habitus) necessary for

successful reception of the school's messages. Students from groups whose habitus is not embodied in the school are immediately disadvantaged and excluded.

Bourdieu speaks of cultural capital and asks us to think of it in similar terms as economic capital. Just as our economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess money or economic capital, so too are our educational institutions structured to favour those who already possess the required cultural capital - as defined by those who constitute the dominant group. By treating the cultural capital of the dominant group in society as natural and the culture of school operations, schools act as though all children have equal access to it. This sees schools act as a natural filter in siphoning students in to appropriate places in the hierarchy of society, and thus reproducing the unequal class relations of society. Poor attainment for specific groups in society is not inherent in certain cultural groups as such, but is an outcome of the way schools operate, and so to the success of other groups. (Harker 1985:p 64 - 65).

### The cycle of reproduction

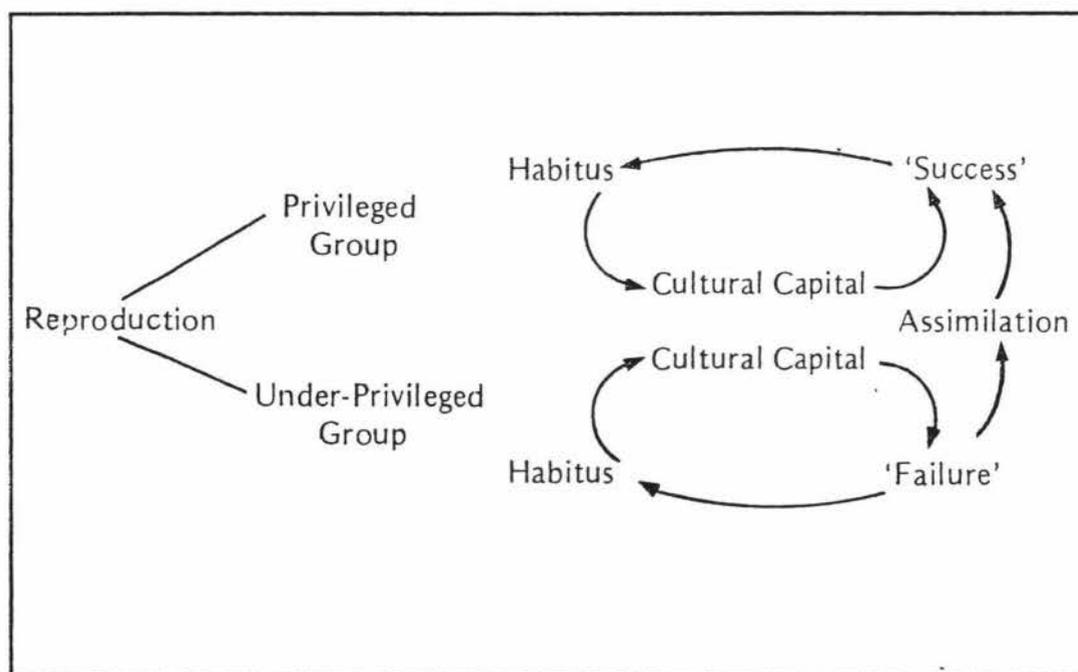


Figure 2.3 (Harker 1985:p 65)

**Figure 2.3** shows the 'cycle of reproduction' as proposed in Bourdieu's theory, which ensures that the dominant group maintains their dominance through the structure of the education system. Those that do not possess the required cultural capital are destined to failure and constitute the 'under-privileged' group in society. This relationship is reproduced over time and in terms of other groupings or classes (in terms of my hypothesis; cultural or ethnic groupings) assimilation of the correct cultural capital have to occur before success can be achieved.

Bourdieu's concern with the way schools facilitate the process of reproduction of societal structures of inequality is summarised according to five levels by Harker (1985:p 65 - 66);

- Level 1:* For non-dominant group children there tends to be a low success rate in all kinds of school tests and external examinations, due to the cultural bias in all aspects of schooling - the setting, the curriculum, the teaching methods, the evaluation system, authority structure, and so on. Expectations in the non-dominant groups to which such children belong are adjusted accordingly and become part of the habitus;
- Level 2:* Where (against the odds) some success is attained, non-dominant group children and their families tend to make the wrong option choices. That is, choices are made that lead to educational (and occupational) dead ends;
- Level 3:* The further up the system, the greater the tendency for the schools to recognise only those who recognise them - what Bourdieu calls the learned ignorance of the schools and selection agents. That is, the schools reward with 'success' only those students who acknowledge the criteria of success and the authority of the school and its teachers to dispense it. With the schools embodying only

*one 'currency' of cultural capital, this has a very powerful assimilationist outcome, and is the level most clearly illustrated in the historical failure of the account given above; for example, talk of 'the demoralising influence of the kainga (Maori home situation)';*

**Level 4:** *The denigration of the academic - the preference for style over content. In the French school system, Bourdieu argues, the teachers and examiners look for 'style', which is a product of the habitus of the cultivated classes, and can never be fully mastered by those without the appropriate background;*

**Level 5:** *Credential inflation - with the spread of higher qualifications (which gives the illusion of increasing opportunities), employers turn to other criteria for selection purposes. These criteria, Bourdieu argues are determined by habitus, including such things as style, presentation, language and so on. The possession of the appropriate habitus constitutes a form of symbolic capital which acts as a multiplier of the productivity of educational capital (qualifications).*

While family socialisation is the context in which individual competencies and receptiveness to learning occurs, learning difficulties and inequalities which occur in schools are not specifically due to the failings of parents. According to Bourdieu, the socialisation which occurs at home does formulate in the individual the linguistic and social competencies and certain qualities of style, good-manners and 'know-how'. The family also instils in the child expectations for the future, the definitions of success and failure, which while they may or may not mean success for their particular child - mirrors the values and expectations of the school (and society). It is the school which chooses to reward (by success) or punish the child by choosing to define the habitus of the dominant group as the means of delivering, measuring and promoting 'success'. The child who has not been socialised in to the dominant group does not possess the required 'code' to decipher the messages being given at school. (Harker 1985:p 66).

### **Bourdieu's theory and Maori attainment**

Referring to **Figure 2.1** we see that the proportion of Maori students leaving school without formal qualifications - the criteria for successful job placement - was at least two and a half time more than non-Maori. At the other end of the scale, non - Maori were at least six times more likely than Maori to leave school with the highest qualification. This tends to suggest that with school credentials, non-Maori are more likely to constitute the 'upper class' (at least with the school environment) than Maori. In fact we could suggest that Maori are highly representative of the 'school lower-class'. In Bourdieu's view this occurs because the Maori do not possess the cultural capital of the school. Those who have achieved some measure of success have done so by successfully assimilated aspects of the dominant culture. As Harker (1990:p 201) suggested, this has occurred through a stronger assimilation of Pakeha values in the home environs of Maori students and (perhaps, to a lesser degree) due to the success of some education policy initiatives undertaken in the past few years. In this sense we may say that Bourdieu's theory can also usefully describe the cultural (in the ethnic, anthropological sense - not to be confused with Bourdieu's 'high culture' definition of culture) domination of the habitus of schools.

An interesting research study carried out by Ronald Sultana (**Delta 40** 1988) examines how labour market locations of Maori are reproduced by schooling. Sultana's study took the form of interviews with teachers to ascertain intended messages about work in a particular unit entitled 'work', and observations in the classroom to determine the messages being presented by the teacher. It also involved interviews with pupils to determine the aspects they took in to account when considering future occupations. As far as teaching was concerned, Sultana found that Pakeha teachers were loath to confront issues of ethnicity and career choice. In addition Maori teachers while attempting to tackle the issue head-on found it difficult to resolve the issue when Maori students appeared to be

hindered by such a low self-image. (Sultana 1988:p 53 - 54). Looking at the influence of classroom and school processes on Maori consideration of future career options Sultana found (1988:p 59 - 65) that certain factors of self-expectation for Maori pupils were defined and limited by school, teacher and student expectations of Maori students. I have chosen to discuss these according to Bourdieu's notion of how inequalities are perpetuated, as grouped according to the five levels above;

*Teacher low expectations: students "are aware and sensitive to the limits powerful people like teachers set on them. They are also aware that they have very few role models who can act as encouragement for themselves to reach higher. What is more there are moments when resistance to school definitions of student futures hovers on the brink of reproduction or transformation".* (Sultana 1988:p 60).

This awareness by students corresponds with *Level 1* and the notion that cultural bias exists in the school whereby the setting, the curriculum, the teaching methods, (and one could add dominant culture attitudes), evaluation system and authority structure conform to that bias. Integral in this is that teachers are likely to be drawn from a group that holds dominant cultural values, and therefore appear to be not considered role models that Maori feel they can aspire to. So too do the teachers lower the expectations of Maori children based on their conception of the limited potential of non-dominant group members to 'succeed'. The limits placed on Maori students are also reinforced by curriculum content that puts little (and that little, from a eurocentric perspective) emphasis on the value of Maori cultural norms, learning methods and belief systems. This then becomes part of the habitus of the school and results in teacher inability to address issues of career choice and aspirations when the habitus already reinforces lesser achievement for a certain ethnic group. The problem becomes one of pretending that there are possibilities for Maori above those which the habitus has set for them to obtain; as 'second-class' citizens to the Pakeha.

***Pakeha pupil low expectations:** "career choices made by Maori students are often defined by expectations not only from Pakeha teachers but also from Pakeha students". When students were asked to act out job interview situations, the Maori students "acted out a rugged, tough image associated with Maori, even though their usual behaviour in class was different", and Pakeha responded by making fun of the witnessed role-play. When students were asked to choose pamphlets on jobs they were interested in other students were quick to define "to a Maori what particular jobs he or she can aspire to, and which jobs are beyond reach". (Sultana 1988:p 60 - 62).*

With the Pakeha students, the information elicited by Sultana also supports *Level 1* in that middle-class Pakeha students have a corresponding habitus to that of the school, and see Maori career aspirations as befitting those who do not possess the required cultural capital. We are also reminded of *Level 3*, that the school has a greater tendency to recognise those who recognise it; that Maori students are not recognising the criteria of success by assimilating dominant Pakeha cultural values. Pakeha students are reinforcing this image that Maori students have learned to hold about themselves, both groups finding comfort in the messages that the school is giving about their own correct places in society. Maori students occupational choices are tending therefore, and according to *Level 2*, to lead to dead ends as they fulfil the prophecy of all including themselves. (Harker 1985:p 66).

***Expectations that Maori and Pakeha are inherently different:** "there were factors related to ethnicity in the sense of 'being Maori' as opposed to 'being Pakeha' which imposed barriers or opened doors to influence career choice. Pakeha students for instance often spoke of some jobs as being 'below' them, as 'rubbish jobs' which they would not even contemplate doing. That Maori students generally did not express as strongly this hierarchical conception of career status meant*

*that they were more prone to consider 'dump' jobs as possibilities for themselves". While Pakeha often "justified the hierarchical arrangements of jobs, a Maori teacher suggested that in their traditional culture, maori people emphasised inter-dependency rather than hierarchy in the performance of work on the marae". (Sultana 1988:p 56 - 57).*

This suggests that the entire structure of schools supports *Level 1*, not only for curriculum, delivery, etc, but in terms of the entirety of values and beliefs held in society as to the importance of certain jobs and the role of individual achievement. The school habitus reinforces the idea that students must strive for individual attainment and individual success, measured by career status, in society. Maori are immediately excluded from success by the stronger significance Maori place on contribution to the larger community unit, as a measure of success. It is when they discover that the wider habitus; of society does not support this idea, that they discover they are truly 'second - class' citizens. On this basis also, Maori pupils are likely, as *Level 2* describes, to make the wrong option choices. Maori students are therefore not acknowledging the criteria of success; individualism in a competitive economy (*Level 3*).

According to Sultana (1988:p 57) there is an 'ethnic-consciousness' which unites Maori students together. He parallels this situation to 'class-consciousness', in the absence of class-consciousness in New Zealand that can not be articulated in the same way by Pakeha working class students. However if we look at Maori-consciousness as constituting class-consciousness in the sense that the only way Maori can reach the middle to upper class realm is to assimilate Pakeha ideas and ideology (or habitus in the words of Bourdieu), then we are really talking about ethnic distinctions as a method of delineating a lower class according to ethnic difference - and in a sense a simpler way of maintaining Maori as an 'under-class' given that it is easier for them to be excluded from the dominant

white habitus in terms of 'success'. For Harker (1985:p 67) it is therefore important to ask two further questions regarding education in New Zealand;

1. *what is the nature of the way knowledge is transmitted (pedagogy), and;*
2. *how does the system test the success (evaluation) of the transmission.*

These questions must be asked in addition to curriculum transmission issues, and that of the ideological conception of schools. In terms of Maori education, we must ask;

1. *What do we know of Maori knowledge codes?*
2. *In what ways do Maori knowledge codes differ from the code that form the basis of our present curriculum?*
3. *What are the educational implications of such differences, and can a school be bi-cultural or multicultural if it only makes available alternative 'contents' - what about pedagogy and evaluation?*

It must be noted that in evaluation we are talking about broader issues than the mere marking and assessment of individual's work, we are speaking of the entire framework of 'Europeanisation', industrialisation that forms the justification of all activities; educational and otherwise in our society. As long as the measure of success is along Pakeha terms then the problem of Maori attainment according to society's criteria of evaluation, remains contentious. The issue also reaches far wider than simply introducing a 'Maori-orientation' to the curriculum as past curriculum reforms have attempted to do. It is according to Harker's (1985:p 66) *Level 4* and *Level 5*, that we must address the problem of Maori attainment, while aiming to realise the rhetoric of the **New Zealand Curriculum Framework** (1993:p 7); that;

*"the school curriculum will encourage students to understand and respect the different cultures which make up New Zealand society. it will ensure that the experiences, cultural traditions, histories and languages of all New Zealanders are recognised and valued" (my emphasis).*

The key issue becomes one of the extent to which Maori culture is valued; schools reflecting the wider valuing of Maori culture in society. Why is it that Maori are receiving the messages that they are doomed to failure, from the education system? How does this encoding of the dominant habitus work against Maori in the course of normal curriculum studies in schools? How can one view the curriculum as disadvantaging a particular culture, when surely the moral values of New Zealand society are universally acceptable human values in our society, as are the industrial workings of the wider society? In order to address these issues we must look closer at the content of the curriculum, in the case of this research as it pertains to Maori art. What messages are Maori receiving, in Secondary School, regarding the value of their culture or art in society and is this congenial to the success of Maori both as artists and members of New Zealand society? It is to the art curriculum that we must look for implications of the dominant school habitus for the Maori.

## **PART II: Culture implications: Art curriculum and delivery**

### **Maori art in society**

To begin our examination of the treatment of an aspect of Maori culture - art - in the school curriculum, we must first refresh our discussion on art in New Zealand society. Several exhibitions, in the European art context, the art gallery, have served to highlight the growing debates on Maori art in contemporary contexts. These include the following major exhibitions;

*Te Maori 1984 a major exhibition of artefacts tours America;*

*Karanga, Karanga 1986 exhibition of Maori women's art, traditional and modern, at Fisher Gallery, Pakuranga; Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre and Wellington City Art Gallery;*

*Te Maori/Te Hokinga Mai and Maori Art Today 1986 on the return of Te Maori from the US, exhibited with Maori Art Today at 4 main centres in New Zealand;*

*Taonga Maori 1989 curated by National museum in conjunction with the Australian Museum and shown in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane;*

*Whatu Ao Rua 1989; Te Ao Maori 1989 Sergeant Gallery, Whanganui;*

*Mana Tiriti: The Art of Protest 1990 Wellington City Art Gallery, Fisher Gallery, Auckland;*

*Kohio ko Taikake Anake 1990 - 1991 National Art Gallery, Wellington;*

*Te Waka Toi 1992 Contemporary Maori Art toured in the US;*

*Headlands 1992 Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney; included Maori Art works;*

*Pu Manawa: A Celebration of Whatu, Taniko and Raranga 1993 Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, and toured to Waikato and Taranaki.*

These exhibitions in particular have served to bring in to question the status and appreciation afforded to Maori visual arts in New Zealand wider society, issues that have progressively arisen include;

1. *That aspects of Maori art of old should have to be elevated to an international stage to gain recognition in its home New Zealand. That historical pieces of maori culture of old should have to be elevated to the status of 'fine art' in Art Galleries before it is afforded recognition as Art. Thus it becomes subjected to the "dogmatic institutionalisation of Western aestheticism" (Jahnke 1991:p 20 on **Te Maori 1984** see **Chapter 1**).*

2. *That Maori women's art should be seen as having value, in the traditional sense, but also especially in contemporary contexts - an omission from the Te Maori exhibition. (Amy Brown Art New Zealand 45 1987/ 88:p 52 on Karanga, Karanga 1986).*
3. *That Maori art should be afforded a continuity between the traditional and the contemporary. That the Art Galleries make no attempt to demonstrate continuities but reinforce the separation of art from culture, and European ideas of what constitutes both categories. (Rangihiroa Panoho Art New Zealand 45 1987/ 88:p 63 - 67 and Amy Brown:p 52 - 55 on Te Maori /Te Hokinga Mai and Maori Art Today 1986).*
4. *That traditional Maori artefacts warrant Museum viewing as relics of an old culture according to Western conceptions of what constitutes art rather than culture. (Rod Burke Art New Zealand 58 1991:p 61 on Taonga Maori 1989)*
5. *That the "depth and richness of Maori society, the truths and relationships with the people and the land" be expressed in context as a continuity of old and an adaptation to the forces of new.*  
(Ngapine Tamihana Te Ao Art New Zealand 52 1989:p 56 - 58 and Derek Schultz:p 58 - 61 on *Whatu Ao Rua; Te Ao Maori 1989*).
6. *That co-operative effort and real processes of Maori consultation are integral to establishing what is Maori art (according to Maori definitions) in terms of the partnership defined under the Treaty of Waitangi (Irihapeti Ramsden 'Overview' in Mana Tiriti: The Art of Protest and Partnership 1991:p 9 - 10 on Mana Tiriti: The Art of Protest 1990).*
7. *Reiterating the issues of surrounding "European distinctions between fine arts on the one side and artefacts or craft on the other, and between the 'high' European culture and items of 'ethnological' or folk interest". That Maori art should be subjected to Pakeha contexts for interpretation as art; the "pakeha marae" rather than Maori contexts. (Rod Burke Art New Zealand 58 1991:p 61 - 63, 99 on Kohio ko Taikake Anake 1990 - 1991).*

8. *That traditional art gallery contexts could be congenial to the expression of contemporary Maori arts by paying expression to the traditional marae setting and the protocols of Maori people, the cultural comfort being such "that immediately our people entered the area that held the exhibition, it naturally became their marae" (Cliff Whiting in **Taiarotia** 1994:p 7 - 10 on **Te Waka Toi** 1992).*
9. *That Maori express a sensitivity to the appropriation of their cultural forms in contemporary art works strikes an equally sensitive chord with art critics, used to having the monopoly on the determination of what is acceptable and what isn't in the art world. (Rangihiroa Panoho **Headlands** 1992:p 133 and Keith Stewart in **Quote, Unquote** July 1993:p 12 - 15 on **Headlands** 1992).*
10. *Reiterating the challenges for Art institutions to "place art and art making within a broader cultural context", especially the extension and incorporation of Maori weaving art forms as having a continuity from tradition to contemporary. (Jenny Harper 'Preface' in **Pu Manawa: A Celebration of Whatu, Raranga and Taniko** 1993:p 5 on **Pu Manawa: A Celebration of Whatu, Raranga and Taniko** 1993).*

These issues filter down to the education system if we are to accept that schools have a role to play as agents of social change - accepting the **New Zealand Curriculum Framework 1993** challenge that it;

*"acknowledge also the value of the Treaty of Waitangi, and of New Zealand's bicultural identity and multicultural society".*

### **Relationship between Maori art and culture**

Although the details are not something that I wish to discuss here in depth, as I do so further on with particular aspects of Maori art, we must establish that there does exist a fundamental anthropological difference in Maori conception of the

world as a culturally cohesive group - 'Maori'. Touched on in **Chapter 1** was the idea that Maori art can not be sealed off in a domain of its own, separate from Maori culture. In this sense we are speaking about art as being integrally tied to every aspect of Maori habitus; Maori art embracing Walder's (1986:p 5) definition 1 as;

*"the total network of human activities and value systems in a given society"*

That is not to say that there does not exist a 'Pakeha' or non-Maori culture and an awareness of being a cohesive group along these lines, but the stress is on the different conception of what is important as culture that is determined by which group holds the power in society. (see **Chapter 1**; Burtonwood 1986:p 1 - 2). As Beatson and Cox (1982:p 353) point out; culture is life and art - culture encompassing the whole way of life of a society - with art not constituting its own domain separated as the "highest achievement" such as modern art definitions determine. The point of departure is that the dominant European society determines what is to constitute art, and rules out that which is merely considered Maori 'culture'. The debates ensuing over the major exhibitions involving Maori art mentioned above, highlight the conflict Maori feel with the prevailing definitions of their cultural products - art - in present day New Zealand society.

In the context of Bourdieu's theory, not only would Maori definitions of art within their own culture conflict with the dominant Pakeha habitus which delineates art as;

*"the best artistic and intellectual products and activities in a given society"*  
(Walder 1986:p 5)

but Maori are relegated to 'second-class' citizens if they insist on their own art definitions while not recognising the criteria of 'success' in society and school, and

furthermore should they choose to recognise Pakeha criteria of success it is likely that the outcome will be lesser due to the great effort required to gain that which is 'given to the cultivated classes' (Bourdieu 1974:p 34).

How can the major differences in the conception of art between cultures best be explained? The roots of course are in the very development in New Zealand of very distinct cultures side by side, whereby one maintained the power of final determination of the rules of society. New Zealand became tied up in the 'mass culture' revolution as it absorbed the European imported values of industrialism and the specialisation of work functions. (Zolberg 1982:p 31). Art was therefore explicitly separated out from the utilitarian or 'cultural' foundations of its production in order to create a 'world of value' in which to attach value to art objects beyond their utilitarian function - in other words to treat them as aesthetic products with little utilitarian value yet subject to monetary rewards. (Beatson and Cox 1982:p 353; Clifford 1988:p 221).

Maori art products developed in their own manner, primarily as utilitarian products that served a function, and while not primarily aesthetic (see Neich 1988) can be perceived as having an aesthetic element in their communicative and utilitarian aspects. Judged as they stand on their own, there is no doubt that they are a source of aesthetic pleasure and are to be admired for their workmanship. Judged as they are by eurocentric art definitions, traditional Maori art forms anyway become merely cultural artefacts not worthy of art definitions. (Price 1989:p 18).

For Maori art and life, or culture, are inextricably intertwined. Art does not exist without the physical, spiritual and cultural dimensions - it does not exist as merely a 'piece to be admired' and can not be analysed alone according to its adherence to historical formulae of convention. (Adsett et al. 1992:p 4) Maori are crying for the contextualisation of both their traditional and contemporary arts within all of its dimensions, and for the value of its own history as well as value

in all the modern contexts of New Zealand art. Maori are demanding that their art be judged as more than aesthetic objects to be compared according to the European aesthetic. It is this dimension that is dealt with in the subsequent research in to Maori art in secondary schools.

The implication, although not for particular in-depth treatment within the scope of this research, is that the treatment of Maori art in society and schools, is intimately connected with the continued development of Maori culture in New Zealand society. Given that art is integrally intertwined with Maori culture, and considering Bourdieu's theory of the persuasion of a dominant habitus in society; Maori art may be considered yet another form in which the Maori are being undermined in New Zealand society. Their cultural definitions of themselves, their spirituality, and continuity as a 'proud culture' rests on the valuing of their cultural products. Already situated in language debates surrounding the use of Te Reo Maori (Maori language) in schools is the assertion that prevailing systems, of education and otherwise, have failed to enhance Maori development at any rapid rate - as demonstrated by Maori secondary school attainment statistics. (see **Figure 2.1** and **Figure 2.2**).

Language is held to establish the bond between individuals and between individuals and groups, which makes group life possible - without it group life is inconceivable. (Garcia and Banks 1988:p 261). Language serves at least three functions according to Garcia and Banks (1988:p 261);

1. *intergroup communications;*
2. *transmission of the group's ethnicity and culture; and*
3. *the systematic recording of the group's ethnicity, culture, and history, which serve to give a group identity.*

A groups language provides the group with an organised medium of communication, providing a medium for transmitting group values and serves as a 'time - binding' agent; tying the past with the present - as a precursor to the groups existence. (Garcia and Banks 1988:p 262).

In a very similar way, art constitutes a language - albeit a visual language, and therein lies the communicative aspect of Maori art (see Neich 1988). Art also serves the three functions of language distinguished above, and therefore an understanding and appreciation of a group's art are part of the group's existence - 'knowing how the past percolates into the present'. Just as rejection of an individual's language is tantamount to cultural rejection, so too is the rejection of their art. (Garcia and Banks 1988:p 269). This particularly applies to Maori society where utilitarian life - the spiritual and cultural values of Maori society - is so closely linked with their art. In fact just as 'linguistic imperialism';

*"the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effect and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups on the basis of language"*

exist, so too does 'artistic imperialism'. (Cummins and Skutnabb - Kangas 1988:p 339). One of the main implications of such a relationship for Maori in society in terms of their art and culture, in the view of Bourdieu's theory, is;

*Majority ethnocentrism and negative minority identity, the developments of negative self-concepts and negative Maori self-esteem. The dominated group is meant to feel inferior and guilty for possessing such traits for which they have to suffer - taking 'internal' responsibility for their disadvantaged position. (adapted from Liebkind 1989:p 49 - 50).*

The issue of changing negative ideas naturally associated with Maori art when comparing it with eurocentric art norms involves more than simply 'letting them do it'. We are challenging the very basis of society and asking that Maori art ideas be valued as a fundamental part of our society - a problematic situation as it challenges the very power relations of New Zealand society itself. It challenges schools not only to provide an education in Maori art for Maori students, but requires non-Maori students to critically question their own art ideas which predominate in society - which they have historically held and maintained as correct.

### Maori art in the secondary school art curriculum

The secondary curriculum as it pertains to art studies, is presently under review by the Ministry of Education. Nevertheless, three key documents give some clue as to the future directions of secondary school art education;

1. *Art Education: Junior Classes to Form 7: Syllabus for Schools 1989*
2. *Art Education: Junior Classes to Form 7: Guidelines to the Syllabus 1991*
3. *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa): 1993*

as well as those documents not yet supplanted such as the School Certificate guidelines for art.

While the major implications of the art curriculum for Maori art are discussed as they relate to aspects of this research in further chapters, there are a few generalisations which need to be made on the outset, which form the hypothesis of this research;

1. *Art in the secondary school has largely been monocultural in content, or at least largely dominated by prevailing European art concepts of what is acceptable art;*
2. *Art has largely been monocultural in delivery in that when the art of other cultures has been examined, this has been according to eurocentric norms and measures of art rather than according to criteria set by the particular culture in question;*
3. *The acceptance of a monocultural art norm in schools has been accentuated and perpetuated by art institutions in the wider society; art galleries, art schools, the media, Polytechnics, and other spheres of art influence - as schools enskill students to meet the demands of these institutions;*
4. *Within schools, the ethnic background, and educational training of teachers has helped to entrench a monocultural view of art;*
5. *The Art History curriculum at Form 6 and Form 7 level has played a considerable part in ensuring that European art history predominates, which naturally have repercussions for actual art practical studies in schools.*

My experiences as a teacher has largely contributed to this hypothesis, especially in noting general attitudes of students I have taught. Maori students tend to dissociate themselves from any 'successful' Maori and I frequently encountered Maori belittling their capabilities. One common remark from students alluded to me 'being different' because I had achieved the status of teacher and therefore such status was not able to be attained by the 'regular' Maori. As Careers adviser I found Maori students associated themselves with the bottom rung of the ladder despite an academic ability that indicated that they were capable of attaining professional status.

I propose that unless there are subsequent changes at all levels of society, it is unlikely that any real change to the conception of Maori art or culture will occur - no matter what the purported aims of an art syllabus. What this research aims to explore in the light of the **New Zealand Curriculum Framework** and the **Art Education Syllabus**, is the extent to which there is a 'fit' between what is happening to Maori art in schools and educational aims - given that education is one institution that is held to at least provide some impetus for changing values held in society.

The research looks at how successful Maori art implementation has been in one particular school in the light of specific Maori art knowledge, judged to be important to Maori, attained by students of art. It is important to examine this in light of all students, as already mentioned, true valuing of Maori cultural aspects can not be attained without a fundamental shift in the ideological base of the dominant group in society.

The prevailing hypothesis this research works from is that;

*"Maori attainment and Maori cultural pride is being subverted by the inadequate treatment of Maori cultural art forms in New Zealand secondary schools, in the ideological delivery of an art curriculum which favours and perpetuates the non-Maori or European habitus of school and the wider society, and maintains non-European 'success' in art spheres and New Zealand society".*

## CHAPTER 4

### RECOGNITION OF TRADITIONAL MAORI ART IN SCHOOLS

*"He toi whakairo*

*He mana tangata"*

*"Where there is artistic excellence*

*there is human dignity"*

#### **Introduction to the research project**

The main body of research that forms the basis for these and subsequent chapters I formulated from a 'Pupil Questionnaire' administered to students of two secondary schools in the East Coast/Tairāwhiti area. The first school constitutes the test group and the greater body of this research. I chose the school because I considered there to exist a 'typically balanced' situation in terms of what I wanted to achieve by this research. The test school was chosen for the following reasons;

1. *The school is Co - educational and therefore reflects a gender balance which we would expect to closely mirror the gender balance in the wider New Zealand society;*
2. *The school has a relatively proportionate balance of Maori and non-Maori students (approximately 52% to 48% respectively). I considered that as far as cultural equity goes, a cultural balance close to 50/50 should highlight any disparities there may exist between cultures in terms of success;*
3. *The population balance of the school closely matches that of the local Gisborne community, and therefore one would expect that the school would closely reflect the expectations and beliefs of that wider community.*

While Turanga-nui-a-kiwa (Gisborne) does not reflect the proportion of Maori to non-Maori in New Zealand society, this research rejects the notion that development of cultural recognition is based on population cultural proportions quantitatively. While this may appear to contradict the society chosen to be the field of study, it was hoped that by choosing a relatively even proportionate populate example (all things being even) the results would provide a closer reflection of whether all things are equitable in terms of outcomes.

All students surveyed in the test school took art as a curriculum subject. The research also chose to delineate qualitatively the number of years of secondary art schooling each student had undertaken rather than number of years secondary schooling per se. I compared the results between the two sexes (not necessarily to draw particular conclusions as to whether there occurred differences in the delivery of art education to particular sexes) to determine whether there existed a pattern of differing responses to Maori art education teaching according to sex.

Explanation also needs to be made regarding the choice of cultural categorisation; Maori, Pakeha and 'Other'. I did not make the choice to intend insult on those who do not identify themselves as 'Pakeha', but this was a category created for ease of analysis. The questionnaire asked participants to distinguish between Maori/Pakeha/Maori and Pakeha/Other and may have be criticised for insensitivity - none intended. In the final analysis Maori and Other were coined 'Other' and due to only two participants responding 'Other', their results were left out of the final 92, again for ease of analysis. (It must be noted that there were two further respondents who only answered the questions pertaining to **Chapter 4; Part 1**. They were included in this section, but left out of all other sections based on the pupil questionnaire).

It was never the intention of the research project to provide a control group for the analysis, probably a lack of foresight on my part. However, the second school

population surveyed provided a control of some nature. I chose the school because I happened to be teaching there at the time, but also because I saw the opportunity to compare the first school with another that reflected a unique situation. The student population of the second secondary school had not had art education as it had not been included formally in the curriculum for 6 years.

The school, although not in the Turanga region, is situated in the broader East Coast rural region. It has a 100% Maori roll and a cultural composition that creates a unique cultural awareness that permeates the entire school life. Formal Maori language studies are compulsory for all students at all levels of the school, and other Maori cultural aspects are included in music. Indeed the entire fabric of all that is undertaken at the school encompasses Maori culture. This also reflects the strong 'active' nature of the wider East Coast community, in aspects of Maori culture that have survived and adapted to the changing nature of New Zealand society as a whole.

The second school I felt provided for a good comparison of what Maori art knowledge appears to be generated through immersion in a total Maori context in the absence of formal art curriculum studies. Although the entire fabric of the rural society (in which the second school was situated) provides for a rich environment of Maori culture, the object of comparison was not merely the with or without art curriculum studies in schools. It was more to discover the potentialities of Maori art knowledge from other Sources and speculate as to the role that art education could play in enriching Maori art knowledge.

It was hoped that some conclusions could be drawn in terms of the adequacy or inadequacy of the implementation of the art curriculum as it pertains to Maori art, as determined by comparing the results of the 'control' school with the test school. In some ways I saw the potential for the second school to provide a control as to the maximum contribution, in modern society, other aspects of education both

within and outside a school, could add to Maori art knowledge in the absence of formal school acknowledgment of this under 'art' studies.

The rural nature of the second school, I hoped, would also provide some sort of comparison with the urban school and the community chosen for the main body of the research. Only students that had spent four to five years at secondary school were chosen from this second group, in order to compare the maximum Maori cultural knowledge the pupils would have obtained at school.

A fault in the research implementation could be the small number of students, 10 in all, chosen to survey at the second school. The proportion was relative to the school size, but made it difficult to determine the accuracy of results. It was hoped however, that some comparison could be drawn despite this small number. I believe this second group of students actually provides a control situation because it at least provides a basis for comparison and discussion. Furthermore it brings in to question the importance we place on Maori art education and art education in general - in schools.

The research findings were analysed in three parts, this chapter providing the first;

1. *Recognition of Traditional Maori Art in Schools; and*
2. *Maori Art in Schools: Context and Continuity; finally,*
3. *Contemporary Maori Art:*

## PART I: Elements of Maori drawing: The koru

### Choosing the koru

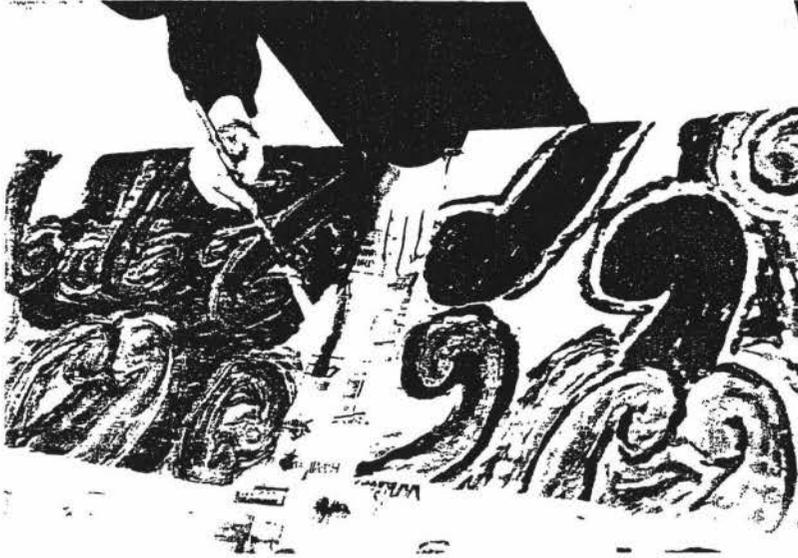
The information that provided the data for the results presented in the first part of this chapter, was the student responses to the simple instruction to 'draw a **koru**

pattern in the space below'. The koru refers to the basic element of what is known as the 'kowhaiwhai arts' (or traditional painted arts) also referred to as 'whakairo tuhituhi'. It has formed a strong basis of exploration in to the traditional painted arts of the Maori over the years. Together with the traditional mixed-media approaches of the Maori in the past (in which whakairo (carving) and tukutuku (latticework) combined in harmony in the meeting house), present day artists and art educationalists have made approaches to recognising and using this traditional painted form.

In 1976, a series of articles written by Frank Davis for the Department of Education led the way for the placement and recognition of contemporary Maori art forms within the context of Maori culture. (Jahnke 1991:p 20; see Davis 1976:1 - 10). Since then, the school system has been seen to increasingly emphasise exploration of traditional Maori art forms through the kowhaiwhai arts, especially at the primary school level. This can be seen to be a response to, an extent, the renaissance in the use of Maori symbolism and these kowhaiwhai forms by contemporary Maori artists. As painted art has been a strong medium given exposure in the Art galleries, so the traditional form of kowhaiwhai painting has lent itself well to adoption in contemporary art contexts. There can be seen to be an increase in publications for schools that give guidelines to the implementation of kowhaiwhai arts studies. The most recent is **'Kowhaiwhai Arts' 1992** by Sandy Adsett, Chris Graham and Rob McGregor. This book particularly, emphasises a more formal approach to the kowhaiwhai arts. In primary schools the emphasis has been on exploring kowhaiwhai arts through expressive painting, entailing a variety of 'loose' approaches to an appreciation of the koru form. The main concern has been a familiarity with the forms through expressive painting using a full colour palette. Emphasis is also given to basic concepts of balance, symmetry, and filling the entire space with pattern, with much freedom of spontaneous association and little concern for formality accuracy or control.

### Kowhaiwhai arts in the primary school

Adding small amounts of black or white to the colours chosen gives a variety of tones.



All the spaces between adjoining KORU are filled, developing a suitable colour weighting for balance.



Young children seem to do this quite naturally.

EXAMPLE OF PROPOSED KORU TREATMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOL

**Figure 3.1**

The examples shown in **Figure 3.1** demonstrate how one relatively recent publication for schools approaches the subject. Free expression, as primary school tends to emphasise, may be a warranted approach at this level. It is not within the scope of this research to explore the relative success of this approach in early childhood learning. What I want to establish is whether the art curriculum in secondary schools is actually fostering a recognition and knowledge of the traditional koru form and kowhaiwhai arts. My premise is that, at the level of secondary school, art should emphasise a basic knowledge. This should include not only the expressive potentialities of kowhaiwhai, but the rules of tradition that have constructed kowhaiwhai painting in the history of Maori art.

### **Kowhaiwhai arts in the secondary school syllabus**

In the recently circulated, revised **Guidelines to the Syllabus, Art Education: Junior Classes to Form 7** (1991:p 60) under the heading 'Making art works' is the suggestion that an introduction to Maori painting (whakawahi) be made through study of the Maori kowhaiwhai form. It suggests that discussions be generated through the use of slides, photographs and posters of existing kowhaiwhai patterns or even the singular koru shape. Stories, myths and legends describing how the shapes and forms of the landscape originated, are advocated as stimulus for the development of the kowhaiwhai forms in exploratory painting. The **Guidelines to the Syllabus** (1991:p 60) advocates that;

*"Students should be encouraged to become familiar with the traditional form and to explain the symbolic meanings of art works in any media. The design qualities of the koru pattern - the quality of the curve, positive or negative shape, the symmetry or asymmetry of design - could be studied at a more advanced level"*

We have some confirmation in the **Guidelines to the Syllabus** that the traditions and symbolic meanings of the kowhaiwhai form should be encouraged, and

possibly the design qualities of the koru form. Surely there is contradiction inherent in this statement, for kowhaiwhai traditions is as much about the historical 'rules of kowhaiwhai design' as being visually familiar with kowhaiwhai exemplars? Are we to believe that such things as the quality of the curve was not important to the discerning member of Maori society, yet an understanding of the straight line conception of a cross is? It seems that if pupils are to learn about kowhaiwhai arts a good start would be the traditional design rules, in order to build a stable foundation of kowhaiwhai arts, knowledge upon which experimentation can occur. This is not the only clue in the **Guidelines to the Syllabus** that schools should be concerned with modern appropriations of the kowhaiwhai forms rather than undue attention to the traditional, as the following words suggest;

*"An introduction to Maori painting could be (my emphasis) through study of the Maori art form 'kowhaiwhai'".*

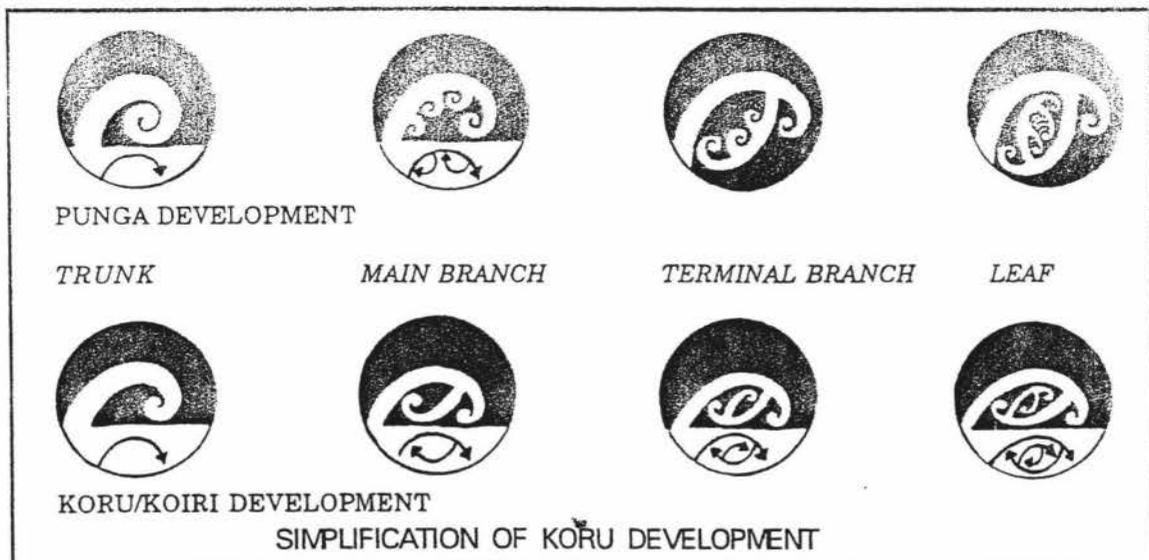
It is difficult to believe that, if we are to look at Maori paint traditions, we can avoid beginning with the kowhaiwhai. Unless of course we are starting from the eurocentric premise that Maori painting is in fact the contemporary painted works we see on canvas in art galleries, and we work backwards to discover whether the Maori had a paint tradition, and how this developed in to the context of European traditions we see today. Warranted, the **Guidelines to the Syllabus** (1991:p 60) mentions the consideration of the meeting house context, and the relationship of kowhaiwhai to other meeting house art forms, but does little to suggest that kowhaiwhai arts on their own have developed to a sophisticated level as demonstrated by the contexts they appear in both within and (additionally and later) outside the meeting house context. The beginning should be clear; kowhaiwhai forms, with their own tradition, historically developed into European paint contexts, just as such as tukutuku (latticework) developed in to European paint contexts. However, they have their own traditions as art forms and in order

to understand the contemporary contexts of the work of people such as Sandy Adsett (see **Figure 3.7**) it is **mandatory** to look at kowhaiwhai traditions.

### The traditions of kowhaiwhai art

The koru, or pitau, which provides the basis of many kowhaiwhai designs, is held to be inspired by the young shoot of the fern plant - 'pitau'. Another suggestion places the koru pattern as being inspired by the growth patterns of the tendrils of the gourd plant (Jahnke 1991:p 2) origins of the koru form can be related back perhaps even further to the rocks and walls of limestone caves, drawings of the Maori of which can be found dating back some 500 years, demonstrating the earliest examples of painted and drawn curvilinear motifs. These forms according to Adsett et al. (1992:p 3), representing animals, fish, birds, human figures and mythical creatures - drawn using charcoal and red ochre - include geometrical and curvilinear designs, chevrons, spirals and concentric curved lines. The koru (or pitau) appears in a linear form as a by-product of combined negative/positive figurative forms. (Jahnke 3 1992:p 30). **Figure 3.2** shows the koru development.

#### Koru Development showing likeness to the young shoot of the fern plant

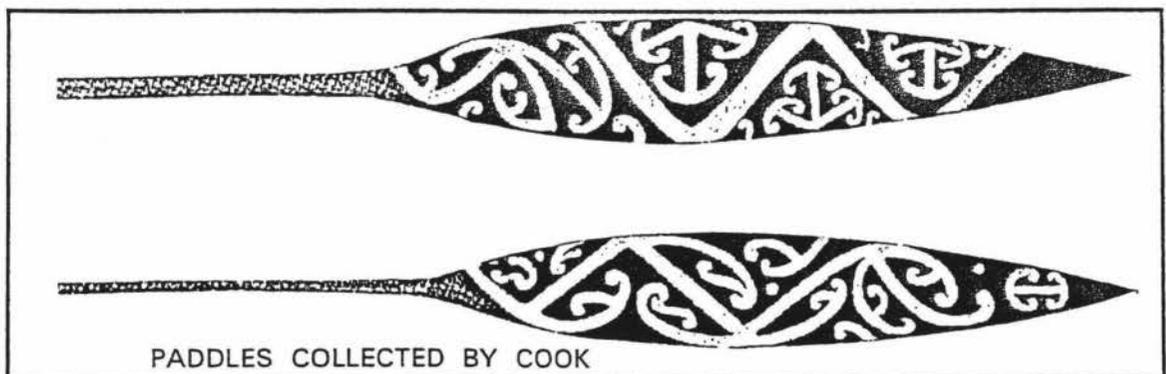


**Figure 3.2** (Jahnke 1991:p 2)

Maori applied this curvilinear design to a variety of objects; canoe paddles, housing structures and the bow of war canoes. Canoe paddles of the Poverty Bay area were collected on Cook's voyages, and provide a clue to the types of designs that existed before European contact - at least in a regionally defined area. Generalisations can only be made, according to Jahnke (3 1992:p 30) as to the status of kowhaiwhai art as a whole due to only a few localised examples being available. What is noted is that paddles are usually painted in a single colour, red, which contrasts against the natural wood colour.

The 'painted scroll ornamentation' of kowhaiwhai is created with a paint mixture made from either charcoal or ground clay mixed with oil. On the paddles are examples of both symmetrical and asymmetrically groupings of painted forms, the koru being the most distinctive in negative form. Shown in **Figure 3.3** are two examples of canoe paddles with kowhaiwhai patterning on one side.

**Drawings of pre - European canoe paddles collected by Captain Cook**



**Figure 3.3** (Adsett et al. 1992:p 3)

Evidence of the use of kowhaiwhai on house or architectural forms during the early period in New Zealand, relies upon the observation made by Anderson in 1777;

*"The best I ever saw was about thirty feet long, fifteen broad and six high, built exactly in the manner of one of our country barns. The inside was both strongly and regularly made of supporters at the sides, alternately large and small, well fastened with wits and painted red and black". (Beaglehole 1967:p 810 - 811).*

A rather ambiguous interpretation can be made between the heke (rafters with kowhaiwhai art) or the poupou (side poles with whakairo carving, which may have been painted) in this description. The suggestion has been that this factor, along with the absence of any substantive descriptions of kowhaiwhai painting associated with housing forms, points to the probable evolution in kowhaiwhai from paddles to the architectural or housing forms. (Jahnke 3 1992:p 31) The premise that kowhaiwhai forms probably followed a logical sequence from paddles to house forms, seems acceptable to Jahnke (1991:p 21), along with early evidence which suggests that a two - colour system preceded the commonly accepted three-colour system which increasingly came to appear on and in architectural structures.

The heke, or rafters with kowhaiwhai art in evidence from early period houses include 'Te-Hau-Ki-Turanga' built in 1845, the original Manutuke Church of 1849 - 1863, a maihi (or bargeboard) design from the front of 'Te-Poho-O-Rawiri' recorded in Hamilton (1897), and the heke of Waiherehere at Wanganui possibly constructed in 1845. Besides these early houses, it is noted that we must rely on the impressions and records of European artists like Earle and Angus to gain information on stylistic features evident in kowhaiwhai of the 1760 to 1860 period. (Jahnke 3 1991:p 20). However, evolution is clearly in evidence which sees kowhaiwhai arts being in existence, at least in some districts, before European contact.

Roger Neich (1986) identifies three distinctive stylistic developments of the Poverty Bay, Tainui and Tuwharetoa tribal areas, featuring complex ranges of

designs using a variety of kowhaiwhai patterns including the koru. Observations are made on the differences in compositional forms, colour alteration, treatment of negative areas and treatment of symmetry. Even the use of straight lines which Hamilton (1897) indicates is a post - contact development, can be pinpointed to the regionally-specific paddles that Cook collected on his early voyages. Phillipps (1960:p 7 - 8) even attempts to show that the koru of kowhaiwhai designs was the starting point for the 'S' shaped spiral of surface patterning on carved wooden forms, reflecting the extent of the possibilities of development from the basic koru. Clearly Maori kowhaiwhai art has strong origins and development from the koru, a distinctive and complex development that could be described as a historical artistic stylistic tradition.

### **The importance of traditional context**

In the 1860s to 1920s the appearance of wharehau (houses) was flourishing, and Maori artists were crossing tribal boundaries to construct houses in other regions. Maori kowhaiwhai took on a new complexity, reflecting the exportation or importation of kowhaiwhai styles in and out of regions, and experimentation and extension of the forms. Despite the adaptations, broad regional characteristics are still distinguishable. (Jahnke 1991:p 21 - 22). As well as stylistic developments, kowhaiwhai must be realised for its strong cultural significance, also adapted regionally, as an extension of the ceremonial and spiritual life of the Maori. According to Adsett (et al. 1992:p 4);

*"The mauri and mana of the marae are embodied in the carved and painted buildings associated with it. There should be a growing awareness of how shapes and forms have been used traditionally and their different values and meanings".*

The entire life principle and the power of the Maori meeting - ground are tied up and expressed in the art of the buildings and appreciation should go beyond a simple recognition of the art forms. In Maori art forms, symbolism is of

paramount importance as the works have spiritual and cultural significance linked usually to the ancestral world of the Maori. Kowhaiwhai art is a process of enacting out meaning of the Maori world, the art form presenting a manifestation of the entire cultural fabric of Maori society. It is this entire cultural fabric we must strive to understand when we examine Maori art.

Thus for the kowhaiwhai arts spiritual and cultural significance is no less important, especially as the painted beginnings of kowhaiwhai and the koru appear to relate back to the earliest found evidence of the art of the Maori people. The kowhaiwhai patterns are usually found on the heke or rafters of the wharenui, connecting the tahuhu (ridgepole) to the ancestral poupou (side posts). As well as their structural function, the heke exist symbolically as the ancestors' ribs, the tahuhu being the backbone, and other parts of the wharenui representing other features of the ancestor.

Kowhaiwhai art may also be found on the tahuhu which records the genealogy of the iwi (tribe) or hapu (sub-tribe) who identify with the particular wharenui. The number of pattern transformations or repetitions of the kowhaiwhai groups (not necessarily just koru forms but other adaptations and patterns) reveal the number of generations embodied in the house. The centre of the kowhaiwhai on the tahuhu is usually continuous; a curving line from which pattern groups of koru usually branch off. This line, shown in **Figure 3.4**, is known as the manawa or life-line of the iwi (tribe) or hapu (sub-tribe). (Jahnke 1991:p 5 - 6). Even the chosen colours are symbolic; red and black colours predominating in the patterns, as representative of prosperity and adversity respectively. In the porch outside the front of the wharenui, the tahuhu is sometimes found with the primeval parent figures of Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatuanuku (Earth mother). One of the two main support posts for the ridgepole just inside the front wall, the poutahu, symbolises the forest God and life-giver; Tanemahuta.

Partial view of the tahuhu (ridgepole) showing the manawa line

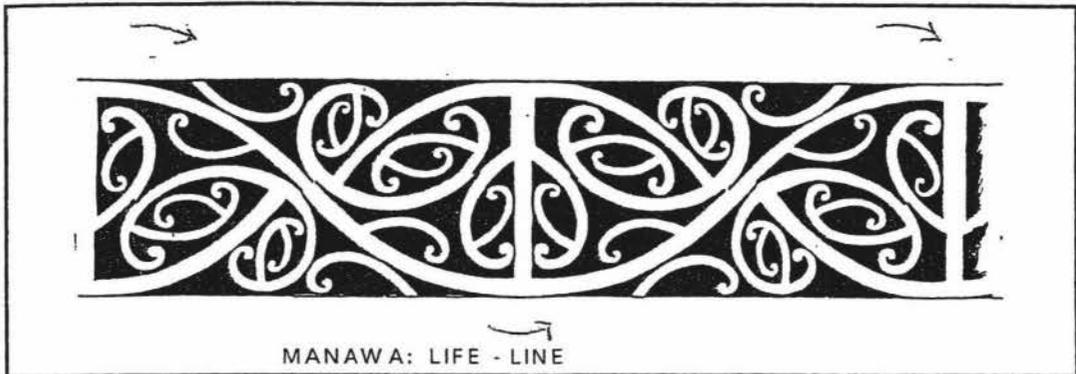


Figure 3.4 (Jahnke 1991:p 5)

On the opposite wall is the poutuarongo, which symbolises Hinenui-te-Po, the goddess of death. These posts allude to the mythological origins of the Maori, the beginning of all genealogical relationships for the Maori, and the images that usually adorn these posts are ancestors on the main genealogical line of the tribal members of the house. From the koruru (ancestral gable mask), maihi (bargeboards symbolising the arms of the ancestor) to the raparapa (bargeboard ends which allude to the ancestors' fingers), the house welcomes the guests to share and partake in the lineage of the ancestors.

