Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.
Evaluating the Tangible, Acknowledging the Intangible:
The Application of Auditing, Kaitiakitanga and Collection Management
during the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Museum Studies at Massey University
Manawatu
New Zealand

Paki-Moana Colmer
2010
For Terry and Lionel;

For Paki and Barry

Thank you
Abstract:

The objective of this dissertation is to reveal how the application of auditing and holistic collection management practices can bring about tangible and mutually beneficial outcomes for museums, Māori and taonga Māori collections. The core research of this dissertation is a case study of the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit. This demonstrates the praxis of auditing; the concurrent application of kaitiakitanga and collection management principles; and the strategic outcomes that may be achieved when undertaking similar initiatives.

At present the practice and implications of auditing for museums is an underdeveloped area of enquiry. This dissertation clarifies auditing and its emergence in museum practice; the current debates surrounding it; and examples of national and international auditing to place the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit within the broader context of museum based auditing. The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit demonstrates the rationale, implementation and potential benefits of auditing as a strategic collection management tool.

To provide an epistemological framework for the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit the context of taonga Māori from the Māori worldview is clarified, and an overview of shifts toward the acknowledgement and application of mātauranga Māori principles in New Zealand museums is provided. The approach of the Tairāwhiti Museum toward the collection management of taonga has been influenced by external shifts, but more often has been progressive in its response toward meeting the expectations of local Māori and the needs of the taonga Māori collection. The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit is further evidence of this. The dissertation reveals the relevance of taonga to Māori, and demonstrates how kaitiakitanga principles can be applied to strategic collection management initiatives.
Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the entire staff, board and volunteers of Tairāwhiti Museum for their support throughout my time as Project Officer for the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit, the basis of this thesis. Board member Ingrid Searanke gave generously of her time and knowledge during the Audit and writing of this thesis; her assistance was greatly valued. I wish to recognise the support and professionalism of the Audit supervisor, Jody Wyllie, who gave of his time, knowledge and provided moral support throughout the Audit process and during the writing of this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge Dr Monty Soutar, the former Director of the Tairāwhiti Museum, for his encouragement in my writing of this thesis. His determination to see the Museum take a proactive role toward many challenges; including improving the care of the taonga Māori collection, for the benefit of the Museum and the wider community, inspired the themes of this thesis.

I wish to acknowledge the sole funder of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit and follow on projects, Te Puni Kōkiri. Mere Pohatu and Fleur Paenga of the Tairāwhiti branch of Te Puni Kōkiri have given their time in providing information for this thesis which has been greatly appreciated.

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Glossary of Māori Words

Note: Translations are provided within the body of the thesis where Māori words appear for the first time.

atua          god
aurei         cloak pin
harakeke      phormium tenax (New Zealand flax)
he i tiki      neck pendant in the shape of an anthropomorphic figure
he i matau    pendant in the form of a fish hook
heke          rafters
hāpu           sub tribe (also pregnant)
hui            meeting, gathering
hunga tiaki    guardian, custodians
iwi            tribe (also bones)
kaitiaki       guardian, trustee, caretaker
kaitiakitanga  guardianship
kapeu          greenstone adornment with a curved end
karakia        prayer
karetao        puppet
kaumātua       elder
kaupapa        philosophy/ agenda
kawa           protocol
kiekie         freycinetia banksii (often used for weaving)
koauau         flute
kōiwi          human bone, human remains, corpse
kōpaki         to envelop
kōrero         language, knowledge, narratives
koruru         carved face positioned at the apex of a meeting house gable
kotahi tangata individual person
kowhaiwhai     painted scroll ornamentation
manaakitanga   hospitality, kindness
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>indigenous New Zealanders/ normal/ ordinary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maui</td>
<td>spiritual essence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātauranga Māori</td>
<td>Māori knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matau</td>
<td>fishhook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mekameka</td>
<td>a pendant in the form of a stylised bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mere</td>
<td>a hand held weapon, often made of stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokomōkai</td>
<td>preserved human heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noa</td>
<td>profane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāhi</td>
<td>purse, wallet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pākahawai</td>
<td>fishing lure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pare</td>
<td>lintel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pātaka</td>
<td>storehouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patu</td>
<td>hand held weapon usually made of wood, stone or bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pekapeka</td>
<td>a pendant in the form of a stylised bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēke</td>
<td>bag, sack, pack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piupiu</td>
<td>flax kilts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōria</td>
<td>a small stone or bone ring that encircled a tamed birds leg, were also worn as pendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pounamu</td>
<td>greenstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poupou</td>
<td>carved interior wall panels in meeting houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poutokomanawa</td>
<td>centre post in a meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōwhiri</td>
<td>welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purau</td>
<td>fork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatiratanga</td>
<td>chieftainship, sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raranga</td>
<td>weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamariki</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangi</td>
<td>to cry, weep, mourn for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangihanga</td>
<td>funeral, rites for the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga</td>
<td>something of great significance that is treasured, whether tangible or intangible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori Word</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga tuku iho</td>
<td>treasured handed down through the generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga tūturu</td>
<td>traditional treasures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapairu</td>
<td>woman of high ranking birth, chieftainess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>sacred, prohibited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo Māori</td>
<td>The Māori language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tika</td>
<td>correct, just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikanga</td>
<td>customary philosophy, protocol, obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timanga</td>
<td>food storage platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toi Māori</td>
<td>Māori art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toki</td>
<td>adze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uenuku</td>
<td>rainbow (the eponymous atua represented by a significant carving housed in Te Awamutu Museum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu</td>
<td>oven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urupā</td>
<td>burial ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiata</td>
<td>song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāhi tapu</td>
<td>consecrated area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakatūpāpaku</td>
<td>funeral casket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakairo</td>
<td>carving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapapa</td>
<td>genealogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapapa rākau</td>
<td>genealogy sticks, utilised as mnemonic devices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapakoko rākau</td>
<td>god stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakariterite</td>
<td>perform prayers, blessings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whānau</td>
<td>family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wharenui</td>
<td>meeting house, ancestral house, hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whāriki</td>
<td>Floor covering, traditionally woven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Overview

The objective of this dissertation is to inform museums and practitioners about the relevance and practical application of mātauranga Māori principles for the care of taonga Māori, the praxis of auditing, and the potential benefits of auditing and holistic care practices for museums; in particular with regard to collection management.

The case study central to this dissertation, the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit, evidences both the application of mātauranga Māori principles and internally driven museum auditing in practice. As the Audit Project Officer it was my role to update the Museum database; complete an inventory and photograph the collection. The unique aspects of the project relate to the concurrent utilisation of collection management, stewardship and kaitiakitanga practices to evaluate the needs of the collection; both tangible (such as storage and conservation) and intangible (as dictated by principles of mātauranga Māori).

From the 1970s onwards the introduction of ‘new public management’ principles have required museums to adopt private sector marketing and management principles and practices; including the exercise of auditing (see for example Babbidge 2004; Jacobs 1998: 343; Jegers and Lapsley 2001; Legget 2006; Livingstone 1996: 3; Pollitt 2003; Davies 1994: 32-33; Thompson 2001; Weil 1993). The growth of mandatory auditing in the public sector from the 1970s, and its subsequent integration into museum practice, has not been unproblematic. However as demonstrated by the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit, and examples of other national

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1 Williams (1997) describes mātauranga Māori as the knowledge, understanding and comprehension of all that exists in the universe; both visible and invisible. Royal (2004: 2) offers a definition of “mātauranga Māori” as “a modern term for a body of knowledge” that has evolved and adapted since the arrival of the Polynesian ancestors to present day Māori. Royal’s (2004:2) definition states that “although the arrival of European populations…brought major impacts to the life of this knowledge, endangering it many and substantial ways…[i]mportant fragments and portions… remain today.” Solomon (2006: 352) defines mātauranga Māori as Māori traditional knowledge that encompasses the physical and metaphysical, tangible and intangible, ancient and modern Māori knowledge (including intellectual property, commercial products and services).

2 Custodianship, or guardianship.
and international heritage audits within this thesis, auditing can be utilised as an effective strategic planning and collection management tool.

1.2 Statement of Potential Significance

Though there is a significant body of literature written about strategic management and accounts based auditing for museums (see for example, Ames 1995, Kavanagh 1994, Gardner and Merritt 2004, Genoways and Ireland 2003 and Legget 2006) there is very little secondary material relating specifically to the praxis and implications of collections based auditing. Where auditing is mentioned within museum guides, manuals and sources it is often brief (see for example, Davies 1994: 33-40; Dudley et al 1979: 322; Gardner and Merrit 2004: 23-24, 37; Klemm et al 1994: 167). This thesis will contribute to museum practice by providing information that will assist in filling the knowledge gap around the subject of collections based auditing. It will achieve this by presenting examples and case studies of auditing in practice and by synthesising the few available secondary sources and the more extensive but diffuse primary sources of information (interviews, news articles, audit reports and case studies) into one document.

The subject area of accounting has a robust body of literature pertaining to the subject of public sector accounting reforms and auditing of not for profit institutions (see for example, Brady 2007; Carnegie and Wolnizer 1999; Carnegie and West 2005; Crook and Perry 2007; Jacobs 1998; and Thompson 2001). However these are concerned primarily with the implications of auditing for the public sector from an accountancy perspective. This thesis can add to museological practice and benefit practitioners by defining and clarifying auditing and its role as a potentially effective, practical and strategic collection management and planning tool.

This dissertation adds to the emerging body of literature pertaining to the holistic collection management of indigenous cultural patrimony (see for example, Bin Juda 2006; Legget 2009). The dissertation elucidates the epistemological relevance of
taonga tuku iho to Māori, in order to illuminate the relevance of kaitiakitanga. By explicating the value and relevance of holistic care and its demonstration via the Tairāwhiti Museum case study, I hope to show that approaching the care of taonga Māori holistically is not merely a nod to ‘cultural sensitivity’, but a practice that can serve to improve collection management practices, for the benefit of both Māori and museum.

As noted by the Performance Audit Report: Management of Heritage Collections in Local Museums and Art Galleries (O.A.G. 2006: 33) a number of institutions and museum professionals find it challenging to source information and guidance regarding the application of kaitiakitanga principles to their hands on collection care. The primary case study of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit provides an example of kaitiakitanga principles in practice (as detailed in Chapter Five) and has the potential to assist heritage institutions and their staff consider and develop a holistic approach to the care of their collections. Though the thesis primarily demonstrates how the holistic approach can be applied to benefit taonga Māori collections and related Māori kin groups, information within this dissertation can be applied to other collections

1.3 Thesis Questions

This dissertation addresses two interconnected questions:
The first question is how does the case study of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit evidence the acknowledgement of kaitiakitanga and demonstrate the application of these principles in practice? A sub query of this is how the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit related to the context of shifting attitudes toward the stewardship and collection management of taonga Māori in New Zealand?

The second question is how can the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit case study inform museums and practitioners about the practical application of auditing and its potential benefits for collection management, stewardship and kaitiakitanga?

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A translation of taonga tuku iho is ‘treasures passed down’ whereas taonga Māori is a broader term that encapsulates those things that are valued, both tangible, such as objects of cultural heritage, or intangible, such as knowledge.
A sub query of this question is what is a museum audit and what are the potential benefits of auditing for collection management and the care of indigenous heritage?

1.4 Argument

As asserted within this thesis the motivation to achieve the balance between the tangible and intangible needs of collection objects is both philosophical and pragmatic. This dissertation argues that auditing projects can address both of these concerns, resulting in mutual benefits for both museums and source communities. The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit case study illustrates both the practice and potential benefits of auditing as a tool that can be utilised by heritage institutions to achieve strategic planning goals. I contend that the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit case study offers museums and practitioners an example of auditing praxis; but beyond that illustrates the development of proactive, rather than reactive, strategies designed to tackle retrospective collection issues.

This thesis asserts that Māori agency, coupled with the professional shifts that have occurred within the museum profession in New Zealand, have resulted in an environment that has become increasingly conducive to the incorporation of principles of Māori epistemology into the western practices of stewardship and collection management. However, as noted by the Office of the Auditor General (2006: 33), some museums find it challenging to locate the guidance necessary to apply these principles. The Tairāwhiti Museum is an example of an institution that has often been progressive with regard to the development of initiatives that have facilitated the holistic care of taonga and strengthened relationships with Māori (also see for example, Fowler: 1956; Butts: 2003; Spedding 2006; Spedding and Soutar: 2000). The initiative of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit can inform other museums and practitioners of the practical application of holistic collection care, and the process and potential benefits of undertaking collection based audit projects.

1.5 Limitations

This dissertation does not attempt to provide a history of taonga Māori collection management practices as it is a vast subject with little published literature pertaining
to it. Instead the dissertation provides an overview of the shifting perception of taonga Māori over time in New Zealand, and discusses how these shifts have resulted in the more holistic care of taonga Māori.

The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit was the first phase of an ongoing series of initiatives which aim to improve the management, care and utilisation of the Taonga Māori collection (Fleur Paenga 2008, 18 November: Pers. Comm.). My involvement was limited to the first phase, and this is the focus of the dissertation. This dissertation does not provide in-depth discussion on the flow on projects, or the impact of the recommendations and results on the institution, staff and community beyond the completion of phase one of the Audit.

1.6 Methodology

Chapters Two and Five are written to provide a conceptual framework for the Tairāwhiti Museum case-study; on which the core material of this dissertation is based. As a form of qualitative research that focuses on a specific phenomena, case-study driven research is sometimes criticised for lacking the generalisability that allows the research to be tested and developed into theory (Flyvbjerg 2006: 219). The research within this dissertation does not claim to be predictive or generalisable, rather it is concerned with adding to, and informing collection management via examples of ‘in practice’ phenomena. As argued by Flyvbjerg (2006: 235) case-study research provides concrete experience, which is central to the development of skill and expertise; with an added advantage of being able to “close in’ on real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice” (Flyvbjerg 2006: 222-223).

It should be noted that although this study shares some parallels with kaupapa Māori research, such as a desire to create information that can be shared and is beneficial for the wider Māori community, this study was not intentionally shaped within the kaupapa Māori research paradigm (for discussion on kaupapa Māori research see for example, Tuhiwai Smith 1999 and 2000; Wong 2006 and Bishop 1998).
1.6.1 Ethics: Methodology and Bias

A criticism of case study driven research is that analysis of the material is more susceptible to the biases of the researcher. The objective of this dissertation is to inform museums and practitioners of the potential benefits of auditing and holistic collection management practices. Although I argue that these practices have many benefits, I have attempted to temper these assertions with the possible drawbacks and differing viewpoints.

During case-study driven research a vast amount of primary material is amassed and analysed, usually by a core researcher (Darke et al 1998: 278). There is potential for the researcher to discard material which does not fit the research argument (Darke et al 1998: 278). The research presented in this thesis addresses the core elements of the Audit, but does not purport to include the entirety of the material provided to the Tairāwhiti Museum during the audit process. Material pertaining to specific families and sensitive objects has been excluded from this thesis for reasons of privacy.

Interviews were undertaken as part of the research and a low risk ethics application was submitted to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (M.U.H.E.C.). The application was received by M.U.H.E.C. on the 14th of August 2008 (M.U.H.E.C 2008, 14 August: Pers. Comm.). The project was evaluated by peer review and was judged to be of low risk; consequently it was not reviewed by MUHEC (M.U.H.E.C 2008, 14 August: Pers. Comm.).

1.6.2 Collegial and Institutional Duty and Potential for Bias

To maintain the validity of an audits findings an auditor must remain independent and free from the influence of external agendas (Gray and Manson 2005: 65-655). The researcher must be aware that there is the potential for conflicts of interest and biases to occur between the researcher, the subjects and the sponsoring bodies (Darke et al 1998:281). As a recent museum studies graduate there was certainly a sense of gratitude to both the institution and funding body Te Puni Kōkiri for appointing me to the position. I also developed collegial loyalty and friendship with the staff. Overcoming the potential biases inherent in this situation was made easier

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4 Te Puni Kokiri is the Ministry of Maori Development in New Zealand. Te Puni Kokiri is a key advisory body to Crown and Government agencies with regard to Maori development.
by the clarity of my role and objectives. I was given the mandate to provide a ‘warts and all’ evaluation and recommendations for the collection. The importance of remaining independent and uninfluenced by staff and stakeholders was made clear to me both by the director Monty Soutar and project supervisor Jody Wyllie. The audit process, progress and results were also independently evaluated and reported on twice during the project by Dr David Butts, which also encouraged neutrality. It is also important to note that Dr David Butts was one of the original supervisors of this dissertation but withdrew from the role when he took up the directorship of the Tairāwhiti Museum in January 2009. This was done to avoid any possible conflict of interest, or perception thereof.

1.6.3 Ethnicity, Whakapapa and the Potential for Bias

As the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit Officer I was both an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider.’ An ‘insider’, in terms of being Māori, knowing my whakapapa and possessing knowledge of tikanga Māori. An ‘outsider’ as my Iwi affiliations are with the Waikato tribes, Ngati Maniapoto and Tainui. However I have genealogical ties to the East Coast through the marriage of Turongo and Mahinarangi. I was also made aware of a familial connection between myself and board member Ingrid Searancke, whose husband and I belonged to the same marae. It is arguable that from a kaupapa Māori perspective ideally a person from a local Iwi would have undertaken the Audit however project supervisor Jody Wyllie felt that as a person from outside the region I was able to be “more objective” and less swayed by “iwi politics” (Jody Wyllie 2008, November 12: Pers. Comm.).

1.7 Dissertation Structure

This dissertation is arranged in six chapters, the first being this introductory chapter. Chapter Two discusses recent debate and literature to elucidate the meaning and relevance of taonga Māori within Māori epistemology. The chapter also provides an overview of the shifting perceptions of taonga Māori and how these shifts have resulted in the recognition and application of kaitiakitanga in relation to stewardship and collection management. This chapter was written to provide a contextual framework for the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit in order to show how the Audit fits into
the broader developments that have taken place nationally with regard to kaitiakitanga and the collection management of taonga Māori.

Chapter Three synthesises material from news sources, audit reports, literature and interviews to clarify auditing within the museum context. The chapter discusses the introduction of auditing to the museum sector in the 1970s and identifies the key issues and debates pertaining to museum auditing. The chapter also reveals how the role and application of auditing has evolved and how museums are now adopting the practice to achieve their strategic planning objectives. The breadth and scope of recent auditing is illustrated by the examples of audits taking place nationally and internationally. Finally the potential benefits of auditing for collection management and the holistic care of indigenous heritage is discussed. This is evidenced by examples from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and a case study of the Johannesburg ‘Heritage Collections Asset Register Project.’ This chapter was written to provide a clear sense of the historic, national and international context within which the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit occurred.

Chapter Four provides insight into both the historic context and recent motivations that set the scene for the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit. From its establishment in 1955 the Tairāwhiti Museum has developed a unique relationship with the local Māori community and innovative approaches toward the custodianship of taonga Māori. Approaches that have often predated trends that began to occur within New Zealand museums in the 1980s. More recent developments from the late 1980s reveal the relationships and events that led directly to the initiation of the project, and show how the Audit was designed to assist the Museum reach its strategic objectives.

The implementation of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit is presented in Chapter Five. The core objectives of audit are identified, and how these were met is shown through the praxis of the Audit. The implementation and processes of the Audit are demonstrated and critically assessed within this chapter. The chapter also discusses how the key audit results and recommendations, whether positive or critical, were used to inform future strategies that will benefit the taonga, the Museum and the wider community. The practical application of collection management, stewardship and kaitiakitanga principles during the Audit is discussed, as are some of the
immediate initiatives and outcomes that occurred as a result of the Audit. The case-study presented in this chapter demonstrates both the application of holistic collection care and the way in which collection based audit projects can assist museums to achieve strategic objectives.

Chapter Six provides an overview of the way in which the dissertation, and in particular, the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit can inform museums and practitioners about the integration of mātauranga Māori principles in collection management practice and the potential benefits of museum based auditing. The chapter then reviews the potential significance of the material presented within this dissertation for museums, collection management practice and for the holistic care of objects of indigenous cultural patrimony. Opportunities for further research relating to the themes and content of this dissertation are identified and discussed. A final concluding thought emphasises the tangible results that can be achieved via the implementation of proactive initiatives such as the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit.
Chapter Two: The Value, Recognition and Kaitiakitanga of Taonga Māori within New Zealand Museums

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the conceptual framework for the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit by clarifying the significance of taonga to Māori; the role of museum kaitiaki; and the complementary nature of stewardship, collection management and kaitiakitanga.

As stated by Henare (2007: 47) the “glossed” definition of taonga, as “a treasure, something precious”, can belie the complexity of the concept. The first section of this chapter is written to elucidate the meaning and relevance of taonga from within the Māori episteme. Knowledge of the deeper meaning of taonga from the Māori worldview can provide the museum practitioner a deeper understanding of the value and relevance of applying a holistic approach to the collection management and care of taonga Māori.

The dissertation also provides an overview of trends that have influenced the shifting perception of taonga Māori in New Zealand museums from the 19th Century to current times, and how these shifts have led to the acknowledgement and application of mātauranga Māori principles within museum practice.

2.1.1 Tangata Māori

Before discussing Māori beliefs and culture it is important to consider that the term ‘Māori’ as a collective did not exist before the contact period. Prior to European contact the term ‘Māori’ referred to those things or situations considered ‘normal, usual, clear, natural, intelligible’, Māori society was tribal in structure and did not consider themselves as a collective people (Royal 2004: 18)\(^5\). Māori society is composed of iwi (tribes), hapū (sub-tribes) and whānau (family) groups; each with distinct but similar approaches to customary practice (Durie 1997; Royal 2004: 18; Fleras and Maaka 2005: 65-95).

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\(^5\) For a discussion on Maori and cultural identification see for example, Fleras and Maaka (2005: 65-95).
For many Māori their whakapapa is still the primary way they identify themselves; in 1996 three quarters of Māori were recorded as having a strong sense of belonging to iwi and hapū groups (Hapi 1996; Harmsworth 1998). There are also those who identify strongly as Māori but have lost knowledge of their tribal affiliations, while others with Māori heritage may no longer share Māori belief, customs and practices (Bird and Drewery 2004: 28; Durie 1997). Because of these factors it is important to acknowledge the potential dangers of over generalising the attitudes and beliefs of Māori as a collective. ‘Māori’ in the context of this thesis relates to those of Māori descent that identify themselves as Māori; particularly those that have an understanding of their culture and traditions, or those seeking this knowledge.

2.2 Taonga Māori

2.2.1 What Museum Held Objects can be Classified as Taonga Māori?
Taonga Māori is a term, which, in relation to its current usage within heritage institutions, can be defined as ‘Māori Treasures’ (Hakiwai 1996: 50; Henare 2005: 7; Henare 2007: 47; Mead 2003; Salmond 1984; Tamarapa 169: 1996; National Services Te Paerangi 2006: 12). Specifying the exact features that define what can or cannot be categorised as taonga Māori is challenging, due to the diversity of perspectives around the subject. For example Jahnke (2006: 430-431) describes taonga as a “fluid concept” and Henare (2007: 48) goes further by arguing that the concept of taonga Māori is, in fact, untranslatable in western terms.

One area in which to find a ‘black and white’ definition of what constitutes taonga is the law. The definition of taonga tūturu
6 within the Protected Objects Act 1975 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2006) describes taonga tūturu as objects that:

1. relate to Māori culture, history, or society 
   or were (or appear to have been):
2. manufactured or modified in New Zealand by Māori; or
3. brought into New Zealand by Māori; or
4. used by Māori; and
5. are more than 50 years old

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6 The Ministry of Cultural Heritage (M.C.H. 2006) uses the term ‘taonga tūturu’ in the Act in reference to Taonga Māori, the term translates as ‘treasures such as artefacts’ or ‘protected objects.’
Taonga Māori collections within New Zealand heritage institutions often contain a spectrum of objects, from those considered as ‘everyday’ objects such as fish hooks (matau) through to pieces created for use in esoteric practices, for example whakapakoko rākau (T.P.N.S. 2006: 3). The objects within taonga Māori collections, though typically of diverse typology, do tend to align with the M.C.H. (2006) definition of taonga tūturu, i.e.: they are predominantly of a certain age (pre 1950s), reflect the traits of the ‘traditional’ Māori style and are (or appear to be) of Māori manufacture.

Taonga Māori collections in heritage institutions do not tend to include ‘contemporary’ objects. This reflects the limited collecting of contemporary material in general by museums, but also the fact that there is an uncertainty and contention as to whether contemporary material can be classified as taonga Māori. Te Papa is one institution that has broadened its definition of taonga to include contemporary Māori visual culture within its Māori collection (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 2009). Within the ‘Mātauranga Māori’ guide (T.P.N.S. 2006: 6) taonga Māori is defined beyond the conventional definition to include “artworks and other works of visual culture” and “any tangible object where Māori concepts, values, themes, or perspectives are evident.”

2.2.2 What is the Nature of Taonga Māori?

The Māori concept of history is not linear and fixed; taonga are believed to have the ability to collapse or stitch together space and time, bringing together ancestors and their descendants (Hakiwai 1996: 52-54; Tapsell 1997: 330, 334-335; Hakiwai and Smith 2008: vii-viii). The idea of ‘age’ and ‘authenticity’ of taonga also differs from that of a western perspective; for example it is believed that the intangible essences of an object can be transferred from one object to another via the application of ritual (Gurian 2006: 43-44; Te Kanawa in Clavir 2002: 225).

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7 In current terms, based on the legal definition of taonga tūturu (M.C.H. 1975), ‘contemporary taonga Māori’ could be considered to be those objects made since the 1960s.
Taonga can be tangible, or intangible such as whakapapa. Within Māori belief all things contain mauri (spiritual essence) that was imbued during creation by the atua (gods) (Te Awekotuku 1996: 26; Barlow 1990). Taonga Māori are thought to contain varying degrees of mauri. This can emanate from the mauri intrinsic to the material, the mauri infused by the creator of the object, the mauri of the person represented in the work, or from those who have ‘owned’ the piece (Te Awekotuku 1996a: 27-28). Even ostensibly ‘common place’ objects may have important links to eponymous ancestors, or events of historical importance, and it is believed that the mauri of the associated ancestors can be held within these objects (Tapsell, 1997: 326). An example of such an object is a tapu (sacrosanct) boulder held in the Tairāwhiti Museum that is associated with the slaying of the Te Aitanga a Mahaki ancestor Tupurupuru.

Taonga Māori are considered tapu because of the links to ancestors and the belief that objects can contain spiritual forces and vital essences (Te Awekotuku 1996a: 26-28; Moorfield 2005). Barlow (1991: 128-129) describes tapu as “the potentiality of power”, a power that can be benign, positive or negative depending on the application of correct tikanga (protocols). Those objects that were used for noa (everyday) tasks, such as cultivation are not as inherently tapu as, for example, funerary objects such as waka tupapaku (burial caskets) (T.P.N.S. 2001: 7). However even utilitarian objects can be highly tapu, for example matau (fish hooks) made of kōiwi (human remains) (Te Awekotuku 1996a: 38; T.P.N.S. 2001: 7).

Mana (spiritual power, prestige, authority) is closely related to tapu. Where tapu can be viewed as ‘potential power’, mana can be regarded as ‘actual power’ that is seen to emanate from the gods (Te Awekotuku 1996: 27; T.P.N.S. 2001: 6). The mana of an object, as with mauri, can be imbued from the maker, the ‘owners’, and in the case of weaponry, the slain (Te Awekotuku 1996a: 27-28). That some objects held within museum collections have great mana and tapu is clear, such as wharenui whose carvings are not considered to be mere representations of subjects, but actual embodiments of ancestors (Mead 1992: 167-168; Tapsell 1997: p.330-331).

Customary knowledge and whakapapa is attached to taonga by kōrero such as proverbs, stories, spoken rituals, waiata (songs), karakia (incantation, highly
ritualised prayer) and mnemonic recitations (Tapsell 1997: 328-330). However the kōrero (provenance) of many taonga Māori collection objects has been lost; the stories of these pieces are unknown and the potential mana and tapu of the items is unclear. The belief that these objects contain vital forces and spiritual essences means that those who care for the objects need to treat each piece with respect and follow certain protocols, not only for the holistic care of the objects, but also from a Māori perspective, for the physical and spiritual welfare of the carer.

2.2.3 Where Does the ‘Value’ of Taonga Lie?

The value of taonga Māori lay in their ability to act as records of deities and ancestors, and as such to act as conduits to the atua and ancestors (Royal 2004: 56, 63; Tapsell 1997: 327; National Services Te Paerangi 1999: 6). Māori kin groups place great importance on tribal roots, origins and identity and taonga is integral in maintaining these links and cementing familial ties. For example the gifting of taonga for strengthening relationships, settling (or symbolic of settling) conflict, is a practice that continues to this day (Henare 2007: 60).

The whakapapa attached to taonga reinforces ties to a kin group’s estates and tribal resources (National Museum of New Zealand 1989: p.14; Tapsell 1997: 326). Because pre-contact Māori did not have a written language taonga was valued as kōpaki (to envelope an issue or story); as repositories of history and links to people and places (Royal 2004:67). A modern example of taonga in this function is as evidence of the history that links people to lands and events during Waitangi Tribunal proceedings (see for example, Royal 2004: 68 and Henare 2007). Taonga continue to be utilised as repositories of narratives for use as “hei hoa mō te kōrero” translated literally as “a friend for (your) speechmaking” during formal events such as marae-based hui (Royal 2004: 68).

It is important to consider the original context of the society in which objects were produced when considering the value of objects. Take for example the value of tools for pre-contact Māori; objects that are now considered disposable were once highly valued and integral to the maintenance of Māori life and of a functioning society

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8 See R. Elliot’s (1994) paper, which includes an area of enquiry based on analysis of the value of artefacts.
The manufacture of toki (adzes) involved ritual, expert skill and took months, even years to create. Because of their value the use of tools was not as mundane as it is today; for example items such as bird tethers and chisels were also worn as adornments. Tools were also used as mnemonic devices, for example the Tairāwhiti Museum holds a finely crafted notched toki that was used in the pre-contact period to assist with recitation of knowledge.

Today the value of taonga has shifted in that pieces that may have held particular significance to a specific iwi, are now also of value to Māori as a collective. This is not only because many taonga have lost their provenance and cannot be attributed to specific iwi, but because of the ability of taonga to instil pride in communities and express Māori epistemological beliefs (Hakiwai and Smith 2008: vii; Royal 2004: 48).

Hakiwai (2006: 409) discusses the current relevance of taonga for the “maintenance, reclamation, restoration and ongoing cultural development” of Māori (also see, Hakiwai 1996: 50-68; 2006: 409; Hakiwai and Smith 2008: vii; Royal 2004: 48; Tapsell 2003:250). Taonga is also a source of pride for Māori, providing a tangible symbol of the craftsmanship, artistic ability and culture of Māori ancestors; an anchor in times of social upheaval. A viewpoint echoed in the Māori proverb “He toi whakairo: He mana tangata” which translates into English as “where there is artistic excellence: there is human dignity” (Mane-Wheoki 1995: 1; Hakiwai 1996: 51).

Jahnke (2006: 430) argues that the western judgement of aesthetics and value has infiltrated modern thinking on taonga Māori. He cautions against applying judgement of value based on the hierarchical model of taonga that gives preference to taonga that are historically significant, have “been bathed in kōrero” or have been created by renowned artists (Jahnke 2006: 430). Jahnke (2006: 430) goes on to state that “our museums are full of examples of material culture that may be termed ‘crude’ or ‘naive’ if one wears lenses that are predicated on a Western perception of beauty.”
2.2.4 Taonga Māori: A Customary Concept?

Mead (1985b: 34-35) has created a model of the periods of Māori society within New Zealand, which is a useful reference for discussions around shifting concepts of taonga Māori.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Dates C.E.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nga Kakano (The seeds)</td>
<td>1100 – 1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Tipunga (The growth)</td>
<td>1300 – 1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Puawaitanga (The blossoming)</td>
<td>1500 – 1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Huringa (The turning)</td>
<td>1800 – Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Huringa I</td>
<td>1800 – 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Huringa II</td>
<td>1900 – 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Huringa III</td>
<td>1960 – Present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Davidson (1996: 10-14) states that Māori tribal life and custom remained relatively unchanged in the period Mead entitles ‘The blossoming’ from circa 1500 C.E. to 1800 C.E. and well into the 19th Century. The continuance of Māori customary practises during that time, including those related to taonga, is evidenced by oral tradition and associated artefacts such as whakapapa rākau, some archaeological findings and the written records of English and French visitors to New Zealand in the late 1700s (Davidson 1996: 10-14). That the Second Article (Māori text) within the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Māori “te tino rangatiratanga” (unqualified exercise of their chieftainship) over their land, villages and taonga” also illustrates that the economic, social and political importance of taonga to Māori continued after the contact period (State Services Commission 2005: 7).

Some shifts began to occur around the concept and usage of taonga Māori during the late 18th and 19th centuries in the areas of commerce and heritage. Māori actively participated in western commercial trade and were particularly successful with commerce during the first half of the 19th century (McKinney and Smith 2005: 41; Walker 2004: 101). McCarthy (2007a: 57) notes that the term taonga was used in this period by Māori and non-Māori to describe commercial goods; from curios to agricultural products. From the 19th century the term taonga began to be used to describe objects created specifically for the flourishing tourist market, a practice that continues today (McCarthy 2007a: 57; Creлинстен 1999: 19).
During the mid 19th century definitions of taonga in documents moved from describing taonga as ‘property’ or ‘anything prized’, to ‘treasure’ in the latter part of the 1800s, and by the early 20th century taonga referred specifically to cultural heritage (McCarthy 2007a: 30). This occurred as awareness of the loss of cultural artefacts increased as a “veritable flood of weapons, tools, carvings and pendants sailed away in the mid 19th Century” to tourists, off shore collectors and museums” (Hogan 1995: 272).

Some writers argue that ‘authentic’ customary concepts ended with the onset of colonisation. For example Hanson (1989), Oliver (2001), and Linnekin9 (1983) have argued that the re-vitalisation of ‘traditional culture’ is more often a cultural invention rather than a “stable heritage handed on from the past” (Hanson 1989: 890). Hanson argues that customary concepts, such as taonga, have been selected and their meanings shifted over time by Māori (and substantiated by non-Māori) in order to “systematically manifest the intention to further some political or other agenda.” Hanson (1989: 895,896) uses the example of the Te Māori exhibition to evidence this: “Māoris insisted that art objects produced by their ancestors are tribal treasures (taonga), with the result that tribal proprietary rights became an important issue in the mounting of ‘Te Māori.’” Similarly Oliver (2001: 23) argues that colonisation brought with it an “abrupt and severe break in continuity” that has “fostered an intensified self-identification with a “recovered” and “mytholigised pre-colonisation past.” Such arguments imply that concepts, such as taonga, have either immediately or progressively lost their authenticity from contact period onwards.

Conversely Henare (2007: 62) argues that this stance has become endemic in the social sciences and humanities and for reasons either “ironic”, or “more sinister” has emerged at a time when first nations are attempting to assert their cultural distinctiveness. Henare argues that in attempting to articulate untranslatable customary concepts, such as taonga, within antithetical cultural systems Māori concepts have been misinterpreted as ‘inauthentic’ (Henare 2007: 62-64). Other

9 The work of Linnekin referred to here is based on customary practice and indigenous Hawaiian culture of which she states; “For Hawaii ‘traditional’ properly refers to the pre-contact era, before Cooks arrival…” (1983: 242).
sources assert that colonialism has not adulterated or eradicated Māori customary concepts such as taonga. Rather culture is fluid and dynamic; thus Māori have adapted and responded to change while retaining those principles and practices core to their culture (Royal 2004: 47; Solomon 2006: 353; Waitangi Tribunal 1988; Williams 2001: 150-151). Jahnke (1996: 170) discusses how Māori “adopt[ed], adapt[ed] and appropriate[d]” aspects of European material culture, retaining their central beliefs and practices while integrating new techniques, materials and styles to the creation of taonga.

2.3 An Overview of Trends that Shifted the Perception of Taonga Māori in New Zealand Museums

2.3.1 Taonga Māori: As Scientific Resource in the 19th Century
In the 19th century museums began to give preference to the “typical over the singular” (Henning 2006: 15). Museums moved from collecting and displaying both the commonplace and unusual, as represented in cabinets of curiosity, to focusing on the ‘ordered and scientific’ as rationalism, classification systems such as the Linnaean taxonomic system and scientific theories, for example Darwinian evolutionary theory, came to the fore (Cameron 2000: 29, 146; Henning 2006; Livingstone 1996: 10; Marstine 2005: 25, 27; McCarthy 2007a: 19).

From around the mid 1870s heritage institutions focused their collecting on Māori artefacts that were considered to be representational of pre-contact Māori society; objects believed to be “uncontaminated, the old and the original” (Cameron 2000: 39). There was a sense of urgency to acquire what was perceived to be a finite resource of ‘authentic’ Māori artefacts (Cameron 2000: 34-35). Of particular concern was the continuing loss of those objects considered ‘authentic’, ‘highly prized’ and of great national relevance to off-shore museums and collectors (Cameron 2000: 53; Crelinsten 1999: 19; Hogan 1995: 272).

By the turn of the Century Māori society itself was commonly believed to be vanishing as introduced diseases, war, land alienation and economic, political and social marginalisation had resulted in the reduction of the Māori population to its lowest point of 45,549 (Walker 2004: 172). The desire to preserve the material
culture of a ‘dying race’ also drove the perceived need to collect those objects that were representational of Māori everyday life (Cameron 2000: 34-35,115; Crelinsten 1999: 7).

2.3.2 Taonga Māori: As National Resource

From the 1880s taonga began to be used as a symbol for nation building and the creation of an identity for non-indigenous New Zealanders (Crelinsten 1999: 34-38; Dibley 1996; Philips 1983; McCarthy 2007a). Dibley (1996:42) states that “Māoriness” was used to develop a “national signature” whereby Māori taonga came to “supply a source of icons and motifs around which a bounded settler identity was imagined.”

Concern over the loss of heritage objects offshore began to highlight the relevance of taonga Māori as an integral part of New Zealand’s cultural identity. The issue was raised by museum professionals in the latter parts of the 19th Century, as expressed in a letter written by the first professional curator of Auckland Museum, Thomas Cheeseman, in the 1890s:

“I often wish we could get back some of the articles – meres, weapons of all kinds, implements etc, which were sent to England…” (Cheeseman in Cameron 2000: 53).

Support for retaining taonga Māori within New Zealand led to an increase in public donations in some museums, for example between 1901 to 1915 the Auckland Museum received £1,000 for the purchase of the Mair Māori Collection, £662 to purchase a pataka and the Whare Rangitihi and £684 toward the Spencer Collection of Māori Carvings (The Museums Association 1933: 75).

In 1901 the Māori Antiquities Act was introduced to prevent the loss of Māori ‘relics’ from the country. The Māori members of parliament, in particular James Carroll, lobbied to alter the terminology within the draft to better acknowledge the nature of taonga for Māori (McCarthy 2007b: 123). Consequently the term “curio” was replaced by the phrase “articles manufactured with ancient Māori tools and according to Māori methods” (McCarthy 2007b: 123). The definition of Māori ‘antiquities’ in the Māori language version of the bill went further by defining the
objects as “nga taonga o namata” (treasures of ancient times) (McCarthy 2007b: 123).

2.3.3 Taonga and the Māori Cultural Renaissance 1920 - 1930

The period known as the Māori cultural renaissance led to a shift in the way taonga Māori was perceived by non-Māori; from a symbol of the past, to pieces that remained relevant to the Māori community. This period laid the foundation for the more overt changes of perception toward taonga Māori that would take place from the 1960s onwards.

The commonly held belief that Māori were a ‘dying race’ lingered well into the 20th Century, even as the Māori population began to increase from around 1905 (Walker 2004: 172). By the 1920s assimilation policies had led to cultural erosion that was obvious in the diminution of the language and cultural expression such as toi Māori (Māori arts), for example Walker (2004: 176, 189-190) discusses how the art of carving “had all but died out after the completion of the meeting house Te Whai-a-te-Motu” in Ruatahuna in 1888.

In response to the threat of total loss of culture Māori leaders launched initiatives that led to what has come to be known as the Māori ‘cultural renaissance’ (McCarthy 2007b: 123; Walker 2004: 191). One of the leaders of this cultural revival was MP Sir Apirana Ngata who, while Minister of Māori Affairs, was instrumental in establishing the first school of Māori Arts and Crafts in Rotorua between 1926-1928 (McCarthy 2007b: 122; Walker 2004: 189). Ngata began to undertake projects involving toi whakairo (carving), both within the community and heritage institutions. One such initiative was the revitalisation of the Whare ‘Te Hau ki Turanga’ housed at the Dominion Museum (McCarthy 2007b: 122).

At this time Māori leaders were attempting to assert that their peoples core values, beliefs and practices had not been obliterated by the impact of colonialism. Rather that Māori were a vital and resilient people whose culture had survived and adapted in the face of adversity. Ngata’s exhibition of a whare runanga at the 1939-1940 Centennial Exhibition in Wellington, drew comment that Māori did not regard their taonga as relics but as symbols of their modern lives (Anon in McCarthy 2007b: 123).
The establishment of Turangawaewae Marae\textsuperscript{10} by female leader Te Puea Herangi in the 1920s was another major symbol of the Māori cultural renaissance leading to a resurgence of Māori customary practice (Walker 2004: 191).

\subsection{2.3.4 \textbf{From Scientific Specimen to Heritage Attraction 1930-1960}}

By the 1930s natural history and ethnographic collections, to which taonga Māori belonged, were no longer collected as actively (Livingstone 1996: 11). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) argues that the scientific role of ethnographic collections as a source of tangible knowledge for scientific fields including archaeology, biology and geology diminished, particularly after the post WWII period, as the study of ethnology moved from museums to universities and museums began to be reinvent themselves as “agents of heritage.”

At this time a subtle shift in the role of museum from store-houses of tangible scientific resources to the sphere of popular education and attraction had also occurred (Cameron 2000: 146-152; Livingstone 1996:11). The use of taonga to furnish the concept of ‘Māoriland’, an “exotic and utopian synonym for New Zealand” (Blythe 1994:16), continued to be utilised to attract tourists and visitors between 1930 and 1960 (Crelinsten 1999: 36-38). During this time Māori cultural performances and toi Māori demonstrations became popular with audiences (Perkins and Thorns 2001: 194-195), but Māori influence over the care, use and interpretation of taonga remained limited.

\subsection{2.3.5 \textbf{Challenging the Institution: From Artefact to Art: 1960 -1990}}

The powerful political and social movements and events that occurred around the world in the 1960s and 70s, such as the civil rights, indigenous rights, and the Māori self determination movement, provided a climate conducive for the social, political and cultural aspirations of Māori (Dibley 1996: 8; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 6; McCarthy 2007a: 137; Simpson 1996:7; Walker 2004). From 1960 to 1980 the

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{10}It can be seen in Turangawaewae and other marae that museums are not wholly antithetical to Māori ways of caring for, or displaying objects (Simpson 1996:107-109). The concept of a meeting house is in essence an art gallery and a museum, the carvings and tuku tuku are pieces of art that tell stories and hold history and provenance. Photos of ancestors are often arranged on the walls, complete with informative labels (Simpson 1996: 107-109). Turangawaewae alone holds many taonga, not only the buildings carvings or other taonga Māori, but also koha from foreign dignitaries and emissaries, which are at times available for public viewing.