The patterns themselves are much more expansive than the simple koru form. Rotations, cyclic variations, and complicated groupings show a complexity of development in kowhaiwhai art. Structures have names which William Colenso (1892:p 460) described as inherently 'symbolic';

*"the names derived from real or fancied resemblances - correlations as it were of the Maori mind. You should not expect the Maori name and its imitation to be exactly correct, it is the main outline as it were of the idea in the old Maori mind".*

Inside the whare whakairo (meeting house) showing kowhaiwhai areas

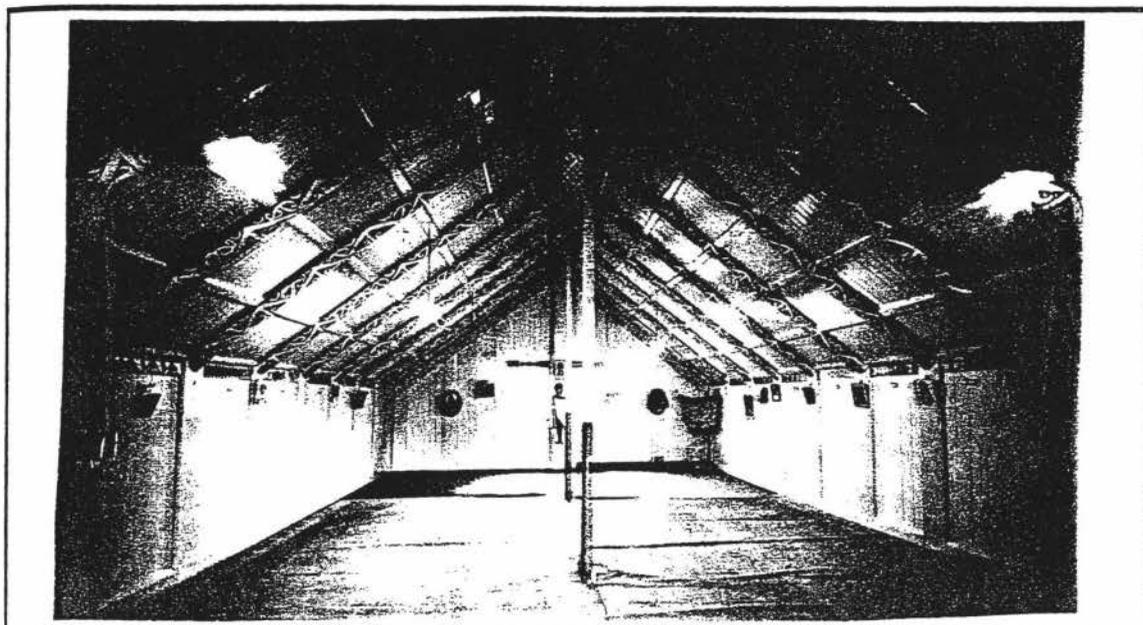


Figure 3.5 (Ministry of Education 1991:p 60)

Jahnke (3 1992:p 32) warns that names can be regional and interpretation may be the artist's perception of an analogy with a natural form after the actual kowhaiwhai patterns are completed. Regardless, he adds, there is a 'symbolic and physical association between natural form and artistic resemblance'.

*"I haere ki hea te kawai a te hue? Takina au kawai kia mohiotia ai au tupuna".*  
(Jahnke 1991:p 21 - 22).

As described in the saying there is a special symbolic relationship between the interconnected tendrils of the gourd plant and the whakapapa (family tree) or genealogy, which may go some way to explaining the greater symbolic relationship between the kowhaiwhai art and its ancestral connection.

### Kowhaiwhai continuity and evolution

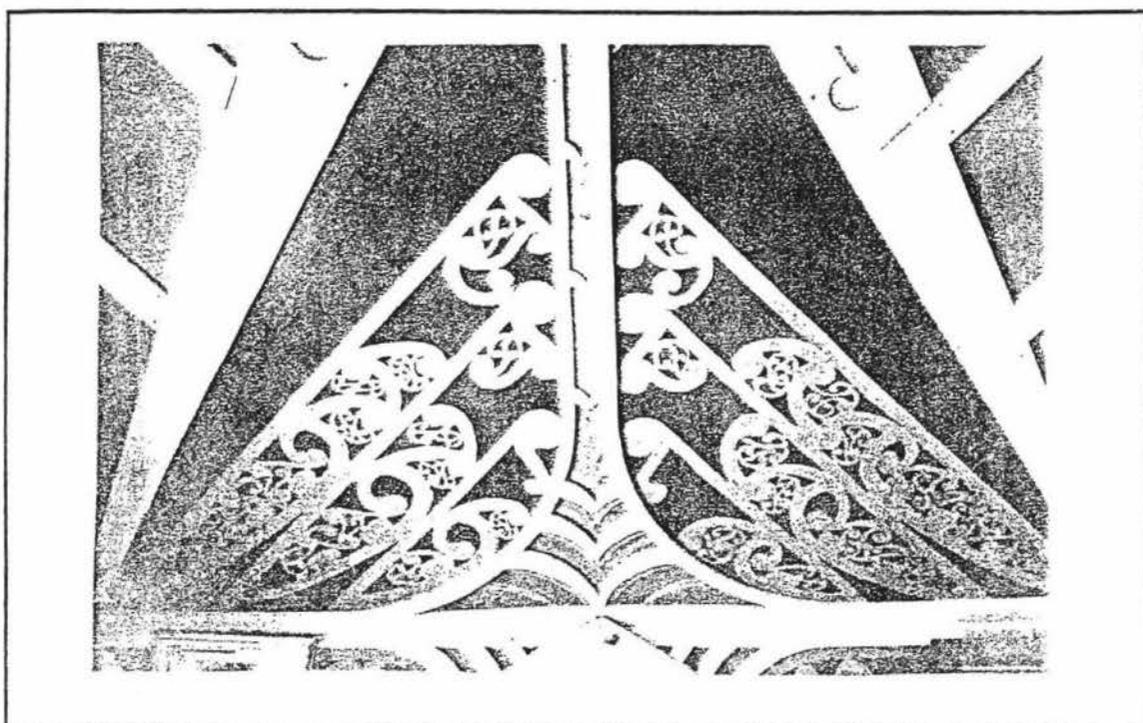
The kowhaiwhai art form cannot be denied a history, an evolutionary adaptation to change, nor a continuity between past, and what may be seen as an adaptation to modern society as such examples that may adorn walls in non-traditional contexts. Styles have changed, as has innovation in patterns. What may be looked upon as the 'established traditional boundaries' of the kowhaiwhai art form, are being challenged and adapted all the time, but they must be viewed in the context of Maori painting development rather than European painting development. Naturalistic elements were progressively added from 1880 to 1920, literalized versions of patterns appearing in what were traditionally carved areas, and the incorporation of painted patterns which allude to other art forms such as the weaving arts. (Jahnke 1991:p 21 - 22). While adaptation may alter the rhythms, the styles of kowhaiwhai designs, convention and aesthetic are still very evident in kowhaiwhai forms.

Contemporary Maori (and non-Maori) artists are demonstrating this continuity of kowhaiwhai forms, in the traditional context of the meeting house and the non-traditional contexts of alternative public access places such as exhibitions and public buildings. Innovative exploration inside the wharenuī, as initiated by Te Kootis' explorations in the 1880s, is reaching new heights and reaching beyond the bounds of formal restrictions. Cliff Whiting, Paratene Matchitt, Sandy Adsett and Robert Jahnke, to name a few, have all explored the bounds of the wharenuī (meeting house) kowhaiwhai art since the 1970s. As well as these explorations in the wharenuī, many of these artists have transcended the bounds while still holding true to the values and concepts of tradition.

**Figure 3.6** shows the innovative work of Robert Jahnke in an East Coast wharenuī which combines the art forms of the traditional wharenuī in interesting and vibrant ways. Although he has used a more diverse colour palette and a combination of designs which reflect Western ideas and values as well, the art

tradition is firmly rooted in traditional Maori art concepts; the kowhaiwhai adhering to symmetry, balance, positive and negative renditions, and cultural and symbolic elements. Jahnke's work shows just how important traditional Maori art knowledge is, for continued kowhaiwhai development in the modern day.

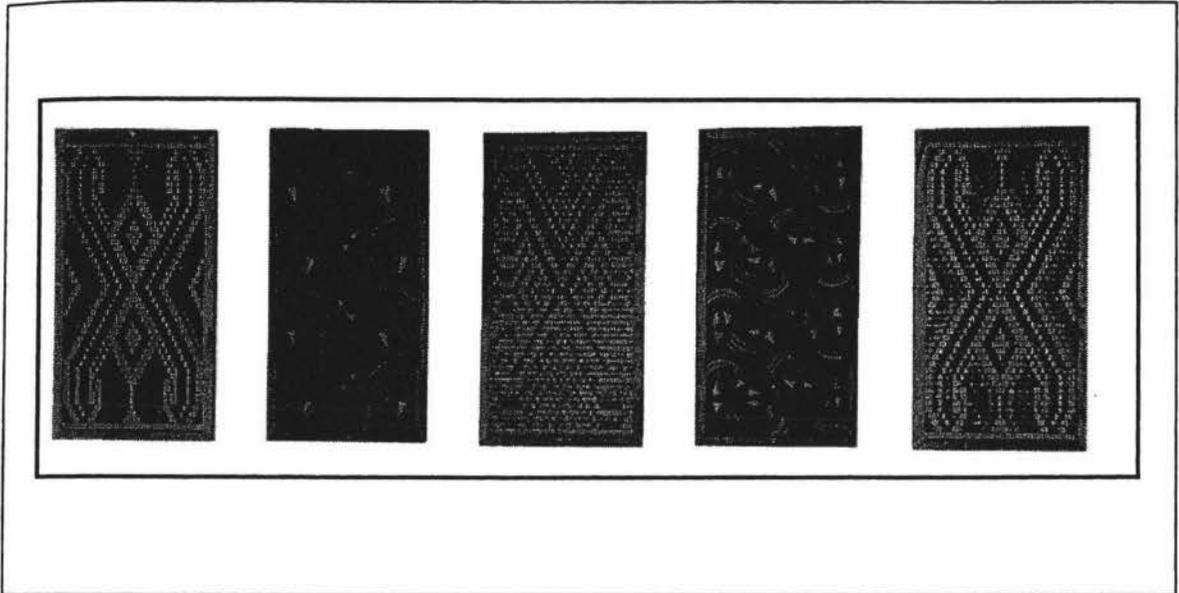
**Detail of the side post (poupou) inside a meeting house at Waipiro Bay,  
East Coast - carved and painted by Robert Jahnke 1993**



**Figure 3.6**

Sandy Adsett is one contemporary artist who has explored the possibilities of kowhaiwhai to almost exhaustible lengths, exploring and developing its balance, colour, form and style to greater and greater limits in his painting. An example of one way Sandy has extended the kowhaiwhai context is demonstrated in this mixed - media mural work shown in **Figure 3.7**.

**Mural for foyer of Gisborne Public Hospital - by Sandy Adsett and members  
of the local branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League**



**Figure 3.7**

This reproduction shows a piece which Sandy Adsett (in an interview 1992) describes as 'purely aesthetic', that hangs in the foyer of Tairawhiti Hospital, Gisborne. It incorporates tukutuku weaving with paint media, was designed by Sandy and executed in cooperation with the help of women from the local branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League. It also shows a careful exploration of the colour, symmetry, rhythm and balance of kowhaiwhai forms and serves to make a statement about the balance of all art forms in the wharenuī, yet it hangs outside the traditional context and without traditional symbolic meaning.

Buck Nin, Joelene Douglas, Derek Lardelli, Robyn Kahukiwa and Selwyn Muru, have all used kowhaiwhai developments to support their own work at various times. In the illustrations of Paratene Matchitt, Cliff Whiting and Robyn Kahukiwa

we have seen the extension of kowhaiwhai units in their work, and artists like Cliff, Paratene and Fred Graham have extended kowhaiwhai to three-dimensional sculptural works. (Jahnke 3 1992:p 35). Indeed an abundance of these contemporary Maori artists have tribal affiliations to the Tairāwhiti/East Coast region, and all have a recognition of the traditions of kowhaiwhai arts, despite that some of their work may appear to little resemble the traditional forms.

•

To acknowledge the kowhaiwhai tradition is not to deny the Art form a continuity, and an existence in the modern context; a tradition. In the words of Fred Graham (Mataira 1984:p 58) of Ngāti Korōki tribal descent, while the traditional techniques have to be retained and maintained for the transmission of skills and symbolic meaning;

*"... there has always been a need for the positive emergence (my emphasis) of traditional patterns, within the reality of existing multicultural experience".*

In the words of Phillipps (1960:p 29), whom Graham ironically criticises for 'entrenching' Maori art in post-contact tradition (Mataira 1984:p 58), the importance of tradition is similarly expressed in answer to the question 'What of the future?' - the last page of his book entitled **Maori Rafter and Taniko designs (1943, 1945, 1960)**.

*"Out from the past there is bequeathed to us a heritage - an art of abiding beauty peculiarly our own - a system of design which once dwelt not on paper or parchment but in the mentality of a great people. It is for us today to see to it that in our national life all that is best in Maori art will be re - vivified to live again in a new and better age".*

The importance of tradition can not be sufficiently stressed, and in acknowledging the importance of the kowhaiwhai tradition it is to the most basic element; the

koru, that we turn to as the starting point of our analysis in to the 'Recognition of Traditional Maori Art in Schools'.

### **Recognition of the koru form**

I have established that the kowhaiwhai arts are being advocated, and hopefully taught in secondary schools. Given the importance of the koru beginnings, it is apparent that any study of the kowhaiwhai arts at an introductory level, should seek to emphasise the accuracy of the koru in addition to its recognition. This part of the research I designed to determine the emphasis given to the koru form, with the hope of discovering whether the kowhaiwhai arts are being given full credit in schools. Participants were asked to respond to the instruction to 'draw a koru'. The instruction was given with the hope of;

1. *discovering whether pupils could correctly identify the koru by name;*
2. *discerning whether pupils were being taught the first essential rule of drawing the koru, that balance and consistency of shape are important;*
3. *seeing if there appears to be a relationship between the number of years of art education the pupils have undertaken in the secondary school and correct identification of the koru form;*
4. *discovering whether there appears to be differences in koru recognition according to cultural identity or affiliation, and between sexes.*

The responses of the 92 pupil participants are tabulated (see **Table 3.1** below), arranged under four categories; 'no response', '0 recognition', '1 recognition' and '2 recognition'. The first category represents those pupils who did not respond to the instruction at all, and the second category represents those respondents whose drawing I judged as in no way resembling the koru form.

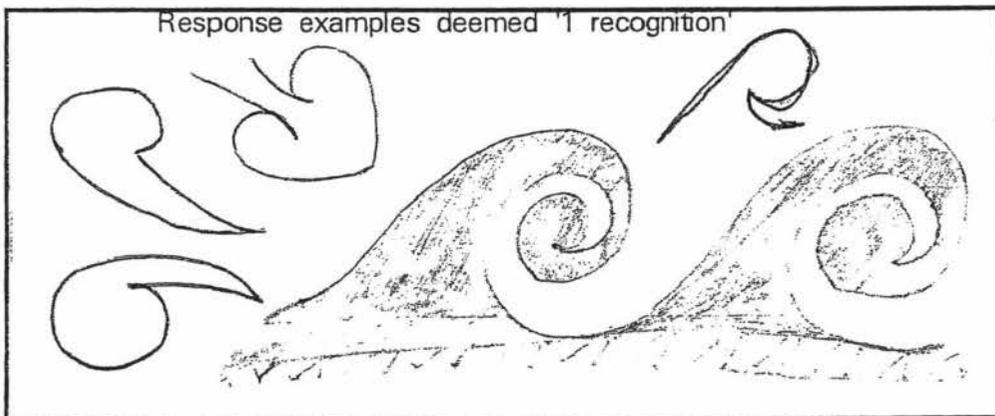
**Levels of koru recognition of total compared with control group 1993**

	No Resp	0Recogn	1Recogn	2Recogn	TOTAL
Maori	6	1	13	13	33
Pakeha	2	4	13	10	29
Other	5	8	11	6	30
	13	13	37	29	92
PERCENTAGE RECOGNITION AT LEVELS OF RECOGNITION					
TOTAL	14.13043	14.13043	40.21739	31.52174	100
Ngata	0	20	20	60	100

**Table 3.1**

Results that were classified as '1 recognition' generally followed a pattern. I considered they were partially correct in that pupils appeared to know what they were being asked to draw. They identified a unit that could be seen to resemble in some manner the koru form. There was a tendency to taper the koru to a point in order to seal off each koru 'bulb' in to a separate closed unit. This distorts the entire concept of koru balance, the single bulb's relationship with other koru, and the consistency of spacing down the length of the koru. Examples of the types of responses that were classified as partially correct are shown in Figure 3.8.

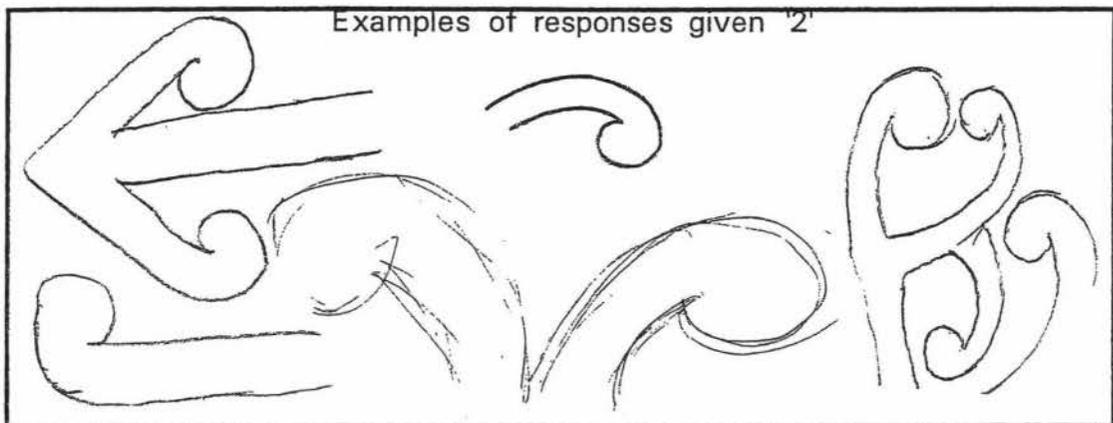
**Examples of responses assigned '1 recognition' from pupil questionnaire 1993**



**Figure 3.8**

The correct koru form, to which respondents were categorised as '2 response', shows a consistency of spacing down the length of the koru, with an open end, or depicts the koru in a kowhaiwhai format. The drawings showed a clear association by recognition of the correct koru form and the importance of the values of balance, shape and conformity. Examples of the differing responses that were classified as '2', are given in **Figure 3.9**.

**Examples of responses assigned '2 recognition' from pupil questionnaire 1993**



**Figure 3.9**

The pattern of results for all respondents can be more clearly observed by looking at them in graphic form (see **Figure 3.10**) which also makes clear comparison with the control group. The comparative results show that Ngata College students were almost twice as likely to identify the koru form correctly; 31.5% of the 92 respondents scoring '2' compared to 60% from Ngata. However the total respondents were twice as likely to score a '1 response' than Ngata students; 40% to 20% respectively, showing at least some recognition by the test students.

Notably, there was a high degree of uncertainty among the total respondents as shown by a lack of response at all and poor recognition together totalling 28%.

Ngata respondents were confident enough to respond, but still 20% had poor recognition of the koru form. It should be noted however, that the sample numbers differed markedly (only 10 for the control group) and could provide a slight distortion of this comparison. Nevertheless, there appears to be a strong pattern in the partial and full recognition results. It must also be remembered that the Ngata students do not have formal art studies in their school curriculum. In light of this, their results can be considered fairly favourable towards koru recognition, with a total recognition (including partial recognition) of 80%.

#### Levels of koru recognition of total surveyed in the pupil questionnaire 1993

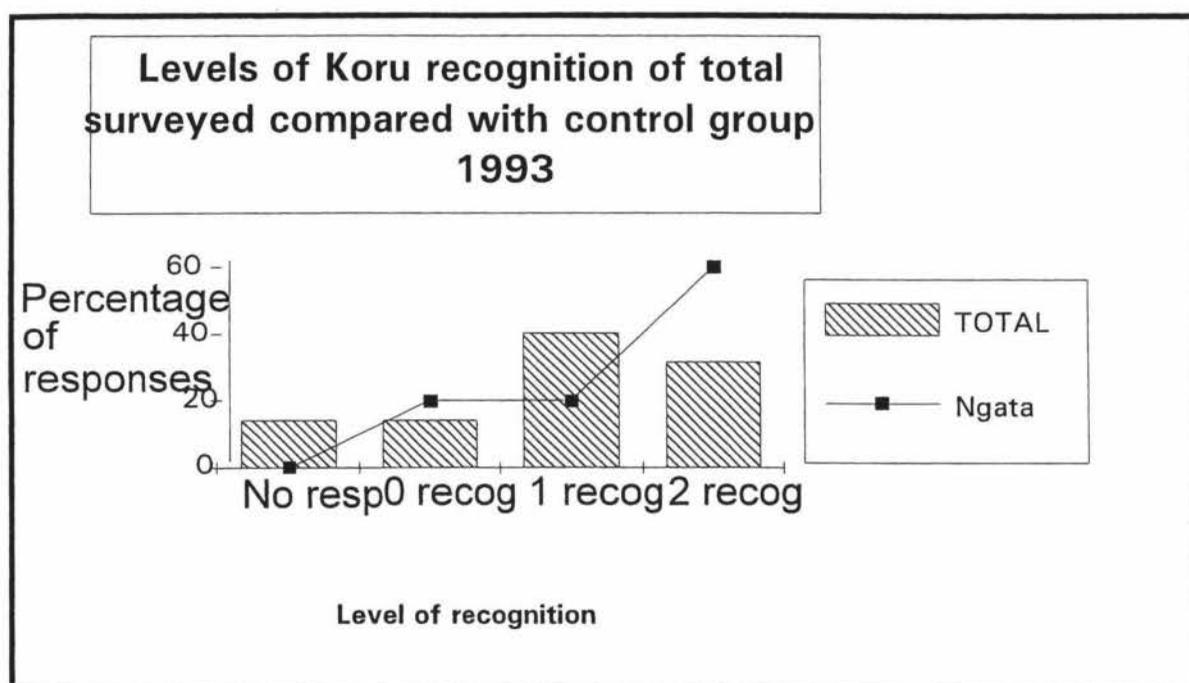


Figure 3.10

While total recognition, of some sort, for the 92 respondents is fairly high at 72%, this is counterbalanced to some extent by the frequency of incorrectly drawn koru (40%); those who scored '1' recognition. The majority of these responses saw a tendency to 'beautify' and embellish the beginnings of a koru form with non-

traditional patterns, or taper the koru to a point, as responses in **Figure 3.8** depict. These types of responses seem to suggest that there is a tendency in schools to treat the koru design in terms of Western or European aesthetic perceptions. Specifically to simplify, which neither does justice to the koru form nor fosters a knowledge of that form. It implies a superficial treatment of the kowhaiwhai arts, especially at introductory stages of secondary schooling. This stems from a need to 'convert' this art form into a form that is more easily recognised and understood in a European aesthetic tradition and values' system. It also suggests that time spent on Maori art education in secondary school is not sufficient to engender an appreciation of art forms such as the koru and that not enough examples of traditional koru forms are being made available. Alternatively, modern Maori works are not being made available to pupils to reinforce an informed knowledge of the art forms.

It is not disputed that cross-cultural acquisition of Maori art forms, and their use in new contexts, should be acceptable - indeed modern Maori artists bear witness to success of these methods. However, real knowledge and appreciation of a culture should not be limited to what appears to be easily imported and modified. The Maori koru form has its own logic, tradition and style, and any education towards incorporating Maori art (not always 'aesthetic' in European terms) values in our society, through education, must pay attention to the Maori art tradition. I would propose the following hypothesis;

*'due to the predominance of partially correct koru renditions that demonstrate a common pattern of incorrectly drawn koru by the majority of respondents (40%) full justice is not being paid to Maori art forms in schools, in a system that is predominantly eurocentric and monocultural'.*

### **Koru recognition by years of secondary school art**

It can be expected that if secondary schools were paying attention to correct education in Maori art through the art curriculum, then there would be a positive relationship between the number of years of secondary school art education and koru recognition. **Table 3.2** shows the results of exploring this relationship for the 92 respondents. Note that no response and 0 recognition are taken together as 'no recognition'.

Timing deserves a specific mention. While 1 year, 2 years, and so on, refer to the number of years' students have been involved in art education at secondary school, the questionnaire was actually administered in the beginning of the year. Therefore the 'year' does not refer to a full year of that particular level art syllabus. There has also been no attempt to classify the responses by year according to what art syllabus level these years have involved study at, although comment can be made on some sort of relationship in analysing the results. The results therefore, are based on the premise that Maori art education should be involved at every level, and every year of Secondary school art, and thereby Maori art knowledge should be accumulative. This also bears in mind that students tend to be fewer in the senior school years, and are art specialists to a greater degree.

### **Correct recognition of basic koru form by the number of years of secondary school art education 1993.**

	Recogn	Some rec	No recogn
5 years	37.5	37.5	25
4 years	50	42.85714	7.142857
3 years	50	50	0
2 years	4.545455	27.27273	68.18182
1 year	26.92308	42.30769	30.76923

**Table 3.2**

There appears to be a pattern that emerges, and the results seem to differ a little from our hypothesis. In the first year of secondary school art education there is a spread of responses between the three categories, with the highest percentage (42%) having some recognition of the koru form, and a fairly good knowledge of the koru at 27% of responses. Since the participants were surveyed close to the beginning of the school year, it could be that this recognition, especially the high percentage of respondents who had 'some' recognition, is due to the primary school emphasis on 'expressive' koru exploration, as I mentioned before.

The results in the second year of art education are extraordinary in that there is a major decline in koru recognition, only 4.5% of respondents being able to correctly draw the koru form. A large percentage, 68% had no recognition of the koru form. Such a decline in the space of a year suggests that the situation of Maori art in the junior years of secondary school can be described by one or more of the following statements;

1. *that very little attention to elements of Maori art forms is being incorporated in the art curriculum in the first years of secondary school,*
2. *that while the art curriculum does pay attention to Maori art forms, the emphasis is superficial and does not emphasise the traditions of Maori art or the correct forms of the art,*
3. *that no attention to Maori art forms is being given in art in the secondary school, either through lack of resources or disregard for its importance.*

Given that the junior years of schooling comprise the greatest number of students exposed to art education, indeed in some schools the first year sees art as a core subject that all pupils have exposure to, the results are disturbing. Only 32% of students have any idea as to how to draw the koru form by Year 2. It is

suggested that not enough quality emphasis is being placed on the understanding and knowledge of Maori art forms in the junior secondary school years of art education. If pupils are to gain the greatest breadth of knowledge from a 'balanced' curriculum, then Maori art forms, such as the koru beginnings, must be more greatly emphasised at this level. For some students, this may be the only exposure they have within art education.

By year three the results are more promising and tend to represent the peak of koru recognition. 100% recognition of koru in some form, with 50% of the students correctly recognising the koru form. The increase could be attributed to one or more of the following changes that occurs in art organisation and delivery in the secondary school;

1. *between years 2 and 3 students tend to choose art as one of their specialist subjects and are therefore more likely to pay greater attention to what they learn;*
2. *pupils tend to be allocated more time to art in years 2 and 3, than year 1, generally at least 3 or 4 hours per week, thereby giving more time to examine a variety of art forms to a greater competency;*
3. *In year 3 in particular there has been a greater trend towards exploring Maori art forms and Maori artists as part of meeting School Certificate exam requirements and guidelines,*

In particular, individual teachers have tended to emphasise either the contemporary Maori artist as model, or an expressive exploration of Maori art forms. This has filtered through to other art teachers through the School Certificate marking process that sees a number of teachers from around the country exposed to other teacher's ideas. In the past two years the success of these individual teachers, in adapting Maori art forms to address external exam requirement has seen a wider distribution through the annual publication by the Education Department of **School**

**Certificate Assessment** (see 1991 and 1992). The increased requirement to specialise in preparation for the external School Certificate examination accounts for the greater allocation of timetable hours, and the greater breadth of art knowledge in year 2 and 3.

By year four, the results are again more promising, with 50% again correctly recognising the koru form, and 43% showing some form of recognition. The decrease in recognition, while not significant at 7%, could be considered slightly disturbing, especially as this markedly increases at year five to 25%. Also the lower proportions, 37.5% each, of total and partial koru recognition. The progressive decrease in results can be attributed to one of more of the following reasons;

1. *In year four, a greater flexibility within schools, of the content and form art takes due to the absence of an external exam, or external moderation;*
2. *In year five, a very formal attitude to art which is based on predominantly European models of artistic success as dictated by external requirements and the standards which have been set in the past by the Art schools; Elam and Ilam;*
3. *A greater focus as students move up the school, towards specialisation in art content and the development of individual interest and style, with the view to becoming involved, in varying capacities, in an art profession upon leaving school.*

Bearing in mind that we are dealing with a relatively smaller number at year five than year one, approximately seven times smaller, the retention of knowledge of Maori koru forms is seemingly adequate. However, when we consider that the koru form is the most basic beginning of only one Maori art form, then the results are not so startling. Additionally, that such a large percentage; 42% at year 4 and 37.5% at year 5, are still not able to draw the koru form correctly bears

testament to inadequate teaching of Maori art forms. These students, the 37.5%, leave school with the full benefit of art education training, and have not acquired in the School the skills to recognise and draw the basic koru form. Longitudinal study of individual pupils throughout their secondary schooling and in to occupations would probably provide a slightly more accurate picture of what knowledge of Maori art forms pupils leave school with. However the results here give us some indication of the weakness of Maori art traditions in a school at a particular time, and allow us to draw the tentative conclusions here.

### Koru recognition according to culture

Useful comparison may be made between the different cultural identification of participants and their correct identification of the koru form. As mentioned, pupils were asked to identify themselves as belonging to a cultural category, and the results of those who identified themselves as; Maori, Pakeha, or Maori and Pakeha were correlated. Those identifying as Maori and Pakeha are identified here as 'Other'.

**Proportion of correct koru recognition by cultural identification 1993**

CULTURAL I.D.	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years
Maori	45.45455	16.66667	60	0	33.33333
Pakeha	14.28571	0	28.57143	75	50
Other	12.5	0	60	33.33333	33.33333

**Table 3.3**

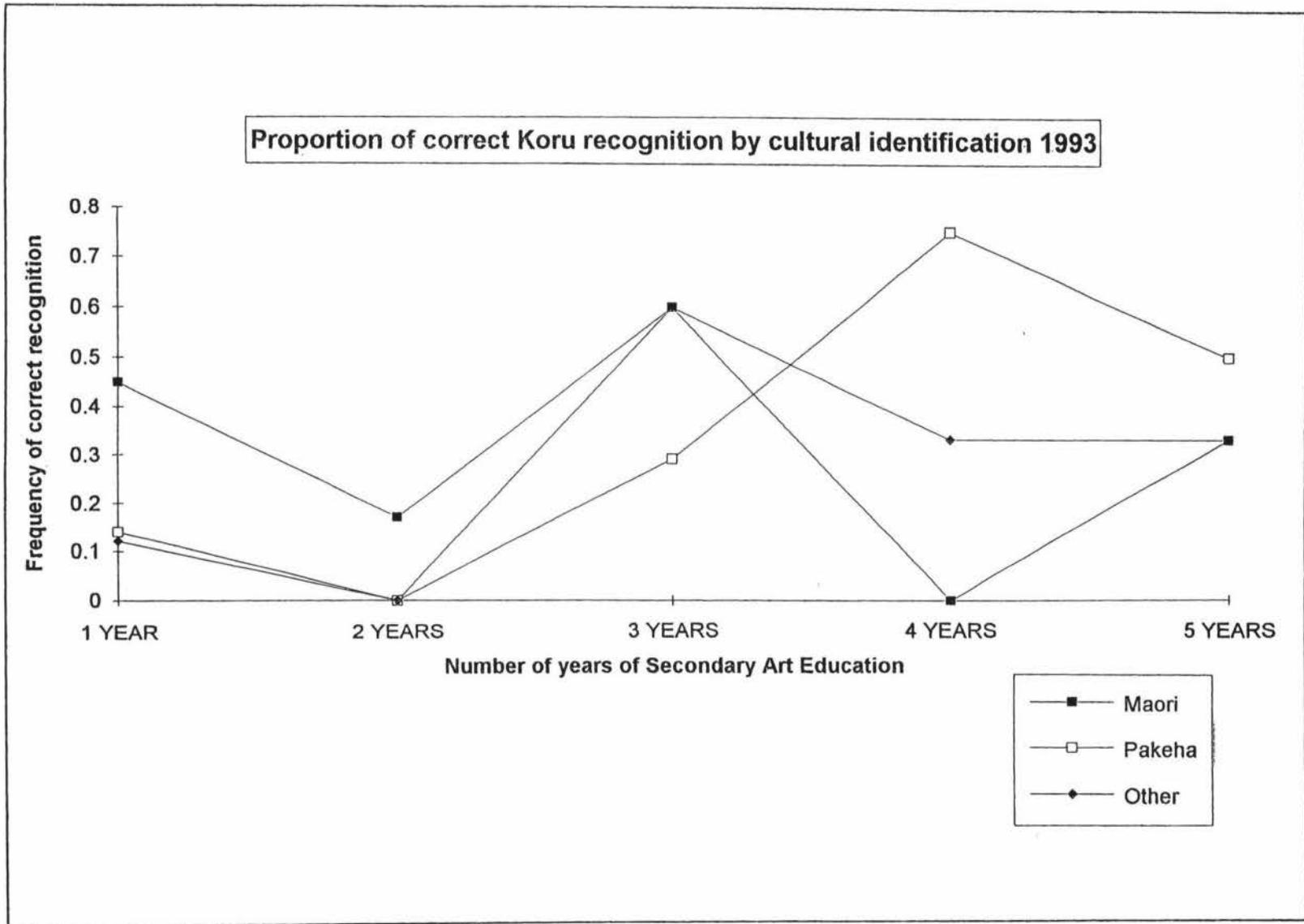
The results showed that the group who identified themselves as 'Maori' had the best results at year three, 60% of the Maori students surveyed at this level correctly identified the koru form. Those identifying as Pakeha showed the best recognition at year four, with 75% of the Pakeha students at this level correctly identifying the koru. 60% of those students identifying as 'Maori and Pakeha' at

year 3, also correctly recognised the koru. The general pattern, as shown in **Figure 3.11** is that Maori students tended to have higher recognition in the years 1 to 3, while Pakeha and other had better recognition between years 3 and 5; Pakeha especially at years 4 and 5. One could pose a number of questions;

1. *Given that Maori has by far the larger correct response in the junior school years, and the relatively low correct responses from the other two groupings, how many of the Maori responses rely Maori prior knowledge of their own culture?*
2. *Given that the greatest number of students take art studies in the junior school, (and that this is in order to give them a 'well-rounded' education) it then appears significantly poor that only 14% of Pakeha students recognise the koru by year 3, and 12.5% of Maori and Pakeha?*
3. *That the low rate of success in identifying the koru form by Maori after year 3 could possibly be attributed to the eurocentric delivery of the art curriculum? How else should we explain the poor success of Maori in identifying the koru form? Perhaps the Maori students are receiving the message that the koru traditions not acceptable in traditional form but better adapted to a European context? Perhaps Pakeha possess the right 'cultural capital', that of their Pakeha teacher?*
4. *Do numbers play a factor, due to a higher drop - out rate of certain cultural groups after the legal school leaving age of 16?*
5. *Why is Pakeha success so markedly higher in identifying the koru form?*

The answer to question one, is not clear, but I examine one possibility; that Maori studies at school may contribute to Maori success, further on in this chapter. In light of the marked greater success of Maori in identifying the koru in year 1 especially, we must assume that either Maori have a better knowledge through their own cultural background and involvements, or are simply more interested in their own art forms at this stage. I tend to believe that it is a

Figure 3.11



combination of these two reasons, stemming from a sudden awareness of their own culture at this stage in life.

The answer to whether the other two groupings should be able to do considerably better in recognising the koru, I maintain should be a resounding yes, at the year 1 and 2 levels. If society is to value and appreciate the scope and traditions of Maori art forms, then the greatest number of students must possess the knowledge to hold true to these values. The low results of Pakeha and Maori/Pakeha in the junior school, I maintain, points to a definite undervaluing of Maori art. Also a lack of teacher and pupil understanding of Maori art, and an unawareness of or lack of care for, the cultural products of another culture in our society - of which we are a part and in turn construct.

Question 3 is a harder one to answer, and embraces ideas held in both questions 4 and 5 as well. The cultural composition of the numbers of pupils studying art for 4 and 5 years does not appear to be significant, depending on how the grouping 'Other' is treated. There were only 6 Maori students who had studied art for four to five years at secondary school, compared with 10 Pakeha and 6 'Other'. Given the cultural composition of the school (52% Maori and 48% non-Maori) the proportion of those students with Maori heritage to those without becomes 12:10, closely correlates. There does not appear to be any obvious factor even in numerical terms (according to the research statistics) that can explain the poorer correct identification by Maori students of the koru form, in relation to other cultural groupings. I maintain that for Pakeha to score so much higher on the recognition of what is traditionally 'Maori', there must be forces in play based on the dominant cultural norms of a eurocentric society.

The 'cultural capital' of the Pakeha student closely resembles that of the teacher who has succeeded in the dominant European culture. The mode of instruction is ethnocentric, and thus the content is of little consequence if you do not possess

the required cultural capital to acquire and make use of it. Further more, I believe that by the senior years following School Certificate, Maori are getting the message loud and clear, that their art traditions are of no value or consequence. They are beginning to see that the more contemporary adaptations of their art forms to what is acceptable to the dominant culture, a 'bastardisation' of their traditional forms that does not rely on prior cultural knowledge, is far more acceptable in the established 'art society'.

When we examine **Table 3.4** showing the relationship between Maori and Pakeha correct identification of the koru, when 'other' is taken to culturally mean Maori no matter the self - identification, we see very little change in the overall dynamics.

**Proportion of correct koru recognition by cultural identification when 'Other' is defined as 'Maori' 1993**

CULTURAL I.D.	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years
Maori	31.57895	5.882353	60	16.66667	33.33333
Pakeha	14.28571	0	28.57143	75	50

**Table 3.4**

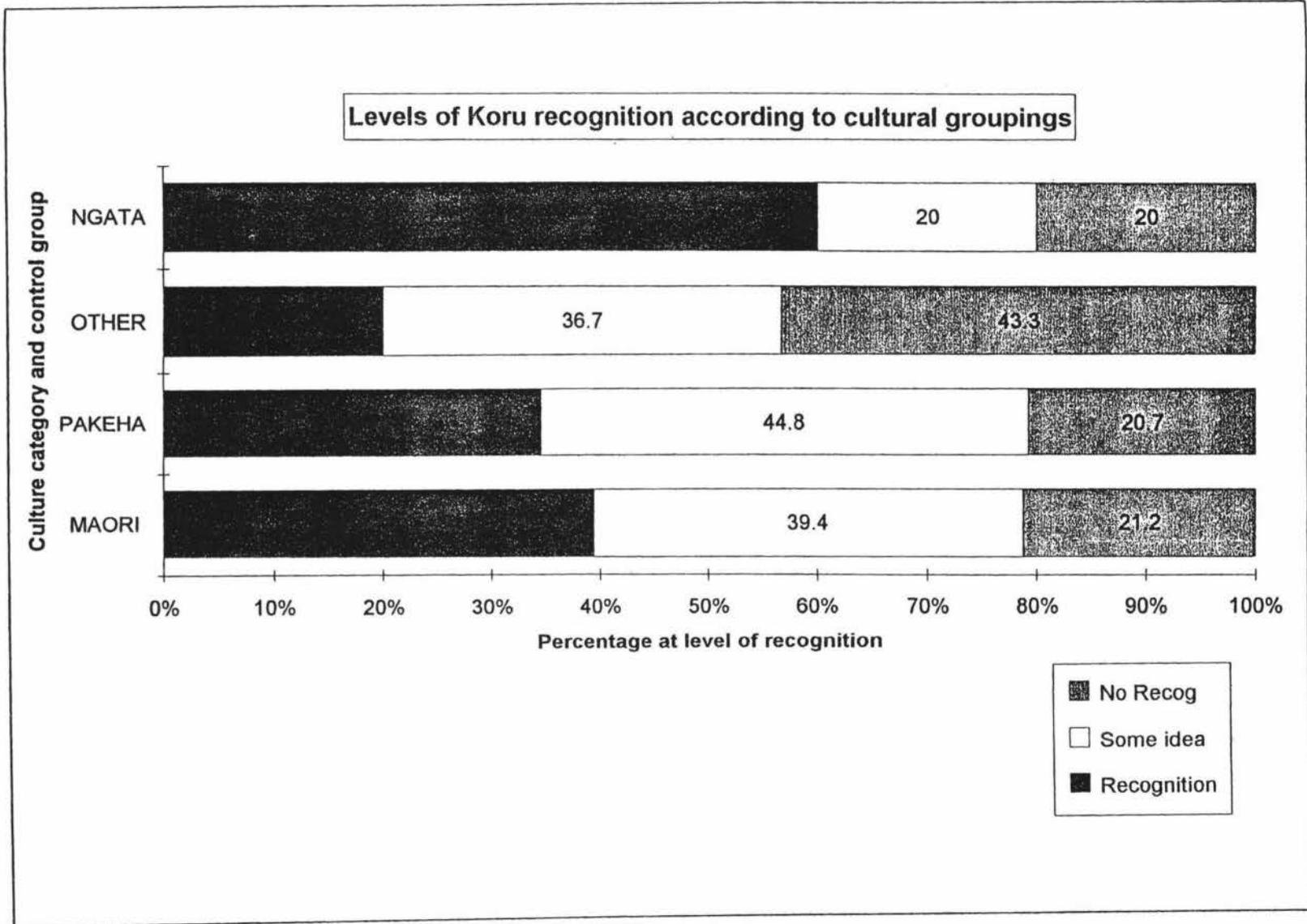
In fact Maori recognition in Years 1 and 2 decreases as a proportion of Maori responses at this level, probably due to a lack of strength in background knowledge of their own Maori cultural traditions - particularly for those who identified themselves as Maori/Pakeha. There is little improvement in the senior secondary school years also, although perhaps that the group Maori/Pakeha are likely to possess greater 'cultural capital' of the European group they are affiliated to, explains this slight increase. Significantly, Maori still were less likely to respond correctly than Pakeha in years 4 and 5.

Even though an increase in correct recognition occurs in year 5 for both the Maori and 'Other' categories, according to whether they are taken together or not, this is probably more likely to represent a renewed personal interest in Maori art traditions. Since any art emphasis aimed at entry to the prestigious Art schools (as the Bursary examination is tuned towards) requires the student to have carried out extensive study on the 'European Masters', little value can be seen in learning about Maori art in any case. In all likelihood the increase in knowledge of the correct koru form is more likely to owe itself to the history of art, Form 7 syllabus. No more than one of the fourteen options deals with New Zealand art, with Maori art being but an option within this option. Since the school surveyed does include this topic, to the individual teacher's credit, and 27% of those year 4 and year 5 students surveyed took Art History, we must attribute some of the successful responses to art historical studies.

Examining **Figure 3.12** we see why looking at the years of art education gave us significant clues as to what is happening at different levels of the secondary school in terms of Maori art. It must be remembered that while there appears to be little difference in the relative success of Maori and Pakeha in identifying the koru form correctly, it is more significant to look at the levels at which this learning occurs. Also what this possibly means for the acceptance of Maori art in society and what form this acceptance might take.

Looking again at the comparative levels of recognition, according to all cultural groups and compared with the control we can perhaps hypothesise further relationships in terms of the education of a Maori art tradition in schools. The control example demonstrates just how much of a role strong cultural tradition can play in the identification of Maori art forms, in the absence of formal art studies at Ngata. Therefore, it is probably correct to assume that out of those students who confidently identified themselves as 'Maori', and who were part of the 39.4% that correctly identified the koru, a great number could have prior Maori art

Figure 3.12



experience based on their cultural ties. Similarly a lack of that strong tradition could give rise to the poor, 20% recognition, result of the 'Other' group. The overall poor performance of this Maori/ Pakeha grouping, 43.3% not recognising the koru form at all, could point to a 'cultural confusion' felt by these individuals, straddling two worlds, that of the dominant, and the subservient culture, and succeeding in neither.

### **Koru recognition according to gender**

Since modern debates on minority cultures and the development of their culture in a modern society, often draws on similar issues of access (based on the experiences of equality struggles of women) it was deemed to be of interest to examine apparent gender differences in terms of koru recognition. **Table 3.5** shows the results of gender comparisons. The results show the correct responses, according to the number of years of secondary art education, as a proportion of the total responses according to that number of years.

**Correct recognition of basic koru form by gender 1993**

GENDER	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years
Males	31.25	6.25	47.36842	28.57143	33.33333
Females	20	0	66.66667	83.33333	33.33333

**Table 3.5**

The results in **Table 3.5** show that males tended to do slightly better in correctly identifying the koru during the first two years, while females tended to do much better in the senior school years, males then catching up at year 5. The results for females show a steady and significant increase from year 3 through to year 4.

The differences in recognition between the two genders could have much to do with the reputation the arts subjects have as being the 'soft option' and more likely to be chosen by less-academic males, as determined by past misconceptions about the arts subjects and art occupations. Yet art pursuits have traditionally been highly valued by academic and less-academic females alike, and tended to be seen as a desirable pastime for women. The male awareness of these stereotypes may still sub-consciously prevail and increased awareness may occur as he moves towards choosing subjects that enhance his future choice of occupation.

Perhaps an alternative explanation may be forwarded for the proportionately more successful recognition by females of the koru. In examining traditional Maori art forms, and their continuance in contemporary situations, girls may find a greater affinity in the 'language' of Maori art as an expression of frustration of the dominance of male ideals in our society, perceiving a relationship between sexual and cultural repression.

Although it is not my intention to explicitly explore gender differences in koru response, a few points must be made. Firstly, there are no Maori females in their fourth and fifth year of art study, so it may well be that had there been, females may have shown a continued trend at year five to identify the koru correctly, consistently with more frequency than males. A closer examination would have to be made to discover whether there are explicit gender differences within cultures.

**Correct recognition of basic koru by gender and culture 1993**

CULTURAL I.D.	Males	Females
Ngata	50	66.66667
Other	15.78947	27.27273
Pakeha	25	55.55556
Maori	44	25

**Table 3.6**

**Table 3.6** looks at this relationship more closely; correct koru recognition according to gender and culture and compared with the results for the control group.

Maori males far out performed the other two categories in terms of correct koru recognition, although still behind the Ngata results. As mentioned previously, the poor response of Maori females could be due to their lack of representation in years 4 and 5 of art education. There is also a very clear indication that Pakeha females have a greater sensitivity towards the koru form, perhaps attributed to a combination of affinity towards Maori women's art in particular, and art studies as previously mentioned. The fact that females tended to rate less poorly in general than males tends to indicate this trend in is fairly consistent for all females.

**Is there a relationship between Maori studies and koru recognition?**

**Figure 3.13** shows the percentage of correct respondents in each category who took Maori curriculum studies at some stage in their secondary schooling. Although particularly for Maori, there appears to be a high proportion of correct respondents with a background in Maori studies, this does not necessarily indicate a positive relationship between the two factors. While it is useful to look at the proportion, the fact that only a small percentage of Pakeha who responded correctly, took Maori studies belies this relationship. It would be expected that if students were specifically obtaining their knowledge of Maori art forms through general Maori curriculum studies, then the relationship would demonstrate a more strikingly obvious pattern of Pakeha achievement.

Similarly the results are not particularly significant for the grouping 'Other', as the same may be said for them as the Maori grouping. In terms of Ngata's results, students are required to take Maori studies as school policy dictates, and therefore it is unclear as to whether successful koru recognition is directly related to Maori

Proportion of those that correctly identified Koru who took Maori at some stage during Secondary Schooling 1993

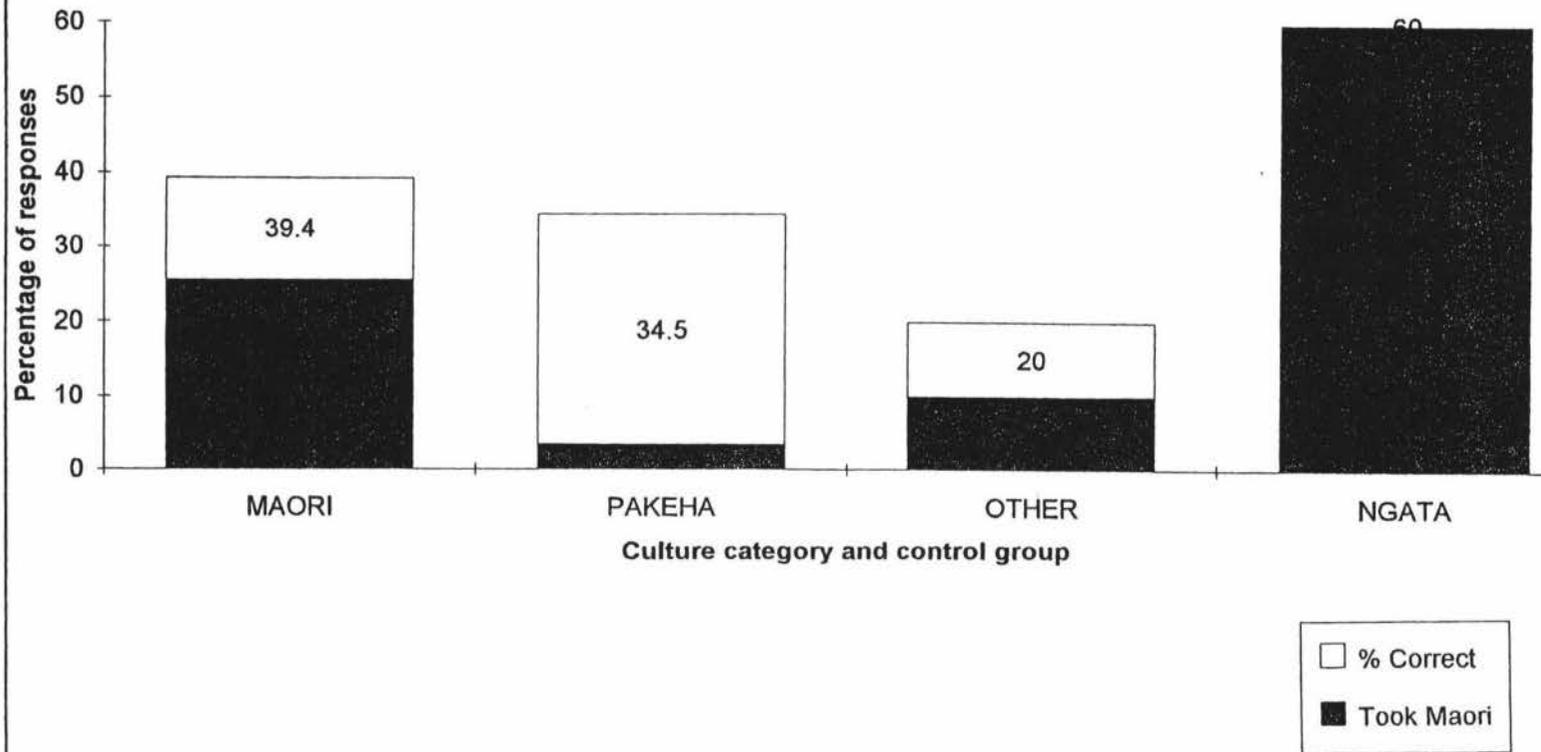


Figure 3.13

studies in particular at school, as opposed to reasons such as art education or out of school experiences. The relatively poor Pakeha group result suggests that it is not Maori studies that determines itself whether a student has correct knowledge of the koru form, but that Maori studies perhaps just serves, for the Maori anyway, to reinforce already held cultural knowledge of a Maori art tradition. There being little support for a direct relationship, it is therefore either art studies or prior knowledge that has a greater effect on correct koru identification, than formal Maori studies at school, especially for the Maori.

The following tentative conclusions can be made about the state of kowhaiwhai development in the secondary Sschool, with reference to the findings in this section of the research;

1. *There is a relatively high recognition of the koru form, the basic element of the kowhaiwhai arts, amongst secondary school pupils, although accurate rendition of the koru, rather than somewhat 'romanticised' versions, is less evident. There was little difference in recognition of the koru between the control and test groups, except that the control group showed better accuracy and appreciation of the koru form (see **Table 3.1**). These results suggest that there is not a concern in Art studies in Schools for situating koru studies (and therefore kowhaiwhai arts) in the rules of tradition;*
2. *Students appear to gain the least knowledge towards rendering the koru form accurately, in the second year of secondary art education, with peak performance in the third and fourth years of art study. This suggests that generally only students who chose to specialise in art studies gain sufficient understanding of the koru form;*

3. *Student knowledge of the koru form decreases in year five of art education, from year four. This would suggest that pupils are concerned with what is required of them in art occupations and the infers that low value is given to Maori art knowledge in traditional art occupations:*
4. *While students who have Maori cultural origins tend to have better familiarity with the koru form in the first three years of art education, this decreases significantly in the fourth and fifth years of art study, while the reverse is true for European or non - Maori students. This would suggest either; that Maori students are generally under - achieving, actively rejecting knowledge of their cultural forms in later years as they become concerned with skilling for employment that does not value knowledge of Maori art forms. Alternatively a message on the appropriateness of curriculum delivery to Maori might be made, since Maori are failing to attain the levels of achievement of Pakeha in even knowledge which is their traditions;*
5. *Females tend to have a more accurate knowledge of the koru form, especially in the third and fourth years of art study. This situation suggests that females either have a greater affinity towards the kowhaiwhai art forms, or art education in general. It is suggested that traditional stereotypes of the role of women in society, are perhaps still persuasive when students come to chose their study and occupational options;*
6. *It appears that art education is more influential than Maori studies at secondary school, in determining the level of knowledge students have of the koru form. While more Maori students took Maori studies than other students, the relatively low koru recognition by those non-Maori students who took Maori, suggests that Maori studies simply reinforces Maori art knowledge rather than being the source of it.*

## PART II: The scope of traditional Maori arts

### Recognising the scope of traditional Maori arts

The second part of this section of the research I designed to determine whether students had a breadth of knowledge of a variety of Maori Art forms. It did not set out to find specific information as to the accuracy (or otherwise) of students' portrayal of elements of art forms, but merely sought to determine at the most basic level whether students could recognise a variety of key Maori Art forms. The art forms (see Hiroa 1958) included;

**Tukutuku** - Lattice work in cross stitch form, used to decorate wall panels of meeting houses in distinctive patterns consisting of vertical rows of kakaho flower stalks woven with dyed flax (kiekie).

**Kowhaiwhai** - Curvilinear and scroll - type patterns painted with kokowai (earth pigment) paints, on the rafters and other areas of the meeting house, other house forms, canoes and implements.

**Taniko** - Elaborately patterned, largely symmetrical, border of kakahu (cloaks) created using flax stripped down to the fibre and dyed with natural dyes - a twining weaving process.