\vspace{1cm}21
concerns of Māori regarding the care and use of taonga began to be acknowledged more readily by museums. For example in the 1960s objection to the exhibition of mokamokai (preserved heads) at the Dominion Museum led to the less prominent display of the objects (McCarthy 2007a: 117). In contrast 27 years earlier a report on New Zealand museums noted the quality, quantity and educational value of exhibited objects including Māori “tombs” and “coffins” (The Museums Association 1933: 92-93). During the 1970s the mokomokai at the Dominion Museum were completely removed from display (McCarthy 2007a: 117).

Elaine Gurian (2006:41) states that prior to the 1960s collection care had “been predicated on the basic notion that objects are inanimate” and that museums were the “absolute arbiter of their holdings.” This stance has since been challenged by indigenous peoples and from within museums, as evident in the ‘new museology theory’ that gained momentum from the 1980s (Gurian 2006: 41; Pilcher and Vermeyen 2009: 59-60). This theory advanced the museum from “colonial sites of worship” to sites of inclusion, with the ability and even duty to affect positive social change (Pilcher and Vermeyen 2009: 59-60).

The ‘Te Māori’ exhibition that ran from 1984-1987 is often referred to as a watershed event that advanced the application of mātauranga Māori principles in mainstream museum practice (Mead 1985a: 4; O’Reagan 1997: 6-7). The exhibition, which had its opening in New York before returning to New Zealand, incorporated mātauranga Māori principles including kaitiakitanga and tikanga (Crelinsten 1999: 39, 53; Hakiwai 1990: 35; Mead 1984). This included elders travelling with the objects and performing rituals such as karakia and pōwhiri (McCarthy 2007a: 140-143; Tamarapa 1996: 162). The exhibition also gave visitors the opportunity to practice tikanga that did not align with western concepts of preservation, such as the offering of greenery at the feet of objects (Crelinsten 1999: 53; McCarthy 2007a: 150).

In New Zealand the Māori self determination movement was integral in lobbying for the acknowledgement of customary Māori rights and beliefs as guaranteed in the
Treaty of Waitangi. The foundation of the Waitangi Tribunal\(^{11}\) was instrumental in the development of biculturalism in New Zealand during the 1980s and 90s (Fleras and Maaka 2005: 126-127; Hamer 2004: 12; Sharp 2004:198). This legal forum saw the increased recognition of mātauranga Māori and use of the vocabulary of Māori customary concepts in legal and public sector practice (Sharp 2001:39).

From the 1980s there was an international trend toward acknowledging the ‘distinct founding cultures’ within modern nations, particularly in post-colonial societies; this was known as multiculturalism, and in New Zealand as biculturalism (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 6). Biculturalism became a guiding principle for government agencies leading to the permeation of indigenous concepts into the public sector including museums (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 6 McCarthy 2007a: 146; O’Reagan 1997: 6-7). The term taonga began to be commonly used in museum practice, for example McCarthy (2007a: 156) notes that in 1989 the term taonga was included in the National Museum annual report without italics for the first time. Māori staffing levels also began to increase in museums, action that Tamarapa (1996: 163) states enables “the appropriate cultural considerations regarding the well-being of the taonga to be put in place.” In 1980 paid Māori staff barely totalled 1% in major New Zealand museums; by 1995 this had risen to 18% (O’Reagan 1997: 68-69).

In the 1990s there was a trend toward the redevelopment and creation of national museums with policies, standards and missions that acknowledged or were built around concepts of biculturalism (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 6). By mid 1994 heritage institutions receiving public funds, were eligible for government funding to implement bicultural initiatives (Clavir 2002: 218). Bi-lingual didactic material and the practical application of tikanga (protocol) began to become common practice in New Zealand museums. This was particularly evident in the National Museum (which merged with the National Gallery to become The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) whose adoption of biculturalism as a guiding principle has placed a degree of professional obligation on smaller New Zealand museums to develop similar approaches (O’Reagan 1997: 7).

\(^{11}\) The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 to provide a legal process for grievances arising from breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi.
During the 1990s Māori continued to actively seek influence over the care, use and interpretation of taonga Māori. Indigenous peoples aspiration for control over their cultural heritage is evident in sections 12, 13 and 29 of the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of indigenous Peoples (Working Group on Indigenous Populations 1993a) and the specific mention of museums and cultural patrimony in sections 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14 of the Mataatua Declaration (W.G.I.P. 1993b). Māori continued to recognise the importance of maintaining a presence within museums “because the struggle by indigenous people to put in place the management structures which fit our needs may be overlooked once again” (Mina McKenzie 1996: 221).
2.4 Museums and Taonga Māori: Expectations of Care

2.4.1 Kaitiakitanga and Stewardship
The increased recognition of mātauranga Māori, and the nature of taonga Māori within New Zealand\(^{12}\) heritage institutions, has resulted in a more holistic approach to the care of taonga via the integration of collection management, stewardship and the complimentary principle of kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga, in a museum context, is a way of caring for objects in ways deemed appropriate and correct from the standpoint of Māori.

From the 1980s museums began to regard Māori as the spiritual owners of taonga Māori, and today museums are moving toward the recognition of Māori rangatiratanga (chieftainship/ unparalleled authority) and kaitiakitanga over these objects (O’Reagan 1997: 52; Butts 2003: 99). All of the museums audited in the New Zealand Office of the Auditor General ‘Performance Audit Report: Management of Heritage Collections in Local Museums and Art Galleries’ (2006: 32) recognised that the nature of taonga Māori requires a particular stewardship approach for museums. The responsibilities of stewards pertaining to collection care, as outlined in the Museums Aotearoa Code of Ethics (2003: 7), recommends that collection items and taonga are “cared for physically and spiritually in accordance with the museum’s policies and to the best of the staffs abilities.”

2.4.2 Kaitiakitanga and the Role of Museum Based Kaitiaki Māori
From a customary Māori perspective taonga were not ‘owned’ in the western sense, instead people were the kaitiaki of objects (Tapsell 1997: 343, 363). From a traditional standpoint the role of kaitiaki, remains the preserve of the iwi, hapū or whānau to which the taonga is affiliated (Burrows 2007: 169). However the majority of taonga Māori objects in museums no longer have their kōrero (provenance) attached. There is a duty of care to these and all objects deposited within museums; therefore museums have assumed the role of ‘kaitiaki by proxy.’ Current board member of the Tairāwhiti Museum and long time advocate of the Museum, Ingrid

\(^{12}\) See Sully (2007) for discussions relating to the use of holistic approaches to the care of taonga Māori, and more specifically wharenui, in overseas collections held in Chicago (the wharenui Ruatepupuke), London (the wharenui Hinemihi) and Germany (the two wharenui Rauru and Te Wharepuni a Maui).
Searancke, states that although the kaitiaki role stays with the whānau, hapū or iwi, the Museum and representatives have a role to ensure that the appropriate care and use of taonga is observed for all taonga Māori housed within (Ingrid Searancke in Butts 2003: 296).

Some museums have staff with the specific job title ‘Kaitiaki Māori.’ The role of kaitiaki Māori is unique in that they have to mediate between the western ideas of preservation and conservation responsibilities inherent in stewardship, with the conceptual requirements of objects (Tamarapa 1996: 160). These requirements may at times appear to oppose western approaches to care, however the research undertaken by Clavir indicates that kaitiaki do not feel they have to preserve the physical integrity of an object at the expense of the objects cultural integrity (Clavir 2002: 244).

The role of the kaitiaki as bridge between the Māori community and the museum involves attending functions of significance to Māori such as tangihanga (funerals) or relevant hui (meetings) (Tamarapa 1996: 167-168). Te Reo Māori (the Māori language) is an important asset for the role of kaitiaki as this is the predominant language used in formal settings such as tangi and hui. However, as discussed by conservator Rose Evans in Clavir (2002) lack of fluency in te reo does not impinge on the ability of collection stewards to provide tika (correct) care. Kaitiaki may also provide conservation advice, training and treatment work within the Māori community (Clavir 2002: 220). Such services are important in the preservation of heritage objects still maintained by iwi, such as carvings and photos in wharenui (meeting houses) and objects held within whānau (Clavir 2002: 220; Simpson 1996:107-109).

Thus the position of museum kaitiaki is a specialised role including collection stewardship, negotiating with communities and working with kaumātua (elders who are knowledgeable of Māori culture and protocol), iwi, hapū, whānau and kotahi tangata (Clavir 2002: 231-232). However the principles of kaitiakitanga can be applied by any individual who is dedicated to providing taonga with the standard of care consistent with the principles of mātauranga Māori. Arguably the application of kaitiakitanga is more straightforward for those Māori that have been steeped in
tikanga practices from birth, and who may be more easily accepted within Māori communities (particularly if they are affiliated to the local iwi). However, as discussed by Valerie Carson, Vickie-Ann Heikell and Rangi Te Kanawa (in Clavir 2002: 235-236) providing the correct care of taonga is about learning what is acceptable within the rohe (region) served by the museum and of being respectful; capabilities which are universally achievable.

2.4.3 Tikanga

A main element of kaitiakitanga is the application of tikanga (customary philosophy), which is the use of the correct kawa (protocols). It should be noted that different iwi, hapū, whānau and individuals have differing approaches to tikanga. For example some individuals will not carry food (deemed noa, profane) into storage areas, whereas some individuals will do this in an attempt to negate the effects the tapu of the taonga may have on them (Jody Wyllie 2006, 12 September: Pers. comm.). From a Māori perspective, transgression of tikanga can have serious consequences for the wellbeing of the individual or group involved, and for the integrity of the object (Mead 2003:7).

Special consideration for the care of taonga Māori that takes tikanga (protocol) into consideration has been increasingly implemented in New Zealand museums over the past 30 years, for example in the mid 1990s Te Papa restricted food from the areas of taonga Māori storage (Tamarapa 1996: 165). Some museums allow visitors to lay koha (gifts, tributes) such as greenery by objects, as is done with the highly revered taonga Uenuku in the Te Awamutu Museum. Other museums allow iwi, hapū or whānau to access storerooms and at times handle certain objects without gloves (Clavir 2002: 222-224, 239).

Approaches to tikanga include storage considerations, such as the separation of objects like kōiwi (human remains), into wāhi tapu (sacred spaces), as is practice at Te Papa (Dion Pieta 2007, 1 June: Pers. comm.) and the Tairāwhiti Museum (2007). Also hand washing bowls, used to counteract tapu, have been introduced in the storage areas of museums where taonga Māori is stored and displayed (Clavir 2002: 244; Tamarapa 1996: 165). It has also become common practice to allow Māori to borrow objects they are affiliated with, for events such as ceremonies. This maintains
their contextual and cultural relevance, and from a Māori perspective, their warmth and familial connections (Clavir 2002: 227; McKenzie 1990: 172).

2.4.4 The Ethical and Pragmatic Drivers behind the Holistic care of Taonga Māori

The drivers for achieving meaningful and sincere relationships with Māori, and caring for taonga in a holistic way, are both ethical and pragmatic. In doing so New Zealand museums will meet ethical guidelines as outlined in the entirety of section 6, sections 2.5, 3.7, 4.3 and 4.4 of the ICOM Code of Ethics (2006) and sections 1.1a, 1.1d, 1.2iii, 1.2iv, 1.2d, 2.1e, 3.3e, 3.4b of the Museums Aotearoa Code of Ethics (2003), which relate to the care and management of objects from indigenous communities. As noted by O’Reagan the adoption of the term ‘taonga’ by the “museums of New Zealand and their profession have in effect written themselves into moral, if not legal, obligations under article II of the Treaty” of which the Māori text guarantees Māori “te tino rangatiratanga” (unqualified exercise of their chieftainship) over their land, villages and taonga (State Services Commission 2005: 7; O’Reagan 1997:15-22).

In pragmatic terms funding in the public sector has become far more competitive and public and government scrutiny of the use of this funding has also intensified (Legget 2006: 26-27). The resultant environment is one where the museum sector is expected to appeal and be accessible to all spheres of the community, including source communities such as Māori (Ames 1996: 215; Legget 2006: 5; Genoways and Ireland 2003: 256; Hooper-Greenhill 1995). More specifically the very real implications of the development of iwi cultural centres and demands for repatriation have necessitated the acknowledgement of mātauranga Māori and the development of relationships with Māori (Brown 2006; Simpson 2006).

One of the main issues facing museums with regard to collection management of taonga Māori is the development of networks within Māori communities to access knowledge (O.A.G. 2006: 33); and as stated by Rosoff (2003:75) native people are only willing to share knowledge with those committed to inclusion and acknowledging indigenous perspectives. In order to build the necessary relationships to access this assistance museums first need to overcome the weariness many indigenous peoples harbour toward museums (Singer 2006: 413). Many indigenous peoples associate museums with “colonialism, cultural repression, loss of heritage and death” (Simpson 2006: 153-154). There is also concern that Māori involvement in museums is used to primarily to furnish events, such as openings, without true reciprocity (Clavir 2002: 228).

The safe, appropriate and respectful collection care of taonga is of fundamental importance for Māori museum stakeholders; particularly with regard to kōiwi and funerary objects (Legget 2008: 258-259; Rosoff 2003:73). Collection Management lies at the heart of collection care and is strategically placed to demonstrate whether there is sincere commitment to Māori. Creating meaningful relationships with Māori not only serves to maintain the spiritual and physical care of taonga, but can also increase the speed at which collection issues or requests are resolved, or conflicts avoided. For example in cases of repatriation the networks developed by kaitiaki can assist verifying that the person or groups receiving the objects have the authority or permission to do so. Similarly the reciprocity between museum kaitiaki and the Māori community makes Māori more comfortable with depositing or lending objects and/or entrusting institutions with information that can add to documentation, interpretation and exhibitions.

2.5 Concluding Statement

Increased recognition of the intangible needs of taonga has seen the incorporation of mātauranga Māori principles, most notably kaitiakitanga and tikanga, with collection management practice. There is room for further developments in the care of taonga Māori, as with all collections. It is important for museums to better define what will constitute taonga Māori in their collections and how these will be cared for and developed. For example will taonga Māori collections include items currently
classified within the contemporary art, or other collections within the museum, that hold relevance for Māori? How will these objects be arranged in storage; by typology or in iwi and hapū groups? Will museums actively seek to unite objects with relatives? Will there be active repatriation? Will kōrero (provenance/meaning) be actively researched and collated? Will there be more active collecting of taonga Māori? How will the application of kaitiakitanga continue to challenge the often antithetical concept of western care and preservation?

In order for museums to be able to respond effectively and responsibly to these issues and others that may arise, they need to undertake considered planning, as well as develop meaningful relationships with source communities. As stated by Singer (2006: 415) the approach of museums in developing participation with source communities has often been established on an ad hoc basis with mixed results. Similarly Doxtator (1996: 56-57) argues that museums are often reactive to issues rather than proactive; not responding to challenges “until they have been shaken by protest, controversy or a crisis.” The list of issues facing the collection care of taonga Māori is varied and complex and requires a considered approach; auditing initiatives can assist museums and practitioners to be strategic in their approach to collection management and achieve tangible results.

The following chapter will provide an overview of auditing, using examples of national and international audits, in order to elucidate why and how museums undertake audits and the potential benefits for collection management. Chapters Four and Five discuss the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit case study in detail to illustrate the process and potential benefits of auditing; specifically relating to taonga Māori.
Chapter Three: Why Audit?

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is written to provide a contextual framework of auditing for the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit case study. This chapter discusses the introduction of auditing within the museum sector, and identifies the key issues and debates pertaining to museum auditing. The chapter provides a definition of the key concepts of auditing of relevance to museums, and discusses the historic and current context of auditing in national and international museums. The breadth and scope of recent auditing is illustrated by the examples of audits taking place nationally and internationally; with particular emphasis on those relating to collection management and indigenous heritage. The potential benefits of auditing is illustrated in examples of audits from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and a case study of the Johannesburg ‘Heritage Collections Asset Register Project.’

3.2 Defining Auditing for Museums

3.2.1 Auditing: A Definition

Defining auditing for museums is more complex than for private sector institutions. This is largely because auditing was designed as an accounting process to meet the needs of a profit-seeking model, the objectives of which do not superimpose easily onto non-profit organizations14 (Carnegie and Wolnizer 1996 and 1999; Carnegie and West 2005; Jacobs 1998 and Thompson 2001).

A clear-cut definition of auditing is obtainable from accounting literature. The British Institute of Internal Auditors (Fight, 2002: 2) describe auditing as an “independent, objective, systematic and disciplined assurance and consulting activity” that is designed to “add value and enable an organisation to accomplish its objectives” and to “improve the effectiveness of risk management and governance processes.” Gray and Manson’s (2005: 23) define auditing as follows:

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14 ICOM (2006) defines non-profit organizations (also known as not for profit organisations) as “A legally established body – corporate or unincorporated – whose income (including any surplus or profit) is used solely for the benefit of that body and its operations.
“[A]n audit is an investigation or a search for evidence to enable an opinion to be formed on the truth and fairness of financial and other information by a person or persons independent of the preparer and persons likely to gain directly from the use of the information, and then issue of a report on that information with the intention of increasing its credibility and therefore its usefulness.”

From these definitions it can be gleaned that the fundamental elements of an audit are an independent auditor (internal or external), an objective, impartial and systematic evaluation of relevant information, and the reporting of credible feedback to assist the institution to meet its objectives, show accountability and undertake corrective action where necessary.

Processes that share the three fundamental elements of (i) an auditor, (ii) evaluation, (iii) and feedback are audit processes. Secondary sources from the heritage filed have not yet begun to fully encapsulate permutations of audit processes under the umbrella term of ‘auditing.’ Audits are sometimes described in literature and/or by the bodies undertaking them as surveys, summaries, reviews, inventories, evaluation projects and reports. Within literature pertaining to the management of heritage institutions these permutations are sometimes used interchangeably or in conjunction with the term audit. For example Genoways and Ireland (2003: 166) use the both the term “evaluation” and “audit” to describe the process of performance auditing. Auditing is not to be confused with performance indicators or measures, whereas these specify the benchmarks institutions aim to achieve, the audit process is an assessment tool used to evaluate whether these are being met and recommending ways to meet these goals (Johns 1994: 4, 22).

Audits can be initiated externally or internally. Those undertaken and/or mandated by external bodies, typically being governments or principle funders, are usually periodic and are undertaken in order to meet legislative requirements. The types of auditing museums in New Zealand are legally required to complete are financial (or accrual) auditing, asset valuation auditing and performance auditing. Internal auditing, initiated from within institutions, is usually initiated as part of strategic planning (Thompson 2001: 17). Table 1 shows examples of the diverse scopes of both external and internal audits undertaken within heritage institutions.
3.2.2 The Emergence of Auditing in New Zealand Museums

When discussing the emergence of auditing it is important to note that professionalism\(^{15}\) and collection management practices, such as evaluation and strategic planning, are functions that have existed prior to the changes of the past 40 years. For example Brown-Goode (1994: 41-46) discusses a variety of papers written in the 19\(^{th}\) Century that echo modern collection management concerns, and which recommends inventory and evaluation projects. Another early audit was the 1933 Museums Association report ‘A Report on The Museums and Art Galleries of Australia and New Zealand.’ However expected standards of museum and collection management that had been implicit have become overt during the past 40 years, due to the introduction of private sector management and marketing paradigms, practices and procedures such as annual plans, policies, missions, reviews and audits (Legget 2008).

Since the 1970s there has been an international trend toward public sector reform known as ‘New Public Management’ that has impacted on the management of museums and the care of collections around the world (Davies 1994: 32-33; Jacobs 1998: 343; Legget 2006: 8-9; Weil 1993: 1). Initially these models were introduced via government and accounting reform that have compelled museums to become increasingly self-sufficient members of the ‘cultural marketplace’ (Ames 1996: 215; Legget 2006: 3-4, 25-26; Gurian 2006, 103). Advocating the practice of auditing as an essential part of good collection management began appearing in museum manuals, such as the 1979 ‘Museum Registration Methods (Dudley and Wilkinson 1979: 322).

External auditing of museums began in earnest in the 1980s, the first major audits of public heritage institutions occurred in Britain in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Klemm, Scott and Wilson1994: 167). In the five years between 1987 and 1992 there

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\(^{15}\) There is debate over the definition of the ‘museum profession’ and ‘museum professionals’ (see DiMaggio 1994: 154-163; Genoways and Ireland 2003: 7-9; Legget 2006: 18-19) DiMagio (1994: 155) has synthesised characteristics of a ‘professional’ from research to five core attributes:

1. Training and possession of a set standard of credentials.
2. Commitment to the development of a career path within a profession.
3. Commitment to professional practice (including relevant ethics and licensing).
4. Participation in professional activities outside the home institution.
5. Claims to authority based on expertise.

See also ICOM 2006: 14 for a definition of a Museum Professional.
were at least 10 major auditing projects of British heritage institutions (Klemm et al 1994:167-168). This reflects the external pressure at the time to achieve public sector reform and the internal drive to make museums more ‘efficient’ and ‘effective.’


In 2001 the Public Audit Act made it mandatory for the New Zealand Auditor General to undertake annual audits of all publicly funded entities (O.A.G. 2009: 3). The financial statements and performance statements of institutions are audited in order to “improve the performance of, and the public’s trust in, the public sector” (O.A.G. 2009: 3, 7). The most contentious of these reforms has been the requirement for institutions to undertake valuations of heritage assets after approval of the ‘Financial Reporting Standard No.3: Accounting for Property, Plant and Equipment’ in March 200116 (O.A.G. 2006: 23; Legget 2006: 29; Carnegie and West 2005: 908-914).

3.2.3 The Internal Impetus Toward Auditing Practice

From the 1990s museums began to create strategies that would allow them to reap benefits from the application New Public Management practices, as evidenced by the proliferation of forums and seminars in the 1990s pertaining to strategic planning and performance measurement (see for example a collection of papers from the mid 1990s in Ames: 1995). Auditing has been increasingly utilised by institutions to measure performance, as evidenced by the cluster of auditing activity in heritage

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16 See Carnegie and West (2005: 908-914) for case studies from New Zealand and Australia that illustrate the ethical and practical difficulties of valuing heritage objects and collections.
institutions over the past decade, particularly in Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Ireland, United States of America (see table 1 for examples of these).

The increased complexity of museum operations coupled with professionalisation of the sector, largely due to what Genoways and Ireland (2003: 10) describe as the “explosive growth” of museum studies programmes in the 1970s and professional museum bodies, has seen endorsement of evaluative tools like standard schemes and auditing from within the sector (Davies 1994: 32-33,36; Herreman 1998: 4). The momentum of strategic planning from the 1990s has also seen increasing numbers of museums undertake tailored auditing projects in order to measure whether they are maximising their ability to meet their desired goals, for example meeting the needs of their stakeholders and audiences (Cassar 1998: 4-6; Davies 1994; Weil 1993: 1). An example of this is the Physical Access Audit, performed by The National Army Museum (U.K.), which evaluated and made recommendations regarding the improvement of accessibility for a diverse audience (T.N.A.M. 2007: 2). The Audit was the beginning of an ongoing access evaluation process. In 2007 the Museum had also began the second phase of the Audit entitled “Audit of Intellectual Access” (T.N.A.M. 2007:2).

The application of tools like auditing have also become increasingly utilised by institutions as public funding levels for heritage institutions became more contested and competitive (Jegers and Lapsley 2001: 1; Thompson 2001). Particularly since the 1980s museums have needed to become more entrepreneurial and develop explicit strategic planning in all areas to compete within the ‘leisure market’ (Jegers and Lapsley 2001; Thompson 2001: 8). In 1998 the Sydney Powerhouse completed a brand recognition audit, recognising that “in a leisure environment where options were multiplying, strategic positioning was becoming increasingly essential” (Scott 2000: 36).
### Table 1: Examples of the scope of audits undertaken within the heritage sector 1993 - 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Audit Type</th>
<th>Auditing Body</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collection inventory and Audit (external)</td>
<td>Government Commission: Made up of representatives from the Russian interior ministry, culture ministry, Federal Security Service (FSB), prosecutor-general's office and other Government executive bodies (Ryan 2007).</td>
<td>Nationwide museum audit: Audited 80% of the Russia’s museums and approximately one quarter of the nation’s Heritage objects.</td>
<td>Thefts from the Hermitage were the impetus for the nation-wide inventory and audit project.</td>
<td>2006-2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training audit</td>
<td>Northern Ireland Museums Council (N.I.M.C. 2004)</td>
<td>Nationwide Irish audit (119 respondents from 397)</td>
<td>To create a training programme based on the training audit results.</td>
<td>2003-2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valuation</td>
<td>Australian Museum (Sydney) (Carnegie and West 2005, 911)</td>
<td>Monetary valuation of the Museum’s Collection</td>
<td>To meet the requirements of “Australian Accounting Standard 29”</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.2.4 Planning for a Successful Internal Audit

Unlike externally driven audits, primarily designed to meet legislative requirements and the objectives of funding bodies, internally driven audits are ideally a cyclical and ongoing process that are targeted to meet the operational needs and goals specific to an institution (Gardner and Merritt 2004: 34-37; Thompson 2001: 17).

Figure 1: Recommended Process for an Internally Driven Audit: Using the example of an access audit

As shown in figure 1 auditing should be an ongoing process of planning, evaluation, implementation of recommendations and planning for flow-on projects (Gardner and Merritt 2004: 34-37 and Thompson 2001: 17). The scope of the project should be clear, concise and have a clearly defined objective and time-frame. As stated by
Gardner (2004: 35) a protracted and complicated process “can result in scepticism, resistance and indifference.” A successful evaluation approach should contain:

1. A compelling argument and objective.
2. The clear articulation of demonstrable benefits to the institution, staff and stakeholders.
3. The identification of practical strategies that will lead to success.
4. Specificity via the identification of several goals or strategies that will be the immediate priorities of the museum.
5. Engagement of relevant board members, management and staff who have clearly defined roles to enable independent auditing and reliable/objective results (Gardner 2004: 35; Genoways and Ireland 2003: 78-80; Smiley 1992: 1-24).

Arguably the most critical element of an effective and relevant audit is people; one of the most common reasons for the failure of such projects is a lack of inclusion and ‘buy in’ (Gardner and Merritt 2004: 33; Genoways and Ireland 2003: 80). Ideally the institutions top decision makers, middle-management and front-line personnel should all be involved in the audit process at stages relevant to their positions, in order to build internal support and a sense of ownership (Genoways and Ireland 2003: 80). Creating a sense of inclusion is essential to creating a successful internal audit, as stated by Gardner and Merritt (2004: 33) processes of evaluation as part of strategic planning will, if undertaken effectively, inevitably result in change which some staff may find “energizing and exciting, but in others it may provoke anxiety or stress.” Communicating the relevance and positive impact the process will have for peoples roles, and for the institution as a whole, creates credibility for the project and as stated by Gardner and Merritt (2004: 35) can undercut “the collective eye-roll that can doom an initiative as ‘more planning for the sake of planning.’

3.2.5 The Auditor in Heritage Institutions

An independent, objective auditor is one of the key components in an effective audit. Without this independence the audit will lack credibility, and in turn limit the usefulness of the information gathered. As with any entity being audited, the credibility of audit results is equally important for museums. Audit results may have implications beyond those relating directly to the institution, for example the audit material may be used to inform funding
requests from external bodies, such as local authorities. Without the perception of auditor objectivity and independence the authority of the material will be lost, or at the least, greatly reduced.

When undertaking an audit it may not always be feasible for museums to employ someone from outside the institution. Auditor independence is ostensibly easier to achieve with an external auditor, and the use of an external auditor may add credibility to the findings (Wawryk 2006: 274). However Fight (2002: 46-47) argues that an audit undertaken by an internal auditor can be just as independent if facilitated. In fact the Interior Museum Property Committee (2005: 2) note that it is often a disadvantage for museums to employ the service of auditors who are not trained or have experience working specifically in the heritage field. They argue that they tend not to grasp the requirements for adequate collection care, collection management policy, standards and practices, and their recommendations are often inappropriate and/ or unrealistic.

Gray and Manson state that there are three dimensions that enable an auditor to maintain independence and therefore produce a credible, objective audit (2005: 65-66). The first dimension is what Gray and Manson refer to as ‘programming independence’ which they describe as freedom from interference, for example where staff or stakeholders attempt to create friction in order to eliminate, specify or modify any portion of the audit (2005: 65-66). The second dimension is referred to as ‘investigative independence’ meaning that the auditor has unencumbered access to all legitimate sources of information and does not allow personal interests and relationships to interfere with the objectivity of the audit (2005: 65-66). The final dimension is ‘reporting independence’; this is the freedom from allowing feelings of loyalty and obligation to lead to the alteration, exclusion or obfuscation of facts (Gray and Manson 2005: 65-66; Fight 2002: 46-47).

3.3 Why Audit?

3.3.1 The ‘Pros and Cons’ of Mandatory Auditing
Mandatory auditing in New Zealand includes financial, performance and valuation auditing. Mandatory auditing is often viewed as a private sector system of evaluation that does not correspond with public sector realities. The explicit measuring of
financial and non-financial performance and assets is sometimes viewed as unnecessary, unhelpful and intrusive. Scepticism of the worth of mandatory auditing is evident in the interviews of museum staff in New Zealand and abroad:

“It’s a bit like the Plunket Society: the aim is to produce a healthy baby, not to plot the baby’s growth on a graph” (a trustee (N.Z.) in Thompson 2001: 9).

“We feel we are in more of a fish bowl than an ivory tower” (Christopher Brown (U.K.) in Ajmone-Marsan 1993: 349).

“I think there is a lot of fear about the museums…being taken over by this corporate image with a motivation to quantity rather than quality” (An education officer (N.Z.) in Thompson 2001: 9).

The sometimes-uncomfortable relationship between external auditing bodies and institutions can exacerbate feelings of apprehension brought about by audits. Statements, in a National Audit Office (U.K.) presentation in 2008 by the director Damian Brewitt, that museums and galleries “see themselves as independent” which results in “relationship difficulties for the department” can be interpreted as an example of this tension.

3.3.2 Valuation Auditing
The valuation of museums ‘assets’ has been mandatory since 2001 and is arguably the most contested area of auditing; described by Byrne (2002: 18) as a “bizarre campaign to put a price on the incalculable, the irreplaceable and the unsellable”. With regard to professional ethical guidelines museum held objects should not be treated as an economic resource because museum’s collections are held for the public trust and donations are usually made with the expectation that they will not be utilised as a realisable financial asset (ICOM 2006: 5). The application of the word ‘asset’ to heritage items is in itself problematic. Assets are typically expected to

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17 See for example the Milwaukee County Department of Audit 2005 and Krause and Kunter 2006, which illustrate the tensions that arose between the Milwaukee State Authority auditors and the Milwaukee Public Museum during the alleged ‘financial mismanagement’ controversy that took place in 2001 and 2004.

18 For further debate on the mandatory evaluation of museum collections also see for example, Carnegie and West 2005; Ketchell 2000: 9 and Thompson 2001.
result in financial profit, as defined by the Financial Accounting Standard Board assets embody “a probable future economic benefit…to contribute directly or indirectly to future net cash inflows” (Carnegie and West 2005: 909-910). As stated by Carnegie and West (2005: 910) “[c]ollections... do not of themselves, through day to day operations nor commercial exchange, generate future net cash inflows…”

Though there is understandably some resistance to the mandatory auditing of heritage institutions, the act of evaluating financial practices can yield benefits for museums. Thompson (2001: 8) argues that a by-product of financial auditing is that museums and their staff are independently developing more entrepreneurial and sophisticated processes to meet financial targets. Such initiatives are crucial in the public sector, where finances and resources are stretched. A marketing officer interviewed by Thompson (2001: 8) spoke of the benefits of “the kind of environment where you’re able to budget accurately project by project” whereby resources and staff time are utilised most effectively. Genoways and Ireland (2003: 100) state that independent auditing is one of the hallmarks of a good budget management programme, and is critical for the financial health, overall success, and fulfilment of goals and future of initiatives.

Despite the legislation making valuation auditing mandatory only 25% of museums that responded to the ‘New Zealand Museums Barometer’ audit survey had undertaken valuation assessments of their collections (New Zealand Tourism Research Institute 2009: 6). Of these museums 30% had assessed high value items only while 70% had performed complete valuations, which ranged from $5000 to $20,000,000 (N.Z.T.R.I 2009: 6-7). Of course accurate valuation relies upon accurate knowledge of the institutions holdings, which for most museums is an ongoing process due to retrospective documentation issues and lack of resources. In the 2006 national ‘Performance Audit Report’ the O.A.G. noted that not all heritage assets had been recognised on entities balance sheets and while this was, in their view, “undesirable” the O.A.G. acknowledged that “management of collections is as important an aspect of responsible stewardship as is their valuation” (O.A.G. 2006: 22-23).
New Zealand museum collections are frequently undervalued and under insured, valuation auditing can rectify this and also has potential advantages for the improvement of security and storage (N.Z.T.R.I 2009: 6-7; T.P.N.S 2001). The T.P.N.S. guide (2001:3) and Thompson (2001: 7) state that a demonstrable benefit of valuing collections is the inducement to create more accurate records of museum holdings through inventories, auditing projects and the computerisation of records. The T.P.N.S. guide (2001: 3) also contends that museums who maintain the inalienability of collections but ‘speak the language of money’ will be able to communicate more effectively with financial controllers, local and central government; particularly when seeking funding.

3.3.3 Performance Auditing

‘Service Performance Reporting’19 led to the introduction of performance auditing in New Zealand, after it was codified by the N.Z.S.A. in 1993 (Thompson 2001: 11). Carter (1991: 99) and Thompson (2001) argue that the measurement of performance is technically and conceptually difficult for institutions such as museums. However Thompson (2001, 13) also argues that despite this museums have “creatively adapted [the model] in order that they can report on their legitimate performance criteria.” Jacobs (1998: 354-355) contends that from the 1990s the National Audit Office has taken on more of a consultancy role, providing assistance rather than operating in a purely evaluative function (Jacobs 1998: 354-355). This can prove useful for the development and evaluation of strategic initiatives as articulated in the 2009 ‘What to Expect from your Audit’ guide, which offers entities a chance to review their annual audit plan with the N.A.O.; with the assurance that the N.A.O. will be “as helpful as possible without prejudicing our independence” (O.A.G. 2009: 1, 13).

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19 The three non-financial ‘reporting elements’ of Service Performance Reporting are as follows. 1. Inputs: The resources used to produce the goods and services which are the outputs of the reporting entity. 2. Outputs: The goods and services produced by the reporting entity. 3. Outcomes: The impacts on, or consequences for, the community resulting from the existence and operations of the reporting entity (Thompson 2001: 11).
Table 2: Examples of National Heritage Audits Undertaken by National Museum Bodies and Audit Agencies, 1995-2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Scope</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>An Audit of Friends Schemes at UK Heritage Sites.</td>
<td>British Association of Friends of Museums (Slater 2003).</td>
<td>Provides statistics of friend’s memberships across the sector, reports and predicts trends, characterises membership schemes.</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Collections for the Future</td>
<td>Museums Association (U.K.)</td>
<td>Engaging visitors, collection development, sector development.</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.4 Mandatory Auditing Case Study: ‘The Heritage Collections Asset Register Project’, Johannesburg, South Africa

The Heritage Collections Asset Register Project is an example of an auditing project, initiated in order to meet mandatory requirements, that has had positive impact for the collection management of publicly funded heritage institutions in Johannesburg. The project was initiated by the Office of the Auditor General in order that the City of Johannesburg meet the requirements of South Africa’s financial management legislation (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm). As part of ‘Generally Accepted Municipal Accounting Practice’ (known as G.A.A.P. in New Zealand) the city of Johannesburg was required to provide the O.A.G. with a record of all municipal assets, which included heritage assets (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.).

The government auditors required basic information on all assets within the City’s then 8 museums to be recorded on an electronic database, and for a unique barcode to be attached to each object (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.). Initially the government auditors estimated that the task could be finalised within the relatively short time-frame of three months; however in actuality the project required 27 months to reach completion. The project ran from April 2005 to June 2007 at a cost of 12,850,200.00 rand (NZ $2,396,754.50c), which was met by Johannesburg City. This financial assistance had to be applied for over a period of three financial years (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.). After the Audit was completed a further 87,000.00 rand (NZ $16,212.22c) was provided to finalise some of the auditors post audit requirements and recommendations. For example completing the task of adding work sheets and excel files into the Cuadra STAR database (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.).

The project was managed by Sandra de Wet, the Information Services Manager for the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage in Johannesburg. The project was primarily implemented by contracted staff that numbered up to 65 at any one time.

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20 Currency conversion calculated in December 2009 using the online currency converter: http://www.xe.com
The audit provided an opportunity to improve the management and stewardship of the City’s collections:

“[O]ur desired outcome was more than just an audit: we wanted a complete overhaul and listing of the stores; an inventory of whatever was on display; records made in a proper museum collections database; standardisation across all the museums for documentation and storage.” (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.).

The audit process and outcome has resulted in a wide range of benefits. With regard to collection management the procedure of the Audit required the re-organisation and re-storage of objects (sometimes including new furniture) as the inventory progressed, leading to improved storage conditions and care for objects requiring conservation work that may have gone unnoticed (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.). This process, combined with the consolidation of information onto an electronic database (Cuadra STAR), has led to improved access for staff. The improved digitized access to collection data has also led to the development of a website (launched in June 2009) containing images and collection information accessible to the public (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. Comm).

de Wet states that the process has invigorated staff as they have been “reminded of the immense riches and depth of Johannesburg’s museum collections”, and also piqued community interest as “artifacts long hidden have taken on new significance, resulting in media exposure, project proposals and a more informed public” (de Wet in Davie: 2006; de Wet 2006: 3). The sheer volume of work also led to increased opportunities for people to gain experience in the heritage field. As previously mentioned there were at times up to 65 people working on the Audit (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.). “A beneficial spin-off has been the impact on young contract staff working in the Museums.” They have been exposed to heritage collections and concepts and gained skills that will stand them in good stead” (de Wet 2009: 3).

In order to maintain an efficient process, and to make sure such large numbers of staff were providing consistent information, it was imperative to standardise the documentation, approaches and processes between the city’s Museums (Sandra de
Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.). One of the outcomes was the development of a thesaurus to standardize the nomenclature utilised by the Museums with regard to South African cultural groups, de Wet states that the text was developed as “no suitable documentation existed” (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.). This initiative emerged as a response to a gap in knowledge within the field, and is of use beyond Johannesburg, and even the heritage field in general.

Successful evaluation projects will have positive flow on effects for other areas of the institution, such as access, storage, security and exhibitions. For example in 2006 an exhibition was held to showcase some of the most interesting objects that were located during the Audit, many of which had never been exhibited (Davie 2006). Similarly the creation of the thesaurus led to the development of an exhibition, which opened in September 2009, based around South African cultural groups (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. Comm.).

3.4 Indigenous Communities, Heritage and Auditing

This section of the chapter contains selected examples of indigenous auditing projects to illustrate the rationale behind this mode of auditing, and to show the potential benefits for both museums and indigenous communities. Since the 1970s there has been increasing recognition that indigenous peoples should have an active role in the care and control of their cultural patrimony, particularly in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States (Gurian 2005: 74; Peers and Brown 2003: 3). For example the UN Human Rights Commission Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples (1997) recommends the development of evaluations and inventories of indigenous cultural heritage.
### Table 3: Examples of audits pertaining to indigenous heritage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Audit Name</th>
<th>Auditing Body</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Museums in Australia 1975</td>
<td>Committee of Inquiry on Museums and National Museums Canberra (1975:1)</td>
<td>Nationwide Australian Audit</td>
<td>Section Four of the Audit evaluates the level of participation of indigenous Australians in Australian Museums and makes recommendations to facilitate this.</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement Indigenous Cultural Heritage Data Audit’</td>
<td>Commonwealth State Steering Committee (Williams 1998)</td>
<td>Indigenous heritage sites within the South East Queensland bio geographic region</td>
<td>An evaluation the sources of information of known cultural heritage sites, and to identify sites that were under represented, or un-represented within the South East Queensland bio geographic region.</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Possessions: New Obligations</td>
<td>Museums Australia</td>
<td>Nationwide Australian Audit</td>
<td>To develop inclusive policies between Australian museums, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audit of the Pacific Islands Collection at The Hawke’s Bay Cultural Trust</td>
<td>Rachael Davies (Davies 2004).</td>
<td>Hawke’s Bay Cultural Trust (now the Hawke’s Bay Museum and Art Gallery)</td>
<td>Audit of the Pacific collection held at the H.B.C.T. covering documentation, physical location and condition including a report including a brief history of the collection, recommendations and findings.</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the United States of America the right of Native Americans to know what institutions hold with regard to their heritage, and the right to have certain objects repatriated, has been written into legislation. The Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (1990) requires U.S. museums and federal institutions to provide summaries of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony, and inventories of human remains and associated funerary objects held within their collections to “Indian Tribes and Native Hawaiian Organisations” (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2007).

3.4.1 Task Force on Museums and First Peoples

Around the time NAGPRA was passed into law in 1990 the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples was undertaking an audit of the relationships between Indigenous Canadians and Canadian Heritage Institutions. This process was sparked by a series of controversies. The first surrounded the ‘Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples’ exhibition held at the Glenbow Museum in 1988 which was planned to coincide with Winter Olympics (Bolton 2005: 1; Gibbons 1997: 310; Pilcher and Vermeylen 2009: 61). The exhibition had no less than 6 curators, none of whom were of indigenous origin (Gibbons 1997: 310). More contentious still was the sponsorship of Shell Oil, who were undertaking oil exploration on land under claim by the Lubicon Lake Band of Cree (Gibbons 1997: 310).

A year later the Canadian Premiers and Prime Minister proclaimed the English and French as its two distinct founding peoples; leading Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Georges Erasmus, to declare “If we are not distinct here, then where in the hell are we distinct” (Bolton 2005: 1; Georges Erasmus in Bolton 2005: 1). A third factor behind the Audit came in 1989 when controversy over the portrayal of African peoples in the touring exhibition ‘Into the Heart of Africa’ resulted in heated demonstrations outside the Royal Ontario Museum and the cancellation of exhibition contracts in Canada and the U.S. (Gibbons 1997: 310-311).

In 1992 The Task Force presented the final audit report entitled ‘Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples.’ The audit (T.F.M.F.P. 1992) identified three critical areas that required reform:
1. Indigenous involvement in the interpretation and use of their histories and heritage materials.

2. Improved access to collections and improved processes for the repatriation of “illegally obtained objects”, objects of “cultural significance” and, in particular, human remains.

3. Indigenous representation at all levels of the organisation.

Bolton (2005) and Gibbons (1997) argue that although the Audit did not result in immediate and widespread change, particularly regarding recommendations for repatriation, it was a major catalyst for recognition of the need for indigenous inclusion. The audit resulted in “a proliferation of conferences” involving academics, museologists, the press, and first nation representatives that has “caused the dissemination of much new thought and new ‘consciousness’” (Gibbons 1997: 312). In the decade following the Audit the number of indigenous board members and curatorial staff increased in Canada, assisted by increased training opportunities for people of indigenous origin (Bolton 2005: 5; Gibbons 1997: 312).