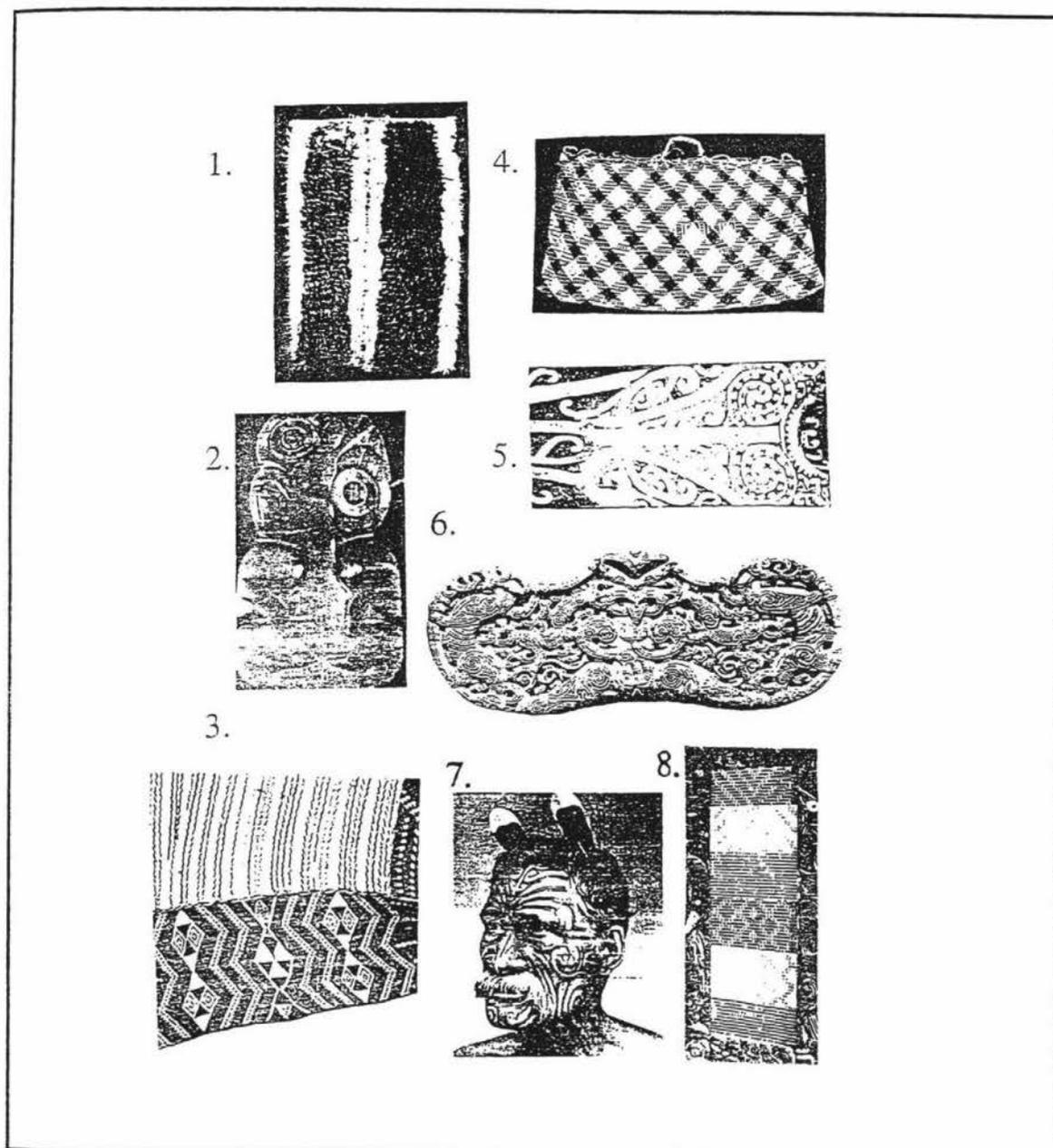
**Whakairo rakau** - Rectilinear and curvilinear figurative and non - figurative carvings inscribed with surface patterning, on totara (and other woods); for implements, tools and house structures.

**Raranga kete** - Raranga refers to the weaving of dyed or natural flax strips, often according to pattern formations, in to mats and baskets, the kete (kit) being one popular form of basket.

**Moko** - Chiselling of skin, especially the face, and filling with natural blue - like dye to create intricate curvilinear and rectilinear patterns in groups of lines. The six forms chosen are those that are particularly well-known for their visual appeal or patterning, which itself is visual cultural reference to the entirety of Maori life.

They are also forms that can be seen in evidence today, as there has been a continuation of these traditions by some Maori. The participants were given eight pictures (see **Figure 3.14**) from which to choose the six correct answers, and their responses were recorded. In particular I wanted to determine the following;

**Eight Pictures given in pupil questionnaire 1993**



**Figure 3.14**

1. *Can students identify traditional Maori art forms by association with name?*
2. *Which Maori Art form (s) stand out as possibly being given the most recognition in the Secondary School Art Curriculum and is there adequate recognition of certain traditional Maori art forms?*
3. *Are there patterns, by cultural identification or gender, as to which traditional maori art forms are being recognised by certain groups?*

It was considered that using the name to picture method, was appropriate given that we have always expected pupils to know art processes and specific trends of art practises by name, moreover stylistic art trends in history by name. That the names are from the Maori language is inconsequential, as the history of art is about imported European names in any event. Just as the art of a culture is integral to the continuance of a culture, so too is the language, even more strongly so. (see Fishman 1989; Liebkind 1989; Corson 1990 for language debates).

#### Recognition of traditional Maori art forms - cultural differences

The following results I recorded from the 92 participants, according to their self-identification by culture, and compared with the responses of Ngata senior students.

#### **Percentage correct recognition of each Maori art form according to cultural identification 1993**

CULTURAL I.D.	TUKU	KOWH	TANI	WHAK	RARA	MOKO
Maori	54.54545	54.54545	15.15152	66.66667	78.78788	81.81818
Pakeha	53.33333	46.66667	16.66667	26.66667	46.66667	56.66667
Other	58.06452	22.58065	22.58065	29.03226	48.3871	67.74194
Ngata	80	70	70	90	90	100

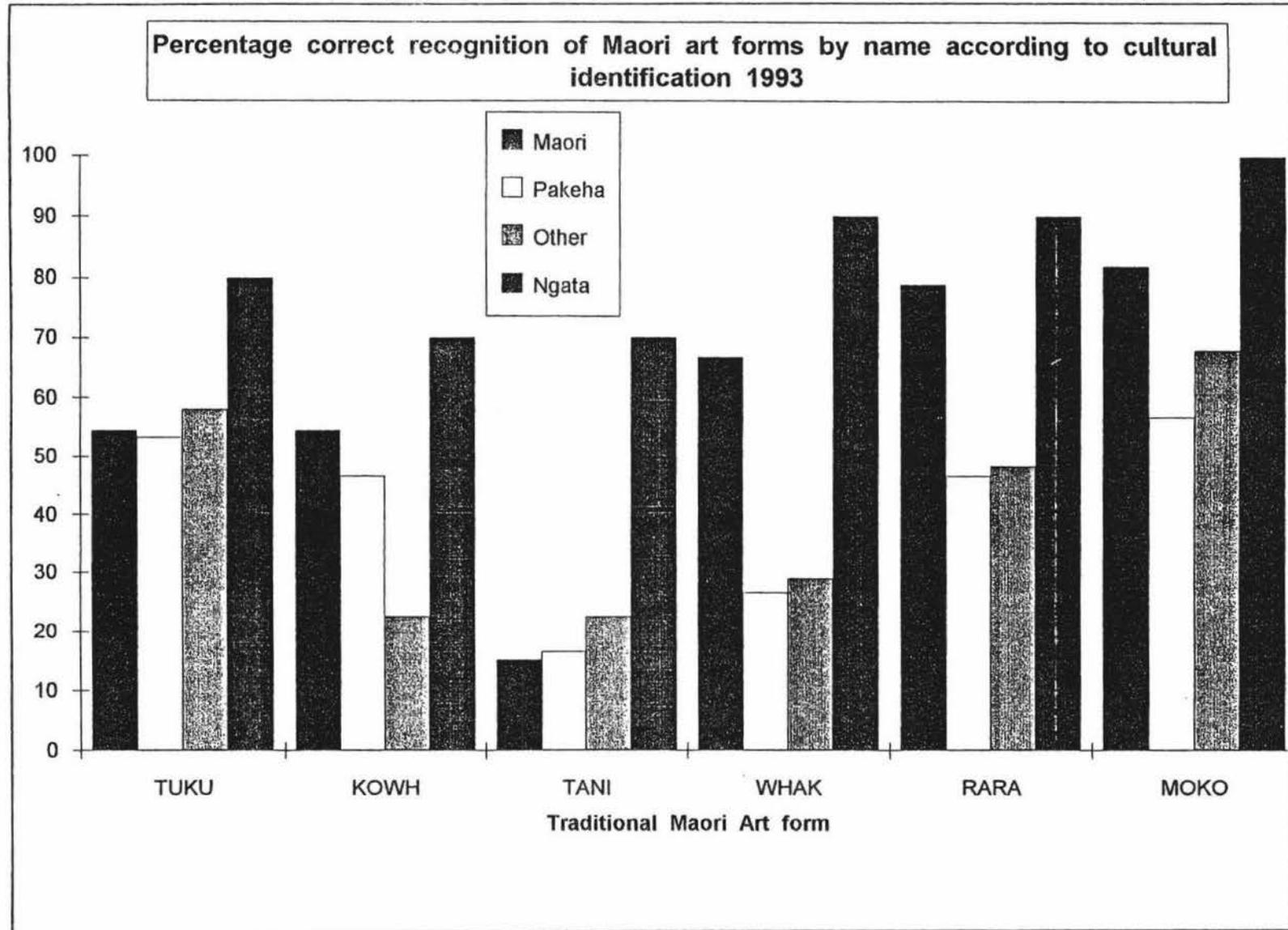
**Table 3.7**

Maori were more likely to recognise four out of the six art forms than any other of the 92 participants; the moko, raranga, kowhaiwhai and whakairo forms. The group 'Other' were more likely to recognise two out of six art forms than either Maori or Pakeha participants; tukutuku and taniko. Pakeha did not score the highest in any category. Where Maori scored the highest there tended to be a far greater majority of correct responses than where 'Other' scored highest. **Figure 3.15** shows this relationship more clearly.

Although it may be assumed that Maori participants are apt to be more familiar with the Maori naming of their art forms (and this would embrace the category 'Other') the poor percentage of responses in some areas are disturbing for particular Maori arts. Taniko did not make it above 23% correct identification, and whakairo rakau above 30% for the groups Pakeha and 'Other'. Given that Maori carved forms are also an area that is given much attention by both the **Art Syllabus Guidelines 1991** and teachers as a source of exploration into Maori art (see **School Certificate Benchmark 1991, 1992**) this is surprising.

It is possible that respondents confused the wording 'whakairo rakau' by simply taking the word 'whakairo' (to mean scribe out, chisel out) which has been used in education bulletins liberally to mean 'carving'. In this case there is a possibility of ascribing 'whakairo', incorrectly, to the 'hei tiki' made of pounamu (greenstone) which features in one of the other pictures. However, when we look at the most commonly mistaken attribution's in **Figure 3.16** we find that the depiction of taniko is confused largely with the whakairo rakau name (6 of the 92 respondents confused the two) and only three respondents, all Maori confused the pounamu depiction with whakairo rakau. This would indicate that this mistaken attribution was not significant.

Figure 3.15



Percentage total correct recognition of Traditional Art form by name, compared with most commonly mistaken Art form 1993

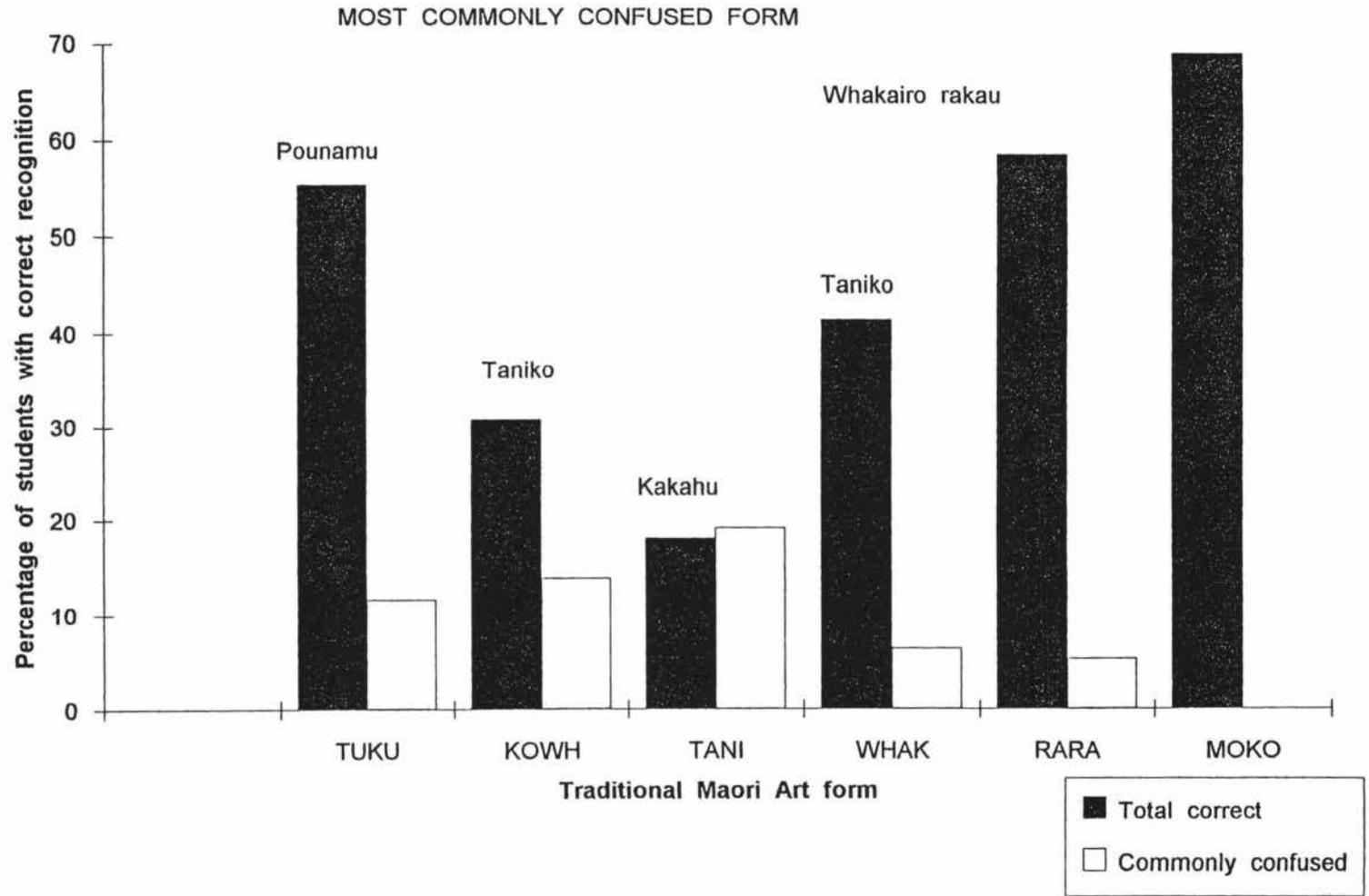


Figure 3.16

It is difficult to see how a relationship can be mistaken between carving and taniko however, although if respondents were completely unfamiliar with the words associated with both of these forms, then it would stand to reason that they could be guessed incorrectly. This would suggest that while a high degree of disregard for naming the art form and process according to traditional Maori conceptions. It suggests there may exist superficial coverage of this particular art form in secondary school or a disrespect for important aspects and values associated with the Maori art tradition. This undermines the high frequency of carved figures, and carving-inspired forms in school art (witnessed at the surveyed school) as being a result of high sensitivity to Maori traditional forms, to being a simple borrowing of ideas outside traditional contextual understandings.

The low percentage response to taniko is somewhat understandable given the low profile of Taniko in general. In the early period of contact taniko art rapidly assimilated European-imported ideas and processes. In the 1860's tapestry cottons and wools from England were quickly being incorporated into traditional taniko woven items, such as in the border of cloaks. In the fourth phase of the taniko arts high quality English cottons began to replace traditional flax fibres (due to the lack of requirement for preparing fibre) in the vibrant colourings of these new cottons. Also in this phase there was a return to tradition by a few weavers who saw more mana in traditional cloak-weaving methods - usually created for museums or traditional spiritual purposes.

Probably the lack of recognition of taniko in schools can be attributed more to the reclassification of the weaving arts as 'craft'. As well as taniko forms losing their popularity due to easier and quicker methods of clothing manufacture, historically even the traditionally European weaving arts of tapestry and embroidery have rarely been elevated to the status of 'art' to be viewed in galleries. They are more likely to circulate as 'culture' in terms of Clifford's (1988:p 224) **Art-culture system**. Moving along the second path, with objects categorised as

'history and folklore'; ethnographic material in the museum'; 'material culture and craft', between what is marked authentic and that which is deemed artefact. In fact sometimes cloaks, tapestries and even embroidery is designated art gallery status momentarily, such as the wall hanging for Shakespeare's Theatre (exhibited throughout New Zealand in 1992) and 'Te Maori' exhibition (exhibited at Auckland Gallery on its return home from overseas).

It seems likely that low status accorded to taniko in secondary school is partly as result of the scant recognition of taniko as art in our society. Yet other so-deemed 'crafts' do make it into the school curriculum. Textile design is a growing area of School Certificate Art and is usually based along the lines of wallpaper, cushioning, clothing and general fabric design. That taniko is not recognised and therefore not emphasised in art studies perhaps is due to taniko products no longer serving a specific function in modern society that thus defines 'crafts'. This defies reasoning however, as many traditional European craft forms are becoming imported onto the canvases of modern gallery works, and other galleries are directly displaying the works of 'crafts' people'. It seems that taniko has been de-emphasised by a Eurocentric society that has imposed its value system on the identification of what is valued as craft and art as opposed to what may be described as 'primitive and functionless' such as taniko.

Kowhaiwhai arts scored amazingly poor identification of name with picture by the groups Pakeha and 'Other', given that the patterns of kowhaiwhai are generally given much more emphasis in a number of publications for educating in Maori art in schools (see previous discussion on koru forms). One can only assume that the majority of respondents found it hard to associate the forms they were learning about with the name they were given for the form. This is disappointing, given that there was a high level of identification of the koru form by secondary school students (see **Table 3.3**) of Pakeha and 'Other' origin. Yet we see that a large

percentage of them do not even recognise the naming of the context in which the koru appears.

The other three art forms score relatively well in comparison with close to, or over 50% in each category being able to identify the tukutuku, raranga and moko. These three forms all have a high profile in different types of contexts; the tukutuku in the meeting house between the carved side-posts; raranga as a type of bag (kete) which has recently become popularised as tourist curio; and moko which seems to appeal to teenagers aware of general tattoo forms (that some people can be seen wearing traditionally inspired moko forms has probably increased the appeal of moko).

Perhaps, in particular with moko and raranga, we can see the use of ideas associated with the art form in art studies. There has been much focus over the last two years on pattern-making and weaving as exploration into textural effects and textural effects and colour pattern making (see **School Certificate Assessment 1991**, submissions from Mangere College) and this has seen a focus on the weaving process associated with raranga. For moko there seems to be a tendency to portray ;'maoriness' by adopting the distinct imagery of the moko on figures, as a means to identifying the figure as Maori.

The result for tukutuku is somewhat surprising, but not when you consider its prominence in the meeting house. The marae context appears to be the basis of tukutuku recognition as tukutuku does not appear to lend itself early to the types of art programmes run in schools.

Maori success in recognising the majority of forms by name is probably due to their awareness of being Maori, and at least the most recognisable traditions that go with that awareness. A combination of background knowledge, affinity and

assimilation of Maori ideas, a basic recognition of Maori language and learning in school can be attributed to their heightened comparative knowledge.

The high scores of Ngata respondents shows the strength of knowledge attained when one is living the context of these art forms. Marae culture is particularly strong in the district and moko can be seen adorning a high number of faces. These art forms still function much in line with tradition, or as a statement of identity in Ruatoria district.

### **Recognition of traditional maori art forms - cultural and gender differences**

Table 3.8 shows the results for the 92 respondents collated by gender and culture, also visually presented in Figure 3.17.

#### **Percentage correct recognition of each Maori art form by name according to culture and gender 1993**

	TUKU	KOWH	TANI	WHAK	RARA	MOKO
MAORI F	62.5	75	25	87.5	75	100
MAORI M	52	48	12	60	80	76
PAKEHA F	77.77778	44.44444	11.11111	44.44444	55.55556	77.77778
PAKEHA M	42.85714	47.61905	19.04762	19.04762	42.85714	47.61905
OTHER F	66.66667	33.33333	33.33333	50	66.66667	75
OTHER M	52.63158	15.78947	15.78947	15.78947	36.84211	63.15789
NGATA F	100	100	100	83.33333	100	100
NGATA M	50	25	25	100	75	100

**Table 3.8**

Percentage correct recognition of Maori Art forms by name, according to cultural identification and gender 1993

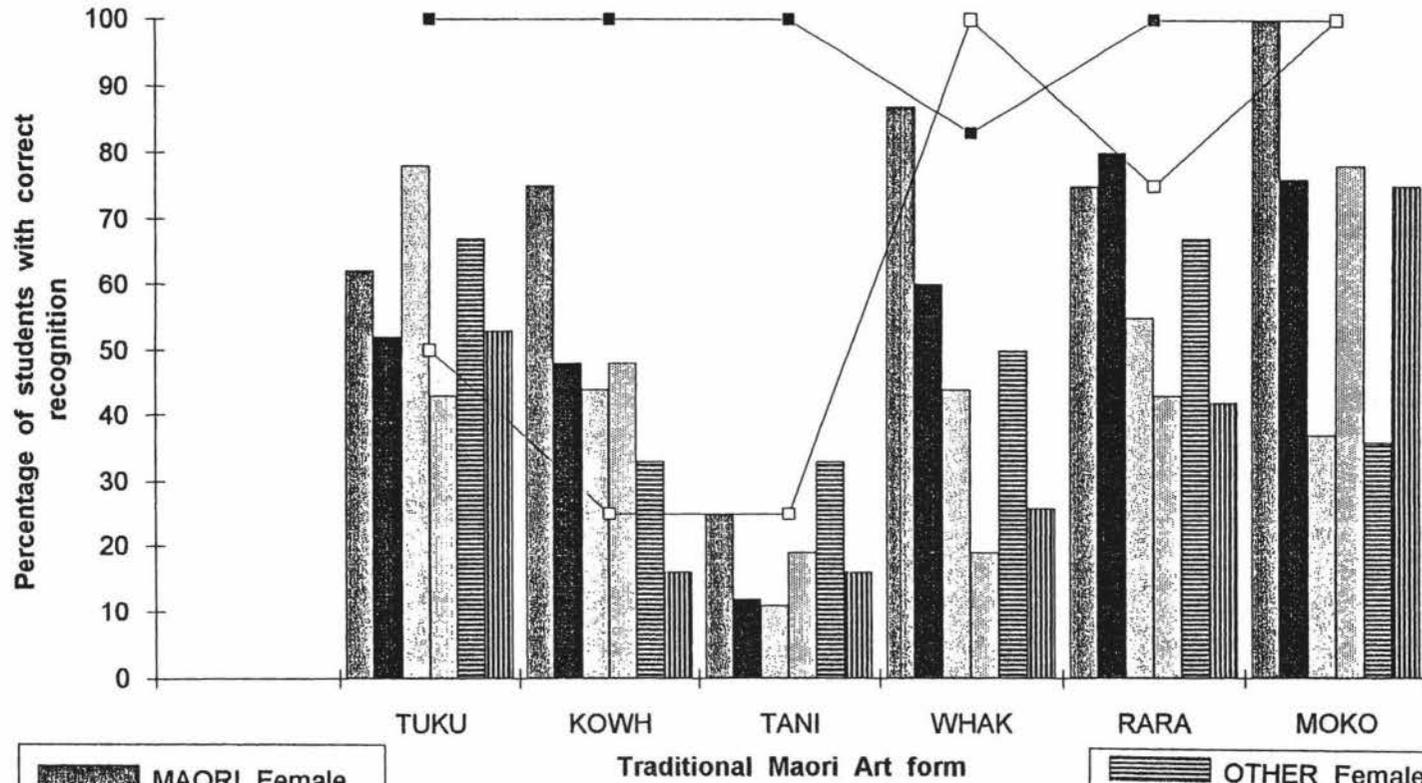


Figure 3.17

The results show that females in the test group scored proportionately higher, in all cultural categories, in recognising the **tukutuku**, **moko**, and **whakairo rakau** art forms. That two of the art forms; the moko and whakairo rakau, tended to traditionally be the domain of men, belie that female higher recognition is according to traditional gender roles. Additionally, females of at least two of the cultural groupings scored higher than males, for the other three art forms; **kowhaiwhai**, **taniko**, and **raranga kete**. This suggests overall better recognition by females of a diverse range of Maori art forms, and furthermore suggests that females are more susceptible to an appreciation of these forms. Perhaps better achievement by females all - around could partly be attributed to a renewed determination to succeed in the wake of the sexual revolution, with a subsequent valuing of the art of a cultural minority. Indeed, this is the most striking pattern in the results, that females largely scored proportionately, much better than males. There is not any obvious result of one gender of a particular culture faring better in recognising a certain Maori art form. For the control group also, there appears to be a trend that favours overall, higher female recognition. The following patterns however, can be commented on;

1. *Pakeha females scored proportionately better than all cultural and gender test-groupings for recognising the **tukutuku** art form This suggests that they are acquiring recognition through art education, although simplicity of name could have some bearing on the large percentage of correct responses;*
2. *Maori females showed much higher recognition for the **kowhaiwhai**, **Taniko**, **Whakairo Rakau** and **Moko** art forms, two of these not being traditionally associated with Maori women. A greater empathy with Maori Art forms could have its grounding in females' struggle for equality and the discovery of affinities between this and their struggle as Maori for cultural equality - for Maori women there exist two major struggles.*

3. *Surprisingly Maori Males scored the highest recognition of all test group categories for the **raranga kete**, of which there is little obvious explanation, except that the woven kit can be seen more often in a number of contexts today, and often in its utilitarian function for males as well as females.*
4. *Other Males scored the lowest recognition of the test group on most of the art forms, indicating perhaps the socially ambiguous position they themselves hold in society, and the lack of confidence they may feel with either cultural spheres.*
5. *The strikingly poor results for the groups Pakeha and Other in the majority of the results (way below 50% for **Taniko, Kowhaiwhai, Raranga and Whakairo Rakau**) does not point to a good level of recognition - especially significant for **kowhaiwhai** and **whakairo rakau** when they appear to constitute the main focus of Maori Art studies in School Art Studies.*
6. *It must be noted that the heightened identification by Maori, of the names associated with each Art form, may be accentuated by a large percentage taking formal Maori language studies at School; as shown in **Figure 3.13**. This could also be said to be true for the control group. However, 'Knowing about Art', as specified in the **Guidelines to the Syllabus 1991** should surely include the very basic naming of Art processes for the Art of the Maori as well as that of non - Maori.*

The results of this part of the research suggest that there are inherent inequalities between the sexes, in knowledge and appreciation of traditional Maori art forms. This brings to mind numerous issues of which discussion is beyond the scope of this research. However, if the education system is viewed as perpetuating structural inequalities according to gender as well as culture (see Ryan 1985:p 123 - 137) through the reproduction of a white dominant male middle - class ethos, then these results can be seen to have some significance if we are to change

perception of Maori art (see Bourdieu 1977). That males are demonstrating a lesser tendency to be able to positively identify Maori art forms could be construed as a reluctance on their part to accept Maori art as having a place in New Zealand society. If we are to alter peoples perceptions of Maori art, and gain some form of acceptance and appreciation of Maori art forms, then we have to also challenge strongly the thinking of the dominant group in society. As long as males tend to demonstrate lack of interest or acceptance, in maori art forms in schools, this challenge will fail to come in any haste - unless perhaps it comes strongly from the females.

#### **Attitudes of student participants**

Integral to the acceptance or otherwise of Maori art is the attitudes of different groups to Maori art. Observations during the implementation of the questionnaire gave particular clues to this. Three Pakeha males during the administration of the questionnaire to Form 5 students made derogatory comments about the nature of the questionnaire and referred to Maori art as being a 'waste of time'. They did not attempt to complete the questionnaire at all and made references to 'Nazism' as well as graffiti with racist references. Others however, appeared to enjoy the questionnaire and mentioned that although they had not learned much about Maori art they would like to. These contrasting attitudes give us insight into how, in many instances barriers against the learning of Maori culture are set up at an early age. Support for different conception of Maori art by the sexes is also demonstrated as relevant in that non-Maori respondents who showed eagerness toward the questionnaire was unanimously female. Ngata respondents tended to be off-hand in their attitudes, seeing the questionnaire as simple and Maori art as a matter of general knowledge. This indicates the ease these students felt for their culture in an environment that was congenial to the appreciation of Maori art.

## CHAPTER 5

## MAORI ART IN SCHOOLS: CONTEXT AND CONTINUITY

*"E kore au e ngaro*

*He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea".*

*"I am not lost*

*For the seed was sown in Rangiatea".*

(Taonga Maori 1989:p 17)

**The importance of context and continuity**

Maori people are the history and traditions, the language, customs, songs and rituals; an interrelationship of these things makes up the Maori way of life. Myths, legends and fantastic events are very meaningful to the Maori people, as they validate Maori existence and help guide Maori in their future destiny. The Maori see the past intimately bound with the future, and this entire relationship is validated and expressed through Maori art. (Taonga Maori 1989:p 17).

Whether working in the past or present, it stands that Maori art and its artists can not be separated from a strong tradition that is Maori. Culture is distinctive and by both birth and environment, Maori culture can be seen to permeate thinking and doing whether one is conscious of being Maori or not. Although the context of being Maori may have changed dramatically since pre-European times, culture is continuous, adapting and evolving through time, while still holding true to what it means to be Maori. Art expresses this continuity in very powerful forms. Yet if we conceive art as 'high culture' (as tradition has seen with European Art History being the context for New Zealand Art) Maori art is denied a context and continuity of its own. While there have been attempts to classify Maori art by contextualising it, (as with Sidney Mead's stylistic periods in Taonga Maori 1989:p 64; Terrence Barrow 1969; and of particular art forms such as

Sidney Mead's classification of taniko stylistic periods 1968) this has largely been due to individual effort and is only at the beginnings of gaining validity, by a small number of people who are particularly empathetic to Maori art and culture.

1. *"People have a gross stereotype of weavers as passive recipients of a repetitive traditional formula but in actual fact a lot of us explore our art form in various mediums." Excerpts of Dianna Prince's conversation with Megan Tamati-Quennell, 1993 (Pu Manawa: A Celebration of Whatu, Raranga, and Taniko 1993:p 6)*
  
2. *"Weaving is more than manual skills, more than producing a functional item, more than creating an item of beauty...Customs, traditions, history, music, oratory, legends and the needs of the iwi, hapu and whanau are all drawn together within an individual who becomes a weaver, who creates or weaves not for herself alone, but for the mana of the people". Taonga Maori, Treasures of the New Zealand Maori People. (Pu Manawa 1993:p 6).*
  
3. *"Ideally any pattern should be considered in relationship to its context by looking at it in the original house or site, in photographs or slides. The relationship of painting to the other traditional forms of tukutuku and whakairo embodies important tribal values". (Kowhaiwhai Arts. 1992:p 4).*
  
4. *"As the adze and the chisel bite, so does mauri reign.  
As the ancestor materialises, so does wairua emanate.  
As the poupou is smeared with kokowai, it is invested with significance.  
As the taumata atua is bound with fibre and clothed in feathers,  
it is elevated from a utilitarian object to one of portent and power".  
(Guidelines to the Syllabus, Art Education: Junior Classes to Form 7  
1991:p52)*

The above introduce us to the complexities of the relationship between Maori art and Maori culture, the embodiment of all social life in perhaps a single 'art' item, contextualised, and reaffirming the entire nature and continuity of Maori society. In particular the words embodied in (4) above describe how items that are created, are vested with the special spiritual significance and power of Maoridom; the mauri or life principle and the wairua or spiritual principle; an object representing to the Maori, more than aesthetic experience alone. In particular, we are reminded that art is not merely the rules of aesthetics, nor is Maori art simply the beautification of functional objects, but it is the fabric of life itself - Maori culture. We find in the other three statements the notion that art objects are adaptive and changing, yet still vitally connected with all Maori cultural concepts; customary behaviour, history and tradition and the needs of the maori community. That Maori art is interconnected with all other facets of Maori life, implies that Maori art can not be considered apart from the rest of Maori cultural life. We are offered also, in the words of (3), a clue how we may incorporate this interconnectedness in a classroom situation.

It is vital for people to have a breath of understanding for the traditional contexts of Maori art, but even more importantly to acknowledge the continuity of Maori art in the many forms, that changes to the Maori cultural concepts have occurred. Pakariki Harrison, for example, choses to challenge the tapu (sacred) constraints that traditionally surrounded the execution of carving projects, and which acted as a way of instilling respect for the art in a time when tapu pervaded the whole of Maori society. Pakariki choses to see tapu, in modern times, as embodied in the content of the carving and he affirms that his respect for the art comes from;

*"knowing its origins, its purpose and its content - the genealogies, the histories and the mythology of the people". (Maori Artists of the South Pacific 1984:p 31).*

Maori art should not 'stick our carvers in a straight-jacket' and be conceived as correct only in its adherence to traditional formula, but should see that 'our lives are just as relevant', according to Pakariki (Mataira 1984:p 31). Just so, it is not for the general populous to determine what Maori art is, especially to demand an adherence to the traditional, for Maori art is what is judged to be so, as part of the cultural expression of being Maori and making sense of the Maori world.

### **The secondary school syllabus defines the art context**

The recently released **Guidelines to the Syllabus, Art Education: Junior Classes to Form 7** (1991:p 51 - 69), the latest update on how to implement art at senior school level, attempts to deal with this very complexity of relationships that revolve around Maori 'art'. Under 'kaupapa' or philosophy, the Guidelines to Maori art education begin by offering explanation, as to the difficulty of finding a word in the Maori language that covers the same semantic field as the word 'art' in English. Roger Neich (1977:p 36) explores this notion (of Proskouriakoff's 1965:p 436, originally) in his study of Ngati Tarawhai woodcarving art, commenting that the terms used to render European concepts such as art, artist, carving, carver, beauty and ugly, when examined in terms of Maori 'art' exposes the deep differences in conceptualisation and categorisation of the world between two different cultures; Maori and European. The **Guidelines to the Syllabus** (1991:p 51) comments to the effect, that spiritual and cultural significance more often than not defines the Maori aesthetic, rather than any 'abstract idea of beauty'. It chooses instead to use the metaphor of the traditional cloak;

*"Te Kakahu o te Whakairo  
Kua kahutia te whare...*

*Tuia te rangi e tu nei  
Tuia te papa e takoto nei*

*Tuia te here tangata  
 Ka rongō te po  
 Ka rongō te ao  
 Tihe mauri tu ki runga...*

*Tane, te whare e tu nei, e tu, e tu, e tu  
 E tu i raro i te atamira  
 E tu hei kakahu whakamahana mo o tatou tinana, hinengaro hoki,  
 a, kakahu whakaruru mo nga uri kei te whakatiputia  
 i roto i nga tikanga a kui ma, a koro ma e noho nei i te huinga o te  
 Kahurangi".*

**(Guidelines to the Syllabus, Art Education: Junior Classes to Form 7.  
 1991:p51)**

The 'mantle of carving', Te Kakahu o te Whakairo is woven with intricate strands, enriched with feathers, and is subject to change by nature. Maori cosmology is alluded to, Rangi and Papa (Gods of sky and earth), darkness and light (life and after-life) and the connection with the ancestors and the traditions set down by them. The utilitarian function of the cloak is also alluded to metaphorically, as it keeps body and mind warm, so does the 'mantle of carving' shelter and warm the web of cultural life passed from generation to generation of Maori. The genealogical and mythical interconnections between the Maori artist, his forebears, and his Gods.

The visual metaphor, according to The **Guidelines to the Syllabus** (1991:p 51), speaks of the wind stirring the feathers of the cloak breathing life in to its surface, the changing light illuminating patterns of meaning through the textural nuances and allusion. Just as the cloak that is worn is a statement of the mana, or power, and tribal identity of the wearer, so too is every element of Maori 'art' a statement of Maori cultural identity and power. The saying reflects 'layers of

meaning and generates levels of interpretation' evoking the perceptual realisation in art, of allusion and illusion.

The **Guidelines to the Syllabus** (1991:p 51) goes to great length, in an attempt to resolve a definition, which will draw respect for the complex relationships within the Maori culture. Although the emotive use of the cloak as a visual metaphor to cover the semantic field of 'art' may be a good beginning to evoking an understanding, it is interesting to note that we must offer the explanation in terms of what in Maori could be taken to constitute definitions of 'art' in English, rather than simply comparing two different cultural processes of object creation. In Marxist vein, we are speaking of two culturally-specific processes of artistic production through labour, both of which require knowledge of the relations of production of each particular society in their contexts of evolution, rather than separating and reifying 'high art'. In some sense we are told to reconcile that Maori cultural products must be examined in the context of Walder's (1986:p 5) Definition 1;

*"The total network of human activities and value systems in a given society"*

with the historically eurocentric conception of art according to Definition 3;

*"The 'best' artistic and intellectual products and activities in a given society".*

The **School Certificate Art Course Prescription** (1991:p 18) suggests that in order for pupils to extend their creative imagination in art, they should be required to;

*"examine in visual and verbal terms their own attitudes and feelings towards the environment: places, objects, people and behaviour..."*

One might suggest that a good start could be to look critically at the historically culturally-biased conception of 'art' definitions and spheres of influence which constitute the basis of our attitudes and feelings, in order to establish a culturally-embracing defining concept of art rather than a culturally-exclusive one. If we were to resolve that all art involves contextualisation within a culture, and exists as a product of the social relations of production, as Williams (1983:p 5) taking up a Marxist perspective advocates, then perhaps we would have a less eurocentric slant to an approach that asks us to compare two very different domains of activities, one exclusive and the inclusive.

### **What is the context of Maori art?**

Contained in The **Guidelines to the Syllabus** (1991:p 52 - 55), under the heading 'tikanga Maori' (Maori customs or principles) is the statement that;

*"Along with the development of knowledge and understanding of Maori art there should be a nurturing of, sensitivity to, and respect for Maori cultural values...In traditional Maori society, there is a close relationship between the carved, painted, or woven art works designed for architectural structures and those designed for clothing, personal adornment, tools and weapons. All these draw on cultural significance, alongside their formal art elements".*

Firstly, Maori art has never been denied the context within culture, indeed more often than not it was denied existence as 'art'. Neich (1977:p 49) asserts that, in carving anyway, the Maori aesthetic put little stress on the aesthetic for aesthetic sake, being more concerned for the communicative aspect of carving. It is also questionable whether there was an implicit identification of the aesthetic with beauty, or that beauty was the aim of Maori art. This should not be held as a basis with which to reject that Maori art is 'art', but to look more for an art that lives or exists, and is made sense only in the context of the entirety of Maori culture. This need not necessarily be considered problematic, yet the

splitting of utilitarian life from culture that has occurred in New Zealand as a colony of industrialised England has historically created the notion that it is problematic to consider that the functional art of the Maori should be considered 'art'. (Beatson & Cox. 1982:p 354). The majority of the activities of pre-European Maori which Europeans think of as belonging to the utilitarian sphere were in fact soaked in what Europeans would describe as 'purely artistic activity'. However, if we are to consider Maori art now, within what has historically been firmly established as art in New Zealand, we must naturally look to building a cultural understanding of Maori, against a backdrop of predominantly Eurocentric cultural understanding which has created the institutional and art ideology up to the present time.

According to The **Guidelines to the Syllabus** (1991:p 52);

*"the concept of distinguishing between precious 'art' objects and objects of utilitarian design cannot be applied to Maori art. All forms made for personal and community use have special value and significance... Such aspects of Maori culture, if understood and integrated into learning, will enhance any programme which introduces Maori art".*

It then goes on to discuss four aspects of 'tikanga Maori' Firstly, tangata whenua (the local people of the land), the recognition that the Maori have created art which belongs to them and is sacred, and therefore ideally should be consulted when creating works. Whanaungatanga (relationship between art work and the community), the conservation requirements of natural materials and the relationship between people and the environment. Noa and tapu (positive and negative balance), and wairua - the link between physical, spiritual and cultural. (The Guidelines to the Syllabus 1991:p 52 - 55)

While the Guidelines acknowledges fundamental differences between Maori and non-Maori New Zealand art as embodied in four very important aspects governing Maori art production, it is interesting to note that it does not explicitly advocate the mandatory requirement for Maori art to be placed in one form or another of these contexts. The requirement is merely to 'nurture sensitivity and respect' which if understood and integrated will 'enhance', in effect what is essentially to be analysed in predominantly eurocentric terms. Even Pakariki Harrison (Mataira 1984:p 31) would advocate that it is essential to understand concepts of tapu, rather than purely the aesthetic experience of Maori carved forms.

Spirituality, a level of understanding which may or may not be evident in European art forms, is perhaps a controversial component of Maori art forms, and that is not to advocate the acquiring of knowledge that is specifically for Maori to know. Students must however, be clear that spirituality is more important at the simple level of conceiving relationships between such as parts of the meeting house art forms; the relationship between materials of creation and Maori being, rather than intimate knowledge of gods - as the thoughts of Pakariki Harrison on tapu express. (see Mataira 1984:p 31). Sensitivity and respect is only gained through this type of knowledge, and it to be gained requires explicit knowledge of Maori art context and continuity.

We must cast aside our ethnocentricity for a moment and consider that for an entirety of a culture Maori have different conceptions of their whole being. Surely if we are to appreciate and respect their art then we are bound to appeal to the greatest depth of understanding we are able, without having been born of that culture, to afford Maori art these things? If Maori art is conceived as the totality of activities and values of the Maori, then we can not achieve this respect without considered the totality of the picture - Maori culture. For pupils, if art education is to provide;

*"... students with important knowledge about the society they live in, and about the ways in which cultural and artistic influences shape their environment", (Art Education: Junior Classes to Form 7: Syllabus for Schools 1989:p 5)*

then we must contextualize traditional forms within the present and afford them a continuity, just as we do the European masters with modern paintings, a tradition and growth of their own. We cannot deny them the respect that we accord our own art and traditions, as part of the society in which we live.

According to one researcher, Phoebe Duffrene (1990:p 3, 5), native American art is studied with romantic misconceptions of Indians as 'non-technological, stoneage artisans', while dismissing the evolving nature of their culture. Successful native American art usually exists as tourist curios not art, and is only authenticized as art if it follows the rules of European aesthetic. (see '**The art-culture system**', Clifford 1988:p 224). While our syllabus guidelines contends to deal with this 'romantic' notion of the Maori, I would contend that the following has been occurring in the interpretation and implementation of the art curriculum up to the present day;

1. *There is a tendency for teachers to perceive certain traditional Maori art forms as non-aesthetic, and select only those that can neatly be described in European terms or appear to resemble familiar symbols, eg. Maori kowhaiwhai can be frequently incorporated as pattern, and the more elaborate wood carving as people images, especially the moko used to identify maori people in portraiture,*
2. *There is a tendency for teachers to ignore traditional processes involved in the production of certain Maori art forms in favour of simply borrowing patterns;*

3. *There is a tendency to treat traditional Maori forms as traditional, and modern as painting, with little or no consideration for continuity between the two;*
4. *There is a tendency to ignore the relationship, spiritual, physical and cultural, in teaching about Maori art forms - generally put down to time factors and the necessity to 'cover the prescribed syllabus',*
5. *Most Maori art education occurs through eurocentric delivery methods which are inadequate and often rely on deficient classroom-based resources,*
6. *Very early examples of Maori art are considered too simple in nature to bear studying as they are considered inferior to the European art tradition,*

Dufrenes (1990:p 4 - 15) study maintained that the native American worked through the symbols of art to enrich their physical and spiritual world, and therefore through 'powwow' (Indian dance), clothing, styles of dances, traditional incense burning, and exposure to a wide range of native Indian art, he hoped to put students in touch with tradition as well as modern in an environment of cultural appreciation and understanding.

Even further, I maintain, students must have strong knowledge of traditional Maori art, study the way it has developed and changed, and perceive analogies between these through to the present. In art delivery, these things must be taken in to consideration, and innovative measures must be taken to ensure the maximum benefit of delivery which takes in to account the inherent eurocentric disposition of the majority towards recognising and valuing that determined Art by the status quo. Without this grounding, what students learn becomes valueless, and their learning predominately dictated by the dominant cultural ideology. Therefore in undertaking this section of the analysis I wished to examine whether students could perceive a continuity and the context of certain forms, and to what extent was there a perceived knowledge of this relationship.

### Recognising the contexts and continuity of Maori art forms

The research in this chapter was undertaken to determine two main levels of knowledge the students may have about the contexts of different Maori art forms, working from the general to the specific;

1. *In the first test exercise I wanted to ask; Do students understand the context of **production** certain Maori art forms? Do they perceive the relationship between the final art form and the process of creating that form? To ask this I asked the pupils to match up a picture of a traditional Maori art work with the correct process in another group of pictures, for the traditional forms; tukutuku, taniko, kowhaiwhai, whakairo pounamu, raranga, moko, kakahu, and whakairo rakau. The aim was to draw conclusions about what Maori art forms may be being placed in context in the schools, while also investigating how responsiveness to, or awareness of these forms may differ by gender or cultural identification;*
2. *The second test exercise asked more specifically whether pupils recognised the **context** of certain Maori art forms, in the most common form that shows **continuity** with tradition today; the meeting house. Since even at the most simplest level, the Maori art forms of tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, and whakairo rakau gain their meaning only in the context of the meeting house, and in their relationship to each other, then art education should place these three traditional art forms in context, even when examining the more modern contexts of these art forms.*
3. *The third test exercise was more specific again, and was chosen due to the observed high incidence of Maori carved figure appropriations in much of the painted, printed and drawn figurative forms of secondary school art students. I wanted to discover whether students could particularly identify parts of the outside of the meeting house on which carved wooden forms appear; in modern and traditional contexts. It is*

*taken for granted when studying English-based art concepts, that we can identify the contexts of particular art forms in our own society - such as architectural forms. However, given the cultural and spiritual importance of the contexts Maori wood carvings appear in, and that Maori cultural is not the norm or status quo for the largest part of the population, then true Art education which addresses Maori art should seek to contextualise the carved forms, especially in order to perceive the **continuity** between these and other forms, and the 'living' cultural context of carvings today.*

### **PART I: The context of production of Maori art forms**

When we choose, while producing, critically evaluating, and consuming art - patterns of representation, to like or dislike, a basket rather than the patikitiki pattern of tukutuku to signify abundance - we are making powerful discriminations based on our own cultural repertoire. As Berger (1985:p 11) mentions, this is strongly situated in history as;

*"When we 'see' a landscape, we situate ourselves in it. If we 'saw' the art of the past, we would situate ourselves in history... In the end the art of the past is being mystified because a privileged minority is striving to invent a history which can retrospectively justify the role of the ruling classes, and such a justification can no longer make sense in modern terms".*

We have the added element here of hegemony or the ideology of the ruling class which acts to justify a continued eurocentric view of art, for the benefit of the ruling class. (Wolff 1981:p 52). Therein lies the notion that eurocentrism becomes purposeful so that a certain class in society continues to benefit from a historical mystification of art, such as the focus of New Zealand art on an imported English history and art culture. (Beatson & Cox 1982:p 354).

The first part of the research works from the premise that to see past this bias, or at least to challenge the eurocentric view we have as members of, and part of, the history and traditions of New Zealand society, we have to aim for a broader understanding of Maori culture and art similar to what Duffrenes (1990:p 4 - 15) proposes for an understanding of native American art. A full and rich understanding, although possibly not attainable to the extent that a Maori person may hold this knowledge, can only be obtained by 'cultural criticism' of ones own culture and art (New Zealand European), based upon a sound knowledge of the Maori culture in order to challenge our perceptions of our own culture. (Marcus & Fischer 1986:p 111 - 136).

This challenge must begin at school, if we are to accept Bourdieu's (Brown 1973:p 80) theory that schools have an integral role in reproducing social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next. At the basic level of secondary school Maori art education, cultural critique involves building up a knowledge and appreciation of traditional Maori art forms - not simply by pattern (for we use our own cultural repertoire to judge this) but by contextualising Maori art in terms of tools, processes, spiritual and cultural values, and historical development of both the Maori and their culture. At the very simplest and certainly the elementary level, I maintain, this must involve knowledge of the traditional process of creation of a particular object or art form, and the situations in which this art form or object appears, before one can even appreciate the spiritual and wider cultural value of the art object to the Maori people. The first part of this chapter looks at eight different traditional art forms of the Maori, and asks whether students have an elementary appreciation of the traditional Maori art forms of;

*TUKUTUKU      TANIKO      KOWHAIWHAI      WHAKAIRO POUNAMU*  
*RARANGA      WHAKAIRO RAKAU      MOKO      KAKAHU*

**Perceiving contexts of Maori art forms according to cultural identification**

The following results, **Table 4.1**, were obtained for the three cultural groupings (in the case of this section of the research 94 total responses were collated), compared with the control group when asked to perceive the contexts of production of the eight different given Maori art forms;

**Percentage of correct responses to contextualising Maori art forms according to cultural self-identification 1993**

	Kakahu	Kowhaiwhai	Moko	Pounamu	Tukutuku	Whakairo	Raranga	Taniko
Maori	87.87879	96.9697	93.93939	100	81.81818	93.93939	81.81818	63.63636
Pakeha	80	76.66667	66.66667	83.33333	70	66.66667	76.66667	53.33333
Other	90.32258	87.09677	64.51613	90.32258	87.09677	77.41935	74.19355	70.96774
Ngata	90	90	90	80	100	90	90	90

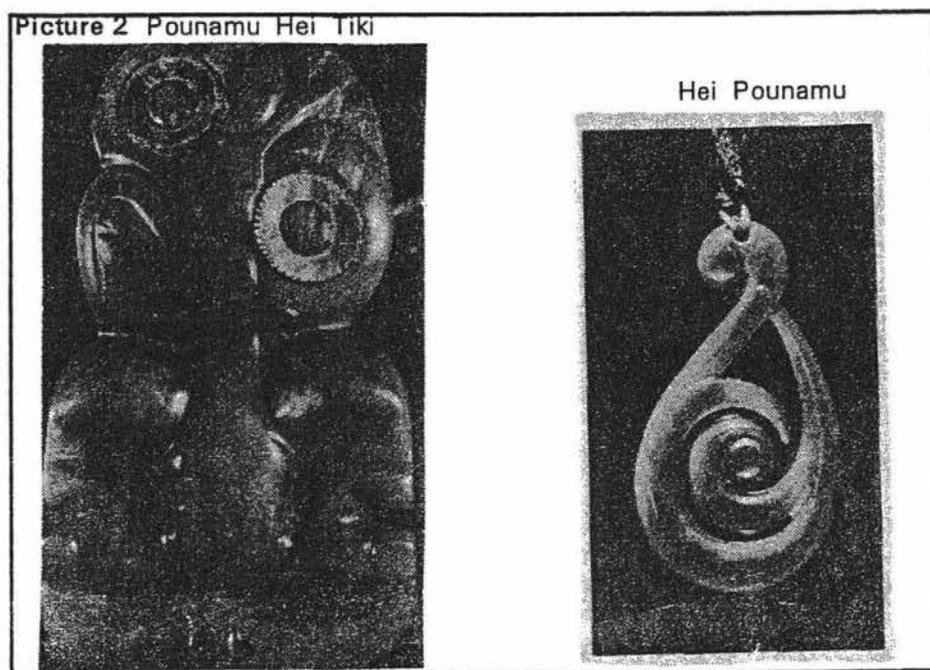
**Table 4.1**

The results show that Maori had the highest success in perceiving the relationship between the two examples, 100% correct responses, for the whakairo pounamu. Ever since the increased popularity of jade or pounamu objects such as pendants for tourist momentos, there have been ample pendants of a Maori nature, and less scrupulous imitations, flooding the tourist market. The plastic 'tiki' (figurative form), or hei tiki as it should be correctly termed in necklace form, has been a common appropriation.

In recent times there has been a resurgence of Maori wearing pounamu necklace forms of a more traditional nature, probably stemming from a heightened awareness of the appropriations, and a desire to reclaim the hei tiki and other forms as identification of Maori cultural affiliation. This is one possible

explanation for the strong identification of the pounamu forms by the research participants who identified as Maori.

**Correct matching of pounamu forms given in pupil questionnaire 1993**



**Figure 4.1**

For Pakeha there is also a high identification, possibly again due to the high profile of tourist imitations in the past. For the group 'Other' it may be suggested that they are less sure of the pounamu forms than Maori, but more sure than Pakeha. A possible explanation for the high recognition of all groups, and a criticism of the survey design, might be the choice of the traditional hei tiki form, paired up with a very modern pounamu necklace form (see **Figure 4.1**). The two forms chosen differed from the others, as they were related according to material of creation and only, whereas every other example asked the participant to perceive a relationship in the method of creation of the object.

It would perhaps have been more interesting to look at the results of perceived affinities between an alternative traditional pounamu form such as a ceremonial adze, and the process of creation of pounamu forms. This may have separated student's art knowledge from general knowledge outside that learnt in art education, and given a greater indication of whether students understood the contexts of traditional pounamu forms. I would suggest therefore, that high response to this particular art form, at least for the three culturally-identified groups, does to a large extent not reflect knowledge they have gained through the school art curriculum, but their recognition of an affinity between the images and what has gained acceptance in a different form (not as art, but as inauthentic object according to **The art-culture system**, Clifford 1988:p 224) in New Zealand society.

Identification of kowhaiwhai ranks high within the three groups, especially again with the Maori at 97% recognition. We have already determined in the previous chapter, that Maori have a greater recognition of the koru form than the other two groups, at the junior stage of secondary school. Although the Pakeha, scoring considerably less at 77%, had high recognition, and 'Other' at 87%, this may also be due to the nature of the survey question.

The second example in **Figure 4.2**, provided a closer look at a kowhaiwhai pattern and a relationship between the two pictures could easily be perceived just by looking at the forms. As there were equal numbers of pictures, a flaw in the test design was that basic deduction played a part in responses. However, it has been established that kowhaiwhai has been given a profile in schools, and it cannot be discounted that students may have achieved recognition through art education.