One of the most dramatic areas of change was the active engagement of Indigenous Canadians with exhibition planning and interpretation. For example the 1999 exhibit ‘Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life’ in which the McCord Museum used the recommendations of the Audit as a guide to achieve meaningful collaboration with native stakeholders (Bolton 2005; Gibbons 1997: 312). The co-ordinator of the Task Force believes that of all the transformations the most significant impact of the Audit was the development of a framework that assists museums and native communities to collaborate and communicate more effectively (Lee-Ann Martin in Bolton 2005: 2).

3.4.2 Auditing Indigenous Heritage Sites

Natural heritage audits have also been undertaken in order to identify, preserve and plan for the future care and use of the resources. Some such audit projects have been the initiative of indigenous groups, such as the Bkejwanong Nation who have created an ‘Environmental Audit Model for First Nations’ (Jacobs 2003). This guide to undertaking natural heritage audits argues that such projects should be undertaken as “[a]n audit defines the key elements of that heritage, and identifies the pressures that
threaten its survival” and that “[a]n audit examines the relationship between the people of a First Nation and the environment and natural resource base” and is “a forward-looking document, that should help the First Nation shape its future” (Jacobs 2003). Though natural heritage audits are slightly outside the realm of evaluations usually undertaken by museums, they still hold relevance, in particular to those institutions that are primarily made up of, or include, natural heritage, such as Eastwoodhill Arboretum (N.Z.) or Killhope Museum (U.K.).

An example of such a project is the 1998 inventory and audit project entitled the ‘South East Queensland Regional Forest Agreement Indigenous Cultural Heritage Data Audit’ (Williams 1998). This was part of a comprehensive project that aimed to evaluate the sources of information of known cultural heritage sites, and to identify sites that were under represented, or un-represented within the South East Queensland bio geographic region (Williams 1998: 4-5). The audit highlighted a lack of re-sourcing and consultation with native communities regarding natural heritage, as well as poor documentation and identification of many heritage sights that had not been recorded (Williams 1998: 7-8).

3.4.3 New Zealand Audits and Taonga Māori

In New Zealand nationwide museum audits have included evaluations of collection management and status of taonga Māori Collections (see O’Reagan 1997; N.Z.T.R.I. 2009; O.A.G. 2006). By including the evaluation of the stewardship of indigenous collections in audits the relevance of such heritage collections to the nation are acknowledged. Such audits enable individual museums to analyse their approach and performance regarding the care of indigenous collections against the broader national picture.

When measuring the responsiveness of museums to Māori communities and protocol, all the museums that responded to the 2006 Performance Audit Report (O.A.G. 2006: 32), and the earlier biculturalism report by O’Reagan (1997), recognised that the care of taonga Māori comes with special responsibilities that ensure that Māori taonga is treated appropriately. The Performance Audit Report (O.A.G 2006: 31- 34) included a section entitled ‘Working with Māori’ which reported positive results in its evaluation of consultation, participation, planning and
responsiveness shown in the approach the audited museums had taken toward taonga Māori and the Māori community.

Two areas highlighted by the report relating to taonga Māori that required consideration by museums were the issues of repatriation and iwi management of taonga (O.A.G. 2006: 33). Audit projects can show that museums are providing, or are striving to provide, a high standard of collection care, allaying the concerns that often lie behind calls for repatriation. Another issue was the difficulty some museums experienced in accessing guidance on tikanga and other advice from Māori communities (O.A.G. 2006: 33). Rosoff (2003: 75) notes that indigenous people are willing to share their knowledge only with individuals or institutions that are truly concerned with their aims for inclusion and the correct care of their cultural patrimony. Museums can demonstrate their willingness to meet these objectives through the gesture and process of auditing, as evidenced further in the following two chapters.

The preceding audit case studies reflect the desire of indigenous communities to access their cultural patrimony and to be actively involved with the care, future use and planning of their heritage. This is not only considered imperative for the integrity of their heritage, but also for the benefit of their respective communities now and into the future. Creating meaningful relationships with source communities, repatriation and access rights will continue to be issues that museums will be required to find solutions for. Whether such solutions become mandatory via legislation such as NAGPRA, or through “models of co-operation rather than litigation” (Gibbons 2002: 312) as emphasised in Canada, any solution will require museums create proactive strategies, such as auditing initiatives to meet these challenges.

3.5 Concluding Statement

Though auditing may be interpreted as ‘evaluation for the sake of it’, or ‘incongruous private sector models, thrust upon the not for profit sector”; when applied effectively it can reap concrete benefits for museums and practitioners. The increasing utilisation of auditing to achieve the strategic objectives of museums is
evidence of this. As illustrated by ‘The Heritage Collections Asset Register Project’, mandatory audit projects can provide tangible benefits for collection management; benefits that flow into other aspects of museum activity, such as exhibitions. Auditing is also being utilised by museums, and advocated by native peoples, to develop inclusive relationships with indigenous groups and holistic collection practises.

The following chapter provides an overview of the Tairāwhiti Museum, the unique relationship that has been established with the iwi of Tairāwhiti, and the development of the taonga Māori collection to provide a historical context to the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit. It also discusses the key issues, events and relationships from the 1980s onwards that were the stimulus behind the initiation of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit. The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit, detailed in Chapter Five, adds further discussion and in-practice examples of the aspects of auditing discussed within this chapter.
Chapter 4: The Tairāwhiti Museum and the Foundation of the Taonga Māori Audit

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the historic context of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit, and the preliminary events and strategic motivations that precipitated the project. The chapter begins with an introduction of the Tairāwhiti region and the establishment of the Tairāwhiti Museum. It provides an overview of the unique relationship the Museum has established with local Māori with regard to the development of the taonga Māori collection. It also reveals how the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit sat within the progressive approach the Museum had already established with regard to the care and collection management of the taonga Māori collection.

The chapter also provides insight into the initial planning stages and instigation of the audit process. The broader objectives of the Museum at the time the Audit was initiated are discussed to show how the project fitted within the strategic direction and policy development of the Museum. The way in which the project met the community development objectives and funding criteria of Te Puni Kōkiri is also revealed.

4.2 Te Tairāwhiti and the Māori Community: An Introduction

The Tairāwhiti region has the highest percentage of Māori of any regional population in New Zealand at just over 44% (see Appendix 1 for a map of the region). Māori from the region have retained strong links to their marae and connection with iwi. For example 90% of tamariki (children) living in the region know their iwi affiliation, this is 10% greater than the national average (Statistics New Zealand

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22 The district boundaries for the Tairāwhiti (East Coast) region reach from Potikirua in the north ending at the Mohaka River in the south, inland to Matawai and across to Tuai at Waikaremoana (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008a).

23 Statistics New Zealand (2001: 3) defines children as those aged 0-14 years of age.
Similarly the East Coast has the highest percentage of Māori able to converse in te reo (the Māori language) with more than one in three able to speak Māori, compared to the national average of one in four (Māori Language Commission 2009).

These factors have assisted the Māori population of the region to maintain a strong voice and presence in the community, and a strong interest and connection to items of their cultural heritage; including those held within the Tairāwhiti Museum. As acknowledged by Gillies (2001: 10)

“The Māori people are not followers or bit players in the development of the [Tairāwhiti] region. They are leaders in business, culture, sport and education.”

Arguably these factors have assisted the implementation of Māori initiatives at the Museum, such as the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit and the ongoing projects.

4.3 The Founding of the Tairāwhiti Museum and the Taonga Māori Collection

Prior to 1954 several important collections had been taken from the East Coast and placed in the Hawke’s Bay Museum located in Napier; one of these was the Black Collection which comprised over 800 objects (Fea and Pishief 1996: 26-29). Gracen Black had offered the collection to the Gisborne Borough Council on the proviso that they erect a suitable building to house the pieces, but as this did not occur the Hawke’s Bay Arts Society was offered, and took possession of, the collection from Gracen Black’s son Robert Black over the years 1936 and 1937 (Fea and Pishief 1996: 27). In 1938 the Hawke’s Bay Arts Society were also loaned the Waipare Collection from the Williams family of Gisborne. The collection contained over 90 examples of East Coast taonga tuku iho, including whakairo (carving), pounamu

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25 Gracen Black was born in Ireland and moved to New Zealand in 1865, first to Christchurch then to Gisborne in 1905. He spent his entire adult life amassing a collection of Māori and Pacific Island artifacts, curios from his travels and books on early explorers; including Captain Cook (Soutar 2006).
26 The first members of the Williams family to arrive on the East Coast were the Anglican missionary William Williams and his wife Jane Williams, who established a mission station in 1840 (Gillies 2001: 27).
(greenstone), parāoa (whalebone), raranga (weaving) and weaponry; these items were later purchased by the Napier Museum in 1947 (Fea and Pishief 1996: 28).

Though the Tairāwhiti region had museums of one form or another for well over a century (Soutar and Spedding 2000: 3) the loss of these significant collections from the region highlighted the need for the development of a dedicated East Coast museum. In December 1953 the Gisborne Art Society was formed, after separating from the Hawke’s Bay and East Coast Arts Society, and on the 11th of June 1955 the first museum and public art gallery in Gisborne opened (Butts 2003: 235). The Museum was located in a house that was gifted to the City of Gisborne in 1954 by Winifred Lysnar27, one of the families who developed strong links with the Museum (Butts 2003: 235). As noted by Soutar (in Gillingham: 2006) “[f]amily names are very important in Gisborne, streets and buildings have been named after them” and many of the regions families are represented by, or have contributed to the Museum. In the late 1970s a purpose built building was erected on the site in front of the Lysnar House, which is where the Museum stands today.

Figure 2: A Photograph of the Tairāwhiti Museum taken in 2008

27 Winifred Lysnar was the daughter of lawyer, politician and major contributor to the development of the Poverty Bay Region William Douglas Lysnar and his wife Ida Eleanor Douglas (nee Tiffen) (Chrisp: 2007). The Lysnar family established themselves in Gisborne in 1979 (Chrisp: 2007).
4.4 The Development of the Taonga Māori Collection

Collections of objects that would likely have been received by institutions in other centres began to be deposited into the new Museum (Butts 2003: 235). One such collection was deposited by Robert Black, this collection includes locally significant taonga collected by Gracen Black and had previously been housed in the Canterbury Museum (Butts 2003: 235; Spedding 2006: 27). The Lysnar family also contributed to the early development of the collection through the donation of many of the finest Māori and non-Māori collection items within the Museum.

Figure 3: The first object recorded in the Museum register; a greenstone cloakpin from the Black collection

The first directorship at the Museum was an honorary position held by Leo Fowler\textsuperscript{28} from 1953-55. Fowler actively encouraged Māori contribution toward the development of the Museum (Butts 2003: 238; te Ua 2007). His consultative and inclusive approach is evident in this statement made by Fowler (1959: 24):

“It was apparent from the beginning that a Museum serving Gisborne and the East Coast would not be truly representative unless it was largely Māori in character and from the first it was planned with this fact in mind.”

\textsuperscript{28} Fowler (1902-1976) who from 1937 was a broadcaster by profession, helped to establish the Museum in Gisborne (te Ua 2007). He was also a member of the Polynesian Society, The New Zealand Archaeological Association and the dominion executive of the New Zealand Red Cross Society (te Ua 2007).
One of his initiatives was the establishment of the Māori Museum Committee in 1954, which founded relationships with Māori families that continue today29 (Butts 2003: 233; Spedding 2006: 27). For example the chairperson of the Committee was Rongowhakaata Halbert whose whānau (family) continue to hold items within the Museum under a whānau trust, including items deposited in 195530 (Butts 2003: 237; Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database 2007). The establishment of this committee, and the esteem with which Leo Fowler was held by the local Māori31, undoubtedly made it more appealing for local Māori to deposit taonga Māori at the institution (Butts 2003: 237, 239, 277).

In 1955 the Museum and the Māori Museum Committee appealed to the Māori community for the deposit of taonga (Butts 2003: 237; Māori Museum Committee 1955: 1-3). In a move that pre-dated the inclusive trends that took root in the1980s, the appeal stated that taonga held within the Museum would be controlled by kaumatua and would remain accessible to the depositors (Butts 2003: 237; Halbert and Fowler 1955: 1-3). The Museum appeal also stated that Māori would not relinquish their ownership of their taonga tuku iho by depositing it at the Museum (Butts 2003: 237; Halbert and Fowler 1955: 1-3). As stated by Fowler (1959: 25):

“What is so important about such a repository as the Māori Wing of the Gisborne Museum is that in placing their treasured heirlooms there for safe keeping the ownership need not be lost to the tribe, the family or the individual. They are placed there ‘on deposit’ and may be removed at will.”

In 1958 the Māori Wing of the Gisborne Museum was opened of which Fowler (1959: 27) stated:

“Before the erection of the new wing Māori owners of valuable relics had some hesitation in entrusting valuable heirlooms to a wooden building… In the

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29 The committee held its inaugural meeting on the 25th of March 1955, the original members were Rongowhakaata Halbert (Chairman), Pahau Milner, Reta Keiha, Hira Paenga, Tawhai Tamepo, Eru Ruru, Hiwi Maynard, Kahu Te Hau, Judge Howard Carr, R. J. Wills and Leo Fowler as director (Fowler 1959: 24).
30 The Halbert collection includes objects belonging to the prominent East Coast iwi leader (Te Aitanga-A-Mahaki and Rongowhakaata), politician and run holder Wi Pere (1837-1915) who was the son of Thomas Halbert and Riria Mauaranui.
31 Te Ua states that Fowlers “persistent involvement with Māori communities earned him respect from leading Māori scholars” including Rongowhakaata Halbert, and Hetekia Te Kani te Ua, a distinguished orator, genealogist and historian with whom he formed a close friendship and regularly consulted on aspects of Māori history and culture (te Ua: 2007).
few weeks since the opening of the new wing many Māori families have expressed their intention of entrusting to it mats, greenstone and other heirlooms of priceless value and ancient lineage.”

One of the first deposits was the Waioeka (Paraone) Brown collection (Butts 2003: 235). The collection consists of 14 objects, including fine examples of raranga (two whariki, four kete and two cloaks) created by Waioeka Brown, who was highly skilled in weaving and decorative arts (Colmer 2007b; The Māori Purposes Fund Board 1960: 3). The collection also includes a mere pounamu, a toki pounamu, three greywacke adzes and one toki pou-tangata (Colmer 2007b). The collection was also important to the institution as it holds local significance and came to the Museum with a detailed provenance of all of the objects (Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database 2007). Māori Museum Committee member Pahau Miller noted the Brown collection was “the first of its kind to be handed over by a Māori family” and that the deposit evidenced the confidence local Māori had in the role the Museum could play in ensuring the safety, and maintaining the kōrero, of such collections (Butts 2003: 240; Māori Museum Committee 1959).

Over the coming decades other significant collections were deposited by Māori iwi, hapū and whānau, some of whom have developed long term connections to the Museum. In 1971 Mrs Huia Chrisp and Mrs Heni Eade deposited a collection containing textiles including some of the finest examples of whariki and cloaks within the Museum (Soutar and Spedding 2000: 332; Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database 2007). Mrs Heni Eade was a member of the Museum Society from its inception in 1955, and the Chrisp family continued a relationship with the Museum; for example Michael Chrisp was the former Chair of the Museum Board until the end of 2006, and thereafter continued to be a member of the Friends of the Museum (Butts 2003: 242; Tairāwhiti Museum 2006: 2).

32 Since then there have been numerous extensions and the Museum now has six main galleries, the historic building named Wyllie Cottage, an education centre, a café, museum shop, archives and research centre, on-site storage and office spaces (Soutar and Spedding 2000: 3). The Tairāwhiti Museum is a combined Museum and Art Gallery.
In 1977 Ben and wife Ngaio Pewhairangi deposited a collection of items, including wharenui components such as heke. The couple had a strong association with the Museum and actively encouraged members of their extended family to deposit taonga in the Museum (Butts 2003: 244; Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database 2007). In 1980 one of the most significant deposits of wharenui carvings was made by the Keiha family on behalf of the hapū Ngai Tawhiri (Butts 2003: 242; Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database 2007). This collection, from the whare Te Poho O Matero, is comprised of painted and carved building components including pou tokomanawa, poupou, heke, and pare (Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database 2007).

In more recent decades other non-Māori families with long affiliations with the Tairāwhiti region have deposited large portions of the taonga Māori Collection. For example the Sceats family, and the Loisel family who in 1979 deposited a collection of taonga Māori including bone needles and adzes from Waihau Bay (also known as the Loisel’s Beach). Since the deposit of the collection members of the Loisel family continue to visit the Museum to view the collection. In 2006 the Shelton family deposited 25 taonga Māori objects, comprised of a sharks tooth pendant, adzes, worked whalebone and sinkers.

As shown in figure four (below) the highest percentage of deposits occurred between 1954 and 1960 when the Museum and Māori Wing was first established and collectors such as Lysnar and Black had deposited their sizeable collections. As discussed, at this time the Museum was also actively collecting and appealing to the community for the deposit of taonga. The second spike came in the 1970s. This was likely due to the opening of the new Museum Building, but also because of the promotion of the Museum by families such as the Pewhairangi whānau, the Eades and Chrieps.

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33 Ngaio Pewhairangi (born Te Kumeroa Ngoingoi Ngawa) was an advocate and teacher of the Māori language and culture and was also a composer, her most famous composition was the song ‘Poi E’, which reached number one on the New Zealand Music charts in 1984 (Ka’ia 2007).

From the late 1980s and during the 1990s, the then Gisborne Museum and Art Gallery, placed a strong emphasis on developing biculturalism within the Museum, in part to recognise the high percentage of Māori within the region (Soutar and Spedding 2000: 3). In an interview with Ingrid Searancke in November 2008 she stated that these were also the years that the seed of an idea for an audit and inventory project for the taonga Māori Collection took root.

4.5.1 Te Māori and the Tairāwhiti Museum

During the 1980s seven taonga Māori objects were loaned from the then Gisborne Museum and Art Centre to be exhibited in the Te Māori exhibition (See appendix 2 for images of these objects; Museum Vernon CMS database 2007). As discussed in Chapter Two, as a result of Te Māori museums began to reappraise the potential and custodianship of taonga Māori collections (see Crelinsten 1999: 39, 53; Hakiwai 1990: 35; Mead 1984; McCarthy 2007a: 140-143; Mead 1985a: 4; Mead 1984; O’Reagan 1997: 6-7; Tamarapa 1996: 162). The lending of objects to the acclaimed
Te Māori exhibition, and the ensuing attention and awareness of taonga Māori in the museum field (particularly in New Zealand), motivated the Tairāwhiti Museum to develop improved storage solutions for sections of the taonga Māori collection housed in the Museum (Butts 2003: 244).

4.5.2 Māori Participation at Staffing and Governance Level: 1960 - 2000

Butts (2003: 241) refers to the period between 1960 and 1988 as “The Interregnum” due to the lessening of Māori representation at the Museum, both at governance and staffing levels during this period. However as mentioned Māori continued to deposit objects and were involved in the delivery of education programmes, such as local Māori art groups Māori Nga Puna Waihanga (Māori Writers and Artists) in the 1970s (Spedding 2006: 27). During the 1980s the Museum became more actively involved with exhibiting the work of Māori collectives such as Nga Puna Waihanga and Kauwae, as well as incorporating items from the taonga Māori collection in these shows (Butts 2003: 245).

Initiatives developed to create strategic benefits for the Taonga Māori Collection, such as the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit, were made more realisable because of increased Māori participation at the Museum from the late 1980s. Māori participation in both staff and governance positions is integral in maintaining the integrity of taonga through the correct care, use and interpretation of the objects (Tamarapa 1996: 163). This level of participation is also fundamental in creating and sustaining an active role of taonga within Māori kinship groups (O’Reagan 1997: 100-101; Spedding 2006, p.28).

From 1989-1990 three Māori staff were hired, these were the first paid Māori staff employed by the Museum. In 1989 the Māori Advisory Committee was founded to provide advice to the Museum Council and representation for local Māori. In the early 1990s the committee began to discuss issues surrounding the development of the taonga Māori collection and the repatriation of taonga (Butts 2003: 248-251; Executive Committee 1992). For example in 1993 the Committee made possible the

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34 Around 1960 the Māori committee had ceased meeting. Sir Henare Ngata (in Butts 2003: 241) proposes that this may have been due to land issues which required the time and attention of Rongowhakaata Halbert. Butts also suggests the founding of the Māori Wing may have been seen as the primary aim of the Committee and once achieved the group felt they could disband.
repatriation of the whaleboat ‘Greyhound’ to Te Kaha (Butts 2003: 250). The committee also launched an investigation of a more appropriate facility in which to house and display taonga, and discussed the development of a database for taonga Māori held within the region (Butts 2003: 248-251). This was also the topic of a hui held by the Tairāwhiti Museum in conjunction with National Services Te Paerangi, which inspired Te Aitanga a Mahaki to create a database of their taonga held in national and international heritage institutions (T.P.N.S 2004: 3) One of the architects of this database was Nick Tupara (T.P.N.S 2004: 3), a conservator employed at the Museum at the time.

During the 1990s developments with iwi, hapū and whānau, such as the repatriation of a mere pounamu to Te Aitanga a Hauiti in 1999 (Spedding 2006), highlighted the need for the Museum to gain expertise to enable effective communication with the Māori community, and to provide appropriate care for taonga Māori. In the mid 1990s the Museum was approached by a delegation from the C Company of the 28th Māori Battalion35 to document their experiences and subsequently host a Māori Battalion C Company exhibition (Butts 2003: 251-252, Soutar and Spedding 2000; Spedding 2006). As planning and negotiation progressed issues began to emerge between the C Company representatives and the Museum over the kaitiakitanga and curation of the exhibition (Soutar and Spedding 2000: 12-15). As noted by then director Greg McManus (1995) the Māori Battalion project highlighted the urgent need to hire staff with “the necessary skills and knowledge to consult and liaise with representatives with local iwi at a senior level” and “with curatorial experience in dealing with taonga Māori”, by the end of 2000 50% of Museum staff were Māori and the role of Kaitiaki Māori had been established.