Correct matching of kowhaiwhai forms given in pupil questionnaire 1993

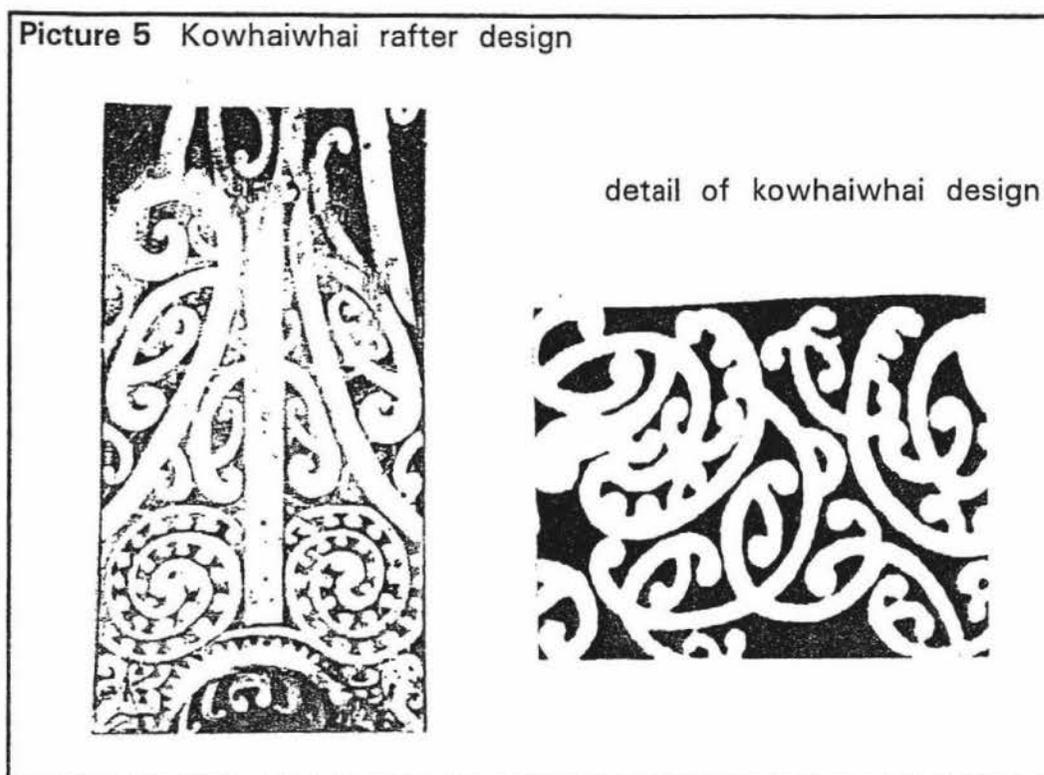


Figure 4.2

The lowest overall responses were recorded for taniko (see **Table 4.1**), 64% of Maori respondents correctly identifying the process of weaving the muka or flax fibre with the Taniko border of the cloak in **Figure 4.3**, 'Other' 71% and Pakeha only 53%.

**Figure 4.4** shows that the Taniko border was most commonly confused with the flax weaving process involved with raranga, 9 of the 94 that responded confusing these two processes. It seems there was a high incidence of confusion both ways, the raranga kete mistakenly identified with the whatu process of Taniko, indicating that the process of both forms was not clear to at least 10% of respondents.

Correct matching of taniko forms given in pupil questionnaire 1993

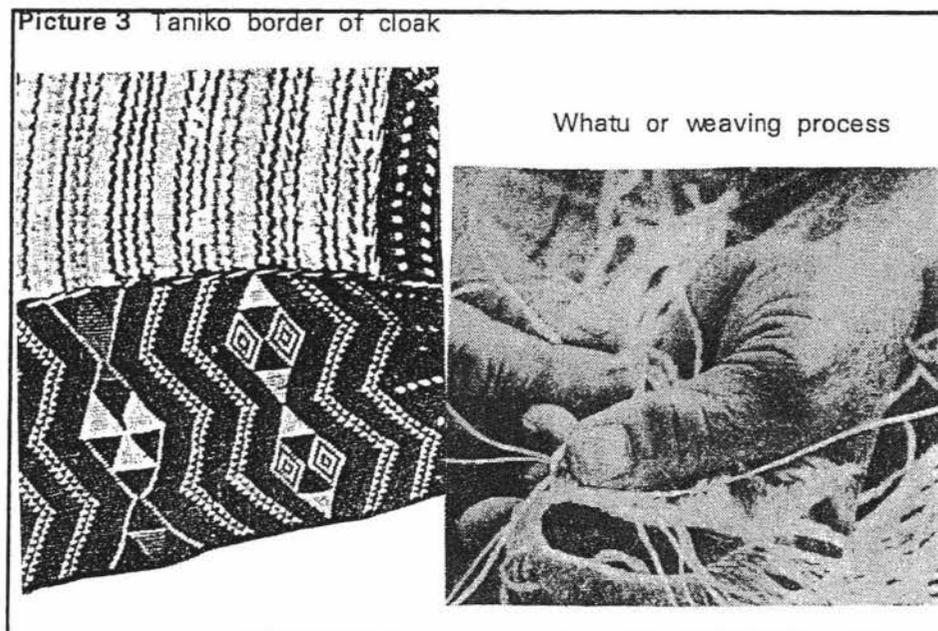
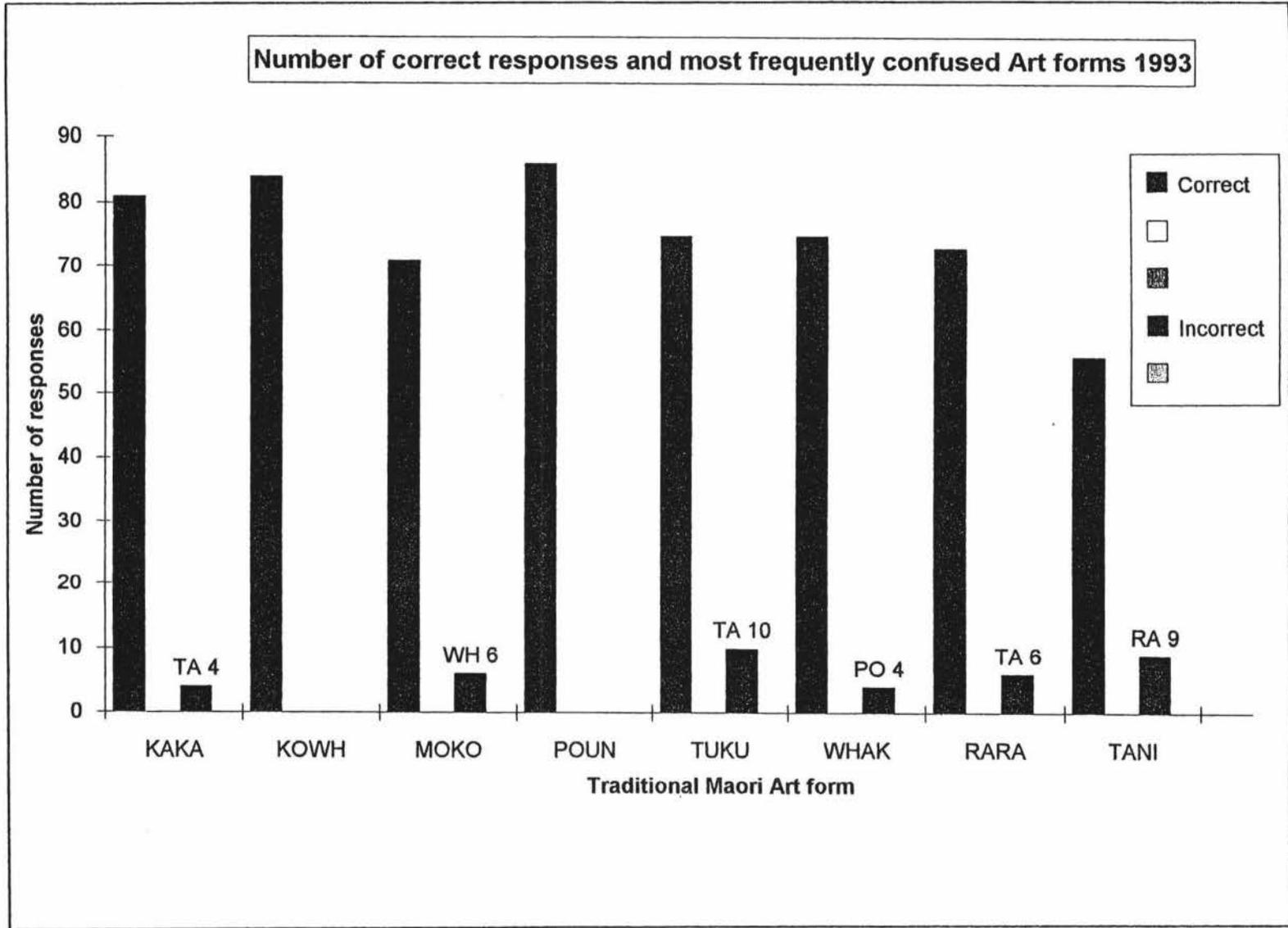


Figure 4.3

Knowledge of the processes involved with the taniko art form, probably reflects the low profile Taniko has in modern New Zealand society, as this method has largely been superseded by the European forms of tapestry and embroidery. A simple association of weaving with fabric, may have even contributed to the percentage of correct responses, although low identification by Pakeha suggests that there is a lack of emphasis on taniko art forms in art education in schools. Furthermore, as **Figure 4.4** depicts, there was a tendency to confuse the process of whatu with the raranga kete (woven kit), the kakahu, and tukutuku panel.

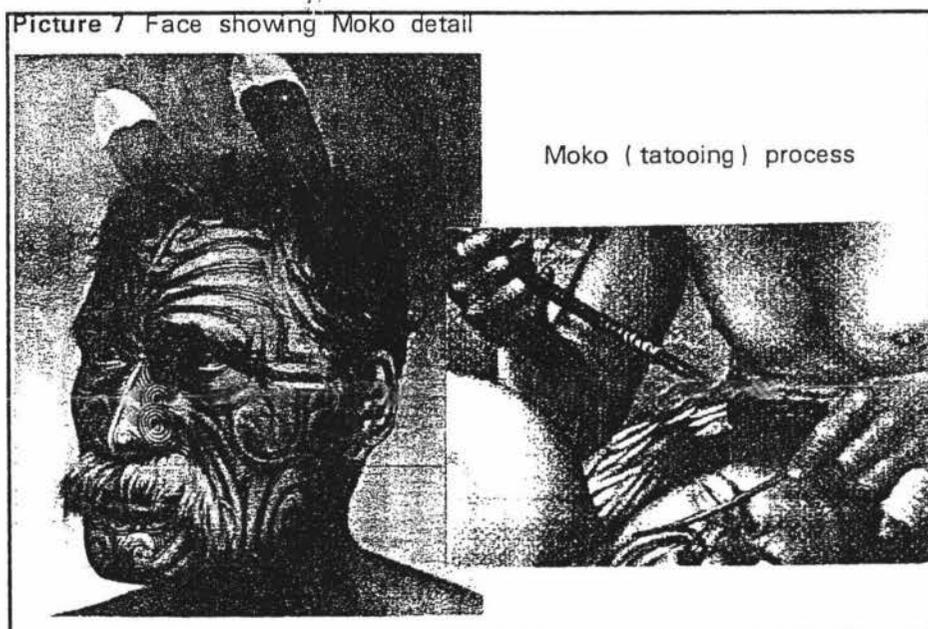
If it was not for the possibility of simple deduction in the questionnaire, I maintain that the responses for taniko would have been significantly lower. Due in a large part to the reason mentioned, of its low profile in modern society, but also due to weaving traditionally being considered 'craft' rather than 'art'.

Figure 4.4



The percentage of correct responses to the moko or tattoo form was much lower for Pakeha and 'Other' than for Maori; 67%, 65% and 94% respectively. The second picture, **Figure 4.5** was clearly one of process, showing the art of maori tattoo using traditional tools. For the Maori there appear to be a heightened awareness of the moko form in present day, and there is a resurgence of people taking the moko in both traditional and non-traditional form. In the Gisborne area there are at least two Maori practising this art form; one with modern needles and well-researched traditional design, and another using traditional chisel methods with clearly pan-pacific designs. The first 'tohunga ta moko' is also an artist in the contemporary sense, and explores the moko form in many of his art projects. That moko is a very accessible visual art form in the Tairawhiti area contributes, I believe, to the heightened recognition of this form. For the Maori, a conscious awareness of the moko as a symbol of the pride in being Maori, has contributed to the higher relative correct response to identification of the moko process, rather than art education per se.

#### Correct matching of moko forms given in pupil questionnaire 1993



**Figure 4.5**

It is interesting to note the most commonly confused response to the face possessing the moko, was the process of wood carving (see **Figure 4.4**). This may be due to the incidence of carved figures that depict the moko, either as a likeness of a living person, or as an indication of the mana or prestige of a particular person. In conclusion, the responses to moko would seem to indicate, despite the element of deduction possible, that moko forms may be paid some attention in the school art curriculum, perhaps in the context of carved wooden forms, but that prior knowledge may contribute more.

The percentage of correct responses to the feather cloak or kakahu are relatively high for all groups, with the group 'Other' achieving 90% recognition. While cloaks have become increasingly accentuated, especially seen in formal ceremonies, they have tended to be less emphasised in art education.

Factors that could have a bearing on the correct identification of the kakahu with the second detail in **Figure 4.6** include the simplicity of the association between the two pictures - but also could have something to do with the predominance of cloaks in museums. The identification seems particularly high considering that the cloak has little association with the modern European-based art methods that are the focus of the art curriculum today. The results suggest, that a high number of correct responses were arrived at by a combination of a matter of deduction and simple picture association, rather than knowledge obtained from an art education.

**Figure 4.4** also suggests that there was some lack of confidence in responding to the taniko and kakahu forms. Given that 4 out of the 94 total responses confused the taniko process, although technically correct, with the kakahu, if there was confidence in identifying the kakahu or taniko, the whatu process would have clearly not been confused with the kakahu in the context of this questionnaire.

### Correct matching of kakahu forms given in pupil questionnaire 1993

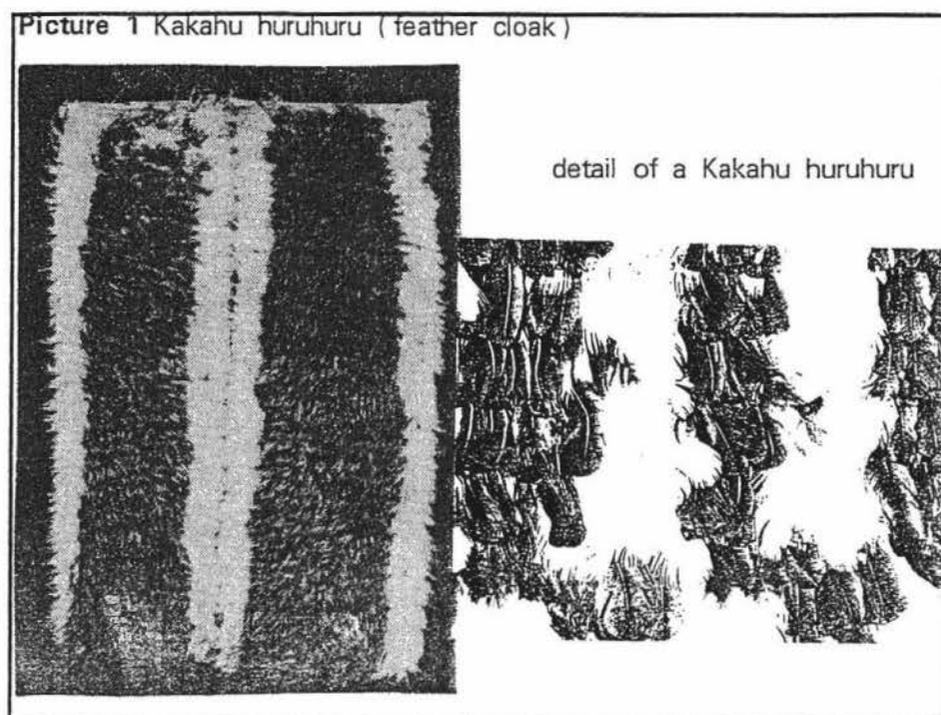


Figure 4.6

In the context of other responses, the tukutuku correct responses were about average with Maori 82%, Pakeha 70% and 'Other' the highest at 87% (see **Table 4.1**). The interesting result of identification of the tukutuku was the high incidence of confusion with the whatu hand-woven method which was associated with the taniko border (see **Figure 4.6**). Presented in **Figure 4.4** we see that 10 of the 94 respondents confused the two processes of whatu with the tukutuku. This would indicate that there was not necessarily a high familiarity with the tukutuku form given that the associated second picture was merely the detail of a tukutuku design. However, given that access to tukutuku examples is within reach in the Tairāwhiti area, it would be expected that pupils would have contact with this form through events associated with the marae, whether privately or through school contacts.

Correct recognition of tukutuku forms given in the pupil questionnaire 1993

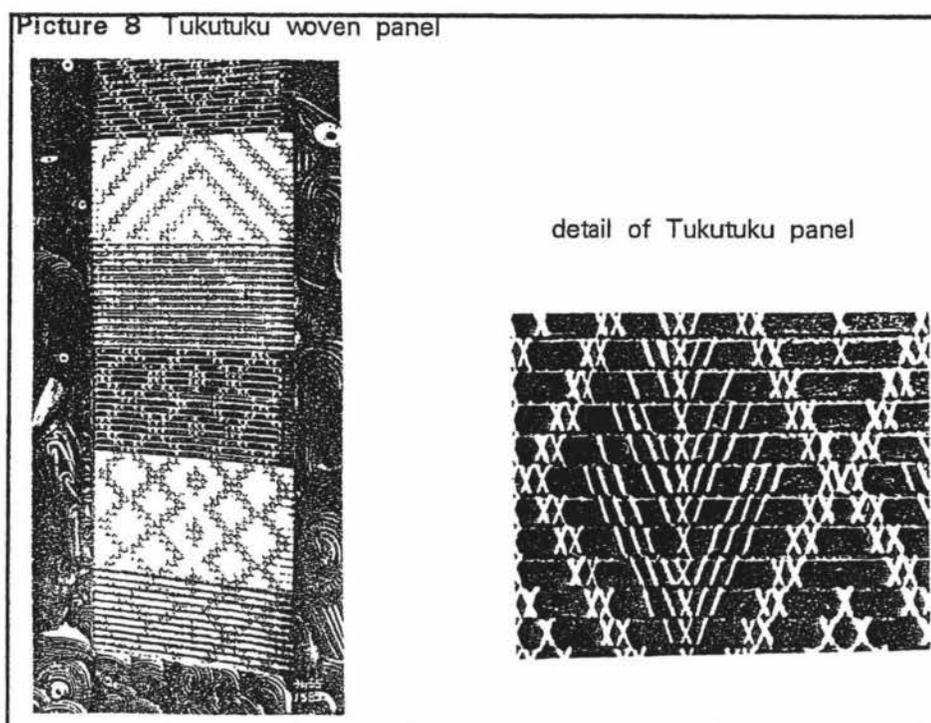
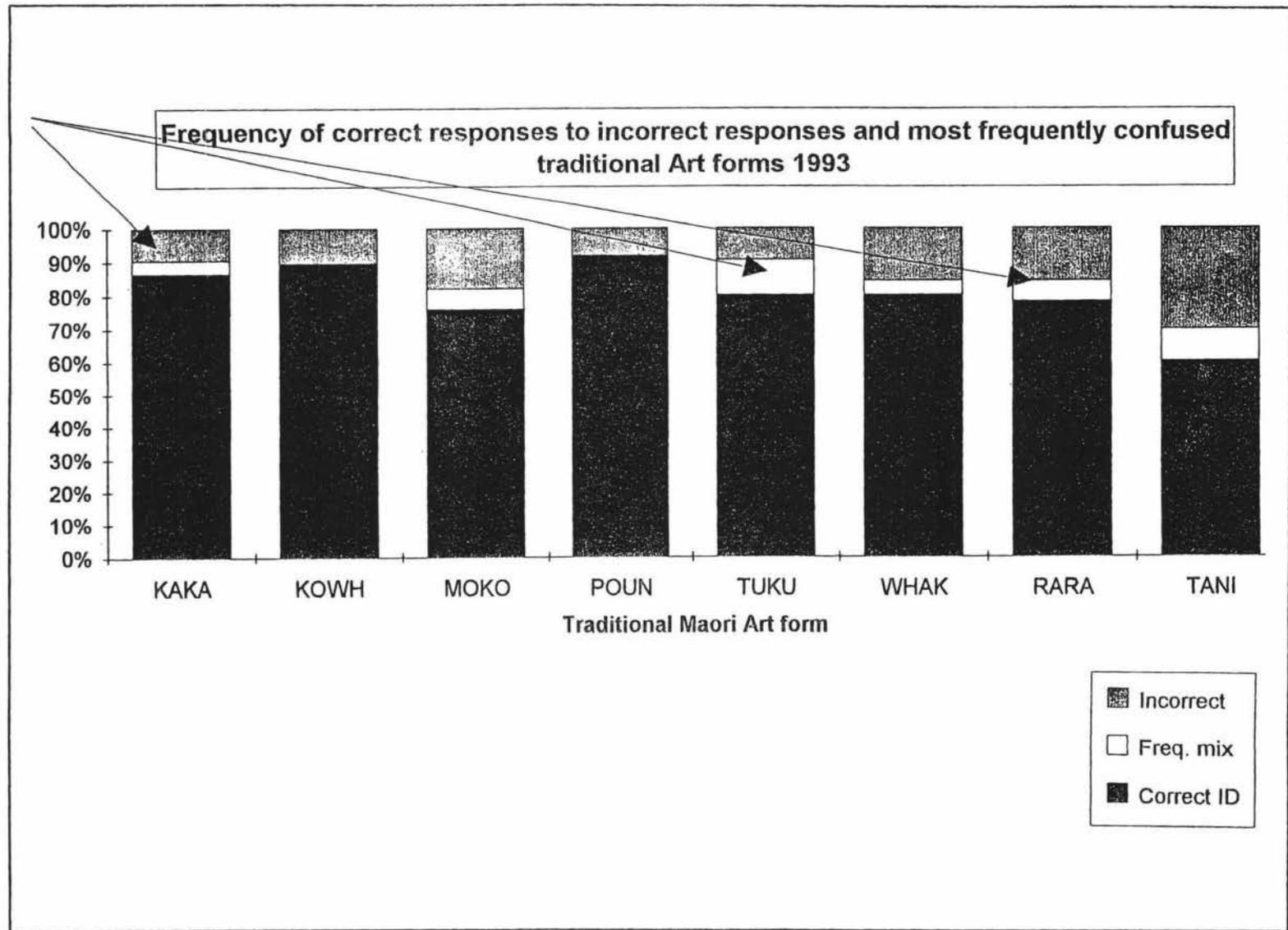


Figure 4.7

Figure 4.8 shows the three forms of which the whatu process was most commonly mistakenly identified as the process. We may accept that it is correct to identify the handwoven method with the cloak (kakahu) but the relationship with tukutuku and raranga is more obscure. It seems those questionnaire participants who were more unsure of the process of taniko, tended to confuse the answer when trying to work through a process of deduction to obtain a match for all the forms depicted. They may well have been sure about a number of the forms, but this did not extend to a surety of the three woven forms. This would suggest that there is a general weakness in an appreciation of the woven art forms of the Maori, a notion that could be reconfirmed by the traditional classification of weaving as 'Craft' and the historically less emphasised women's art.

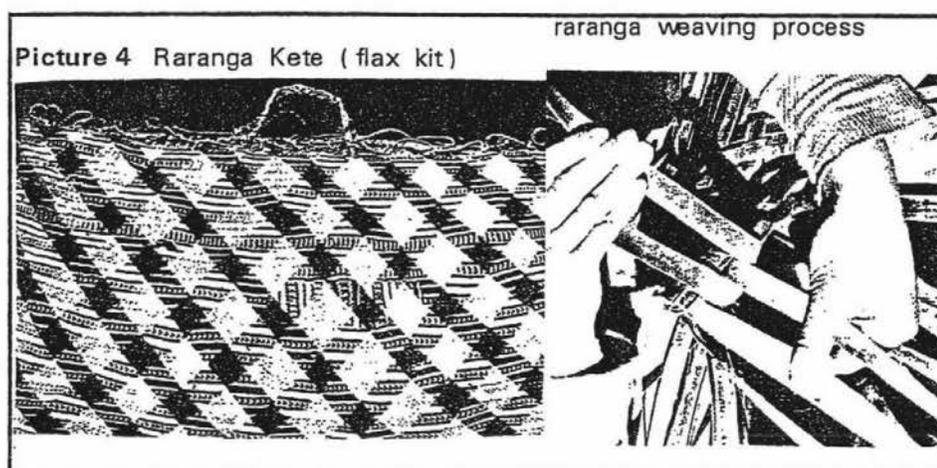
Figure 4.8



The results for raranga were again average for the responses to the eight art forms with Maori scoring 82% recognition, Pakeha 77% and Other 74%. I expected more striking results for the raranga kete (see **Figure 4.9**) being matched correctly with the flax weaving process depicted, mainly due to the incidence of kits witnessed functioning as carry bags, even by students. There also appeared to be a focus, in art studies, on observing and drawing light and patterning on woven kit forms. While I was researching at the research School, the students were following through on observations of woven forms, in pencil and paint. It was therefore surprising to find that the responses to raranga scored relatively low correct responses.

When we observe the results in **Figure 4.4** we also see that the taniko method was most frequently confused with the raranga kete, by 6 of the 94 respondents. As an example the kete shown was fairly old and of a very fine pattern, students may of assumed that it had been made from the stripped flax form of muka rather than the conventional raw flax method of raranga. This would indicate that these students were not strongly familiar with the woven process of raranga, as they would have had no hesitation in matching the two pictures in **Figure 4.9**.

#### Correct recognition of raranga forms given in pupil questionnaire 1993

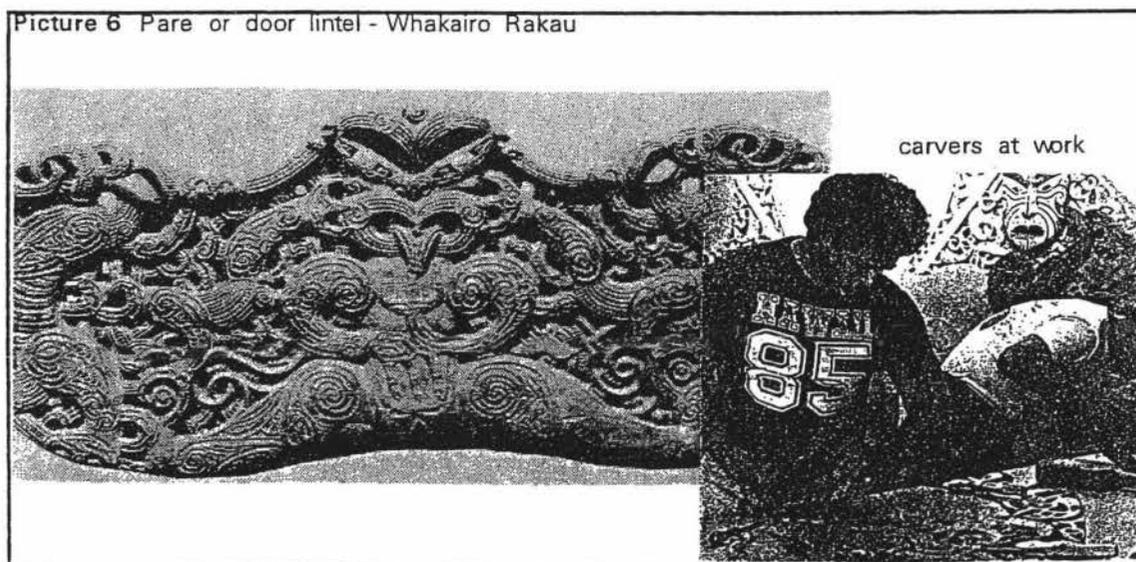


**Figure 4.9**

There is a spread of results for whakairo rakau with 94% of Maori respondents correctly identifying the process with a traditional wood carving (see **Figure 4.10**), and a large gap to 77% for Other and 67% for Pakeha. The results were surprising, given that carved forms, or information borrowed from carved forms, appeared in much of the Maori-orientated work produced at the school. There is also a great deal of traditional and modern examples in public places around the township. It seems likely that Maori have a heightened awareness of the processes associated with the carved wooden forms, and significantly lower results for the other two cultural groupings suggest, that higher Maori recognition would occur with or without emphasis on the carving process in art studies. The results also suggest that the other two cultural groupings are not particularly strong in recognising carving processes, while they tend to concentrate on rendering what is depicted on the finished carved form in other media.

#### Correct recognition of whakairo rakau forms given in pupil questionnaire

1993



**Figure 4.10**

While there appeared to be faults in the test design, the following tentative conclusions can be discerned;

1. *Maori pupils unanimously identified the **pounamu** form, and both Pakeha and Other responded highly due to the proliferation of Pounamu tourist curios, although the nature of the test design makes it difficult to draw conclusions as to the role art education has played in positive identification;*
2. *There was a high identification by Maori of the **kowhaiwhai** form, and slightly lower from the other two groups indicating, as koru recognition would support, that pupils are learning to recognise kowhaiwhai patterning in the course of their art studies at school, although such high results are probably more a result of the nature of the test design;*
3. *Lowest responses overall were attained for **taniko**, and the taniko process was the most commonly confused art form. This indicates a lack of recognition in the art curriculum of the taniko art form and that the results were over 50% recognition probably indicates test design flaws;*
4. *Maori probably identify with the **moko** art form more due to a heightened awareness among Maori in general of the moko as a visual symbol of Maori identity. Average responses by the two other cultural groups, and the incidence of mistaken association with the wood carving process would suggest that pupils are recognising the moko form through its rendition on wood carvings, rather than learning about moko as a process in itself in art education;*
5. *The general above average recognition of the **kakahu** in the context of this test, suggests that the simplicity of the test had a large role to play, and responses which identified the whatu process would have to be considered correct responses. It is hard to draw conclusions about the*

*knowledge of kakahu, but we can't rule out that pupils may be learning about its process through art;*

6. *Pupils' response to **tukutuku** was average, although poor when the simplicity of association and the high incidence of mistaken identity with the **whatu** process, is considered. The results suggest, taking in to account the flaws in test design, that **tukutuku** knowledge through art education is extremely low in schools;*
7. *While there were average responses to **raranga**, in the context of the test design, the nature of the association would indicate that pupils have a good knowledge of **raranga** processes, probably through knowledge attained in art education in observing and learning about weaving although confusion with **taniko** indicates that confident recognition is not unanimous;*
8. *Maori had extremely high frequency of recognition of **whakairo rakau** processes compared with the other cultural groups - who had average recognition. Given that correct responses would have required the students to have adequate knowledge of wood carving processes, there is some indication that pupils are attaining good knowledge of the context of carvings in art studies;*
9. *Looking at **cultural self-identification** it would appear that Maori have a heightened awareness of most Maori art forms, all except the particular woven forms of **tukutuku**, **taniko** and **kakahu**, and background knowledge combined with this awareness probably contributed to their high frequency of correct responses. 'Other' more frequently scored either better than Maori or inbetween Maori and Pakeha, probably reflecting their bicultural origins and a heightened awareness of their Maori heritage as well.*

### Comparing responses with control group responses

Table 4.2 shows the percentage results by cultural self-identification, the percentage total responses of the 94 respondents who correctly identified each Maori art form, compared with the control group.

**Percentage of correct responses to contextualising Maori art forms 1993**

	Kakahu	Kowhaiwhai	Moko	Pounamu	Tukutuku	Whakairo	Raranga	Taniko
Maori	87.87879	96.9697	93.93939	100	81.81818	93.93939	81.81818	63.63636
Pakeha	80	76.66667	66.66667	83.33333	70	66.66667	76.66667	53.33333
Other	90.32258	87.09677	64.51613	90.32258	87.09677	77.41935	74.19355	70.96774
TOTAL	86.17021	89.3617	75.53191	91.48936	79.78723	79.78723	77.65957	59.57447
Ngata	90	90	90	80	100	90	90	90

**Table 4.2**

Comparing the cultural responses, with the control group responses demonstrates that for all but the pounamu art form, Ngata respondents either equalled or bettered the proportion of correct responses from the cultural groups Pakeha and 'Other'. Ngata respondents correctly identified the tukutuku, raranga and taniko proportionately more often than any of the cultural groupings. These three art forms ranked proportionately much lower for the cultural groupings of the research group, which would indicate that, for these three forms in particular, there is a great deal of influence from outside art education from which pupils may learn about these weaving processes. For tukutuku in particular, with 100% of respondents from Ngata recognising the art form context, frequent contact with the meeting house where tukutuku panels may be found probably plays a large part in the correct identification of this form.

That Maori responses bettered those of Ngata in the kowhaiwhai, moko, pounamu and whakairo art forms may be due to a variety of factors. For the kowhaiwhai, it is likely that art education in schools has played a part in the proportion of Maori correct responses, indeed it is possible that art education has contributed to

the proportion of correct responses for all these groups. However, we must keep in mind; Firstly, that the moko form is a 'living art' in the urban city of Gisborne and that it may be a more conscious symbol of identity in the city where young Maori may be trying to assert their identity; Secondly, that the pounamu may fall into the same category as the moko and the 'tourist curio-style' of the more modern pounamu pendant may be less likely to be considered 'maori' to the Ngata respondents, and Thirdly, the wooden objects depicted being carved, may have not been considered 'traditional carving' to the Ngata respondents. Nevertheless, the proportion of correct responses by Ngata students to identifying the contexts of these four forms is still high, in the absence of formal art education in the secondary school.

For the kakahu Ngata pupils were slightly lower in the proportion who correctly identified the form, than Pakeha, and lower than all of the research group in correct responses to pounamu. This indicates perhaps a heightened awareness by Pakeha of the cloak form, although explanations as to why would merely be speculation. As for the pounamu, it would seem there is strong evidence for there being unwillingness on the part of some Ngata respondents to accept the modern example as bearing a relationship to the traditional hei tiki. Indeed, in the absence of formal art education in this rural area, it seems that Ngata respondents tend towards a more traditional view of Maori art forms. This may be supported by the fact that Ngata respondents who did not poll a correct response, did not forward a response at all, which would indicate that they only responded on those they were sure of, rather than working through a process of deduction.

Looking at **Table 4.2** we see the total proportion of correct responses of the test group, graphically compared with the Ngata correct responses. This demonstrates that only for the pounamu, did Ngata respondents as a total proportion, score lower than all of the 94 research group respondents. This is a strong indication for the cultural understanding which can be attained by living in the context

where art forms both exist and are being created to serve much the same function as in traditional times. While the pounamu is a unique case, I believe, there may be some evidence for the kakahu and kowhaiwhai forms being placed in context in the art curriculum. Although the case is probably stronger for the kowhaiwhai, given the past emphasis on koru forms in schools in general.

The comparisons with Ngata indicate very strongly that the traditional weaving forms of tukutuku, raranga and taniko are especially undervalued in the art education context, with the high recognition of Ngata students suggesting that these forms are still particularly valued in the rural community. Although this doesn't necessarily indicate that they are perceived as 'art' by the population; however, given that traditionally there was such a strong relationship between all traditional art forms, of dance, song, and the forms dealt with here, there is no reason to assume that they have lost that status. What also seems apparent is that these woven forms still function in similar contexts and/or are relevant in the community today - since high recognition would support this.

#### Perceiving contexts of Maori art forms according to gender

Females, in both the main research situation and the control situation, scored proportionately higher correct responses than males;

#### **Percentage of correct responses to contextualising Maori art forms according to gender 1993**

	Kakahu	Kowhaiwhai	Moko	Poumanu	Tukutuku	Whakairo	Raranga	Taniko
Female	86.2069	100	75.86207	96.55172	96.55172	82.75862	93.10345	75.86207
Male	86.15385	84.61538	75.38462	89.23077	72.30769	78.46154	70.76923	52.30769
TOTAL %	86.17021	89.3617	75.53191	91.48936	79.78723	79.78723	77.65957	59.57447
Ngata Fe	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Ngata Ma	75	75	75	50	100	75	75	75
TOTAL %	90	90	90	80	100	90	90	90

**Table 4.3**

This could indicate a number of things, typified by certain theories;

1. *Females find closer affinity with Maori art forms in particular; perhaps in the perception of there being a strong relationship between women's struggle for equality and that of the Maori or, other social theorists may pose that perhaps the cultural and spiritual nature of Maori art appeals more to women's femininity;*
2. *Following on this idea is the historical notion that art is a 'soft option' more suited to non-academics or women, female students perhaps still possessing an inherent and inner belief of the truth in these words and herefore perpetuating the myth by achieving particularly well in arts in general;*
3. *That women are indeed beginning to achieve more highly in general in Schools, having recovered and learnt from the feminist revolution, to turn education to their benefit;*
4. *That women are have an inborn disposition to the arts.*

Let us look more closely at the results of **Table 4.3** in order to provide information about these ideas. Female respondents (of which there were 29) scored proportionately much higher for kowhaiwhai, taniko and tukutuku, than male respondents (65), for the test group. They also responded, to a lesser degree, proportionately higher for raranga. For the weaving forms at least, of tukutuku, raranga and taniko, there would appear to be a particular affinity of females to these forms. This in same ways corresponds with the context of weaving in New Zealand society being traditionally women's domain. There has been a tendency to also associate the woven arts with women in traditional Maori society, although there is reason to believe that this may be ill-founded. In the traditional context, for tukutuku anyway, the tapu constraints placed on the construction of the meeting house or whare whakairo meant that women were banned from the house

until it was completed. As the structural demands of the meeting house traditionally meant that the tukutuku panels had to be constructed on site, males were the ones responsible for the construction of the tukutuku panels. (Jahnke 3 1992:p 9). Men were also not excluded traditionally, from the taniko and raranga art forms.

It would appear, that for the woven forms anyway, females have taken on board some of the historically persuasive stereotyping of what females should accept as part of being female. Perhaps a combination of so-called 'intuitive affinity to woven forms', the classic stereotyping of the suitability of woven arts to women, and perhaps a general affinity born of ideological reinforcement of women's suitability to arts in general - have contributed to this generally higher recognition of females to the Maori woven art forms. I would suggest, that rather than an 'inherent disposition' to the woven forms, women are merely responding to the persuasive dominant ideology that women are more suited to the 'Arts' and particularly those which were more commonly known as 'craft' forms traditionally. (Beatson & Cox 1982:p 369 - 374; Ryan 1985:p 123 - 137).

That females form the general test situation tended to identify the kowhaiwhai patterning may also be related to the nature of the certain spheres of art women were historically associated with. Much weaving, for Maori and Europeans, involves an appreciation and development of pattern. Even women's traditional association with work in the home, and the incidence of pattern relationships in the home context, may explain a heightened awareness or affinity with such, as the patterns involved in kowhaiwhai. This is not to deny men of having sensitivity to pattern, but merely to suggest that this could be one explanation for the differences in gender responses. This does not rule out reasons that are discussed further on, for females proportionately better response to other Maori art forms.

That the test females also identified the whakairo rakau process, and pounamu, both which were traditionally created by males in Maori society, lends some weight to the thought that females perform better in the arts related subjects at school, rather than just weaving per se. This has probably largely more to do with the historical association of women with the 'non-academic' subjects in the school system, (Ryan 1985:p 123 - 137; Ramsay 1985:p 103 - 122) and art as being considered one such 'non-academic' subject in the past. If there is still sub-consciously, a tendency to this attitude both in the minds of females, and in society, it may be likely that 'non-academic' males tend more towards art than 'academic' females - or the results tending to reflect just plainly more interest in art in general, by females.

Examining the male/female responses of the test group with that of Ngata students, see **Table 4.3**, there does appear to be a more positive relationship between females, and the various Maori art forms generally. The number of students surveyed in the control case, was small; making generalisations difficult. However, Ngata females all recognised the eight Maori art forms by their contexts, whereas Ngata males scored proportionately lower; down to 50% for the pounamu form. Generalisations can not be safely made about Ngata females being more aware of woven forms in particular, but the results do tend to point towards a greater affinity towards Maori art forms in general, or at least a heightened awareness of Maori Art - in the absence of formal art studies at secondary school. Explanation for the low Ngata male response to the pounamu, would also tend to reinforce the theory previously put forward in this study; that the Maori males living in the rural context, surrounded by their Maori culture and art, do not perceive so strongly an affinity between modern pounamu symbols and the traditional hei tiki.

### Perceiving contexts according to cultural identification and gender

For the total males surveyed in the main test group, 65 in all, those who correctly identified the Maori art form with the context or process of creation were compared, according to the proportion of correct responses by cultural self-identification. In all cases, Maori males scored significantly better recognition according to total registered correct responses. This bears support for the theory that there is a heightened awareness, by Maori males, of all Maori art forms. Although this does not in any way rule out that art education has a part to play in the recognition of Maori art contexts, it does suggest that Maori males have a greater awareness of these forms than what is being taught about Maori art in art per se. This awareness, although not measurable in this context, may be largely due to other aspects of the Maori students environment other than art education; for example formal Maori studies at School or greater contact with contexts such as the marae situation. In some sense these results are positive for Maori males as they suggest that Maori are retaining recognition at least, and perhaps traditional values, associated with their cultural traditions.

It is interesting to note that the results are significantly different for Maori females. In the case of females, the group 'Other' scored significantly higher as a group, in the proportion of correct responses to each art form. This would appear to dispute the theory that Maori in general have a better awareness of Maori art forms. The major difference however, may be better explained by looking at the difference in the way Maori males and Maori females tended to view their cultural ties in the context of this research project. When students were asked to identify Which group best described them, they were given only four options (The two respondents identifying as 'Other' in the initial questionnaire were left out of the analysis, as it was not expected that the size of this group would be significant enough to warrant separate examination.);

MAORI/PAKEHA/MAORI AND PAKEHA/OTHER.

If we look at the total number of students who could claim some Maori heritage no matter what cultural grouping they prefer to identify themselves with, we get the following results;

**Comparison of the way Maori male and female students perceived their cultural identity 1993**

CULTURAL SELF - IDENTIFICATION	Maori Females	Maori Males
No. identified as 'Maori'	8	25
No. identified as 'Maori / Pakeha'	12	19
Total No. with Maori cultural origins	20	44
Proportion identified as 'Maori'	40	56.81818
Proportion identified as 'Maori / Pakeha'	60	43.18182

**Table 4.4**

**Table 4.4** shows that Maori females were more likely to group themselves as being both Maori and Pakeha, and males; more likely to group themselves as Maori (remembering that in the context of this research responses to 'Maori and Pakeha' have been given the label 'Other' after actual responses to 'Other' in the questionnaire were ruled out). This is likely to have its origins in numerous ideas surrounding concepts of self-image and cultural-awareness. It could be seen that Maori females are more likely to see themselves as bi-cultural and wishing to acknowledge this, or it could be construed that Maori males would prefer to identify themselves as first and foremost - Maori - reflecting a wish to reassert a strong Maori identity. Whatever the premise, it does seem highly possible that the strength of Female 'Other' correct responses, compared to male 'Maori' correct responses, may reflect the patterns of preferred cultural self-identification shown in **Table 4.4**. In the context of the entire results of this section I would maintain that this is the best explanation given that females had a higher identification with most forms than males (**Figure 4.11**), and that the cultural groupings 'Other' and 'Maori' generally scored proportionately higher than 'Pakeha' (see **Figure 4.14**) on

most Maori art forms. If Maori had not scored higher in both gender and cultural grouping of data, then the assumption would not be so easily made.

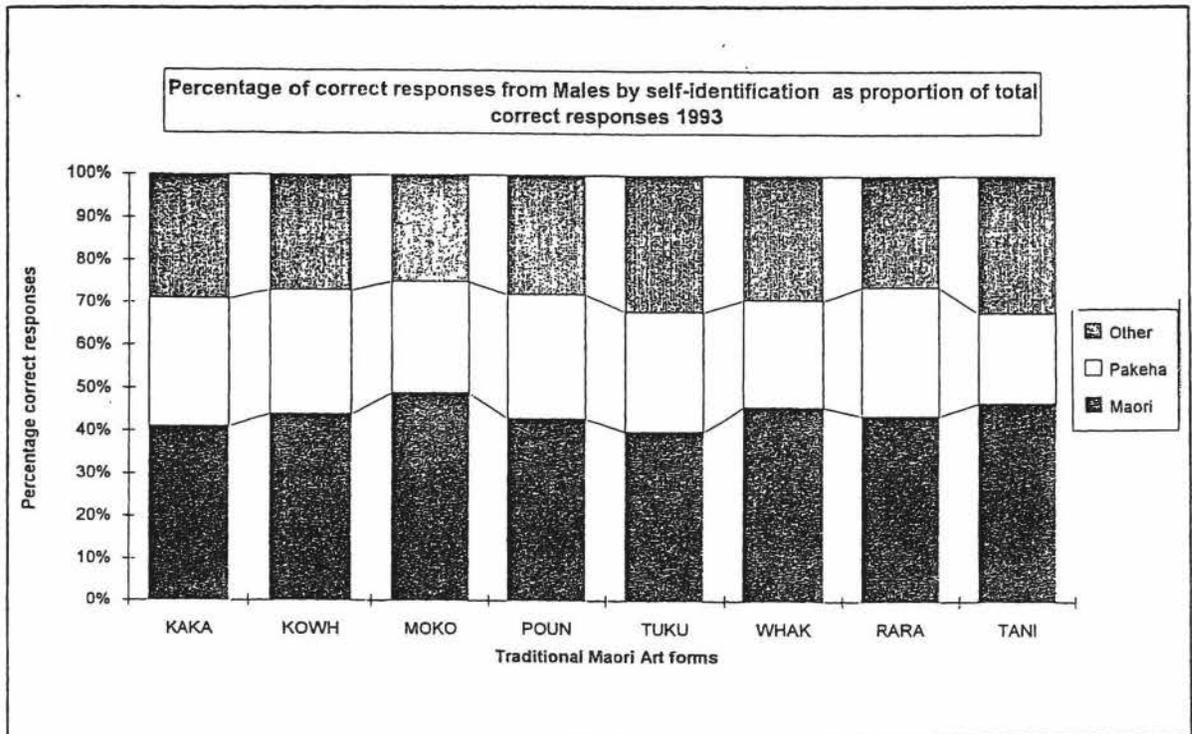


Figure 4.11

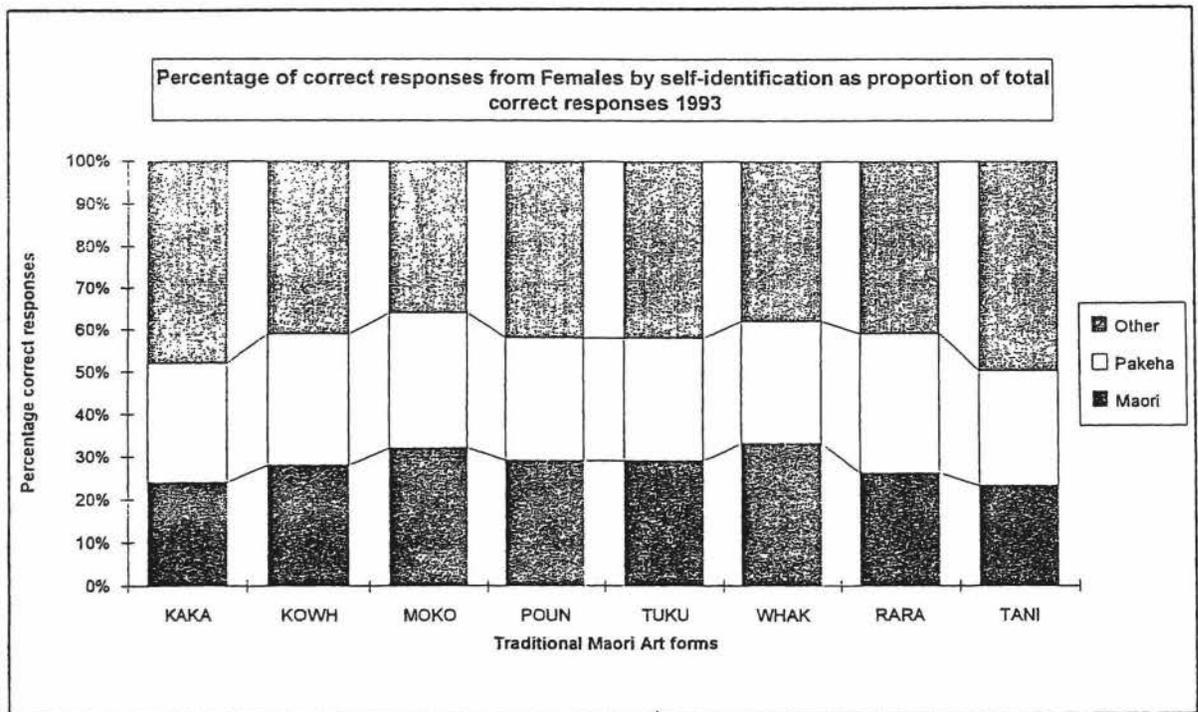


Figure 4.12

Looking at the proportion of correct Pakeha responses, to the other two cultural groupings for males and females (**Figure 4.11** and **Figure 4.12**), there is a perceived consistency between the sexes for each Maori art form, with a slightly better response by Pakeha females to most of the art forms, as perceived in the observations of general gender differences. This also lends support to the theory that Maori females tendency to identify as 'Maori and Pakeha' has somewhat skewed the results, since the gender trends suggests females responded significantly better than males and Maori better than Pakeha and Other and one would expect that if this was consistent for Pakeha then it should be consistently demonstrated for other groupings.

## PART II: Inside the whare whakairo

The marae (meeting ground) is central to Maoridom, and the associated buildings; the meeting house and dining hall. It is an important place for discussing issues concerning the tribe or sub-tribe, and more importantly, it is the place where people are remembered and farewelled. The marae was, and still is, central to the Maori as the turangawaewae, or 'place to stand' for the people belonging to the particular marae. It is 'vibrant and alive' in its function as a ceremonial focal point, and is subject to strong rules of protocol and etiquette; the kawa, of the tribe. (Australian Museum 1989:p 25).

The central building of the marae is the meeting house, referred to as the wharenuī or whare whakairo due to the large nature of the size of the house or its carved adornments respectively. Developed historically from a combination of the chief's house, church and temporary guest house (and exhibiting a continuity from the canoe in carving tradition) the meeting house is a strong context for all that embodies Maori culture. The art forms of rafter painting (kowhaiwhai), wood

carving (whakairo rakau) and lattice work (tukutuku) feature inside the meeting house, and embrace important aspects of Maori culture both as separate art forms, and in their relationship together.

Sidney Mead describes the significance of wood carving in all contexts, including the meeting house;

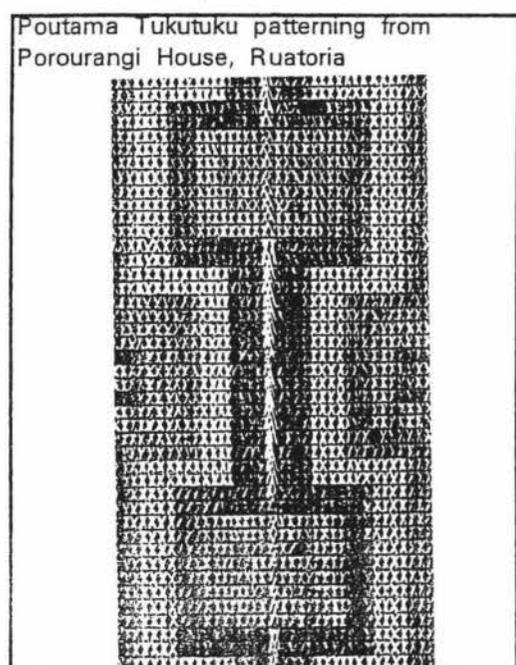
*"We treat all our artwork as people because many of them represent our ancestors who for us are real persons. Though they died generations ago they live in our memories and we live with them for they are an essential part of our identity as Maori individuals. They are anchor points in our genealogies and in our history. Without them we have no position in society and we have no social reality. We form with them the social universe of Maoridom". (Australian Museum 1989:p 45).*

The carving of a meeting house is the ultimate achievement of distinguished and famous carvers, the tohunga whakairo or master carver, and embodies knowledge of Maori cosmos, creation and continuity alluded to in the words of Mead. To appreciate Maori carving, at the simplest level, is to recognise the importance of the meeting house context and the relationships told in the carved images. (Australian Museum 1989:p 45-51; Simmons 1990:p 19-24). It is also to appreciate the importance of placing carving in the context of all art in the meeting house, as the carrier of knowledge that is essentially Maori culture.

While latticework panels were to develop solely in the house context from a method of insulation, to incorporate decorative effects when a change of weaving technique was employed, they too have a context and significance of their own. (Hiroa 1958:p 306). According to Jahnke (3 1992:p 9) tukutuku panels reflect and support the themes of the carved ancestors symbolised in the house, especially that of which it is situated between - the poupou or sideposts of the house. For

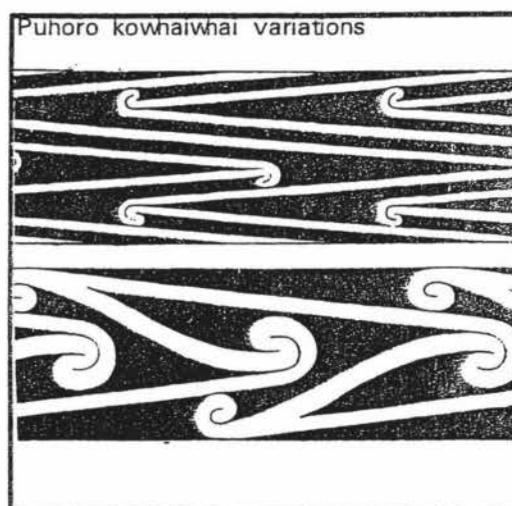
example the 'poutama' design, depicted, **Figure 4.13**, in the variation specific to the Ngati Porou of the East Coast area, stands for education, advancement, striving, planning and success. It may be used with reference to an ancestor 'who supports his family, sub-tribe and tribe'. (Taiapa 1953:p 5, 4). Not only is the recognition of particular patterns integral to an appreciation of tukutuku, but so too is a recognition of the context as reinforcement of the relationship of art forms and culture in Maori life.

**Ngati Porou poutama tukutuku pattern**



**Figure 4.13**

**kowhaiwhai puhoro pattern**



**Figure 4.14** (Phillipps 1960:p 19)

Unfortunately in-depth discussion on the painted art, or whakairo tuhituhi of the kowhaiwhai patterning on rafters, has been made difficult by the lack of surviving painters at the time literature was being assembled on this particular art form. (Phillipps 1960:p 13). There is but merely suggestion that the patterns themselves have significance, Phillipps (1960:p 20) suggesting that the 'puhoro' design in **Figure 4.14** may symbolise speed, the curling of waves - as it appeared initially on the bow of canoes. In the absence of supporting evidence, one can only

speculate that there is a likelihood, given the significance of other art forms inside the whare whakairo, that kowhaiwhai forms inside the meeting house could have had significance in traditional times beyond mere decorative function. It is highly possible that the names and designs had a deeper and more direct relationship with important tribal values, and special characteristics of the tribe and its people. Apart from this (as mentioned in Chapter 3) there is the particular significance of the central tahuhu. This reflects the genealogical record of the tribe shown by the pattern transformations of the kowhaiwhai, and the allusion of the painted rafters to the ribs of the ancestor the house may depict. (Simmons 1986:p 39 - 41). While stylistic qualities, and the naming of patterns is significant in an appreciation of the kowhaiwhai arts, clearly the kowhaiwhai must be examined also in the context of the house. This accounts for the patterns and their context contributing to the notions of continuity, through death to life, and the reaffirmation of Maori cosmology. (Jahnke 1991:p 5).

This section of the research starts from the premise that, in order to begin to understand the significance of the three art forms of kowhaiwhai, tukutuku and whakairo rakau, students must first be able to recognise the context of these art forms inside the whare whakairo. For in the modern development of the meeting house, the house represents the common ancestor; from the koruru mask at the apex representing the head, and the inside of the house the poho or belly of the ancestor. Inside, the kowhaiwhai rafters and the carved side-posts; symbolise the ribs of the ancestor; the kowhaiwhai or carved ridgepole; the backbone, and the carved figures on the two main support poles inside the whare; the figures on the main geological line. Generations of ancestors, depictions of ancestors and distinguishing features of certain ancestors, symbolic use of colour and pattern, and spiritual relationships are all encompassed in the three art forms - combining together to reinforce cosmology, birth, death and after-life; the entirety of Maori concepts of existence. (Simmons 1990:p 39 - 40).

### Contextualising art inside the whare whakairo according to culture

Students were asked to choose the best word from the list below in **Figure 4.15**, to fill the numbered blanks in the descriptive sentence (also shown below). The level of recognition required, of the three art forms was simple association of art form with context. In addition to this pupils were asked to identify the Maori name; poupou, of the main wood carving context that is often used as the source of motivation for art studies in schools. The 'raranga kete' was included in addition, as an extra word to determine whether pupils were clear in their identification of the art contexts inside the whare whakairo.

#### Describing the inside of the whare whakairo, pupil questionnaire 1993

Word list and sentences	
<u>Word list:</u>	
KOWHAIWHAI	WHAKAIRO RAKAU
TUKUTUKU	POUPOU
THATCHING	RARANGA KETE
<p>The carved figures on the side poles of the house are the ancestors of the tribe. They are called the ----- 16 ----- . The side posts and the horizontal base board are examples of Maori wood carving which is also called ----- 17 ----- .</p> <p>Between the carved panels are the ----- 15 ----- panels which are woven in a special way from flax. On the roof there are poles called 'heke' that hold the roof up which are decorated with ----- 14 ----- patterns. In between the heke is the ----- 13 ----- of the roof.</p> <p><u>(Remember to write your answer by the picture)</u></p>	

Figure 4.15

Pupils were then asked to write the correct word response, next to the same number in the picture given of the inside of the whare whakairo, in order that they may have the fullest description possible of the art form; in written and visual terms. The picture given to questionnaire participants is shown in **Figure 4.16**.

Associating name to parts of the inside of the whare whakairo, pupil  
questionnaire 1993

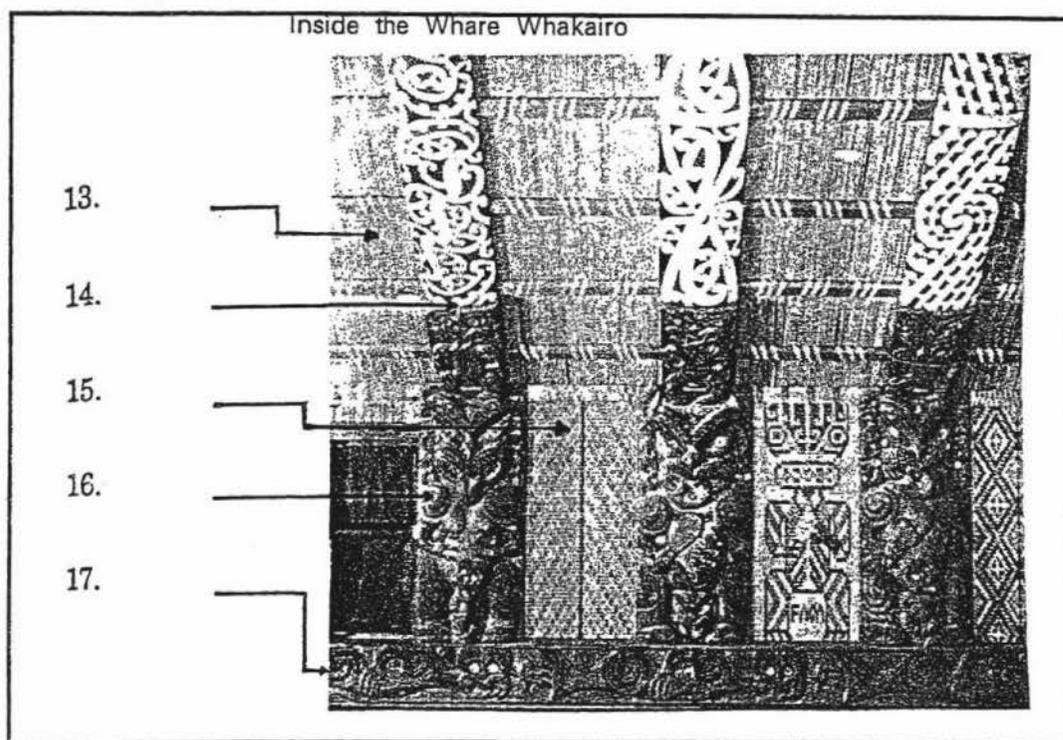


Figure 4.16

Responses of 92 students were collated according to cultural self-identification, as well as Ngata responses, and the results are shown in **Table 4.5** in terms of the number, out of the total five, of correctly identified contexts pupils described by association.

**Percentage of respondents, according to cultural identification, that scored a certain number of correct contexts out of a possible five 1993**

% RESPONSES	0	1	2	3	4	5
Maori	27.27273	18.18182	18.18182	24.24242	6.060606	6.060606
Pakeha	41.37931	27.58621	13.7931	13.7931	0	3.448276
Other	43.33333	13.33333	13.33333	13.33333	10	6.666667
Ngata	20	0	0	30	10	40

Table 4.5

The results show that of the three cultural groupings, Maori polled the highest correct responses, followed by 'Other', and then Pakeha. Approximately 36% of Maori students scored at least 3 out of 5 correct responses, compared with 'Other' close behind at 30%, and Pakeha further behind with 17%. The control group showed much more success, with 80%. A large percentage of 'Other' and Pakeha students could not identify any of the contexts at all with 43% and 41% respectively, not recognising the contexts of any of the three forms. Maori featured less in the '0' correct responses; 27% and Ngata even less at 20%. (see **Table 4.5**).

Maori and 'Other' scored relatively the same proportion of 100% correct responses, however 'Other' scored proportionately higher in the four out of five correct responses' category. The success of the group 'Other' probably reflects the dual heritage ; Maori and European, and the heightened awareness by some of the grouping, of their Maori origins. For the Pakeha the results are decidedly less successful, and is likely to reflect more closely the contribution the art curriculum has played in the acquisition of knowledge of Maori art in the *whare whakairo*.

The results for the Ngata group demonstrate the extent to which factors external to secondary school art education can contribute to Maori art knowledge. Given that the rural community has a high Maori populous from which the school draws, it is hardly surprising that Ngata students showed a high proportion of success. Most students would have frequent contact with the *marae* and meeting house situation in the course of every-day life. This also highlights the extent to which Maori cultural experience and participation in ceremonial life, has probably played in the successful results of the two cultural groups; Maori and 'Other'. it would also reinforce the idea that the Pakeha results indicate a better proximity of Maori art knowledge obtained through art education in the secondary school.

The results clearly show that over 68% of students questioned could not, at least recognise the contexts of the three art forms inside the whare whakairo, of kowhaiwhai painting on the heke or rafters, the tukutuku and whakairo rakau. This is surprisingly low considering that there was a high proportion of students who in **Part I** of this part of the research could identify the three forms; kowhaiwhai; tukutuku and whakairo rakau, according to the process of creation or immediate context. This would suggest one of two things; either that;

1. *Part I of the research in to the contextualising of Maori art forms was too simple and resulted in inflated results in terms of the proportion of students who actually recognised the context of these three forms, or;*
2. *Students are not, through the course of their secondary education, being exposed to the actual whare whakairo context of these three art forms.*

The results are extremely low, and indicate a real lack of emphasis on contextualising Maori art in the meeting house. Given that the low proportion of Maori failure (compared to the other cultural groups) to identify at least three out of the five contexts (approximately 63% Maori recognising two or less compared with Pakeha 83% and Other 70%) and that there is a high probability that Maori students are acquiring knowledge outside of the classroom as well, the results for the group Pakeha particularly highlights the weakness of studies towards placing Maori art in the context of the whare whakairo. That mere superficial attention is being paid directly to the patterns of certain Maori art forms, rather than the contexts, is supported by the lower proportion of correct results in this part of the analysis compared with Part I.

#### **Contextualising art inside the whare whakairo according to gender**

The 92 responses can also be grouped according to gender in order to determine whether there emerges any sort of pattern in the receptivity of the sexes to contextualising Maori art forms. **Table 4.6** shows these results;

**Percentage of respondents, according to gender, that scored a certain number  
of correct contexts of art inside the whare whakairo out of a possible five  
1993**

% RESPONSES	0	1	2	3	4	5
Total Males	45.3125	18.75	15.625	12.5	4.6875	3.125
Total Females	17.85714	21.42857	14.28571	28.57143	7.142857	10.71429
Ngata Males	25	0	0	25	0	50
Ngata Females	16.66667	0	33.33333	0	16.66667	33.33333

**Table 4.6**

**Table 4.6** shows that females from the test group responded proportionately higher than males from the same group, especially in identifying three of the five contexts, and three or more contexts. Males were represented particularly higher in the 0 responses, indicating a notable difference in the recognition of the whare whakairo context between the sexes. Perhaps this indicates, either a better receptivity or sensitivity to Maori art forms and education by females, or conversely that methods of actual Maori art education delivery for males are not successful in enhancing male responsiveness to Maori art. Once again we could draw conclusions as to the historical sexual debate, and also question in terms of the continued acceptance of Maori art in society, whether we are actually working towards rectifying the dominant European male ideological base of New Zealand society. (Harker 1985:p 61 - 70).

Surprisingly, the results differ for the comparative situation of Ngata where the results for male and female favour the males. One could speculate on the traditionally dominant role males play in marae speaking situations, but it is probably more useful to look at the relatively low proportion of both sexes scoring 0 recognition. Ngata females however, did tend to score proportionately lower, when correct responses to at least three of the five contexts are compared;

75% for males and 50% for females - although still marginally better than the test group responses by gender. **Table 4.6** shows the extent of the difference however, in 100% correct contextual recognition of Ngata students as a whole compared with the test situation. Perhaps then, there is an added message that recognition is closely tied with a knowledge of being Maori and feeling confident in Maori traditions that minimises any differences there may be in gender acceptance of Maori art traditions.

## CHAPTER 6

## CONTEMPORARY MAORI ART: CONNECTIONS WITH TRADITIONS

*"Rua taitea kia tu*

*Ko taikaka anake"*

*"Strip away the sapwood;*

*Leave only the heart"*

(Kowhaiwhai Arts 1993:p 12, 38)

### Situating contemporary Maori art debates

As I contemplated this research many of my colleagues voiced their non-understanding of the concept that Maori art required any sort of special 'development'. Such comments as, "I see lots of Maori artists that are very successful" and "Maori have special organisations such as **Te Waka Toi** (part of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council) and obtain special funding which ensures that they get more than a fair deal in the arts". Indeed, these comments are partially true; there are numerous Maori art organisations both publicly and privately funded, and indeed there are numerous Maori artists exhibiting in a wide range of institutional contexts and to greater and lesser success. What we are failing to examine, or be aware of, is the actual context of the development of Maori in the visual arts, and ideologies that act to dictate art acceptance in New Zealand society, ideologies that are embedded in institutions such as schools. Only by examining these things can we understand why organisations such as **Te Waka Toi (Council for Maori and South Pacific Arts)** have been deemed necessary in order to redress a perceived problem, rather than acting as a favouring institution.

As Apple (1979:p 26) highlights, when speaking of ideology and school institutions, we tend to treat art institutions and schools as though they are;

*"... something like a black box. One measures input before students enter schools and then measures output along the way... What actually goes on within the black box - what is taught, the concrete experience of children and teachers - is less important than the more global and macroeconomic considerations of rate of return on investment, or, more radically, the reproduction of the division of labour".*

It is only in recent times that we have really begun to question what is happening in schools in terms of the quality of experiences for different sexes, followed by different minority cultural groupings. This concern has come in the wake of an ideological shift, not by schools but the people who make up the wider society who have questioned the ability of society to cater for the aspirations and needs of women and minority cultures. Schools have traditionally been relatively slow in responding to the challenges to the dominant cultural ideology. We can readily apply this criticism further to the curriculum; the treatment of Maori art. Ultimately it is the institutions, such as Schools, which educate, circulate and assign contexts to art in society, according to the rules determined by the dominant ideology, as Bourdieu (1974) would have us believe. Apple (1979:p 26 - 42), in the same vein, would have us ask; 'What is it that cultural institutions are reproducing?' Recognition that cultural institutions are reproducing 'something' is evident and to some extent recognised, that there exist special Maori art organisations testifies to this. That Maori art is both challenging and being challenged, in its relations with the established art institutions we have in New Zealand society, suggests that Maori are not happy with what has historically been reproduced in cultural institutions in New Zealand.

### **Maori expectations and contemporary art**

The philosophy of Te Waka Toi, or **The Council for Maori and South Pacific Arts** goes some way to explaining the situation of Maori art today and the

aspirations; ideals held, for Maori art in the future - at least by one strong and active organisation.

**"Ko wai te waka nei?**

*Ko Te Waka Toi, Ko Te Waka Toi*

*Kia mau koe ki nga taonga tuku iho a ou tupuna*

*Katahi ka huri koe tou kanohi ki te ao hou*

*Whakahuatia nga moemoea kei tou ngakau*

*Hei miharotanga ma te tangata*

*Whakairotia, rarangatia*

*Korerotia, waiata*

*Piki mai haere mai ki runga i Te Waka Toi"*

**(Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake 1993:p 9)**

The following translation and the philosophy itself, expresses the depth of Maori feeling for, not only their traditional arts but for ensuring that their arts grow and develop as their culture grows and develops, with nothing short of excellence and esteem in New Zealand society. The message is to use the treasured knowledge of tradition, to express what it is to be Maori today;

*Whose waka is this?*

*Tis the conveyance for excellence in the arts.*

*Hold fast to the treasures bequeathed by your ancestors.*

*Then turn your face to the world of today.*

*Create the dreams that are within you*

*For the people to wonder at.*

*Create in carving, create in weaving, create in oratory,*

*create in song.*

*Welcome aboard Te Waka Toi.*

**(Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake 1993:p 9)**

Is it too much to expect that Maori art be allowed to develop by adaptation and contextualisation according to its own logic in to the present, and of course future? As mentioned in **Chapter 2**, this may seem relatively simple and yet just because Maori find it logical, doesn't mean that the majority of society is going to consent. Maori do not necessarily want Maori art on European art terms, nor do they want to simply pay fleeting reference to staid, well-used euphemisms for what others' feel is Maori about Maori art (see quote by Derek Schultz, *Art New Zealand* 62 Autumn 1992:p 77). What Maori want is for Maori art to be credited with modernity; to be credited with a development and continuity from tradition; to be recognised for not only its spiritual, cultural and physical significance to the Maori, but to be recognised as 'art' in all the ways that other authentic objects are recognised as such. (see **The art-culture system proposed by James Clifford, Chapter 1, Figure 1.1**; Clifford 1988:p 224). Rangihiroa Panoho (*Art New Zealand* 45 Summer 1987/88:p 63) poses the question we need to ask of the Maori artist, as we have presupposed here that they do in fact see their art in terms of 'Maori';

*"Is Maori art recognised as ongoing, its contemporary exponents like Paratene Matchitt taking up its traditional forms and concepts and furthering them?"*

Each of the following contemporary art experts, and Maori artists, express their answer to the question of what contemporary Maori art means;

1. *"This is the dilemma facing contemporary art - its inability to deal convincingly with its own history. It can only deal with it at a representative level. For a European this means putting a koru into an artwork and for a Maori artist, appropriating European methods of working. None of this works until we can understand that there are two answers to the question of what is New Zealand history" Derek Schultz,*

*curator of Auckland's George Fraser Gallery. (Art New Zealand 62 Autumn 1992:p 77).*

2. *"For art to mean something for our people, they have to understand it more. It means going back towards having things with a clear message ... Using an easy (modern) material, the idea you put across is more important than having something beautiful to look at". Sandy Adsett, Maori artist, speaking of his own work. (Kohia Ko Taikaka Anake 1993:p 13).*
  
3. *"... Without that traditional instruction, although I haven't learned as much as I would like, I couldn't do what I am doing, I would not have the depth or understanding .... [In my work] I made a conscious decision to bring together the traditional and contemporary, weave them together almost ... bring our patterns to the foreground and continue to give them life. We as people enjoyed our patterns in the auspices of the marae, we lived with them daily, we tend not to do that now, we go to the marae for a certain reason, with my work people can take the patterns with them, have them in their homes and live with them again". Excerpts of Maori artist, Nicola Ehau's conversation with Megan Tamati-Quennell, 1993. (Pu Manawa: A Celebration of Whatu, Raranga, and Taniko 1993:p 30).*
  
4. *"All the artists in this exhibition [Kohia ko Taikaka Anake] are tohunga. Their source is a traditional Maori culture and they've brought these values with them into the modern world of contemporary art. Their art comes from a culture that is seeking and evolving, and not one that seeks to oppress, devolve and suppress". Apirana Taylor speaking of the National Art Gallery Exhibition, 'Kohio ko Taikaka Anake'. (Art New Zealand 58 Autumn 1991:p 59)*

All of the above statements emphasize an appreciation of the historical or traditional origins of Maori art, and the speaker's conception of what this means in the contemporary sense.

Therefore, when we examine items of contemporary Maori art, or Maori art created today, we can only make sense of them by treating them in terms of the constant process of evolution and adaptation which has historically influenced their creation, as Derek Schultz (Art New Zealand 62 Autumn 1992:p 77) expresses above. (see 1) It means seeing Maori art in terms of Maori art history as well as European art history - a notion that is often over-looked in the art world.

How does all this apply to the school institution? If we are to school students in appreciating and creating Maori art that pays attention to its historical origins, then we have to situate Maori art within the dual art history of New Zealand society.

### **PART I: What constitutes Maori art in the contemporary sense?**

This part of the research was a little more abstract than the previous sections and was not directly concerned with asking about the context and continuity of certain Maori art works. What I wanted to determine was students' perceptions of what constituted Maori art in their eyes. By asking them to respond to a series of contemporary Maori art forms, based on visual information alone, I was interested in how they ranked them in terms of the elusive concept - 'Maoriness'. The second part of the research (see Part II) gave students additional written support information on the individual artist's style of work and use of Maori symbolism. I hoped to uncover the following types of information from this part of the research;

1. *Does there appear to be a popular trend of ranking an art piece as the 'most Maori' according to the works resemblance to a certain traditional Maori art form such as carving or kowhaiwhai. In other words, do students have a tendency to recognise the analogies between a particular traditional Maori art form and a certain artist's contemporary style?*
2. *What sort of factors appear to determine whether an art piece is Maori or not? Is being Maori crucial, or is resemblance to recognisable traditional Maori art forms a stronger criterion?*
3. *Does there appear to be a trend of familiarity with a certain artist's work rather than a recognition of particular traditional art form, and does this familiarity appear to be due to the resemblance of the art piece to European artistic norms rather than Maori ones?*
4. *Are students recognising the traditional symbols of Maori art forms, and what do these results infer about the patterns of art teaching around contemporary Maori artists and their work?*

It was hoped that the results would show discernible trends, with which to draw formative conclusions as to the particular historical context students were perceiving Maori art forms in. The questionnaire however, required that students primarily rank certain contemporary art works in terms of their 'Maoriness'. Eight reproductions of art works were given, and these were chosen carefully. Firstly, the works typified the style of the artist whom in every case has earned acceptance of his/her art work in the European-dominated gallery context. For the first section of this research each artist and their art work is treated separately as each example was chosen; Secondly, to determine the status of particular traditional Maori art forms in the eyes of secondary school students. As well as reflecting a balance of style based on traditional Maori art forms, I also tried to ensure a balance by gender, tribal affiliation, and style.

In the first part of this research students were presented with the eight reproductions of contemporary Maori art, and asked to respond to the instruction, to;

*"PUT 0 NEXT TO THE LETTER OF THE PICTURES WHICH YOU DON'T THINK ARE MAORI AT ALL. PUT 1 FOR THE MOST MAORI ONE, 2 FOR THE NEXT and so on until all the letters have a number next to them".*

They were then asked to explain in a few words why they chose the one they thought was the most Maori, and these results were noted also.

**Picture A: "Huakana Flag" 1986 by Paratene Matchitt**

The first picture in the series, (Figure 5.1), was chosen primarily for its symbolic reference to traditional carving forms, as its symbolic references to other Maori art forms are probably too conceptual for students at secondary school level.

The picture itself is typical of the works of Paratene produced in a similar period of time. As mentioned, the forms are highly symbolic, and students are only likely to recognise the symbolism if they have studied the contemporary art of Paratene. Despite the sophisticated symbolism, Paratene's work is distinctly Maori, and has been executed with precision and thought.

This massive ensemblage, eighty feet in length, is constructed from various woods and metal products - all demolition products and inspired by trenches, earthworks and ramparts like those of the old fishing pa (fortress) around Paratene's home. Abstracted from the reality of an old pa palisade post, Paratene comments;

*"Who says the palisade has to be built in the same way. Te Kooti's (famous Maori 'rebel') siegeworks at Te Porere were comprised of a series of logs". (Art New Zealand 45 Summer 1987/88:p 64).*

Huakana Flag 1986 by Paratene Matchitt - mixed media 18,000mm long

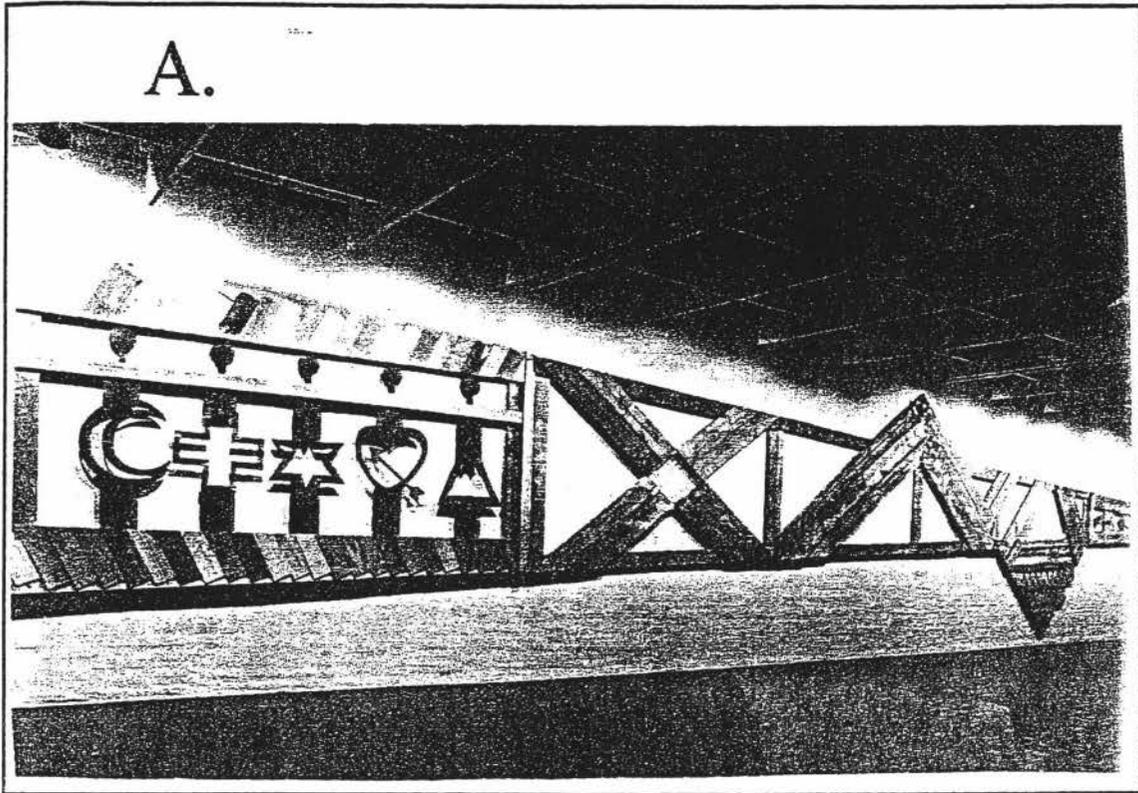


Figure 5.1

Affinity with the palisade posts, Maori concepts of material conservation, created from wood as with traditional carvings - just the beginnings of the traditional associations in the assemblage.

The first panel of Huakana Flag features figures that are distinctive to Paratene's work; sentinel-like renditions that are inspired by the carved ancestral figures of the poupou (house sideposts), poutokomanawa (central support post) and the tekoteko (gable figure). The detail of Huakana Flag in **Figure 5.2** below shows the symmetrical adherence of traditional carved forms, yet any traditional reference seems to stop here.

Detail of panel one of Huakana Flag 1986

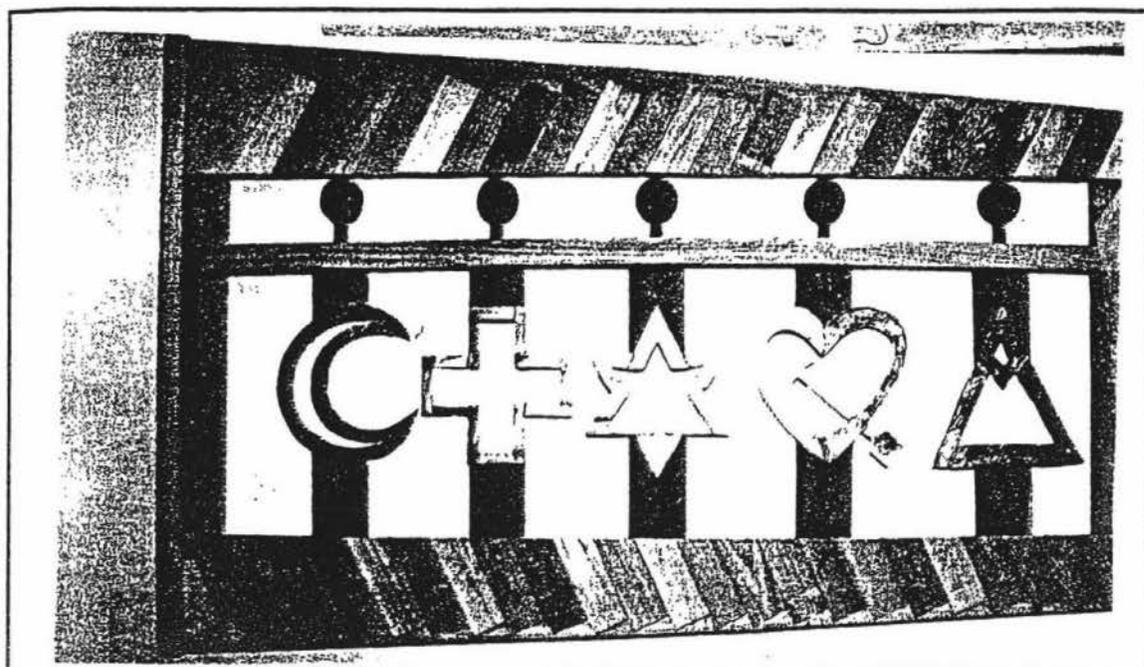


Figure 5.2

Other work of Paratenes (see 'Untitled' 1990 installed in Aotea Centre, Auckland) shows more detailed renditions of figures which are more analogous with traditional carving, and demonstrate how his treatment of figures has developed to the highly abstract stage shown in **Huakana Flag**. In other panels, although not clearly visible, there are examples of traditional carving references; surface patterning such as the taratara-a-kae notch, and a 'tu tangata' motif that ties in with concepts of whakapapa (genealogy) in the meeting house. More obvious reference to carving is made by the use of wood as the main material of creation. Even so, the relief is much flatter, the woods are flat processed planks rather than entire solid logs, and the tools of creation include; drills, circular saw, jig saw, angle grinder and hammer and nails.

Other references (less visible in the reproduction) to traditional Maori art forms include symbols inspired by Maori woven forms. Paratene (Art New Zealand 45

Summer 1987/88:p 64) urges people to 'look beyond the kit' to search for patterns held in common with the environment - which traditionally provided the source of inspiration for woven forms. Particularly in panel one (detail, **Figure 5.2**) the angled pieces of wood in alternating shades, emulates the diagonal stitches, or dextrals, of the raranga kete (woven kit). All these details are difficult to recognise in the reproduction given in the questionnaire that would probably see an inclination towards ranking Huakana Flag fairly low, unless students were previously familiar with some of Paratene's work.

### **Ranking responses for Paratene Matchitt's "Huakana Flag"**

92 responses were tabulated for Picture A, (**Figure 5.1**) according to 'how Maori' the participants considered the picture. Responses ranged from (1); most Maori to (8); least Maori, with (0) signifying not Maori and 'NC' no confidence or no ranking vote. Responses were grouped for analysis according to cultural self-identification and gender, as in previous chapters, and compared with control group responses. **Table 5.1** below shows the results.

### **"Huakana Flag" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993**

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		29.34783	22.82609	26.08696	78.26087
[8]	R	2.173913	3.26087	1.086957	6.521739
[7]	A	0	0	2.173913	2.173913
[6]	N	1.086957	0	2.173913	3.26087
[5]	K	0	3.26087	1.086957	4.347826
[4]	I	0	1.086957	0	1.086957
[3]	N	0	0	0	0
[2]	G	0	1.086957	0	1.086957
[1]		2.173913	0	0	2.173913
No confid		1.086957	0	0	1.086957
TOTAL		35.86957	31.52174	32.6087	100%

**Table 5.1**

**Table 5.1** shows that by far the majority of respondents in all cultural categories, ranked Huakana Flag as not being Maori art, and most of the other responses favoured the 'least Maori' ranking categories. Due to there being such a high number of responses to [0] rank, it is very difficult to discern any patterns of cultural differences in responses. **Table 5.1** shows that only Maori respondents were likely to give Huakana Flag a [1] rank, and Pakeha showed a greater diversity of ranking responses.

Although the differences are not striking between cultural groups, the results do suggest that a few Maori students are aware, even if only sub-consciously, of the Maori symbolism inherent in Paratene Matchitt's work and therefore assigned a [1] ranking. It seems that there is also a small group of Pakeha students who are aware that the assemblage is in some way 'Maori', but are not as confident as the Maori respondents, with [2] and [4] responses. On the other hand Maori were more likely to deem Huakana Flag as not Maori [0] response); 29% of responses, than any other cultural group.

The results suggest that there is very little knowledge of the traditional conceptions of Paratene's art. As mentioned, this is probably in large part due to the complex symbolism in the painting that may be hard for students to decipher. Although, such results may also indicate a lack of exposure to this high-profile artist's work or alternatively, a reluctance to accept the work as Maori in the absence of obvious Maori icons. While one could advocate that students be given greater exposure to Paratene's work, it can't be ruled out that students may have made an informed choice in considering Huakana Flag not constituting Maori art. (remembering that the students are not given information on who the artist is).

When we look at responses according to gender as a proportion of responses of the cultural group they identified with, see **Figure 5.3**, for the test group and

Percentage responses for Para Matchitt according to sex and compared with control group  
1993

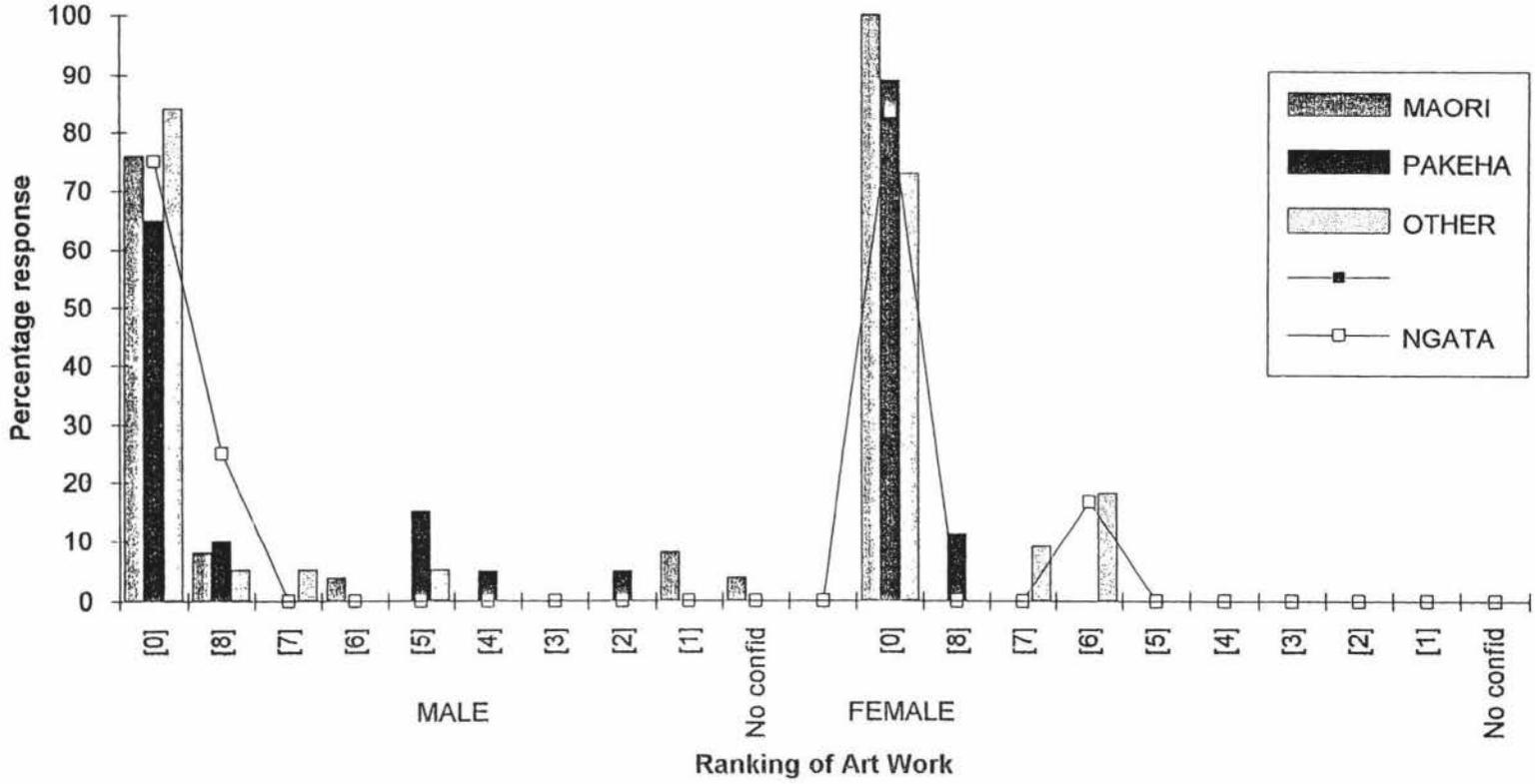


Figure 5.3

control sample, we gain a better insight in to differing patterns of ranking responses. We see that it is Maori males who ranked Huakana Flag as the 'most Maori', and by looking back at the questionnaire we discover that they are male students in their fifth year of art education. This suggests that Maori males tend to show an affinity, and knowledge, of the art of Paratene Matchitt as they begin to specialise in art at secondary school. Indeed the spread of ranking responses demonstrated by males, shows a tendency to rank the assemblage higher than females. This may indicate a tendency for males to associate contemporary Maori art with the more 'masculine' carving art forms when identifying an art piece as 'Maori' - particularly Pakeha males. (see **Figure 5.3**).

Female respondents were much more decisive, on the whole, in allocating Huakana Flag lower rankings and [0], 'not Maori art'. This would indicate a lesser affinity of females with wooden forms, except by the group Other where a small number gave the assemblage [7] and [6] ranking. Maori females were unanimous in allocating the assemblage a [0] ranking.

The responses by Ngata students are very similar to the average test group responses, all control group responses being concentrated at the 'least Maori' ranks. Due to an absence of formal art studies at the control group school, it is likely that pupils have little contact with contemporary works of this style and have little experience in recognising the continuities with tradition inherent in the art work. That Huakana Flag relies strongly on very abstract qualities of Maori art symbolism, which in the absence of comparative examples to show the analogies with tradition makes contextualisation as Maori art very difficult, probably explains the high concentration of rankings towards the 'least Maori' for all cultural and gender groupings. The following tentative conclusions can be made with reference to Paratene Matchitt's Huakana Flag:

1. *The majority of students do not perceive that the highly abstract symbolism employed in the assemblage, as bearing reference to learned norms of what is strongly Maori art;*
2. *The tendency for a number of Males to rank the assemblage 'more Maori' than females is probably due to the perceived association of the solid wooden forms with the what has traditionally been the male domain - wood carving;*
3. *It is unlikely that the majority of students have had exposure to the works of this artist, due to the predominance of low ranking responses to the art form, but also evident in that only a small number of Maori males actually ranked the assemblage as 'most Maori';*
4. *It is likely that students do not have the conceptual learning, based on experience with contemporary Maori art pieces such as this, to judge the work as being Maori, or even perceive the work as having Maori elements or influences.*

**Picture B: "Tawhiri-Matea" 1984 by Cliff Whiting**

Tawhiri-Matea 1984 by Cliff Whiting - paint on wood

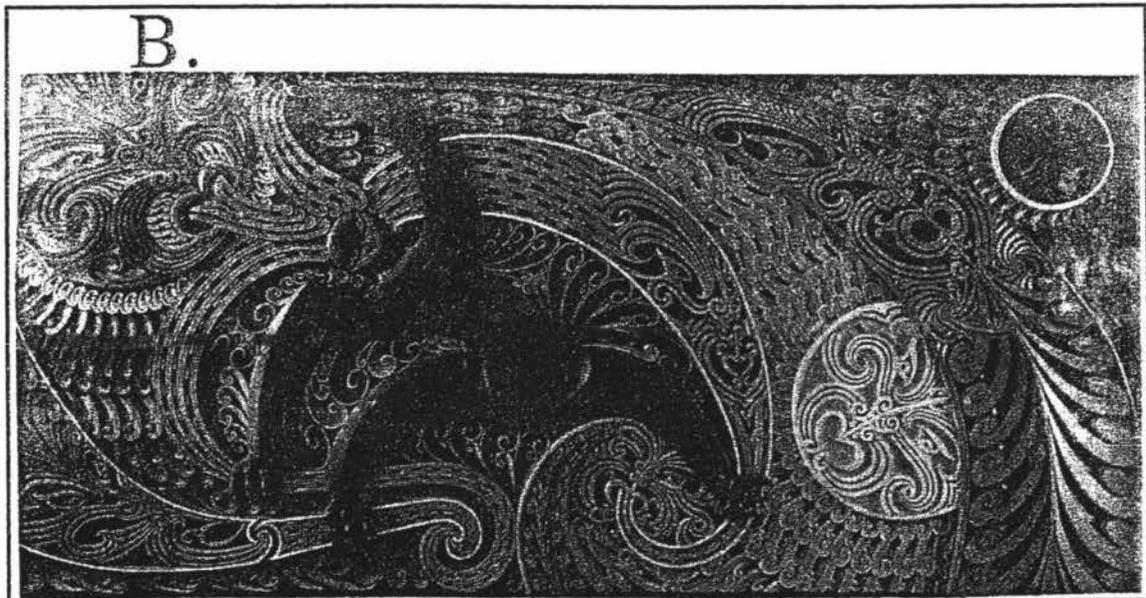


Figure 5.4

The second picture, shown in **Figure 5.4**, was chosen for its very strong koru renditions, used in contemporary-style depictions, which combine the contemporary treatment of wood carved forms in a simple visual manner which Secondary School students should recognise;

This particular mural was constructed by Cliff Whiting for the social club of the New Zealand Meteorological Office, in Wellington. It embodies a combination of koru and carving patterns and forms with vibrancy of colour and movement. The koru form is abundantly used, as is popular surface patterning of traditional carved forms. Whiting (New Zealand Home & Building October/November 1990:p 13) describes his carving as not really traditional Maori art, but almost;

*"The Maori traditional forms play their role, but they are able to be extended, especially in terms of new techniques and new technology".*

Cliff's concern with extending the traditions of Maori carving can be seen in **Figure 5.5** over, which demonstrates very clearly the analogies of his work to traditional wood carving. The carved forms are stylised renditions of those forms you would find on the carved maihi (bargeboards), tekoteko (full-figure gable form) and koruru (gable mask) of the meeting house and other traditional house forms. Although it has been carved with modern tools from milled timber, and stands in a completely new context, it still has links and meaning according to Maori carving traditions.

The figurative forms in **Figure 5.5** show the commonality of development in Cliff Whiting's carving art. In **Figure 5.4** depicting Tawhiri-Matea, the God of Wind, we see a similar figurative form. The symmetry of facial features and limbs, and the shape of hands and feet are based on traditional formulae of Maori figurative carving. Cliff has chosen to build up layers of wood to give the same appearance of relief and depth in Tawhiri-Matea, as achieved by cutting away wooden posts

in traditional carving. The intense use of the koru form, also predominant in his illustrative work, (see *He Korero Purakau mo nga Taunahanahatanga a nga Tipuna: Place names of the Ancestors* 1990) reinforces the strong 'Maoriness' of the work.

Pergola in the garden of the Whiting home

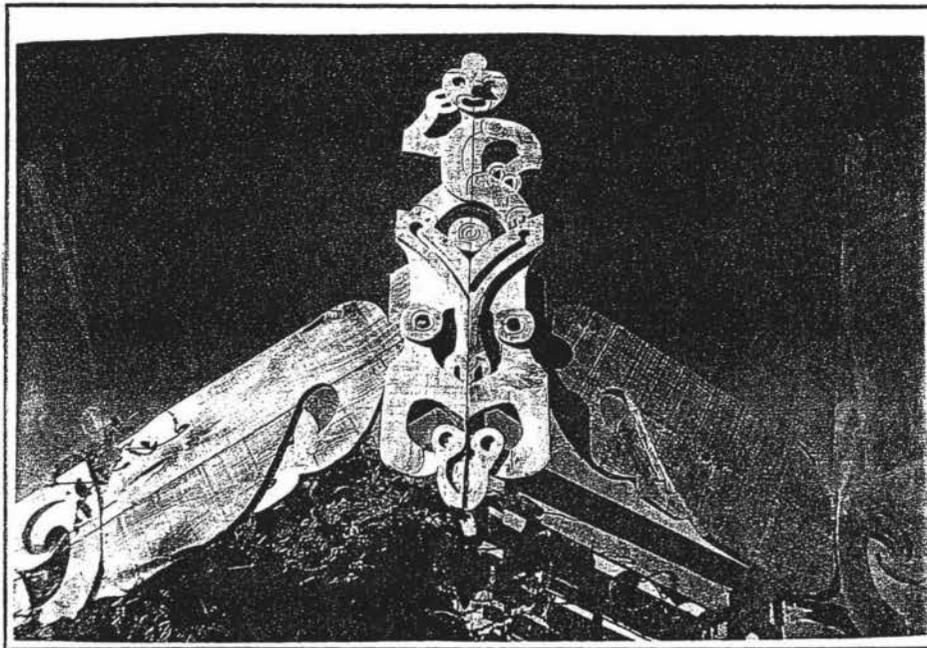


Figure 5.5

#### Ranking responses for Cliff Whiting's "Tawhiri-Matea"

The same process of correlating responses was carried out for Picture B as for Paratene's work in Picture A. The responses are shown in **Table 5.2**. According to the table, the largest majority of total respondents ranked Tawhiri-atea as the 'most Maori', 61% in total gave the work a [1], and 27% ranked the work as a [2]. Tawhiri-Matea is only infrequently ranked as 'lesser Maori' with no respondents ranking the mural as not being Maori; [0], or a near middle ranking of [5].

**"Tawhiri-Matea" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993**

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		0	0	0	0
[8]	R	0	1.086957	1.086957	2.173913
[7]	A	1.086957	0	2.173913	3.26087
[6]	N	0	3.26087	0	3.26087
[5]	K	0	0	0	0
[4]	I	1.086857	0	0	1.086957
[3]	N	0	0	1.086957	1.086957
[2]	G	13.04348	6.521739	7.608696	27.17391
[1]		20.65217	20.65217	19.56522	60.86957
No confid		0	0	1.086957	1.086957
TOTAL		35.86957	31.52174	32.6087	100%

**Table 5.2**

When we look more closely at the rankings according to cultural identification we see that Maori had a slighter larger tendency to give Tawhiri-Matea a [2] ranking, than the other two groups, and were slightly less represented in the 'lesser Maori' responses ([5] to [8]). This suggests that Maori students are slightly more comfortable, on the whole, with the Maori designs in Cliff's work.

There appears to be an over all general consensus among all participants that Cliff Whiting's work is very strongly Maori. It seems that the very distinct nature of his patterning may have much to do with this, especially in the use of the koru design of kowhaiwhai, the form that we have seen in **Chapter 3**, that students have a high recognition of. Cliff Whiting's work also probably has more visual appeal because of the brighter paint palette used and the curvilinear nature of the composition that also gives striking effect. It must also be noted that the work of Cliff can be seen in many **School Bulletins** along the lines of this work, and most popularly in the depiction of various Maori legends. The symbolism and vibrant, simple depictions seem to lend themselves to appreciation in the context of school-level learning. This is complemented by a very strong video resource on

Percentage responses for Cliff Whiting according to sex and compared with control group 1993

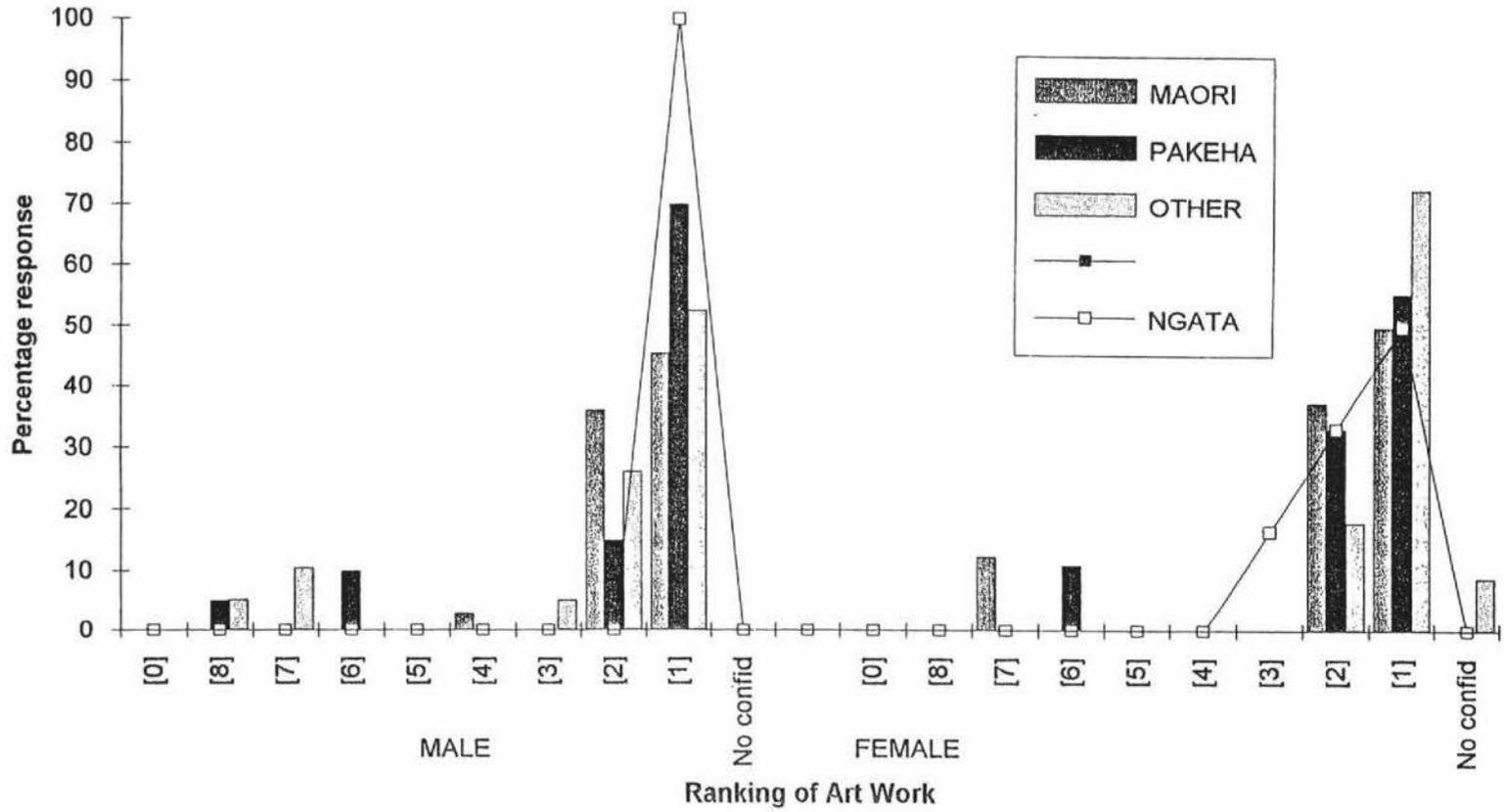


Figure 5.6

the artwork of Cliff Whiting, produced by **Learning Media**, the official resource nexus for the Ministry of Education.

When we examine the results in terms of gender, for each cultural group, in **Figure 5.6** we only see slight changes in the distribution of ranking according to gender. A greater proportion of Pakeha males tended to rank Tawhiri-Matea as 'most Maori', yet the opposite relationship is true for the group Other. Maori responses are more balanced between the sexes and indicate the tendency for Maori to not necessarily deem Cliff's work [1] ranking. The spread of ranking results do not appear to be significant between the sexes and consolidate the comments made regarding the apparent consensus of results among students, and also suggest that students may be becoming familiar with the more obvious use of traditional art ideas in this type of contemporary Maori art form.

The control group results show a marked difference in the proportion of responses according to gender. (see **Figure 5.6**). All Ngata male respondents ranked Tawhiri-Matea as the 'most Maori', while female responses ranged from [1] to [3]. Perhaps there is greater surety of the association of the mural with traditional forms of carving and therefore a greater sense of identity for the Ngata males. For the females, it might be noteworthy their preferred choice for the [1] ranking - perhaps they have a preference for the Maori art works that portray in some way the traditional arts which were predominantly assigned to Maori women in times of old.

The following observation and comment can be made about Cliff's work, Tawhiri-Matea;

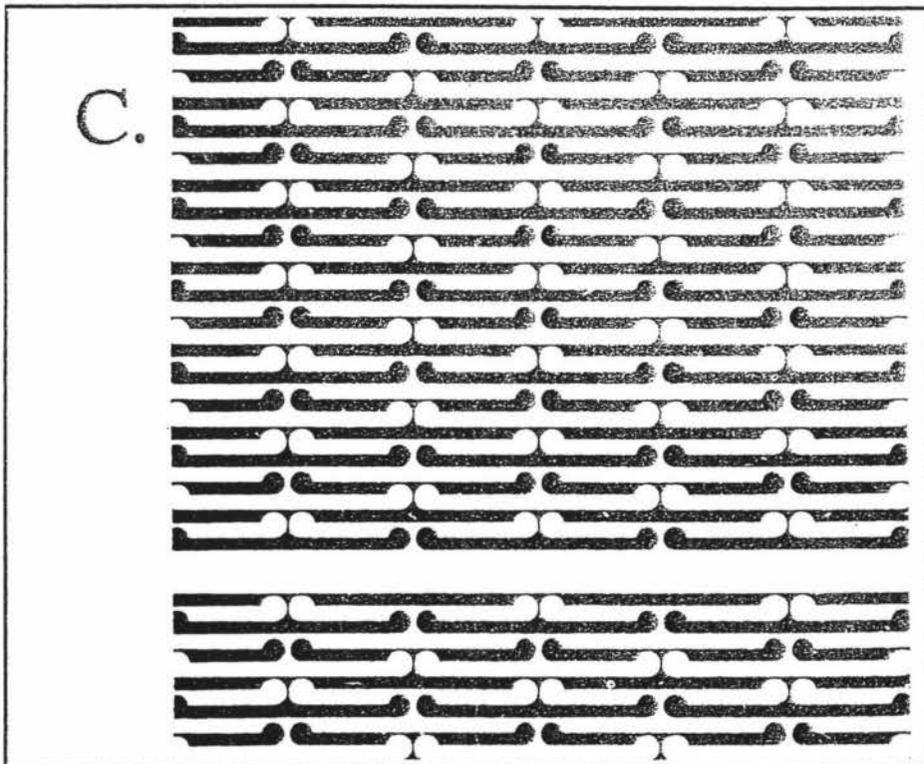
1. *Students almost unanimously ranked the mural, according to both cultural identification and gender, as being the 'most Maori' or at least second ranking due to a number of factors including; the prevalence of the*

*artist's work in School Publications, the distinctive use of koru patterning, the appeal of the mural itself to students in this age group, simplicity and bi-cultural appeal of style employed, and the probable good usage of the artists work in school art learning situations.*

**Picture C: "Genealogy 5" 1970 by Gordon Walters**

The picture shown below in **Figure 5.7**, I chose primarily because it was executed by a non-Maori artist who has historically chosen to explore important concepts related to the kowhaiwhai arts. Although not as significant in the first part of this research, I also wanted to discover whether not being Maori altered the perception of whether an art work was Maori or not.