4.5.3 Policy Development and the Holistic Management of Taonga Māori

In 1999 the governance model of the Museum changed from an incorporated society to a trust. The new representation model includes five seats for representatives from local Iwi (Soutar and Spedding 2000: 11; Tairāwhiti Museum 2007: 2)36. Soon after

35 C Company soldiers were recruited from the East Coast Region and included members of the Ngai Tamanuhiri, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Te Aitanga a Hauiti, Ngati Porou, Te Whānau a Apanui and Ngai Tai iwi groups (Soutar and Spedding 2000).

36 The membership had been comprised of a 26 member Committee with representatives from artists groups, historical societies and Māori representatives (Butts 2003: 265, Soutar and Spedding 2000:
the new model was established Museum staff began to draft a series of policy statements that were reviewed by the Museum Board over the year (Spedding 2006: 29). Of particular relevance to the care of taonga Māori at the Museum were the kōiwi (human remains), repatriation and kaitiakitanga policies, which were passed by the board in July 2000 (Butts 2003: 267; Spedding 2006: 29; Tairāwhiti Museum 2000).

The policies codified the approach the Museum would take toward the care of taonga Māori and provided a framework for initiatives relating to the collection. The kaitiakitanga policy applies to all items within the Museum and states that the institution will endeavour to store and display them “with dignity and respect” (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2000). It also discusses access to the taonga Māori collection and states that: “The cultural integrity of respective taonga will be enhanced by working with iwi representatives, to ensure that the appropriate requirements [for care] are met” (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2000). Section two of the repatriation policy relates directly to the taonga Māori Collection and states that the Museum recognises that the spiritual ownership of taonga Māori resides with whānau, hapū and iwi. As such the policy states that the Museum will facilitate repatriation of collection objects if deemed appropriate (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2000).

The kōiwi policy applies to all human remains or funerary objects held by the Museum (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2000). The policy states that the Museum does not display, collect or purchase such objects, and regards human remains as ‘holdings’ rather than collection items as it is the intention of the institution to repatriate all such objects (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2000). The Museum also has a specific area set aside for the “storage, care and protection of kōiwi tangata and wakatūpāpaku [caskets]” known as a wāhi tapu (consecrated area) which is afforded the level of respect as an urupa (burial site) (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2000). The policy also discusses access to these collections, which is highly restricted in alignment with the respectful approach to the care of kōiwi and funerary objects (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2000).

11). The new representation model consists of five representatives from local iwi, four representatives of the Friends of the Museum, two local authority representatives and the director.
4.6 Why did the Tairāwhiti Museum Institute an Audit?

The involvement of Māori within the Museum, new policy relating to the care of taonga Māori, calls for repatriation and talk of iwi heritage centres in the community encouraged talk of the need for an inventory and audit project (Ingrid Searancke 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.). In 2008 during a conversation with current Board Member and long term affiliate of the Museum, Mrs Ingrid Searancke, she stated that the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit and related projects have their roots in the 1990s as a response at that time to “rumbles for repatriation” in the community and further afield. Throughout the 1990s the Museum had committed to a direction that involved Māori at all levels of the organisation and enabled staff to better respond to Māori concerns regarding the care of the taonga Māori collection. Jody Wyllie (Tairāwhiti Museum Kaitiaki Māori and Research Manager) believes that the Māori representation on the board facilitated the founding of the project: “there was good support from the board once they understood the implications, particularly [from] the Māori members.”

Mrs Searancke (Ingrid Searancke 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.). spoke of taonga Māori as a limited resource, one that is often alienated or lost from kin groups through the process of ownership disputes, being sold, stolen, or buried, for example after completing its natural cycle and decaying, or being placed with the coffin at tangi. Mrs Searancke (2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.) stated that for many Māori the Museum was seen as a safe and neutral place to store taonga Māori, but that there was a growing need to provide reassurance that the Museum offered the standard of stewardship and care expected by donors and lenders.

From the 1990s there was increasing concern that some of the objects held within the Museum were missing and that the level of information about the collection was insufficient. Thefts from the exhibition area of the Museum increased these concerns. The Museum had undertaken several spot inventories between 1975 and 2005 and it was estimated that around 3% of the Museum collection might be missing (Colmer 2007a: 5; Tairāwhiti Museum catalogue cards 1954 - 2007). In 1996 a search and investigation was undertaken by then Collections Manager
Victoria Leachman for items considered to be missing from a loaned taonga Māori collection; four objects were not located (Leachman 1996).

Though the concept of having an audit or inventory completed on part or whole of the collection was being considered from the early 1990s it wasn’t until the mid 2000s that it became clear that the knowledge around the status of the taonga Māori Collection was insufficient. Increasing requests from donors to view objects, and the inability or difficulty for staff in attempting to locate these objects was one of the main precursors to the Audit (Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.). In September 2005 Mr Wyllie, could not locate a pair of amo (bargeboard supports) (Jody Wyllie 2006, June: Pers. comm.). The pair of amo was not in the location recorded on the catalogue cards and the fact that they could not be located, despite their large size, was of great concern to Mr Wyllie (Jody Wyllie 2006, June: Pers. comm.). As this was one of three similar incidents that occurred within a short time Mr Wyllie felt that it was imperative for the Museum to introduce an initiative to improve the ability to locate and access collection objects.

Issues with physical access to the collection, and accessing information, was a major reason behind the Audit. Mr Wyllie (2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.) stated that prior to the Audit the “objects were in wrong locations… we didn’t know what we had” as the available information was fragmented and incomplete “making access to objects difficult… and time consuming.” Prior to the Audit collection staff had to access information primarily from catalogue cards, most of which did not have photographic identification attached. The information available on the Vernon Collection Management System database was incomplete at that time and did not contain any photographic identification.

The need to evaluate storage conditions and record the conservation status of each object was another driver behind the Audit. Mr Wyllie believes expressions of support from the Labour party representative (and holder of the Ikaroa a-Rawhiti Māori Seat) Parekura Horomia, after visiting the Museum in 2006, advanced the initiation of the Audit: “In early 2006 Parekura Horomia toured the storage areas with Monty [Soutar], Api [Mahuika] and the chairman [of the Museum Board,
Michael Chrisp]; he was astounded by the storage limitations” (Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.).

The audit was also implemented to inform funding strategies, Mrs. Searancke stated that from around the year 2000 the Gisborne District Council had become increasingly receptive to the need for more space and improved storage, and that the information and photographs provided by the Audit would enable the Museum to better communicate the urgency of this need to the Gisborne District Council and other funding bodies.

4.7 The Audit and the Strategic Direction of the Tairāwhiti Museum 2006-2007

The strategic direction and aims of the Museum at the time of the Audit in 2006-2007 provides a context behind the initiation of the Audit project. At this time the Museum was also undertaking a process of improving access to information and physical access to collections. For example volunteer Stephen Hay had entered basic information from the catalogue cards onto Vernon for the entire taonga Māori Collection and Kaitiaki Māori, Mr Wyllie, had stored many of the large carvings on shelving in the main storage area (Jodie Wyllie 2006, June: Pers. comm.). The Museum also aimed to increase the use of collection objects, including planned exhibitions of taonga Māori (Tairāwhiti Museum 2007: 4, 10).

The annual plans of 2006-2007 reveal a strategic direction to which the aims of the Audit are complimentary. The plan adopted by the Museum Board in 2006 identifies the need to “refine our approach to collections to enable sustainable storage, care and respect for, and access to collection items” (Tairāwhiti Museum 2006). The 2007-2008 Annual plan identified auditing and the initiation of preventative conservation as two of the nine key priorities for 2007 – 2008 (Tairāwhiti Museum 2007: 4). The Museum felt that the completion of the taonga Māori audit and subsequent projects would “build public confidence in the Museum as an effective organisation responsible for the care of the regions art and heritage collections, management and governance need to know that the items registered with the Museum are all
able to be accounted for and are all being well looked after” (Tairāwhiti Museum 2007: 5-6).

It was also hoped that the Audit would assist the Museum to secure funding, and provide the necessary knowledge and materials to complete an audit of the rest of the estimated 80,000 Museum objects.

In undertaking the project the Museum also aimed to update information regarding the status of the collection to inform funding initiatives. It was hoped this would assist the Museum in tackling the issues of storage pressure and retrospective collection issues. In order to achieve these objectives the Museum initiated the Audit project and simultaneously undertook the New Zealand Museums Standards Scheme. Both projects informed and complemented the other and the information garnered from both aimed to assist the stewardship and management capabilities of staff. Sarah Pohatu completed the Standards Scheme and policy review and felt that “both projects showed G.D.C. [the Gisborne District Council] that the Museum was showing accountability. They showed the funders that the Museum was being more proactive” (Sarah Pohatu 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.).

4.8 The Support of Te Puni Kōkiri

During the mid 1990s a relationship was established with Te Puni Kōkiri who facilitated the resolution of the issues that had occurred between the Nga Taonga a Nga Tama Toa Trust and the Museum (Soutar and Spedding 2000: 3, 7-14). The successful outcome of this relationship resulted in an exhibition that attracted thousands of first-time visitors to the Museum, and a shift in perception from local Māori who “recognised that the Museum has some relevance for them” (Spedding 2006: 28).

Preliminary discussions around the Audit began between Te Puni Kōkiri and the Museum in May 2006 (Fleur Paenga 2008, 18 November: Pers. Comm.). In order to receive support and financial investment the Tairāwhiti Museum was required to
demonstrate how the Audit would achieve certain objectives. Fleur Paenga\textsuperscript{37} (2008, 18 November: Pers. Comm.) of Te Puni Kōkiri stated that to be eligible the concept of the project had to fit with Te Puni Kōkiri’s “Capacity Building investment framework” which would “develop the capabilities and potential of an individual” (in this case the person selected to undertake the Audit) in an area that “will benefit Māori and assist with the conservation of resources” (in this case taonga Māori) “that pertain specifically to Māori within Tairāwhiti.”

Te Puni Kōkiri determined that the proposal met the required goals, as the process would create an opportunity to develop the skills, knowledge and experience of the person undertaking the Audit. The project itself would also serve to facilitate access to the taonga Māori collection, lead to the improvement of storage and conservation, and assist the Museum in developing strategies to address the issues that impact upon the collection (Fleur Paenga 2008, 18 November: Pers. comm.). The project was deemed eligible for funding from Te Puni Kōkiri, who provided the full funding for the project of $50,000 (NZ). As well as the financial investment Te Puni Kōkiri also provided ongoing support during the planning stages, the project and in follow-on projects after the Audit, as discussed in Chapter Five.

4.9 Preparing for the Audit

The idea of undertaking an audit and inventory project was being contemplated in the 1990s. Once the project was approved it was seen as a priority to alert local Māori to the initiation of the Audit project and to prepare them for the possible outcomes, both potentially positive and negative (Searancke 2008: Pers. comm.). Māori members of the board and Mr Wyllie spoke with iwi representatives and some of the key stakeholders that had deposited items within the Museum; particularly those whānau that were associated with objects that were thought to be missing (Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm; Ingrid Searancke 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.). Press statements were also released to inform the public of the initiation of the Audit including the statement:

\begin{flushright}
\textit{37} Fleur Paenga was the Kaiwhakarite (Literal translation: Organiser or administrator) at Te Puni Kōkiri at the time of the audit (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008b).
\end{flushright}
“The project is about providing a high standard of care for the items and being able to use this superb resource more effectively. The Museum hopes to publicly display a wider range of Māori treasures and thereby allow the community better access to the collection” (Tairāwhiti Museum 2006-2007).

Initial planning is the most important stage in the process of developing and initiating an audit. As discussed in Chapter Three opposition or lack of ‘buy in’ from staff and key stakeholders is the primary reason for the failure of such initiatives (Gardner and Merritt 2004; Genoways and Ireland 2003: 80). As is understandable with any major task there were concerns about implementing such a project. In an interview with Mr Wyllie in 2008 he stated that “it was important that all staff came on board; there was resistance to the idea [of a taonga Māori collection audit] from some staff.” Some of the major concerns were around the possible allocation of staff time (which was already stretched) and the negative attention that may come from the identification of lost objects and storage issues. To some extent these concerns were valid, as noted in the following chapter.

In order to address these concerns the role and expected level of contribution that would be required from staff members was negotiated and defined before the Audit began. Mr Wyllie (Kaitiaki Māori and Research Centre Manager) was appointed as the project supervisor, Dudley Meadows (Photographic Curator) would provide IT assistance and photography guidance where necessary, and Ann Milton Tee (Collections Manager and Registrar) would provide assistance with locating register and collections information. I (the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit Project Officer) spent two weeks in June 2006 at the Museum (four months before the Audit proper began) working with Mr Wyllie and then director Monty Soutar, in developing processes and creating worksheets that would be used to complete the Audit (see Appendices 3 and 4 for copies of these worksheets).

4.10 Concluding Statement

The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit was initiated as a strategic and proactive response toward resolving collection issues pertaining to the taonga Māori collection. The
project was driven by the desire to show accountability; to better utilise, manage and care for the collection; and to meet the tangible and intangible needs of the taonga.

Since the establishment of the Museum in 1955, the institution has developed progressive approaches for the care and collection management of taonga Māori that acknowledges Māori belief and practices. The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit was able to come to fruition because of these approaches. In particular the inclusive relationships the Museum developed with members of the East Coast community; active and meaningful participation of local Māori; investment in Māori expertise; the support of Te Puni Kōkiri; and the commitment of the Museum Board and staff.

This chapter has provided the background and developments that led to the initiation of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit. The key objectives, processes and outcomes of the project are discussed in the following chapter. Also discussed is the way in which kaitiakitanga and tikanga principles were applied during the Audit, and how these impacted on the practice and outcome of the Audit.
Chapter 5: The Implementation of the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the case-study of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit which demonstrates the praxis of auditing and the concurrent application of collection management, stewardship and kaitiakitanga principles. The case study reveals the rationale behind the Audit and the potential benefits of auditing as a strategic collection management tool. It is hoped that the information contained within this chapter will be of practical use to those institutions and museum professionals that are planning to undertake similar projects. The chapter provides an overview of the aims, scope, process, key results and recommendations of the Audit, as well as an overview of some of the resultant initiatives. The way in which kaitiakitanga and tikanga was applied during the Audit is also discussed to show how mātauranga Māori practices can be applied in the care of taonga Māori, and how they are complimentary to collection management and stewardship practices.

5.2 The Major Aims of the Audit

The main objective of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit was to update the Vernon CMS database so that the exact number, type, location and condition of taonga Māori holdings would be known, allowing staff to quickly and accurately locate and identify objects (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2006). As stated by Kaitiaki Māori and Research Manager Jody Wyllie in an interview in November 2008 “[access] was the biggest issue, half my time was spent trying to locate things.” It was hoped that the database would become the primary source for the retrieval of information relating to the taonga Māori Collection (Tairāwhiti Museum: 2006). Prior to the Audit the catalogue cards were the primary resource staff utilised for locating and identifying objects, as well provenance and acquisition details (Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.).

A secondary objective was to record and report on collection, storage and conservation issues identified during the Audit in the monthly and final report
The broad conservation and storage issues noted prior to the Audit related to a lack of space, leading to cramped and inappropriate storage. This was compromising the physical integrity of the items, as shown by the photographs in the ‘Phase Two: The Conservation and Storage Project’ section of this chapter. The Museum also wanted precise data regarding these issues in order to plan and prioritise projects to address the problems, and to assist with sourcing and allocating funding (Ingrid Searancke 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm; Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.).

One of the main goals the iwi representatives hoped would be achieved by the Audit project was “to give heart” to the Māori community that the taonga Māori collection was “safe and well cared for” (Ingrid Searancke 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.). It was also hoped that improving access to, and storage of the collection would enable staff to provide a more holistic approach to care of the collection. For example it was an objective of the Audit that the objects would become more accessible for whānau, as well as artisans and craftspeople, and that the Museum would be able to exhibit a wider range of the taonga collection. It was also an aim of the Audit to finalise storage arrangements for the objects relating to kōiwi (human remains) and kai tangata (human flesh consumption).

5.3 Implementing the Audit

5.3.1 Process

Before the project proper began a brief was developed by the Museum in collaboration with the funding body Te Puni Kōkiri. This outlined the objectives of the Audit as discussed in section 5.2. In order to achieve the objectives of the Audit as outlined in the brief a process and scope was created. I (the Project Officer) developed the process in conjunction with Jody Wyllie, and in consultation with the Collection Manager Ann Milton Tee and Director Monty Soutar. The process involved an inventory of the taonga Māori Collection; whereby the locations of objects were verified and, where necessary, updated on the Vernon CMS database. During the inventory process current condition was recorded for each object and the storage and conservation concerns were recorded and reported in the monthly and the final reports. Discrepancies in collection records were also noted.
Figure 5: Process for the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit

1. Use printed report from Vernon and catalogue cards to check items unit by unit.

2. Enter information on catalogue cards onto Vernon CMS database where necessary.

3. Fill in applicable sections of worksheets and take photographs of each object.

4. Write up discrepancies and major conservation issues on worksheet.

5. Worksheets complete.

6. One day per week type information into Vernon. File worksheets in filing cabinet by type.

7. One day per week take additional photographs, rename and organize on hard-drive.

Initially objects were to be inventoried in order of type, however as the Audit progressed it became clear that performing a systematic inventory of storage areas was more efficient. This was largely due to the inability to locate one in seven objects in their recorded locations. The ‘Tools and Equipment’ category of the collection had the highest incidence of both ‘difficult to locate’ and ‘unfound objects’ during the Audit. This category comprised the largest section of the collection (as shown in the graph below) and contains objects such as worked stones, adzes and fishing equipment.footnote

footnote: ‘Tools and Equipment’ comprise 47% of the Collection and 55% of the objects that were not located during the audit were from this category. Misplacement of items from this category may be due to their relatively small physical size coupled with the perception that such items are ‘everyday utilitarian’ and less ‘valuable’ objects.
Figure 6: Collection Composition by Typographic Categories

1. Personal Artefacts include clothing articles, accessories and adornments.
2. Tools and Equipment include adzes and fishing, carving, textile, hunting, gardening, food preparation, tattooing, fire making and construction tools and equipment.

Figure 7: Source of Increased Numbers of Taonga
5.3.2 Updating the Database
During the Audit the information on the collection management database, Vernon CMS, was updated, including the current location and condition of each object. The information missing from the catalogue cards was added, as were photographs for every object, including photographs found in the files of un-located objects (see appendix 7 for an example of the database before and after the Audit).

5.3.3 Records and the Database
Before the Audit project the taonga Māori collection was estimated to be 1,200 objects. By the end of the project the number of taonga Māori records on the database had risen to 1,572. The increase in numbers of objects added to the database was due to several factors. The majority of additions, 292 records, were multiple objects that had been accessioned under a single record. During the Audit these items were each given their own Vernon record so that the exact number and type of taonga Māori within the collection would be known. Having separate entries for each item also allows the cataloguer to provide more detailed descriptions of each piece; meaning each piece could be found and identified more easily.

40 Objects thought to have been missing or de-accessioned also had not been added onto the database. These object records were added to the database, along with any photos, this was done to allow easier comparison of missing objects with those found without identification. Subsequently during the Audit eight of the objects that were found without identification could be identified as objects thought to be missing. Another two of these objects were identified as items recorded as de-accessioned. The remaining ‘unidentifiable objects’ were given an individual Vernon file which, along with photographs and physical descriptions, noted that they were located without identification and currently had unknown accession and acquisition details.

5.3.4 Records: Naming and Descriptions
While reviewing past records and recording new information the issue of accurate naming and descriptions of objects emerged. Some of the information pertaining to details, such as id numbers, title names and media, recorded within the original registration books, receipts and catalogue cards appeared to be imprecise, or at times incorrect. This was an issue that had been noted with regard to some collection
objects prior to the Audit. For example in 1980 Dr David Simmons noted that one of
the fish hooks in the taonga Māori collection was likely of Solomon Islands
manufacture (Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS Database: 2007). The most
commonly occurring mistake was the recording of pākahawai (lures) as matau
(hooks). This kind of imprecise naming made it difficult to identify objects,
particularly where identification numbers were missing or illegible.
It was also noted during the Audit that some objects recorded as taonga Māori
appeared to be naturally formed objects. For example the collection contained some
locally found stones with natural depressions and holes deposited into the collection
as sinkers. The collection also held objects that had been deposited as anchor stones
that were formed naturally from mudstone that had solidified around an object (such
as a tree branch) leaving a cylindrical aperture after the internal object has
decomposed. The final report recommended that these objects undergo a
rationalisation process to ascertain whether they would be retained by the Museum.
However the decision to de-accession such items is less clear than it would at first
appear; it is possible that, although not worked by tools, some of these objects were
utilised by Māori as sinkers or the like. Similarly the Museum holds pebbles
recorded as mauri stones, which are naturally formed but were used by Māori for
spiritual purposes.

How to record my own ‘educated guesses’ with regard to media was an issue I raised
at a meeting with conservator Rachael Collinge at Te Papa in June 2007. Rachael
Collinge (2007, 1 June: Pers. comm.) noted the difficulty in identifying the media of
objects with absolute certainty, for example the weaving mediums kiekie and
harakeke, without scientific testing. It was recommended that deductions should be
placed between apostrophes, and where necessary annotated.