**Genealogy 5 1970 by Gordon Walters - paint on board**



**Figure 5.7**

Gordon Walters first made an impact on the art scene in his choice to use the koru motif in his work. In June 1968 a review of Gordon Walter's exhibition at New Vision Gallery sparked off controversy in the use of the motif, ironically in terms of the borrowing ideas from the work of another non-Maori artist; Theo Schoon. Schoon insisted that it was his research in to Maori rock drawings which introduced Gordon Walters to the koru form, Walter vehemently denying this and asserting that;

*"the way in which he uses the motif and how they are used differs from Maori art". (When Art Hits the Headlines 1989:p 30, 43)*

The resemblance to the Maori art koru form can not be denied in Walter's work however. There is a definite similarity in the nature of the koru form which he has chosen to explore through concepts of symmetry and positive/negative spatial balance, which strongly resembles contemporary explorations Sandy Adsett (Ngati Kahungunu) has made. (see **Figure 3.7, Chapter 3, Taonga Maori** 1989:p 63).

Similar work by Gordon Walters, as in **Figure 5.8**, shows that the artist tends to work within these concepts of space and balance and although the patterns could be universal, they also appear to draw ideas from Maori weaving patterns.

Additionally, it seems that there is more than a coincidental choice of the name Genealogy 5 which suggests the traditional Maori context of the koru pattern on the tahuhu (ridge pole) of the meeting house, representing the genealogical connections of the tribe associated with it (Jahnke 1991:p 5)

## Gordon Walters - paint on board

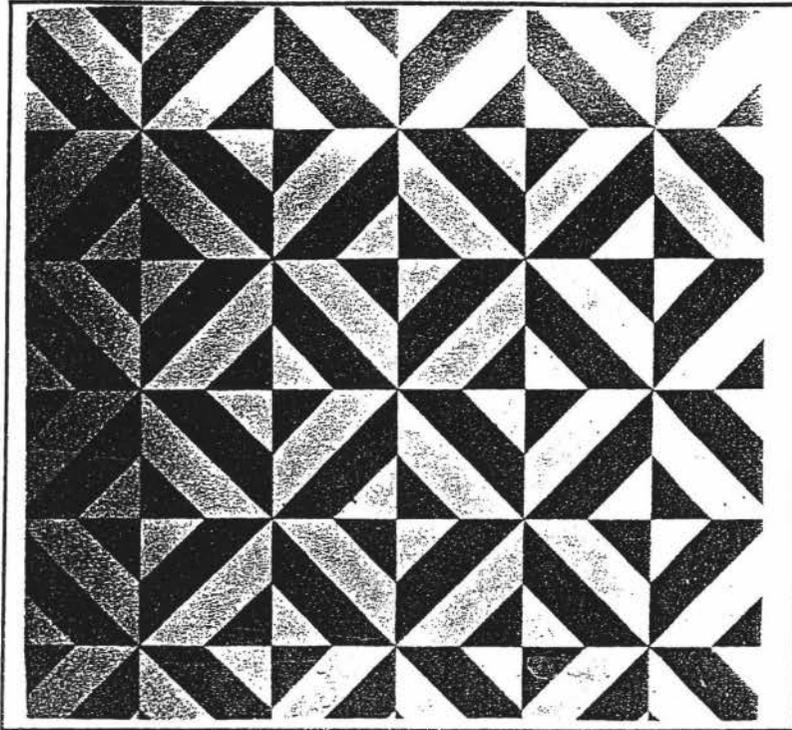


Figure 5.8

Ranking responses for Gordon Walter's "Genealogy 5"

"Genealogy 5" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		7.608696	3.26087	3.26087	14.13043
[8]	R	0	0	0	0
[7]	A	4.347826	1.086957	3.26087	8.695652
[6]	N	3.26087	8.695652	3.26087	15.21739
[5]	K	6.521739	3.26087	6.521739	16.30435
[4]	I	3.26087	5.434783	8.695652	17.3913
[3]	N	1.086957	6.521739	2.173913	9.782609
[2]	G	5.434783	1.086957	3.26087	9.782609
[1]		3.26087	2.173913	2.173913	7.608696
No confid		1.086957	0	0	1.086957
TOTAL		35.86957	31.52174	32.6087	100%

Table 5.3

Once again the results were correlated, the results which are given in **Table 5.3**. Remembering that students were not given any background information as to the artist of the painting in this section of the research, it is interesting to note the spread of the total participant's results. While no respondent ranked Genealogy 5 as 'not being Maori', the larger percentage of results ranked Gordon's work towards the 'least Maori' rank. This appears surprising given the resemblance to the koru form.

Looking at the cultural spread of the responses in **Table 5.3** we gain a different picture. Maori were more likely to rank Genealogy 5 as not Maori than the other two cultural groupings, whereas the most common response for Pakeha was a sixth ranking and a fourth ranking for the group 'Other'. Both Pakeha and Other responses tend to focus more on the middle rankings while Maori responses frequent both ends and just lower than the middle rank. The proportion of Maori who ranked the painting at [0] and the lower ranks, approximately 60%, exceeds the other two groups by at least 10%.

A suggestion could be made that a few Maori participants actually recognised the artist as being non-Maori and therefore ranked the painting low. This may be especially true for those Maori students who designated [0], or 'not Maori' to Genealogy 5.

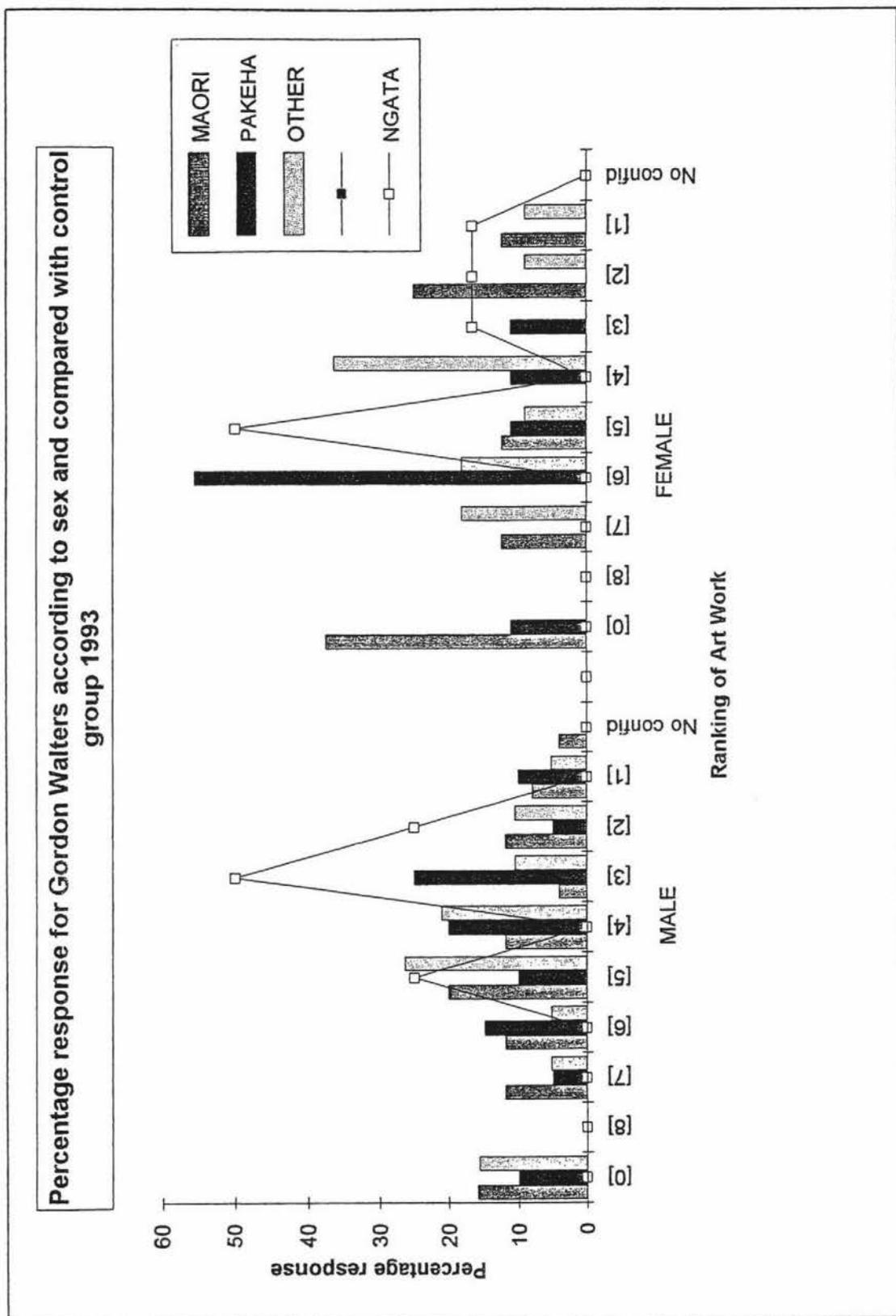
Alternatively, there may have been a reluctance to accept these very formal and straight forms as having any reference to the koru, for all low ranking responses - especially Maori, and Pakeha with a strong [6] ranking. The relatively equal mixture of ranking responses more likely suggests that students ranked Gordon's work around other art examples that they were more certain of in terms of ranking they were to receive.

When we examine the results according to gender, we obtain a different picture again. (see **Figure 5.9**). Females generally responded more strongly to the ranking of **Genealogy 5** than males; Maori females at ranks [0] then [2]; Pakeha females at rank [6] and Other females at rank [4]. The strong tendency for Maori females to give a [0] ranking suggests that they saw the painting in terms of simple geometric patterning rather than koru, or perhaps judged the painting as non-Maori due to a recognition of the artist's cultural affiliation. The Pakeha and Other responses may be interesting to examine in terms of their preferred rankings for the other art works, although such decisive ranking responses suggests that they also did not find affinity between the painting and Maori kowhaiwhai forms. It may be suggested that females tended to find less affinity with geometric, structured forms than more expressive paintings.

Responses also did not differ as markedly for the control group whose responses tended towards the first six rankings. males favoured a [3] rank, while females favoured a [5] rank but also responded with [1], [2] and [3] ranks. In the absence of formal art studies at school, and with greater community exposure to the formalism of kowhaiwhai arts, it is likely that the control group found greater relevance in **Genealogy 5** by name and patterning. They were probably less likely to have had exposure to the artist, and therefore were unaware that he was not Maori. Their responses to **Part II** of this chapter would be therefore of interest.

The most striking assumptions that can be made about responses to **Genealogy 5** are in the gender responses to the painting. The following ideas are concluded;

1. *Maori females have a strong tendency to see the painting as non-Maori, probably due to a non-appreciation of the geometric nature of the forms, but also perhaps a recognition of the artist as being non-Maori;*

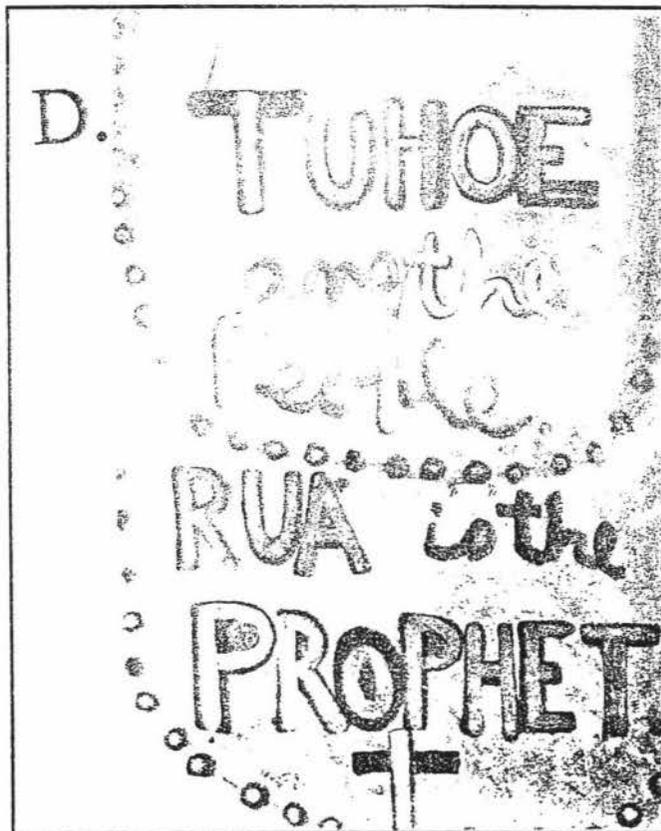


2. *The spread of responses for the painting suggest that participants judged this painting on merit alone, and ranked the painting as such according to their priority of knowledge of traditional Maori art forms, and whether they thought this painting adhered to the tradition.*

**Picture D: "A Poster for the Urewera" by Colin McCahon**

Colin McCahon's painting I chose because, as in the nature of his work, the only reference it bears to Maori art is the words that describe the famous tribal prophet; Rua Kenana from Tuhoe tribe. Absent is symbolism of any traditional Maori art form, as can be seen in **Figure 5.10**.

**A Poster for the Urewera by Colin McCahon - paint on canvas**



**Figure 5.10**

Colin McCahon's work has always been controversial, although he was considered one of New Zealand's best artists by the 1960's as he kept note of overseas trends and forged his own style from what he learnt. (Q.E. II Arts Council 1981:p 89) Although words have always appeared in some form, in his pictures, he began to emphasize the word content more after 1958 until they began to dominate the canvas such as in A Poster for the Urewera. Controversy usually revolved around the perceived simplicity of his paintings; often described as 'child's play', and easily reproducible by a non-artist. (see Barr, J & M 1989:p 15, 18, 31, 33, 36, 40).

I am 1954 by Colin McCahon - oil, and cartoon response 1978

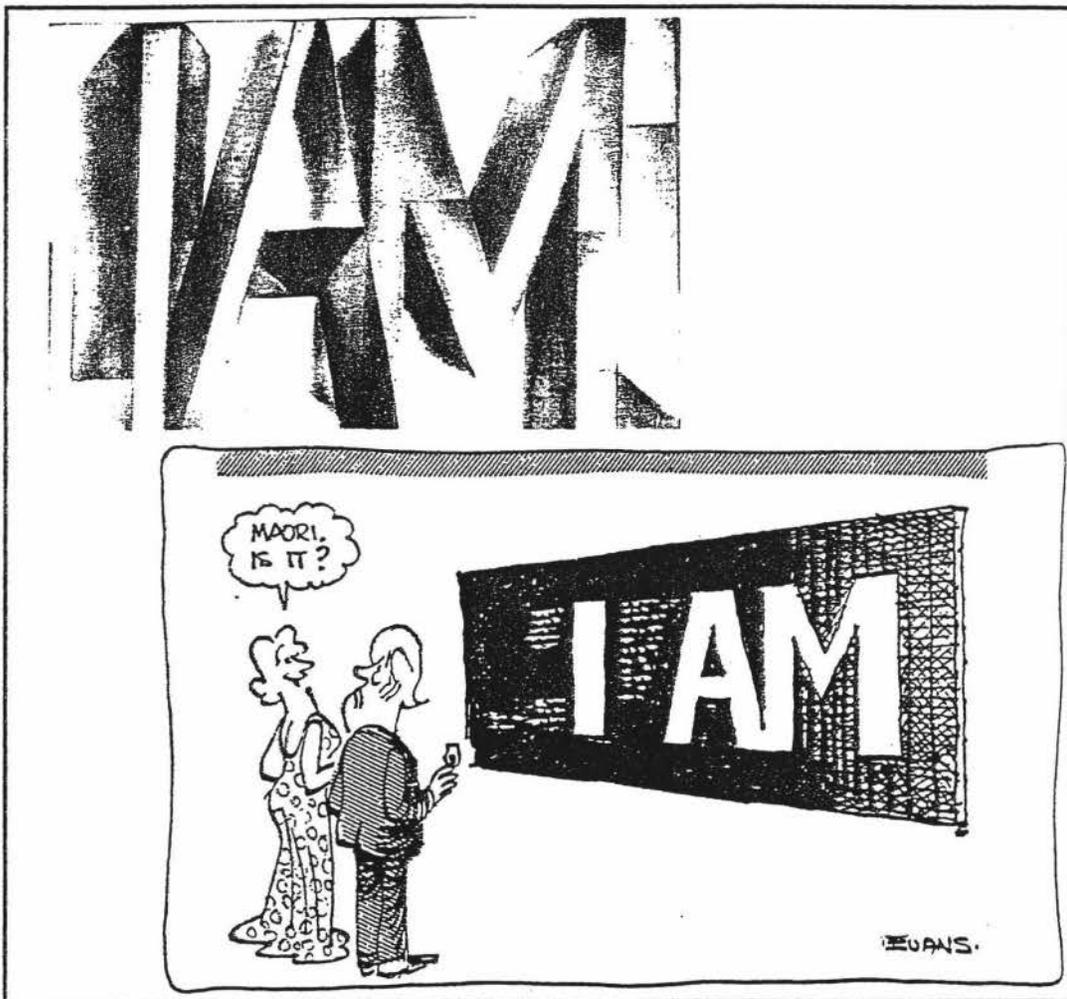


Figure 5.11

**Figure 5.11** shows one such early controversial painting, I am 1954 (Q.E. II 1981:p 79) and a cartoon response to it published in the **New Zealand Herald** (Barr J & M 1989:p 36).

The crosses and rosary beads in A Poster for the Urewera support the largely dominant words in making a statement about the reverence in which the famous prophet was held - not only amongst his tribe but among all Maori. In the absence of any reference or bearing to a traditional Maori art form,, I wanted to discover students' perceptions of whether this work actually constituted Maori art.

#### **Ranking responses for Colin McCahon's "A Poster for the Urewera"**

Responses for Picture D are arranged in **Table 5.4** according to the same criteria as previous pictures;

#### **"A Poster for the Urewera" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993**

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		5.434783	8.695652	4.347826	18.47826
[8]	R	1.086957	0	0	1.086957
[7]	A	7.608696	7.608696	7.608696	22.82609
[6]	N	5.434783	5.434783	3.26087	14.13043
[5]	K	2.173913	2.173913	2.173913	6.521739
[4]	I	0	2.173913	5.434783	7.608696
[3]	N	2.173913	3.26087	2.173913	7.608696
[2]	G	2.173913	3.26087	2.173913	7.608696
[1]		7.608696	0	3.26087	10.86957
No confid		2.173913	0	1.086957	3.26087
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>35.86957</b>	<b>31.52174</b>	<b>32.6087</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 5.4**

The results show that for the total participants, A Poster for the Urewera is among the lower rankings in terms of being Maori art. Significant is the increase

of the 'no confidence' responses (the non-responses) which indicate that pupils had difficulty coming to terms with whether the painting was Maori or not. That approximately 11% of total respondents deemed the painting the 'most Maori' indicates the strong differences in conception of what best represents Maori art. Examining the responses in terms of the cultural identity of the participants, as shown in **Table 5.4**, we get some idea of the cultural differences in the interpretation of what constitutes Maori art - somewhat a surprise in terms of the painting's departure from Maori art tradition. The majority of the students who gave A Poster for Urewera a [1] ranking were Maori students, and one could speculate that this was due to the very simple fact that the painting portrayed one of their famous leaders, and of course the use of the Maori language. Other Maori students obviously had more difficulty ranking the painting as shown by their next favoured responses' being [7], [6], [0] and significantly; no confidence. Opinion was obviously fairly well split as to whether the painting was strongly Maori or not.

Pakeha showed a greater tendency to rank the painting towards 'least Maori', and while the group 'Other' responded proportionately high with rank [4], they also tended to rank the painting low. Significantly, Pakeha did not consider that the painting ranked a [1] at all. The lower ranking responses by Pakeha, and to a lesser degree Other, suggests that these two groups ranked the painting according to a European art aesthetic or in terms of the absence of any significant clue to the painting being 'Maori' in terms of Maori art forms being present.

The differences in the interpretation of the painting varies quite significantly according to gender, as **Figure 5.12** indicates. Especially Maori females where 50% decided that the painting was not Maori at all - the response being the same for the control group females. Maori males tended to have a greater spread of

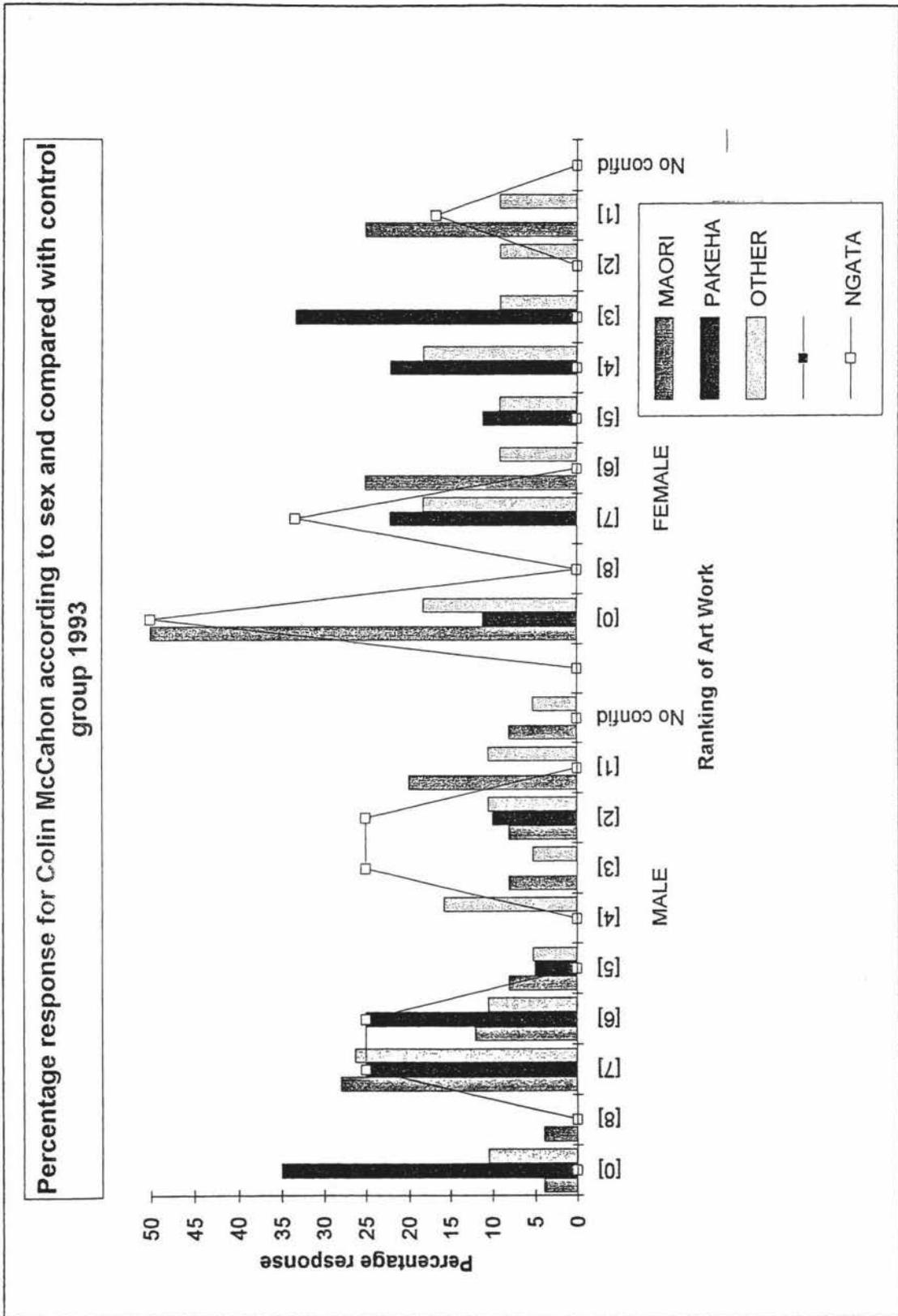


Figure 5.12

responses, which differed largely from the control group responses. This suggests that Maori females were more likely to judge an art piece by the presence and absence of distinct Maori art forms rather than just a 'Maori feel'. Pakeha female responses differed from males in that females tended to rank the painting higher than males. This tends to indicate that they felt that the use of Maori wording (perhaps based on the analogy they could draw with European art forms such as cubist work) was a good measure of 'Maoriness'. A large percentage of Pakeha males however ranked the painting [0], probably indicating that they tend to base 'Maori art' definitions on the presence of distinct art forms rather than wording alone. The responses by the group Other did not differ markedly between sexes. The following generalisations can be made about students ranking of A Poster for the Urewera;

1. *While Maori tended to be more likely to see the painting as strongly representing Maori art, a high proportion of Maori females did not consider the work to be Maori at all. This suggests that dividing factors came in to play; whether the painting was 'Maori art', or just Maori and not art - according to a large number of females;*
2. *There was a greater tendency for females in general to be split between ranking the art as strongly Maori and less strongly Maori. Pakeha and Other females showed tendency to rank either side of the middle ranks. This suggests a greater acceptance that the use of Maori language is enough to deem a painting 'Maori' in the absence of thorough knowledge of other Maori art forms;*
3. *Pakeha males especially tended to look for more concrete qualities of 'art that is Maori' in ranking the painting, although there was a breadth of response from Pakeha and Other. This points to males, Maori included, expectation of what constitutes Maori art, as being more definitive towards the presence of strong Maori symbolism. There was a lesser tendency for*

*Pakeha and Other, in general, to perceive that the use of Maori wording constituted Maori art, probably due to a lack of felt affinity towards the topic and the words of the painting.*

**Picture E "Te Tokorua" by Kura Rewiri-Thorsen**

Te Tokorua by Kura Rewiri-Thorsen - acrylic on board

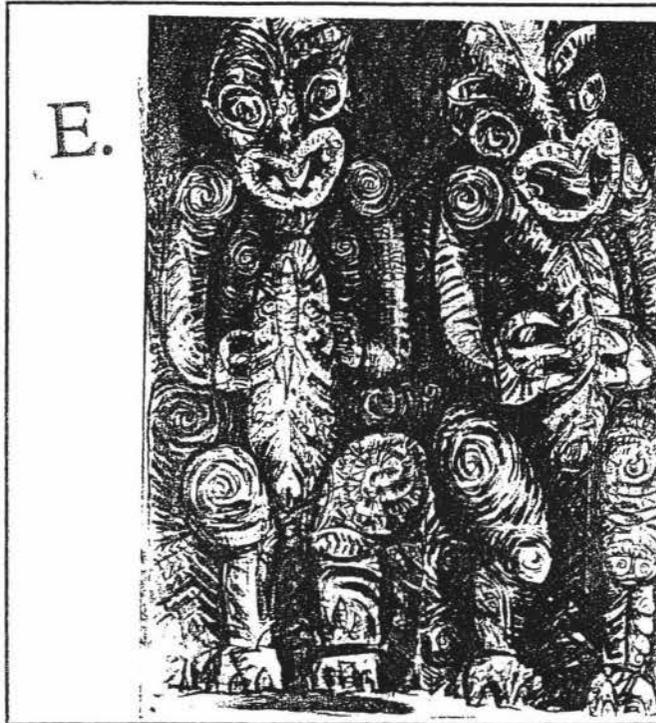


Figure 5.13

Figure 5.13 shows Kura Rewiri-Thorsen's work; 'The two poles' or Te Tokorua. The work was chosen primarily for its use of expressive painting to depict figurative forms derived from traditional Maori carvings. Kura says of the development of the way she uses carved forms on canvas, that to her what is important is the combination of form with colour - which modern paints allow her to make. Having experimented with simply transferring the carved forms on canvas, or a three-dimensional approach, Kura comments that her preferred approach is the use of 'reactionary' bright colours which exceed the bounds of traditional carving. (Art New Zealand 45 1987/88:p 58). Kura has however, a great

concern for studying traditional carvings, especially those of the pre-contact period, and frequently uses the carved forms in her painting. Robyn Kahukiwa (Nicholas & Kaa 1986:p 36 - 37) mentions the freedom of women to now use carved forms, traditionally the domain of men in Maori society, by translating them in the new context of painting - therefore being able to make strong statements about genealogy and identity.

**Wahine Maori by Kura Rewiri-Thorsen 1987 - acrylic on board**



Figure 5.14

Kura's work is diverse, yet there are numerous paintings which show recurrent themes of Maori spirituality and identity in the political climate of New Zealand society today. **Figure 5.14** shows Wahine Maori 1987 (Maori women), a more abstract figurative painting which still relies on traditional Maori figurative forms as its inspiration. I felt by choosing the Te Tokorua example, I could examine the way in which secondary students responded to the use of carved forms in the modern paint media more clearly.

### **Ranking responses for Kura Rewiri-Thorsen's "Te Tokorua"**

The responses have been collated in **Table 5.5**.

#### **"Te Tokorua" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993**

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		0	0	0	0
[8]	R	0	0	0	0
[7]	A	0	2.173913	0	2.173913
[6]	N	1.086957	1.086957	2.173913	4.347826
[5]	K	0	2.173913	2.173913	4.347826
[4]	I	0	1.086957	2.173913	3.26087
[3]	N	9.782609	2.173913	2.173913	14.13043
[2]	G	8.695652	15.21739	13.04348	36.95652
[1]		16.30435	7.608696	10.86957	34.78261
No confid		0	0	0	0
TOTAL		35.86957	31.52174	32.6087	100%

**Table 5.5**

The results show clearly that there was high confidence in ranking Te Tokorua in the first three ranks, from most Maori [1] to [3], with no respondents ranking the painting [0]; not Maori, [8], least Maori, or a no confidence vote. With reference to **Table 5.5** we see there is little variation between the cultural groupings of any significance, except that Pakeha tended more strongly to rank Te Tokorua as [2] and Maori were more inclined to rank the painting [1]; 'most

Maori'. This indicates the persuasiveness of Maori carving forms in students learning about Maori art, and the tendency for students to recognise carved forms as strongly Maori in any context which makes the attribution clear, especially so for Maori students. This is demonstrated in that Maori were more decisive towards the 'more Maori' ranks than the other two groupings.

When we examine **Figure 5.15** for differences in responses according to gender, and control group comparisons, we see very little deviation from the norm of the total response results. Pakeha males tended to offer a wider range of rankings than other groups, and generally all females ranked proportionately more [1] responses - a surprising result given that carving was traditionally a male domain. Perhaps males however, prefer to see carved forms portrayed in some carved manner rather than on a painted flat surface. This appears not to be the case for the control group, where Maori males unanimously ranked Te Tokorua as [1]; 'most Maori' - exhibiting a greater affinity with obvious carved figures, even in painted form. Ngata females tended to rank proportionately lower than the other groups, showing a tendency to perceive other renditions of traditional Maori art forms as deserving of the [1] ranking.

The patterns discernible in the responses to Te Tokorua include;

1. *All participants showed a strong recognition of the carved forms in the painting and ranked it strongly Maori, probably as a result of good familiarity with Maori carved forms Maori were even more decisive in ranking the painting the 'most Maori' due to a strong appreciation of carved figurative forms;*
2. *Females as a whole tended to rank proportionately more [1], which suggests that males tend to prefer carving contexts for the display of figurative carving forms, although there is far more acceptance by the*

Percentage response for Kura Rewiri-Thorsen according to sex and compared with control group 1993

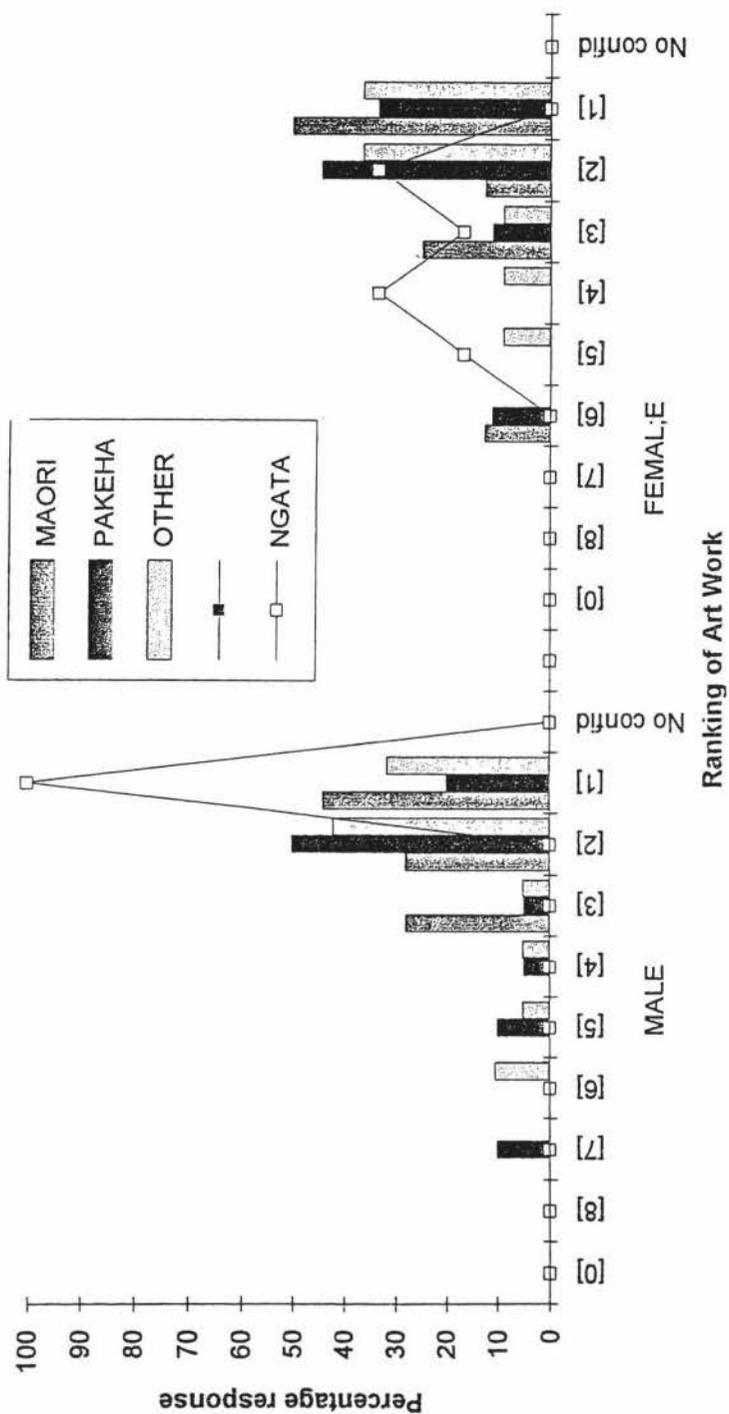


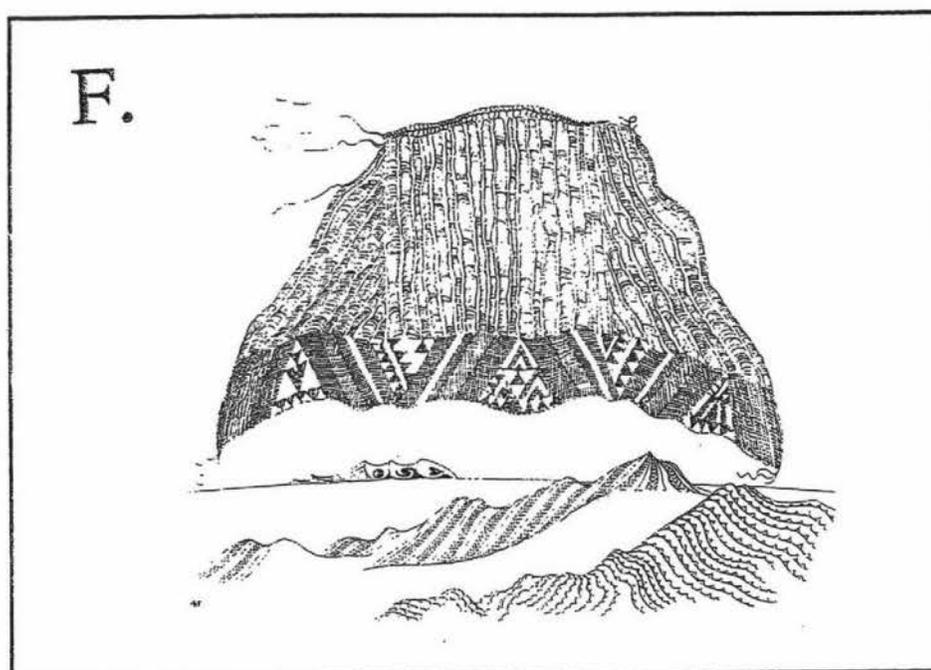
Figure 5.15

*males in the control group, who seemed to be drawn to the expressive possibilities of carved forms in the painting context.*

**Picture F "Te Hono ki Ranana 8" 1987 by John Bevan Ford**

This particular drawing of John Bevan Ford's in Figure 5.16 was chosen because it offered a different media, ink, to portray a symbol of traditional weaving; the cloak.

**Te Hono ki Ranana 8 by John Bevan Ford - coloured ink on paper**

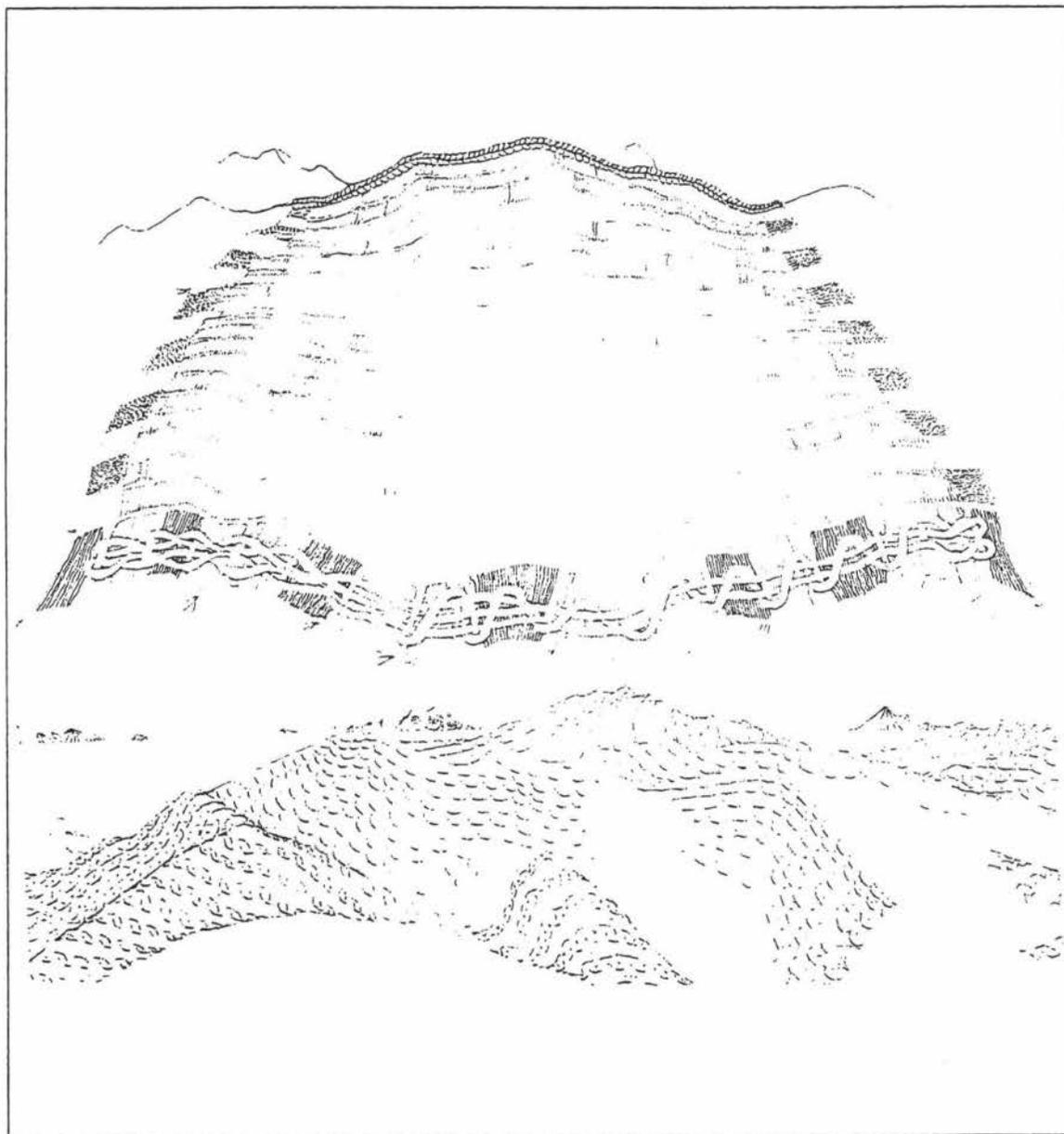


**Figure 5.16**

The drawing comes from a series entitled Te Hono ki Ranana (Links with London), and was executed when he was based for three months in London at the Museum of Mankind researching Maori works held by the museum. The work speaks of the ancestors mana, or power and influence, over the land by the portrayal of the chiefly cloak 'caressing and warming' the land. (Art New Zealand 49 Summer 1988/89:p 52). It combines small lines of colour to realistically present

the cloak, and the occasional use of kowhaiwhai patterns (more predominant in other drawings in this series) to consolidate the relationship between kowhaiwhai rafter patterns, genealogy and the land. He also uses surface patterning from carved forms on to accentuate the curves of the land - another link to the ancestors.

**Te Hono ki Ranana I by John bevan Ford - coloured ink on paper**



**Figure 5.17**

According to Ford (Art New Zealand 49 Summer 1988/89: p 52) the cloaks and carvings he studied at London physically reminded him of his Maori spirituality, which he expressed in this drawing. It was hoped that students would make judgements on Te Hono ki Ranana 8 based on discriminations as to whether the cloak form strongly represented either art or a signifier of 'Maoriness'. The drawing relies heavily on contextualising the relationship between a cloak and from where its materials of creation derive; the land.

Figure 5.17 shows another example in this series where Ford creates a new taniko pattern from tradition. The concept and format however, bear resemblance to other works in the series and also have a similar over-riding message. It consolidates John's view of Maori art as working from a strong base of contemporary and traditional art forms.

#### Ranking responses for John Bevan Ford's "Te Hono ki Ranana 8"

"Te Hono ki Ranana 8" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		4.347826	1.086957	2.173913	7.608696
[8]	R	0	0	0	0
[7]	A	0	0	1.086957	1.086957
[6]	N	2.173913	1.086957	5.434783	8.695652
[5]	K	4.347826	13.04348	6.521739	23.91304
[4]	I	9.782609	9.782609	6.531729	26.08696
[3]	N	7.608696	4.347826	6.521739	18.47826
[2]	G	3.26087	0	3.26087	6.521739
[1]		3.26087	1.086957	1.086957	5.434783
No confid		1.086957	1.086957	0	2.173913
TOTAL		35.86957	31.52174	32.6087	100%

Table 5.6

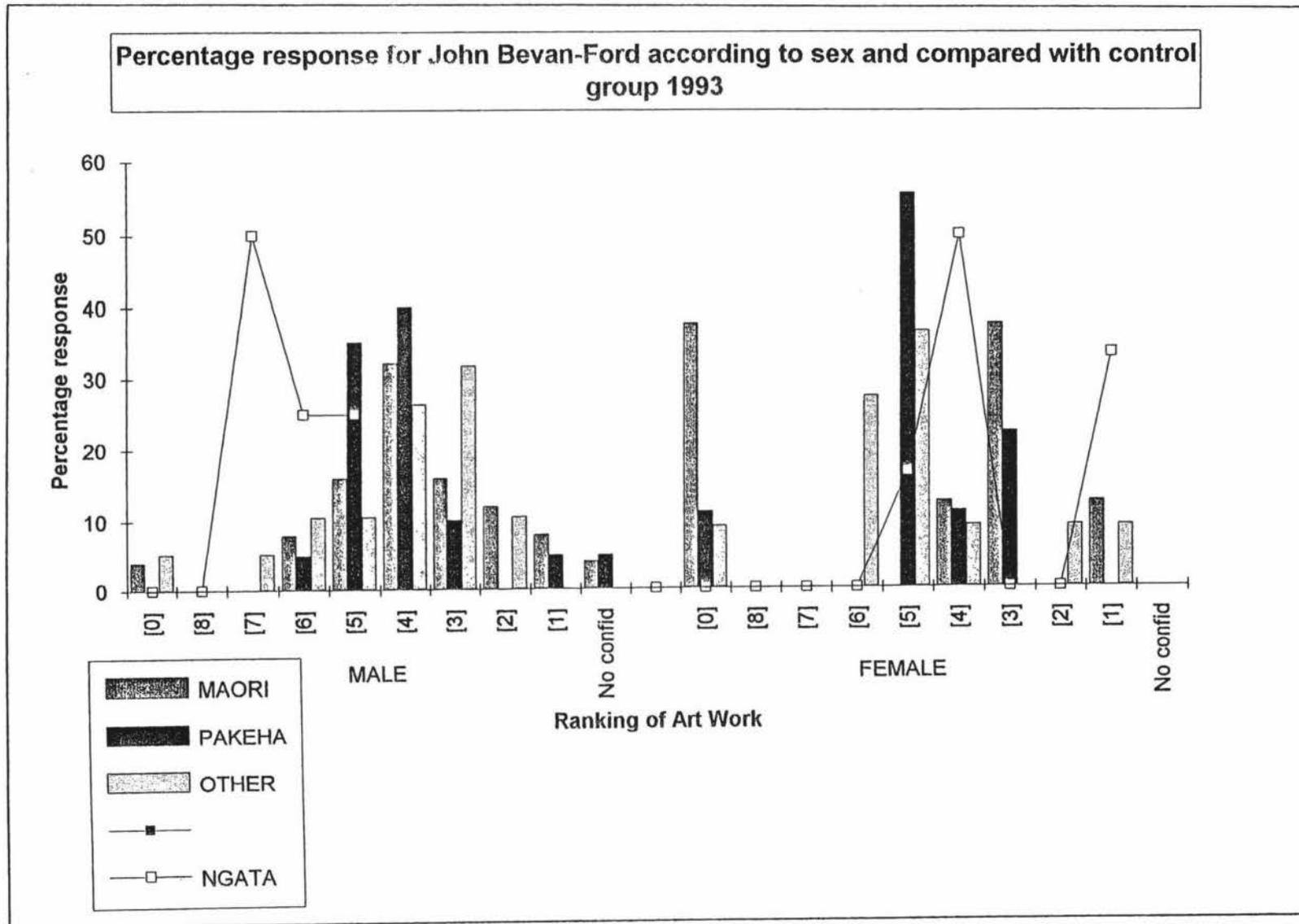
Table 5.6 shows that respondents tended to rank Te Hono ki Ranana 8 more around the middle ranks of [3], [4], and [5]. No responses were made to [8] ranking, the 'least Maori' rank, but one must remember the rankings in the context

of all the pictures. Depending on how many [0] rankings pupils gave, the 'least Maori' rank for an individual response could be a rank [7] or even [6]. This could suggest that rankings are fairly low for this drawing, towards the 'lesser Maori' end.

Looking once again at **Table 5.6** we see that there was a tendency for Pakeha respondents to rank **Te Hono ki Ranana 8** at the lower ranking of [5], while responses for the other cultural groupings were more varied. The tendency to rank the drawing low is probably due to the nature of the art form; cloak weaving, as not being considered as much representative of a Maori art form as the kowhaiwhai arts or wood carving. There seems to be a strong perception in this section of the research, that the weaving of cloaks is less significant as Maori art than these other forms. Surprisingly also, this perception is even more strongly supported by Maori who responded higher than the other groups in the [0] rank, or 'not Maori'.

There are quite distinct patterns according to gender and cultural identification as shown in **Figure 5.18**. Maori males showed a spread of responses, almost a normal distribution, around a proportionately higher [4] ranking. Maori females were mostly split however, around whether the drawing deserved a [3] ranking or a [0] rank. This would indicate that Maori females were strongly of two minds whether the woven cloak constituted Maori art. Some felt a little less strongly that this drawing was the 'most Maori', Maori females scoring the highest response of all groups in this ranking category. Once again Pakeha males showed a spread of responses, but they were more strongly represented amongst the [4] and [5] ranks than the Maori males. Pakeha females were more certain about the lower rankings than the males, with extremely high support for the [5] rank. This suggests that while Pakeha accept that the drawing is Maori, there is less emphasis

Figure 5.18



placed on the cloak weaving arts than the forms that are more prominent in their learning; wood carving and kowhaiwhai painting.

For the group Other, there was a spread of responses from both genders. Surprisingly the males ranked **Te Hono ki Ranana 8** proportionately higher than the females, with a greater tendency to rank the drawing third, and the females fifth and sixth. Perhaps the tendency for Males to give a wider spread of results, and a more positive ranking is based on such concepts as the cloak as a marker of chiefly status, rather than on art rationales alone.

The very definite responses by the control group males towards lower rankings; [6], [7] and [8] indicates a lesser appreciation of cloak weaving as an art form, probably based on traditional conceptions of what constitutes art according to male-oriented art pursuits. Ngata females were more disposed towards ranking the drawing higher, although the split between [1] and [5] probably reflects an uncertainty as to whether cloak weaving constitutes an 'art', or not.

Some patterns can be discerned for John Bevan Ford's **Te Hono ki Ranana 8**;

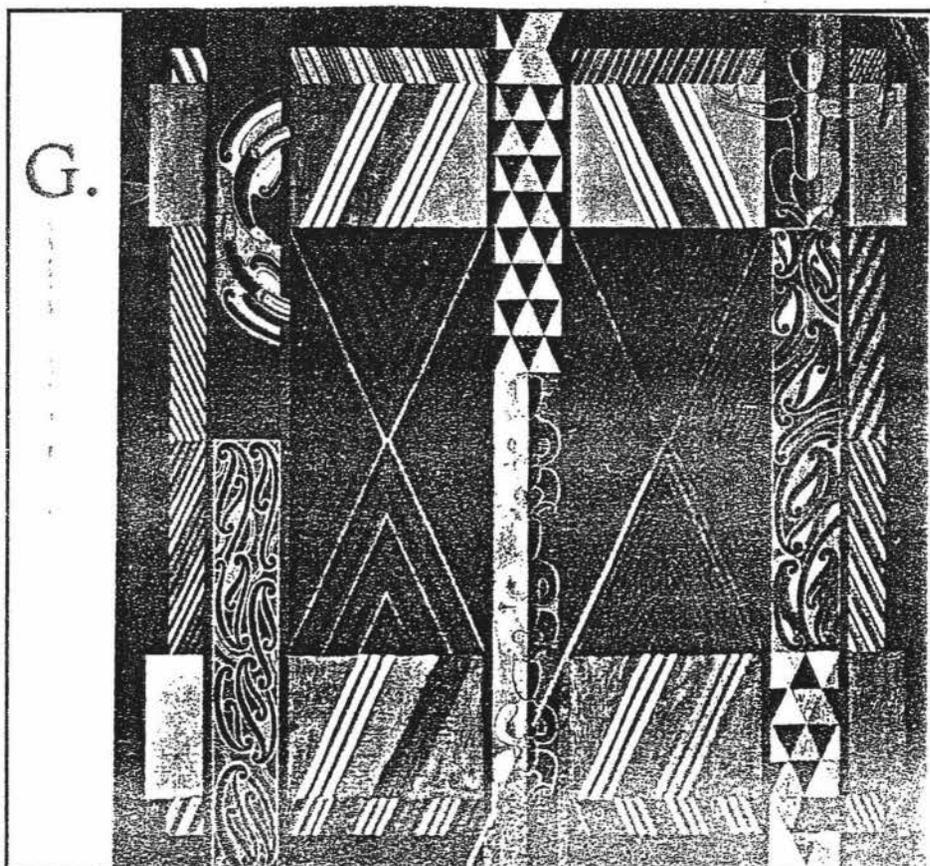
1. *The majority of respondents ranked the drawing at middle ranks and lower, showing a reluctance to accept that the portrayal of the cloak is as representative of Maori art as other Maori art forms. This could largely be due to the lesser emphasis on the weaving arts, especially whatu, in schools.*
2. *Maori tended to see the drawing more positively, although there were a small number who felt that it wasn't Maori art at all, and this probably reflects the greater knowledge of the context of cloaks and the higher esteem in which they are held;*
3. *Males over all showed mixed responses to the drawing, although a higher proportion of responses were made towards the mid to lower ranks.*

*Females on the other hand were more concentrated among the mid to lower ranks, except for a strong number of Maori females who felt that the drawing did not constitute Maori art, surprising when historically cloak-weaving has been the females domain.*

**Picture F "Heke Series No. 1" 1988 by Sandy Adsett**

Figure 5.19 shows the picture of Heke Series No. 1 given to the student participants.

**Heke Series No. 1 1988 by Sandy Adsett - acrylic on board**



**Figure 5.19**

Sandy's work was particularly chosen for its resemblance structurally to the side wall and rafters of the whareniui (meeting house), and for the more abstract rendering of the concepts of tukutuku (latticework) and kowhaiwhai, which students are familiar with at the level of basic recognition (see **Chapter 3**).