5.3.5 Decontextualisation

“However high their quality and power of impression, however good their
stage of preservation, however certain their interpretation, placing [objects] in
a collection has withdrawn them from their own world... It is they themselves,
to be sure, that we encounter there, but they themselves are gone by”

39 This information was recorded on the original catalogue card for object 1954.224 and was
subsequently recorded on the Vernon CMS Database in 2007.
Here Martin Heidegger (1978:167) speaks of the decontextualisation of items placed in museum collections. The issue of the decontextualisation and fetishisation of objects emerged during the Audit; this had led to the creation and perpetuation of some potentially erroneous information held within the Museum records. Marstine (2005: 26) states that the fetishisation of objects occurs where “[o]bjects [are] cut off from their context and fetishised” and are “interpreted through the lens of western cultural values.” One collection object, thought to be associated with kai tangata (human flesh consumption), was particularly representative of this issue. The object was a portion of an extremely tapu timanga (food storage platform) named ‘Rākau Tamatea Reke’ that had been created from a purirui tree that was felled around 1745 (Fowler 1956: 11-14; Fowler 1959: 26; Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database: 2007). The object was gifted to the Museum by Whangara elders in May 1956 and was associated with the eminent East Coast chieftainess Hine Matioro and later with Whiterea Marae (Fowler 1959: 26; Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS database: 2007). In 1956 Museum Director Leo Fowler stated:

“It will continue to belong to Ngati Konohe but a wider circle of people will be able to see this famous relic, the only one of its kind, which has witnessed over a thousand years of history here on the East Coast, and may exist to see another thousand” (Fowler 1956: 14).

However the object is now stored within the wāhi tapu, and because of its possible association with kaitangata there is some likelihood it may never be exhibited. There is some question as to whether the objects possible association with ‘cannibalism’ has created a disproportionately fearful perception of the object. For example in a conversation with Ingrid Searancke in 2007 she stated that as a child the tree stood in the centre of the marae at Whangara and though it was tapu it did not evoke the current level of trepidation. It was a recommendation of the Audit to collect provenance, such as that provided by Mrs. Searancke, to try and capture a sense of the original context and significance of collection objects. The issues noted around naming, identifying and describing highlight the need to be as objective and precise as possible when cataloguing.
5.3.6 Creating a Photographic Record
When undertaking photography of a collection for inventory purposes it is important to consider the size of the collection, the time-frame of the project and the purposes the photos will be used for. At the outset of the Audit it was decided that each object would be photographed to catalogue quality (300-600 dpi) with a lower resolution (72dpi) screen quality copy to be attached to the database. This was to be done so that in the future there would be images ready for use in exhibition catalogues and the like. However difficulties arose as the number of objects increased, eventually rising from an estimated 1,200 to 1,572 objects (Colmer 2007a:3). The major difficulty however was the limited time-frame coupled with staffing limitations as well as the weight, condition and location of objects.

The risk involved with moving some of the items was too great and the studio lights could not be taken in to some areas, such as the far end of the storage area under the Star of Canada (see Appendix 6 for images of the Star and other storage areas). The necessity of photographing every article to catalogue quality was also a consideration that emerged, for example would the Museum ever publish photos of the small shards of obsidian or funerary objects? After discussing these concerns with the Mr Wyllie, who in turn spoke with the Director and Curator of Photography, it was decided that photographs of the objects would be recorded at a quality whereby they could be easily identified, as this was the primary purpose of photographing the collection.

An important lesson learnt was to carefully consider how the photo files will be named. A special hard-drive was installed prior to the Audit to store the photos on. Initially images were being named as their accession number e.g. 1993/3/3.jpg and saved into this drive, however as objects began to be located with missing, the same, or incorrect accession numbers it became evident that this system would not work. Each existing photo had to be duplicated and re-named with the corresponding individual Vernon database identification number e.g. ‘7039.jpg.’ Two duplicate

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40 There was only one person dedicated to the task of completing the audit, I did at times have to seek the assistance of staff members, however as a small staff with multiple roles per staff-member this was not ideal. I was sometimes able to gain assistance from four volunteers, including Terry Bannister who spent three weeks over the course of the audit assisting me to photograph the largest of the carvings and building components at the Museum, Toihoukura and under the Star of Canada.
files were created of each photo, one was named by accession number, the other by database id, so staff could search for images by either of the identification numbers. This was far more time consuming, but it was important to record photos by accession numbers because if the collection management database was ever replaced in the future the filenames based on the Vernon ID numbers could potentially become obsolete.

5.3.7 **Promoting Database Usage**

Prior to the Audit the majority of collection staff at the Museum did not utilise the collection management database, which had existed at the Museum for 10 years prior to the Audit. “Highlight[ing] areas of development for the Museum and staff” (Fleur Paenga 2008, 18 November: Pers. comm.) was an expectation of Te Puni Kōkiri in providing funding to the project, and improving the usage of the database by staff was a key recommendation of the Audit:

“The focus of the Audit has been to improve the quality of information available to staff on the database, and to enable the identification and location of objects. Use of the database and Vernon CMS training should be encouraged for collections staff” (Colmer 2007a: 17).

On June 21 2007 I held a training session for Museum Staff to show the features and benefits of the Vernon CMS database, along with how to perform basic searches and print reports. When discussing post audit database usage with Mr Wyllie (2008, 12 November) one year on from the project he stated “access is a lot quicker… the photographs make it easier” and “I don’t have to go to storeroom or the [catalogue] cards to locate the information I need” meaning he could be more efficient in his work.

Two other recommendations were made with regard to the database. One recommendation was that the user licences be increased from one to three so that multiple staff members and/ or volunteers could access the database at any one time (Colmer 2007a: 17). The other was that the wireless capability and reliability of the database be improved so that the database could be accessed from every area within the Museum (Colmer 2007a: 17).
5.3.8 Reporting

As part of the brief, periodic reports were to be completed by the Audit Project Officer, Kaitiaki Māori and Director as part of the contractual agreement between Te Puni Kōkiri and the Museum (Fleur Paenga 2008, 18 November: Pers. comm.). The reports were also utilised by Mr Wyllie and then director Monty Soutar in order to keep abreast of the findings and the progress of the project (Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.) A final report titled “The Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit Report 2006-2007” (Colmer 2007a) was completed at the end of the project outlining the major collection storage, conservation and management issues and recommendations for the improvement of these concerns.

I gave several presentations during the Audit to key stakeholders, board members and funders. One of these was a talk to a group of local Māori Museum stakeholders with regard to the objectives and methods of the Audit. Two other presentations were made to the Board and members of the Gisborne District Council to discuss findings, positive outcomes and key recommendations for the development of the collection.

5.3.9 Time-frames

Developing a realistic time-frame during initial planning is imperative to a successful strategic project (see Cassar 1998: 10-11 and Gardner and Merritt 2001: 35-37). It was estimated that the Audit and inventory of the estimated 1,200 objects would take 10 months. It was approximated that 50 objects a week would be fully inventoried and the related storage and documentation audited; resulting in the bulk of the Audit being completed within 24 weeks (approximately 6 months).

However various factors, shown in figure 8, slowed the progress of the Audit and meant that the original tasks of renegotiating loans contracts and taking photos of each object to catalogue quality became impracticable (see appendix 7 for a formula to estimate time-frames for cataloguing projects created by Willpower Information Management Consultants).
Limited access to the database was the main issue that led to delays. Ideally the inventory would have been updated in-situ utilising a laptop with wireless connection to the database, each database report could then be printed as hardcopies and filed, as was the process with the KE Emu database at Te Papa (Dion Pieta 2007, 1 June: Pers. comm.). However during the Audit worksheets were filled in by hand and typed into the database during the week (see Appendix 3 for a copy of the

Figure 8: Time Constraints (Arranged by the level of impact on completion time)
worksheet). Another important factor that impacts upon completion time is the Auditor’s knowledge of the collection. One of the aims of the Audit was to develop the skills and knowledge of the selected Project Officer, a recent Museum Studies graduate (Fleur Paenga 2007, 18 November: Pers. comm.). However this also meant that the project was slower at the beginning as I developed knowledge around the correct nomenclature to describe the diverse objects.

5.3.10 Performing Audits and Security
A very important factor for museums to plan for when undertaking a project such as the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit is that the collections are exposed to theft. This is because the nature of what necessitates such a project makes the collection vulnerable; i.e. poor documentation, the inability to locate objects and the uncertainty of what is held within the collection. For taonga Māori collections hiring an auditor with a belief in tikanga, kaitiakitanga, and in particular knowledge of the consequences of breaching tapu, is a potential barrier to theft. As stated by Mr Wyllie in an interview in November 2008 “for them [those that follow mātauranga Māori] there will be less temptation to steal from the collection.” Museums may also want to consider co-ordinating auditors in teams, as with the Johannesburg audit (Sandra de Wet 2009, 18 May: Pers. comm.), or other security measures, such as completing auditing work in rooms with video recorders. Security has been vastly improved for the taonga Māori collection at the Tairāwhiti Museum as a result of knowing the exact content of the collection, locations of objects and the introduction of practises that track the movements of objects more effectively.

5.4 Major Findings of the Taonga Māori Audit

The following section has been included as it may be of assistance to other museums and cataloguers undertaking similar projects, and for collections staff in general with regard to developing strategies to safeguard collections. When communicating with members of staff from other institutions before, during and after the Audit, it became clear that collection issues faced by the Tairāwhiti Museum were fairly universal and that certain areas of taonga Māori collections were more at risk as is discussed in this section.
5.4.1 Unfound Items

Prior to the Audit 40 objects were recorded on the catalogue cards as having unknown whereabouts, recorded searches for objects occurred in 1996, 2000 and 2006 (Leachman 1996; Tairāwhiti Museum Vernon CMS Database 2007). However by the end of the Audit the number of items of unknown whereabouts rose to 123. During the Audit an additional 352 objects were added to the database, of these only 8 were able to be identified as objects previously unable to be located. The only object of unknown whereabouts that had been recorded as stolen was a tokotoko, taken from display in the early 1980s.

Figure 9: Percentages of Missing Objects by Type
Just over half of the 123 taonga Māori that were not located at the time of the Audit were from the adze collection. This result matches with the observation during the Audit that overall this collection had the poorest record keeping, correct location, provenance details and physical descriptions. Just over a quarter of missing objects are from the jewellery and adornments, fishing tools and equipment and textiles collections. The remaining 19% of missing objects are from 8 categories, including one object that was simply described as a Māori Artefact.

Two days were set aside near the end of the project in July 2007 to search non-Taonga Māori storage areas for missing objects. A comprehensive search of the collection was unfeasible; so areas were prioritised with storage neighbouring taonga Māori being searched more thoroughly. During this time one small greenstone adze was located in a box containing clothing accessories, and two lures and a hook were located in a chest of clothing in another storage area. This indicates that ‘missing’ objects may be within the Museum storage but were not located at that stage. It also illustrates that until entire collections are inventoried or audited Museums will not know what is can be definitively recorded as missing. For example since the Audit a cloak that was thought to be missing has been located by Collection Manager and Registrar Ann Milton-Tee.

5.4.2 Possible Locations of Collection Objects not located during the Audit

The way in which the remaining objects had become unable to be located could not be verified at the time of the Audit. The following is a list of some possible scenarios. These scenarios are specific to Tairāwhiti Museum and were gleaned from Museum records, observations from the Audit and from speaking with staff:

- Until an inventory is completed of the entire Museum it cannot be certain that the objects are not still housed within the Museum.
- There are pointers in the records that suggest some objects may have been returned or repatriated to owners or institutions without record of the transfer.
- Due to relaxed record keeping and procedures relating to loans in the first two decades after the establishment of the Museum some objects may have been borrowed by institutions or lenders and not returned.
- There are handwritten additions on some of the early catalogue cards stating that objects had become so severely deteriorated that they have been
destroyed by the Museum, this action may have been taken without being thoroughly recorded.

- One object was stolen; it is possible that other objects went missing due to theft.
- During the Audit three objects, recorded as missing, were each found to have been incorrectly recorded as 2 different objects (e.g. an adze was also recorded as chisel). These 3 mistakes were identified because the objects had been photographed and had sufficient identification details recorded. It is possible that other objects may have been incorrectly recorded as two different objects.
- Some deposits were not itemised on the collection registers. It is possible that deposits may have been miscounted and additional objects were accidentally entered on the registers and/or catalogue cards.

5.5 Storage and Conservation

5.5.1 Key Findings
One of the major purposes of the Audit was to provide the Museum with a clear picture of the storage issues facing the Museum, most of which the Museum was already aware, but wanted both qualitative and quantitative data. It was hoped that this data would help to inform and persuade with regard to funding submissions around conservation and storage improvements41 (Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm; Ingrid Searancke 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.). As anticipated, the lack of space and inappropriate storage furniture meant that Museum was required to use storage methods that were not ideal, such as objects stored on shelves without protective edgings, upright kete (woven bags) pressed firmly against each other, multiple cloaks in drawers and objects raised off the ground on makeshift blocks. A major issue that was not expected was the discovery of six carvings requiring urgent conservation due to active areas of damp rot and mould growth.

41 On Friday the 1st of June 2007 Jody Wyllie and I met with Dion Pieta, Kaitiaki Māori at Te Papa, from 9am to 11am to discuss storage and conservation and view how Te Papa stored their Taonga Māori collection in order to create informed recommendations and to gain inspiration and direction for the following storage and conservation project. A record of this meeting and storage concepts were recorded in ‘Progress Report Seven’ (Colmer 2007, 5 June) prepared for the Tairāwhiti Museum.
A lack of resources coupled with the need for storage space meant that the Museum was forced to create a makeshift storage area at the base of the Museum, where some of the carvings from the collection, three waka kereru and remnants of a waka were stored. Despite the efforts of staff to line the building it remained prone to the elements and flooding, had no climate controls and was susceptible to insect infestation (see appendix 5 for a photograph showing the S.S. Star of Canada).

5.5.2 Storage and Display of Taonga at Toihoukura

Prior to the Audit an innovative solution to alleviate the storage issues was found by housing some of the components from the wharenui ‘Te Poho o te Matero’ within the Visual Art and Design School, Toihoukura. The carvings were originally placed into the care of the Museum in 1980, however because of the lack of space some of the pieces were moved to Toihoukura for housing and conservation. While at Toihoukura the pieces have also been utilised as teaching aids. These objects were checked and photographed at Toihoukura as part of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit. These building components are located in the School’s hall and have been positioned as they would have in a traditional meeting house with the pare above the doors, the pou tokomanawa in the centre of the hall, the poupou positioned vertically against the walls and the heke suspended from the roof. The objects stored within the hall were noted to be in very good condition during the Audit, and while in the care of Toihoukura some of the pieces had undergone conservation work with Dean Whiting (Steve Gibbs 2007, June: Pers. comm.). Three of the more fragile pieces from the wharenui had been wrapped in calico and placed in shelving units in the work area of Toihoukura awaiting treatment. This arrangement has provided a unique solution for the storage and conservation needs of the pieces, and has also served as a way to utilise the collection beyond the normal scope.

5.6 Application of Kaitiakitanga during the Audit

Over the past thirty years the need to acknowledge and care for both the physical and intangible needs of collection objects has gained momentum in New Zealand (Clavir 2002). The application of holistic collection care has increased as Māori have gained recognition as the spiritual owners of taonga in New Zealand. For example the New
Zealand Professional Conservators Group (1995: 10) state that the “opinions, wishes and views” of owners of taonga “must be fully acknowledged and considered.” Kaitiakitanga (guardianship) in collection management is about recognising and applying the Māori principles of care.

5.6.1 Kaitiakitanga and the Accurate Naming of Taonga

An essential part of kaitiakitanga as a component of collection management is protecting both the physical and intangible integrity of the objects. It was therefore important that the Māori names of the taonga, and their accurate translations, were included within the Tairāwhiti Museum database along with the common English names for objects. This was done to provide a broader range of search titles within the database to assist researchers; but also because accurate naming of objects is a mark of respect. As stated by Colbung et al (2007: 139) one of the impacts of colonialism was the loss of language and resultant renaming of objects, places and even people by colonisers, which contributed to a loss of identity. Mead (1997: 180-181) discusses how regaining control of the Māori “language of definitions and descriptions” can aid the continuance of Māori cultural practices. Similarly Te Awekotuku (1996b) speaks of the need for heritage institutions to become more accurate when naming and translating taonga Māori:

“The decolonising process can begin with language. For example, clubs compared to cleavers [patu].... They [patu] were not bludgeons. They were precision weapons, with a well-honed killing edge. They were often revered tribal treasures, with personal names, and an awesome history. To a Māori, a patu can never be a club. Similarly, a taiaha is not a long club, nor is it a spear. It is a staff, similar in martial technique to the Japanese naginata, or the English halberd” (Te Awekotuku: 1996b).

5.6.2 Observance of Tikanga during the Audit

A major part of Kaitiakitanga is following the tikanga and kawa that are desirable from a Māori expectation of collection care. Before discussing the tikanga observed during the Audit it is important to consider that, arguably, non-Māori should not be expected to approach the application of tikanga in exactly the same way a Māori staff member may. For example Rangi Te Kanawa (in Clavir 2002: 236) speaks of how her approach may differ from her non-Māori colleagues in terms of tikanga,
such as the use of karakia (prayers), but that they display the fundamental element of kaitiakitanga; respect. It is also important to note that some believe non-Māori are not affected by tapu in the same way Māori are (Mead 2003: 49); likely because tikanga is both a normative and punitive system (Mead 2003: 5-10) based on Māori epistemology, distinct from non-Māori cultural backgrounds.

From a Māori perspective there will be serious consequences for those who breach tapu. As stated by Mead (2003: 7-9) tikanga is supported by a social and ritual force “which does not need to be monitored by a police force” because for those “people who are committed to being Māori… tikanga Māori definitely has a bite to it.” The greater the tapu the more severe the consequences; for example the care and handling of highly tapu objects such as funerary objects and kōiwi (human remains) requires great caution and sensitivity. From a Māori perspective following the correct tikanga not only protects the integrity of the object, but the safety of the person working with the taonga; as well as for those associated with that individual (McKenzie 1996: 216).

From a Māori perspective taonga Māori are imbued with mauri (spiritual essence) and some taonga, such as carvings from wharenui, are the embodiment of ancestors. As the project officer working in a rohe (region) that was outside my main affiliation of iwi, hapū and whānau I was aware that I needed to follow local tikanga and be guided by local custom. However it was equally important to me that I maintained practices that I felt were necessary from my own iwi, hapū and whānau background. The fact that the Museum had a Kaitiaki Māori, Māori Board members and access to Māori elders made it possible to access the necessary information and assistance relating to local tikanga.

Some of the tikanga practices I followed, based on my own whānau practices and the local tikanga, included not taking food, which is considered profane, into the taonga Māori collection areas, considered tapu. I also did not take money into collection areas as, from my perspective, this would have been considered to be a tribute for the taonga. Nga Waikato iwi, to which I am affiliated, are also cautious to utilise water to cleanse after handling taonga, or being inside or on sacred areas, and so the Kaitiaki Māori (Jody Wyllie) set up a blessed washing bowl outside the main
collection area for the use of those departing the storeroom. I also utilised the practice of whakariterite and karakia (blessings and prayers) when undertaking my work.\footnote{See Chapter 6 of Clavir (2003) for information regarding the tikanga practices utilised by Māori conservators who work with taonga Māori.}

5.6.3 Tikanga and the Human Body

The subject of the human body should also be considered when working with taonga Māori. The human body is extremely tapu and some areas of the body are more tapu than others, such as the head, blood and sexual organs (Mead 2003: 49). During the Audit Māori perspectives of tapu was a consideration of the storage review. Some recommendations based on both Western conservation methods and mātauranga Māori principles included the re-storage of piupiu that had been tightly rolled and stored in nylon stockings during the 1960s and taiaha that were suspended by their ‘necks.’ From a Māori perspective taonga objects are often the embodiment of ancestors, ideally they should be cared for and stored with this in mind.

Another consideration to do with the body is the tapu of blood, and in particular menstrual blood that has even greater tapu as it relates to the sexual organs and life force (Mead 2003: 49). In traditional Māori society women would not perform certain tasks, such as raranga (weaving), while menstruating and today it is common for Māori women working in museums to observe certain restrictions. For example Rose Evans in Clavir (2003: 237) states “I don’t work on the carvings during menstruation and I don’t use saliva for removal [of deposits on objects]… I don’t blow on the carvings.” I would argue that whether or not a woman works with taonga Māori directly or not during this phase should be guided by her personal upbringing in relation to tikanga, and to the beliefs and practices of the iwi within the rohe (regional boundaries) of the museum. Ideally the museum will have access to local kuia (female elders) who can offer guidance on this subject.

5.6.4 Kōiwi (Human Remains) and Kai Tangata (Consumption of Human Flesh)

From a Māori perspective the human body is extremely tapu and death increases the level of tapu to the highest levels (Mead 2003:49; Rosoff 2003:73); therefore the...
care of human remains and related objects requires a very sensitive and respectful approach. At the beginning of the Audit the Tairāwhiti Museum held skeletal remains of several individuals in the wāhi tapu. Also held in the wāhi tapu was a wakatūpāpaku (burial casket) lid and base, which were each from separate caskets and a section of a puriri tree trunk used for preserving and storing food. There were 14 objects that were likely to have been constructed from human bone\textsuperscript{43}, including hei tiki (pendants designed in an anthropomorphic form), koauau (flutes), an aurei (cloak pin) and matau (fish hooks) (Colmer 2007a: Appendices V). There were also objects believed to be associated with kai tangata, including Tupurupuru (a boulder), a hangi stone with links to Taranaki and Waikato, and a purau (fork) (Colmer 2007a: Appendices V).

In 2000 and in 2006-2007 the Museum developed and refined policies around the kaitiakitanga of these objects\textsuperscript{44}. (Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm; Tairāwhiti Museum 2000; Tairāwhiti Museum 2007). Prior to the Audit a wāhi tapu (consecrated space) had been created in which human remains, the wakatūpāpaku and the puriri trunk were held. The Museum had been in contact with iwi representatives from Ngati Hine to inform them of the wakatūpāpaku held in storage. The Museum had also decided to repatriate the skeletal remains, and this was completed during 2007 by Mr Wyllie.

Discussions\textsuperscript{45} were held with regard to the storage of objects created from kōiwi or relating to kai tangata, raising the questions: Does the Museum need to verify scientifically which of the collection items are made from kōiwi? How can it be verified that the objects identified as being used in the preparation or consumption of human flesh were in fact used for this purpose? Should these objects be segregated from the rest of the collection? The ability to make these decisions is made murkier due to a perceived difference between “spiritual” and “secular” taonga (O’Reagan

\textsuperscript{43} As discussed with conservator Rachael Collinge on Friday the 1\textsuperscript{st} of June 2007 it cannot be stated definitively whether these are in fact human bone without specific laboratory tests. However the objects have been identified as being constructed from human bone by specialists invited to the see the collection.

\textsuperscript{44} The kōiwi policy states that the Museum does not collect human remains or waka tupapaku and that the areas used to store these objects will be afforded the same level of respect as an urupa (burial site).

\textsuperscript{45} This topic was discussed in-depth between Jody Wyllie, Don Pieta and I at a meeting at Te Papa on June 1\textsuperscript{st} 2007. At the time of the meeting Te Papa did segregate their kōiwi in a wāhi tapu.
There is some uncertainty over whether the fashioning of some of these objects into items used for everyday (noa) purposes, such as fish hooks, means that their intrinsic tapu has been reduced, and if so to what extent. The question of placing all of the kōiwi and kaitangata related objects in the wāhi tapu was not decided upon at the time of the Audit, and its resolution was a recommendation of the final report (Colmer 2007a: 18).

5.7 Post Audit Benefits, Responses and Initiatives

5.7.1 Gap Analysis
One of the major advantages of completing projects such as the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit is the ability to perform informed ‘gap analysis’ of collections by “comparing the existing collection to the vision of what you want the collections to be” (Gardner and Merritt 2001: 20-21). The Tairāwhiti Museum now has the knowledge of (i) what is contained within the collection, (ii) the conservation needs of the collection, (iii) which objects are linked and how, and can now identify the strengths and weaknesses of the collection. This can inform rationalisation projects, and the active collection of objects to fill gaps. Knowing the strengths of the collections can also inform the creation of exhibitions; for example during the Audit it was noted that the collection has particularly fine examples of post-contact period pieces that integrate pre-contact Māori and western materials, aesthetics and techniques (see fig 10 and 11). Such items are not commonly exhibited, as museum exhibits tend to show pieces of ‘pre-contact appearance’, thus the Museum collection has the potential to offer a point of difference.

The collection has many kete and bags made between 1910 and 1950, such as a set of taniko and leather handbags created in a range of colours (figure 11). The collection also has many colourfully painted building components from the 19th to early 20th centuries such as this koruru (figure 10).
The collection also has fine examples of the Iwirakau style of carving, which has been the subject of a recent exhibition of taonga Māori at the Museum that ran from December 2009 to February 2010. The exhibition utilised pieces from the Museum collection along with taonga loaned from other institutions.

The ability of projects like the Audit to highlight confirmed or potential links between objects allows greater narratives to emerge from the collection and in turn can inform exhibition planning. Associations between objects were identified and collated during the Audit from Museum records and were transferred onto the database. Some of the linked items identified during the Audit included objects associated with the siege of Ngatapa, and those associated with Te Kooti.

5.7.2 Response of the Māori Community

When asked about the reaction from the local Māori community after the Audit Mr Wyllie (2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.) stated “there was shock, then a positive response… the Museum had taken the bull by the horns…instead of pushing things under the carpet.” Mr Wyllie also stated that the issues that had arisen regarding objects that were not located during the Audit “being worked through” in close consultation the whānau groups involved. Mr Wyllie (2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.) also stated that the project and subsequent exhibitions and projects had created a base from which better relationships with Māori could be formed “there is better access…for donors and lenders, and better care… it [the storage area] is comforting” and that “there has been greater interface with iwi kaumātua.” Improved conservation and storage had also led to increased visitation to the storerooms and greater opportunity to lend and borrow objects from other institutions (Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.). Mr Wyllie also hoped the improvements would facilitate the repatriation of objects of local significance (Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.).

Mr Wyllie (2008, 12 September: Pers. comm.) also spoke of the observance of tikanga and kaitiakitanga during the Audit “working with the taonga requires a certain and special approach… tikanga and the spiritual side of things are important”, the knowledge that these things were being observed was received positively by the Māori community with ties to the Museum.
5.7.3  Taonga Māori Exhibition - He Whakaaraara; An Awakening

One of the objectives of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit was to improve access to the collection for staff, depositors and the wider community. It was hoped that a better knowledge of the holdings would enable the Museum to create more exhibitions utilising the taonga Māori collection.

On the 14th of December 2007, 4 months after the completion of the Audit, the Museum opened an exhibition called *He Whakaaraara* (An Awakening). The name of the exhibition referred to the fact that many of the pieces had never been exhibited since they were deposited from 1954 onwards, acknowledging the Māori belief that the taonga Māori held within collections are ‘awakened’ when accessed, particularly by members of their affiliated communities (Tairāwhiti Museum 2007-2008: 1). The exhibition informed visitors about the objectives, process and some of the outcomes of the Audit and included over 130 pieces from the taonga Māori collection. Photographs of the collection taken during the Audit were projected as a slide show as part of the exhibition (Tairāwhiti Museum 2007-2008: 1).

*Figure 12:* A photo of the He Whakaaraara Exhibition (An Awakening) that ran from December 2007 to March 2009.
5.7.4 Phase Two: The Conservation and Storage Project
At the end of 2007 Te Puni Kōkiri agreed to provide funding for the second phase of the Audit (Fleur Paenga 2008, 18 November: Pers. comm.). This phase would action some of the recommendations of the Audit pertaining to storage and conservation.
Fleur Paenga (2008, 18 November: Pers. comm.) stated that this investment was seen as important for the protection and preservation of taonga Māori “for the benefit of future Māori generations” and so that “[c]areer development/ mentoring takes place to build knowledge around preservation of taonga that will benefit the Museum and Tairāwhiti.”

Simon Lardelli, a professional carver and former tutor at Toihoukura, was appointed to the position and began work on the project in February 2008 (Simon Lardelli 2008: Pers. comm.; Tairāwhiti Museum 2007-2008: 3). In an interview with Simon Lardelli in 2008 he made a very valid point about the importance of the second phase to the validity of the Audit “the presentation [of stored taonga Māori] shows respect… people see it [the poor storage of taonga] as an insult, it needs to be as good on the cover as in the book.”

National Services Te Paerangi and kaitiaki Māori staff members from Te Papa provided assistance to the project, including providing some of the institutions surplus storage units (Ingrid Searancke 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm; Jody Wyllie 2008, 12 September: Pers. comm; Simon Lardelli 2008: Pers. comm.). Upon visiting the Museum in September 2008 I was moved by the transformation that had taken place in the storage areas, three months later when the project was complete the difference in the storage of the collection was profound as shown in the following images (also see appendix 5 for additional storage photographs).
Figure 13: Prior to and during phase one of the audit the taiaha, tokotoko and tewhatewha were stored suspended from loops against tyvek covered padding.

Figure 14: Simon Lardelli working on Phase Two of the project, the rehousing of objects at the Tairāwhiti Museum in 2008. The tokotoko and weaponry, including the European swords, have been rehoused, as pictured.

Figures 15 and 16: Examples of shelving showing some of the worked stone articles and adzes prior to and after the audit phase one and two. The toki have been placed in shelving lined with ether foam, recesses that have been shaped into the foam that match the form of the adzes. This assists with the placement of pieces in the correct locations and indicates the shape and size of any misplaced objects.
Figures 17 and 18: The new storage for the adornments. Objects are placed in niches meaning they no longer slide within the drawers; they also lie beneath a protective layer of perspex, aiding security. Note the paper with traced outlines of tiki and identification numbers; these indicate items that have been removed from the store room.

Figure 19: Musical instruments and karetao (puppet) housed in the Museum’s refurbished drawers.
A recommendation of the first phase of the audit was the immediate placement of protective edging along all of open shelving to prevent items slipping off in the case of an earthquake, this edging can be seen in Figure 22, and the lack of edging is shown in Figure 15 and 20. This proved fortuitous, as a few months later in December 2007, a destructive 6.8 magnitude earthquake hit Gisborne.

Prior to the second phase of the project, undertaken by Simon Lardelli in 2008, the kete were stored upright in fairly cramped conditions (as shown in 20. and 21.). During the project kete were stored flat and stuffed with pillows made from Dacron and acid free tissue (as seen in Figure 22. and Figure 23.).
5.8 Concluding Statement

A function of Audit processes is to reveal and evaluate areas of collection management practice that can be improved upon. Although this process of revelation can bring about a sense of apprehension from within institutions, it should be remembered that an institution cannot create strategic planning and set goals that are truly informed and meaningful without knowing the exact state and needs of a collection. The willingness to undertake such projects demonstrates to stakeholders that the institution is approaching challenges in a proactive way; proving that they are willing to tackle retrospective, current and future issues head on. In gaining audit information institutions are able to create informed funding strategies that provide the evidence of need. The information gained from audits can also inform exhibition, rationalisation and collection development planning, as well as prioritise storage and conservation needs. The case study also demonstrates how the protocols of the indigenous source community can be integrated into the practical application of collection management and an audit project.

The following chapter provides a discussion of the major findings of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit and the way in which these findings can inform Collection Management Practice. The chapter also discusses the material provided within the thesis with regard to the advantages of auditing, and more specifically how such projects can promote the holistic approach of collection management and stewardship and benefit indigenous communities.
Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.1 Dissertation Summary

This dissertation builds upon the body of literature pertaining to source communities (in particular Māori), which emphasises the role of museum as social agent with the ability to affect positive change for marginalised sectors of the community, in ways such as social regeneration, empowerment, and supporting community aspirations (Pilcher and Vermeyen 2009: 59-60). Busse (2008: 189) states that scholarship written on subjects such as these within the ‘new museology’ framework often lack “detailed accounts” of the theoretical in practice. It was an objective of this thesis to contain material that can inform museum practitioners of the praxis of auditing, the application of collection management and mātauranga Māori principles in practice; and the potential benefits of both.

As a result of the ‘New Public Management’ that emerged in the 1970s mandatory audits were increasingly conducted or commissioned by external bodies, such as central and local body governments (Davies 1994: 32-33; Jacobs 1998: 343; Legget 2006: 8-9; Weil 1993: 1). These bodies sought to measure ‘value’, ‘performance’, ‘efficiencies’, ‘success’ and to ensure ‘accountability’; creating some resentment within the heritage sector at the lack of understanding of the role, function and operation of museums (Ajmore-Marsan 1993: 27; Byrne 2002: 18; Thompson 2001: 9). However from the 1990s museums and their stakeholders have begun to utilise auditing to their advantage. Both the Johannesburg and Tairāwhiti Museum case studies illustrate how the application of auditing can benefit museums in the areas of collection management, storage, conservation, documentation, utilisation, and access.

Discussion of the emerging role of auditing as a tool to attain parallel goals for museums and source communities is of current relevance to museums as indigenous peoples continue to re-establish connections, gain access and varying levels of control over their objects of cultural patrimony (see for example, Pilcher and Vermeyen 2009; Sandell 2002; Simpson 1996; Tapsell 1997). The case studies and examples presented within this dissertation show that indigenous groups are
advocating the use of evaluative projects to achieve their strategic goals, and that audit projects can assist museums develop relationships and initiatives that are proactive not reactive.

The assertion of the rights and aspirations of indigenous communities that gained momentum from the 1960s, including calls for repatriation and the development of tribal cultural centres, has led to greater recognition and inclusion of indigenous approaches to collection care and management (Clavir 2002: 157-162; Davies 2004: 15-16; Gurian 2006: 41; Legget 2006: 25; Harre-Hindmarsh 2005; Pilcher and Vermeylen 2009: 61). Meanwhile professional standards and ethics have codified the need to manage the cultural heritage of source communities more holistically.


The approach of the Tairāwhiti Museum has been influenced by these trends, but has also been progressive and unique in its approach toward the management, care and development of the taonga Māori collection. The acknowledgement of Māori as the kaitiaki of taonga during the 1950s, predating the trend that would appear 30 years onward, evidences this. The Tairāwhiti Museum Audit emerged as an extension of strategic initiatives that were developed to provide beneficial outcomes for the collection, the Museum, the community and Māori.
The case study of the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit aimed to demonstrate the development and praxis of an audit. The key findings and recommendations were identified as were the issues that delayed the progress of the Audit. These were included to indicate the potential inefficiencies and outcomes of audit projects in order to inform the strategic preparation of other museums and practitioners that may be planning to undertake similar initiatives.

The case study demonstrated the potential benefits of auditing as a collection management tool. Showing how the needs of the collection were identified and prioritised; leading to improvements in the areas of storage, conservation, access, object identification, records and documentation. The audit also highlighted areas that could be improved with regard to the collection management practices at the Museum. Two of the major achievements in this area were the increased use of the database by key collections staff, and the introduction of methods to track the movements of taonga within the Museum.

The audit demonstrates the commitment of the Tairāwhiti Museum toward advancing a holistic approach to the management and care of taonga Māori. The scope and rationale was developed by the Museum in conjunction with the sole funder Te Puni Kōkiri, and from the outset was clear in its desire to benefit the Museum, the collection, and the community; in particular the Māori of the region (Fleur Paenga 2008, 18 November: Pers. comm.) to whom the Museum has developed a unique relationship since its establishment in 1955 (see for example, Fowler: 1956; Butts: 2003; Spedding 2006; Spedd and Soutar: 2000).

The audit showed how kaitiakitanga principles can be applied to reach objectives that meet the intangible and tangible needs of the collection; thus creating benefits for the institution in a way that is in keeping with the expectations of Māori stakeholders. A holistic approach was achieved via the application of tikanga and kawa, acknowledgement of tapu and the intangible needs of the objects. This approach was applied in tandem with western collection management and
stewardship practices. The result has been vastly improved documentation, storage, conservation and security of the taonga Māori collection.

These improvements have led to greater access to both information and the physical collection; resulting in greater visitation to and utilisation of the taonga Māori collection for the mutual benefit of the Museum and the wider community. The Māori concept of manaakitanga (hospitality) has been enhanced at the Museum, as colleagues, depositors, artists, craftspeople and youth groups to view and access the collection more comfortably. Improved access to and enhanced collection records have facilitated exhibitions, such as ‘He Whakaaraara/ An Awakening.’ Thus the collection will be better utilised and accessed; in turn keeping the taonga ‘warm’ (McKenzie 1990) by enhancing connections with Māori iwi, hapū, whānau and kotahi tangata.

6.3 Potential for Further Research

This dissertation provided an overview of key trends that led to the shifting perception of objects of Māori heritage from curiosities to taonga. In-depth analysis of collection management practices pertaining to taonga Māori in New Zealand from the 19th century onwards would add to the theoretical framework of the shifts of perception of taonga Māori within this dissertation and add to the body of knowledge pertaining to collection management practice in New Zealand.

The utilisation of auditing as a strategic tool is a relatively recent occurrence that seldom features in secondary sources and research from within the heritage field. I would argue that this is not because the practice of auditing is insignificant, as evidenced by the breadth of primary source material and audit projects taking place globally, but rather because there is a need to define and clarify the practice of auditing so that it is recognised within the profession. It is also necessary to synthesise the wide ranging sources of primary material and create a body of scholarship around the practice of auditing.

This dissertation has provided an overview of the emergence of auditing with a focus on its benefits for the collection management, stewardship and kaitiakitanga of
taonga Māori. However there are many more applications of auditing that were either briefly discussed or beyond the scope of this thesis that are worthy of further study. These include auditing for: Theft prevention and the location of stolen objects of cultural heritage (see for example, British Broadcasting Corporation 2006; Ryan 2007; Troslow 2006: 109-113); improving physical, digital and conceptual access (see for example Killhope 2009; TNAM 2007: 2); and the shifting role of auditing and its impact on museums (see for example, Jacobs 1998; The Milwaukee County Department of Audit: Committee on Finance and Audit 2005).

The scope of this dissertation was limited to the Tairāwhiti Museum Audit and some of the immediate outcomes. Further research could also be undertaken pertaining to the Tairāwhiti Museum post audit initiatives, such as greater analysis and discussion of the re-housing of the collection undertaken by Simon Lardelli in phase two of the Audit; how the Audit has continued to impact on the staff, institution and the local community; and how the Museum has resolved issues that have arisen from the Audit.

6.4 Concluding Comment

This thesis has provided an overview of the emergence and praxis of auditing with a focus on its benefits for collection management, Māori and both the physical and intangible needs of taonga. As a relatively new occurrence the applications and implications of auditing within heritage institutions has yet to fully reveal itself. Institutions can choose to see auditing as yet another private sector management model being imposed upon them; or as a strategic tool that can deliver targeted, timely and most importantly tangible results, as evidenced by the Tairāwhiti Museum Taonga Māori Audit.
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Yugambeh Museum, Language & Heritage Research Centre (2000, March)

Appendices

Appendix 1: Map of Te Tairāwhiti and the location of Tairāwhiti Museum

Map of the North Island of New Zealand highlighting the Tairāwhiti Region

Map of central Gisborne showing the location of the Tairāwhiti Museum

A photograph of the main entrance of the Tairāwhiti Museum taken in 2008
Objects loaned from the G.M.A.C (now the Tairawhiti Museum) to the Te Maori Exhibition

From left to right, top to bottom:
A ridgepole for a storehouse (tahuhu)
A footrest for a digging stick (teka)
A fibre pounder (patu muka)
A minnow lure fishhook (matau)
A fishing canoe prow (tauilu)
A canoe sternpost (tauraipa)
An albatross hook (matau)

Photographs Courtesy of the Tairawhiti Museum 2007
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Appendix 3: An example sheet from the discrepancies worksheet.
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Worksheet for the audit of the Tairawhiti Museum taonga Maori collection
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An example of a Vernon entry before the Taonga Maori audit.
Example of additional information added during the audit
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Classification

Adze; Everyday equipment & tools; stone collection in Reserve Store  
Classifier: Stephen Hay  
Date: 19 Sep 2000  
Status:  
Documentation:  
Notes:  

### Object - Creation & Production

**1954.301\# Aztec Drawer 15/Unit 129/Strongroom/Reserve Store**

#### Primary Production Details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maker</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Earliest</th>
<th>Latest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Date Notes</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma(\text{Ma}) East Coast/\text{New Zealand}</td>
<td>Carved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Secondary Production Details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part/Ref</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Technique</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Earliest</th>
<th>Latest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### General Notes on Production

- Carved argHto.

---

### Generic Origin

- **New Zealand** Made in Moho/\(\text{East Coast/\text{New Zealand}}\)
Object - Physical Aspects

1954201

Description:

Shape:
- Notes: Distal end angled and sharpened. Lateral sides flattened. Proximate end curved and round. Top and bottom sides flat.

Colour:
- Notes: Black

Surface:
- Notes: A few natural pitted flaws. Particularly on one lateral edge.
Appendix 6: Additional images of the Tairāwhiti Museum and storage areas

Below left: A photograph of the Tairāwhiti Museum showing the S.S. Star of Canada. The area underneath the Star had been converted into a makeshift storage area due to storage limitations.

Above: An innovative approach to the storage of whariki. Due to a lack of space and storage furniture that would allow the flat storage of whariki (woven floor coverings) they have been attached to calico supports and are suspended from the ceiling. This system, developed by Jonty Hall and Simon Lardelli, allows staff to lower and raise the whariki via a system of pulleys.

Left: In 2008 the Museum had placed a portion of the Taonga Māori collection in a storage container as a temporary storage solution.
Appendix 7: The Willpower Information Management Consultants time estimate formula for cataloguing records

In 2001 Willpower Information Management Consultants undertook a survey project to create reliable data on which to estimate the time it would take to create catalogue records for museum objects and archives (WIMS, 2001: 1). The study aimed to provide estimates that “could be used to justify the cost of a project, apply for funds, allocate staff resources and decide on priorities” (ibid). The author of the survey has created the following formula to help institutions estimate cataloguing times per object:

\[ 5 \text{ (minutes)} + C + D + S \]

- \( C = \text{complexity of material} \)
- \( D = \text{Depth of cataloguing to be undertaken} \)
- \( S = \text{System Used (i.e. the ease of use of the institutions collection database).} \)

The planner allocates a time factor of ‘5 minutes for easy’; ‘15 minutes for moderate’; or ‘30 minutes for difficult’ to represent ranges ‘C’, ‘D’ and ‘S.’

Therefore the least complex, easiest to catalogue item being added to the most efficient database system would be represented by the formula \( 5 + 5 \times C + 5 \times D + 5 \times S \) and would take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Whereas a very difficult item and system may take around 95 minutes to catalogue.

According to the study, if a museum is undertaking a complex inventory project the average output for one staff member (where that staff member can work solidly on the project for 6 hours per day) would be approximately 6 items per day. The output for a more straightforward project per staff member would be approximately 30 minutes. Where only clerical entry was required, and only a limited number of fields were used, respondents showed that between 700 and 1,500 records a day could be completed. Based on my cataloguing experience from Tairāwhiti Museum and Puke Ariki I would agree with the accuracy of these estimates.