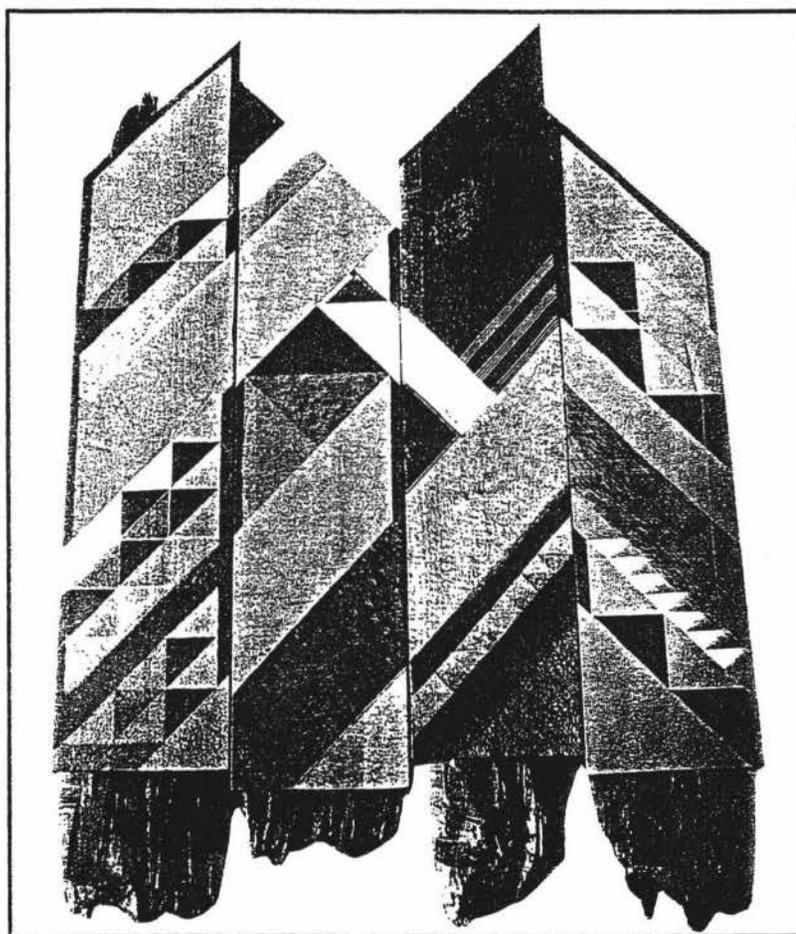
The work of Sandy Adsett reflects a re-situation and continuity of traditional Maori art forms, by using bright colours and new exploration of patterning, which particularly shows appreciation of the possibilities offered by the 'simplicity' of the traditional art forms. He especially has been concerned with the kowhaiwhai patterning in many of his works, which allows for the achievement of balance and harmony in the traditional meeting house. (Nicholas & Kaa 1986:p 17 - 18). Sandy begins from the basic structures of traditional art forms; the balanced relationships of design, colour and space, to extend on the traditional in the contemporary context. (Nga Puna Waihanga Poster entitled "Te Atinga").

In this work Sandy uses **koru** units repeatedly and in different compositions, down the length of the ambiguously situated rafter or poupou (sidepost, which may be painted with kowhaiwhai designs rather than carved). Figurative forms which adhere to traditional rules of symmetry, style (such as the three-fingered hands) and composition are used to make reference to the carving attributes of the poupou. The central vertical line of colour change emphasizes the vertical symmetry of the figurative forms. (art New Zealand 52 1989:p 57). Further reference is made to the rafter or heke by the diagonal designs on the top and bottom horizontals. Arranged in groups of three these refer to the lashings (symbolic in themselves) which are used to fasten the thatching to the rafters.

Reference to all the weaving arts is made in the series of triangular patterns between the 'poupou' and also on the poupou. The triangular form is commonly used in tukutuku (latticework), taniko (cloak borders) and raranga (flax weaving) forms, and although culturally universal they are explored in the painting in a way

which expresses and extends their traditional contexts. Sandy has increasingly explored weaving patterns in his more recent works and a knowledge of Sandy's work would allow the observer to see the analogies between traditional weaving arts and Sandy's painting. **Figure 5.20** shows one such work by Sandy which examines the balance of form and colour and concern with symmetrical designs, in interpreting weaving patterns. (Adsett et al 1992:p 11)

**Work by Sandy Adsett - acrylic on wooden planks**



**Figure 5.20**

It was hoped that students recognition of **Heke Series No. 1** would rest on an ability to take all the clues together in order to associate the painting as strongly Maori in terms of its portrayal of art concepts inside the meeting house.

### Ranking responses for Sandy Adsett's "Heke Series No. 1"

Responses were correlated according to proportionate rankings by cultural affiliation, and by total proportionate responses to each ranking for **Heke Series No. 1**. These results are shown in **Table 5.7**; and according to total proportions of ranking only. The results show that total responses were fairly spread for the rankings, with slightly higher representation around the [3] and [4] ranks. Only a very small proportion ranked the painting not Maori at all, and there were very few responses at the 'lesser rank' end; additionally no student made a 'no confidence' vote.

#### **"Heke Series No. 1" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993**

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		2.173913	0	1.086957	3.26087
[8]	R	0	1.086957	0	1.086957
[7]	A	0	1.086957	0	1.086957
[6]	N	3.26087	3.26087	4.347826	10.86957
[5]	K	3.26087	2.173913	5.434783	10.86957
[4]	I	8.695652	6.521739	4.347826	19.56522
[3]	N	7.608696	14.13043	13.04348	34.78261
[2]	G	3.26087	3.26087	2.193913	8.695652
[1]		7.608696	0	2.173913	9.782609
No confid		0	0	0	0
TOTAL		35.86957	31.52174	32.6087	100%

**Table 5.7**

Looking at the difference in rankings according to cultural identification in **Table 5.7** we see that Maori respondents tended to spread their rankings between the first six - although this need not be significant if Maori tended to rank [0] for other art works. There were a small percentage of Maori who did not feel that **Heke Series No. 1** resembled Maori art at all, and an even smaller group of Other. This would suggest that for a small number of respondents who could

claim Maori identity, the painting did not adhere to concepts they were either familiar with, or would deem constituted Maori art forms.

Pakeha responses were substantially stronger for rank [3], and to a lesser extent rank [4], indicating that they felt that the painting ranked fairly average as Maori art. There was a tendency to be small deviations, but no Pakeha saw it deserving of a 'most Maori' designation, nor did they think that it was not Maori at all. Pakeha probably tended to look for the presence of at least symbolic reference to one art form they were familiar with, rather than base 'Maoriness' on the entire subject matter represented. The group Other similarly showed a range of responses, with a small number seeing the painting as 'not Maori' at all.

Within cultural groupings there is some difference in gender responses, as recorded in **Figure 5.21** over the page. Maori females ranked **Heke Series No. 1** proportionately much higher than any group for the 'middle of the road' fourth rank, while Maori males tended to have a larger spread of responses. It is interesting to note (and with reference to **Figure 5.44**) that Maori males and females were much stronger in their ranking of the painting as the 'most Maori'. This suggests that Maori recognised the meeting house reference of the painting as making it strongly representative of Maori art. There was more male uncertainty however, shown by the larger spread of their responses, and this would suggest that for some Maori males, there is more of an affinity with carving renditions rather than this conceptual portrayal of art inside the meeting house.

For the group Other, female responses stand out for their predominance in the top ranks, and the very high proportion of [4] ranking responses. Ideas were divided however, as a small proportion ranked the painting as 'not Maori'. The responses indicate that there were a large number of students in the Other group who could

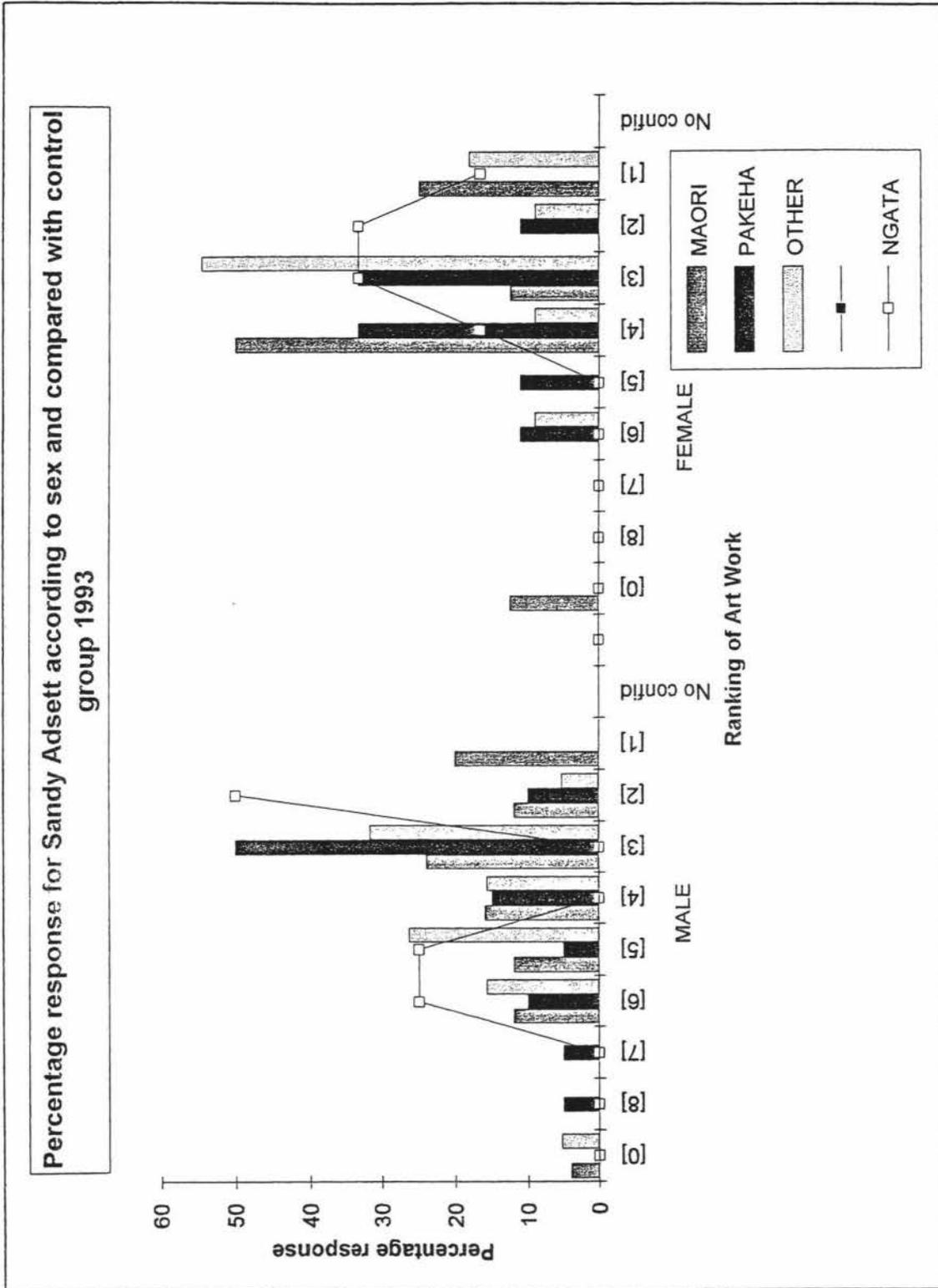


Figure 5.21

identify with the meeting house context - perhaps more strongly than they could individual art forms. For the males there was a bigger tendency to respond with a slightly wider range of rankings, although responses frequented the [3] and [5] rankings - showing their reluctance to accept **Heke Series No. 1** over other art forms. Pakeha males on the other hand were much more decisive in ranking **Heke Series No. 1** as [3] than females, but both genders showed the widest spread of responses of all the cultural groupings. Control group responses were varied, with the females tending to rank the painting higher than males, probably once again due to males preference for art works which showed a carving influence. The following generalisations can be made about the responses to **Heke Series No. 1**;

1. *In general students ranked the painting as an average example of Maori art, although it appears that Pakeha were more likely to look for obvious symbolism which told them the painting was Maori, whereas a small proportion of Maori felt strongly that the depiction of meeting house in this sense constituted 'a most Maori' designation. For this group there was probably a better recognition of the meeting house context;*
2. *Males tended to offer more of a spread of responses to the painting, besides the Pakeha males, which probably indicates a greater affinity with paintings which dealt with carved forms. Females showed a greater surety in ranking the painting in the middle ranks according to a greater recognition of the meeting house context.*

#### **Picture H "He Parapara" 1985 by Robyn Kahukiwa**

**He Parapara** (Figure 5.22) was chosen as the final picture in this part of the research because, typical of this period of Robyn's painting, it uses traditional Maori art influences to a very abstract level. Robyn also has a high profile as a Maori artist, and her work is used frequently in school resources and poster material. I felt that recognition of the artist would play a part in students determination of a ranking of 'Maoriness' for this painting.

He Parapara 1985 by Robyn Kahukiwa - oil on canvas

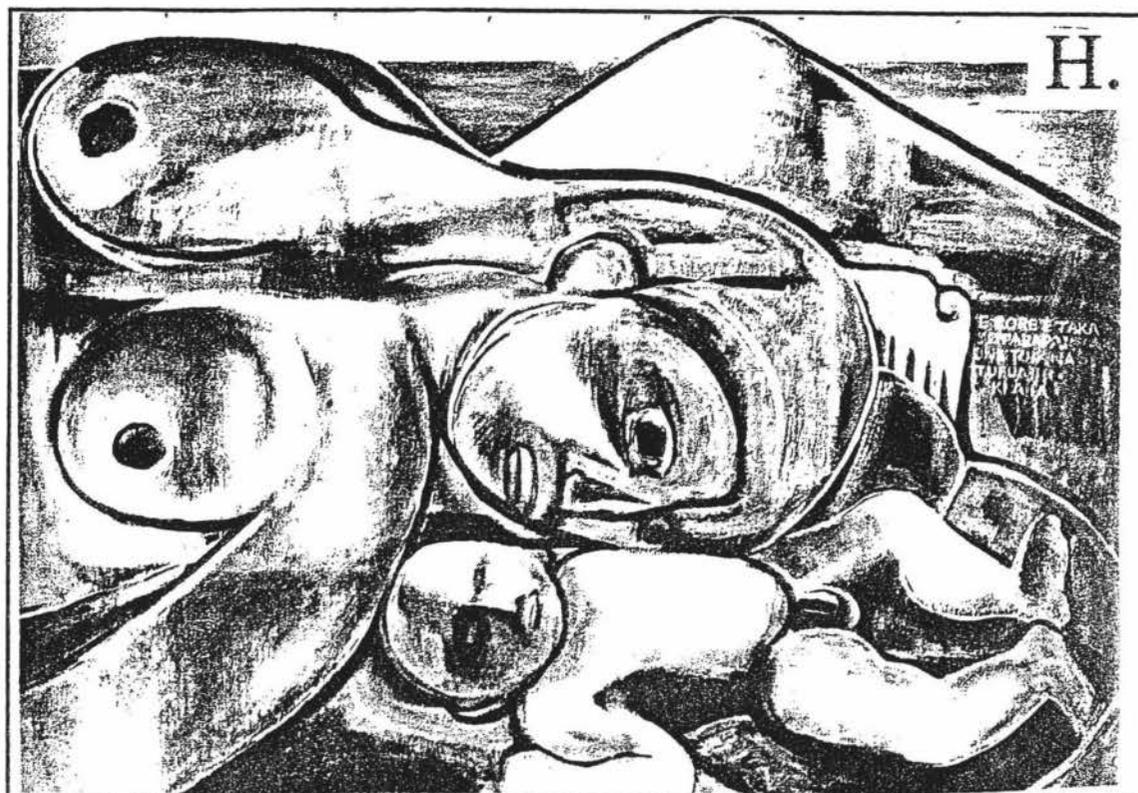


Figure 5.22

A prevailing theme in Robyn's work is the depiction of mother and child, which has come recently to represent embracing concepts of the nurturing land, the earth mother and continuity of the Maori or genealogy. **He Parapara** carries this theme with the depiction of Maui, the demi-god and his mother Taranga. It is from a series of work entitled the **Whakatauki Series**, based on Maori proverbs. The subject of this series is the East Coast district and the Ngati Porou tribe, of which many of the students participating in this questionnaire are affiliated to. (art New Zealand 45 Summer 1987/88:p 60 - 61)

He Toa Takitahi 1985 - oil and alkaloid on canvas

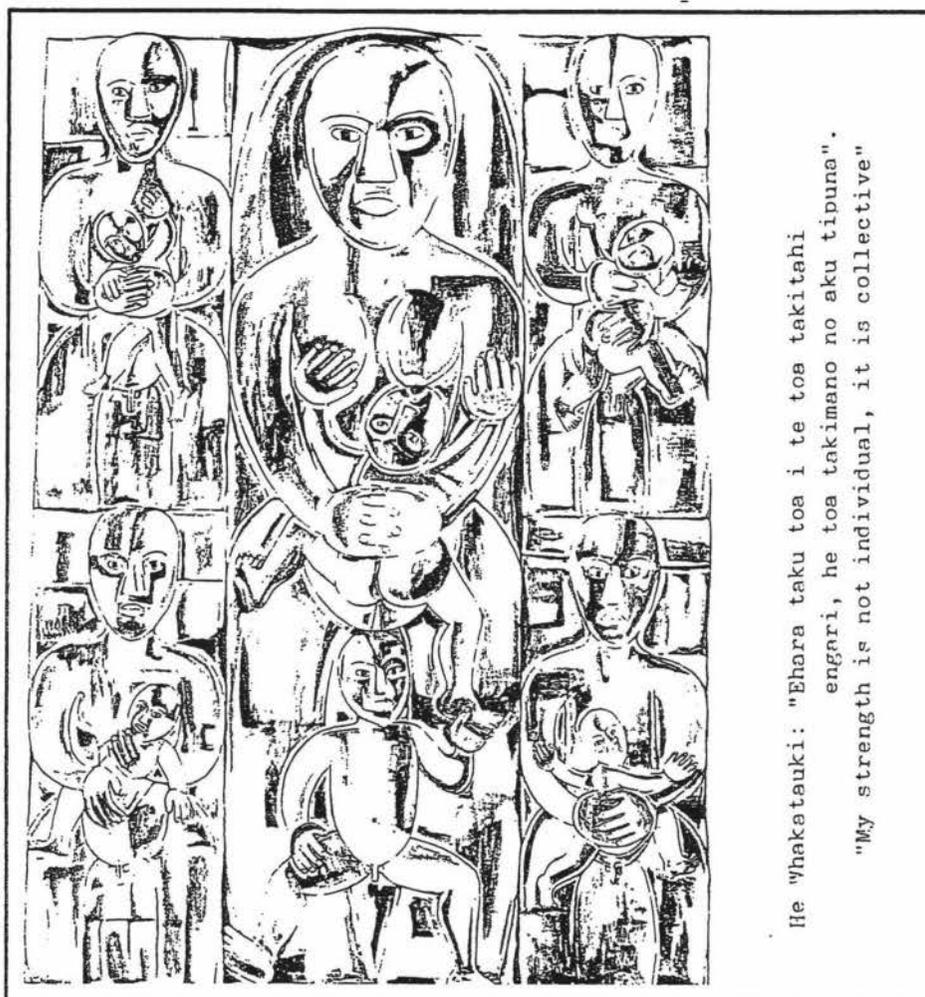


Figure 5.23

Since 1983 and her series based on women of Maori mythology, **Wahine Toa**, Robyn has chosen a freer and expressionistic handling of the paint medium, on large canvases. Her forms are loosely based on Maori carving, particularly that of Pine Taiapa in the Tokomaru Bay house **Te Hono ki Rarotonga**. Especially in the faces of her figures one can see the simplified interpretation of carving forms, in **He Parapara** as in her other works. Many of her paintings have more obvious

reference to Maori carved forms as in **He Toa Takitahi** in **Figure 5.23** on the previous page. Here the symmetry of the forms, arrangement of limbs and space, and style of the figures - all show the strong influence of carved figures.

### **Ranking responses for Robyn Kahukiwa's "He Parapara"**

Subjecting the results to the same analysis as the previous art works, we get the following results;

#### **"He Parapara" proportion of ranking responses according to cultural self-identification, from pupil questionnaire 1993**

% RESPONSES		Maori	Pakeha	Other	TOTAL
[0]		8.695652	7.608696	9.782609	26.08696
[8]	R	0	0	3.26087	3.26097
[7]	A	4.347826	7.608696	4.347826	16.30435
[6]	N	3.26087	4.347826	4.347826	11.95652
[5]	K	6.521739	2.173913	4.347826	13.04348
[4]	I	3.26087	3.26087	1.086957	7.608696
[3]	N	0	3.26087	2.173913	5.343783
[2]	G	4.347826	1.086957	2.173913	7.608696
[1]		4.347826	2.173913	1.086957	7.608696
No confid		1.086957	0	0	1.086957
TOTAL		35.86957	31.52174	32.6087	100%

**Table 5.8**

It appears that while there is a spread of results, the largest proportion of responses is among the [5], [6] and [7] ranks. Contrary to my understanding, it seems that a number of students did not see the work as being 'more Maori', or necessarily recognise (or appreciate the work of) the artist. It appears that students were particularly looking for evidence that a Maori art form had been used, and as this painting was based on objects they did not associate it as being strongly representative of Maori art. The largest proportion of responses for [0] rank; not Maori art, testifies to this.

The results according to cultural identification, in **Table 5.8** show only slight deviations between cultural groups. The results are close and there are very few trends that appear worth commenting on except that the groups Other and Pakeha tended to rank **He Parapara** very low and strongly not Maori whereas Maori showed greater confidence in some of the higher ranks; [1] and [2]. This would suggest that there were Maori respondents who actually recognised the work of the artist, and acting on this knowledge were certain that the painting strongly constituted Maori art. Pakeha ranked the painting most strongly [7]; Other, [0] and Maori only just [0]. This would suggest that the absence of any obvious traditional art form in the painting swayed students in determining that it was at least less Maori than many of the other art works, if not not Maori at all.

Looking at **Figure 5.24** responses according to gender, we see that females tended on the whole to rank **He Parapara** more strongly for their chosen rankings. Maori females responded much higher than Maori males in [0], [5] and [1] ranks. This demonstrates a remarkable difference in the perception of what constitutes 'Maori' in a painting. Perhaps a recognition of Robyn Kahukiwa as being the artist led to the 'most Maori'; [1] rank, whereas the [0] and [5] ranking was probably based on the perception that the painting didn't deal with any particular traditional art forms. While Other and Pakeha females also responded decisively, this tended to be in the lower ranks; [4] and [7], and [4], [7], [0] for the two groups respectively.

For males the most decisive response was from Other males, ranking the painting as not Maori, while the rest of their responses were greatly spread in all ranks except [1]. For the other two groups of males the ranks were also spread but weighted towards the 'lesser Maori' ranks. Males on the whole found less affinity with 'Maoriness' in the picture than females.

Percentage response for Robyn Kahukiwa according to sex and compared with control group 1993

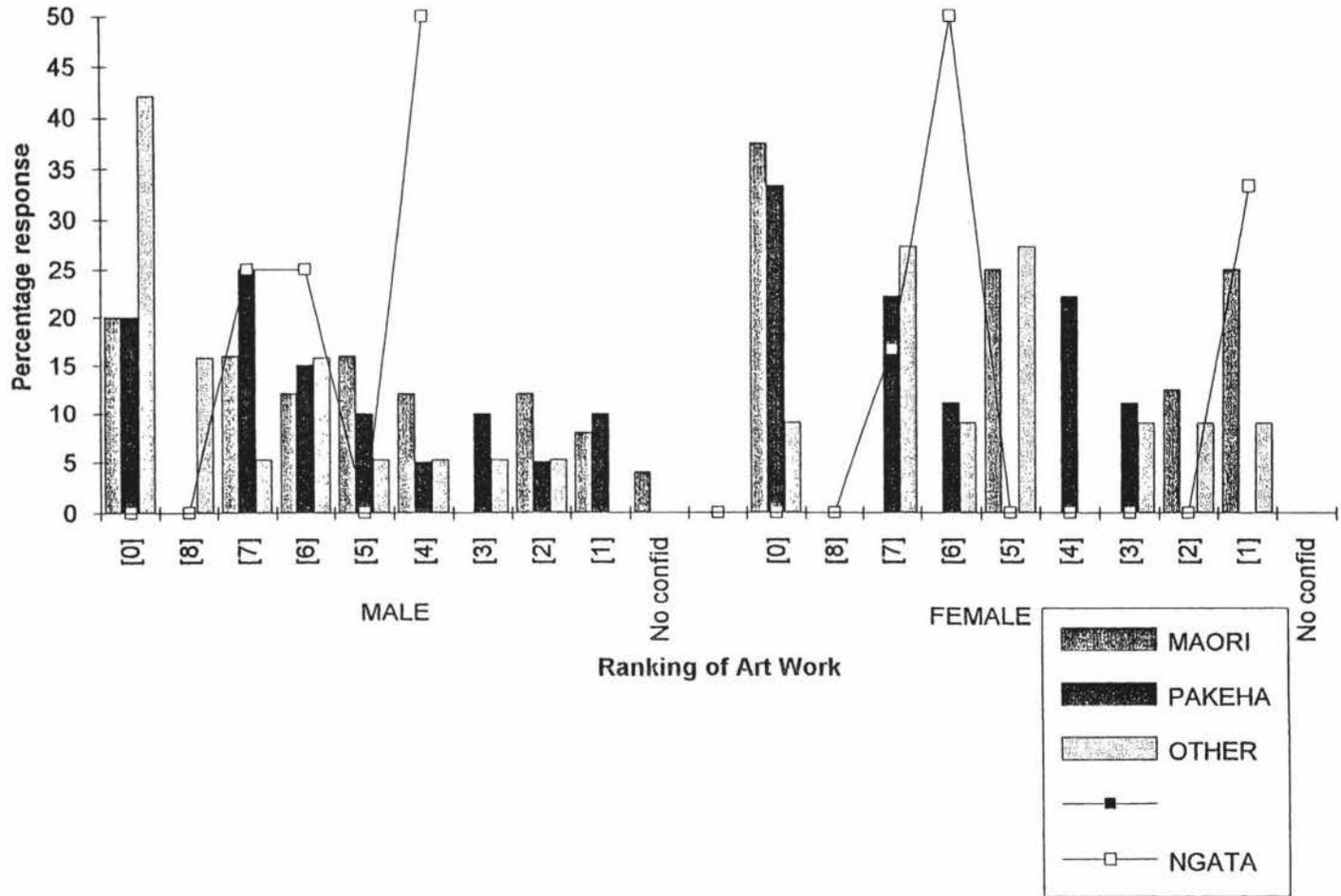


Figure 5.24

The control group responses show similar results with a number of females ranking the painting [1], the rest of the responses for both sexes being in the lower ranks - although not [0]. The indication is that a high proportion of Maori females tend to find a strong association with Robyn's painting as being Maori art due to the nature of the relationships portrayed in the presence of hinted Maori associations. For males this association is not made and the painting takes lower ranking than more obviously portrayed usage of traditional Maori art forms. The Maori participants in this questionnaire are more likely to have a knowledge and appreciation of Robyn's work, as the members of the tribe; Ngati Porou, of the East Coast area are well aware of the success of their kin. In view of this it was a surprise to find that Robyn's work was not ranked higher in the context of this research.

The conclusions we can draw about responses to **He Parapara** are;

1. *There was a general trend of ranking the painting in the 'lesser Maori' ranks due to the absence of specific reference to traditional Maori art forms, rather than simply objects as in this painting. It also may suggest a non-recognition of the work of this particular artist;*
2. *Maori ranked slightly higher at [1] and [2], indicating that there were some Maori who both appreciated and recognised the artists work as being a strong exemplar of Maori art. This tended to be by females who perhaps could relate to the theme of the painting as constituting 'Maori';*
3. *Females were more certain of where they would rank the painting, with strong responses of [1], [5] and [0]. This is likely to represent a remarkable difference in perception of what constitutes a Maori art piece, based on knowledge and appreciation of the artist and, presence or absence of Maori art symbolism.*

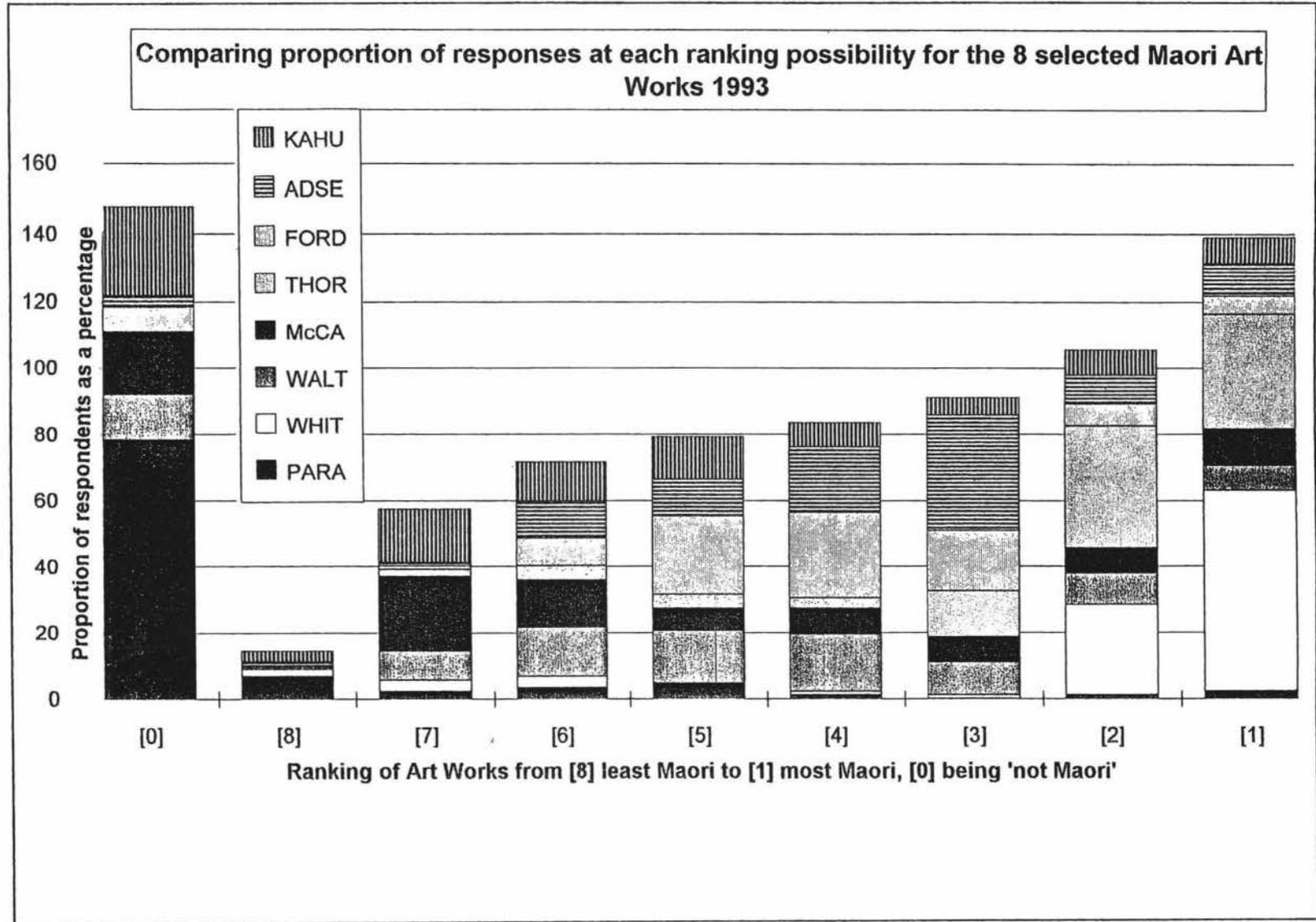
### Comparative ranking of responses to all 8 art works

Due to the nature of the question given to the participants, there will be some distortion of the individual results for the art works. If students responded with one or more [0] responses, or a no-confidence vote, then their bottom rank would not be [8]. As mentioned in the beginning this would tend to de-emphasize the bottom ranking results and distort the analysis. It was deemed to be extremely useful however, to examine the results individually as there are still strong patterns which are accurate, and the randomness and number of responses these affected per picture when considering combinations of responses was also considered negligible. Generally the biggest effect would be on the lower rank responses. It is important however, to attempt some sort of cross-comparison of the responses to all of the eight pictures - although it is not viable to look at each individual combination of responses.

**Figure 5.25** looks at the total percentages of responses for a certain artist at each rank. There are clear patterns of artist's works which were proportionately ranked more strongly than other works at certain ranks. For example the graph shows that Paratene Matchitts work **Huakana Flag** was most likely to be attributed with a [0] response; 78% of participants deeming it not Maori, than any other art work in the group.

For each artist the following summary can be made, with relevance additionally to the total frequency of responses at a certain ranking and the comments already made in this section. The summary has been formulated according to the ranking tendency, rather than the average rank, which indicates better where responses were centred rather than the middle response.

Figure 5.25



1. *Paratene Matchitt's work **Huakana Flag** was almost unanimously ranked [0], not Maori - 78% due to the highly abstract nature of the symbolism employed which is either beyond respondents ability to associate as being Maori, or is simply foreign to their learning. The work is given a [0] rank over all;*
2. ***Tawhiri-Matea** by Cliff Whiting ranks most strongly as the most Maori picture of all, and also features very strongly as the second 'most Maori'; 61% and 27% of the responses respectively. The combined results of [1] and [2] rank puts it just about 25% above Kura Rewiri-Thorsen and gives its preferred ranking as [1] over all. This is due to the very distinctive use of kowhaiwhai patterning, the proliferation of Cliff's work in schools and the simple appeal of the style employed;*
3. *Gordon Walter's painting **Genealogy 5** is more difficult to rank due to the spread of results, but if we look at the tendency of his results to be spread around [6], [5] and [4] and see that John Bevan Ford's results are stronger for [5], [4] and [3], then Gordon's work ranks in relation to the other works as a [5] rank. This suggests that pupils did not find a very strong affinity between the geometric forms he uses and the Maori koru form;*
4. *Colin McCahon's **A Poster for the Urewera** ranks a [6] in relation to the other art works, due to a higher proportion of responses at this rank, which slightly betters Robyn Kahukiwa's responses at this rank and below. This indicates a tendency to see Maori wording as not strongly constituting Maori art on its own;*
5. ***Te Tokorua** by Kura Rewiri-Thorsen scores a rank [2], 'second to most Maori' as the rank responses to her work tended to be proportionately centred around the top three ranks, behind Cliff Whiting. This points to a higher appreciation, by students, of the renditions of carving forms in her painting;*

6. *John Bevan Ford's work, Te Hono ki Ranana 8 sees responses which are proportionately higher for the ranks [5], [4] and [3], yet less strongly [3] than Sandy Adsetts painting. His over all rank of [4] indicates a recognition of the nature of the form depicted; the cloak, but a lack of emphasis on the weaving arts in contemporary Maori art appreciation;*
7. *Heke Series No. 1 by Sandy Adsett scores a ranking of [3] due to the predominance of the responses in this rank. Many of the students saw this painting as an 'average' example of Maori art due to the portrayal of kowhaiwhai forms in particular, and probably to a lesser extent the meeting house context depicted. However, the simplified and abstracted weaving patterns acted against the painting when it came to its ranking;*
8. *Robyn Kahukiwa's He Parapara ranked the final score of [7] (there being no eighth ranking due to the 'not Maori' responses) as it was represented more strongly in the [0] responses which when added to the [7] responses, saw it score slightly more responses at this end of the rankings than McCahons work (by 1%). A reluctance to accept her painting as Maori because of the absence of any strong evidence of a well-known Maori art form in the work suggests that students have a very strong idea that they are looking for the presence of something traditionally Maori.*

The popular rankings are summarised as;

- [1] Tawhiri-Matea by Cliff Whiting*
- [2] Te Tokorua by Kura Rewiri-Thorsen*
- [3] Heke Series No. 1 by Sandy Adsett*
- [4] Te Hono ki Ranana by John Bevan Ford*
- [5] Genealogy 5 by Gordon Walters*
- [6] A Poster for the Urewera by Colin McCahon*
- [7] He Parapara by Robyn Kahukiwa*
- [0] Huakana Flag by Paratene Matchitt*

<b>PART II: Contemporary Maori art by style and artist</b>
------------------------------------------------------------

In this second part of the exercise students were given the explanatory information about each picture and asked to again rank the art works. If they did not perceive a change was required, they could respond with the same answers as for **Part I**. This question was allocated on the back page of the **pupil questionnaire** and emphasis had been placed on students following the sequence of questions, from front to back. Since I over-saw the administration of the questionnaire I was able to ensure this happened. Therefore the majority of students, of which I'm sure, would not have accessed this additional information given - for **Part I** of this research.

The type of information students were given about each artist include;

1. *artist, artists cultural identity;*
2. *Materials favoured by artist and tools of trade;*
3. *Maori influence, whether traditional art forms or otherwise;*
4. *The theme of the art work and how this related to traditional Maori concepts, artistically or culturally;*
5. *The date and the title of the art work as well as a description of the title;*
6. *The preference of the artist for expressing his or her ideas in particular ways in many of his or her art works.*

**Figure 5.26** shows one of the eight examples given in the given in the pupil questionnaire which describes the work of Paratene Matchitt, entitled 'Huakana Flag'.

**Part II of ranking Contemporary Maori art, additional information supplied  
for Picture A - pupil questionnaire 1993**

A. PARATENE MATCHITT "Huakana Flag" 1986  
 Para is a Modern Maori artist from Te Kaha and chooses to do large wooden works using simplified Maori symbols. For example the triangle appears in many Maori Art forms.

**Figure 5.26**

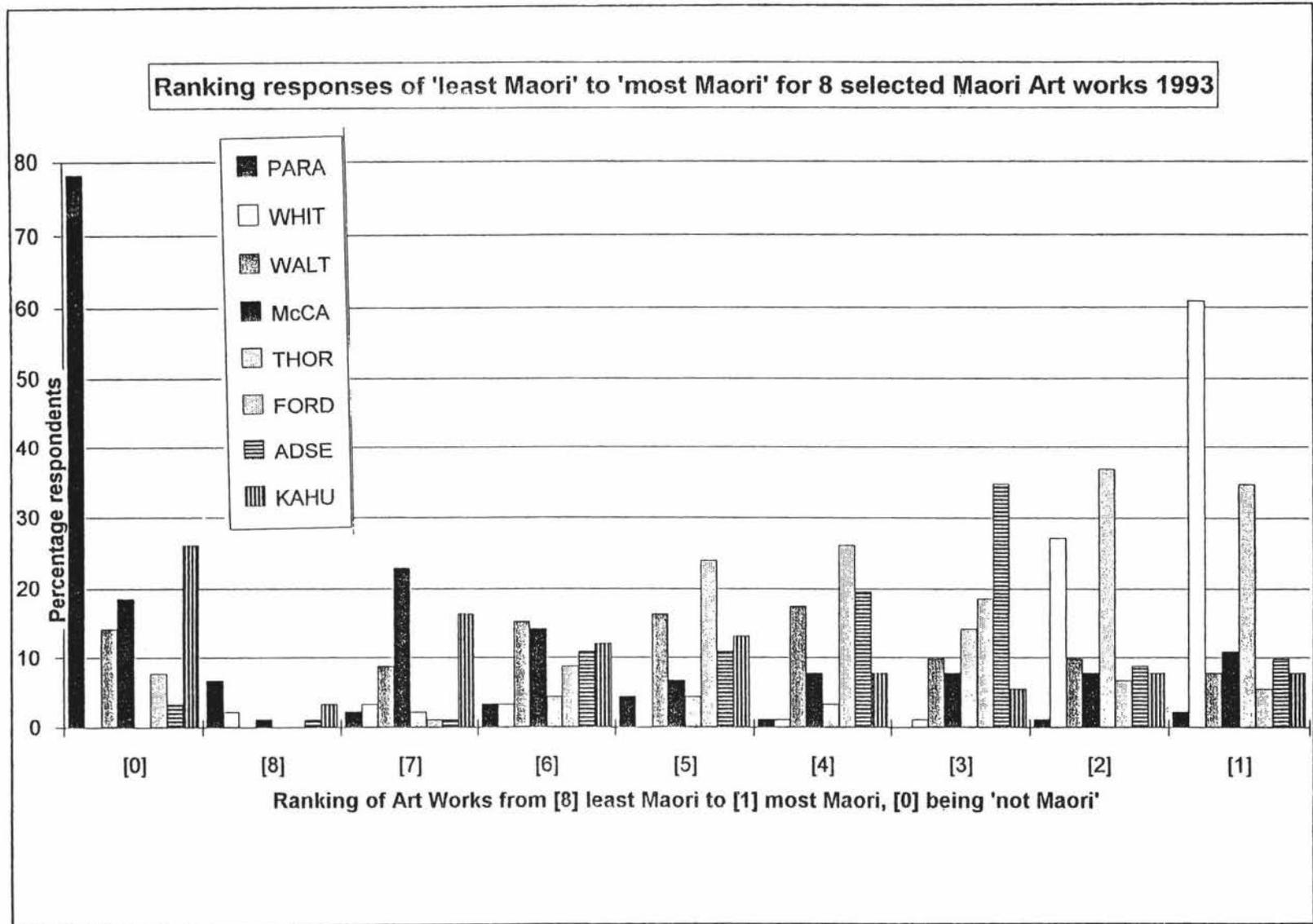
Students were asked once again to justify their choice of 'most Maori' ranking, [1] response. **Figure 5.27** shows the proportion of responses for each artist's work at each ranking for students first responses in **Part 1**. Looking at **Table 5.9** below we see the new total new responses by the participants. As a total of 21 students failed to respond to the second part of the questionnaire, this number was deducted from the total so as not to distort the responses. Thus total responses in order to obtain the final proportion or percentage was 71.

**Ranking responses according to second response of pupil questionnaire  
participants for 8 selected art works 1993**

% RESP	PARA	WHIT	WALT	McCA	THOR	FORD	ADSE	KAHU
[0]	39.43662	4.225352	22.53521	15.49296	4.225352	9.859155	5.633803	18.30986
[8] R	11.26761	4.225352	2.816901	4.225352	2.816901	0	4.225352	4.225352
[7] A	1.408451	5.633803	11.26761	18.30986	1.408451	7.042254	7.042254	8.450704
[6] N	7.042254	4.225352	9.859155	9.859155	8.450704	15.49296	8.450704	7.042254
[5] K	4.225352	2.816901	15.49296	4.225352	11.26761	14.08451	18.30986	11.26761
[4] I	8.450704	2.816901	8.450704	16.90141	2.816901	12.67606	14.08451	16.90141
[3] N	4.225352	2.816901	12.67606	11.26761	14.08451	14.08451	16.90141	8.450704
[2] G	4.225352	23.94366	8.450704	8.450704	26.76056	12.67606	12.67606	8.450704
[1]	14.08451	45.07042	7.042254	7.042254	25.35211	8.450704	5.633803	11.26761
NC -21	5.633803	4.225352	1.408451	4.225352	2.816901	5.633803	7.042254	5.633803
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Table 5.9**

Figure 5.27



We can now examine **Figure 5.28** and **Table 5.9** in the light of **Figure 5.27**, in order to determine the change of responses by students - given the additional information. The main observable trend is that students responses for an art work at a certain rank, were not as proportionately high as in the first section. For example Paratene Matchitt's **Huakana Flag** was ranked [0], 'not Maori' by just under 80% of the respondents in **Part I** (see **Figure 5.27**), but in this section 39% ranked the work [0] (see **Figure 5.28** and **Table 5.9**). Similarly for Cliff Whiting's **Tawhiri-Matea**, just over 60% of respondents ranked the painting [1] in **Part I** and only 45% in **Part II**. This suggests that the additional information supplied made the decision that more difficult for the respondents. It would also suggest, that with additional information about certain works, either students memories are jogged or they assume new criteria for assessing whether an art work is indeed a good representation of Maori art.

#### **What constitutes contemporary Maori art?**

In attempting to formulate students perceptions of what constitutes Maori art, both sets of responses must be taken in to account, as well as the reasons they gave for their first choice - that art work which earned the greatest proportion of [1] responses.

The reasons were grouped under 5 categories according to key words the students themselves used to describe their choice, and/or the basic theme of their description of their choice. Although students were required to give their reasons for both parts of the ranking exercise, very few students actually did. For this reason I took the main idea of both responses in order to get 92 responses for statistical purposes, in the few cases where reasoning actually differed. **Table 5.10** shows these results;

Ranking responses according to second response, of 'least Maori' to 'most Maori' for the 8 selected Maori Art works 1993

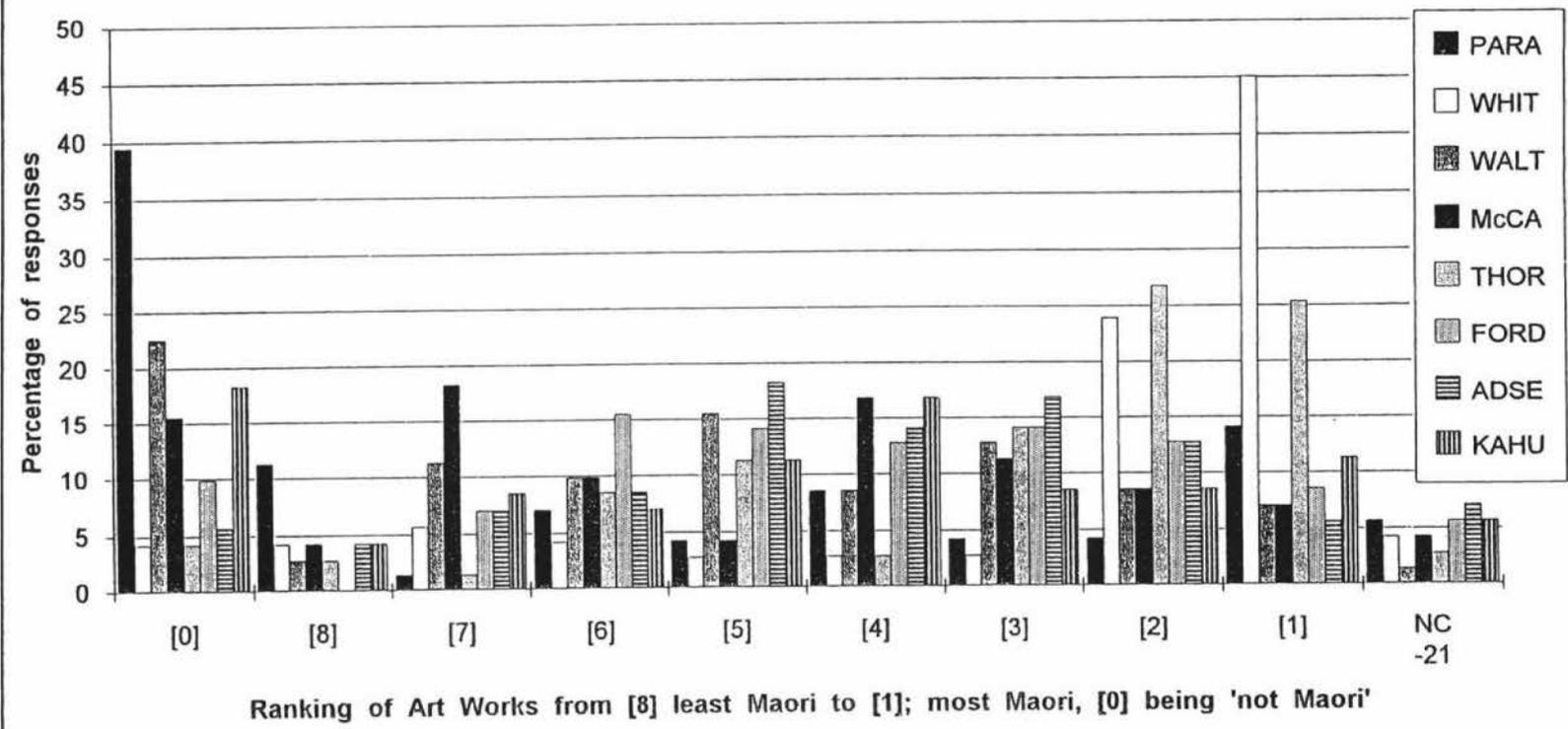


Figure 5.28

**Reason for choosing to rank a certain art work 'most Maori', according to proportion of students responses - pupil questionnaire 1993**

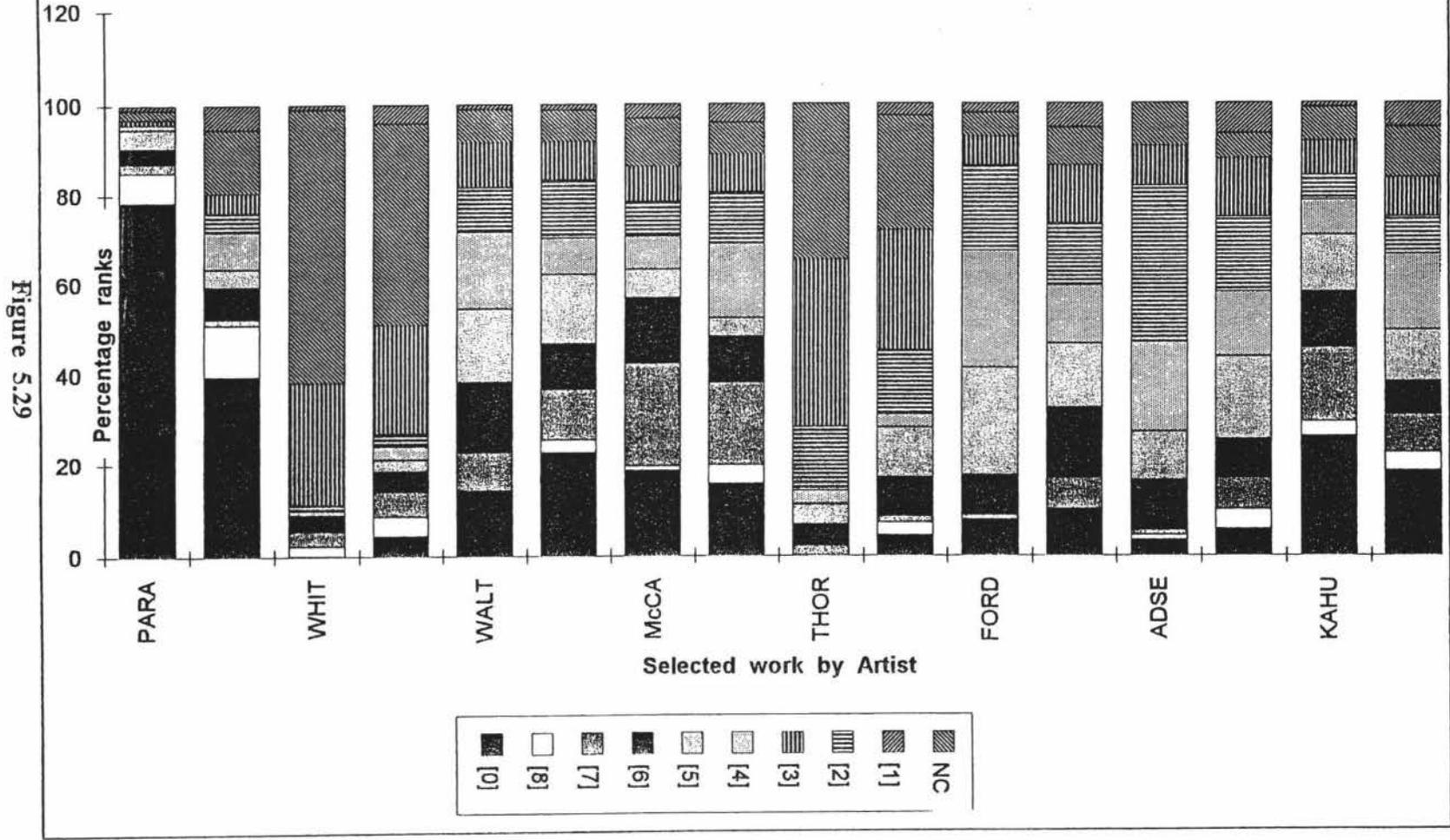
Reason for [ 1 ] rank	T / F	P / D	A	S	DK
%	22.82609	38.04348	9.782609	7.608696	21.73913
RAW /92	21	35	9	7	20
KEY	T / F	Traditional, form, figures			
	P / D	Pattern, Design			
	A	Appearance			
	S	Story			
	DK	Don't know or no confidence			

**Table 5.10**

The reasons for rankings must of course be examined in the light of which art work students actually deemed the 'most Maori' in order to place the reasoning in context. What must be added here, is that we have no real foundation to know whether pupils actually changed their mind on the basis of information they actually knew but just required confirmation, or whether the new information itself played a part. However when we consider that the majority of second responses are far more spread than the first, (the most significant increase in [8] responses and decrease in [0] for example) this does suggest strongly that students were reacting primarily to information that was new to them. (see **Figure 5.29** for comparison of the two sets of responses).

Finally for our discussion, the new rankings according to second choice rankings, for the separate art examples, must contribute to our conclusions. This will form the basis for my discussion of each art work according to the findings in this chapter. Although the new rankings reflecting a change mostly in the middle to bottom ranks, there was a significantly less decisive result in the unaltered ranks. The new rankings were as follows;

Proportionate rankings for each of the 8 selected Art works according to first and second ranking exercises 1993



- [1] *Tawhiri-Matea* by Cliff Whiting
- [2] *Te Tokorua* by Kura Rewiri-Thorsen
- [3] *Heke Series No. 1* by Sandy Adsett
- [4] *A Poster for the Urewera* by Colin McCahon
- [5] *Te Hono ki Ranana 8* by John Bevan Ford
- [6] *He Parapara* by Robyn Kahukiwa
- [7] *Genealogy 5* by Gordon Walters
- [0] *Huakana Flag* by Paratene Matchitt

### 1. *Huakana Flag* by Paratene Matchitt

Once again this assemblage scored highest responses for [0], 'not Maori', although the percentage response was significantly; 39% as compared with 78% in the first part of the analysis (see **Table 5.9**). There was a definite increase in ranking the work [1], and to a lesser degree other top ranks, according to **Figure 5.29**. This increase suggests that there were a small number of students who were familiar with Paratene Matchitt, or at least some of his work. The majority of the increased rankings are by males, and it is likely that they accepted the figurative forms in the assemblage as carving derived. Still a strong 'not Maori' ranking suggests that there is little study towards contextualising Paratene's art in School, nor is there an examination of the different cultural contexts of some very basic universal symbols. Students appear to be looking for more obvious contemporary art contexts of traditional Maori art forms.

### 2. *Tawhiri-Matea* by Cliff Whiting

Although the highest proportion of responses to Cliff's painting were once again [1] rank, the proportion was significantly smaller at 45%, as was [2] rank (see **Table 5.9** and **Figure 5.29**). Higher responses in the other ranks suggested that students were willing to rank the mural lower in order to rank others higher, yet there is still an obvious preference for the distinct kowhaiwhai forms and the carving relief. Examining the 'reasons for choosing to rank' in **Table 5.10** previous

page), we see a number of justifications which have been applied to this mural. Students conceived that this work was 'traditional' and referred strongly to the pattern and design - most probably with reference to the kowhaiwhai. There are also respondents who made reference to the 'story' which they obviously felt the picture had. As Cliff has illustrated numerous journals, one being Maui catching the sun, it is likely that this cartoon-like rendition of a mythical God-scene bore strong affinity to what students were familiar with. Such strong response by a large majority of respondents suggests that students are appreciating the contemporary interpretation of traditional Maori art portrayed in this manner..

### 3. *Genealogy 5 by Gordon Walters*

This painting dropped the most out of all of the art works, from [5] rank to [7], the 'least Maori'. It is the information that Gordon is not Maori which probably had the largest part to play in this decrease. There was also a large increase in [0] responses and to a lesser degree the middle rankings (**Figure 5.29** and **Table 5.9**). Students obviously place a great deal of emphasis on assigning Maori to art according to the cultural origins of the artist, even though they still managed to rank the art piece higher than Paratene's. There seems to be a tendency for pupils to be attracted to painted works rather than more sculptured forms, which suggests the predominance of a European art aesthetic in the teaching about Maori art. Although pupils have put the cultural origin of the artist over an appreciation of the forms, it is heartening that a great number still identified the piece as constituting Maori art. It is surprising that the use of the koru form does not lend itself to higher ranking of this work, and this may suggest that little instructional emphasis is given on the rules and formalism of traditional kowhaiwhai in favour of expressive contexts for the form - females especially reflect the tendency to accept the more expressive forms.

#### 4. A Poster for the Urewera by Colin McCahon

Surprising is the high jump for Colin McCahon's painting, from [6] rank to [4] (results in **Table 5.9** for the second ranking). Given the information that the artist is famous and perhaps recognising his name may have much to do with this increase in results. However there is probably good reason to believe that providing an outline of the theme; of Rua Kenana the Maori prophet, had a large influence on the responses. This confirms that students associate with a perceived story or message more frequently than the presence of art forms alone. Pakeha especially, ranked the painting higher the second time around - perhaps they preferred the lack of Maori art forms but the presence of story, in favour of a 'culturally-neutral' approach. In some cases the favouring of story to express Maori art concepts, while a valuable tool to obtaining student interest in the culture of others, may be disguising an understanding of traditional art forms of a certain culture. Contemporary Maori art in this case only needs to have an association by theme.

#### 5. Te Tokorua by Kura Rewiri Thorsen

Again the high ranking for this work, although lesser than the first ranking responses, saw the most frequent response; [2]. It is difficult to see why the responses dropped so dramatically for this painting, of [1] and [2] responses as there was very clear support for the portrayal of carved forms in paint, in the first part of the research. Lower responses, of course increased. (see **Figure 5.29**). The drop is most definitely in the male responses, which suggests even more strongly that males prefer the carving context of carved figurative forms, than the painted. This is positive for an appreciation of traditional Maori carving, but it does not read so well for an appreciation, by males, of new contexts for Maori art. Females obviously identify more strongly with the forms themselves in showing confidence in this ranking. Perhaps while knowledge and appreciation of traditional work is essential, students must see the scope for development of the forms in many contexts.

### 6. *Te Hono ki Ranana 8* by John Bevan Ford

A slighter lesser rank for this drawing at [5] which reflects a 'moving aside' of this work for McCahon's moving up the ranks. A little surprising, as the cloak is evident in the picture, as is its Maori nature. Once again a reflection of the status of the traditional woven arts of the Maori in present times. In the nature of other so-deemed 'craft' forms, the weaving arts of the Maori have taken a back seat and this is reflected in what students are learning. There was a promising proportionate increase in the higher ranks which is good for the weaving arts, according to **Figure 5.29**. Notably this was strongly by females which suggests that they are being attracted to the weaving tradition as a source of art stimulus - a reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypes. On the other hand there was also an increase in [0] and other lower responses which tends to support the notion that students are not learning to appreciate the weaving arts in School, at least not to the level that they are appreciating other Maori art forms. High 'no confidence' responses suggests that some students had difficulty deciding where they would place the cloak drawing.

### 7. *Heke Series No. 1* by Sandy Adsett

Once again a [3] rank for this painting, although a very surprising drop in proportion of responses at this rank by nearly 50%. Also dramatic is the increase in lower ranks, and the no confidence increase from 0 to 7% (**Figure 5.29**). Students were told that the painting was symbolic of the inside of the meeting house, but this clearly wasn't enough, according to a large percentage of respondents, to give the painting a high rank score. While comments regarding student appreciation of the inside of the meeting house may still stand, it is obvious that students prefer the more concrete evidence of an actual traditional art form, rather than more symbolic references. This time females tended to vote lower, especially in the no confidence votes. The evidence would seem to point to teaching in the Maori arts being aimed at the very basic familiarity with the likes

of kowhaiwhai and carving forms in particular, without an appreciation of the strongly developing nature of Maori art in the contemporary sense. Especially lacking seems to be an appreciation of the holistic nature of the Maori arts.

#### 8. *He Parapara* by Robyn Kahukiwa

Definite increases in ranking proportions for Robyn's work occurred in the higher ranks, although the ranking tendency was low when compared with the other works, and in view of still strong [0] responses. The ranking went up to [6], tipped of the fifth rank by the increased responses to John Bevan Ford's drawings. The most obvious increases were once again by females who probably identified with the theme of the painting, and perhaps had a good knowledge and appreciation of Robyn's works. Lack of reference to distinct traditional forms was likely to affect responses to this painting, although students were given information on the carving-inspired figurative forms Robyn uses in the painting. Once again, students do not appear to recognise that Maori art has a strong context with traditional art, even in the absence of a distinct Maori form - that style may be evidently Maori.

#### Conclusions

According to students contemporary Maori art appears to be;

1. *Most strongly traditional-like; carving and kowhaiwhai arts, adhering to expectations of what traditional Maori art should look like even when transferred to other contexts;*
2. *The depiction of myths and Maori heros in simple easily understood story form, or cartoon-like form, which is instantly appealing;*
3. *Mostly painted works which clearly show the dominance of at least one traditional Maori art form;*
4. *A portrayal of relationships - for females - which makes use of Maori symbolism to get across this idea;*

5. *Not abstract and reliant on obscure or un-obvious Maori symbolism;*
6. *To a lesser extent, european art-style clearly obvious, with only minor reference to being Maori such as the theme;*
7. *Not simple shapes that may form the basis of universal patterns but obvious Maori forms;*
8. *Not controlled pieces of work which explore rigid symmetry, such as in kowhaiwhai, but more expressive portrayal of these forms;*
9. *Not 'womens' art' according to males - especially with reference to weaving and 'female themes';*
10. *Not contexts which involve a combination of abstracted forms, but usually clearly one particular traditional Maori art form.*

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSIONS FOR MAORI ART DEVELOPMENT

*"Te Ao Hurihuri*  
*te ao huri ai ki tona tauranga:*  
*te ao rapu;*  
*ko te huripoki e huri nei*  
*I runga i te taumata o te kaha"*

*"Te Ao Hurihuri*  
*is a world revolving:*  
*a world that moves forward*  
*to the place it came from;*  
*a wheel that turns*  
*on an axle of strength"*  
 (Taonga Maori 1989:p 59)

#### Maori reasserting cultural identity

To continue quoting the words in **Taonga Maori** (1989:p 59);

*"The future of the Maori in the twentieth century can be seen in the reassertion of cultural identity and mana motuhake (Maori spirituality set apart)".*

Maori are continually seeking a place for themselves in a rapidly changing world, seeking a viable identity in New Zealand society. The experience of the Maori has been similar to those of other indigenous people world-wide. They have suffered as a result of a colonisation process that attempted to enforce a series of ideologies; amalgamation, assimilation, Europeanisation and integration. In the twentieth century Maori are seeking to define their own ways of 'improving their

lot', under the auspices of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty is seen as a sacred covenant wherein lies Maori hopes for a bi-cultural New Zealand.

*"Our artwork, our treasures, are a reflection of us as people; we believe that they possess a mauri (life force) and wairua (spirit) all of their own". (Taonga Maori 1989:p 62).*

As expressed by Sidney Moko Mead, an authority on Maori art and culture;

*"Art is for people, is about  
people, and is people;*

*Art should 'live' with the  
people because it is a measure  
of our human existence  
and of our quest for dignity  
in life...*

*the art is intimately  
linked to our sense of worth  
and of dignity  
and most of all  
we are attached to our artworks;  
we love them and respect them"*

**(Taonga Maori 1989:p 62-63)**

Finally we recall the words of Apirana Ngata, prominent for his efforts in the revival of Maori art and culture in the mid-twentieth century. The whakatauki expresses Maori feelings for their art, and their culture, as it faces the rapidly changing nature of New Zealand society which has brought about substantial changes to Maori way of life;

"E tipu e rea mo nga ra o tou ao;  
 Ko to ringa, ki nga rakau a te Pakeha,  
 hei ara mo to tinana;  
 Ko to ngakau, ki nga taonga a o tipuna Maori,  
 hei tikitiki mo to mahuna;  
 Ko to wairua ki to Atua,  
 nana nei nga mea katoa"

"Grow, Oh tender child in the days of your life,  
 Your hand to the tools of the Pakeha,  
 to provide physical sustenance  
 Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors  
 as a topknot for your head  
 Your spirit to your god  
 to whom all things belong".  
 (Taonga Maori 1989:p 63)

## PART I: Development of Maori art

### Maori art or culture?

Current discourse on the place of the Maori in New Zealand society, brings to light the fundamental conflict between prevailing and historically accepted ideologies on the basis of society. A unique Maori culture is set to a large extent on the fringes. Two distinct histories; one European and the other Maori came together in the mid-nineteenth century to combine a dual history into one. Problematic, in that power in New Zealand society belonged to the coloniser; Britain, and fell upon its people to define what was to become New Zealand.

In recognising that the events of the past are just that; in the past, does not preclude looking to forge a better future. This should perhaps be based on the fundamentals of bi-culturalism; the recognition of two cultural systems of values, beliefs, norms and expressive symbols. (see Peterson 1979:p 137-138). It does however, require a critical examination of the very basis of our society and the relations of power that continue to predominantly define the negotiations of these two cultural systems (defined by the Maori as 'Pakeha' and 'Maori', in terms of the culture of the Pakeha).

Historical definitions of art and culture have highlighted these power relations as they relate to the 'arts' in New Zealand whereby 'high culture' or 'high arts' has come to signify the superiority of European culture. (Tylor 1924:p 1; Bloch 1983:p 125-126). Throughout history art has been defined at the time to be the 'best' culture by those who have had the power to make crucial decisions in society. (Walder 1986:p 6). Art defined as cultural excellence has tended to define non-western cultures such as the Maori as lacking aesthetic, or not having art, and has largely been consciously adopted by the art disciplines in New Zealand. Social science disciplines have become concerned with explaining the complex relationships between art and culture; sociologists conceiving culture as part of making sense of the underlying structures of society - manifest in art as social relationships are enacted out in society. (Wolff 1981:p 47) Anthropologists have concentrated on reconciling art within culture, in the recognition that all cultures have equal merit.

Theories derived from the works of Karl Marx (1867) have been particularly useful in putting the emphasis of cultural selection back on the power relations in society as defined by the relations and forces of production - particularly under the separation of utilitarian and cultural life brought about by European industrialisation. The rise of 'mass culture' since the 1960's; mass-produced and other forms of art items, has highlighted the emerging dichotomies between art and craft; 'pleasures of the rich' and commercial art; European art and Maori culture.

(Zolberg 1982). The power relations that underlie the defining off of these categories, the 'political economy of cultural production' sees the true existence of art as but a partial perspective of a group who holds the power in society. (Wolff 1981). That universalism in art is appealed to is merely an ideological 'screen' that ensures that the dominant power group maintains its dominance in society through ideological legitimisation and hegemony. (Peterson 1979:p 982).

In New Zealand there exists an art ideology that serves to insist adherence to imported European norms of what constitutes 'art' to the detriment of Maori art definitions. The context in which Maori artists have to work in to gain acceptance of their art, requires conformity to the dominant cultural norms of the Pakeha, rather than a valuing of Maori art as Maori have perceived it. (Beatson and Cox 1982). Art galleries and schools serve to perpetuate dominant-group control over art acceptance. (Gottdiener 1985:p 983-984). Objects circulate in an 'art-culture system' in which value is assigned to them according to subjective definition of what is authentically art, authentically culture or what is inauthentic. (Clifford 1988). For the Maori the dominant power relations have historically subverted the recognition of their art objects as 'authentically art'. The '**Te Maori**' Exhibition which circulated America in 1984 to 1985 served to bring to the forefront crucial issues regarding the definition of Maori art according to Pakeha art definitions;

1. *that the New Zealand public has a thoroughly entrenched perception of 'traditional' Maori art*
2. *that the art gallery context reinforces the unauthenticity of Maori art*
3. *that art selection involves judging Maori art according to an imposed European aesthetic*
4. *that Maori art is considered 'primitive'*
5. *that Maori do not have a say as to what constitutes art*
6. *that Maori art should not be considered separate from Maori culture as has tended to be the case*

7. *that Maori art does demonstrate a continuity of evolution and adaptation within its own artistic traditions.*

### **Maori art and culture in education**

Art definitions are no less significant when considering institutions that carry the educational hopes of society; the schools. The expectation of national development, that New Zealand should prosper in the face of technological changes, is matched by an expectation that the school will promote individual attainment towards this end. Educational equality has been recited as equity, as the awareness has grown of the necessity to instigate certain measures that will ensure every gender or cultural group truly attains equitable outcomes. The historical pressure for Maori to be assimilated in to European culture has drawn attention to the fact that Maori are not necessarily achieving this under present educational philosophies.

While Maori attainment of formal school qualifications has improved slightly in the last two decades, there is a notable disparity between Maori and Pakeha attainment - just under half of Maori students leaving school without formal qualifications compared to only 17.7% for non-Maori. The indication is that Maori are only succeeding through extreme efforts, primarily by adopting Pakeha values - ie, assimilating. (Harker 1990:p 201; Education Statistics of New Zealand 1988).

The true meaning of equality for the Maori is strongly tied with cultural recognition of Maori in society. By treating Maori children as 'being no different because of their ethnic origins', we are giving them messages which perpetuate forms of inequality, and in order for equity to be achieved we need to recognise and value Maori cultural differences positively. While educational ideology perpetuates the myth that the way is open for anyone who wants to achieve according to the needs of society, the requirements for Maori to succeed are still apparently not being met. This has led to a broad examination, along Marxist theoretical lines, of the crucial role culture plays in determining 'success'.

Theories based on Bourdieu's (1968, 1973) notion of cultural capital as being the habitus naturally 'given' to the dominant group of society offers some insight as to why certain 'classes' of students fail. As disparities in New Zealand society tend to be predominantly between Maori and Pakeha, the theory that 'culture' (or habitus) has a part to play - provides a potent explanation for the relative failure of the Maori who possess a distinctly different culture from that of the dominant group in New Zealand. Research carried out by Ronald Sultana (1988) on the career aspirations of Maori students; as part response to expectations of the school, their peers and teachers shows how detrimental the cultural bias of our education system can be, as Maori students fulfil pre-determined prophecies of failure.

The implications, more specifically for art education is tied up in this notion of Maori not possessing the required cultural capital to succeed under the prevailing 'culture' of the education system. Given the fundamental difference in the way Maori conceive of their World, as communicated through their arts, the repercussions of Maori educational failures reflect as loss of cultural identity for the Maori. That art acts as a carrier of Maori culture and determines the maintenance of their identity as an ethnic group, intensifies the negative effects of non-cultural recognition for the Maori. art functions like a language; allowing inter-group communication, the transmission of Maori ethnicity and culture, and the recording of all of these things in order to reproduce group identity over time. (Garcia and Banks 1988). 'artistic imperialism', evident in society and in schools leads to negative Maori identity and ultimately perpetuates failure. (Liebkind 1989:p 49-50).

The attitudes of both Maori and non-Maori students participating in this questionnaire highlight the effect 'artistic imperialism' is already beginning to have on student attitudes at the secondary school level. Maori students are expressing their limited view of their capabilities with comments which excuse other Maori

for succeeding. I found this in particular, in students attitude towards my achievement as an art teacher - I was perceived as 'different'. A small proportion of non-Maori (3 of the 29) demonstrated their superior and overtly racist attitude with their refusal to complete the questionnaire. Their comments, violently verbal and written, referred to 'Nazism' and the fact that Maori art was a 'waste of time'

Guiding documents for schools and the art curriculum, I posed at the onset as perpetuating this very structural bias of indoctrinating Maori to failure according to the eurocentric concepts that prevail in all areas of Maori art education. It is the idea of secondary school's failure to recognise and value Maori art concepts that led me to examine the context of Maori art development in the secondary school art curriculum.

### **Recognition of traditional Maori art**

While New Zealand society has required of Maori a strict adherence to traditional Maori art values in recognising their cultural art as authentic, I wanted to discover whether secondary school art programmes, as guided by the art syllabus, actually were paying attention to teaching all students about the value of Maori traditions of art forms. The basic kowhaiwhai painted art form of the koru was chosen as the first focus because of the stress schools have placed on the kowhaiwhai arts constituting a beginning to the understanding and appreciation of Maori art.

The use of the koru form was examined in the light of traditions of concept, style, context and spiritual and cultural significance for the Maori. Kowhaiwhai arts are more than the simple rendering of shapes or pattern in paint, they reflect and tie together important concepts of Maori continuity representing a process by which the Maori enact meaning in the Maori world - manifesting the entire cultural fabric of Maori society. (Adsett et al 1992). Their function in the carved meeting house (whare whakairo) is the most potent context of the koru, and even in the

non-traditional Maori art contexts of the present Maori artists koru patterns are created which show the development of traditional concepts in new ways.

The results of simple koru recognition adhering to traditional formula were not strong for the test group as a whole. That only 31.5% of the students could correctly draw the koru form points to a eurocentric delivery of Maori art information related to the koru and kowhaiwhai arts, and a lack of concern for situating this art form in the history of its own traditions and so-called aesthetic. The emphasis on expressive exploration in paint has been undertaken without the concern for first establishing basic traditional koru knowledge and concepts. When we looked at the pattern of results according to the number of years students spent studying art we found that koru recognition was particularly dismal for the majority of junior students who would carry through society a basic art knowledge. This is not congenial to the general valuing of the koru art form in New Zealand society by the general populous. The results were even more startling when we found that it was mostly Maori students who held any significant amount of koru knowledge in the junior school, and yet Pakeha students tended to predominate in koru knowledge in the senior school years. This tends to point to a devaluing of kowhaiwhai arts knowledge as students prepare to take on art-related occupations, and especially emphasises that Maori are receiving the message that koru knowledge is not valuable to them in future. It also suggests that some Pakeha, possibly future art-specialists, are seeing the value of appropriating certain Maori art forms in their art - with the likelihood that they will gain art jobs over Maori anyway (given Maori low tendency to attain qualifications and employment).

Gender results showed a greater tendency for females to correctly recognise the koru art form, perhaps in recognition of the affinity between minority culture struggles for equality and women's struggles for the same. Alternatively females could be responding better to education as a whole, or perhaps just the

traditionally conceived of 'soft option' - art. In the administration of the questionnaire it did indeed appear that females showed more enthusiasm for what they were required to do. These are of course my own assumptions based on a pattern of responses and it would be interesting to research further into the reasons for differing male and female responses - especially in terms of 'liberation' theories.

Comparisons with the control group demonstrated that a sizeable contribution to kowhaiwhai arts knowledge could be made from exposure to environmental factors outside the school, in the absence of formal art studies. That formal Maori art study at school tended to merely reinforce rather than enhance koru knowledge for students points to the heightened role formal art studies should have in ensuring correct cultural recognition of the koru form. The conclusion tends to point to a lack of contextualisation of koru forms in the rules of tradition in favour of superficial treatment through eurocentric delivery and learning contexts.

On recognising the scope of traditional Maori arts at the level of identification by name, the participants demonstrated decidedly poor recognition for taniko, kowhaiwhai, raranga and whakairo rakau for the Pakeha and Maori/Pakeha students in particular. These results are particularly disturbing for the kowhaiwhai and whakairo rakau given the tendency for these two art forms to be emphasised as a starting point for explorations in to Maori art in secondary schools. Enhanced Maori results may be due to formal Maori language studies which would see a heightened familiarity with Maori names, yet it shouldn't be too much to ask that non-Maori be able to identify certain Maori art forms according to name - as they do other forms such as etching, sculpture, collage and screenprinting. There were better results for most groups in identifying the tukutuku, moko and raranga in particular cases, which appears to be due to ease of naming attribution and the predominance of accessible examples of these forms. The extremely high number of correct responses by the control group of students in the absence of formal art

studies points to the significant role Maori background cultural knowledge can play in recognising the scope of Maori arts - and also the importance placed on an understanding of this knowledge.

This section of the research, in general, highlights the inadequate attention being paid in secondary schools to the traditional contexts and recognition of most Maori art forms. Before students can acknowledge the spiritual and cultural dimensions of Maori art they must have a basic knowledge of the rules of tradition of these art forms, and a recognition of the traditional Maori arts. The results suggest that eurocentric delivery methods are employed in the teaching of Maori art forms, that little effort is afforded to exposing students to the traditions to Maori art, that scant attention is being paid to the historical rules of Maori art creation, and that the essential foundations of Maori art knowledge - the traditions - is not being adequately recognised. Students can not conceive of the more complex cultural and spiritual significance of the koru form, without first gaining correct knowledge of the form itself.

### **Context and continuity of Maori art forms**

Just as our Pakeha norms and habits are reproduced and adapted over time, so too are Maori - although in many cases for the Maori they are lost under the persuasive dominant cultural values of our society. For Maori their art, in every evolved historical context, shows not only a continuity from traditional to the present day but also a continuance of Maori culture. Maori do not wish to be 'straight-jacketed' in to producing replicas of their art of the days long gone, they want to be able to explore and innovate with all the possibilities now offered them. Maori art is not about 'traditionally Maori' versus 'painting koru patterns on canvas', but is about continuing Maori art traditions in a variety of ways available. One is not culture and the other art, they are both arts enmeshed in culture.

The contexts of traditional Maori arts, as established already, are complex in their direct relationship and reaffirmation of Maori culture and ethnicity. The **Guidelines to the Secondary School Art Syllabus** (1991) purports to deal with this both in Maori art definitions and Maori art values. However, as it stands as a guide to the implementation as such, it does not specifically require the placing aside of European contexts in favour of Maori art contexts. Indeed an understanding of Maori art is limited to an appreciation of spiritual values associated with art works and art production, without undue reference to the traditional contexts of art production and an appreciation of how more traditional forms are innovations in their own right. Traditional Maori art forms have an equal place as art in our society, just as a Picasso does. This contextualisation, and the affording of contemporary Maori art as having a continuity with Maori traditions as well as European traditions is under-emphasised.

The examination of recognition of the contexts of production of traditional Maori art forms, while fraught with inconsistencies in the test design, allows us to draw tentative conclusions as to the implementation of Maori art contextualisation in secondary schools.

1. *The contextualisation of certain Maori art forms such as the pounamu carved form relies heavily on the proliferation of European-conceived tourist curios;*
2. *Poorer comparative recognition (taking in to account test anomalies) of the contexts of particular traditional Maori art forms such as taniko, whakairo rakau, moko, and to a lesser extent the raranga and tukutuku art forms by Pakeha and Pakeha/Maori groups, suggests that there is minimal exposure in art studies to the actual production methods of these Maori art forms;*
3. *Conclusions were difficult for all of the art forms due to the perceived indiscrepancies of the test design that may have seen heightened kakahu*

*recognition largely being due to the ease of association of art form to context in the context of this test.*

The results are unfortunately less conclusive for this section of the research, and taken at face value appear to favour a basic knowledge of productive processes and contexts of traditional Maori art production. The most telling results are that Maori performed significantly better in the recognition of most of the contexts, as did Females. Looking at the way Maori males and females described their ethnicity bears of higher interest however; Maori males showing a stronger preference for identifying as 'bi-cultural'; Maori/Pakeha while Maori Males preferred to identify as Maori. This tends to distort the results, although positively reinforces that Maori at least are responding positively to the acquisition of traditional Maori art knowledge and appreciation. Control group results are significantly high, especially for females, for all of the art forms. This may point to better Maori performance in contextual identification due to stronger external environment influences rather than secondary school art programmes per se. The true level of knowledge of the context of production of traditional Maori art forms, while hard to determine in the light of this research - bears at least evidence of visual experience of traditional Maori art forms.

At a deeper level of contextualisation, research was undertaken in to the identification of the meeting house (whare whakairo) context. The representation of ancestors, notions of Maori continuity and reproduction through the genealogical relationships portrayed, and the use of visual symbols to reference qualities of the person and Maoridom - are all concepts of which Maori art in the whare whakairo supports and represents. In order to understand the significance of the three art forms; tukutuku, kowhaiwhai and whakairo rakau students must also be able to recognise the context and meaning of these art forms inside the meeting house. Given the integral relationship between these art forms and Maori culture, one can not pay justice to Maori art without considering the whare whakairo context.

That the majority of students tested could not identify at least three areas of the inside of the meeting house according to the art featured on these regions points to a lack of contextualisation of Maori art forms that serve a focal function for the Maori. Even Maori students failed to recognise the context of most of the art forms, although once again females responded proportionately better. One could draw conclusions on the method of instruction of especially the commonly taught art forms of kowhaiwhai and whakairo rakau.

If indeed art studies are including knowledge on the designs of these three art forms, then it is largely occurring in isolation from the actual contexts in which these art forms are appearing. It seems students are being taught about these art forms either as they appear in more contemporary paintings, or simply in terms of design structures alone. That the reverse situation occurred for control group males - performing proportionately better than their female counterparts, may say something about the dominant role Maori males play in Maori speaking situations as they identify their genealogy in the designs incorporated in the art forms depicted. The overall better performance of control group students points to the strong role factors other than formal art situations play in determining contexts of Maori art. The results suggest that visits to marae and examples situated within the marae are required to foster better understanding of Maori art forms associated with it.

### **The connection of contemporary Maori art with traditions**

It is interesting to note that any emphasis on Maori art forms in secondary schools has only arisen since Maori artists have appeared to break in to the European-based art contexts of New Zealand society such as painting on canvas and sculpture. While Maori see contemporary contexts of Maori art as being extremely important, they desire that these new contexts pay attention to situating Maori art within the traditions of culture and art of the Maori. Modern examples

of Maori art need to be recognised as being contemporary experiments with Maori traditions of art, rather than simply being considered as Maori pattern experimentation within historical European art concepts. That is not to 'retard' Maori art development by looking strictly for adherence to tradition patterns and contexts, but to recognise that Maori art forms as a symbolic system of communication, can develop and be extended upon to expose meaning and symbolic reference across cultures as well - while still adhering to traditions of meaning and significance.

An examination of the ranking tendencies of school art educated students, given pictorial evidence of contemporary Maori art, shows the following patterns of understanding as to what constitutes Maori art;

1. *More abstract usage of Maori art forms and Maori symbolism, while requiring a greater development of abstract thinking, is not recognised as constituting Maori art but is more likely to be judged in terms of European art concepts;*
2. *Strong use of traditional forms, which are identifiable as being traditionally Maori, are more likely to be judged as constituting Maori art on the basis that they are traditionally Maori;*
3. *There is little acceptance of experiments in to extended are experimental renditions of traditional Maori art forms as they tend not to bear strong enough affinity to traditional forms;*
4. *Usage of European concepts to portray a Maori theme, such as the appearance of words on canvas, is less likely to be judged as Maori art-denying Maori art the right to be placed within modern European art traditions;*
5. *A strong pictorial portrayal of Maori objects such as the woven cloak, or a carved figure, tends to lend an art work to being classified more strongly Maori according to pictorial association alone. This tends to*

*reinforce the idea that rather than art concepts and artistic skill, Maori art is strongly judged according to theme;*

6. *A Maori art works which lack any strong reference to traditional Maori art forms, Maori objects or obvious Maori reference are not judged to be Maori art by the majority.*

Student conceptualisation of contemporary Maori art firmly places Maori art works outside traditional European aesthetic or art concerns. Maori art is perceived to be according to visual presentation of clear Maori patterning or the rendition of Maori objects. Deeper symbolic meanings, the use of Maori symbolism, the expression of Maori cultural values, and a more abstract expression of Maori art concepts is not considered to constitute Maori art. Given information on the artist's usage of all these key concepts of contemporary Maori art works, students responded much the same and only expressed doubts on the 'lesser Maori' art works. The major shift in perception was that work by a non-Maori based on Maori art forms was even less Maori, and that reputation of the individual artist played a more important role in choosing a work that constituted Maori art.

The results demonstrate that the knowledge that students are obtaining in secondary school art education does little to afford Maori art a development and growth from tradition. It is highly probable that, for example, a directly Maori carving would have been considered the 'most Maori' of all works. Recognition of simple Maori patterns or objects becomes the prerequisite for judging an art work Maori, rather than concepts that extend and explore Maori patterns and culture. Maori art is firmly situated in traditional portrayal and only has a presence in the European aesthetic if it strongly resembles a Maori object. school art studies are perpetuating this by the superficial treatment of Maori pattern-making at the expense of cultural contextualisation as Maori, and at the other end by stressing the simple importation of these ideas in to European art contexts.

### **Critiquing the research methods employed**

One must be careful about accepting findings of a research project administered by simple, perhaps culturally inappropriate methods. Questions which involved the identification of Maori words highlighted the difficulty in imposing eurocentric assessment procedures on both cultural groups. Simple recall situations were probably less effective than offering descriptive information - especially in the light of the non-recognition of Maori language terms. While I contend that all students should have a knowledge of Maori language associations relevant to art, the stage of Maori art development that secondary schools appear to be at means that real student knowledge of Maori art contexts may not have been elicited by simple language-picture associations.

The value of this research could have been extended by measuring other factors revolving around Maori art learning. This could include; 'before and after' analysis of a lesson that contextualised Maori art or offered an extension of traditional Maori art forms. More valuable research methodology and types of information that should be tested, were discovered along the way. However one could keep finding better and more valuable information to the detriment of actually achieving any concise results. What these experiences do serve to highlight however, is the potential scope for research. This could include; the relationship between Maori art and culture; the importance of cultural understanding through art for cultural self-esteem; the relationship between art education and career destinies for Maori and Pakeha students; and the possible methods of art instruction that would be congenial to an appreciation of Maori art. The issues are extensive and by no means unproblematic.

To a large extent the viability of such studies rests upon value judgements as to the importance of art learning to society as a whole, hindered by the view of art as 'luxury', failing to make a viable contribution to the economy - or jobs. This

research worked from the premise that (casting aside eurocentric conceptions of the role of art in society) above all else Maori art definition and development is integral to Maori development; Maori participation in New Zealand society; Maori cultural continuance; and not of least importance Maori cultural pride and personal self-esteem as valued members of our society. The contribution Maori art has to make to the economy goes deeper than simply 'money for goods'. Maori art in terms of enhancing the social relations of production could ensure increased Maori participation in the economy.

## **PART II: Fostering the development of Maori art**

The object of this research was to explore the treatment of Maori art in the secondary school, as typified by the experiences of one particular secondary school on the East Coast. Although not necessarily representative of all secondary schools in New Zealand, the East Coast school concerned was considered to be a particularly useful focus for a case study given that it had an approximately 50% Maori roll - set against a fairly strong wider Maori cultural community. The results suggest that in light of this a stronger Maori art emphasis should surely be placed in art curriculum delivery in this particular school. The research also sought to clarify the difference between education policy as typified by Ministry of Education documents and what is actually happening in schools.

The results suggest that while Educational policy on secondary schools seeks to include the Maori or bi-cultural element in art learning and learning in general, what actually happens in practice leads us to question the deeper underlying philosophies of what is 'success'; what is appropriate learning; and methods of knowledge or curriculum delivery. That Maori art knowledge is relatively low, attitudes to Maori art is predominantly entrenched in tradition without the acknowledgment of traditional contexts, and that there is a lack of real concern

for delivering adequate Maori art education, points to the need for more fundamental changes in the way we conceive of Maori learning and Maori art knowledge. We must question more than content per se, but examine other issues such as;

1. *What is the appropriate method of delivery of Maori art education given its cultural significance, and is training of more teachers appropriate to educating in Maori art a large issue?;*
2. *How might we challenge eurocentric conceptions and dispositions of what constitutes Maori art?;*
3. *What elements of Maori art should be taught? Should we confine knowledge of Maori art forms to the traditional and simply import them in to present European standards and norms of what constitutes art?;*
4. *Should the entire structure of our art learning be adapted to better suit the bi-cultural nature of our society? A stronger focus on both histories of art; Maori and Pakeha, and how they have enmeshed to produce a uniquely New Zealand art heritage, with equally unique norms and rules;*
5. *How do we best instil pride in Maori culture and art, without bowing to the critics who are apt to say 'well it's okay if they want to learn about it but why should we?';*
6. *How do we really address racist attitudes expressed towards Maori and their culture;*
7. *How may syllabus objectives be truly met in art education and in the enhancement of general Maori educational attainment?*

Given the pressure from Maori who are operating successfully in the Pakeha spheres of art, for society to re-examine its attitudes to art, the issue is not going to be one that dies easily. Maori are increasingly recognising that it is not their personal burden - the failure to succeed - but it is the very nature and structure of our society that perpetuates Maori failure. They are recognising that Maori cultural

subversion is occurring in most spheres that Maori operate in as members of the wider society. Filtering through the system, from Maori language to art, Maori are challenging the notion that they are to blame and resisting as best they can further subversion of their culture. They are regaining their cultural strength, and exerting pressure from all directions.

Moves in education towards wider recognition of Maori language as source of instruction, have largely come from intense Maori pressure, which many members of society resent and resist. In terms of art the pressure is coming from above, from those who already operate quite strongly in accepted spheres of art. Secondary schools need to be quicker to adapt to these pressures to avoid undue conflict and further frustration for the Maori. Secondary school is where the inequalities manifest themselves and become entrenched in individuals' attitudes and behaviours. Art education can be a relatively non-threatening way to instil the appreciation of another culture, and offers strong possibilities for the appreciation of Maori art and the Maori world. It would probably be a telling day when Maori no longer has to adopt themes of protest, subjugation, pain and frustration in their contemporary explorations in to Maori art. This, if not anything else, would probably remove the perceived threat non-Maori see in the nature of modern Maori art works, and allow them to feel more comfortable about accepting Maori culture and art's place in the future of New Zealand.

The power of expression contemporary Maori art has, and the extent to which positive development in Maori art could enhance Maori cultural appreciation, is probably best expressed by responses to the "**Mana Tiriti Exhibition**" 1990 (Comments from the Visitors Book, **Mana Tiriti** 1991:p 86-87). The challenge is to match the comments with affirmative action in the arts;

A selection of comments from the Mana Tiriti exhibition visitors' book, April 1990.

I did not feel comfortable about being of European descent here I thought I was a New Zealander.  
Eli

I think this exhibition is great.  
Kia Kaha!  
Jessica Baxter

I was here Very Good!  
It was good

Very thought provoking exhibition.  
mancyou  
Jahn

Excellent exhibition which every NZer should be encouraged to see. Thanks.  
te xx ☺

BROTHERS AND SISTERS  
GONNA WORK IT OUT!  
Amy

Let's get this country back together - what's the use of a divided people - we should live together in harmony and conquer our rough patches - union - 8 patches

I felt this exhibition to be threatening & not well presented.  
Janni

It's time for change - this exhibition reflects it. S.

I am Pakeha - where I do sympathise with some areas of the treaty, I also wish the maori people would live with us in peace and happiness. Let's get this mess cleared up & ironed out as soon as possible. But please remember one thing - today the fault & resentment is on both sides. Notoreia and maybe if we pull together, we can overcome that.  
Sheila

Good one, leaving a good message for you to give to our Maori. I'm back.

I sympathise with you fully!  
from a Scott who also knows the feeling of anger brought about by land theft.

Amber!

It is wonderful to not feel threatened and appreciate maori culture.

Kellie

Well done It must have taken you ages to set it up  
Whatevers

Innovative & informative - disturbing history of European blunders

Isn't it a shame that Pakeha, especially politicians, are not better acquainted with history.

Bill Atkinson

I feel guilty to be pakeha; ME TOO; and me

Well done. Very worthwhile. A lot.

How about some real white veins?

Ngn mihi mi ki a koro! This Ngapahi walks tall, though his heart would break with grief. Thanks for his unforgettable experience. KIA ORA TATAU!

tino pai ORU whakararo ki enei pirimia  
kia kaha ki mahi me te korero te reo  
me taonga katoa e roto e te ao maori  
na Hamuera e i'o ORU tau

Appendix I
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Raw results of pupil questionnaire 1993

Koru recognition 1: pupil questionnaire 1993

No of year	Ethnicity	No Resp	0 Recogn.	1 Recogn	2 Recogn	Possible	Took Mao	
			MALE					
	5 M			2	1	3	1	
	4 M			3		3		
	3 M			4	4	8	4	
	2 M	4			1	5	1	
	1 M	1			5	6	2	
TOTAL		5	0	9	11	25	8	
POSS.							11	
	5 P			1	1	2	0	
	4 P		1	0	2	3	0	
	3 P			5	2	7	0	
	2 P	2	1	1		4		
	1 P		2	2		4		
TOTAL		2	4	9	5	20	0	
POSS.							5	
	5 O		1			1		
	4 O			1		1		
	3 O			1	3	4	1	
	2 O	3	2	2		7		
	1 O	1	1	4		6		
TOTAL		4	4	8	3	19	1	
POSS.							3	
	5 T		1	3	2	6	1	
	4 O		1	4	2	7	0	
	3 T			10	9	19	5	
	2 A	9	3	3	1	16	1	
	1 L	2	3	6	5	16	2	
TOTAL		11	8	26	19	64	9	
POSS.							19	
	5 N							
	4 G	level of art varies from 0 to 1 year as the school						
	3 A	has not offered an Art programme for some years						
	2 T							
	1 A							
TOTAL			1	1	2	4	2	
POSS.							2	

## Koru recognition 2: pupil questionnaire 1993

No of year	Ethnicity	No Resp	0 Recogn	1 Recogn	2 Recogn	Possible	Took Mao	
			FEMALE					
5	M					0		
4	M					0		
3	M				2	2	2	
2	M			1		1		
1	M	1	1	3	0	5	0	
TOTAL		1	1	4	2	8	2	
POSS.							2	
5	P					0		
4	P			1	4	5	1	
3	P					0		
2	P			1		1		
1	P			2	1	3	0	
TOTAL				4	5	9	1	
POSS.							5	
5	O	1			1	2	1	
4	O			1	1	2	1	
3	O			1		1		
2	O		3	1		4		
1	O		1		1	2	0	
TOTAL		1	4	3		11	2	
POSS.							2	
5	T	1		1	1	3	1	
4	O			1	5	6	2	
3	T			1	2	3	2	
2	A		3	3		6		
1	L	1	2	5	2	10	0	
TOTAL		2	5	11	10	28	5	
POSS.							10	
5	N							
4	G	see note on males - same applies						
3	A							
2	T							
1	A							
TOTAL			1	1	4	6	4	
POSS.							4	

## Koru recognition 3: pupil questionnaire 1993

No of year	Ethnicity	No Resp	0 Recogn	1 Recogn	2 Recogn	Possible	Took Mao
		TOTAL -	MALE &	FEMALE			
5	M			2	1	3	1
4	M			3		3	
3	M			4	6	10	6
2	M	4		1	1	6	1
1	M	2	1	3	5	11	2
TOTAL		6	1	13	13	33	10
POSS.							13
5	P			1	1	2	0
4	P		1	1	6	8	1
3	P			5	2	7	0
2	P	2	1	2		5	
1	P		2	4	1	7	0
TOTAL		2	4	13	10	29	1
POSS.							10
5	O	1	1		1	3	1
4	O			2	1	3	1
3	O			2	3	5	1
2	O	3	5	3		11	
1	O	1	2	4	1	8	0
TOTAL		5	8	11	6	30	3
POSS.							6
5	T	1	1	3	3	8	2
4	O		1	6	7	14	2
3	T			11	11	22	7
2	A	9	6	6	1	22	1
1	L	3	5	11	7	26	2
TOTAL		13	13	37	29	92	14
POSS.							29
5	N						
4	G						
3	A						
2	T						
1	A						
TOTAL			2	2	6	10	6
POSS.							6

## The context of production 1: pupil questionnaire 1993

			MALE -	MAORI					
KAKAHU	KOWHAI	MOKO	POUNAM	TUKU	WHAKAI	RARANG	TANIKO		
23	24	24	25	19	23	20	16		raw recog
0.92	0.96	0.96	1	0.76	0.92	0.8	0.64		freq recog
25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25		total resp
				TA 6		TA 2	RA 5		freq wrong
0.41	0.44	0.49	0.43	0.4	0.46	0.44	0.47		prop tot re
4	2	2	1	7	4	6	8		ranking
			MALE -	PAKEHA					
17	16	13	17	13	13	14	7		raw recog
0.81	0.76	0.62	0.81	0.62	0.62	0.67	0.33		freq recog
21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21		total resp
		WH 2		TA 4	TA 3		TU 5		freq wrong
0.3	0.29	0.26	0.29	0.28	0.25	0.3	0.21		prop tot re
1	3	5	1	5	5	4	8		ranking
			MALE -	OTHER					
16	15	12	16	15	15	12	11		raw recog
0.84	0.79	0.63	0.84	0.79	0.79	0.63	0.58		freq recog
19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19		total resp
				KO 2		TA 4	RA 4		freq wrong
0.29	0.27	0.25	0.28	0.32	0.29	0.26	0.32		prop tot re
1	3	6	1	3	3	6	8		ranking
			MALE -	TOTAL					
56	55	49	58	47	51	46	34		raw recog
0.86	0.85	0.75	0.89	0.72	0.78	0.71	0.52		freq recog
65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65		total resp
		WH 2		TA 10	TA 3	TA 6	RA 9		freq wrong
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		prop tot re
2	3	5	1	6	4	7	8		ranking
			MALE -	NGATA					
3	3	3	2	4	3	3	3		raw recog
0.75	0.75	0.75	0.5	1	0.75	0.75	0.75		freq recog
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4		total resp
2	2	2	8	1	2	2	2		ranking



## The context of production 3: Pupil questionnaire 1993

			TOTAL -	MAORI					
KAKAHU	KOWHAI	MOKO	POUNAM	TUKU	WHAKAI	RARANG	TANIKO		
29	32	31	33	27	31	27	21	raw recog	
0.88	0.97	0.94	1	0.82	0.94	0.82	0.64	freq recog	
33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	total resp	
TA 2				TA 6		TA 2	RA 5	freq wrong	
								prop tot re	
5	2	3	1	6	3	6	8	ranking	
			TOTAL -	PAKEHA					
24	23	20	25	21	20	23	16	raw recog	
0.8	0.77	0.67	0.83	0.7	0.67	0.77	0.53	freq recog	
30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	total resp	
TA 2		WH 4		TA 4	TA 3		TU 5	freq wrong	
								prop tot re	
2	3	6	1	5	6	3	8	ranking	
			TOTAL -	OTHER					
28	27	20	28	27	24	23	22	raw recog	
0.9	0.87	0.64	0.9	0.87	0.77	0.74	0.71	freq recog	
31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	total resp	
		WH 2		KO 2	PO 2	TA 4	RA 4	freq wrong	
								prop tot re	
1	3	8	1	3	5	6	7	ranking	
			TOTAL -	FINAL					
81	84	71	86	75	75	73	56	raw recog	
0.86	0.89	0.75	0.91	0.8	0.8	0.78	0.6	freq recog	
94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	total resp	
TA 4		WH 6		TA 10	PO 4	TA 6	RA 9	freq wrong	
								prop tot re	
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	2	7	1	4	4	6	8	ranking	
			TOTAL -	NGATA					
9	9	9	8	10	9	9	9	raw recog	
0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	1	0.9	0.9	0.9	freq recog	
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	total resp	
2	2	2	8	1	2	2	2	ranking	

	[0]	[8]	[7]	[6]	[5]	[4]	[3]	[2]	[1]	TOTAL	No confid	TOTAL
Maori	29.34783	2.173913	0	1.086957	0	0	0	0	2.173913	34.78261	1.086957	35.86957
Pakeha	22.82609	3.26087	0	0	3.26087	1.086957	0	1.086957	0	31.52174	0	31.52174
Other	26.08696	1.086957	2.173913	2.173913	1.086957	0	0	0	0	32.6087	0	32.6087
ALL/PARA	78.26087	6.521739	2.173913	3.26087	4.347826	1.086957	0	1.086957	2.173913	98.91304	1.086957	100
Maori	0	0	1.086957	0	0	1.086957	0	13.04348	20.65217	35.86957	0	35.86957
Pakeha	0	1.086957	0	3.26087	0	0	0	6.521739	20.65217	31.52174	0	31.52174
Other	0	1.086957	2.173913	0	0	0	1.086957	7.608696	19.56522	31.52174	1.086957	32.6087
ALL/WHIT	0	2.173913	3.26087	3.26087	0	1.086957	1.086957	27.17391	60.86957	98.91304	1.086957	100
Maori	7.608696	0	4.347826	3.26087	6.521739	3.26087	1.086957	5.434783	3.26087	34.78261	1.086957	35.86957
Pakeha	3.26087	0	1.086957	8.695652	3.26087	5.434783	6.521739	1.086957	2.173913	31.52174	0	31.52174
Other	3.26087	0	3.26087	3.26087	6.521739	8.695652	2.173913	3.26087	2.173913	32.6087	0	32.6087
ALL/WAL	14.13043	0	8.695652	15.21739	16.30435	17.3913	9.782609	9.782609	7.608696	98.91304	1.086957	100
Maori	5.434783	1.086957	7.608696	5.434783	2.173913	0	2.173913	2.173913	7.608696	33.69565	2.173913	35.86957
Pakeha	8.695652	0	7.608696	5.434783	2.173913	2.173913	3.26087	3.26087	0	32.6087	0	32.6087
Other	4.347826	0	7.608696	3.26087	2.173913	5.434783	2.173913	2.173913	3.26087	30.43478	1.086957	31.52174
ALL/McCA	18.47826	1.086957	22.82609	14.13043	6.521739	7.608696	7.608696	7.608696	10.86957	96.73913	3.26087	100
Maori	0	0	0	1.086957	0	0	9.782609	8.695652	16.30435	35.86957	0	35.86957
Pakeha	0	0	2.173913	1.086957	2.173913	1.086957	2.173913	15.21739	7.608696	31.52174	0	31.52174
Other	0	0	0	2.173913	2.173913	2.173913	2.173913	13.04348	10.86957	32.6087	0	32.6087
ALL/THO	0	0	2.173913	4.347826	4.347826	3.26087	14.13043	36.95652	34.78261	100	0	100
Maori	4.347826	0	0	2.173913	4.347826	9.782609	7.608696	3.26087	3.26087	34.78261	1.086957	35.86957
Pakeha	1.086957	0	0	1.086957	13.04348	9.782609	4.347826	0	1.086957	30.43478	1.086957	31.52174
Other	2.173913	0	1.086957	5.434783	6.521739	6.521739	6.521739	3.26087	1.086957	32.6087	0	32.6087
ALL/FOR	7.608696	0	1.086957	8.695652	23.91304	26.08696	18.47826	6.521739	5.434783	97.82609	2.173913	100
Maori	2.173913	0	0	3.26087	3.26087	8.695652	7.608696	3.26087	7.608696	35.86957	0	35.86957
Pakeha	0	1.086957	1.086957	3.26087	2.173913	6.521739	14.13043	3.26087	0	31.52174	0	31.52174
Other	1.086957	0	0	4.347826	5.434783	4.347826	13.04348	2.173913	2.173913	32.6087	0	32.6087
ALL/ADSE	3.26087	1.086957	1.086957	10.86957	10.86957	19.56522	34.78261	8.695652	9.782609	100	0	100
Maori	8.695652	0	4.347826	3.26087	6.521739	3.26087	0	4.347826	4.347826	34.78261	1.086957	35.86957
Pakeha	7.608696	0	7.608696	4.347826	2.173913	3.26087	3.26087	1.086957	2.173913	31.52174	0	31.52174
Other	9.782609	3.26087	4.347826	4.347826	4.347826	1.086957	2.173913	2.173913	1.086957	32.6087	0	32.6087
ALL/KAH	26.08696	3.26087	16.30435	11.95652	13.04348	7.608696	5.434783	7.608696	7.608696	98.91304	1.086957	100

## Contemporary Maori art 2: pupil questionnaire 1993

[0]	[8]	[7]	[6]	[5]	[4]	[3]	[2]	[1]	No confid
M 29.34783	2.173913	0	1.086957	0	0	0	0	2.173913	1.086957
0	0	1.086957	0	0	1.086957	0	13.04348	20.65217	0
7.608696	0	4.347826	3.26087	6.521739	3.26087	1.086957	5.434783	3.26087	1.086957
5.434783	1.086957	7.608696	5.434783	2.173913	0	2.173913	2.173913	7.608696	2.173913
0	0	0	1.086957	0	0	9.782609	8.695652	16.30435	0
4.347826	0	0	2.173913	4.347826	9.782609	7.608696	3.26087	3.26087	1.086957
2.173913	0	0	3.26087	3.26087	8.695652	7.608696	3.26087	7.608696	0
8.695652	0	4.347826	3.26087	6.521739	3.26087	0	4.347826	4.347826	1.086957
P 22.82609	3.26087	0	0	3.26087	1.086957	0	1.086957	0	0
0	1.086957	0	3.26087	0	0	0	6.521739	20.65217	0
3.26087	0	1.086957	8.695652	3.26087	5.434783	6.521739	1.086957	2.173913	0
8.695652	0	7.608696	5.434783	2.173913	2.173913	3.26087	3.26087	0	0
0	0	2.173913	1.086957	2.173913	1.086957	2.173913	15.21739	7.608696	0
1.086957	0	0	1.086957	13.04348	9.782609	4.347826	0	1.086957	1.086957
0	1.086957	1.086957	3.26087	2.173913	6.521739	14.13043	3.26087	0	0
7.608696	0	7.608696	4.347826	2.173913	3.26087	3.26087	1.086957	2.173913	0
O 26.08696	1.086957	2.173913	2.173913	1.086957	0	0	0	0	0
0	1.086957	2.173913	0	0	0	1.086957	7.608696	19.56522	1.086957
3.26087	0	3.26087	3.26087	6.521739	8.695652	2.173913	3.26087	2.173913	0
4.347826	0	7.608696	3.26087	2.173913	5.434783	2.173913	2.173913	3.26087	1.086957
0	0	0	2.173913	2.173913	2.173913	2.173913	13.04348	10.86957	0
2.173913	0	1.086957	5.434783	6.521739	6.521739	6.521739	3.26087	1.086957	0
1.086957	0	0	4.347826	5.434783	4.347826	13.04348	2.173913	2.173913	0
9.782609	3.26087	4.347826	4.347826	4.347826	1.086957	2.173913	2.173913	1.086957	0

% RESP	PARA	WHIT	WALT	McCA	THOR	FORD	ADSE	KAHU
[0] 1	78.26087	0	14.13043	18.47826	0	7.608696	3.26087	26.08696
[0] 2	39.43662	4.225352	22.53521	15.49296	4.225352	9.859155	5.633803	18.30986
[8] 1	6.521739	2.173913	0	1.086957	0	0	1.086957	3.26087
[8] 2	11.26761	4.225352	2.816901	4.225352	2.816901	0	4.225352	4.225352
[7] 1	2.173913	3.26087	8.695652	22.82609	2.173913	1.086957	1.086957	16.30435
[7] 2	1.408451	5.633803	11.26761	18.30986	1.408451	7.042254	7.042254	8.450704
[6] 1	3.26087	3.26087	15.21739	14.13043	4.347826	8.695652	10.86957	11.95652
[6] 2	7.042254	4.225352	9.859155	9.859155	8.450704	15.49296	8.450704	7.042254
[5] 1	4.347826	0	16.30435	6.521739	4.347826	23.91304	10.86957	13.04348
[5] 2	4.225352	2.816901	15.49296	4.225352	11.26761	14.08451	18.30986	11.26761
[4] 1	1.086957	1.086957	17.3913	7.608696	3.26087	26.08696	19.56522	7.608696
[4] 2	8.450704	2.816901	8.450704	16.90141	2.816901	12.67606	14.08451	16.90141
[3] 1	0	1.086957	9.782609	7.608696	14.13043	18.47826	34.78261	5.343783
[3] 2	4.225352	2.816901	12.67606	11.26761	14.08451	14.08451	16.90141	8.450704
[2] 1	1.086957	27.17391	9.782609	7.608696	36.95652	6.521739	8.695652	7.608696
[2] 2	4.225352	23.94366	8.450704	8.450704	26.76056	12.67606	12.67606	8.450704
[1] 1	2.173913	60.86957	7.608696	10.86957	34.78261	5.434783	9.782609	7.608696
[1] 2	14.08451	45.07042	7.042254	7.042254	25.35211	8.450704	5.633803	11.26761
NC -21	1.086957	1.086957	1.086957	3.26087	0	2.173913	0	1.086957
NC -21	5.633803	4.225352	1.408451	4.225352	2.816901	5.633803	7.042254	5.633803

<b>Appendix II</b>
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**Glossary of Maori terms**

amo	front carved supports of bargeboards on meeting house
hapu	sub - tribe
harakeke	New Zealand flax variety
heke tipi	kowhaiwhai bargeboard support on porch of meeting house
iwi	tribe
kainga	home, village
kakahu	clothing or particularly the woven cloak
kawa	protocol
koru	bulb - like painted pattern
korupe pare	carved lintel above window
koruru	carved face on gable of meeting house
kowhaiwhai	painted scroll work
maihi	carved bargeboards on meeting house
mana	power, influence
manaia	bird - like carved figure in profile form
manawa	heart, central line running through kowhaiwhai patterning
matapihi	window
mate kupenga	fish net design used around carved figures
mauri	life principle
noa	free from 'tapu', sacred is lifted
paepae	threshold across front of meeting house
Papatuanuku	The Earth Mother in Maori legend
pare	lintel above doorway
pataka	food storehouse
poho	belly
poupou	carved side - posts on inside of meeting house
poutahu	centre post at front of meeting house
poutama	step - like pattern in tukutuku
poutokomanawa	centre post at back of meeting house
puhoro	wave - like kowhaiwhai design encompassing koru elements
punga	native New Zealand fern plant
Ranginui	Sky Father according to Maori creation myths
'Te Ao Marama'	The World of Light, the world of being
'Te Kore'	realm between being and non - being
'Te Po'	the realm of becoming
tikanga maori	customs or rules
tohunga whakairo	expert carver
turangawaewae	place to stand
wairua	spirit
whakairo	to carve, chisel out
whakairo pounamu	greenstone carving
whakatauki	proverb
whakapapa	genealogy
whakawae	carved side of doorway
whanaungatanga	kinship
whatu	to weave

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